

PEOPLE'S AND DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ABOU-BEKR BELKAID – TLEMCEM
FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
SECTION OF ENGLISH



ASPECTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION
IN THE SPEECH COMMUNITY OF KHEMIS:
PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL LEVELS

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in
Candidacy for the Requirement of the Degree of "Magister" in
Sociolinguistics.*

Presented by:

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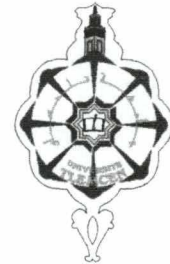
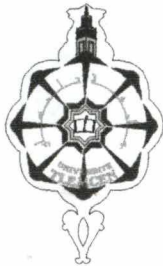
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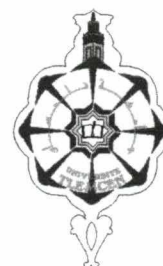
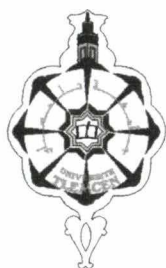
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Abstract



ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the present research work is to analyze some aspects of sociolinguistic variation, mainly phonological and morphological in an area in Tlemcen located in the heart of Beni Snous called Khemis. Using different methods and eliciting devices such as questionnaires, interviews and recordings, this study is devoted to exhibit the correlations between linguistic variables and social attributes.

The first two chapters are of a theoretical basis. They aim at eliciting the most important sociolinguistic key-concepts, upon which this research work is interwoven and which are thought to be helping in drawing an overall background about the Algerian speech community in general and that of Khemis, in particular.

Based on a mixture of qualitative and quantitative work, the third chapter, which is practical in form, undertakes various social forces in correlation with phonological and morphological variables. This chapter really maintains the perspective that relates linguistic behaviour to contextual factors with the aim of showing the complexities of sociolinguistic variation in Khemis variety at the level of phonology and morphology.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND NOTATIONAL SYMBOLS

- ❖ AA: Algerian Arabic
- ❖ ADA: Algerian Dialectal Arabic
- ❖ BEV: Black English Vernacular
- ❖ CA: Classical Arabic
- ❖ IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet
- ❖ KA: Khemis Arabic
- ❖ MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
- ❖ + : affix boundary
- ❖ / /: Classical Arabic
- ❖ []: Khemis dialectal articulation / Khemis linguistic variants
- ❖ { }: suffix boundary / morphemes
- ❖ # : weak word boundary
- ❖ # # : strong word boundary
- ❖ C^w: labialized consonant
- ❖ (sing.fem.): Singular feminine
- ❖ (sing. masc.): Singular masculine
- ❖ (): the brackets are used to represent linguistic variables.

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

• Consonants

	Symbol	KA	English Gloss		Symbol	KA	English Gloss
plosives	[b]	[bi:t]	Room	Nasals	[m]	[mli:h]	Good
	[t]	[ta:b]	He repented		[n]	[nawwa:ra]	Rose
	[d]	[darwaq]	Now	Fricatives	[f]	[farina]	Flour
	[k]	[kla]	He ate		[s]	[si:f]	Sword
	[g]	[gomra]	Moon		[z]	[zi:t]	Cooking-oil"
	[ʈ]	[baʈaʈa]	potatoes		[ʃ]	[ʃrab]	He drank
	[d͡]	[d͡baʃ]	hyena		[ʒ]	[ʒbəl]	Mountain
	[ʔ]	[ʔaʒi]	Come!		[χ]	[χa:f]	He feared
[q]	[qa:l]	He said	[ɣ]		[ɣurba:l]	Sieve	
Flap	[r]	[ra:s]	Head		[h]	[hbəl]	Cord
Lateral	[l]	[li:l]	Night	[ʔ]	[ʔabba]	He took	
Approximants	[w]	[wa:d]	River	[h]	[hrab]	He escaped	
	[j]	[jədd]	Hand	[ʂ]	[ʂa:t]	He blew	
				[z]	[razzazzi]	Hornet	

• Classical Arabic Consonants

	Symbol	CA	English Gloss
CA Consonants	[θ]	[θaur]	Bull
	[ð]	[ðirʔb]	Wolf
	[ɖ]	[mauɖirʔ]	Place
	[ð̤]	[ð̤ahr]	Back

• Vowels

	Length	Symbol	KA	English Gloss
Vowels of Plain Consonants	Short	[ɪ]	[χudmɪ]	Knife
		[u]	[kursɪ]	Chair
		[a]	[ʃra]	He bought
	Long	[i:]	[si:f]	Sword
		[u:]	[fu:l]	Broad beans
		[a:]	[ba:b]	Door
Vowels of Emphatic Consonants	Short	[e]	[ʃejjah]	He cried
		[o]	[foʔa]	Towel
		[a]	[ʃʔah]	He danced
	Long	[e:]	[ʔomate:f]	Tomatoes
		[o:]	[ʃo:r]	Wall
		[a:]	[ʔa:l]	It lasted

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General Introduction

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In recent years, sociolinguistics has made great progress in investigating linguistic variation and language change within different speech communities. Speech variation, as an important subject, has been discussed by many sociolinguists in different dimensions. Much sociolinguistic research has dealt with sociolinguistic variation in urban contexts focussing on the development, change and spread of phonological and morphological variants in addition to lexical features. Due to social mobility and language contact with the surrounding speech communities, urban dwellers are characteristically inclined to shift more than rural ones who have always been considered as isolated and conservative. When studying language in correlation with social and contextual factors, linguistic features: namely, phonological, morphological and lexical, are primarily analyzed in terms of age difference, gender's speech and some other extra-linguistic factors including socio-economic and educational ones.

The present research work deals with Khemis Arabic (hereafter KA). It aims at showing some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in an Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) dialect as an evidence of language evolution. After drawing a brief background of the linguistic situation in Algeria and reviewing brief definitions of some sociolinguistic key-concepts that seem to be relevant to this subject of inquiry, this sociolinguistic study is intended to describe, in the

light of recent studies in sociolinguistics, variation both at the phonological and morphological levels among Khemis speakers.

Indeed, the main purpose of this work, in the light of Dhina's and Cantineau's (1938, 1939, 1940) classification of AA dialects, is to answer the following questions:

1. What is the kind of dialect spoken in Khemis?
2. Are there any differences between the speech of the youth and that of the old?
3. How excessive is the use of the phonological and morphological features of Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA), French or any neighbouring language variety in Khemis speech?

By adopting both qualitative and quantitative approaches, we shall attempt to consider the native speakers' linguistic system putting emphasis on the sociolinguistic variation at the levels of phonology and morphology. Acknowledging with sociolinguists the fact that gender and age, as two important extra-linguistic factors, play a great role in language usage, one may hypothesize that even the dialect spoken in the speech community under investigation varies according to the age of speakers and in correspondence with gender too. In fact, this study seeks to describe the systematic co-variance of language and social structure and to shed

light on some phonological and morphological variables characterizing KA in correspondence with some other extra-linguistic factors that we hypothesize are of a geographical, social and ethnic type due to the historical facts, geographical unrest, and social movement that the area has witnessed in the last few years.

The resolution of our issue will be undertaken through a steady determined description of KA. The reality of this Arabic variety will be pointed out through its particularities in comparison with MSA and other AA dialects mainly of a rural type. Sets of phonological and morphological variables are to be analyzed quantitatively not only with reference to our hypothesized social factors: age, gender, and ethnicity, but also in relation with other neighbouring and mutually intelligible linguistic varieties, and the socio-economic evolution of the area under investigation in the last decades.

Our study is structured in three chapters. The first chapter is theoretical. At first, we have tried to show the importance of studying language in its socio-cultural context in opposition with the formal schools of linguistics: Structuralists and Generativists. Second, this chapter also tries to define some basic sociolinguistic concepts, upon which this research work is interwoven: the notion of language, dialect, variety, vernacular, that of speech community, linguistic variable, and of speech repertoire; notions that are

thought to be helpful in the investigation of language use in Khemis speech community.

In the second chapter, we shall try to throw some light on the components of the current Algerian sociolinguistic profile with the aim of showing the conflicting interplay between the linguistic varieties available in the Algerian speech community as a whole and the linguistic phenomena: namely, bilingualism considered as the offspring of a gradual occupation by the French and diglossia, that linguistic phenomenon characterizing the whole Arabic speaking world, is widely observed in the Algerian context after launching the process of Arabization few years after independence. Then, this chapter gives an overall historical, geographical and demographic overview of the speech community of Beni Snous in general with a particular reference to the area of khemis. That is, we shall try to map geographically and socially the different linguistic varieties that come into play in the village of Khemis. This chapter also deals with the methodology involved. Hence, it is intended to clarify the procedures undertaken to investigate KA.

In the third chapter, and in the light of AA dialect classification and the data collected in Khemis speech community by means of questionnaires, interviews, tape-recordings and through speech observation, KA is identified according to its characteristics. These linguistic features are analyzed in correspondence with

the aforementioned social factors, especially in mixed conversations where both urban and rural dialects are used. In order to know if this dialect maintains its peculiarities or not, Khemis linguistic variants are compared with Modern Standard Arabic /Classical Arabic (henceforth MSA) items.

Chapter One

SOME BASIC SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONCEPTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Linguistic Theory and Language Variation
- 1.3 The Scope of Sociolinguistics
 - 1.3.1 From Dialect Geography to Urban Dialectology
 - 1.3.2 Language as a Social Fact
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 - 1.5.5 Romaine's Terms
 - 1.5.6 Fishman's Terms
 - 1.5.7 Le Page's Terms
 - 1.5.8 Speech Community vs. Individual Speech
- 1.6 The Speech Repertoire
- 1.7 The Linguistic Variable
- 1.8 Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

As it is evident from the title of this sociolinguistic research work, our major aim is to examine sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Khemis; an area located in the heart of Beni Snous South-West of Tlemcen, focusing on its phonological and morphological specificities.

This chapter, mainly introductory in form, is devoted to give brief definitions of some sociolinguistic concepts thought to be relevant to our study on the one hand. On the other hand, we shall try to show the importance of studying language in its social context in opposition with the formal theoretical viewpoints which studied language in abstraction from its context of use. By doing so, social explanations are to be added to the structure of language providing a better understanding of the relationship between linguistic structure and social structure in the region of Khemis.

1.2. Linguistic Theory and Language Variation

Inquiries about the social aspects of language and the intersection of language and society has been probably as long as mankind has had language; 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 and put aside by formal linguists. Generations of formal linguists - be they Structuralists from the traditional structural school, such as Saussure (1915)

and Bloomfield (1933) or Transformationalists following the Chomskyan Transformational-generative grammar school - simply assumed that the study of language would be by approaching it at some remove from its real-life contexts.

Until the inception of modern sociolinguistics, all major theories adopted *the axiom of categoricity*; the study of language in **"abstraction from the society in which it operates"** as Lyons (1981:221) says. The domain of linguistic investigation was taken to be, in Saussure's dichotomy, *Langue*, the grammatical system, rather than, *Parole*, the social uses of language. (1916:9-15)¹

In the Saussurean tradition, the proper objective of any linguistic research is the description of *Langue*; the abstract "autonomous" linguistic system shared by all members of a speech community. *Parole*, however, is the realization of the actualized language of an individual. Furthermore, *Langue* is homogeneous, Saussure says, whereas *Parole* is heterogeneous. In parallel, Chomsky (1965:3), in his most explicit and best-known statement of the axiom of categoricity, emphasizes that **"linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community."**² By the 1960s, Chomsky also distinguished between *linguistic competence* and *linguistic performance*

1 An idea mentioned in Chambers (2003:26)

2 Quoted in Chambers (2003:28)

in the same way Saussure had drawn the distinction between *Langue* and *Parole*. *Linguistic competence* describes the intuitive knowledge of grammar rules that native speakers are endowed with and which enables them to produce an infinite number of correct grammatical sentences, while *linguistic performance* refers to the realization of this competence in concrete situations (linguistic behaviour).

Yet, though the social aspects of language have been disregarded by most theoretical linguists, by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, some linguists insisted on the social nature of language and attempted to show the necessity of social factors in theorizing. In this respect, Whitney (1901:404)³ 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)⁴, in turn, observed that linguistics as a social science and linguistic variations and change are correlated 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.

It may appear from earlier linguistic descriptions carried out by theoretical linguists that

3 Cited in Labov (1972a:261)

4 Cited in Labov (1972a:263)

their analysis has stopped at sentence structures. A sociolinguistic description, however, as Bell (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...

Indeed the sociolinguist, in his interest in variation, sees himself as a linguist, with the avowed aim of attempting to discover regular correspondences between linguistic and social structure and, moreover, sees his role as calling into question some of the assumptions of linguistics in order to reach a fuller and more satisfactory description of language.

1.3. The Scope of Sociolinguistics

The complexity of language lies not only in the linguistic system itself as characterized by Chomsky (1965), but results also from the reality that language is used in various forms to convey information and thoughts, emotions, and feelings as well as to communicate meaning between speakers, to nurture the social bond between them and to inform about their social and geographical background. As a matter of fact, sociolinguistics is the field that studies the relationship between language and society, between language use and social structure. In the light of this tight correlation between language structure and social

structure, our main concern is to review, at this stage, an outline of the development of sociolinguistics as "the study of language in relation to society" Hudson (1996:4), and to trace a background against which sociolinguistic studies have emerged. But to gain a sound understanding of the term "sociolinguistics", we have to look at the previous works in regional dialectology, or dialect geography as it is sometimes referred to, and at earliest works in urban variation conducted by modern dialectologists in complex towns and cities.

1.3.1. From Dialect Geography to Urban Dialectology

Prior to the emergence of sociolinguistics (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 system which was clearly distinguishable from the 'standard' variety. Generally speaking, the aim of dialectological work is to produce a geographical account of linguistic differences. For doing so, dialect geographers or *regional dialectologists* were interested in the collection of data in remote rural areas to describe the so-called regional dialects spoken by Nonmobile Older Rural Males, termed NORMs⁵ by Chambers and Trudgill, and to map the geographical distribution

⁵ 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 or by other dialects.

of its linguistic features (usually lexical or phonological). These linguistic features were drawn in maps and represented in the form of *isoglosses* - imaginary lines on a map marking the boundaries between linguistic variants. Later, a new generation of dialectologists, also called *modern urban dialectologists* started working on the path of rural dialectologists with a shift from observing facts in regional areas to the investigation of different dialects in urban contexts (big towns and cities).

Yet, dialect geography can be seen to contrast with sociolinguistics or *modern dialectology* as it is sometimes called. Its approach has been, in the main, diachronic focusing on "**...the forms themselves and their cognates rather than on the verbal habits of the speakers that use them**". Gumperz (1974:127)⁶

Sociolinguistics, however, has adopted a synchronic approach, taking samples of language at some point in time and attempting to correlate the choices made by speakers with extra-linguistic criteria. More recently too, correlations have been attempted between linguistic forms and social functions in intra-group interaction, on the micro level and between inter-group interaction at the macro-level. This idea will be more illustrated in (1.3.2). Unlike traditional dialectologists whose aim was the mapping of linguistic variants on a regional basis concentrating on the spatial dimension of

⁶ Quoted in Bell, R.T. (1976:24)

linguistic variation and excluding its social dimension (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:54), sociolinguists have turned their attention to the study of social dialects in urban areas taking into account the development, change and spread of new phonological, morphological and lexical variants.

1.3.2. Language as a Social Fact

While formal linguistics constructs a simplified language whose behaviour can be predicted, sociolinguistics tries to cope with the messiness of language as a social fact as De Saussure called it.⁷ That is, rather than looking at language as a self-contained fixed and "frozen" structure, sociolinguistics puts language change and variation at the center of its deliberations. **"Within a speech community, there is a considerable language variation"**, Aitchison (1992:104) says, and

The speech of its members varies according to many factors, including geographical location, age, occupation, socio-linguistic status, ethnic group and sex.

(ibid)

In other words, sociolinguists seek to uncover relationships between social and linguistic variables.

⁷ Mentioned in Coulmas, F. in Aronoff, M and Rees-Miller, J. (2003:563).

1.3.2.1 Social Factors

1.3.2.1.1 Social Class Differences

Labov's work in New York City is usually regarded as setting the pattern for quantitative studies of linguistic variation. In his small-scale investigation of the (r)⁸ variable, Labov (1966) believed that r-pronunciation after vowels was being reintroduced into New York speech from above. It was a feature of the speech of younger people rather than of older people, and 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*). He set out to test these hypotheses by walking around three New York City department stores (Saks, Macy's, and S. Klein) which were demarcated by the social-class groups to which they catered (high, middle, and low, respectively), and asking the location of departments he knew to be situated on the fourth floor. When the shop assistant answered, Labov would seek a careful repetition of "fourth floor" by pretending not to hear the initial response.

Labov found that r-pronunciation was favoured in Saks to a greater extent than in Macy's but much less in S. Klein. Careful repetition of the utterance nearly always increased r-pronunciation, and pronunciation of the r was found more often in *floor* than *fourth* in all circumstances. These results led Labov to conclude that

⁸ () are used following labov's symbol of linguistic variables in his study of New York City speech.

members of the highest and lowest social groups tend not to change their pronunciation after it becomes fixed in adolescence but members of middle social groups sometimes do, possibly because of their social aspirations.

Most early sociolinguistic work was concerned primarily with social class differences. However, it was soon apparent that other non-linguistic variables, such as gender, age, and ethnic group were involved in structured linguistic variation.

1.3.2.1.2 Gender Differentiation

Gender differences in language usage have developed a great deal in the last few decades (Coates 1993; Cameron 1985; Cameron and Coates 1988), 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 sociolinguistics has much to offer to the study of gender-based constraints in society.

"There is a typical pattern whereby women's scores approximate more closely to the standard prestige variant than do men's". Downes (1998:204)

Figure 1.1 reveals this patterning for two widely separated examples: (r) absence in Detroit and (ing)

variable in Norwich⁹. Women produce more *r* in Detroit and more of the prestige form (ing) in Norwich than men, for all Classes.

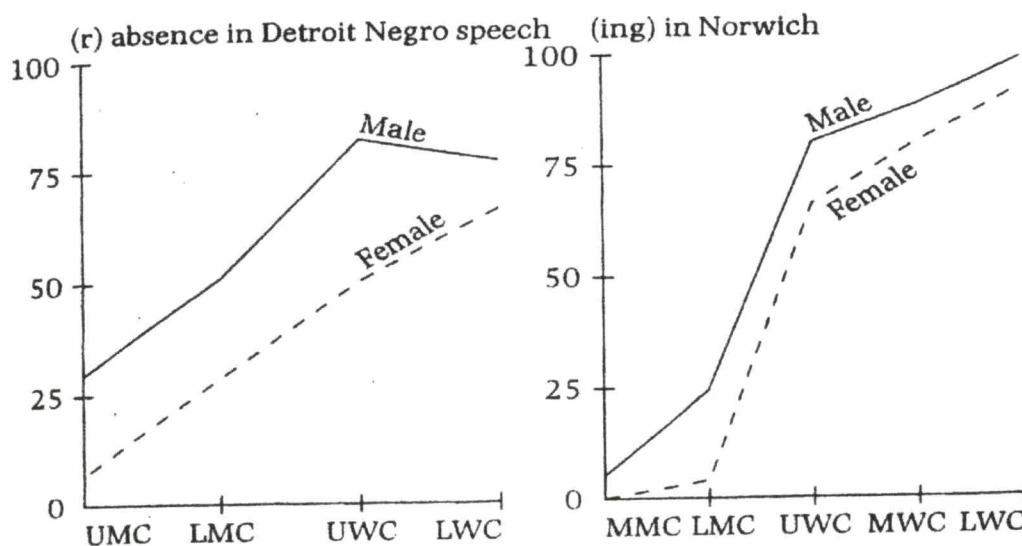


Figure 1.1 (r) Absence in Detroit Negro Speech and (ing) in Norwich.

In New York, Labov reported that it was the women among the lower-middle class who were the most linguistically

⁹ Figure 1.1 is extracted from (Downes 1998:205) in Peter Trudgill's Norwich survey (Trudgill 1974), and shows the relative scores for the variable (ing), as found at the end 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.

insecure¹⁰ and style-shifted towards the prestige norms most sharply.

1.3.2.1.3 Age Differentiation

Speaking about the prestige norms in New York City, rhoticity is one feature of Upper Middle Class in casual speech. (Labov 1972)

Figure 1.1¹¹ represents the average (r) scores in casual speech by age and class:

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

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

Since 00 means a complete absence of rhoticity, this score tells us that New York City, in its members'

¹⁰ Linguistic insecurity is defined by Trudgill (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'".

¹¹ This figure is extracted from Downes (1998:167).

everyday style, is very largely r-less community. Labov's hypothesis is that rhoticity is being introduced into the New York City speech community by the highest status group, i.e. Upper Middle Class, more or less consciously, as a new prestige form. Indeed, a look at table 1.1 clearly reveals how, in the Upper Middle Class, there is a steady decrease in r-scores as the informants get *older*. This fact has led Labov to deduce that speech variation in a stratified society, like New York City, correlates with *age* as an extra-linguistic or external factor. Speakers over forty have much lower amounts of rhotic forms than do their younger counterparts. Then, speakers over fifty have virtually none. One may also notice that there is no age-grading in the other classes. These external variables, such as class stratification, gender, and age have proved fruitful in explaining the mechanisms of linguistic variation and of language change in all types of speech communities.

It is true that in any living 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 dialect features as our data analysis will show in the following sections of this research work.

1.3.2.1.4 Ethnicity and Culture

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. Language also acts as an important defining characteristic of ethnic group membership. Yet, it is worthwhile noting that Khemis speakers though they are aware of the Berber origin of their region, if they are asked about their identities or the culture they belong to, they undoubtedly qualify themselves as Muslim Algerians whose language is Arabic.

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 native traditions and customs. A number of living Berber features have, therefore, resisted change in this community. (Some of them are referred to in (3.4.1.10))

In Algeria, bilingualism is a phenomenon considered as the offspring of language contact and cultural influence. In AA in general and in KA in particular, French elements are introduced into the Arabic linguistic system and they appear in the **"...the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary..."**. Weinreich (1953:1) As a result of language interference, French borrowings frequently occur in KA in the form of phonetic sounds and vocabulary alternates.

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.

1.3.3. Micro- and Macro- sociolinguistics

One of the defining characteristics of sociolinguistics is its emphasis on the study of the use of language by social groups and individuals. Investigators have found it appropriate to introduce a distinction between two broad subfields within the whole field of sociolinguistics: *sociolinguistics* or *micro-sociolinguistics* and the *sociology of language* or *macro-sociolinguistics*.

Micro-sociolinguistics refers to the analysis in which the emphasis is on the individual in small informal intra-group interactions. As Coulmas (1997:2) says:

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.

In linguistic terms, it focuses on the individual's idiolectal linguistic features and how his/her choices of lexical items, grammatical structures and pronunciation correlate with the aforementioned social variables.

Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, is more sociological in its emphasis and has clear ties with sociology itself. It examines the interaction between two aspects of human behaviour: use of language and the social organization of behaviour. Defining this approach, Fishman (1972:45) says,

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.

The sociology of language, then, studies the use of speech forms and the attitudes and attachments that account for their functional distribution in society, bilingualism and its resulting phenomena, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities. One may bear in mind, however, that in spite of the subdivision of sociolinguistics into these two opposed approaches, micro- and macro- sociolinguistics are both useful and complementary in seeking out linguistic variation.

So, as it is evident from the title of this sociolinguistic research work, our main aim is to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in KA by adopting a micro-sociolinguistic perspective looking at some aspects of phonological and morphological features peculiar to Khemis speakers and trying to analyze them in relation with some extra-linguistic variables.

1.4. Language Varieties: Views and Issues

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/her own idiolect; the variety of speech of an individual which is characterized by idiosyncratic linguistic features specific to him/her. However, within groups in society, that individual is subjected to a set of social and linguistic norms which govern his/her way of speaking. Such linguistic diversity, therefore, prompted linguists to study the variability of language in society in trying to find explanations relating these social factors with the individuals' linguistic varieties.

1.4.1. Language, Dialect and Variety

The taxonomy of linguistic description - that is, the identification and enumeration of languages - is greatly hampered by the ambiguities and obscurities attaching 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 (1996:31) argues that **"it is part of our culture to make a distinction between 'languages' and 'dialects'"**. That is, 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 variety¹² 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 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 autonomous¹³ "standard" language if it gains a prestige position in society and by virtue of the fact of being standardized. For this edifice, Hudson (ibid:32) adds:

12 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 ».

13 Often due to political and social developments formerly heteronomous varieties can achieve autonomy.

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.

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"**.

Similarly, Algerian individuals regard CA/MSA as the most prestigious language appropriate for religious and literary reasons, 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 (1966a:415)

Yet from a linguistic viewpoint, a standard language cannot legitimately be considered better than other varieties. Any attitudes towards non-standard dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society. In this sense, Trudgill (2000:8) asserts that

The scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all languages, and correspondingly 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.

Furthermore, Trudgill (ibid:9) sees that "value judgements concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social rather than linguistic".

As an opposition to the subjective dichotomy "language vs. dialect" and for the sake of avoiding all bias and prejudice in sociolinguistic studies, 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 covers 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 "a similar social distribution - they are used by the same speaker or community" as Hudson (1980:24) says. On his part, Hudson (ibid) views a variety as possibly being "much larger than a lay 'language', including a number of different languages". 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 (1996:23-4) 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.

1.4.2. Vernacular

In addition to the aforementioned key-concepts, variationist sociolinguistics¹⁴ also rests its method and analysis on the "vernacular", 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

¹⁴ In Sali's (2006:5) view, variationist sociolinguistics is most aptly 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".

then left with the *Observer's Paradox*, another crucial concept provided by Labov (1972b) who shows that the aim in sociolinguistic investigation **"is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed"**. (Labov, 1972b:61) 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)

Yet 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.

Code is another alternative neutral term which can be used to refer to **"any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication"** as Wardhaugh (1992:89) defines it. Thus, this term can also be employed to refer to any linguistic variety chosen by a speaker rather than another when communicating using two or more codes as it is the case with bi- or multi-lingual individuals.

These key-concepts mentioned in this section will be widely dealt with in the second chapter which is concerned with the analysis of the linguistic situation of Algeria and in the third chapter when reviewing the sociolinguistic situation in Khemis. The term "community", as employed here, refers to the whole population of speakers living in the area under investigation. However, the following survey of definitions of the term speech community will be helpful in drawing the characteristics of Khemis speech community.

1.5. The Speech Community

Although not all communication is linguistic, language is by far the most powerful and versatile medium of communication, that is, all known human groups who possess language in day-to-day interaction, in fact, share all its linguistic aspects (phonological, grammatical and lexical), and these groups, for most

general linguists, are referred to as "speech communities". People do interact, indeed, verbally using distinct linguistic varieties to communicate not only ideas, emotions and desires as Sapir (1933) states, but to establish and maintain ethnic, religious and socio-cultural relationships 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 and expectations.

From what precedes, it is clearly noticed 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.

1.5.1. Lyons' Terms

The simplest definition of "speech community" is that of John Lyons (1970:326). For this linguist, a speech community includes **"...all the people who use a given language (or dialect)"**. According to this definition, speech communities may overlap and need not have any social or cultural unity. One may ask about the stance 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. In such as situation, one wonders whether such individuals

belong to a single speech community or should be alienated from a particular aggregate simply because they master more than one language or dialect.

1.5.2. Bloomfield's Terms

Unlike 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 criterion of social interaction. The present definition focuses on the spoken form at the expense of the written form. But, this emphasis on speech or verbal communication in defining the concept of speech community alienates a particular category from society: the dumb people. This definition like the one cited before by Lyons lacks social cohesion.

1.5.3. Gumperz' Terms

A later definition by Gumperz (1968)¹⁵ introduces the requirement that there should be some possible linguistic differences between the members of the speech community and those outside it:

...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 usage.

15 Quoted in Giglioli (1972:219)

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 or two or more languages or 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 its different spoken languages. Gumperz (1962) has also used the term "linguistic community" instead of speech community. He proceeds to define 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.¹⁶

In this sense, a speech community may itself include smaller communities each possessing its own linguistic variety with specific features, but though these social groups are "set off" by some barriers mainly geographical, they are held together by "frequency of social interaction" and through regular social practices.

In the speech community of Khemis, one may clearly notice the same situation. The area of Khemis consists of two contrasting speech communities each using its own Arabic variety as we shall see in chapter three. (The

16 Quoted in Hudson (1996:25)

contrast between the two varieties is in terms of urban/rural speech.) As Khemis occupies a strategic position in Beni Snous, that is, it is located in the centre of Beni Snous where all social and administrative institutions are found, both groups are held together as they meet regularly for religious and socio-cultural practices and mainly for commercial reasons in the weekly organized market.

1.5.4. Labov's Terms

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.¹⁷

Speaking about Labov's definition of this term, Wardhaugh 2006:121 says,

17 Quoted in Ball (2005:5)

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 characterizes this definition most in comparison with the previous ones is the emphasis on shared norms and abstract patterns of variation rather than on shared linguistic behaviour. Hudson (1996:25-26) makes an important comment about Labov's 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...

Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972) too have defined the speech community as Labov did in terms of "shared norms and abstract patterns of variation". (Hudson, 1996:25)

1.5.5. Romaine's Terms

Emphasizing, in a similar way, the idea that this concept is not necessarily coextensive with a language community, Romaine (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 most 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 these communities. In other words, as Romaine (ibid) 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 neighbouring dialects though these varieties are held by regular contact. Interesting data will be analyzed and interpreted in the third chapter of this dissertation. The results obtained, then, will provide us with specific criteria by which the speech community of Khemis will be defined.

1.5.6. Fishman's Terms

Fishman (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 contends that a speech community may be small as a single closed interaction

network, an isolated band, a nomadic clan, a small society and a total society.

1.5.7. Le Page's Terms

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/she may wish to be identified with. Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985)¹⁸ 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.**

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

18 Quoted in Hudson (1996:26)

In sum, Le Page's view locates language in the mind of individuals.

1.5.8. Speech Community vs. Individual Speech

This survey of speech communities 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"**.¹⁹ Yet, this position appears to be controversial. Unfortunately, it is in opposition with Labov's view, who is widely regarded as the most influential sociolinguist. Labov takes a very clear position on this issue. He argues that linguistic variation cannot be explained by looking only to the individual. Labov (1989:52) rather regards that **"Individual behaviour can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community"**.²⁰ In Labov's view, this grammar should be explored by looking at the whole speech community instead of looking at the individuals' speech, because, in his terms,

19 Quoted in Hudson (1996:30)

20 Quoted in Hudson (idem)

language is not a property of the individual, but of the community. Any description of a language must take the speech community as its object if it is to do justice to the elegance and regularity of linguistic structure.

(ibid)

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, ethnic, gender and age groups rather than tracing the effects of change among 'dislocated' individual speakers.

Refuting his first viewpoint, 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 (2006:130-31) says, that

...no two individuals are exactly alike in their linguistic capabilities, just as no two social situations are exactly alike. 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., verballity or literacy; and by personality characteristics. These are but some of the more obvious differences that affect individual variation in speech.

Accordingly, we can easily see how necessary it is to relate both linguistic and social criteria to determine the meaning of "speech community" agreeing with Wardhaugh (ibid:121) when he says, "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, we should have to admit that everyone has his own individual dialect; that is, has his own idiolect. Every idiolect differs from every other, certainly in vocabulary and pronunciation and perhaps, to a smaller degree in grammar.²¹ Furthermore, it has been demonstrated, as Lyons (1981:270) writes, 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.

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 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.

21 An idea mentioned in Lyons (1981:27)

So from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, as Lyons (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 words, everyone has his own idiolect, and because of frequent interaction with fellow-members of other social groups or communities, we may acquire a linguistic competence in a set of phonologically identical language-systems.

1.7. The Speech Repertoire

Language is both an individual possession and a social possession. We would expect, therefore, that individuals would behave linguistically, within any monolingual or multilingual speech community, using the same language or the same dialect or the same variety, i.e. employing the same code or a whole range of distinct varieties to perform social roles. The study of speech communities with such characteristics - that is, the study of sociolinguistic variation in language-contact situations - has led 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 consideration, the Platts (ibid:36) suggest the following distinction:

...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 this view, each individual has his/her own distinctive verbal repertoire and each speech community in which that person participates has its distinctive speech repertoire. The concept of repertoire can be applied to both individuals and groups. In Gumperz' (1968) view, it refers to **"the totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community."**²² In other words, the term "verbal repertoire" includes all dialects, registers and styles typical of a monolingual community of speakers where the choice of one variety over another can have the same social significance as code selection in a multilingual speech community.

²² Quoted in Giglioli (1972:250)

An individual is described above as drawing upon a repertoire of linguistic codes from which he or she chooses the code that best suits his/her social purpose -interaction. In this respect, Bell, R.T.(1976:105) 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 example, 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.

But, as our research work aims at studying some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in KSA and as its linguistic features will be represented in the form of linguistic variables, mostly phonological and morpho-syntactic ones, let us, as a first step in our research, provide at least a brief definition for the concept of linguistic *variable* which has been employed by sociolinguists in the study of language variation in its social structure.

1.8. The Linguistic Variable

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 situational context, as noted by Schuchardt (1972:48) **"the pronunciation of the individual is never free from variations"**.²³ Due to the limitations of traditional approaches in the study of complex urban speech communities, and in order to uncover sociolinguistic patterning amidst the variation, a basic sociolinguistic concept has been developed by Labov. He has called 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, a basic sociolinguistic tool employed to 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 Norwich²⁴ which is the final consonant in words endings-*ing*, such as *seeing, helping, sitting* has two variants, (ng): [ŋ] with the velar nasal, and (ng):[n] with the alveolar. One rather common type of variation can be noticed among

23 Quoted in Chambers (2003:11)

24 An example mentioned by April (1994:235)

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 English Vernacular (BEV) 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*.²⁵

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 [zu:ʒ]: meaning 'two' most of the time whereas another prefers [ʒu:ʒ]. One may hear people saying [gəzza:r] for 'a butcher' while others maintain the sound [ʒ], i.e. [ʒəzza:r]. These different realizations of both phonological variables (z) and (ʒ) and others reveal interesting characteristics about the linguistic behaviour of Khemis speakers and the sociolinguistic

²⁵ An example mentioned by April (idem)

structure of this speech community as a whole. As a matter of fact, any linguistic variable - be it phonological or morphological - realized with two or more variants represents the core of our 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"**. April (1994:23)

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 view in particular, our hypothesis is that the variants of Khemis speech are not random but they rather correlate with some extra-linguistic or independent variables as we shall try to show throughout this sociolinguistic research work.

1.9. Conclusion

The aim of this theoretical chapter has been to shed light on some basic sociolinguistic concepts in the field of the study of language in its social structure. Many views and definitions are reviewed in this section in an attempt to explain the sociolinguistic situation 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 and fruitful in drawing the glances of this Algerian sociolinguistic context within the whole Algerian speech community.

Chapter Two

KHEMIS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT IN ALGERIA

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Linguistic Varieties in Algeria
 - 2.2.1 Arabic
 - 2.2.2 French
 - 2.2.3 Berber
- 2.3 Algeria: A Multilingual Speech Community
 - 2.3.1 Diglossia
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 - 2.4.1 The Geographical Location of Khemis
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- 2.5 Description of the Sample Population
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 - 2.5.3 Sampling and Stratification
- 2.6 Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

The speech variety that is under investigation in this sociolinguistic research work is used in the area of Khemis. This chapter involves three main parts. The first one highlights the linguistic situation in Algeria which is taken as an introduction to shed light on the linguistic realities in the area of Khemis. A review about language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between these languages is held for this purpose. The second sketches out the speech community of Khemis; it gives a geographical, socio-historical and demographic overview of this village. The last part includes a description of the sample population and the methodology followed to investigate the Arabic variety spoken by Khemis inhabitants, focusing on their phonological and morphological specificities. That is, the collection of data and the instruments of research are also introduced in this part.

The most decisive historical fact that characterizes the Algerian speech community as well as those of the other Maghrebi countries in North Africa is the widespread Arabization that accompanied the Muslim settlements which took place mostly during two periods. The first period began with the Arab *Fātihīns* in the 7th and 8th centuries. It was the urban dialects that were implanted by these Islamic expansions as opposed to the rural or bedouin dialects brought in the 11th century with the second wave of Arab settlers called 'Banu

Hilal'. Yet, these two types of AA dialects are distinguished with a number of linguistic characteristics that will be reviewed in 3.2 in chapter three. It is worthwhile mentioning that it will be helpful, in the light of the classification of AA dialects provided by Millon (1937), Cantineau (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960), to classify the linguistic variety of Arabic spoken in the area of Khemis.

2.2. Linguistic Varieties in Algeria

In Algeria, the linguistic situation is complex. Its complexity lies in the co-existence of more than one variety. The different languages characterizing the Algerian linguistic situation are Arabic, having two forms: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Algerian Dialectal Arabic (ADA), French, and Berber (Tamazight). Throughout this analysis, we shall shed light on today's Algerian linguistic repertoire with the aim of showing the dynamic conflicting interplay between its linguistic varieties: Arabic, French and Berber.

2.2.1. Arabic

Algeria defines itself as part of the Arabic and Muslim world: the *Oumma Arabiyya*. The majority of the population uses a spoken variety of Arabic. Arabic is the major, national, and official language of the

state¹, and it usually appears under its two forms: Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic. CA, *El-Arabiyya El-Fuṣṣḥā*, 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 by virtue of 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 Hedjj or the pilgrimage period, and 'su:q ʔuka:ð'² where well-known Arab writers and poets used to gather to read their long poetic verses 'al muʔallaka:t'. Indeed, the introduction of the Arabic language during the 7th century was crucially fundamental for the future profile of North African populations as they have undergone irreversible transformations from the religious, linguistic and socio-cultural standpoints. CA succeeded in absorbing many indigenous Berber varieties except in a few remote mountainous and Sahara areas.

Centuries later, MSA, the modern form of CA, has become the language of education, administration, news-reporting, media, and wider written communication within

1 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)

2 <http://www.sooqokaz.com/content/history/history.html>, "Tārikhu Souk Okādh", accessed to, on January 28th, 2009.

the Arabic-speaking world. In Algeria, MSA is generally the language of official domains, government and institutions and it is used for religious and literary purposes.

AA, on the other hand, is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian population, and though regionally characterized by different accents, it is mutually intelligible among all speakers along the Algerian territory. AA, called Dialectal Arabic, *El-Ammia*, or *Ed-daridja*, is the spoken variety spontaneously used by Algerian individuals to express their feelings, their thoughts, and to communicate. 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). The differences between both forms of Arabic will be more illustrated and exemplified when analyzing their co-existence resulting in the phenomenon called diglossia (Ferguson 1959a).

2.2.2. French

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 French government, as **"the only language of civilization and advancement"** (Bourhis 1982:44) was forcibly imposed as the official language in Algeria. Therefore, the

Algerian population was so deeply influenced linguistically to the extent that today more than 48 years after the independence (1962), French continues to play an important role in spoken as well as written domains. So, with French a deeply-rooted language in Algeria, it has long become a linguistic tool that many Algerian individuals use in most sectors of administration and education and for day-to-day interaction especially among young educated people. Moreover, French loanwords take part in both dialectal forms of AA and Berber varieties. It is also evident that today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards this language for its association with progress and modernism and its consideration as a means of communication with the external world.

Yet in spite of the reinforcement of the Arabization policy launched some years after independence, French still constitutes an important component of the present-day Algerian sociolinguistic profile³. Consequently, two conflicting views are to exist in analyzing the linguistic situation in Algeria. One held by politicians, is that Arabic is the national language of the country and French is a foreign language. In other words, the political view considers Algeria as a monolingual speech community, while the linguistic view considers it as a bilingual one.

³ A *sociolinguistic profile* is a special summary description of language situation based in part on a series of indices and classifications.

Furthermore, linguists go further when they assert that Algeria is a multilingual country on the basis of the existence of another indigenous variety "Berber" spoken mainly in 'Great Kabylia', in the 'Aures' range and in some scattered areas in the South⁴. Recently, English is also used in many domains for its association with new technologies and globalization.

2.2.3. Berber

The Berber variety is not much used. The major Berber groups are the 'Kabylia' Mountains east of Algiers, the 'Chaouia' of the 'Aures' range south of Constantine, and other scattered groups in the South including the 'Mzab' and 'Touareg'. Yet, the Berber variety has recently been (2002) granted the status of a national Algerian language which makes Algeria qualified as a multilingual country. One must bear in mind that these Berber varieties have been preserved in those regions in spite of the widespread Arabization which accompanied the Muslim settlements that took place mostly during 7th, the 8th and the 11th century.

Though Tamazight is recognized as having existed for more than 5,000 years ago, it has never been codified by the state. Many efforts have been made for the elaboration, standardization and codification of Tamazight. For example, Salem Shaker and Mouloud Mammeri

⁴ Mentioned in Benmoussat, S. (2003:101).

tried to develop a standardized grammar in the 1980s.⁵ Politically speaking, Berber is recognized as a national language. But, Berbers are not content with this situation because they seek equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight. In addition, the constitutional amendment did not change any condition in the principles of the Algerian society, there was no more than a formal recognition of the language's existence and no positive action has been undertaken in favour of Berber. The latter continues to be a hindrance to the promotion of Arabic and seen as setting off internal divisions.

2.3. Algeria: A Multilingual Speech Community

With globalization and increasing population movements due to immigration and greater geographical and social mobility, and with the widespread of education, contacts between cultures, languages and individuals are constantly growing. Linguists working on language contact usually deal with linguistic diversity in multilingual speech communities. They suggest some indices which would provide information about variation in language use in a given area. Ferguson (1962) proposed crude scales of rating languages by degrees of standardization and the extent of written use. Stewart (1962)⁶ attempted to devise a sociolinguistic 'typology' of languages to offer a sociolinguistic profile which

5 Benghida, S. "Language Planning and Policy Attitudes in Algeria". Website: <http://www.ibscientific.net>, accessed to on February 12th, 2009 at 18:23.

6 An idea mentioned in Bell, R.T. (1976:147-48).

classifies languages according to type and function in a given political unit. Languages are, therefore, classified according to the political and the social status attributed to them as being official, national, standard or vernacular.

As our concern is to draw a clear picture about the linguistic situation in Algeria, an Algerian sociolinguistic *profile formula* is offered as an example of linguistic situations in multilingual speech communities, and as an answer to the questions put about the complexity of the "language situation" in Algeria, questions such as how many and what kinds of languages are spoken in Algeria, by how many people, under what circumstances, and what attitudes and beliefs are beyond language use?

The Algerian linguistic situation is very intricate. Its intricacy lies in the co-existence of more than one language. Many factors have been responsible for such complexity; some being historical, other political, and some other socio-cultural. As a result of the diverse events that the country has gone through, the Algerian speech community has acquired a distinctive sociolinguistic situation that is characterized by dynamic speech variation. Variation - both intra-and inter-lingual- can be clearly attested in individuals' day-to-day linguistic behaviour: the Algerian speech community not only reflects the

intralingual features of a diglossic situation where two varieties (MSA and AA) of the same language are in a functional distribution (Ferguson 1959a), but also the consequent linguistic phenomena of an interlingual situation that occurs when distinct languages are in contact, i.e. the use of bilingualism and its unavoidable code-switching/mixing and borrowing.

2.3.1. Diglossia

First, the relationship between MSA and AA has been described in terms of diglossia; a concept introduced by Charles Ferguson (1959) who summarizes its definition as follows:

Diglossia is 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 defining such a linguistic phenomenon, Ferguson requires that the high and the low varieties should be two distinct varieties of the same language used in different domains to fulfill different functions. The superposed or the formal variety is called "High" (H)

and the informal one is referred to as "Low" (L). Ferguson spoke of H as "superposed" because it is learned in schools and in a more informal setting than L. The H variety - that is, MSA which takes its normative rules from CA is used in mosques, on radio and television broadcasting, in public meetings, scientific conferences and fits all educational and administrative purposes in general. L, however, is used in informal contexts: at home, workplace and among friends.

Unlike the former view, Fishman (1972:92) extended the concept of diglossia to describe linguistic situations where two distinct languages are used in complementary distribution. In this respect, he applies the term diglossia 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.

In the Algerian context, speakers find themselves in front of a diversity of languages: two high varieties CA and French and two low varieties which are AA and Berber. The use of more than two linguistic varieties is referred to as "Polyglossia" (Bell, 1976). But French is not used only for formal purposes. It is so deeply rooted in the Algerian society, under varying degrees of comprehension and actual use, and widely appears through the use of borrowings and morphological combinations in

informal settings. The mixing of French structures with Arabic has become an inherent characteristic in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers. Indeed, such a situation is regarded as an inevitable consequence of bilingualism.

2.3.2. Bilingualism

Defining the notion of bilingualism or multilingualism has attracted the attention of various linguists. Many linguists have presented different definitions about such a widespread phenomenon. Romaine (1994:310) states that

if individuals possess two languages and can function reasonably effectively in producing and perceiving both, they are considered bilinguals.

Spolsky, B. (1998:45), in turn, also sees a bilingual as

a person who has some functional ability in a second language. This may vary from a limited ability in one or more domains, to a very strong command of both languages.

In the same line of thought, Weinreich (1953:72) introduces three types of bilingualism from the point of view of the individual speaker, his/her aptitude for learning a foreign language and his switching facility. He writes:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to the appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc) but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence.

When dealing with the concept of bilingualism, Bell (1976:165) contrasts the notion of 'societal bilingualism' with that of 'individual bilingualism' in the following quotation: **"Bilingualism refers both to the use by an individual and the use by a group or nation of more than one language"**. In other words, bilingualism is at the societal level, and its counterpart is at the personal level. Individual bilingualism or bilinguality is, therefore, the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication.⁷

At the societal level, bilingualism is either compound or co-ordinate. It is a co-ordinate one when children learn both languages in primary school as it is the case of Arabic and French in Algeria. This co-ordinate Algerian bilingualism is the result of educational strategy and social specificity. Yet, though the person learns both languages in separate environments, words of the two languages are kept separate with each word having its own meaning, so that the French word "stylo" and the Arabic "qalam" are stored and represented independently in the brain. This idea of possessing two language systems in one brain or "co-existent systems" has been reported by Spolsky (1998:48) in the following statement:

⁷ Hamers & Blanc (2000:1) use the term "bilinguality" to denote an individual use of two languages and reserve the term "bilingualism" for the study of how two languages and more function in a given society.

For a number of years, there was an attempt to distinguish 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.

Broadly speaking, bilingualism is the alternate use of two or more languages by the same speaker. The notion of 'use', here, means that a bilingual individual has a linguistic competence which ranges from the knowledge of few fragments to a highly educated native-like mastery of considered languages. Algerian speakers in general and Khemis individuals in particular usually have varying degrees of bilingual proficiency, ranging from the ability of using only few French loanwords to speaking both languages fluently. This is a characteristic of some educated people who may have a good mastery of French. In this sense, an Algerian individual is described bilingual since French loanwords have become parts of colloquial Arabic.

Generally, in spite of the efforts expended for generalizing Arabization, MSA is not used, and will perhaps never be spoken in a natural way for its diglossic relation to the colloquial Arabic varieties of the Algerian speech community. French, instead, continues to occupy a particular position in society, maintaining societal bilingualism at the macro level and bilinguality at the personal one.

2.4. Beni Snous: A General Background

2.4.1. The Geographical Location of Khemis

Beni Snous, according to the colonial anthropologist Canal, J. (1891), is a confederation of three parts: El-Kaf, El-Azails, and Khemis.

❖ El-Kaf contains the village of El-Kaf itself and eight "douars"⁸. The majority of its inhabitants were Arabs living in tents.

❖ El-Azails comprising four villages: Zahra, Tafessra, Thletha, and Beni Bahdel.

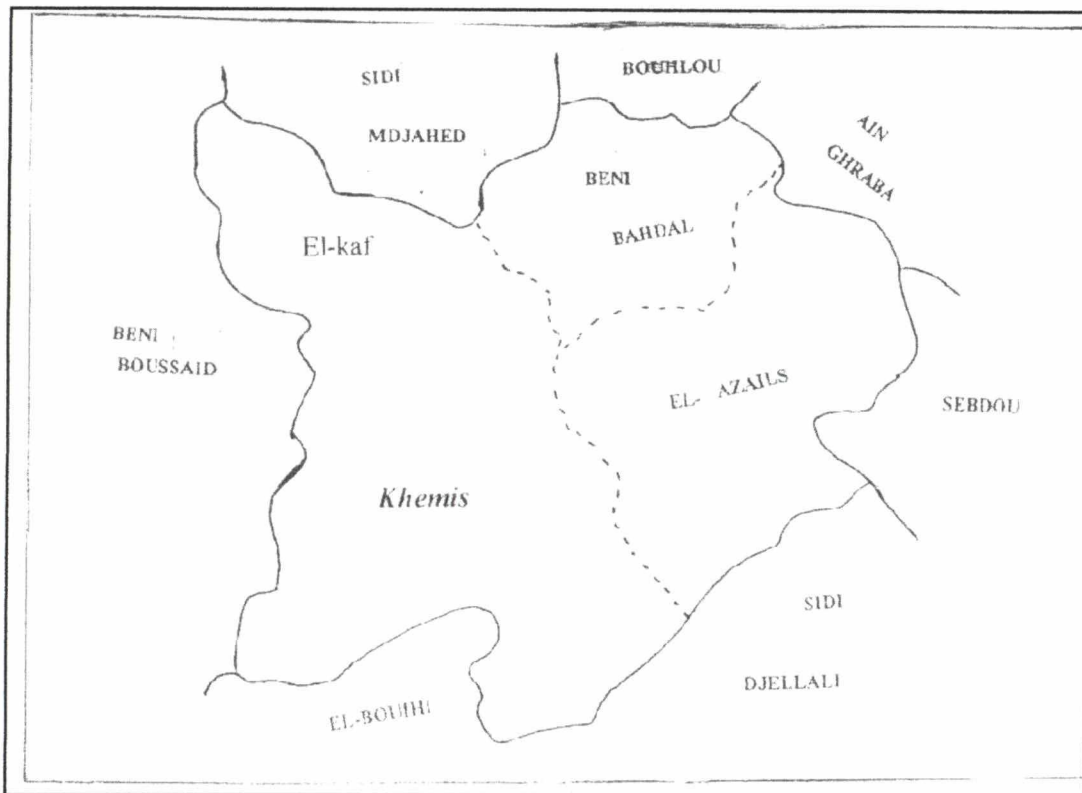
❖ Khemis contains fourteen villages such as Ouled Hammou, Khemis, Beni Zidaz, Dar Ayyad, Ouled Bouchamma, Beni Achir, Ouled Zfizef, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Ziahira, Aghraouane, Ouled Chayeb, Ouled Ali and douar Edwebra, in addition to Mazzer that is isolated from Khemis and forms itself a village comprising two douars: "Zawiat"⁹ Sidi Ahmed and Zawiat Ouled Ben Ammar.

The confederation of Beni Snous, according to the 1890s administrative division, is located 25 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 El-Khamis) which wells from

8 A "douar" is a group of houses located far from a village.

9 "Zawiat": it is a kind of Medressa (school) where people got used to gather to learn the Koran.

the Mchamich mountains in the Moroccan frontiers. It is bordered by Beni Boussaïd in the West, Beni Hédial in the North, Sebdoû and Sidi Djellali in the East and the 'Mchamich' mountains along the Moroccan border in the South-West.



Map 2.1 The Old Geographical Map of Beni Snous

Source: Benaïssa, A. (2003:150)

In the past, it had a surface of 34,628 hectares. In 1891, it had a population of 1381 inhabitants.¹⁰

Yet, the geographical map of Beni Snous knew some changes nowadays because of social, political and

¹⁰ Canal, J. (1891:390-405).

economic evolutions in the region. Geographically, and according to the administrative division of 1984, El-Azails and El-Kaf had become two independent parts of the municipality of Beni Snous. Therefore, it has new frontiers; it is currently 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.



Map 2.2 The New Geographical Location of Beni Snous

Source: Benaïssa, A. (2003:149)

Nowadays, it has a surface of 3700 hectars and comprises 20 villages scattered on the foot of its mountains with a population of 11,134 inhabitants.¹¹ The most important village is Khemis which represents the centre of Beni Snous and comprises all administrative, socio-economic and cultural institutions which are common places where all inhabitants of Beni Snous 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 1990s when most inhabitants of the neighbouring villages moved to khemis leaving their non-secure regions especially those of Mazzer and Beni Zidaz.¹² Consequently, the speech community of Khemis has grown to be socially diverse, unstable, extremely variable and eventually exposed to linguistic changes due to the aforementioned factors and some others that will be uncovered in chapter three.

2.4.2. The Origin of Khemis Inhabitants

As this research work is interested in Khemis society in particular, accurate information is to be presented about the obscure history of this region. Were its inhabitants Arabs, Berbers, or of other races?

11 According to 2007 statistics obtained from the municipality of Beni Snous.

12 The dialects of these two regions are of a rural type.

During our research, we have found some papers which talked about the Tlemcenian families in general, and some colonial anthropological works which studied some characteristics of Beni Snous linguistic varieties.¹³ Furthermore, we found at the same time some information in the popular legacy, which is embodied in social traditions, conventionally recognized and transmitted orally. Yet, these sayings may be sometimes different but they all agree upon the origin of the region's inhabitants; they were a conglomerate of Arabs and Berbers whose bloods are mixed together to the extent that one cannot nowadays classify any group in a particular race.

However, the colonial anthropologists had made some anthropological studies about the region in general as Canal, J. (1891) who sees that the Beni Snoussi are Berbers, related to their land, and cannot accept easily any foreign interference in their lives. It was said that they were members of a 'Zenati tribe'.¹⁴ They were called "El-Quabails" to differentiate them and to refer to their origin. According to Jean Servier, it is confirmed that the inhabitants of 'Beni Snous' belong to a Zenati tribe and that they are Berberophones. In addition, Servier, J. when he came to Beni Snous on June, 1954, he found one village still speaking Berber.

13 Beni Snous linguistic varieties were tackled by the sociologist Edmond Destaing in 1906 in a book entitled: "*Quelques particularités des dialectes berbères des Beni Snous*".

14 Canal, J. (1981:390-405).

In his book "*El-Ibar*", Ibn Khaldoun stated that Beni Snous inhabitants belong to a Zenati tribe called 'Banu Koumaya'; the mother tribe of Abd El-Moumen Ben Ali , the real founder of 'Ed-dawla El-Mowahhidiya', in the 12th century. In the 12th century and after the departure of Banu Koumaya to Morocco, Beni Snous got in touch, later on, with 'Banu Yaghmorassane' during the 13th century.¹⁵

2.4.3 Linguistic and Social Variation in KA

As we have seen in chapter one, languages vary in many ways. Just as a regional dialect marks off the residents of one region from other regions, a social dialect would be a variety associated with a specific social class or group, marking off a social class or group off from other classes or groups.

2.4.3.1 Regional Variation

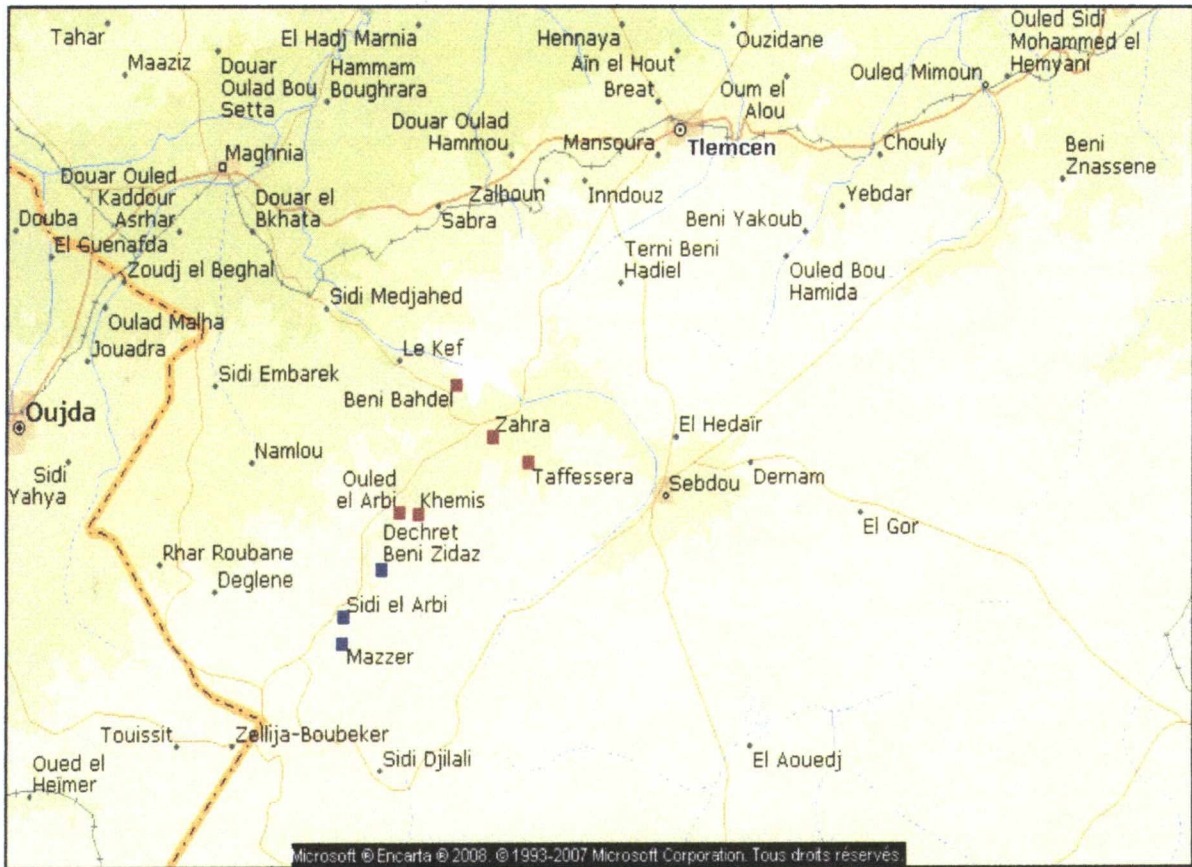
Traditionally, dialect geography or regional dialectology has employed assumptions and methods drawn from diachronic/historical linguistics, and many of its findings were reproduced in the form of isoglosses showing the geographical boundaries of the distribution of particular linguistic features. Therefore, mapping the way a language is spoken in different regions is likely to provide one of the easiest ways of observing

15 Bell, A. translated by Hamdaoui, M.M.(2000:51/102)

variety in language. As you travel throughout a wide geographical area in which a particular language is spoken, like the one of our investigation - Beni Snous, you are almost certain to notice a network of isoglosses over the total area. There are very distinctive local varieties, with differences in pronunciation, in the choices and forms of words and in syntax, which you notice as you move from one location to another.

During our data collection, we have noticed that the pronunciation of the plosive [q] in the municipalities of El-Azails and Beni Bahdel. But though there exist some geographical barriers such as: mountains, large agricultural spaces, and the dam of Beni Bahdel, the retention of [q] stretches to the villages of El-Fahs, El- Menzel arriving at Khemis and then runs roughly in a South-East direction spreading out over the areas of Ouled Moussa and Ouled Arbi which are two closest villages separated from Khemis by Oued Khemis; a river welling from the Mchamich mountains in the Moroccan frontiers and crossing all the whole area of Beni Snous from the South to the North.

Yet, across most South-west Khemis the voiceless plosive (q) is no more heard. That is, the voiced plosive [g] is used. It is the most salient characteristic of people living in the regions stretching from Beni Achir to Tagga.



**Map 2.3 The Geographical Distribution of the Variable
(q) in Beni Snous.**

Map 2.3¹⁶ maps the geographical distribution of the sound (q) as articulated by Beni Snous in general, and illustrates how Khemis, which is located in the center of Beni Snous, is surrounded by a village or a cluster of two or more villages characterized with specific linguistic particularities.

16 The "red" square drawn in the map refers to the voiceless pronunciation of (q) and the "blue" square refers to the voiced one.

Moreover, it is worth noting, at this early stage in analysis, that we have chosen on purpose to show the geographical distribution of the realization of the plosive sound (q) by Beni Snous speakers in general as Cantineau (1938) considers the mute pronunciation of this phonetic feature as the most salient linguistic characteristic opposing urban and rural AA dialects. Other linguistic characteristics which oppose these two kinds of Arabic varieties will be presented in detail in chapter three.

We could perhaps, at this stage, have an idea about the different types of communities that can be observed in Algeria in general and in Beni Snous in particular, bearing in mind the co-existence of both types of bedouin and urban dialects in both large urban cities and rural areas, and among networks and small-scale social groups. In the light of this view, we can consider Algeria as a macro-speech community consisting of smaller speech communities, each with specific linguistic peculiarities according to regional, social and cultural factors and according to types of speech spoken by its language users who claim these linguistic varieties as their own and show positive or negative attitudes toward their dialect distinguishing themselves from other speakers using their own linguistic varieties. A question to be raised here is that, how do groups of Khemis speakers living in Khemis, a place which attracts the attention of the neighbouring villagers for everyday socio-economic and cultural

practices, behave linguistically toward non-Khemis Arabic varieties? Do they feel they belong to the same speech community or do they distinguish themselves from others?

In the next sections of this research work, we shall attempt to answer these questions and others shedding light on the retention or the substitution of particular linguistic characteristics of KA, mostly phonological and morphological, as the data analysis will show, correlating the occurrences of Khemis linguistic variables with a number of social variables. The adopted paradigm is a Labovian one. Yet, the observation of Khemis individuals in the social networks they are involved in and in the social interactions they take part in is thought to be more fruitful for a good investigation of some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in Khemis speech community.

2.4.3.2 Social Variation

To examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in Khemis, we may apply, in addition to the concept of speech community another way of viewing how an individual relates to other individuals in this community, and to ask what "networks" he or she participates in. The concept of "network" has been used by Labov *et al.* (1968)¹⁷ under the name "peer group".¹⁸

¹⁷ Mentioned in Downes (1998:116)

Yet, 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.

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, 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 his or her speech interaction on a smaller scale; the network he or she is involved in.

Indeed, though Labov's quantitative paradigm which focuses entirely on social class stratification and style-shifting has proved fruitful in the investigation of sociolinguistic variation and mechanisms of language change and language maintenance in western speech communities, it may not apply to the Algerian society in general, which for historical, economic, religious and cultural reasons, appears not to consist of social classes. For this, we rather suggest the Milroy's network methodology for a better understanding of the

18 A "peer group" is "a sociological term referring to a group of people that a person associates with and identifies with". Trudgill(1992:58)

relationship between linguistic variability and the individual's interpersonal connections in his/her daily-life practices without paying attention to his or her socio-economic status as being rich or poor for instance.

Defining the network approach, Downes (1998:118) 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". Strong social networks are 'dense' and 'multiplex'. When members of a particular network are in regular contact with one another (e.g. family members, work or neighbourhood...), this network is said to have a degree of density. Networks are multiplex when individuals have more social transactions with each other in various ways. However, what is worth noting here, is that **"the stronger the network is, the greater the use of certain linguistic features of the vernacular"**. (Dendane, Z. 2007:44) 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, within a particular social network, an individual may influence the others' way of speaking and vice versa. Individuals who are well integrated into a particular social group and are in a regular contact may have linguistic particularities rather different from those who are more peripheral in the group.

In our 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 investigation of different social networks is thought to be helpful in revealing the maintenance or the substitution of certain linguistic characteristics in KA. 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 speech forms, 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 do they rather show some kind of solidarity and loyalty to their native vernacular?

2.4.4. Other Linguistic Forms in Khemis Speech

The aim of our sociolinguistic research is to answer the aforementioned questions by examining some aspects of the most relaxed dialectal form of Khemis speakers, other linguistic forms that can be found in Khemis speech repertoire are also referred to in this chapter. Brief definitions of the terms *slang* and *taboo*

are reviewed here to better define the linguistic variety that this research work is concerned with.

2.4.4.1. Slang

Some linguists have endeavoured to clearly define what "slang" is. Slang is generally defined as a casual spoken language which differs from dialectal relaxed speech. As a general rule, it is used in formal speech, or in writing, unless the speaker is attempting to achieve deliberate effect.

Although a precise definition of slang seems extremely difficult, there are, nevertheless, some salient features of this form of language:

- Slang is part of casual, informal styles of language use. Furthermore, the term slang has traditionally carried a negative connotation. It is, therefore, perceived as "low" or "vulgar" form of language and is deemed to be out of place in formal styles of language.

- Speakers show enormous creativity in their use of slang terms. Indeed, slang has become one of the most creative areas of language, and **"it is often the source of a good deal of humor"** (Akmajian, A. *et al.* 2001:303) as it is designed to make speech more casual and playful, and it may not always be suitable for polite company.

▪ Specific areas of slang are often associated with a particular social group, and hence we can speak of teenage slang (sportsmen, college students...), criminal slang (prisoners, thieves...) and the slang of drug culture, and so on. That is, it is a kind of jargon, and its use serves as a mark of membership and solidarity to a given social group.

▪ Slang is also usually short-lived. It changes rapidly like fashion in clothing. Slang terms can enter a language rapidly, and then fall out of fashion in a matter of a few years or even months.

▪ Slang vocabulary often consists of regular items used for insults. For example, the word [baqra]: "a cow" in Khemis speech is used to refer to a "fat woman". In addition to individual vocabulary items, there are also long expressions with idiomatic meanings that are characteristic of slang usage as: [had + a:k # ʔand + u # ʔabʷaʔan # falti:n] meaning "he has got the screws loose" used in describing someone who appears unintelligent, foolish and crazy.

Discussion of insults invariably raises the question of taboo words. In the following section, we shall attempt to explain the concept of *taboo* and its forbidden use in Khemis as in any Arabic and Muslim society.

2.4.4.2. Taboo

Language, society and culture are so interlinked. Society does not only influence language, it also determines language use, ways of speaking, choices of words, and rules of conversation between individuals. In many speech communities, there are certain speech forms; words or even single speech sounds that are regarded as improper, and are, therefore, uttered under restricted circumstances; a speaker who utters them openly outside the restriction is shamed or punished. Punishment can come under many forms. He may be rejected by the members of his family and even the speech community he belongs to. He is considered as odd, uneducated, rude and shameless. This fact makes linguistic behaviour very tied to social norms and cultural values.

Taboo is one aspect of society that is reflected in language and action. It is **"...the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behavior believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment or shame"**. Wardhaugh (2006:239)

Taboo is not only considered as improper, but it is also regarded as immoral. Tabooed words deal with behaviour which is forbidden and socially constrained and words that **"...are avoided entirely, or at least avoided in "mixed company" or "polite company"**". Akmajian, A. et al (2001:306)

Trudgill (1983:29) provides a simple but comprehensive definition to the term. According to this sociolinguist,

In language, taboo is associated with things which are not said, and in particular with words which are not used. In practice, of course, this simply means that there are inhibitions about the normal use of items of this kind - if they were not said at all they could hardly remain in the language.

In English, typical examples involve common swear words such as *Damn!* or *Shit!* (meaning *Merde!* in French) which are felt absolutely inappropriate in "polite" or formal contexts. In place of these words, certain *euphemisms* - that is, **"polite substitutes for taboo words"** (Akmajian, A. *et al* (idem)) can be used, including words such as: *Dam!* (a euphemism for *Damn!*) for instance. What is general about tabooed words is that they are to occur in most if not all languages and **"what counts as taboo language is something defined by culture"** as Akmajian, A. *et al.* (idem) say, and **"not by anything inherent in the language itself"**. There is nothing inherent in the sounds of the expression *"Shit!"* that makes it "obscene"- it is simply that in the English cultural history the word has come to be known and used as a "swear word" as in many other societies.

Another direction of impropriety is the avoidance of *ominous* speech forms, which name something painful or dangerous. In most cultures, and even in our Arabic culture, one may hear persons in Khemis speech community avoiding the words *die* and *death* saying: [Allah # la: # jabli # wa # jqadqar]: "if nothing had happened to me".

Another aspect of taboo includes the effect it can have on the language itself. In this respect, Trudgill (1983:31) provides the following view:

Because of the strong reluctance of the speakers to utter taboo-words or words like them, in certain circumstances, words which are semantically similar to taboo-words can be lost from a language.

In other words, the process of taboo-contamination participates in one way or another in the disappearance of the innocent or non-taboo sense of a particular word. The point is that there are words and expressions which are part of Algerian Dialectal Arabic, and which originally have not connotations that swear words usually bear, but have been gradually shaken up by speakers, and are therefore conceived as tabooed words in many contexts. It is difficult to use the form /farχ / (often use to refer to an illegitimate child) in an innocent way without conjuring-up to its association with a swear word. In KA, for instance, this word also bears the connotation for "a pumpkin" or "a cucumber": [farχ # də+l+kabu:ja / də+l+χjar] or "a chick of bird", but through time it has acquired a taboo-load. /farχ / is used now as a sign of insult. Yet, the change of the original meaning of this swear word results not only in the creation of a new lexical item but also in the emergence of a new expression that replaces it such as: [wəld # l+ħra:m].

Generally, in the Algerian society which represents one country of the Muslim and Arabic nation, most taboo words are related to sex, religion, and slanging. Considering the conservative character of Algerians, talking about sex openly is conceived as taboo and regarded therefore as immoral. As a consequence, sexual relationships outside marriage are forbidden.

Religion is the other barrier which should not be broken. Our religion Islam forbids any kind of abusive language against it or against the other religions of the world. The names of Allah and of prophets are respected and are not subject to denial or underestimation.

Slanging or labelling people by the use of rude and impolite words is also another aspect of taboo in the Arab-speaking world including Algeria as an example. Insulting people in public is strongly prohibited. Women are also not allowed to talk aloud in the society under investigation; Khemis, especially in the presence of old and respectful people (both men and women). A woman who breaks this norm is regarded as impolite and shameless. Taboo, therefore, is a mechanism of social control in the Algerian community.

2.5. Description of the Sample Population

It has long been recognized that in any language there exists a great degree of variation. In acknowledging the role of variability in language,

linguists aim at identifying and accounting for a systematic pattern that governs the occurrence of the variants. This task can only be achieved by collecting representative data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry.

As clearly indicated in the title of this sociolinguistic research work, our purpose is to examine the complexities of sociolinguistic variation, both at the level of phonology and morphology, in the speech community of Khemis. For doing so, the primary research tools, on which our study is based, are a questionnaire and interviews conducted in the area under investigation with informants, both males and females, who are originally from the region of Khemis.

2.5.1. Research Instruments

The first instrument of research used in this study is a questionnaire with a group of informants by which some questions were asked in trying to know the occurrences of phonological features, morphological and lexical aspects of Khemis variety. The questionnaire elaborated to undertake this research work was divided into two parts. The first one involves information about the age, gender, and place of birth of informants. The second part, which is devoted to show some linguistic features characterizing the Arabic variety under investigation and to uncover the type of extra-linguistic factors correlating with KA linguistic variables, comprises both open and closed questions,

including yes-no questions and multiple choice questions.

Since the informants are of different ages and distinct levels of education, the questionnaire was written in Standard Arabic to facilitate the understanding of the different realizations of both phonological and morphological variables and a few number of local lexical items. Then, because of the problem of illiteracy, especially for the old category, the questionnaire was conducted in the form of an interview and eliciting devices were undertaken to make lists of words about the traditional tools and utensils used by farmers and handcrafts men in the area.

For the sake of getting pure and reliable data, many conversations have been recorded by the use of a hidden mobile in many contexts; at home, in a shop of clothes, and among friends.

2.5.2. The Informants

On the whole, and as already stated, the participants involved in this investigation are all from Khemis. Most of the data were collected in the primary school of 'Mekkaoui Mekki' in Khemis, in 'Settaouti Ali' Middle School, 'Nehhali Mohamed' Secondary School, the medical centre, and in the post-office of El-Fahs, in addition to some informants that we have met in the town-hall, in the street, or in their houses.

2.5.3. Sampling and Stratification

The research tools used in this sociolinguistic investigation have been conducted with a sample population of 150 informants between the age of 5 and 87. The participants were stratified by age and gender. Table 2.1 exposes the sample population undertaken by means of three age groups of 25 male informants and 25 female informants for each group.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
(5-25)	25	25	50
(26-49)	25	25	50
(50-87)	25	25	50
Total	75	75	150

Table 2.1: Sampling and Stratification of Informants

2.6. Conclusion

Naturally, language is said to show variability according to geographical and social space. This brief overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria reveals that Algerian dialects have been developing remarkably because the actual performance of Algerian speakers is, in many instances, characterized by variation. The co-existence of Arabic and French for more than a century gave birth to such a complex situation which has influenced AA dialects since most, if not all, Algerian speakers, even illiterate ones switch codes and

borrow words from French in their daily speech utterances. Even Berber varieties are full of French words and other ones from languages of other different sources. Thus, forms of bilingualism and of diglossia are prevailing in the Algerian context making of Algeria an intricate multilingual speech community that cannot be defined on the same ground as, say, English or French speech community.

Linguistically speaking, all AA varieties represent complex systems equally valid as means of interaction in their speech community. Therefore, there is no need to minimize any Algerian urban or rural variety since it is a useful means for communication at least in its domains of use.

After drawing a brief geographical and socio-historical background about this Algerian sociolinguistic context: namely, Khemis speech community, and exposing the different research methods utilized in this investigation, we shall attempt in the following chapter to describe the systematic co-variance of Khemis linguistic behaviour and social structure and to shed light on the extra-linguistic factors that correlate with KA linguistic variables. For doing so, the data obtained will be interpreted, analyzed, scored in tables, and represented in the form of graphs and charts in chapter three.

Chapter Three

ASPECTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN KA

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Khemis Speech: Linguistic Features
 - 3.2.1 KA: Urban vs. Rural Variety
 - 3.2.1.1 Phonological Features
 - 3.2.1.2 Morphological Features
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- 3.3 Phonological Level
 - 3.3.1 KA Phonological Variables
 - 3.3.1.1 Vowel Alternations
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- 3.4 Morphological Level
 - 3.4.1 KA Morpho-syntactic Variables
 - 3.4.2 The Variable {-u} and {-ah}
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 - 3.4.6 Gender Distinction
 - 3.4.7 Duality
 - 3.4.8 Indefinite Articles
 - 3.4.9 Diminutives
 - 3.4.10 Particles
 - 3.4.11 Berber Features
- 3.5 Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

Dialectological studies and sociolinguistic empirical work are not that exhaustive in the Arabic speaking world including Algeria as a case of Maghrebi countries. The only scarce works available actually are those which were conducted by foreign scholars at a time where almost all the Arabs were under the French or the English rule. Though they are of valuable esteem and include large amounts of data and information on Arabic dialectology, these works still remain rare, as language is not static but evolves through time. Because of the creative aspect of human language, and despite the numerous efforts to raise linguistic problems in the Arabic nation, we are still in need of linguistic inquiries that coincide with the actual complex facts and the sociolinguistic realities.

Sociolinguistically speaking, each geographic dialect has its own particularities. Khemis speech is geographically surrounded by different dialects mainly of rural features. Geographically, Khemis accent, with its specific linguistic characteristics, is not heard elsewhere mainly in the bedouin contexts available in Beni Snous and more precisely in the areas stretching from Beni Achir to Sidi Arbi. This accent is limited to the region itself, even within the neighbouring urban dialects found in Beni Snous such as that of: Ouled Moussa, El-Menzel, Beni Hammou, Beni Bahdel and El Azails...etc. As it was already stated, this research work is based primarily on a preliminary tentative

investigation which was conducted in the area of Khemis in 2007. Khemis speech involves a number of phonological, morphological and lexical features which are different from those of the aforementioned regions as well as from the other AA dialects including, to a little extent, those of urban characteristics. Some of these differences, particularly phonological and morphological ones, which are of salient distinctiveness, are referred to in this chapter.

3.2. Khemis Speech: Linguistic Features

3.2.1. KA: Urban vs. Rural Variety

The Arabic variety of Khemis is classified, in the light of the classification of AA dialects, Millon (1937), Cantineau (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960), as one of the "urban" dialects that were implanted by the Arab *Fātiḥīns* in opposition with the rural or bedouin dialects brought by the Arab settlers 'Banu Hilal' considered at that time as nomadic populations with specific dialect characteristics and present "a composite and heterogeneous mass" as Marçais, Ph. (1960:377) says.

3.2.1.1. Phonological Features

The distinction between these dialects is made upon a number of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. According to Cantineau (1938), the most salient phonetic feature opposing rural and urban Algerian dialects lies in the realization of the plosive

(q) as voiceless in the urban centres [q], [ʔ] or [k] (e.g. Algiers, Tlemcen, Ghazaouet) respectively, and voiced in the rural ones [g]. In this respect, Cantineau (1938:82) states: "Only a mute pronunciation of (qaf) has a decisive meaning: all sedentary dialects and only sedentary dialects have this pronunciation".¹

Accordingly, on the basis of dialect classification (Cantineau 1938, 1940) and applying it to the variety of Khemis, one may say that the Arabic dialect under study is a sedentary dialect carrying some Berber features². Additionally, the data collection shows that Khemis dwellers keep the uvular plosive (q) in many words as in CA. The following words are simple examples illustrating the retention of the (q) sound:

CA	KA
/qa:la/	⇒ [qa:l]: "he said"
/qaʕada/	⇒ [qʕad]: "sit down !" or "he sat down".
/ʕaqada/	⇒ [ʕqad]: "tie it !" or "he tied".
/qatala/	⇒ [qta]: "he killed".
/qitt/	⇒ [qatt]: "cat".

1 This is our translation. The original quotation is in French : « Seule une prononciation sourde du qaf a un sens décisif: tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation ».

2 Some Berber features are referred to in 3.4.10.

The two types of Arabic varieties differ in the realization of some phonetic features. Khemis speakers tend to substitute the interdentalals (θ), (δ), (ϑ) and (δ) by the sounds: [t], [d], and [d̥]. Rural dialects, on the other hand, maintain the interdentalals as in CA. (e.g. [θ u:m]: "garlic" and [δ har]: "back"). A first glance at the phonological system of KA indicates that this particular system lacks interdental sounds which are either substituted by [t], [d] or [d̥] as it is shown in the following examples:

CA		KA
/ θ ald̥z/	⇒	[təl̥z]: "snow".
/ δ ull/	⇒	[d̥əll]: "humiliation".
/ ϑ av̥ʔ/	⇒	[d̥d̥o:]: "light".
/ δ ḏḏahr/	⇒	[d̥har]: "back".

3.2.1.2. Morphological Features

Many of the inflectional morphemes in CA are dropped in the Arabic dialects of today. One morphological feature that resisted this phenomenon and is still maintained in most Arabic dialects is the second person feminine verb inflection morpheme {i}. Khemis variety, like those urban dialects spoken in Tlemcen, Ghazaouet and Nedroma, distinguishes itself by dropping the suffix {-i} in all three Arabic tenses when

addressing both male and female individuals as in: [ʃrab]: "drink!", [ʃrabt]: "you have drunk", and [taʃrab]: "you (will) drink" in contrast with the rural forms: [ʃʃurbi], [ʃrabi] and [tʃarbi] respectively. Thus, we may conclude that the complete loss of this inflectional morpheme clearly appears to be an idiosyncratic characteristic of Khemis speech.

3.2.1.3. Lexical Features

In addition to the aforementioned peculiarities, mostly phonological and morphological, the urban dialects share remarkable common instances of vocabulary. The following lexical items are likely to be found in almost all Algerian urban dialects: [ʔæsəm]³: "What?", [χa:j]: "My brother", [ʔabba]: "He took", [ntina]: "You", and [jaʃmal]: " he is doing something"...etc

In the light of these first results obtained from our first tentative investigation in the speech community of Khemis, one may conclude, at this starting stage of research, that Khemis speech has some linguistic particularities of an urban type. As a first hypothesis, the occurrences of its linguistic variables have undoubtedly correlations with specific

3 The data collection shows that Khemis dwellers articulate [ʔæsəm] and [ʔæʃbi:k] of Urban speech as [wasəm] and [waʃbi:k].

geographical, ethnic, and social variables. In trying to check this hypothesis, the data collected are interpreted, analyzed and compared with the High variety namely, CA/MSA for the sake of getting reasonable and pure sociolinguistic interpretations in the following section (3.3).

3.3. Phonological Level

3.3.1. KA Phonological Variables

3.3.1.1. Vowel Alternations

Phonetically, Algerian Arabic is characterized by the dropping of the short vowel in an open syllable, as the articulatory effort is directed towards the end of the word at the expense of its beginning. In the following verbs, we can clearly notice the reduction of the number of syllables from three to one syllable only:

CA **KA**

/farība/ ⇒ [ʃrɔb]: "he drank".

/ħalafa/ ⇒ [ħlaf]: "he swore".

/kaθura/ ⇒ [ktar]: "it increased in number".

KA is marked by the loss of vocalic content. The latter affects the short vowels (a), (u) and (i). There is a decay of these vowels and a striking predominance of the neutral short vowel [ə] that leads to the occurrence of

various syllabic and morphological changes. This phenomenon is clarified respectively through these examples:

- CA KA
- /ħadʒara/ ⇒ [ħəʒra]: "stone".
- /ʕurs/ ⇒ [ʕərs]: "wedding".
- /dʒɪns/ ⇒ [gəns]: "race".

The same phenomenon occurs with all verbs conjugated with all three Arabic tenses affecting the short vowel / u /. The following table clarifies this phonological process occurring in KA:

Tenses	CA	KA	English Gloss
Imperative	/ʔuskut/	[skat]	"Keep silent!"
	/ʔuqʕud/	[qʕad]	"Sit down!"
	/ʔuktub/	[ktab]	"Write!"
Present	/ʔaskutu/	[nəskat]	"I keep silent"
	/ʔaqʕudu/	[nəqʕad]	"I sit down"
	/ʔaktubu/	[nəktab]	"I write"
Past	/sakattu/	[skatt]	"I kept silent"
	/qaʕadtu/	[qʕatt] ⁴	"I sat down"
	/katabtu/	[ktabt]	"I wrote"

Table 3.1: The Loss of Vocalic Content

4 /d/ is devoiced because of the following voiceless plosive /t/.

The vowel glides / aɪ / and / aʊ / are on their turn substituted by the long vowels [i:] and [u:] or [o:] as it is illustrated in table 3.2:

		CA	KA	Gloss
Vowel Glides	/ aɪ /	/saɪf/	[si:f]	"Sword"
	↓	/ʃaɪf/	[ʃe:f]	"Summer"
	[i:]	/zaɪt/	[zi:t]	"Cooking-oil"
	or [e:]	/ɖaɪf/	[ɖe:f]	"Guest"
Vowel	/ aʊ /	/zaʊɖʒ/	[zu:ʒ]	"Two"
	↓	/laʊn/	[lu:n]	"Colour"
	[u:]	/ʃaʊt/	[ʃo:t]	"Voice"
	or [o:]	/ɖaʊʔ /	[ɖɔ:ʔ]	"Light"

Table 3.2: Vowel Glides in KA

KA is characterized by the use of the affix [i:] to make the noun instead of [a] and [a:] as in table 3.3:

	CA	KA	English Gloss
/ a /	/salχ /	[sli:χ]	"Skinning a sheep".
↓ [i:]	/qalb /	[qli:b]	"Plowing".
/ a: /	/nuba:h /	[nbi:h]	"Barking".
↓ [i:]	/ruʔa:f /	[rʔi:f:]	"Nosebleeding".

Table 3.3: The Formation of Nouns Using the Affix [i:]

3.3.1.2. Consonantal Variation

Though KA is characterized by the retention of the voiceless plosive [q] as in CA, the data collected show that Khemis phonetic system contains the variant [g] which can be attributed to the influence of the neighbouring rural dialects available in Beni Snous or from French. The following words cited below are of a rural type and the ones in table 3.4 are in origin French words:

[gamh]: "wheat".

[geila]: "sun".

[gaʃfa]: "a bowl made up of metal".

[graʃ]: "bald".

[gʊgʊ]: "mind".

[guʃʃa]: "hair lock".

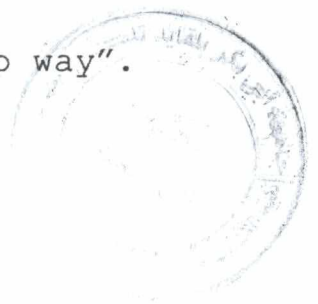
[mangu:ʃ]: "earring".

[mgi:l]: "siesta".

[ri:g]: "saliva".

[jgərgəb]: "he drinks something in a non-stop way".

[g^wba:la]: "too much".



KA Articulation	French Word	English Gloss
[gamɪla]	"Gamelle"	"A cooking utensil"
[gaʔo]	"Gâteau"	"Cake"
[gorme:t]	"Gourmète"	"Bracelet"
[gara:ʒ]	"Garage"	"Garage"

Table 3.4: KA Articulation of [g] in French Words

The data collection shows that the sound (dʒ) in Khemis speech is articulated as a back velar [g] when the word consists either of a voiceless fricative [s] or a voiced counterpart [z] as in [gəns]: "race", [gəlla:s]: "pot for babies", and [gəzza:r]: "butcher" or as a voiced fricative [z] as in [zəbs]: "plaster", [ʔzu:za]: "mother-in-law", and [zu:z]: "walnuts". On the other hand, there are some cases where Khemis speakers tend to substitute the CA phoneme /dʒ/ by [ʒ] because of the influence of the neighbouring rural dialects.

Yet, the data analysis shows that the articulation of (dʒ) is variable. The word /dʒɪbs/: "plaster", for instance, according to Cantineau (1938) is articulated as [gəbs] because it contains a voiceless fricative /s/. However, what is surprising in KA is its articulation as [zəbs] by one generation and [ʒəbs] by another. So the articulation of (dʒ) varies according to age and gender.

The following tables and their corresponding charts summarize scores of the variable (d₃) in correlation with age and gender variables:

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
1. /dʒaʊz/	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	84	84
		b. [ʒu:z]	16	16
2. /ʔadʒu:za/	"Mother-in-law"	a. [ʔzu:za]	60	64
		b. [ʔʒu:za]	40	36
3. /dʒana:za/	"funeral"	a. [ʒna:za]	32	60
		b. [ʒana:za]	60	32
		c. [zana:za]	08	08
4. /dʒɪbs/	"plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	100	100
		b. [zəbs]	0	0
5. /dʒazza/	"he skeenshiped"	a. [ʒəzz]	80	92
		b. [zəzz]	20	08
6. /dʒazza:r/	"butcher"	a. [ʒəzza:r]	64	64
		b. [gəzza:r]	36	36
7. /ʔaɪdʒɪzu/	"Lazy to do something"	a. [naɪʒəz]	0	0
		b. [naɪgəz]	100	100
8. /dʒɪns(un)/	"race"	a. [ʒəns]	60	72
		b. [gəns]	36	28
		c. [zəns]	04	0

Table 3.5: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Speakers Aged between (5 - 25)

Table 3.5 exposes the scores of the variable (dʒ) as realized by young speakers (both males and females).

They reveal that the variant [z] is still maintained in Khemis particularly in some words: such as, [zu:z]: "walnuts" and [ʔzu:za]: "mother-in-law" with great percentages at one hand. On the other hand, however, Khemis young speakers realize the phoneme / dʒ / as [ʒ] in [ʒəbs]: "plaster", [ʒana:za]: "funeral", [ʒəzza:r]: "butcher", [ʒəzz]: "he skeenshiped", and [ʒəns]: "race" due to education and probably because they have realized the misuse of the variants [z] and [g] and corrected them.

Chart 3.1 and Chart 3.2 clearly show the correction of Khemis speakers' misuse of [z] and [g] as two variants of the variable (dʒ):

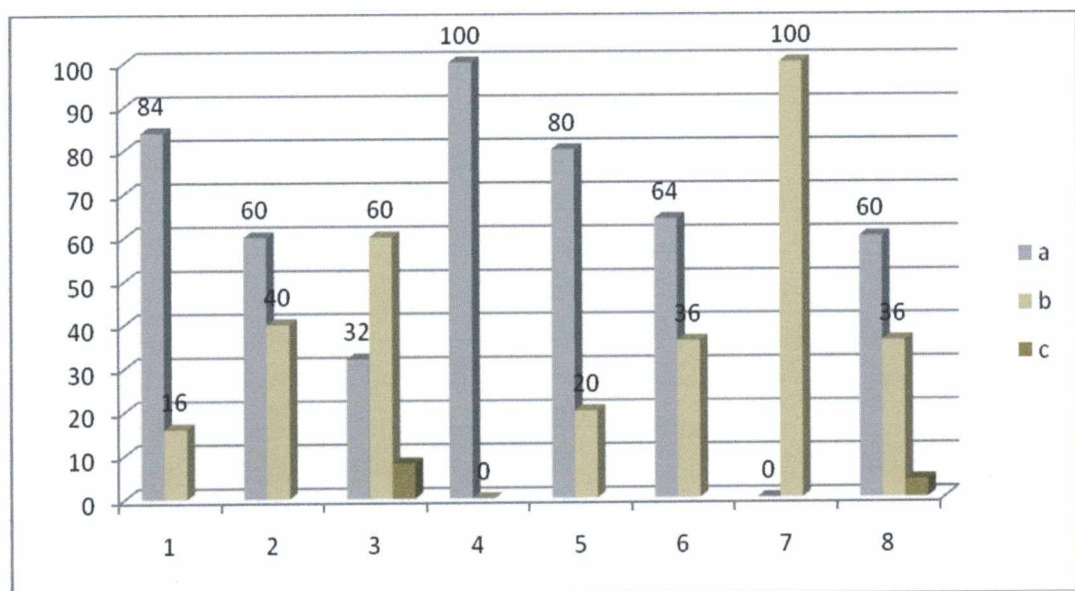


Chart 3.1: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Males Aged between (5 - 25)

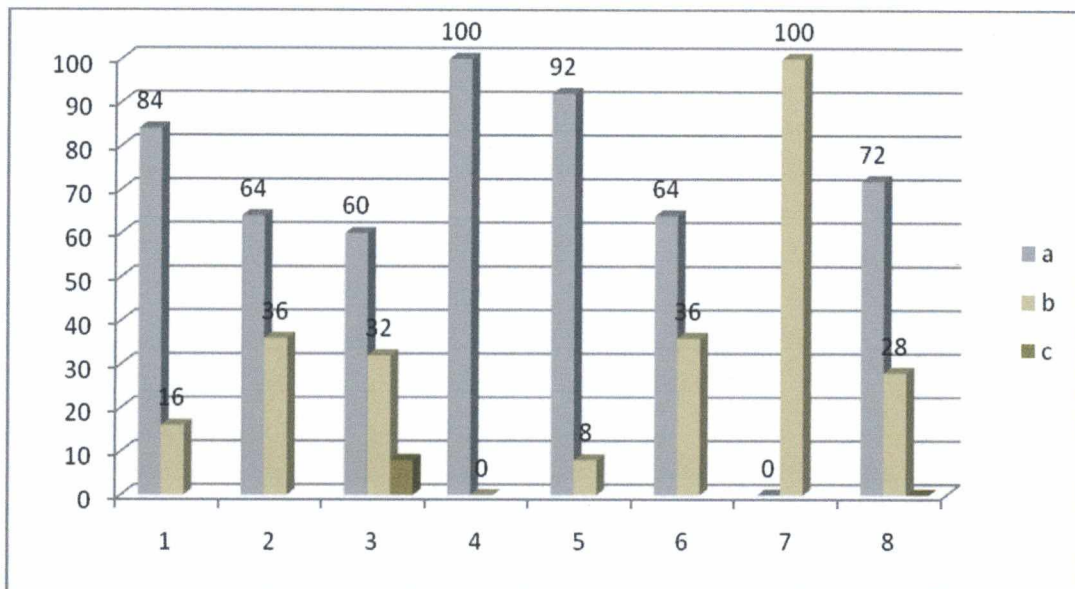


Chart 3.2: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Females Aged between (5 - 25)

Yet, though young boys and girls are educated, they still preserve the [g] variant in the word [naɪgəz] meaning "I feel lazy to do something" with a percentage of 100%. Middle-aged speakers like young ones preserve the [z] sound in [zu:z] and [ɹzu:za] and corrected the [z] and [g] variants in [ʒana:za] or [ʒna:za] and [ʒəbs]. Moreover, what is striking in table 3.6 is that middle-aged men realize the word /dʒazza:r /:"butcher" and / dʒɪns (un) /:"race" as [gəzza:r] and [gəns] respectively while females of the same age have shifted to the CA form [ʒəzza:r] and [ʒəns].

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male	Female
			Scores %	Scores %
1. /dʒaʊz/	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	90	72
		b. [ʒu:z]	10	28
2. /ʔadʒu:za/	"Mother-in-law"	a. [ʔzu:za]	80	72
		b. [ʔʒu:za]	20	28
3. /dʒana:za/	"Funeral"	a. [ʒna:za]	70	48
		b. [ʒana:za]	14	40
		c. [zana:za]	16	12
4. /dʒɪbs/	"Plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	100	96
		b. [zəbs]	0	4
5. /dʒazza/	"He skeenshiped"	a. [ʒəzz]	60	92
		b. [zəzz]	40	8
6. /dʒazza:r/	"Butcher"	a. [ʒəzza:r]	40	76
		b. [gəzza:r]	60	24
7. /ʔaʔdʒɪzu/	"Lazy to do something"	a. [naʔʒəz]	0	0
		b. [naʔgəz]	100	100
8. /dʒɪns(un)/	"Race"	a. [ʒəns]	30	60
		b. [gəns]	70	40
		c. [zəns]	0	0

Table 3.6: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Speakers Aged between (26 - 49)

Thus, females' shift to CA forms can be attributed to the tendency of women to speak in a standard and

prestigious way. Indeed, many sociolinguistic works have revealed that female speakers tend to use more standard language than men, in different speech communities, mainly in today's western societies. In this respect, Hudson (1996:198) reports:

One remarkable pattern has emerged repeatedly in these societies: for virtually every variable, in virtually every community, females (of every age) use high prestige standard variants more often than males do.

What is striking in the results obtained is that women's scores of the use of prestigious forms are higher than men's and both of them are clearly drawn in chart 3.3 and 3.4.

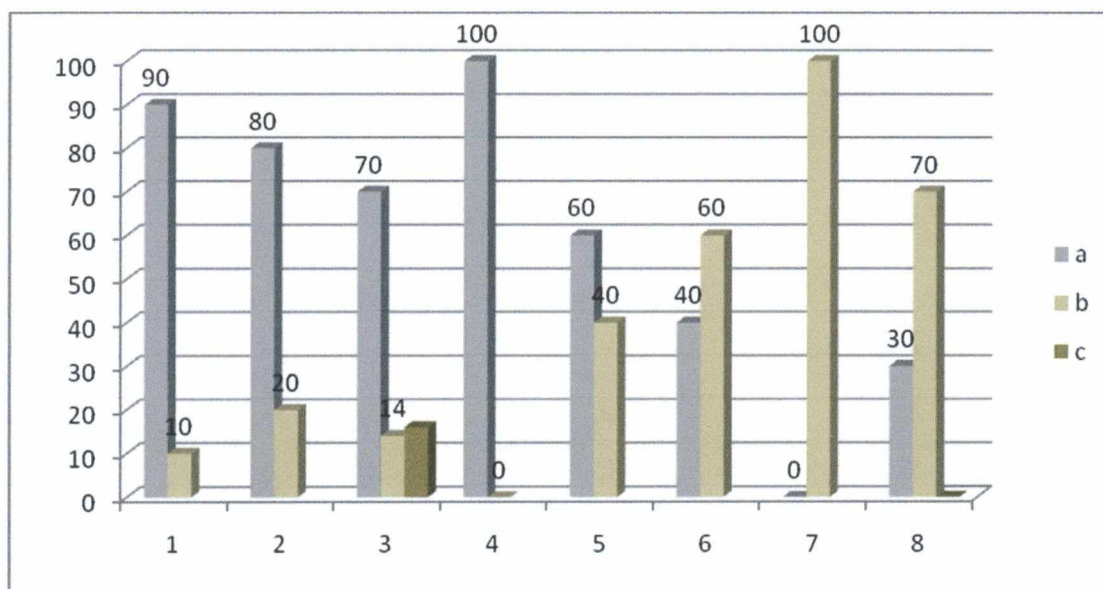


Chart 3.3: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Males Aged between (26 - 49)

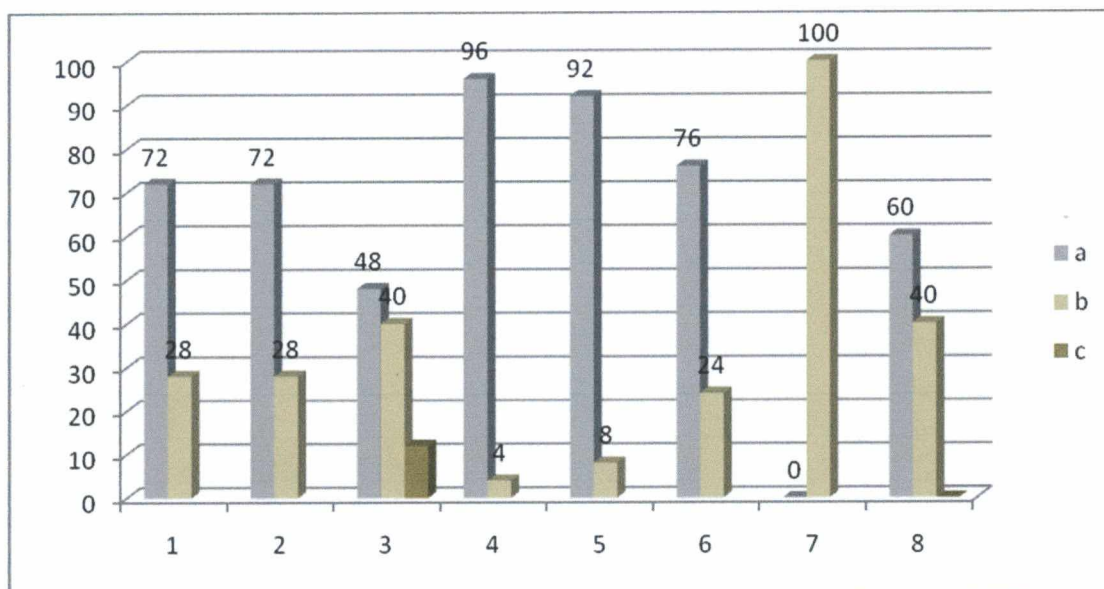


Chart 3.4: Scores of the Variable (d₃) by Females Aged between (26 - 49)

The scores shown in table 3.7 reflect the phonological realization of the variable (d₃) of old people in the speech community of Khemis.

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male	Female
			Scores %	Scores %
1. /dʒaʊz/	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	84	88
		b. [ʒu:z]	16	12
2. /ʔadʒu:za/	"Mother-in-law"	a. [ʔzu:za]	76	96
		b. [ʔʒu:za]	24	4
3. /dʒana:za/	"Funeral"	a. [ʒna:za]	20	8
		b. [ʒana:za]	48	12
		c. [zana:za]	28	80
4. /dʒɪbs/	"Plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	72	32
		b. [zəbs]	28	68
5. /dʒazza/	"He skeenshiped"	a. [zəzz]	64	76
		b. [ʒəzz]	36	24
6. /dʒazza:r/	"Butcher"	a. [ʒəzza:r]	12	0
		b. [gəzza:r]	88	100
7. /ʔaʔdʒɪzu/	"Lazy to do something"	a. [naʔʒəz]	0	0
		b. [naʔgəz]	100	100
8. /dʒɪns(un)/	"Race"	a. [ʒəns]	16	0
		b. [gəns]	76	92
		c. [zəns]	8	8

Table 3.7: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Speakers Aged between (50 - 87)

Khemis variety, according to the percentages of table 3.7 and which are drawn in charts 3.5 and 3.6, is characterized by the realization of the variable (dʒ) as

[z] in [zu:z], [ɪzu:za], and [zəzz], as [g] in [gəzza:r], [naɪgəz] and [gəns].

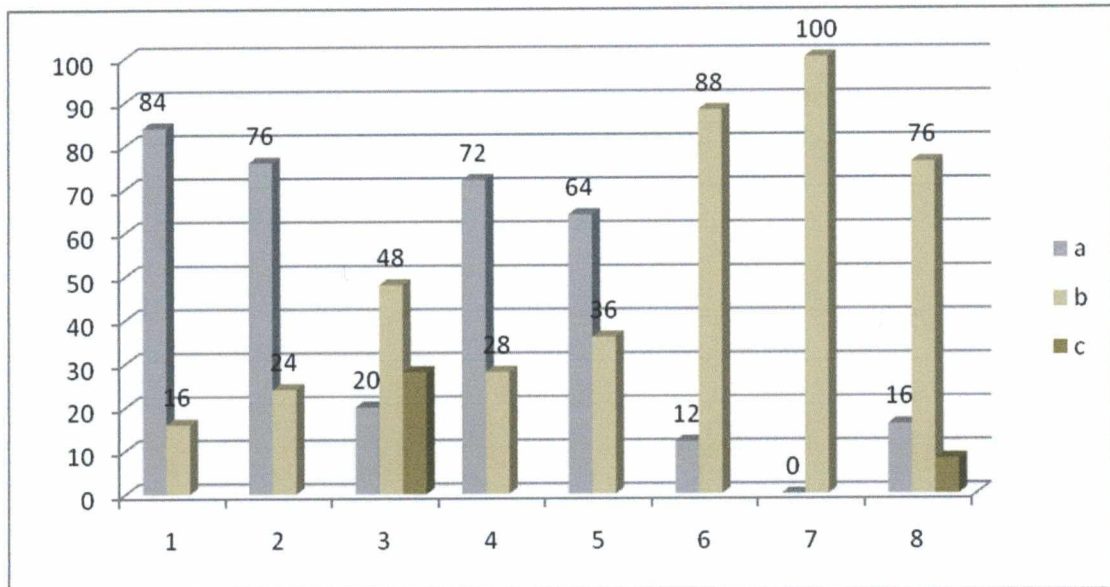


Chart 3.5: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Males Aged between (50 - 87)

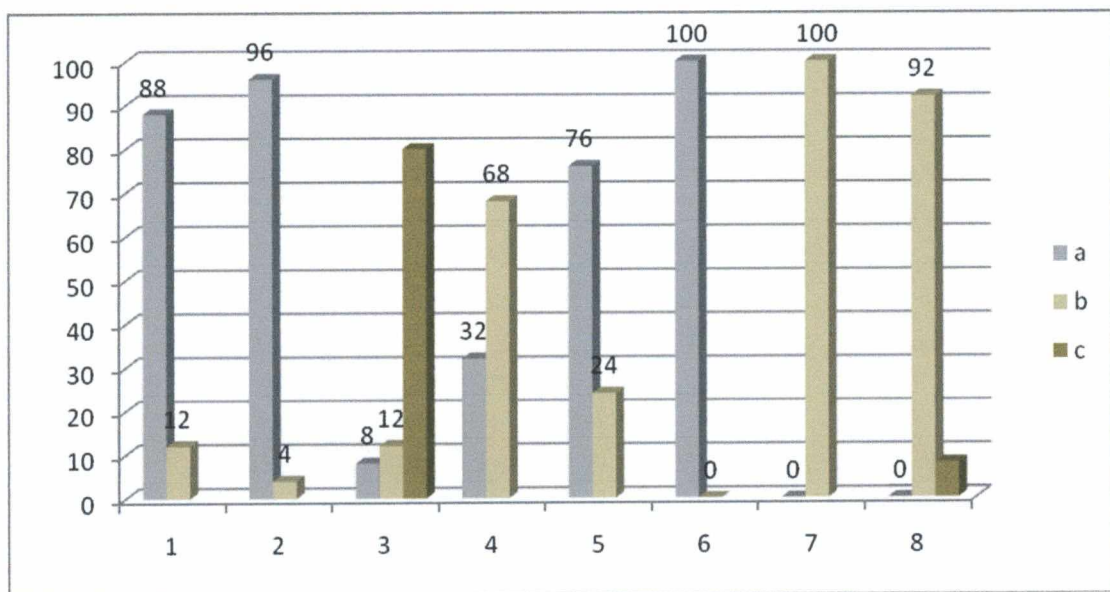


Chart 3.6: Scores of the Variable (dʒ) by Females Aged between (50 - 87)

As the majority of this category of old informants is uneducated, the same variants are maintained with great percentages. Moreover, one may notice in these

scores the existence of a particular feature that characterizes old female speech; the realization of the word /dzɪbs/ as [zəbs] while men stick to [ʒəbs].

In almost all the Arabic dialects throughout the Algerian territory, the sound /z/ is articulated as in CA (Millon (1937), Cantineau (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960)). That is, it remains /z/ as in [zzi:t]: "cooking-oil", [zzi:tu:n]: "olives". However, there is another trait which identifies Khemis old female speakers. This category of people is more inclined to substitute the sound /z/ by [ʒ] as it is illustrated in [ʒu:ʒ] meaning "two" and [ʒa:wʒa]: "a married woman". The two variants of the variable (z) as articulated by the old generation, males and females aged more than 50, can be clarified through table 3.8 and its corresponding graph:

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
/zɑudʒ/	"Two"	[zu:ʒ]	72	72
		[ʒu:ʒ]	28	28
/za:wdʒa/	"A married woman"	[za:wʒa]	76	52
		[ʒa:wʒa]	24	48

Table 3.8: Scores of the Variable (z) in Correlation with Sex.

Scores of (z) in Correlation with Sex

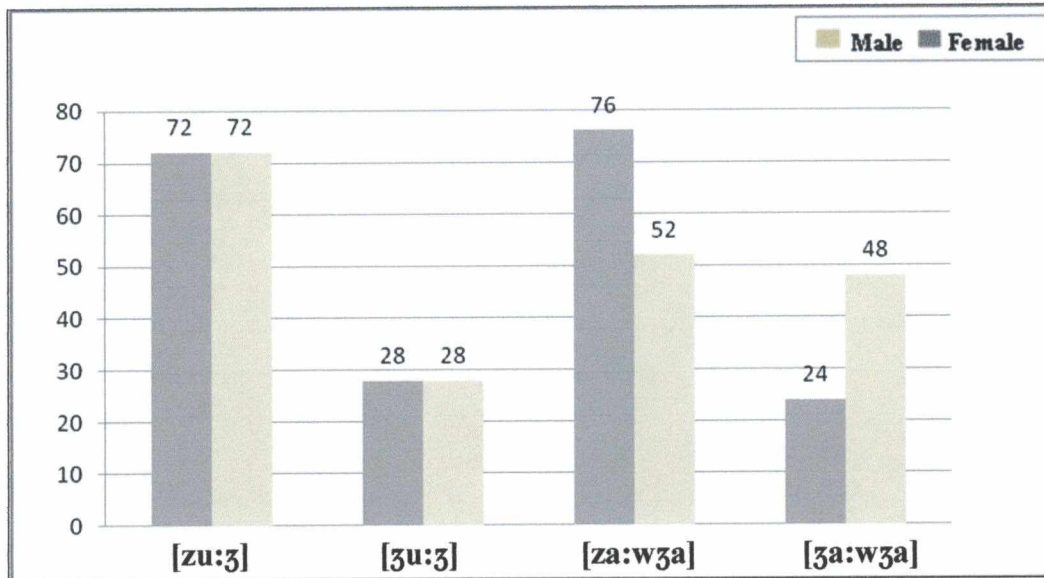


Chart 3.7: Scores of the Variable (z) in Correlation with Sex

As it was shown earlier, Khemis phonetic system lacks interdentalals which are substituted by dental sounds. But, it is worthwhile mentioning that, the realization of the variable (ʒ) varies according to gender in this speech community. This idea is more illustrated with the scores shown in table 3.9:

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
/hakaða/	"This way"	1. [hakda] ~ [hagda]	86.66	84.66
		2. [hakta]	13.34	15.33
	"That way"	3. [hagdæk] ~ [hagdæk]	81.33	66.66
		4. [haktæk]	18.66	33.33

Table 3.9: Scores of [d] vs. [t] in Correlation with Sex

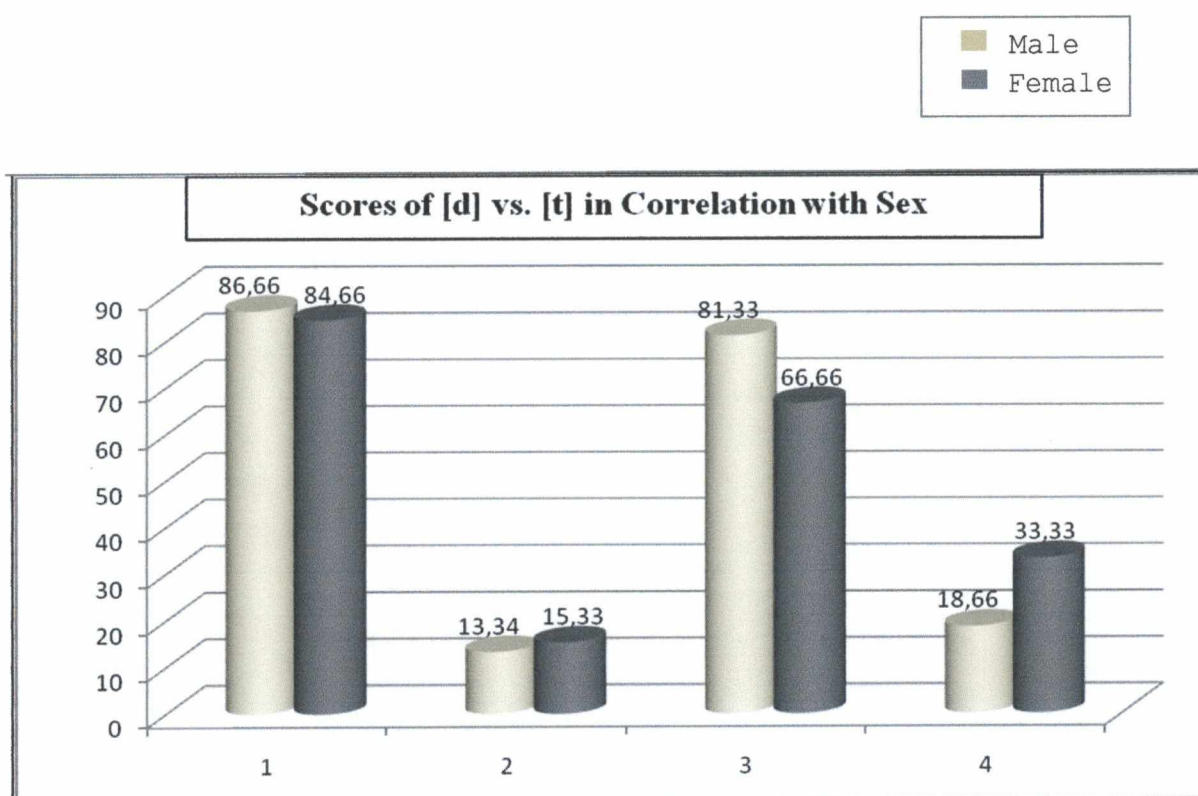


Chart 3.8: Scores of [d] vs. [t] in Correlation with Sex

The results in table 3.9 show that both males and females realize the interdental (ð) as [d] while its realization as [t] can be considered as a surviving phonetic feature characterizing female speech in Khemis.

During our investigation in the area of Khemis, we have noticed that this dialect, like all urban dialects, lacks the sounds [d] and [ð] which are realized as [d̥] and [t̥]. The data obtained about these sounds are scored in the following table and drawn in charts 3.9 and 3.10:

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores%	Female Scores%
1. /jaʃaɖɖo/	"It bites"	1a. [jʃaɖ]	85	69
		1b. [jʃat̥]	15	31
2. /ðufr (un)/	"Nail"	2a. [ɖfar]	74	69
		2b. [t̥far]	26	31
3. /jamχuɖo/	"He churns (milk)"	3a. [jamχaɖ]	86	68
		3b. [jamχat̥]	14	32

Table 3.10: Scores of [d̥] vs. [t̥] in Correlation with Sex

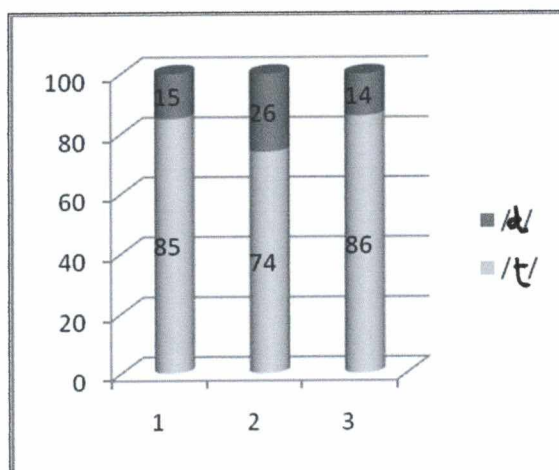


Chart 3.9: The Articulation of (ð/d̥) by Males in Correlation with Age.

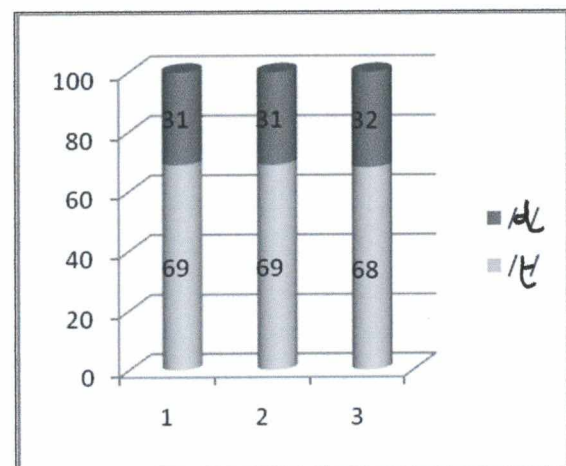


Chart 3.10: The Articulation of (ð/d̥) by Females in Correlation with Age.

The three examples, in table 3.10, reveal that the [t] variant has less scores than [d] in initial and final positions. This fact may probably argue that Khemis speakers had this feature in the past and these little scores can be considered as a surviving phonological feature. But surprising as it may seem, Khemis dwellers, even the older generation, realize the variables (ɖ) and (ḏ) as [d] instead of [t] in other initial and final positions like:

- CA** **KA**
- /ɖaraba/ ⇨ [d̪rab]: "he hit".
- /ḏahr/ ⇨ [d̪har]: "back".

In a mid-position, however, the sound (ɖ) in /jamɖoyu/ meaning "he chews" shows unexpected results. It is realized as [d], [d̪] or [t]. These articulations are scored in table 3.11 and drawn in the graphs:

Articulation of /ɖ/ in /jamɖoyu/:						
"he chews"						
Male Scores %			Female Scores %			
Age	1. [d̪]	2. [d]	3. [t]	1. [d̪]	2. [d]	3. [t]
5 - 25	32	36	32	32	24	44
26 -49	72	28	0	28	44	28
50-87	8	52	40	12	16	72

Table 3.11: (ɖ) in Mid-position

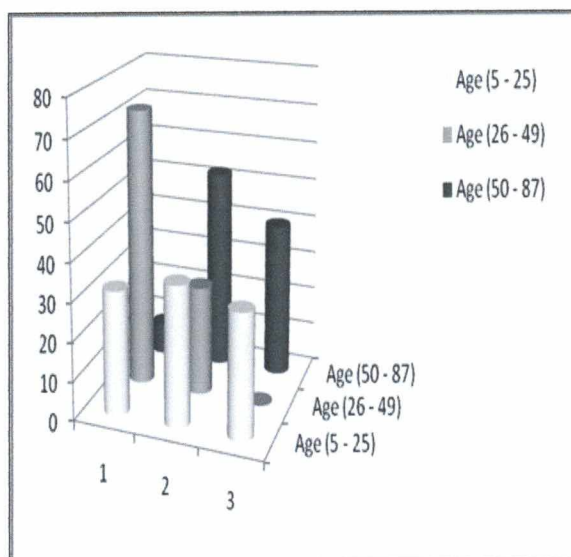


Chart 3.11: The Articulation of (ɖ) by Males in Correlation with Age.

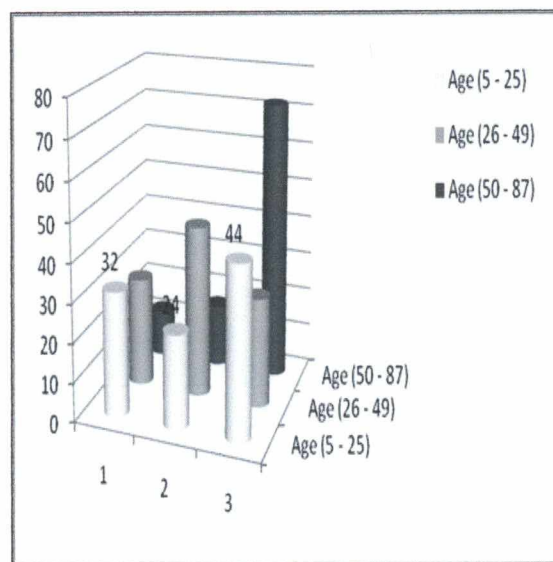


Chart 3.12: The Articulation of (ɖ) by Females in Correlation with Age.

First, we expected that all women would realize (ɖ) as [t], but nearly all old women use [t] instead of (ɖ) in addition to little girls aged between (5-25).

Yet, what is surprising is that middle-aged women (26-49) articulate (ɖ) as [d] like old men and not as old women who are supposedly their mothers. And as far as young and middle aged men are concerned, the realization of (ɖ) is mostly as [ɖ].

These contradictions may raise the following question: is the use of either [ɖ], [d] and [t] readily and exclusively predictable as a sex variable? One explanation could be made that young and middle-aged men's articulation of [ɖ] is either attributed to the fact that they realized the misuse of [d] and [t] due to

education or because of their contact with other speakers of urban/rural dialects. Though women tend to be conservative and hardly ever change their way of speaking in informal settings, women aged (26-49) shift from [t] to [d] due to contact with other varieties as well.

3.3.1.3. Phonological Processes in KA

The process of assimilation is one of the most important factors of phonological change and, therefore, of language dynamics. In KA, assimilation can be found across word boundaries. Some of these are:

1. The devoicing of /d/ to /t/:

/bæfɪɔd/ ⇨ [bæfɪɔt]: "I went far away".

/brɔd/ ⇨ [brɔt]: "I felt cold".

/rɪfɔd + tu/ ⇨ [rɪfɔtu]: "I carried it".

/barrɔd + tu/ ⇨ [barrɔtu]: "I cool it".

2. The voicing of /t/ in the environment of a following /z/ and /ʒ/ only in verbs of a (CCVC) form, conjugated with the pronouns "you" (sing.) and "she" as in table 3.12:

Original Verb Form	KA Articulation	English Gloss
/t+zaʁrət/	[dzaʁrət]	"You are / she is shrilling".
/t+zəttəʔ/	[dzəttəʔ]	"You are / she is pouring out".
/t+ʒaxʔan/	[dʒaxʔan]	"You are / she is soiling".
/t+ʒi:b/	[dʒi:b]	"You are / she is bringing".

Table 3.12: The Voicing of /t/

3. Another phonological process in KA represents a metathesis as in:

/laʔna/ ⇒ [naʔla]: "curse".

/mɪlʔaqa/ ⇒ [mʔɪlqa]: "spoon".

/tanfuʃu/ ⇒ [tafnəʃ]: "she teases (wool)".

/juqallɪmu/ ⇒ [jɪləqqam]: "he trims trees".

4. Additionally, there are some cases where the sound /t/ is used instead of the emphatic /ṭ/ of CA as in:

/naʔaqa/ ⇒ [ntaq]: "he uttered".

/baṭte:χ/ ⇒ [bəṭti:χ]: "melon".

/ṭallaqa + ha/ ⇒ [tallaqha]: "he divorced her".

5. The Devoicing of (ɣ): the sound (ɣ) loses its voicing when it is followed by a voiceless fricative /s/ after the vowel drop as in: /naxsəl/ ⇨ [naxsəl] meaning "I wash".
6. The phonological system of KA contains the /v/ and the /p/ sounds due to borrowing from French as in [væksə] from "vaccin" meaning a vaccine and [papa] used by small kids to call their fathers. Yet, Khemis dwellers sometimes substitute the /v/ sound by the voiceless fricative [f] as in [fali:za] from the French word "valise", [fɪla:ʒ]: from "village" and [fo:d] replacing "vote", meaning "suitcase", "village", and "election" respectively.
- The following table summarizes all consonants of KA:

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Palato-Alveolar		palatal		Velar		Uvular		Pharyngeal		Glottal	
	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V
Plosive	N.E	/b/			/t/	/d/						/k/	/g/	/q/					/ʔ/	
	E						/t̥/	/d̥/												
Affricative	N.E																			
	E																			
Fricative	N.E		/f/				/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/		/ç/	/ʝ/				/ħ/	/ʕ/		/h/
	E						/s̥/	/z̥/												
Nasal	N.E	/m/			/n/															
	E																			
Lateral	N.E				/l/															
	E																			
Flap	E						/ɾ/													
	N.E						/ɾ̥/													
Approximant	N.E	/w/									/j/									
	E																			

Table 3.13: KA Consonants

N.E: Non Emphatic /Plain Consonants

-V: Voiceless

E: Emphatic Consonants

+V: Voiced

Through the recent investigation that we have undertaken in the speech community of Khemis, we have tried to shed some light on the phonological system of this variety. The results obtained show that this community has a rich phonological system including both vowels and consonants of an urban type in addition to a number of phonological variants which entered Khemis variety due to education or contact with the neighbouring rural dialects and thanks also to borrowing from foreign languages such as French.

3.4. Morphological Level

3.4.1. KA Morpho-syntactic Variables

Most grammatical differences between CA, considered as High in Ferguson's tradition (1959a) and Low spoken Arabic varieties are the results of the oversimplification or full disappearance of CA morpho-syntactic rules. Like any AA dialect, KA is syntactically different from CA. The following structures are few examples showing the differences between the two Arabic varieties:

- ❖ CA sentences are usually constructed in a VSO (Verb /Subject /Object) form while in AA dialects and in KA in particular, the usual sentence structure is SVO. For example, the CA sentence /jaktubu # ami:nu # ədduru:sa # fi # l + qısmı / is realized as [ami:n # jaktəb # 'dduru:s # fəlqısm] in informal settings.

- ❖ Most sentences in KA are constructed in the active voice - *mabni lilma'lum* as in CA. Thus, [huwa # rfað # l + χa:təm # məl + χazna]: "he has taken / stolen the ring from the cupboard" is sometimes realized in the passive form - *mabni lilmadjhul* and heard as [l + χa:təm # rtafdət # məl + χazna]: "the ring has been taken / stolen from the cupboard".

3.4.2. The Variables {-u} and {-ah}

Among the morphological items characterizing Khemis variety, the suffix morpheme {-u} which is used in the 3rd person singular masculine morpheme both as a possessive adjective as in [dɑ:ru]: "his house", and object pronoun as in [ʔɑqdu]: "he tied it". In fact, these two morphemes are the result of the reduction process that the CA possessive suffix {-hu}: "his" in contrast with {-ha}: "her" has undergone in the L varieties. That is, the CA forms of the examples above are: [dɑ:ru + hu] and [ʔɑqada + hu] respectively. Yet in almost all rural varieties, the two CA possessive adjective and pronoun object {-hu} are realized as {-ah} as in [dɑ:r + ah] and [ʔugd + ah].

During our investigation, a questionnaire (see questionnaire (2.a.1) and (2.a.2), pages 144-45) about the use of the suffix morpheme {-u} and {-ah} was directed to pupils of Middle and Secondary schools, shopkeepers in addition to some agents (both males and females) in the

post-office. The results of this questionnaire reveal that Khemis speakers stick to both suffixes in constrained settings where both rural and urban speakers are used. The results show that all informants use the suffix {-u}. This idea is more illustrated in the following examples:

KA	English Gloss
[maɖɖarbo:ʃ]	⇒ "Don't hit him".
[rfattu] ⁵	⇒ "I have taken it".
[kli:tu]	⇒ "I have eaten it".

Moreover, what is remarkable in the following dialogue is the retention of the suffix {-u} in constrained settings where both urban and rural varieties are used. These short expressions are extracted from a conversation that I have recorded using a hidden mobile in a shop of clothes whose owner is originally from Khemis. Before getting in the shop, I asked a friend of mine from the region of Beni Achir⁶ to stick to her rural variety to check whether the shopkeeper will accommodate his speech to hers or not, paying attention to the use of the suffix morpheme {-ah} in particular.

5 / d / is devoiced in [rfattu] as the result of a regressive assimilation of / d / because of the influence of a following voiceless plosive /t/.

6 Beni Achir is a village in Beni Snous. Its speakers use a rural Arabic dialect which resembles the Arabic variety spoken in Oran.

- **Girl:** [(...) manχallʂahʃ # dork. ʔila # nrafdah # lju:m # ʔədwa # nwəlli # nχallʂah (...)] ⇨ "I will not pay it now. If I take it today, I will return back to pay it tomorrow".
- **Shopkeeper:** [ʔlla # χ^wti. ʔarbnu # w # ʔədɗa # ʔazi # ʔabbi:h] ⇨ "No, sister. Pay a little amount in advance and come to take it tomorrow".

3.4.3. 'Hamzated' and Defective Verbs

Like all urban Arabic varieties, Khemis defective and 'hamzated' verbs are reconstructed by adding {a:w} and {i:w} to the verb root when conjugated with plural pronouns (the third person plural pronoun [huma] referring to "they", and the 2nd person plural pronoun [ntum] or [ntuma] both referring to 'you' as illustrated in table 3.14:

	Defective Verb		Hamzated Verb	
Personal Pronoun	Verb Root: <nsj> "idea of forgetting"	Verb Root: <bkj> "idea of crying"	Verb Root: <ʔkl> "idea of eating"	
[huma]: "they"	[nsa:w]	[bka:w]	[kla:w]	
[huma]: "they"	[jənsa:w]	[jəbki:w]	[jæklu]	
[ntuma]: "you"	[tənsa:w]	[təbki:w]	[tæklu]	

Table 3.14: Defective and Hamzated Verbs in KA

3.4.4. Reduplication Verbs

Khemis morphological system is also characterized by the use of a list of reduplication verbs referring to frequent actions or actions that take a long time when they occur and related particularly to human voice. But, what is remarkable about the morphological structure of these verbs is the fact that they are constructed by doubling a syllable of a (CVC) form. This idea is more clarified in table 3.15:

	KA	ENGLISH Gloss
Actions Related to Voice	[j + təwtəw]	"He stutters".
	[j + ʒənʒən]	"s/he (a child) keeps crying in a soft voice".
	[j + nəwnəw]	
	[j + rəmərəm]	"He speaks in a soft, unclear voice when he is asleep".
	[j + təmtəm]	"He mumbles".
Long or Frequent Actions	[j + raqraq]	"He suffers insomnia".
	[j + ʒarʒar]	"It is said about the overflowing of water in a river or from the tap".
	[j + dəɣdəɣ]	"He titillates someone".
	[j + fərfər]	"A bird flips its wings".
	[j + təftəf]	"He looks for something in the dark".
	[j + rəħrəħ]	"He keeps coughing for a long time especially at night".

Table 3.15: Reduplication Verbs in KA

3.4.5. Morpheme Prefixes in KA

The CA first person plural morpheme prefix (*dhamir*) {na-} as in /'naqraʔu/: "we read" (or {nu-} in some few forms as in /'nuʃalli/: "we pray") is used both in plural and singular in AA dialects replacing the CA first person singular prefixes {ʔa-} and {ʔu-} in the defective tense. That is, a verb phrase [nəsməʔ] in AA is not "we hear" as in CA, but it means "I hear". As KA is characterized by no gender distinction in verb forms, the final CA feminine suffix {-ina} (e.g. /taʔkuli:na/), which is realized as [tak^wli:] in most AA dialects, it is completely dropped resulting in [takəl], a form addressing both male and female individuals.

3.4.6. Gender Distinction

Though it was clearly shown that KA is characterized by the drop of the 2nd person feminine singular verb-form suffix {-i}, the data collected show that the 3rd person feminine singular pronoun [ntina] which was used in the past to address both male and female individuals has started to diminish. Today, Khemis speakers use instead [nta] (sing. masc.) to address a man while [ntin(a)] (sing.fem.) to a woman. In this case, we get for instance:

[nta # taʔmə] ⇒ "you (sing. masc.) make".

[ntɪn(a) # taɪməl] ⇨ "you (sing. fem.) make".

3.4.7. Duality

In Colloquial Arabic, the dual morpheme suffixes {-ani} and {-ajni} are not present in nouns except for a few nouns referring to pairs of the body such as [ʕajni:n]: "eyes", [wəɖni:n]: "ears", [jəɖdi:n]: "hands" and [razli:n]: "feet"⁷. In KA, however, duality or *al muθanna*: is marked by the use of the numeral [zu:ʒ] "two" in addition to the plural form of the noun. We get for instance:

[bənt] ⇨ [zu:ʒ # bna:t]: "one girl" ⇨ "two girls".

[wəɖd] ⇨ [zu:ʒ # wla:d]: "one boy" ⇨ "two boys".

[jəɖd] ⇨ [zu:ʒ # jəɖdi:n]: "one hand" ⇨ "two hands".

[ʕi:n] ⇨ [zu:ʒ # ʕini:n]: "one eye" ⇨ "two eyes".

Whereas in words referring to time measurement, duality is marked by the use of the morpheme suffix

{-æjən} which is a Berber feature as in:

[ju:m] ⇨ [ju:mæjən]: "one day" ⇨ "two days".

[ʃɑhr] ⇨ [ʃɑhræjən]: "one month" ⇨ "two months".

[ʕa:m] ⇨ [ʕamæjən]: "one year" ⇨ "two years".

⁷ Mentioned in Dendane (2007:)

[su:q]⁸ ⇨ [su:qæjən]: "one week" ⇨ "two weeks".

3.4.8. Diminutives

The use of diminutives is one of the most striking features of sedentary dialects. This phenomenon is, however, rarely used in Khemis speech just in some exceptional words which has the form / fʃi:wəl / as in: [ʃʁe:wər] and [qtɛ:wət] meaning: "very small" and "little cat" respectively.

3.4.9. Indefinite Articles

During our investigation in the speech community of Khemis, we have noticed an excessive use of the indefinite article [waħəd] which means the numeral one. Yet, this form may be contracted to [ħə] or [ħ] according to what follows. It can be heard as: [ħə+l+ku:ra]: " a ball", [ħə+l+ka:s]: " a cup", [ħə+l+mra]: " a woman", [ħə+rɾaʒal]: "a man". Additionally, the numeral [waħəd] is often followed by a determinative complement to a noun as in:

[waħəd # ʃa:ħb+i]: "one of my friends".

[waħəd # ʒa:r+i]: "one of my neighbours".

8 The word [su:q] in KA refers to a week. Khemis old dwellers got used to organize a weekly market "souk" and it became a habit to measure a week time using the lexical item "souk".

Sometimes, this form is contracted to [waḥd]. It can be followed by a clearly defined noun preceded by either the definite article {ʔal} or its variants {lə} or {ə} as in: [waḥd + lə + brija]: "one letter", or to {ḥədd} in negative statements as in: [ḥətta # ḥədd # ma # mʕa # mʕa + ha]: "no one has gone with her".

3.4.10. Particles

In Khemis speech, the Classical *Idhafa* is rarely used. It has been noticeably substituted by an indirect annexation through the use of the particle [nta:ʔ]⁹ or [djæl] which is contracted to [dɪ]. The idea of: "the house of Ali", or "his house", for instance, can be expressed through the following constructions:

[dɔɑ:r # nta:ʔ # ʕli]: "the house of Ali".

[dɔɑ:r # nta:ʔ + u]: "his house".

[dɔɑ:r # dɪ # ʕli]: "the house of Ali".

[dɔɑ:r # djæl + u]: "his house".

⁹ [nta:ʔ] is a typical expression which is a reduction form of CA /mata:ʔ/ meaning "possession" or any type of anyone's belongings: /mata:ʔi/, "my belonging", has come to be pronounced [mata:ʔi], in some AA varieties in the East and in Tunisia, and [ntaʔi] in the West of Algeria in general and in Khemis speech in particular meaning "mine". Dendane, Z. (2007:153)

[djæɫ] can also be contracted to [dɔ] as in [l + ba:b # dɔ # d dɑ:r]: "the door of the house". Yet, the direct annexation may be used in such a phrase: [ba:b # d dɑ:r].

3.4.11. Berber Features

During our investigation, we have not found any speaker who uses the Berber variety. Yet, there are some living Berber features. Such features are the prefixes: [æ], [tɪ] and [tæ]. Yet, what is remarkable about these linguistic features is that they are articulated in the same way by both male and female speakers.

Since the speech community of Khemis is a mountainous region, its speakers still maintain some names of plants, food, and some domestic tools and traditions. The following table 3.16 gathers terms carrying the Berber initial vowel [æ] used by Khemis dwellers:

	Berber Feature	English Gloss
Plants and Food	[æxaʃʃa:b]	"A climbing plant producing wild berry (raspberry)".
	[æsbubbu]	"A kind of needle plants growing on the riverbank".
	[æbgu:ga]	"An uneatable plant which has rounded leaves".
	[æɣa:z]	"The fruit of palm leaves".
	[æɾəʃman]	"A kind of soup prepared with wheat".
Domestic	[æzdu:z]	"A tool made up of iron used to grind grains".
	[æʂaʈraħ]	"A flowerpot".

Table 3.16: Words with an Initial Vowel [æ]

But, the data collection shows that this speech community had lost this Berber feature in some words. Consider the examples cited in table 3.17:

Berber Gloss	KA	English Gloss
[ængu:l]	[ngu:la]	"A small rounded bread".
[æɣla:l]	[luɣla:l]	"Snails".
[æzəlli:f]	[zalli:f]	"The head of the sheep".

Table 3.17: The Loss of the Initial Vowel [æ]

However, unlike the initial vowel [æ] which represents masculine words, there still exist other surviving Berber prefixes, namely [tæ] and [tɪ], representing feminine forms. The following table introduces some words starting in [tæ] and [tɪ] in KA:

	Berber Feature	English Gloss
Plants and Food	[tæbɣa]	"A kind of black wild berry found in [æxaʃʃa:b]" .
	[tærəʃta]	"A kind of food made of pastry" .
	[tædiqa]	"Any food offered to you by others" .
	[tæsəkra]	"A plant used to cure cows" .
	[tɪbbɪ]	"Mallow" .
	[tɪfəlzu:z]	"A plant eaten with pastry and used to cure rheumatism" .
	[tɪmərəʃa:t]	"A plant with a good taste used to prepare traditional food" .
Animals	[tɪfli:ləs]	"Swallow" .
	[tæzɡaʃtɔ]	"an animal that resembles cats and trangles chicken"

Table 3.18: Words with Initial Prefixes [tæ] and [tɪ]

3.5 Conclusion

Sociolinguistic works have proved that all languages are affected by variation and tend to undergo change in time to different degrees due to the fact that all speech communities are not homogeneous as their linguistic features correlate with different social behaviours as a whole.

In fact, despite KA peculiarities, mostly phonological and morphological, Khemis speech has the same grammatical rules as the other Algerian dialects in Northern Algeria and elsewhere. The differences lie only in some phonological features produced with particular variants differentiating Khemis accent from those of the other neighbouring dialects in Beni Snous. Then, because language is basically a product of culture, the linguistic particularities of Khemis speech reveal in one way or another some of its social and cultural realities.

The impact of the geographical unrest maintains the dialect unstable. In this respect, the results obtained show that Khemis urban variety has started to lose some phonological and morphological features which are peculiar to it. These changes are attributed probably to education as Khemis speakers have realized the misuse of some linguistic variables and to the contact with the surrounding rural varieties which entered and still enter the region for economic, social and political reasons that we have already explained in chapter two.

General Conclusion

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Our main aim in this investigation has been to examine the intricacies of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Khemis focusing on its speakers' Phonological and morphological features. Bearing in mind that one cannot draw final conclusions about linguistic matters as language is not static but constantly in progress, we hope, at least, we have been able to draw some glances about the linguistic situation in Khemis speech community throwing light on the changes resulting from the contact of its native speakers with the neighbouring dialects mainly of a rural type, and from the influence of some extra-linguistic and contextual factors.

On the basis of dialect classification (Cantineau, Marçais and Dhina) and applying it to the variety of Khemis, one may say that the dialect under study is an urban one, maintaining some Berber features for historical reasons. The results obtained reveal that on the phonological level reveal that linguistic variation in the speech of Khemis, is not to be taken as haphazard but strictly controlled. Linguistic differentiation is an outcome of the gender, the age of the speaker and his/her tendency to maintain or change his/her own linguistic particularities. Variability presumably leads to a slight change in this speech community. In addition to its specific phonemic repertoire, Khemis speech appears to be rich, like any AA dialect, of some consonantal variants

and some other borrowed consonants such as /p/, /v/and /g/ thanks to borrowing from other rural dialects available in the area of Beni Snous or French due to education. At the morphological level, however, Khemis speakers still maintain their urban morphological features.

It is worthwhile noting that today's Khemis speakers who ethnically belong to the tribe of 'Zenata' has undergone an identity shift. Though they still stick to their cultural values and traditions, they have adopted a national view considering themselves Muslim Arabs who belong to the whole Algerian speech community.

The analysis of the data collected for the investigation of this speech community has demonstrated that both male and female speakers of KA have a conservative character which makes them stick to their vernacular. Such linguistic behaviour could be regarded as a sign of solidarity among Khemis individuals. In fact, despite such slight changes undergoing Khemis Arabic variety, the results obtained seemed to confirm our hypothesis that both KA phonological and morphological variables correlate with a number of extra-linguistic and social factors: namely, the age of speakers, gender differences, educational level and that most members of this speech community exhibit a kind of loyalty towards their native speech characteristics.

Due to the continuous exposure of Algerian individuals to MSA, that language promoted by the policy of Arabization, the linguistic system of KA like many other Algerian Arabic dialects will be continuously taking significant features from the standard Arabic form. Last, but not the least, the questions that remain: What will we expect, after some years, from Khemis speakers? Will they exhibit the same trait of conservatism and preserve the linguistic items of their vernacular or will the surrounding rural varieties impose some of their features on KA, as they appear to do in most settings, and displace Khemis local linguistic features?

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Appendices

APPENDICES

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

اللقب:

الاسم:

مكان الازدياد:

تاريخ الازدياد:

*إليكِ الاستقصاءات التالية، ضع (ي) دائرة أمام الكلمة التي تستعملها غالباً: (أضف (ي) أجوبة أخرى إذا احتجت إلى ذلك) .

استقصاء 1 : المتغيرات الفونولوجية:

(أ) المتغير (ق):

- قَالَ: قَالَ قَالَ قَالَ قَالَ

- قَعَدَ: قَعَدَ قَعَدَ قَعَدَ قَعَدَ

- قَتَلَ: قَتَلَ قَتَلَ قَتَلَ قَتَلَ

- قَطَّ: قَطَّ قَطَّ قَطَّ قَطَّ

- عَقَدَ: عَقَدَ عَقَدَ عَقَدَ عَقَدَ

* هل تستعمل حرف (ق) عندما تتكلم مع أشخاص ليسوا من منطقة 'الخميس'؟

* Put a circle next to the articulation that you use it frequently (add other answers if necessary)

Questionnaire 1: Phonological Variables:

a) Variable (q):

/qa:la/ " He said": [qa:la] [ga:la] [ʔa:la] [ka:la]

/qaʔada/ "He sat down": [qʔud] [gʔud] [kʔud]

/qatala/ "He killed": [qtul] [gtul] [ktul]

/qitt/ "a cat": [qatt] [gatt] [katt] [ʔatt]

/ʔaqada/ "he tied": [ʔqud] [ʔgud]

*Do you use the sound (g) with non-Khemis speakers?

(ب) المتغير (ج)

- عَجُوزَة (أم الزوج): عَجُوزَة عَزُوزَة عَفُوزَة

- جَوْزٌ: جُوزٌ زُوزٌ

- جَبَسٌ: جَبَسٌ زَبَسٌ قَبَسٌ

- جَنَازَةٌ: جَنَازَةٌ زَنَازَةٌ جَنَازَةٌ زَنَاجَةٌ

- جَزَّارٌ: جَزَّارٌ زَرَّارٌ قَزَّارٌ

- أَعْجَزٌ: نَعَجَزٌ نَعَزَزٌ نَعَقَزٌ

- جَنَسٌ: جَنَسٌ زَنَسٌ قَنَسٌ

b) Variable (dʒ) :

/ʔadʒu:za/ "mother-in-law": [ʔʒu:za] [ʔzu:za] [ʔgu:za]

/dʒauz/ "walnuts": [ʒu:z] [zu:z]

/dʒana:za/ "funeral": [ʒana:za] [zna:za] [ʒna:za] [zna:ʒ a]

/dʒazza:r/ "butcher": [ʒəzza:r] [zəzza:r] [gə'zza:r]

/ʔaʔdʒɪzu/ "I feel lazy to do something": [naʔʒəz]

[naʔzəz] [naʔgəz]

/dʒɪns(un)/ "race": [ʒəns] [zəns] [gəns]

ت) المتغير (ز):

- إثنان: زُوجٌ جُوجٌ

- مُتَزَوِّجَةٌ: زَاوِجَةٌ جَاوِجَةٌ مَزَوِّجَةٌ مَنَزَوِّجَةٌ

c) Variable (z) :

/ ɪθna:nɪ / "two": [zu:ʒ] [ʒu:ʒ]

/mutaza'wwɪdʒa/ "a married woman": [za:wʒa] [ʒa:wʒa]

[mazzawʒa] [matzawʒa]

ث) المتغيرين (ث) و (ذ):

- تَلَجٌ: تَلَجٌ تَلَجٌ

- تَوْمٌ: تَوْمٌ تَوْمٌ

- ذُلٌّ: ذُلٌّ ذُلٌّ

- هَكَذَا: هَكَذَا هَكَذَا

- كَذَلِكَ: هَكَذَا هَكَذَا

d) Variables (θ) and (ð) :

/θaldʒ/ "snow": [θalʒ] [talʒ]

/ðull/ "humiliation": [ðəll] [dəll]

/θaum/ "garlic": [θu:m] [tu:m]

/hakaða/ "this way": [hakða] [hakda]

/kaðalika/ "that way": [hakðək] [hakdək]

ج) المتغير (ط):

- بطَّيخ: بَطَّيخ بَطَّيخ

- نَطَق: نَطَق نَطَق

- طَلَّق (زوجته): طَلَّقَهَا تَلَّقَهَا

e) Variable (t) :

/batte:χ/ "melon": [batte:χ] [batti:χ]

/naʦaqa/ "he uttered" : [nʦaɣ] [ntaɣ]

/ʦallaqa + ha/ "he divorced her": [ʦallaqha] [tallaqha]

ح) المتغيرين (ض) و (ظ):

- ضَوْءٌ: ضَوْ طُو

- يَمْخُضُ (الحليب): يَمْخُضُ يَمْخَطُ

- يَمْضَعُ (طعاما): يَمْضَعُ يَمْطَعُ

- يَعْضُ: يَعْضُ يَعْطُ

- ظَفْرٌ: ظَفْرٌ ضَفْرٌ طَفْرٌ

f) Variable (d) and (ḏ) :

/dauʔ/ "light" : [ddo:] [tto:]

/jamχuḏo/ "he churns (milk)" : [jamχad] [jamχat]

/jamḏoʁu/ "he chews": [jamḏaʁ] [jamʦaʁ]

/jaʕaɖɖo/ "it bites": [jʕaɖ] [jʕat]

/ʕufr(un)/ "a nail": [ɖfar] [tʕfar]

Questionnaire 2: Morphological Variables:

استقصاء 2: المتغيرات المورفولوجية:

أ) المتغيرين {-u} و {-ah}

- لا تضربه: ماضرْبُوشْ ماضرْبَهْشْ

- أخذه: رَفْدُو رَفْدَهْ

- أكلته: كَلِيئُو كَلِيئَهْ

- داره: دَارُو دَارَهْ

- عقده: عَقْدُو عَقْدَهْ

a.1) Variables {-u} and {-ah}:

/la: # taɖrib + hua/ "Don't hit him": [ma + ɖɖarb + u:] [ma + ɖɖarb + ah]

/ʕaxada + hu/ "he has taken it": [rafd + u] [rafd + ah]

/ʕakaltu + hu/ "I have eaten it": [kli:t + u] [kli:t + ah]

[da:ru + hu] "his house": [ɖa:ru] [ɖa:r + ah]

[ʕaqada + hu] "he tied it": [ʕaqdu] [ʕuqd + ah]

a.2) Recorded Conversation in a Shop about the Variables {-u} and {-ah}:

- **Girl:** [(...) manχallṣah] # dork. ʔila # nrafdah # lju:m # ʔədwa # nwəlli # nχallṣah (...)] ⇒ "I will not pay it now. If I take it today, I will return to pay it tomorrow".
- **Shopkeeper:** [ʔlla # χ^wti. ʔarbnu # w # ʔədda # ʔazi # ʔabbi:h] ⇒ "No, sister. Pay a little amount in advance and come to take it tomorrow".

ب) المتغير {-i}:

- اشْرَبْ (فعل أمر): شَرَبَ شَرَبَ

- شَرَبْتَ (فعل ماضي): شَرَبْتِ شَرَبْتِ

- تَشْرَبِينَ (فعل مضارع/مستقبل): تَشْرَبُ تَشْرَبُ

b) Variable {-i}:

/ʔufɾu + bi: / "Drink it!": [ʔrab] [ʃʃarbi]

/ʃarib + ti / "You have drunk it/have you drunk it?": [ʃrabt] [ʃrabti]

/taʃrab + i:na / "you (will) drink": [taʃrab] [taʃʃarbi]

ت) الضمائر:

- أنا: أَنَا

يَا أَنَا

- أنت: أَنْتِ

تَنْتِي

- أنت: أَنْتَا

تَنْتِينِ

c) Pronouns for Gender Distinction:

/ana: / "I": [ana] [jana]

/anta / "you (masc.)": [nta] [ntina] [nti:n]

/anti / "you (fem.)": [ntina] [nti:n]

(ث) المثني:

- يَوْمَيْنِ: يَوْمَيْنِ

- شَهْرَيْنِ: شَهْرَيْنِ

- عَامَيْنِ: عَامَيْنِ

- عَيْنَيْنِ: عَيْنَيْنِ

d) Duality:

/jaʊmajni/ "two days": [jumi:n] [ju:mæjən]

/ʃɑhraini/ "two months": [ʃɑhri:n] [ʃɑhræjən]

/ʔa:majni/ "two years": [ʔami:n] [ʔamæjən]

/ʔajnaɪni/ "two eyes": [ʔajni:n] [ʔajnæjən]

(ث) كلمات التصغير:

- قَطٍ: قَطِيطٌ قَطِيوَطٌ

- صَغِيرٌ: صَغِيرٌ صَغِيرَوٌ

e) Diminutives:

/qɪtt/ "a cat": [qtejjət] [qte:wət]

/ʃye:r(un)/ "very small": [ʃyejjər] [ʃye:wər]

استقصاء 3: لمعرفة مواقف المتكلم من لهجته ، طرحنا الأسئلة التالية :

- إذا كنت تتكلم مع أشخاص ليسوا من منطقة الخميس، هل تغير طريقة كلامك؟ ولماذا؟

Questionnaire 3: To ask about 'Khemis' speakers attitudes towards their native variety: Do you change your way of speaking when talking with non-khemis speakers? Why / Why not?

المخلص:

إن الغرض الرئيسي من هذه المذكرة هو تحليل بعض جوانب التغير السوسiolغوي، خاصة الفونولوجية والمورفولوجية منها، بمنطقة الخميس الواقعة بقلب بني سنوس - تلمسان. واعتمادا على مزيج من العينات الوصفية والكمية، تهدف هذه الدراسة السوسiolغوية إلى إظهار العلاقة المتبادلة بين متغيرات لغوية وعوامل اجتماعية في منطوق الخميس.

كلمات مفتاحية:

التغير السوسiolغوي - الخصائص الفونولوجية والمورفولوجية - منطوق الخميس - العلاقة المتبادلة - متغيرات لغوية - عوامل اجتماعية.

Résumé:

Ce travail de recherche tente d'examiner quelques aspects de variation sociolinguistique dans un village nommé : Khemis qui se situe au centre de Beni Snous - Tlemcen. Il tente de décrire quelques caractéristiques phonologiques et morphologiques qui marquent le parler de Khemis. Basée sur un mélange d'échantillons qualitatifs et quantitatifs, cette étude sociolinguistique est consacrée à montrer des corrélations entre des variables linguistiques et des facteurs sociaux.

Mots Clés: variation sociolinguistique - caractéristiques phonologiques et morphologiques - parler de Khemis - corrélation - variables linguistiques - facteurs sociaux.

Abstract:

This research work endeavours to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in an area called Khemis, located in the heart of Beni Snous - Tlemcen. It attempts to describe some of the salient phonological and morphological features that characterize Khemis speech. Based on a mixture of qualitative and quantitative samples, this sociolinguistic inquiry is devoted to exhibit the correlations between linguistic variables and social factors.

Key words: Sociolinguistic variation - phonological and morphological features - Khemis speech - correlation - linguistic variables - social factors.