Speech Variation at Phonological, Morphological and Lexical level: Age-related Issue in Sebdou Speech Community

Dissertation submitted to the Department of English as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Language Studies

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Academic Year: 2018-2019
Declaration of Originality

I declare that this submission is my own work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other diploma of a university or other institution. I also certify that the present work is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Signature
Dedications

To my dear parents ‘Negadi Mohammed and Hafida’

To my sister Rabiaa and her husband Tahar

To my sister and brother Ikhlas and Adel

To all those who are dear to me

Whether alive or taken away on the shores of the unknown sea

To all those who believe in the richness of learning.
Acknowledgements

It is after a great work and strong will that we have reached the end of this work thanks to several people to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

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I would like to thank the members of the jury, Dr Addar Fatima and Dr Messaoudi Youçef and of course, my supervisor Dr. Negadi.N for accepting to be members of the reading and the evaluation committee.

I am further indebted to all the scholars and researchers whom I have had the opportunity to profit extensively from their books and articles.

I also wish to thank all the kind informants of Sebdou who provided much-needed feedback and contributed enormously in the empirical study.

I would be careless not to mention my friend Charif Fayçal, whose extreme support will always be remembered.

I have to thank all those who believed in me and gave their moral support deliberately or indirectly contributed in the achievement of this research. Finally, I wish to express my love and gratitude to my beloved family for their understanding and endless love throughout my studies.
ABSTRACT

The present research work is an attempt to analyse the sociolinguistic situation of an Algerian town and one of the seven districts of Tlemcen, Sebdou. The area is situated 36 km far from Tlemcen. The main purpose of this research work is to describe the linguistic features characterizing the speech community of Sebdou, mainly the phonological, the morphological and the lexical and make a comparison between elders and young speakers in the use of language.

This research work consists of three chapters. The first one provides an overview of the field of sociolinguistics in general through defining the key concepts related to the field. The second chapter draws an overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in general then of Sebdou in particular. Finally, the third chapter provides an analysis of the linguistic aspects of the area under investigation. In this chapter, it is shown how these features differ from other varieties, and how it also differ from one speaker to another in the same speech community, in particular between elders and youth, through relating these linguistic features to social variables namely age and gender, in addition to education on language change in the speech community of Sebdou. In doing so, the data were collected through different methods. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the results help in understanding the reasons behind such behaviour, coming up with the fact that there is a difference between old and young speakers in the use of language especially on the lexical level, and this variation shows the preservation of some of SA linguistic characteristics besides the use of both old and new lexis, and many factors have contributed to such a process and led to linguistic consequences: age and education.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NATIONAL SYMBOLS

- **AA**: Algerian Arabic
- **SA**: Sebdou Arabic
- **MSA**: Modern Standard Arabic
- **CA**: Classical Arabic
- ( ): are used to represent the linguistic variable
- / /: are used for standard articulation
- [ ]: are used for dialectal articulation
- **H**: High variety
- **L**: low variety
- **M**: Masculine
- **F**: Feminine
- **Pl**: Plural
LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Consonants:

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Vowels of plain consonants

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<tr>
<td>[i] as in [lila]  ‘a night’</td>
<td>[i:] as in [li:m]  ‘lemon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] as in [χuʝæ]  ‘my brother’</td>
<td>[u:] as in [hu:t]  ‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ] as in [lqa]  ‘he found’</td>
<td>[æ:] as in [daːr]  ‘house’</td>
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Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

<table>
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<th>Short Vowels</th>
<th>Long Vowels</th>
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<tr>
<td>[e] as in [³emmæf]  ‘sit down’</td>
<td>[e:] as in [mreːd]  ‘ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] as in [boʊτα]  ‘barrel’</td>
<td>[ɔ:] as in [ʃtɔːr]  ‘lunch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[α] as in [ɾumlɑ]  ‘sand’</td>
<td>[α:] as in [tɑːb]  ‘be cooked’</td>
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION
Language as a complex phenomenon has attracted the attention of many linguists who relied on different methods in order to investigate this powerful medium of communication. In fact, the use of language varies from one country to another and even within a single country, we may find a number of local varieties and even within a speech community, it may differs from one speaker to another who may express the same thing through a variety of linguistic ways according to his age, level of education, and economics status. Sociolinguists have explained this fact as language variation. The study of sociolinguistic variation has emerged since the 1960’s partly as a result of inadequate methods in earlier approaches to the study of dialects, and partly as a reaction to Chomskyan linguistic theory, whose main goal is to study language as an abstract system far from any relationship between language and society.

Variationist sociolinguists focus on the interaction between the social structure and the linguistic structure. Here, the cooperation of social variables such as the speaker’s age, sex, ethnicity, and the social class as well as the linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological, and lexical are analyzed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods.

By applying such method in an Arabic sociolinguistic context in general and in an Algerian sociolinguistic context in particular, the present research work aims firstly at exploring some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in one of the numerous Algerian colloquial dialects; that is Sebdou Arabic (hereafter SA). Secondly, it describes a correlation of linguistic diversities and the social factors of this variety. the study also puts forward the differences occurring at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels with age constraints.

Our sociolinguistic study in the speech community of Sebdou aims to relate aspects of language to aspects of society in order to understand the linguistic variation of this speech community. In this context, a number of questions are raised:

- What makes Sebdaoui speakers change some linguistic features in their speech?
- What are SA speakers’ attitudes towards such variation and change?
In order to find reliable answers to these questions, two hypotheses are formulated, as follow:

- Because of some features in Sebdou Arabic which are felt to be stigmatized, in addition to extra-linguistic factors such as education which can cause differences in the speech community of Sebdou.
- As not all generations speak alike, the young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations, with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms, whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use.

Therefore, the present research work displays an outline of three chapters in which the first one provides an overview of the field of sociolinguistics in general through defining the key concepts related to the field that present a sign of the subject matter, how dialectology has contributed to its emergence. It also attempts to define some key concepts which constitute the basic materials for any sociolinguistic investigation: the notion of the speech community, the difference between language, dialect, variety and accent; linguistic variables and some social variables.

The second chapter throws light on the linguistic situation in Algeria in general, providing an overview on the Algerian linguistic profile and showing the co-existence of three languages, Arabic, French and Berber. It also presents the language contact phenomenon and shed some light on the classification of colloquial Arabic into Sedentary and Bedouin variants. After that, it gives an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Sebdou, with a particular reference to the area of Sebdou, its historical background, geography and population, with a focus on the linguistic features of the area through the description of some phonological, morphological and lexical aspects of the variety spoken in Sebdou. It also shows the use of some borrowed berber, Spanish and French loan words because of the manifold invasions that this region as the whole of the Algerian territory witnessed.

Chapter three deals with the methodology and the basic approaches and procedures involved. It will present the data collected in Sebdou speech community by the use of
a questionnaire and an interview. Finally, the linguistic features of SA are analysed and interpreted in relation with factors as age and education.
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1.1 Introduction

Language is complex, and it has been studied for many years by numerous linguists, from different perspectives. Primitively, language was studied in terms of its structure; however, with the appearance of sociolinguistics, it began to be studied in relation to the society. Sociolinguistics has an interconnection with different disciplines such as anthropology, through the study of language and culture, and with sociology through the investigation of the role language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions. We use all these connections when we try to analyze language from a social perspective. It describes language variation in its social context, and Labov (1966, 1972, etc) was the one who opened the door to such a study.

Sociolinguistics, as a wide field, investigates the huge variety of dialects in a given region, as it analyses the different social variables, taking into account age, and gender in specific, which influences the speaker’s language. The present chapter attends to the theoretical key concepts of this investigation.

1.2 Sociolinguistics and Dialectology

Sociolinguistics is the study of the relation between language and society, the effect of one on the other and vice versa, and more specifically it is the study of language variation. In fact, sociolinguistics focuses on how language is used by the speakers in the social context. It also provides explanation to their linguistic variation. As Chambers (2002:03) points out:

“Sociolinguistics is the study of the social uses of language and the most productive studies in the four decades of sociolinguistics research have emanated from determining the social evaluation of linguistic variants that occurs.”

In the same stream, Trudgill (1974:32) explains that sociolinguistics is part of linguistics that deals with language as a social phenomenon, it refers to an interdisciplinary field of research in which it has close connections with sciences, anthropology, psychology……
From these definitions, it is obvious that sociolinguistics is a discipline that links sociology with linguistics. In addition, sociolinguistics shows how groups in a given society are distinguished by a number of social variables, like age, level of education, religion and so on.

While sociolinguistics attempts to study speech variation in relation to given social context, dialectology is the study of the how words and grammatical forms vary in certain language. Accordingly, Chambers and Trudgill (2004:187-188) say that:

For all their differences, dialectology and sociolinguistics converge at the deepest point. Both are dialectologies, so to speak: they share their essential subject matter. Both fix the attention on language in communities. Prototypically, one has been centrally concerned with rural communities and the other with urban centers.

Both traditional dialectology studies and sociolinguistics check and identify linguistic variables prior to data collection. Dialectologists are interested in the linguistic variation on the level of dialects and it geographical and social spread. Dialectology went through two important events: traditional dialectology and modern (urban) dialectology. Traditional dialectology concentrated on the relationship between language and geography. However, modern dialectology focuses on the relationship between language and social features, and it has gone beyond the rural area. The shift from traditional to modern dialectology gives birth to sociolinguistics in the late 19th century which links between dialectology and social sciences, and the image of the language manifestations had become much clearer.

1.3 Language vs. Dialect

The community uses language to communicate each other, and then they have different cultures, demography location and different characteristics, so it will create dialect and variety in language, which may range from the most formal and standardized to the most informal and colloquial. One of the most important issues in
linguistics is to distinguish language and dialect or language and varieties, and it might be useful and necessary to seek for the social dimensions of those terms.

For instance, philosophers define language it as a way of interpreting human life and experience, sociologists see it as a way of communication and language and teachers regard it as a system that comprises a set of skill. The complexity of language is correlated to human life such as: society, culture, minds, and thoughts and the study of each of these associated with language leads to the birth of discipline, for example, language with society leads to sociolinguistics. While dialect contains a set of linguistic specificities (phonological, grammatical and semantic one) which make one group of speakers distinguishable from another of the same language (Waurdhaugh, 2006).

In brief, Haugen (1966) summarizes the fact by referring to a language as a single or a set of linguistic norms and a dialect as one of these norms, and this is how Waurdhaugh (2006: 33) explains this idea:

"[...] An alternative approach might [...] attempt to discover how languages can differ from one another yet still be entities that most of us want to call languages rather than dialect. It might then be possible to define a dialect as some sub-variety of one or more of these entities."

A dialect is a variety of speech, that differs someone from another variety of speech of that same language. It could differ in morphology, pronunciation or vocabulary, all of these maybe sometimes, these dialects used differently by its speakers according to their age, place of living etc.

Dialects of a language can be divided into two kinds; regional and social. The former are studied by dialectologists. Dialectal diversity develops when people are separated from each other geographically; regional dialects reveal where we come from, whereas the latter, social dialects, are spoken by a particular social stratum or ethnic group. A social dialect is characterized by its restricted use, nevertheless, the social code can be a symbol of group affiliation and ethnic identity, and in other words, speakers choose consciously their own dialect in order to display their belonging and membership.
In the USA, the majority of black speakers tend to use the black vernacular English to exhibit their ethnic identity and pride.

Among language varieties that share different characteristics, we can mention: accent which shows the special way of pronunciation that concerns a particular region or area. When we speak, we cannot avoid giving our listeners hints about our origins and the sort of person we are. Our speech generally identifies which identity we have; socially or regionally. All these reveal from which group or community we refer to. The language used by a group of people shows differences in phonology, grammar and lexis from another language’s group. This group is called a speech community.

1.4. Speech Community

The language used by a person often reflects the social status of the person, social background, region, gender and other social information; when someone speaks, he gives an impression to the hearer about him; from which country, tribe or social class. Moreover, the kind of group that sociolinguistics attempt to study is called Speech Community. As Trudgill (2003:126) says, speech community “is a community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same norms for linguistic behavior”.

Speech community can be defined at different dimensions of generalization, according to different frameworks, by many linguists who tackled it from different perspectives. We can start with a definition put forward by Lyons as a simple one: “all people who use a given language or dialect.” (1970:326)

According to such a definition, Lyons insists on the existence of a shared language or dialect his means that a language or a dialect is all what a speech community needs so that it can be limited, neither social nor cultural unities are required, for example, all Arab countries are considered to belong to the same speech community as they share and use the same language. In contrast, According to Suzan Romaine (2000:23): “ a speech community is a group of people who do not necessary share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language.” Here the use of the same
language is not sufficient to draw limits for a speech community, but the use of the same norms and rules for the spoken language is important, i.e. regular relationship between language use and social structure is required.

Bloomfield’s definition in 1933 of speech community focuses on the main idea that speech community is sharing the same language with the same system, he focuses on the frequency of social interaction, he said: “A speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech.”. In contrast, Hymes (1974) sees that Bloomfield’s definition is vague, he pointed out that it is impossible to associate language and society when we have understanding deficiency of the nature of language.

Speech communities can be large or small, although linguists don't agree on how they're defined. Some argue that it's logical to assume that a shared language like English, which is spoken throughout the world, is a speech community, but other linguists say a common language is too vague to be considered a true speech community.

Not everyone in a single geographical area speaks in the same way in every situation. We are aware of the fact that people who live in the same region, but who differ in terms of education and economic status, often speak in quite different ways. Indeed these differences may be used, implicitly or explicitly, as indications of membership in different social groups or speech communities leads to what we call language variation.

1.5. Language Variation

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in society, and more specifically it is the study of variation in language. Sociolinguists are interested in this kind of variation; the way language is used differently due to several factors, viewing language as a social subject. Language varies in many dimensions, some of which are geographical, social, style, and function.

Language variation is a basic concept in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics investigates whether the linguistic variation can be attributed to differences in the
social characteristics of the speakers using the language, but also investigates whether elements of the surrounding linguistic context promote or inhibit the usage of certain structures. Different factors affect how a language is spoken within a country. They can be regional (geographical), ethnic (national and racial), and social (class, age, gender, socioeconomic status and education). All these factors are interconnected. They are reflected in every language variety’s pronunciation, vocabulary, grammatical constructions and syntax. Studies of language variation and its correlation with sociological categories, such as William Labov’s 1963 paper "The Social motivation of a sound change" led to the foundation of sociolinguistics as a subfield of linguistics. Although sociolinguistics includes other topics, language and variation and change remain an important issue at the heart of the field. Sociolinguistics is how language varies depending on the social context, setting, and the social role of the speaker place, this kind of sociolinguistics looks at variation in the linguistic structure (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics), this is called variationist sociolinguistics, and it’s largely been developed by Labov in the late 1960th.

Labov was interested in phonological variation. In a small island off the North east coast of America called Martha’s Vineyard, He investigated the /au/ and /ai/ vowel sounds, in words such as mouse and mice, which in linguistic terms is called a diphthong. Labov interviewed 69 people, from different age, ethnic and social groups as to get a representative sample. Rather than getting his informants to read simple word lists, Labov used an interview technique to encourage the participants to say the words containing the vowels which he wished to study. By using this research method Labov tried to avoid making participants aware of what he expects to find or how participants are expected to behave but rather he made the conversation as natural as possible so that the participants didn’t necessarily know what Labov was looking for... Labov’s study addresses and depicts how class, ethnicity, and gender influences language variation. One example of how class affects language variation is evident in the New York City study. He displays the social classes in four classes: the lower working class, the upper working class, the lower middle class, and the upper middle class. He also displays the styles of speech in three styles, which are casual, careful conversation, and reading. According to the data, the upper middle class speakers
almost always use the standard *ing* variant and the lower working class speakers almost always use the non-standard *in* variant. Each class prefers the use of one pronunciation over the other regardless, of the style of speech. However, the lower working class shifted from using *in* in casual speech to using *ing* in the reading style. For him, linguistic theory must involve not only formal linguistic structure, but also every social function that is related to language in one way or another; language use.

All in all, to see what happens to language when we look at it in relation to the social factors, it is necessary first to distinguish between dependent and independent variables. The former are linguistic variables, and the latter are social factors, characteristics that are assumed to be related to or to influence the dependent variables.

### 1.5.1 Linguistic and Social Variables

As opposed to rural dialectology, which was concerned with mapping the different geographical distribution of different linguistic features, urban dialectology came and became more interested on linguistic variation and adopted many techniques in investigating the nature of language and its relation to social factors, and this was due to Labov’s works (1963, 1966, 1972a, 1972b).

When we use language, spoken or even signed, we tend to use various ways of saying the same thing. It is derived from the pioneering works of Labov (1963, 1966, 1972a, 1972b).

For a long time, before the study of urban dialectology, linguists described variables as free variation. By free they meant that there were no clear linguistic constraints which would predict when you got one variant rather than another. So free essentially mean unconstrained. (Meyerhoff 2006:10). That is to say the variants cannot be predicted by any factor.

The linguistic variable has been defined by Wardhaugh (2006:143) as: “a linguistic item which has identifiable variants”. For example, words like singing and fishing are sometimes pronounced as singin’ and fishin’. The final sound in these words may be called the linguistic variable (ng) with its two variants [ŋ] in singing and [n] in singin’.
Another example of a linguistic variable can be seen in words like farm and far. These words are sometimes given r-less pronunciations; in this case we have the linguistic variable (r) with two variants [r] and Ø (pronounced ‘zero’). Moreover, the linguistic variables are those where the meaning remains constant but the form varies, this definition may apply the speech community of Sebdou; they have the choice between the words: “kasrona”, “gamila”, or “tawa” when referring to a casserole.

Chambers (2003:14) says that: “the most casual observations of speech show that its variants are associated with social factors”. That is to say, there is variability in speech, variants are in correlation with social factors (age, gender, status, ethnicity, education…etc.) . Sociolinguistics shed light on the nature of language and on society, but also to describe how social factors are bound up with linguistic variability.

The concept of sociolinguistic variable is defined by Fasold (1990:223-224) as: A set of alternative ways of saying the same thing, although alternatives, or variants, have social significance. More specifically sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic element that co-varies not only with other linguistic element, but also with a number of extra linguistic independent variables like social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style.

Language carries information on the speaker’s identity and reveals for example his or her group membership (social class) and this is what we call language variation according to user, i.e. language which reveals speaker’s place of origin, gender, age, social class, ethnicity…. etc. Thus, it is necessary and interesting to examine the factors influencing the way people speak, moving to age and gender, which are the most noticeable social variables.

1.5.2 Age and Gender Effectiveness

We know that language changes over time, these changes have all been observed through diachronic studies of historical texts. And we can make a lot of progress by looking at the role of speakers’ age in synchronic studies of linguistic variation. Age plays an important role in variation, as sociolinguists argued that young people sound different or “speak differently from adults. And this can be explained in the
phenomenon of age grading, which explains speech appropriate to age. Sankoff says that: “Speakers might be changing various aspects of their language over Course of their lives”. (Quoted in: Carmen Fought, 2004:121).

Each generation of speakers modifies its linguistic behavior at a particular stage in life, sometimes into adult hood. But the language itself does not change across generations. Child hears speakers of various ages and he notices that the younger the speaker, the more advanced the change.

Prior to the advent of variationist sociolinguistics, many dialectologists based their surveys almost entirely on the speech of men and excluded women. However, sociolinguists turned their attention to the language of both men and women, and become more interested on language and gender as they proved that in most societies, the speech of men differs in certain respects from women’s speech. Women as opposed to men are likely to speak in a more prestigious way. It has often been noted that women use more of the standard forms than men do especially in western societies. Trudgill (1995:69) says that: “Women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men.”

Studies which were carried out by Trudgill of Norwich English showed that women use more the variant of the Standard English, and men use more the variant of the vernacular or non-standard English. This pattern largely hold for the working class and the middle class speakers as well as. However, in the Arab speaking communities, the situation is not the same. In 1980’s, sociolinguists start working on that area and found that:

Studies of synchronic variation in Arabic seemed to be showing me using more of the overtly prestigious variants associated with classical Arabic and women using more of the variants associated with the local colloquial variety of Arabic. (Meyerhoff, 2006: 218).
As Meyerhoff (2006) says, in order to understand what is happening in the Arabic speech communities, it is helpful to consider the social role of women and men. We can conclude by saying that language variation allows us as speakers to locate ourselves in a multi-dimensional society. Age is one of the dimensions on which we construct identities for ourselves and others. Gender also plays an important role in language variation as we have linguistic differences between male and female.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter gave a clear picture about the field of sociolinguistics. This research work was initiated by giving definitions of some key concepts in sociolinguistics that present a sign of the subject matter, speech community is one of those concepts, a term that gain popular interest among many linguists around the world. The concern of this study was language variation, which explains the relation between variables and social factors. One of the most major contributions of sociolinguistic studies is that variation in language is not random. In their investigation, sociolinguists have used quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze and interpret the data and also to examine the frequencies of each linguistic feature, in order to determine the correlations between dependent (linguistic) and independent (social) variables, and to what extent these latter variables determine the use of language. In this chapter, basic concepts relevant to the investigation have been reviewed to apply them in our study of Sebdou speech community.
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2.1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics has opened the door to many investigations about language in its social context, among them the investigation of the colloquial forms of the Arabic-speaking world, including Algeria as a case of Maghrebi countries. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is delicate and complex, as many codes display in the country. There were deficient works about this matter, but most of the works that were available actually, are those conducted by foreign scholars such as Marçais, Cohen… when almost all the Arabs were ruled by the French or the English colonization.

Nowadays, the interest in the examination of Arabic and its dialects among scholars is growing, and Arabic sociolinguistics has become aware of this subject matter. Suleiman (1994) says that this wide interest takes its initial inspiration from Ferguson’s pioneering work on diglossia in the late fifties. And it was later supported by the theoretical and methodological advances, originated from Labov’s work on the English language situation in its American context.

The co-existence of more than one language in Algeria described the linguistic situation as diverse, and this was due to historical, political and socio-cultural factors. This chapter will shed light on the Algerian linguistic profile in general, and one of Algerian dialect, the dialect of Sebdou in particular.
2.2 The Algerian Linguistic Profile

History and society are two significant factors in linguistic research. They identify each speech community with its existing linguistic repertoires. The Algerian historical background had a direct influence on its current linguistic situation. It is said to be complex, because of the co-existence of four languages, which have different political and social status. For a long time, Algeria has witnessed many invasions; the French settlement, the Spanish, the Turkish…all have traces on its linguistic situation.

The first language is Berber, and the native populations of North Africa are berbers. According to some historians, the Berbers are the indigenous people of the area; they lived here for more than 4000 years. The introduction of the Arabic language by the Arab invaders in the mid 7th century was a great event as Islam, and Arabic were introduced to North Africa in general and to Algeria in particular. Algeria today defines itself as part of the Arabic and Muslim world and states that Arabic is the national and official language of the country. However, in spite of the profound impact of the introduction of Islam and Arabic in the country, some areas maintained their Berber vernaculars and continue to use them. Among all the varieties, the most used are: the Kabyle (in Kabylie mountains), the Chaouia(in the Aures range), the Tamacheq and the Mzabi (in the south), they are the principal varieties of Berber. Berber has been recognized as a national language by a constitutional amendment since May 2002 due to a strong social demand for that, and was a demand from Berbers to assert their existence as a distinct ethnic group; and the demand is achieved ;it becomes an official language.

There are three distinct forms of Arabic (CA) classical Arabic, the language of Quran; modern standard Arabic ( here after MSA) , a simplified version of the former; and spoken or colloquial Arabic, each form fulfills a set of functions.

Classical Arabic is the language of Quran; it early traces can be found before the development of Islam, in the period called Jahiliyyah. Arabic was codified in the 8th and 9th century during the Abbasid era by Arab grammarians, for fear that the Quran would be read with bad pronunciation. And therefore, it becomes the foundation not
only for Modern Standard Arabic - the language used by all Arabic-speaking governments and media outlets - but also for every Arabic dialect used in the modern world.

Watson (2002: 6) says in this respect that: “the rise and expansion of Islam was not only a religious and hence cultural conquest, but also a linguistic conquest”. That is, Arabic gained special importance with the advent of Islam, and as Islam spread, so did Arabic. Over the centuries, Classical Arabic changed and developed, becoming more modern and standardized, until Modern Standard Arabic became commonplace in the 19th century. MSA nowadays is used in situations calling for greater formality such as conferences, socio-economic or political meetings. It is also used in education, public forums, including the media, religious contexts and communication between Arabs of different regional origins. MSA is becoming more and more apparent in the Algerian linguistic profile; CA still keeps its prestige despite the view of some people who consider it a dead language.

Additionally, Algerian Arabic “AA variety” represents the language of daily use, and the real instrument of communication between Algerian speakers. This variety reflects the folk’s stories and sayings, culture and traditions. In fact we distinguish large dialectal areas distributed around Algeria.

To make the Algerian linguistic profile complete, it is necessary to sketch the most important and striking events that left traces on the Algerian society; it is the French colonialism. During the French colonization in Algeria, France attempted to eradicate the Arabic language and impose the French language as the official language. The goal behind their policy was excluding Arabic from any official use, system imposed through the harsh programme of acculturation positioned French as the dominant language on its colonies. However, after independence, the Algerian government started a policy of linguistic Arabization in order to get back the Algerian identity as an Arabic and Muslim country, and state that Arabic is the solely and official language of the country. However despite of that, the French language had so greatly influenced the Algerian community, that today, after almost five decades since the departure of the colonists, it continues to play a vital role in both the spoken and written domains; it
is widely used in scientific university courses … French is widely used in urban cities, as it is believed to be a prestigious variety.

The co-existence of at least three languages makes Algeria a multilingual country. Ferguson says: “These two varieties, classical and colloquial, exist side by side in the Arabic speech community in a Diglossia relationship.” (Ferguson, 1959:359), that is, the relationship between (CA and AA) codes can lead to a diglossic situation, some can say that Algeria is in a diglossic situation, this is what we will try to explain in the next section, and it can also lead to a bilingual one (Arabic and French, or Berber and French) which will also be discussed in this chapter. Any discussion of Arabic linguistic situation will be incomplete without mentioning diglossia.

2.3 Diglossia

Diglossia is concerned with two varieties of the same language. One form is considered as high and another as low. There are many regional varieties in Algeria, and each region has its own dialect. The problem of the existence of modern standard Arabic side by side with everyday language in the Arab world has attracted many scholars to investigate the matter. The term was first introduced by Ferguson inspiring it from the French term “diglossie” from the French linguist William Marçais (1930) to describe the situation of the Arab world. He (1972:232) defines diglossia as: “Two varieties of the same language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play”.

By the definition of such a linguistic situation, Ferguson claims that both the high and the low varieties should be of the same language used under different conditions, in which one is used only on formal occasions, while the other is used in informal situations. Yet, each variety is assigned a different function. Thus, in some situations, only the superposed variety ‘H’ is appropriate, whereas in others, the ‘L’ variety is more suitable.

The language used at home for low functions with family, is a local variety of Arabic. However, for high functions is MSA which takes its normative rules from CA. The high and low varieties differ from each other, as Romaine (1994:46) says
Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

[...] not only in grammar, phonology and vocabulary but also with respect to a number of social characteristics, namely function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability.

Here, the diglossic situation is highly characterized by Ferguson’s features, he attempts to identify the sociolinguistic characteristics of the phenomenon of diglossia by studying the features common to Arabic and three other languages which have a standard colloquial language dichotomy. In diglossic situations such as Algeria, most of the vocabulary of L is from the H variety, noticing some variations either in form or use and sometimes in meaning between the two varieties.

The term diglossia in Ferguson’s view is concerned with two related varieties of the same language; Fishman (1967) extended the scope of diglossia to cover situations where the high and low varieties are genetically unrelated. For instance, as French is used as a high variety in some faculties and scientific streams along with the Algerian Arabic as a low variety.

In Algeria, with the existence of more than one code due to colonization, the linguistic situation becomes more complicated as the Algerian speakers switch from one language to another (French and Arabic), or mix the two languages at the same time. Such a phenomenon is a speech behavior that has led to an intricate Algerian situation occurring as an outcome of language contact.

Since language is creative, all forms of speech are subject to variation. As a consequence, everyday medium of interaction in Algeria, including Sebdou, the area under investigation, has always been affected by two major languages, mainly French and CA. This multilingual and diglossic situation makes us view Sebdou Arabic a complex sociolinguistic situation worthy of consideration, occurring as an outcome of bilingualism.

2.4. Bilingualism

When two languages get in direct contact with each other, bilingualism is the major outcome of this contact. It is used either by an individual or a group of people.
Different definitions were giving to this phenomenon. Haugen (1954:11) sees a bilingual speaker as someone “who knows two languages”. This definition has been criticized for being too limited and vague because he does not mention the level of mastery of both languages and also the gradation in bilingual usage, depending on the four skills. Bilingualism can be defined as the alternate use of two or more languages. For Weinreich (1953:1) bilingualism is “The practice of using alternately two languages.”

Bilingualism in Algeria is both societal and individual. The former is the result of the co-existence of two different languages, Arabic and French. The latter concerns the individual depending on the level of mastery of both languages. Algeria went through two distinctive periods, colonization and post-independence periods. During the first one, there were a great contact between Algerians and French, they were qualified as balanced bilinguals, because they almost both master and understand French. However, in the second period, people are more competent in Arabic then in French, which makes them unbalanced bilinguals.

In the Algerian community it can be noticed that old generation speakers use French rather than the young one, and here we can say that the variable of age plays a very important role in the use of language among Algerian speakers. The reason behind such a fact is that the old generation was taught in French schools. This is why they prefer to read or listen to news or programs in French, while the young generation prefers to read and listen in Arabic rather than French, since they were educated during the process of Arabisation.

French influenced the Algerian community in spite of the process of Arabisation; in everyday speech, it is still used by many educated Algerians, and even non-educated Algerians. Many bilingual people, if not all, mix the two languages within their speech or in a conversation, a behavior that had led to a complex phenomenon called code switching.
2.5 Code Switching

Most speech communities use more than one code in their daily interaction, and this is due to historical and socio-economic factors. As a result of migration and colonization, most speakers of bilingual communities switch from one language to another whenever they interact.

The phenomenon of code switching has attracted the attention of many scholars who see it as a phenomenon that worth investigating, and thus was studied from different angles. The term received various definitions, (e.g. Haugen, 1950: 211; Weinreich, 1953: 45; Gardner-Chloros, 1995: 68), and as a simple one we can mention the definition given by Myers Scotton (1993: vii) which sees it as: “the use of two or more languages in the same conversation”.

This phenomenon can explain the Algerian linguistic situation. A mere conversation with Algerian speakers allows to sketch the three grammatical types of code switching identified by Poplack (1980):

- **Intersentential code switching**, which occurs between sentences.

  Eg: Ana koulchi rah 3ajebni had el 3am, **tu ne peux pas imaginer**

  Meaning: I like everything this year, you can’t imagine.

- **Intrasentential code switching**, which takes place within a sentence boundary. For instance, Sebdou speakers during their daily conversations outside with friends, provide a good example. For example they say: Ana ajbetni **la nouvelle constitution**, bezef fort.

  Meaning: I liked the new constitution, it’s good.

- **Extra-sentential/tag code switching** that refers to the use of a tag, a discourse marker, or a conversation marker in a language that is entirely different from the language of the sentence into which it is inserted. For instance, two youngsters chatting on Facebook, one tells the other: **oh mon dieu**! Rak trad 3liya bzf **retard**, t9il fel **clavier**.
Meaning: oh my god! You are not an instant replier.

It has been observed by different scholars in the Algerian bilingual community, code switching occurs in all situations and in all places within language word groups (sentences-clauses or phrases). French language has been deeply rooted in the Algerian community. In AA, the influence that can be found is for example the Arabic inflection that can be added to the French verb, saying for instance [suprimtah] ‘I have deleted it’, or [votet, votet!] ‘Have you voted’; the French verbal root is conjugated with an Arabic inflection.

We can say that this phenomenon of how someone speaks and what words or language they use and choose is often an indicator of their level of education and position in society. Many authors (Marçais), (Blanc), and (Cohen) have considered the Arabic language in a number of subdivisions, and the next title will clarify more.

2.6 Colloquial Arabic: Sedentary Vs Bedouin Variants

Every language has its dialectal varieties. Arabic in general and Algerian Arabic in particular have several varieties. Algerian dialects can be classified in two main groups: sedentary dialects and Bedouin dialects.

Algeria witnessed many invasions which effected its history at all levels: cultural, social, religious and linguistic as well. In the 7th century, Islam and the Arabic language were introduced to Algeria. It was arabized during two different periods. The first one started with the Muslim expansions which introduced Arabic and Islam to the indigenous inhabitants. Those Arabs brought with them sedentary or urban varieties of Arabic. The second period began in the 11th century with the Arab settlers Banu Hilal who were considered at that time as a nomadic population. They brought to the area a Bedouin or rural dialect with specific characteristics different from those of sedentary dialects. The distinction between the two types of dialects lies in the realization of some phonological, morphological and lexical features.
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The most obvious phonetic difference between the two dialect groups is the pronunciation of the letter /q/, and it is realized as [g] in Bedouin dialects, whereas it is kept the same as CA in sedentary dialects. For instance /q/ is realized as [g] in Ain ghraba and Sebdou the area under investigation, and as /q/ in Beni Snous a region of Tlemcen and in Nedroma, as [k] in Ghazaouet, and as a glottal plosive [ʔ] in Tlemcen city.

The other major phonetic difference is that the Bedouin dialects preserve the Classical Arabic interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, and merge the CA emphatic sounds /ḍ/ and /ð/ into /ð/ rather than sedentary /ḍ/. Bedouin dialects are marked by presence, within their consonantal systems, of these interdental fricatives which have become plosives in the sedentary varieties. The word /θelƷ/: “snow” for instance, is realized as [telƷ] in sedentary dialects and as [θelƷ] in Bedouin ones.

There is no gender distinction in some sedentary dialects, whereas in Bedouin dialects gender is differentiated by adding the suffix {i} when addressing a woman. For example the word [kul]: “eat” is used in sedentary dialects to address both a man and a woman. However, in Bedouin dialects [kuli] is used to address a woman and [kul] for a man.

Bedouin dialects are characterized by the use of the suffix {ah} with the third person singular masculine, both as an object pronoun as in /kətbah/: “he wrote it”, and as a possessive one as in /kta:bah/: “his book”. In contrast, in sedentary dialects, its counterpart {u} is used as in /kətbu/ and /kta:bu/.

The distinction between the two types also lies in the different realizations of a number of lexical items. Here are some of the examples from Tlemcen speech as opposed to rural speech of Sebdou:
Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

Table 2.1 The distinction between Sedentary and Bedouin dialects in the different realizations of a number of lexical items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban vocabulary</th>
<th>Rural vocabulary</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kæməl</td>
<td>Gæːʕ</td>
<td>‘All’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habb</td>
<td>bəya</td>
<td>‘He wanted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaʕməl</td>
<td>jədiːr</td>
<td>‘He does’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to such classification, Sebdou dialect has the characteristics of the Bedouin dialects. Moreover, Dhina (1938) and Marçais (1960) cite some typical characteristics of Bedouin dialects:

1-The use of the back velar [g], instead of the uvular [q] or the velar voiceless stop [k], or the glottal stop [ʔ] used in sedentary speech. Thus, the word /qanṭara/ (bridge) is realized as /ganṭra/.

2-A salient differentiation in gender in the second person singular, in fact retention of the CA form /anta/ vs. /anti/: /nta/ “you”, used for singular masculine, and /nti/ “you”, used for singular feminine.

3-The preservation of the diphthongs [au] and [ai] which are respectively realized in sedentary speech[u] and [i] as in:

   [rauz]   ‘Rice’

   [baiṭ]   ‘Eggs’

4-The velar voiced [ɣ] is substituted by the uvular voiceless [q] in, for instance Laghouat and Djelfa as in:

   [qnem]   ‘Sheep’

   [qunja]   ‘A song’

5-Verbs are conjugated by adding [i] to the second person feminine singular and [u] to the second plural pronoun (be it feminine or masculine) as in:

   [temʃí]   ‘You go’ (feminine singular)

   [temʃu]   ‘You go’ (plural)
6-The use of the sibilants [ʒ] and [dʒ] as realizations of the phoneme /ʒ/ as in: [ʒmel] and [dʒmel] both meaning ‘camel’.

7-The restricted use of the possessive prepositions [ntaʃ], [djal] and [di] (of) as it is realized in Sebdou and some vivinity of tlemcen as: [raːs ntaʃ lkebʃ] which means ‘the head of the ram’

8-Either suffix {ah} or {u} are used for the third person singular as in: /ʃafah/ and /ʃafu/ (it is noteworthy to mention that the two forms are not used in the same dialect) to mean ‘he saw him’.

In the following section, we will shed light on the area of investigation “sebdou” in order to see what its linguistic features are.

2.7 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Sebdou

In this research work, the language variety under investigation is spoken in the area called Sebdou. It is one of the seven districts of Tlemcen, which shares with it a number of the linguistic feature.

Overview

Sebdou is located 38 kilometers from Tlemcen. It was called long before the colonization Tafraoua, Berber word which designates a stream basin, because the region is rich of valleys, water sources which lead to a good agriculture. It was only after the brief occupation of this region by Emir Abd-Al-Kader and the establishment by him of a Fort called "Qal'a Tafraouah" (1832/1837) that the term Sebdou was going official by the French colonialism, by deformation of the name ‘Sebdou’ which means a meadow grazed by the animals since there are plenty of animals in the region. In addition, In the era of colonization they would call it the "sehb deux" and because of a problem of pronunciation it became ‘Sebdou’. At first sight, the relief of Sebdou consists of two distinctly differentiated sets: on the one hand, the mountainous setting of the Tell Atlas, at the summit of which the altitude varies between 1000 and 1180 meters, and on the other hand the Bastian basin; which is a relatively flat upland area (900 to 950 meters) where slopes do not exceed 10%. 
2.7.2 Historical Background

Old advanced base of the Ottoman era in Tlemcen, Sebdou has known several conquests during these last centuries. Due to its strategic position this small town has always been coveted to control access to the south Saharan.

From 1837 to 1842, the Emir Abd-El-Kader installed a fortified military camp on the site of the current barracks, which had been completely refitted by the French, after they had taken possession of it. Around this camp, and as was customary, came first to settle, the families of the fighters of the Emir. Some of the families from Mascara have had descendants who have stayed in SEBDOU until today. There were also other Moroccan and Berber families who had formed the first inhabitants of the city. Other families came later from Kabylie and elsewhere.

Some claim that it was in Sebdou, in a well-known place, that the famous Tafna Treaty was signed between the Emir Abd-El-Kader and General Cavaignac, who was to put an end to the war. But the fighting will continue for a decade after this agreement to end hostilities. Anyway, the center of Sebdou has certainly known, several times, the presence of the two men of war since a big oak, millennium, of which only the site still exists - the historical tree has been burned in 1950-was known as "Cavaignac oak". In 1844, General Lamoriciere installed a post in Sebdou to hold in respect the Moroccan sultan Abderrahmane, then ally of the Emir.

The spearhead of this enterprise was the village of colonization. Le Cavaignak Oak, burned in 1950Instrument of development and settlement, the village of colonization also provoked a massive destructuring of the economy and the precolonial community society. It was in this context that SEBDOU was created in 1872 as a center of colonization, expressing a profound socio-spatial transformation of an Algerian rural region.

2.7.2.1 Tribal Society

The precolonial Sebdou society was completely rural. Two traits characterized it: a hierarchical structure where the higher unity of the social organization was the tribe whose members are united by the bonds of group alliances mainly animated by the 'asabiyya (esprit de corps, tribal patriotism) according to Ibn Khaldoun, and whose general rule is endogamy
The tribe of Beni-Ouriache was the first to live Tafraouah (old Sebdou). Of Berber origin, this tribe descended from the tribe of Banû Habib which was Islamized by an envoy of the founder of Fés, Idris the Great in the course of the eighth century, called Ourieche from which it takes its name (Béni Ourièche).

The tribe of Beni-Ouriache are subdivided into thirteen fractions (firaq) enumerated as follows: (awlld mu'min, awllâd bûhafs, awllâd si-aïssa, awllâd ayyûb ; ‘awlad’ means ‘sons’ which constitutes a group or a tribe, bakheïta, dalalha, awllâd si-tahars lâtity awllâd h’lima, r'madna, magnafa, awllâd bantayeb, m'zila), divided, in turn, into subfractions and even into family groups. Douar combined fractions and sub-fractions.

All such changes of Sebdou population, affected the linguistic situation of the region, as we will see in this chapter.

2.7.3 Geography and Population

Sebdou is located 36 kilometers far from Tlemcen, a population of about 39,800 inhabitants, according to the statistics available for (2008), with a total area of about 243 km². It is located between the parallels 34 ° 13 ’19 North, and the meridians 1 ° 15’ 35 West. Its Mediterranean climate is relatively hot in summer and cold in winter.
2.7.4 The Dialect of Sebdou

Sebdou variety or dialect as other dialects in Algeria has its own specificities. The inhabitants have retained a considerable number of Berber words. This act of maintenance of some words was due to the fact that these arabicised people at that time did not know their equivalents in Arabic. These Berber words are still surviving, generally refer to places, mountains, hills, valleys, illnesses, kinds of flowers, herbs, tools of handicrafts and utensils are listed below. Some examples of some plants which have Berber names: adda:d, timerşat, mliləs, gernunəʃ … names for forester fruits include tabva…and names of illnesses such as: tifdəs, which have no equivalents in English. In addition, the below table contains the vocabulary of Tamazight origins used by Sebdou (hereafter SA) speakers.

Table 2.2 The vocabulary of Tamazight origins used by SA speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>BERBER</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الفكرون</td>
<td>ⵚ ⵝ ⴰ ⴳ ⴳ ⴰ</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ثمارة</td>
<td>ⵚ ⵝ ⴰ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / tamara /</td>
<td>Hard work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الزّلط</td>
<td>ⵚ ⵝ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / aẓlaḍ /</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>صيفط</td>
<td>ⵚ ⵝ ⴰ ⴳ ⴳ ⴝ / ssifḍ /</td>
<td>Send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النكافة</td>
<td>ⵛ ⴷ ⴳ ⴱ ⴳ ⴳ / tangift /</td>
<td>the lady who oversees the choice of bride's wedding day, and accompanies her during the ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التبروري</td>
<td>ⵚ ⴷ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / abruri</td>
<td>Hail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الهيدورة</td>
<td>ⵚ ⴷ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / ahiduṛ</td>
<td>Ram’s leather_wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>البرقاق</td>
<td>ⵚ ⴷ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / abrgag</td>
<td>The spy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الفللوس</td>
<td>ⵚ ⴷ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ / afullus /</td>
<td>The chick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since Moroccan and Berber families had formed the first inhabitants of the city, this Tamazight vocabulary is also used by Moroccans. There are many lexical terms and expressions that leak from Morocco, like the word [msantah] or for mad, and maledictions like [awili:], other expressions are typically from SA like [iwahah] and [hara] (give me). This dialect is somehow typical for its incursion of a large number of slang vocabularies, such as: [xwi] meaning “go”, which can be also expressed as [k∫i].

Moreover, some sounds are foreign to Arabic, but exist in SA due the contact of AA with other foreign varieties such as French, Spanish, Italian, etc... The two sounds /P/ and /v/ appear in many French borrowings such as: [piʒama], [pupija], [vi:sta], meaning ‘pyjamas’, ‘doll’ and ‘jacket’ respectively.

Nevertheless, since these two sounds /p/ and /v/ have no counterparts in Arabic, they are substituted by /b/ and /f/ respectively. Sometimes they are not assimilated and remain as they are. In the variety under investigation we selected the following examples where these sounds are not assimilated are given below:

Table 2.3 Examples of non assimilated sounds /p/ and /v/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>French Gloss</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kuvirta/</td>
<td>‘couverture’</td>
<td>‘blanket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lvana/</td>
<td>‘vanne’</td>
<td>‘sluice gate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lvi:s/</td>
<td>‘vis’</td>
<td>‘screw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/plasti:k/</td>
<td>‘plastique’</td>
<td>‘plastic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/plaṭo/</td>
<td>‘plateau’</td>
<td>‘plate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next examples show the substitution of these words by /b/ and /f/. They are generally uttered by illiterate and old people:
Table 2.4 The substitution of words by /b/ and /f/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>French Gloss</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/fwajaʒ/</td>
<td>“voyage”</td>
<td>“transportation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/li:sta/</td>
<td>“veste”</td>
<td>“jacket”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fizi:ta/</td>
<td>“visite”</td>
<td>“to visit the doctor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bɔrdi:tah/</td>
<td>“je l’ai perdu”</td>
<td>“I have lost it”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.7.4.1 SA phonological features:

- The uvular plosive /q/:

  It is the feature which characterized urban dialects as opposed to rural dialects. While CA qaf is maintained as [g] as in Sebdou and Ain ghraba, it is realized as uvular stop [q] in many urban dialects (Algiers, Constantine, Nedroma and others), and as [ʔ] in Tlemcen. Except in a number of words where /q/ is realized as [g], here are some illustrating examples:

  [gasʕa]: ‘basin’.

  [gnina]: ‘rabbit’.

  [məŋuʃ]: ‘earring’.

  Dendane (1993:72) explains the phenomenon of the intrusion of /g/ by a tactic that Trudgill (1978:72) calls “the strategy of transfer”. He says that /g/ occurs by means of ‘transfer’ of lexical items, it means as he says that we ‘picked up’ from rural speech words of things in that shape, i.e. with [g] that it do not use by urban people and have no equivalent words in urban speech.

- Preservation of interdentals /θ, ð, ð̟/:
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In most Maghrebi dialects, the interdentals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̟/ have lost their interdental characteristic and thus are realized respectively as [t], [d], and [d̟]. However there are some areas where this feature has been preserved as in Sebdou, Oran, Ain Temouchent…

Examples:

/ð/ is realized as /ð/:

/ðahab/ : /ðheb/ “gold”.

/ðiʔb/ : /ði:b/ “wolf”.

/hæða/ : /hæða/ “this”.

/θ/ is realized as /θ/:

/θu:m/ : /θu:m/ “garlic”.

/θæmæ:nja/ : /θmænja/ “eight”.

• Originally in most Algerian varieties /d̟/ is realized as an alveolar plosive sound [d]. However, in Sebdou and other areas (Ain ghraba, Sabra…), there is a hypercorrection realization [ð̟]. It means, even in words where /d̟/ original in CA. for example: /d̟araba/ → [ð̟araba].

Examples:

Table 2.5 The hypercorrection realization of [d].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/baið/</td>
<td>/baið/</td>
<td>‘eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/marid/</td>
<td>/mrið/</td>
<td>‘ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d̟araba/</td>
<td>/d̟rab/</td>
<td>‘to beat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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- The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are phonological features which lost their diphthong characteristic and are realized as long vowels, respectively [i: ~ e:] and [u: ~ o:] in some areas such as Nedroma, Tlemcen. However, these features /ai/ and /au/ are preserved in Sebdou and other areas, where people tend to say [ʃai] and [χau] as realized in CA, as is illustrated in the following examples:

Table 2.6 The preservation of Diphthongs after Emphatic Consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃai/</td>
<td>/ʃai/</td>
<td>Summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χail/</td>
<td>/χail/</td>
<td>Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hajt/</td>
<td>/hajt/</td>
<td>Wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χauf/</td>
<td>/χauf/</td>
<td>Fear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the glides /ai/ and /au/ are substituted by [i:] and [u:] respectively in some words as it is illustrated in the table 2.7:

Table 2.7 The alternation of the Glides /ai/ and /au/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The glides</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/ → [i:]</td>
<td>/Zait/</td>
<td>[zi:t]</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bait/</td>
<td>[bi : t]</td>
<td>room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/ → [u:]</td>
<td>/favq/</td>
<td>[fu:g]</td>
<td>On</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ laun/</td>
<td>[lu:n]</td>
<td>colour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.3.2 SA morphological features:

It is important to look at the morphological features of the speech community of Sebdou to show the use of some variables specific to this community.
- In most cases the feminine terms are derived from the masculine ones by adding the suffix \{a\}. Ex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[mrid] sick</td>
<td>[mrida]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kbir] big</td>
<td>[kbira]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zin] nice</td>
<td>[zina]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In indicating possession and as a shared characteristic with the majority of the Algerian dialects, we add the suffix \{-i:\} for the masculine and \{-ti:\} for feminine, the following illustration may clarify the task:


[sahbi] my boy friend         [sahabti] my girl friend

[\ʒari] my neighbour(masc.)   [\ʒartti] neighbour(fem.)

As opposed in some dialects like those of Tlemcen, Nedroma, Ghazaouet and Beni Snous, they drop the feminine marker \{i\} in the 3rd person feminine singular in all Arabic three tenses, whereby both man and woman are addressed the same way.

- The plural form of noun: Sebdou variety is characterised by a morphological print specific to the MSA which is ‘dʒæmʕ tæksi:r’ or the ‘broken’ plural, for instance, for old people the plural of /ʒiʃæ:n/ is /ʒjæ:/ (i.e. ‘hungry’ adj. pl.), however, it is /ʒiʃ ni:n/ for young and adult speakers.

2.6.3.3 SA lexical features:

One of the aspects of dialect diversity is obvious in differences in vocabulary which marks different regions or geographical areas. This is the case of Sebdou where both old and youngsters of the city show some differences in some words. Here are some examples:
Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

Table 2.8 Differences in speech with recourse to age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Young</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/taifːr/</td>
<td>/miːda/</td>
<td>‘Table’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hnəʃi/</td>
<td>/χaf/</td>
<td>‘Hurry up!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jəndæh/</td>
<td>/ʃafet/</td>
<td>‘Send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/labəə/</td>
<td>/maʔliːʃ/</td>
<td>‘Never mind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/təɾəːʃ/</td>
<td>/ɾaʒəl/</td>
<td>‘Man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hwala/</td>
<td>/qæʃ/</td>
<td>‘Clothes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During our investigation we found some Spanish words used by the speakers of SA, as the following table shows:

Table 2.9 Spanish words used by SA speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Word</th>
<th>SA Realization</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Falta”</td>
<td>[falṭa]</td>
<td>‘fault’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Barato”</td>
<td>[baraṭo]</td>
<td>‘cheap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Raça”</td>
<td>[raʃa]</td>
<td>‘race’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Armario”</td>
<td>[merjo]</td>
<td>‘cupboard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Zapatos”</td>
<td>[ʃəbbə:t]</td>
<td>‘shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Falso”</td>
<td>[falso]</td>
<td>‘fake’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SA has a vocabulary rooted mostly in CA, in addition to a considerable number of loan words from Berber, Turkish, Spanish, and French. Like all Arabic dialects and
most importantly Algerian dialects, this spoken variety is characterised by a number of distinctive features.

2.8 Conclusion

The study of linguistic variation has always been an important aspect of linguistic research. It provides insights in historical, social, and geographical factors of language use in society. Each dialect has its phonological, morphological and lexical features that differentiate it from other varieties. This chapter is an attempt to describe the linguistic features characterizing the speech community of Sebdou. The investigation shows a great deal of variation at almost all linguistic levels. When we talk about language variation, we are referring to the ways language differs among individuals in a given speech community under a number of circumstances, and this is the work and the aim of sociolinguistics, to explain and analyze linguistic diversity in Sebdou speech.
Chapter Three:

Research design, data analysis and interpretation
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3.1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics focuses upon language in use within a given speech community. Sociolinguistic researchers shed light on language variation. It studies the way languages vary along geographical or social lines or in correlation with age and gender. The way individuals of the same speech community may display linguistic differences in different social contexts.

Every language has a number of its varieties. The Arabic language for example is a set of colloquial dialects each having important phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic differences that characterize it as a distinct variety. In Algeria, for instance, variation can be observed in its dialects. Algerian Arabic differs from one town to another; each dialect possesses a number of features that makes it different from the other. Sebdou Arabic, one of the various dialects of Algeria, shows specific features to it at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. This research work tries to show how these features differ from one speaker to another and why, by relating these linguistic features to social variables mainly age in addition to the impact of education on language change in the speech community of Sebdou. In doing so, sociolinguistic data has to be collected from native speakers of the community.

The previous chapter, have exposed some linguistic features characterizing SA. This present chapter seeks to investigate why individuals of the same speech community may display linguistic differences. It will present the research methodology, the sample of population under study, and then introduce the instruments of research handled to collect the needed data. By the end, we interpret the analyzed data through certain theories and paradigms. This work is based primarily on a quantitative analysis, and also relied on a qualitative method which has enabled us to understand the reasons behind such behaviour.
3.2 Research Methodology

Language as a complex phenomenon and an important subject has attracted the attention of many scholars and thus studied it from different angles. Traditional linguistic analysis of language emphasized structure; identifying the structure of words and their relationships in larger structures was the main aim of the researcher. However, with the advent of sociolinguistics, sociolinguists put emphasis on language use and on the way people speak differently in different contexts. It is noticed in any speech community many variables in speech. The language used in one region differs from the one used in another region, such variation is called geographical variation. Later on, sociolinguists find that every variation is due to many social factors in the same town or city, and for the choice of a given code, and thus this variation is known as social variation. In the former kind of variation, which started in the second half of the 19th century, dialect geographers were interested in producing dialect maps and atlases, whereas the latter, in the late 1960’s includes the work of Labov (1966-1972) in New York city, which is regarded as the basic study of linguistic variation and emerged as a reaction against inadequate methods in earlier approaches. In investigating speech variation, variationists have developed systematic techniques for collecting data.

In this research work, we tend to use the Labovian method for collecting data. Linguistic variables whether phonological, morphological or lexical are to be studied quantitatively in relation to the social variables of the speech community of Sebdou, in which we have found that age has a relation in language variation, the young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms (innovative), whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use (conservative). The level of education has also an impact on language variation in the speech community of Sebdou, the evidence of this language behavior.
3.3 Basic Methods of Data Collection

In order to analyze language use in relation to social variables, a number of hypotheses have to be put forward, and to test and prove these, participants are assigned to different techniques of data collection which may confirm or refuse these hypotheses. Research instruments fall into two different categories: qualitative and quantitative instruments. Qualitative instruments refer to the interviews, observations; note-taking…They generally rely on studying things in their naturalistic contexts in order to understand people’s attitudes and behaviors. Quantitative tools, on the other hand, focus on numbers and statistics. The questionnaire and the interview were used to carry out our investigation. Questionnaire is the most widespread instruments, it is considered as being objective since analyses, interpretation, and conclusions are based on statistics. therefore, the interview is another important method for data collection; it completes the results of the questionnaire. The results are analyzed, discussed and then interpreted as objectively as possible. Using different research instruments used for supplying rich and valuable data, we aim at answering our research questions and providing foundation for discussion to our hypotheses. This section tries to define and look into some methods for data collection relevant to our research. Different data collection techniques have been employed in s research, each with varying degrees of success

3.3.1 The Questionnaire

In their early studies, dialectologists used the method of written questionnaire in collecting data. It was a kind of postal questionnaires. With the advent of sociolinguistics, the use of questionnaires differs from that of dialect geographers. The difference between the two is that, early researchers tended to focus only on few older male speakers; while sociolinguists includes all population sectors and of different age, social and educational backgrounds in their study. In the new method, the raised questions are about reliability because the presence of the fieldworker in the field with the respondents may effects data.
Chapter Three: Research design, data analysis and interpretation

In getting reliable data and avoiding such obstacles, the questionnaire was anonymous. To interpret data, a list of questions has been given to the sample of informants. The purpose is to gather the similar and the different phonological, morphological and lexical items.

The questionnaire is divided into two parts; the first part is entirely devoted to variation instances. Those instances are subdivided in an unremarkable way for the informants into three categories. It indicates the phonological aspects stating the variables. Moreover, it tends to find out the morphological peculiarities at the level of age as: the noun plural. Finally it is concerned with lexical variation. The second part of the questionnaire was devoted to the translation of some new words used in daily life that have entered the linguistic repertoire of AA recently due to the development of technology and sciences from French to SA (see appendix A)

3.3.1.1 Sampling and Stratification

The questionnaires used in this research was addressed to 45 informants aged between [20-85] falling into three age groups: [15-35],[36-60] and [61-85], All the informants involved in this investigation live in Sebdou, and the table below reveals the sample population selected by age:

Table 3.1 Sampling and Stratification of age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The informants were selected from different social backgrounds; some are illiterate and others left school early. Some educated speakers work in different administrations, and few university students are also included. Young and old speakers of both sexes make the central point of this investigation.
Chapter Three: Research design, data analysis and interpretation

Since the informants are of different ages and distinct levels of education, the questionnaire was written in standard Arabic for those who didn’t know the English language, and to facilitate the understanding of different linguistic features characterizing the speech variety of Sebdou.

3.3.2 The Interview

The interview is one of the most common ways of collecting natural spoken data in sociolinguistics. This technique was developed and later modified by Labov in his Martha’s Vineyard and New York studies (1972). The interview is a face-to-face conversation. It is considered as a tool for collecting qualitative data. In some situations, it can fulfill the task better that a questionnaire since when being asked, the informants are able to express freely their opinions, feelings and emotions better than when filling in a questionnaire. In this respect, Taylor, et.al (2006:75) assert that:

> Interviews can be regarded as one of the foremost tools [...] not only for the purpose of obtaining qualitative data but also as a tool for measurement [...] Nevertheless, interviews are particularly valuable for obtaining data in situations where formality of a questionnaire would be less likely to elicit the desired information.

In this investigation, during interviewing many considerations were taken into account. the interview were conducted in the SA variety, as the respondents were free to choose the variety they preferred to use. They were conducted in informal settings (most of them took place at the doctors’ and dentist’s waiting rooms in Sebdou, women’s clothing stores, relatives house,library, and my grandmother’s farm, where many of his old friends meet). In most cases, the interviews lasted about 10 to 15 minutes maximum.

the interview used was a semi-structured interview, it was a kind of face-to-face interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. The questions asked were open questions using the method (note-taking).The questions asked in the interview were under the following rubrics:

- The first rubric is about the lexical variation among young and old speakers.
Chapter Three: Research design, data analysis and interpretation

Here are the questions

- The second rubric is about people’s point of view and attitudes towards their local variety (SA). The questions were:
- The third rubric aims to check the role of age and its impact on the use of

3.3.2.1 Sampling and Stratification

Concerning the sample population of the interview, it was addressed to 12 informants, aged between [15-85], among whom 6 young and middle age speakers aged between [25-60] in addition to 6 old speakers aged between [61-85], the following table illustrates the age of the interviewees:

**Table 3.2: The Distribution of Interviewees in Correlation with Age.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young and middle age</td>
<td>15-35</td>
<td>36-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>61-85</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aim of the interview was to know the lexical variation among young and old speakers, and the differences between them in the use of language in correlation with age and other social factors. Furthermore, we wanted to get in touch with their views and attitudes towards their local variety.

3.3 Data Analysis and interpretation

The data collected are demonstrated in this section by means of tables. These data are classified and indexed phonetically and grammatically to help the researcher in making the analysis beneficial and easier.

3.4 Questionnaire Results

As already stated, the questionnaire included two parts.
Part one

Phonological variation

As far as phonological variation is concerned, four linguistic variables: /q/, /ɖ/, /θ/ and /ð/ are examined. The features are examined among SA speakers showing their cooperation with age, and other social factors. The table below shows some of the most typical phonological variables and their respective variants in SA.

Table 3.3 Phonological variables and their corresponding variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological Variables</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɖ/</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Variable (q)

The /q/sound is the linguistic feature characterizing the speech community of Sebdou. Through the examination of some words containing the words [qærrab] “come closer”, and [qṣir] “short”, the data gathered show different use of this variable by the informants of the variety. The following table shows the degree of variation concerning this variable illustrated in the word /qærəb/, “come closer”
Table 3.4 Shifting Scores from /q/ → [q] ~ [g]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(q)</th>
<th>[q]</th>
<th>[g]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle aged</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the tables above, it is clearly shown that young speakers use [q] more than [g]. The results are: 16 occurrences of the variant [q] that is 36% vs. 29 of the variant [g] which means 64%, this conclude that young people are more likely to shift to the CA, and this may be due to education, probably because they have realized the misuse of the variant [g] and correct it. However, the middle aged speakers, preserve the use of the variant [g] though they are educated people. Moreover, one may notice in these scores, the high percentage of the use of the variant [g] by old speakers. All these results are represented in the following graph:

Figure 3.1: Percentages of the use of the variants [q] and [g] in relation with age.
The Variables /θ/, /ð/, /t/ and /d/

As previously mentioned (chapter two), the classical Arabic interdental consonants /θ/, /ð/, are preserved. However, through this research, it is noticed that these sounds are sometimes substituted by [t], [d] respectively. The sounds /θ/ and /ð/ lose their voicing to become [t] and [d]. Words like /θu:m/ ‘garlic’, and /ðiʔb/ ‘wolf’ are realized as [tu:m] and [di:b]. The use of this variable is investigated among speakers and obtained the following results:

Table 3.5 The use of the Variants [θ] - [t], [ð] - [d] in Correlation with gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the speakers’ realization of [θ] and [ð], [t] and [d] in some given words, and through observing their linguistic behaviour, and asking them some questions, it is noticed that gender plays a vital role in varying the use of these variants among speakers as the following figure indicate:

Figure 3.2 The use of the Variants [θ] - [t], [ð] - [d] in Correlation with gender.
Chapter Three: Research design, data analysis and interpretation

Males’ scores in the articulation of [t] and [d] as figure 3.5 indicates, have fewer rates compared with those of females. However, for the articulation of [θ] and [ð], males’ rates are higher than females’. This leads to say that [t] and [d] are more likely to be used by women. We may presume that this difference might have an explanation in that women prefer using this features which are associated with feminine speech, just as is the case with female speakers in TA speech with the [?] Dendane (2006:223). It is come up while trying to reflect upon this variation into the speaker’s age, with the following scores:

Table 3.6: Scores of the Variants[θ] -[t],[ð ]-[d] in Correlation with Age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age 15-35</th>
<th>Age 36-60</th>
<th>Age 61-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found that age too plays a significant role in distributing the use of [θ] -[t],[ð ]-[d] among speakers as figure 3.6 below shows. Thus, it was observed that the use of the variants[θ] and [ð], are highly scored between speakers of the last two age groups compared with the first one, while the use of the variants [t] and [d] is higher among speakers of the first category, and decreases in the last two categories. As it is shown in the following figure:
Figure 3.3 Scores of the Variants [θ] -[t],[ð ]-[d] in Correlation with Age.

As it is clearly demonstrated in the graph above, old and middle aged speakers in Sebdou maintain [θ] and [ð]; a fact that can be attributed to their conservative character of certain linguistic features peculiar to SA. Young speaker’s shift to the use of both [t] and [d] is due to their contact with other AA varieties or to the influence of the neighboring dialects. The young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms, whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use. So, from these results, we can say that the speech of elders and the youth in the speech community of Sebdou is more convergent than that of males and females. As a result, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

The variable (ð)

Among the variables that have been focused on in this research, is the sound [ð] as a realization of the CA phoneme /d/. The sound /d/ is hypercorrected realized as [ð], It means, even in words where /d/ original in CA. For example words like /baid/ ‘eggs’ or /ðaraba/ ‘he hit’ are realized as [baið] and [ðrab] in SA. It is supposed that the speakers do not acknowledge the realization of [ð], as characterizing Sebdaoui
speakers, and we suppose that old people may unconsciously use this sound, as there is a negative attitude towards [d]. In addition, education today has made people more conscious of the fact as they try to avoid [t]. This change of the phonetic system is reflected through the quantitative results as shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age 15-35</th>
<th>Age 36-60</th>
<th>Age 61-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Scores of the Variants [d]- [t]in Correlation With Age.

From the speakers’ realization for the variants [d] and [t], through observing their linguistic behavior, and asking them some questions, we noticed that education plays a vital role in varying the use of [d] and [t] among speakers. We realize that the use of the variant [t] is highly scored between speakers of the last two age groups compared with the first one, while the use of the variant [d] is higher among speakers of the first category and decreases in the last two categories, as the following figure indicates:
Figure 3.4 Scores of the Variants [d]- [ð]in Correlation With Age.

It is observed that uneducated middle-aged speakers and elders staying at home are the most likely to use the sound [ð]. Among educated speakers, this devoiced realization tends to completely disappear because this social category favors the use of [d] instead. For instance, young Sebdaoui speakers considered the sound [ð] as a stigmatized feature and as a mistake and shift to the CA one which is [d] as we saw previously. So, here the impact of education can clearly be seen on language change in SA. Consequently, the first hypothesis is confirmed.

Morphological Variables

As far as morphology is concerned, the examination of one linguistic variable: the plural form of noun said to be mentioned. As mentioned in chapter two Sebdou variety is characterized by a morphological peculiarities specific to the MSA which is the ‘broken’ plural. For instance, for old people the plural of /ʒiːæːn/ is /ʒiːæː ʃl/ (i.e. ‘hungry’ adj. pl.) taking the pattern [fæːl], however, it is /ʒiːæːniːn/ for young and adult speakers. This variable is examined according to age, in addition to other social variables like the level of education. For this two adjectives were chosen, the following table will show more:
Table 3.8: Scores of the plural variants in correlation with age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Young and middle aged</th>
<th>Old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʒauʕæ:n</td>
<td>Hungry</td>
<td>a)/ʒi :ʕæ :ni:n /</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b)/ʒjæ: ʃ/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jæbʕæ:n</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>a)/ʃebʕæ:ni:n/</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b)/ʃæ:Įetlæh/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table above, it is clearly shown that the use of broken plural is more common among old speakers than in the other category of young and middle age speakers, it means that this category shows a strong tendency to the use of sound plural, and through observing their linguistic behaviour, and asking them some questions, it is concluded that age plays a vital role in this variation among speakers.

**Lexical variation**

Differences in the lexis are one aspect of dialect variation maybe the most noticeable in all types of speech communities. These variations can be within the same dialect, as in AA there exist various colloquial dialects, and lexical variation can be found even within the same speech community. Therefore, the variety under investigation shows variation with other Algerian dialects and also within its members. Such differences are reflected especially in variation according to age groups. The new generation create new words so it can be symbols of youth. They also try to avoid what they call the traditional forms used by elders. For instance, old speakers of Sebdou have specific lexical items, like saying for instance /hneʃi/: “hurry up”, /zægi:leh/: “call him”. Such words are only used by elders of Sebdou but not by the younger; instead they say: /ʃæf/, and /ʕæjetlæh/. Through analyzing the questionnaire, the investigator find out instances of lexical specific to both young and old speakers were found as it is shown in the table below:
Table 3.9: Lexical Comparison between young and old speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Lexis</th>
<th>Young</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOUNS</td>
<td>Lærɖ̡̂lmiːdælkelb buqræːʒ</td>
<td>lwætjæfæjræjduːs muqræːʒ</td>
<td>The ground Table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The dog Cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERBS</td>
<td>njufːxfæf jzefæt jesennæ rɔːh</td>
<td>neXzer hneʃi jendæh jɔːːj</td>
<td>To see Hurry up!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To send To wait Go!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJECTIVES</td>
<td>jæːbes ʒiːːn ʃæjæːn</td>
<td>bæqtaːt msuːlæq meşhoːt</td>
<td>Hungry Tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kifɣol kimæhæːk bezæːf</td>
<td>Kiqraːjen kðæːk ʃɔraːm</td>
<td>As if Like this A lot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the data collected in the table above, the distinction between young and old speakers lies on different lexical categories such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Apparently, the most important factor of lexical variation in Sebdou is age. In fact, any interpretation of a variation is a result of belonging to different ages. The examples above are nouns of objects used in daily life, adjectives…words or names of these objects used by youngsters are ‘familiar’ to any Algerian speakers, but that of elders seem ‘strange’ and particular. Consequently, this ascertains hypothesis 2.
Chapter Three: Research design, data analysis and interpretation

Part two

Section a:

Table 3.10 Scores of Words Translation from French to SA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French words</th>
<th>Young and middle aged</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiosque</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kiosk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-Ordinateur</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clavier</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parabole</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Parable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber Café</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Internet room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reseau</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puce</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carte Memoire</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Memory Card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Mairie</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Town Hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout this table, some SA speakers show inability to translate the words above most of them elders, whereas some others translated them as young and middle age speakers. The scores show that some recent French technical terms that have entered the bulk of SA, and remain without Arabic equivalents in the linguistic repertoire of these speakers. For example, for the word puce meaning ‘chip’, only few speakers could find the Arabic equivalent term /fari:ha # ?iliktru:nija/. For the following words, clavier, micro-ordinateur, (keyboard, mouse, computer, respectively), thanks to the educational system which has introduced the discipline of informatics to Middle and Secondary schools.

Section a:

Despite their low marks in French, youngsters have shown ability to translate some of these French words into Arabic. The explanation for this fact is that these
students have got the habit to use these terms as loan words in their speech. Additionally, they learn also the Arabic equivalents of these terms at school, and so they could not find any difficulty in translating most of them. In fact, apart from the young and middle aged generations, elders were unable to translate some words, and the examined words constitute for them a far world from theirs: computing does not mean anything to them.

Section b:

Most speakers have shown familiarity with those presented words to them; though they do know the Arabic equivalents, they do not use them. This reveals the strong influence of French during the colonisation of Algeria, the reason for which these old persons still retain French loanwords. Many speakers claim to alternate between some words, for instance, saying la mairie or /baladijah/ ‘town hall’, lycée or /anawijah/ ‘secondary school’, marché or /sɔːɡ/ ‘market’ is the same. But, they cannot use the standard Arabic forms /ṣijaːdah/ and /malšab/ referring to a ‘clinic’ and a ‘stadium’ respectively. They rather utilize their equivalents in French; Polyclinique and stade. However, in using some words, an old person never says “flexily” or “Dj” or “climatiser” but [3amarly], [lyanaja] and [rrawaha].

3.5 Interview Results

- Question 1: Can you cite some words or expressions typical to your dialect?

Concerning this question, youngsters prefer to cite some slang words used between them in their daily life, while elders prefer to cite proverbs to confirm their entity; the following table will show more:
### Table 3.11 Slang words and proverbs used by young and old speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[xwi ţaqss]</td>
<td>Go away</td>
<td>[lkəɾʃ ʷrə:ɾa wəɾbathə ʃkəl],</td>
<td>The brain is the key of eating with control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wəjæ : kəʃ jdid]</td>
<td>Hey, is there any news?</td>
<td>[lmærø bel qəntæ :r w rræhæ bel wqæjjæ]</td>
<td>Illness comes at once, and comfort comes gradually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mærækʃər niʃæ:n]</td>
<td>You are not in the right path.</td>
<td>[gleb lgedræ ʃlæ fumhæ teʃbah lbent mha]</td>
<td>Like father like son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hædi gæ:? mætæku:lʃ mʃæjæ]</td>
<td>This doesn’t work with me.</td>
<td>[wæ:jгу:l lmijet fi jed ˠæsæ:læh?]</td>
<td>The deceased can’t protest, because it is too late.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From their answers, elders in comparison with young speakers are highly conservative. This conservatism is reflected through the use of SA phonological, morphological and characteristic lexical peculiarities. Elders tend to use some linguistic items and expressions that are no longer used by the youth nowadays to the extent that when hearing them sometimes, one may think they are using some other variety than SA. This fact suggests that in any community, where such linguistic choice may exist, age as a social factor dictates the choice of the lexical alternate. As a consequence, hypothesis 2 is confirmed.

- **Question 2**: What do you use for malediction?

Taking into consideration the answers of both genders, young and old speakers, women are the most, who use malediction comparing with men. However, they have shown differences in the use of malediction in terms of age. For example the answers
of youngsters were: [wilæk yæ:h] ‘malediction on a person’, [awili:], [æhæ:j] ‘og my goodness’ while elders use: [ xlæ xajmtɔk], [nʔæl ʛesiltek], ‘malediction on someone’s family’, ‘malediction on someone’s race’, respectively.

- **Question 3:** How do you feel toward your local variety when you speak to others from different varieties?

When asking them about their feeling towards their local variety when they speak to the ones from other varities, positive attitudes were shared. All the informants declares that they do not change their local variety and generally speak it everywhere: at home with relatives and outside with friends from other regions and from other varities.

- **Question 4:** Do you think that people can notice the region you belong to by the way you speak?

Most of the informants confirm this question by an affirmative response. They revealed that people notice their variety when they speak, by telling them this directly: [ntæ sebdæwi sure!], or going through questions like: [hædærtæ ki lewhærnæ yæ:k?].

- **Question 5:** Do you think that there is a difference between young and old speakers in the use of language? Why?

Most of the informants agree that there is a difference between young and old speakers in the use of language. Young speakers revealed that they are keeping up with time, using new words in their communication, discovering new languages, unlike elders, who preserve their language, using old words and expression that are no longer used by youth nowadays. In addition, they considered the sound [ʊ] used by elders as a stigmatized feature and as a mistake and shift to the CA one which is [d]. This fact suggests that in any community, where such linguistic choices may exist, age education as factors dictate the choice of language use. As a result, hypothesis 1 and 2 are confirmed.

- **Question 6:** Do you think that age affects language use between the two genders?
Taking into consideration the answers of both genders, it is noticeable that both men and women agree on the fact that age has an important effect on language use. The scores of ‘yes’ are very high comparing to those of ‘no’, this asserts that age is a sociolinguistic variable which plays a prominent role in language change. Taking into consideration the answers of both genders, both men and women agree on the fact that age does affect language use. Moreover, it is shown that women are more aware about this than men since women and more importantly mothers do notice that their daughters do use the language differently especially during their adolescence. In other words, young girls do sometimes recede in using Tlemcen dialect in favour of other varieties especially in some situations, for example (when interacting with non-native speakers for example) and for specific reasons to show off.

According to the findings, it was found that age does affect language use among sebdou speakers. It plays a significant role in linguistic variation and change. In Sebdou, the generation of elders is characterized in general by its stability in language use, while the young generation is distinguished from the other generations by the higher rates in varying its speech and its tendency to avoid traditional forms instead. Moreover, the young use some words and expressions that really reveal their distinctiveness from elders and show thus their inclination to be easily influenced. In addition, this linguistic variation and change in SA is also motivated by the influence of education. Here, all the hypotheses are confirmed.
3.6 Conclusion

Sociolinguistic studies have proved that all languages are affected by variation; this linguistic variation is not random, since all speech communities are heterogeneous as their linguistic features are related with those social variables such as the speaker’s age in addition to education. In the speech community of Sebdou, the correlation of two variables: age and in addition to the level of education play a significant role in causing language variation among the speakers of the speech community. The analysis has permitted us to conclude that this variation shows the preservation of some of SA linguistic characteristics besides the use of both old and new lexis and many factors have contributed to such a process: age and education.

Examining linguistic variation at phonological, morphological, and lexical levels, of course in relation with age and education, has also permitted us to conclude that the choice of certain linguistic features by the individual is determined by the speaker’s category and its attitude towards certain linguistic characteristics.
GENERAL CONCLUSION
Sociolinguistic studies have always emphasized on how language varies from one region to another or even within the same region. Thus, the aim of this investigation has been to examine sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Sebdou. Following Labov’s approach (1966-1972) to study the interaction between the social structure and the linguistic structure, this study is considered by the interplay of social variables such as the speaker’s age, and the level of education. Linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological and lexical are analyzed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods. By applying such method, the present research work aims at exploring and clarifying the reasons behind language variation in Sebdou speech community.

The aim of this research is to describe the linguistic aspects characterizing SA lead to discover interesting remarks concerning this speech community. The following points represent a summary of our research work findings. First, some keys concepts in sociolinguistics that present a sign of the subject matter were introduced; the concern was language variation, which explains the relation between variables and social factors. Second, an overview about the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in general which has become extremely complex as many languages and language varieties are found in the country as a result of historical, political and socio-cultural factors besides an overview of Sebdou speech community in particular. Third, drawn some conclusions on SA were drawn.

The investigation of the dialect of Sebdou has led to make some conclusions about this spoken variety and answering our questions stated earlier in this research work: Examining linguistic variation in SA has demonstrated that variation is a reality in this speech community.

Language use in the area of Sebdou is mainly reflected into two major social variables: age and education, showing a significant interplay between each other. The impact of age on the linguistic structure of SA lies in the young and old generations, since the examination of some linguistic variables at a phonological, morphological, and lexical level in accordance with the age of speakers has drawn us to conclude that
elders tend to preserve the linguistic features of their variety. Unlike the young and speakers who tend to use new lexis to avoid the traditional forms as being innovative.

The question that can be raised is: What will be expected from SA speakers after some years, will they preserve their linguistic items or will there be other changes in SA linguistic characteristics?
Appendices

Appendix A

Questionnaire (English Version)

This is a questionnaire in the context of sociolinguistics research about the dialect of Sebdou. This sociolinguistic study aims to analyze some aspects of sociolinguistic variation (mainly: phonological, morphological, and lexical). Please read the questions and choose the answer that reflects your point of view.

Age: …

Place of birth: ……..

Gender: Male □ Female □

Level of education: none □ primary □ elementary □ Secondary □ university □

Part one:

1. Choose the word that you use frequently and add answers if you need:

qætæːɣ: qæɣ □ gæɣ □
qæʃiːr: qær □ gær □
iqtæɾæbæː: qærreb □ gærreb □
qîtː qæt □ gæt □
ð̟æhr: ð̟ær □ ð̟ær □
ð̟ælæːm: ð̟ælmae □ ð̟ælmae □
mið̟ællæː: ð̟ællelæ □ ð̟ællela □
ð̟æjʃ: ð̟æʃ □ ð̟æʃ □
ð̟æw: ð̟æw □ ð̟æw □
Appendices

θum: θu:m tu:m
θæmæ:nja : θmenja tmenja
jæhræθ : jæhreθ jæhret
jubæddir : jbedder jbeder
jæbæ:n: jebæ:n:jæ:jæ
zæwæ:n: zisæ:n zæ:

2- What are the words that you use frequently to name the following?

Æræ: nsu:f neyzer
æsriː: χεf ndæh hneʃi
bæxi:l: jæbes bæqtæ:jæ
zæusæ:n: zisæ:n msu:laq
Ælkæθi:r: bezæ:f ζɔræ:m
tæsbæ:n: sæjæ:n meshoːt
tæ:wiːlæ: lmiːde tæjʃɔ:r
miðlæ: kįʃɔl kįqraːjen
jursil: jzefæt jendæh
jæntæðir: jesennæ jɾæːʃi
iðhæb: rɔ:h ʤheb
æl ærd: Lærd lwaːtʃæ
miθlæ: kimæhæ:k kɔːk
kæl: lkel lʃæjduːs
Appendices

inæːʔ: buqræːʒ muqræːʒ

Part two

1- give the equivalence of the following words in ‘darija’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الكلمة</th>
<th>مكافئها</th>
<th>الكلمة</th>
<th>مكافئها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiosque</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Cyber café</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Réseau</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-ordinateur</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Puce</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clavier</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Carte mémoire</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parabole</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Partager</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mairie</td>
<td>...................</td>
<td>Crédit</td>
<td>...................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2- In your daily life, do you use these words in Arabic or in French, why?

...........................................................................................................

...........................................................................................................

...........................................................................................................

Thank you for your collaboration and understanding
Appendices

Appendix A

Questionnaire (Arabic Version)

استبيان

هذا استبيان في إطار بحث سوسيولوجي حول اللغة السبئاوية لمذكرة الماستر، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل بعض جوانب التغيير السوسيولوجي لغوي، خاصة الفونولوجي، المورفولوجي والمعجمي منه، برجى قراءة الأسئلة واختيار الإجابة التي تعكس وجهة نظركم.

السن: .......
مكان الازدياد: ..............
الجنس: ذكر ☐ اثُى ☐
المستوى الدراسي: منعدم ☐ ابتدائي ☐ متوسط ☐ ثانوي ☐ جامعي ☐

الجزء الأول

1- ضع (ي) علامة (×) أمام الكلمة التي تستعملها في لغتك العالية وأضف (ي) إجابات إذا احتجت (ي) إلى ذلك:

قُطْع: كقطع ☐
قُصِّب: قصير ☐
قُرُب: قرب ☐
قط: قط ☐
ظهر: ظهر ☐
ظلمة: ظلَّة ☐
عظيلة: ضئيلة ☐
ضيف ضئيف ☐
ضوء: ضوء ☐
ظو: ظو ☐

يرجى قراءة الأسئلة واختيار الإجابة التي تعكس وجهة نظركم.
1. أعط مكافأة لكلمات التالية بالآرية:

- الأرض
- الوطنية
- كُتَّاب
- لِعِيدُونَ
- إِنْاءٍ تَسْخِينِ المَاءٍ: بُقِرَاج
- مُقْرَاج

2. ما هي الكلمة التي تستعملها من أجل تسمية مايلي؟

- أزِى: نُشُوفُ
- أمْرُ: خَفْتُ
- بِحْيَل: يَابَسْنَ
- جَعَانَ: جِعان
- الكِثيرَ: بَرَافْتَ
- تَعْبانَ: عَيان
- الطَّالِفة: المِيدَة
- مثلِ: كَيْ شَغِلَنَ
- يُرْسِلُ: يُزِفْتَ

اذْهَبُ: رُوحُ
ذَهَبُ: نَسْخَت
تَلْعُ:
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<th>مكافئها</th>
<th>الكلمة</th>
<th>مكافئها</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kiosque</td>
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<td>Cyber café</td>
<td>..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable</td>
<td>..................</td>
<td>Réseau</td>
<td>..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-ordinateur</td>
<td>..................</td>
<td>Puce</td>
<td>..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>..................</td>
<td>Carte mémoire</td>
<td>..................</td>
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<tr>
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<td>..................</td>
<td>Partager</td>
<td>..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mairie</td>
<td>..................</td>
<td>Crédit</td>
<td>..................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. في حياتك اليومية هل تستخدم هذه الكلمات باللغة العربية أم الفرنسية؟ لماذا؟

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شكرا لتعاونكم (كن) و تفهمكم (كن)
Appendices

Appendix B

Interview (English Version)

In order to study speech variation among young and old speakers, we have elaborated the following interview having as an objective investigating the role of age in such a variation. Please, answer these questions by giving your own stand point.

1. Can you cite some words or expressions typical to your dialect?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………

2. What do you use for malediction?
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   …………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………

3. How do you feel toward your local variety when you speak to others from different varieties?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………

4. Do you think that people can notice the region you belong to by the way you speak?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………

5. Do you think that there is a difference between young and old speakers in the use of language? Why?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………
6. Do you think that age affects language use between the two genders?

Thank you for your collaboration and understanding
Appendices

Appendix B

Interview (Arabic Version)

مقالة

تهدف هذه المقابلة إلى جمع البيانات وذل ذلك للبحث في الاختلاف اللغوي بين الشباب كبار السن في مدينة سيد ومحاولة تسيير الضوء على عامل السن. يرجى منكم الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة بإعطاء مواقفهم الواسع.

1. هل يمكنك ذكر بعض الكلمات التي تتميز بها لهجتك؟

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................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................

2. لماذا تستخدم للتعبير عن اللعنة؟

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................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................

3. كيف تشعر تجاه لهجتك المحلية عندما تتحدث إلى آخرين من مختلف اللهجات؟

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................................................................................................................................................
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4. هل تعتقد أن من الممكن أن يتلاحر الناس المنطقة التي تنتمني إليها بالطريقة التي تتحدث بها؟

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................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................
Appendices

5. هل تعتقد أن هناك فرقًا بين الشباب وكبار السن في استخدام اللغة؟ لماذا؟

6. هل تعتقد أن العمر يؤثر على استخدام اللغة بين الجنسين؟

شكرا لتعاونكم (كن) و فهمكم (كن)