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**Dialect Contact and the Emergence of an Algerian
Arabic Koiné in Tlemcen Speech Community**

*Thesis submitted to the Department of English in candidacy for the degree of
Doctorate in Language Studies*

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Abstract

The study of Arabic dialects is one of the most fascinating research areas to be tackled particularly for the variation it holds. Tlemcen, an Algerian urban community, forms a very interesting fieldwork due to the variability of dialects spoken in its different regions. With reference to that, this research is developed in order to trace the consequences of these regiolects coming into contact. Interestingly, koineization and koiné formation are proposed to be the recent outcomes of dialect contact and change in Tlemcen community as a whole. For the sake of studying this hypothesis, this research takes a triangulation of research methods including ethnography, experiment and survey which have been administered through a number of instruments akin to participant observation, focused ethnographies, perceptual maps, and semi-structured interviews to a sample of 400 participants. The results of this research are presented separately with regard to the variables addressed. The level of formality shows to be an influencing factor to dialect change and koiné use; the formal one goes the more the koiné is utilized. Gender reveals significance in the sense that females tend to maintain the urban variety while male speakers are koiné accommodators but once ethnic belonging comes into play, original dialects are preserved. Koiné use is fostered by participants' attitudes presented in perceptual dialectological maps where they reflect a great awareness is associated with its spread and necessity of use. As far as the linguistic variables, signals for an urban regional koiné appeared particularly at the phonological level where there is a large percentage of agreement in speech performance: [t], [d] and [D] are focused while their rural counterparts are levelled out in all contexts. Findings portray that this emerging regional koiné is characterized by simplification, reduction and levelling which form the very first stages of koiné formation in Tlemcen community.

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List of Abbreviations

AA	Algerian Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic
DA	Dialectal Arabic
GIS	Geographic Information System (software)
IVAr	Intonational Variationist Arabic
MAXQDA	Maximum of Qualitative Data Analysis (software)
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NT	Non-Tlemcenian

List of Phonetic Symbols

Arabic letter	IPA transcription	Symbols used in IVAr	Dialectal Arabic Example (Tlemcen)	English Gloss
أ	ʔ	2	2alb	heart
ب	b	b	batata	potato
ت	t	t	tmer	dates
ث	θ	th	thawm	garlic
ج	ʒ	j	jbel	mountain
ح	ħ	H	Hmer	red
خ	x	x	ximar	scarf
د	d	d	djaj	chicken
ذ	ð	dh	hadha	this
ر	r	r	rwah	come
ز	z	z	zreq	blue
س	s	s	sa3a	watch
ش	ʃ	sh	shbab	nice
ص	sʕ	S	Sak	bag
ط	tʕ	T	TomaTich	tomato
ض	dʕ	D	Darwek	now
ظ	ðʕ	DH	DHohr	midday
ع	ʕ	3	3amar	Fill in
غ	ɣ	gh	ghedwa	tomorrow
ف	f	f	fertetou	butterfly
ق	q	q	qawqaw	peanuts
ك	k	k	kra3	foot
گ	g	g	gamra	moon
ل	l	l	li:m	lemon
م	m	m	mo3ali:m	teacher
ن	n	n	namousiya	bed
ه	h	h	hadra	A talk
و	w	w	warda	A flower
ي	j	y	yemchi	He goes

Source: Adopted from <https://reshare.ukdataservice.ac.uk/852878/15/transliteration.pdf>

General Introduction

Contact is one of the motivations of linguistic variation and change: be it a language, a dialect or any other linguistic variety. The discipline of investigating dialects in contact was pioneered with Trudgill's (1986) *Dialects in Contact* (Trudgill, 1986). It examines the different dynamics and procedures of further linguistic outcomes resulting from subvarieties in contact and intercommunication. Among these results koineization is one.

A number of research works have been conducted under the umbrella of Dialect Contact and Accommodation Theory. In fact, studying accommodation has moved from a socio-psychological discipline of interest to an explanatory tool in the field of contact dialectology. The aim has been directed to explaining the results of dialectal differences and varieties in contact as well as the formation of new dialects depending on the type and duration of contact, i.e., short or long-term accommodation processes. Whereas the former entails situational speech adjustment, the latter results in permanent change. And if the temporary refinement is frequently repeated and routinized in speech for longer periods of time, it may turn to long-term accommodation which may, in turn, be the key to change on a larger social scale (Trudgill, 1986; Auer et. al, 2005) where new dialect forms can take place or even emerge.

Tlemcen speech community has been one of the cultural and linguistic melting pots that attracted sociolinguists' attention for investigation with regard to the idiosyncrasy of its Arabic variety and the diversity of regional dialects that have long poured into the area. Recent literature shows that most Tlemcenian regional dialectal varieties are witnessing a remarkable, progressive change which is manifested in aspects of mixing with other varieties and levelling. The present study tries to highlight significant gaps in this field of research. Unlike previous studies, the object of this study is directed to the investigation of, not only a single region in Tlemcen district but towards, many geographical areas distinguished by regional and linguistic manifestations. More precisely, it investigates the consequences of dialect contact between major linguistic groups including the urban and the rural. Therefore, the

categorization of the sample of the study is basically based on this linguistic diversity in addition to the local allegiances and social divisions regarding the origins of people (where they live, and where they come from).

Many linguists have investigated different parts of Tlemcen and provided generous descriptive accounts on the development of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community as a whole. Marçais (1902), Dekkak (1979), and DendaSpecialne (1993, 2007, 2013, 2014) have been the pioneers and the most influencing figures in studying the dialects spoken in Tlemcen speech community. They advocate the idea that the speech of Tlemcen City receives great assimilation to the rural variety especially by male speakers; preservation is restricted to old people and maintenance exists within females' speech. Within the same line of thought, Kaid-Slimane (2016), among others, states that regional varieties like those of Tlemcen and Ghazaouet are stereotyped and therefore stigmatized; a fact which, in turn, leads to dialect conflict and shift. Similarly, in his investigation of phonological, morphological and lexical items that feature the speech of Ghazaouet, Hocini (2018) claims that there is an increasing avoidance of these features especially by male native speakers in favour of the rural one. In another part of the province, Nedroma's speech has been examined by Ammour (2012) who states that the traditional linguistic characteristics of the variety might be lost under the effect of many factors including population mobility, age and education along with attitudes towards the variety. These factors are said to be contributing in dialect change along many regions such as the Berberophone region of Beni Snous which has been deeply investigated by Kherbache (2010, 2016) who added the idea that eagerness to grasp a significant social position and approval of urbanites in addition to the stigma associated with some local forms has led to mixing, simplification and levelling. In the same vein, Hammoudi (2017) claims that there is a male-led ruralisation process in Tlemcen speech community resulting in a counter-hierarchical linguistic change. Aspects of assimilation and influence between city speech and its outskirts have been linked to historical, ethnic and socio-economic reasons and matrimonial exchanges between the regions as explained by Drici & Adder (2016) while studying dialectal exchanges between Tlemcen Arabic and the one of Ain El-Hout. Then, the speech of the rural region of Beni Smiyel has been said to be losing its bedouinized items especially by youngsters and

adolescents who have proved to be linguistic innovators (Derrouiche & Djeziri, 2015) who play a crucial role in linguistic diffusion and change. Thus, one might deduce many important points that concern the linguistic situation in Tlemcen.

Tlemcen speech community is witnessing an on-going linguistic change. This change takes many directions namely towards the rural as well as towards the urban. Simpler forms characterize the changed varieties while traditional, stigmatized, and pejoratively perceived features are avoided. Males are, sometimes, found to be prominent leaders of linguistic change. Youngsters are innovators; old people are preservative. Additionally, the more a speaker is educated the more their language is affected and the more the contact is stronger between speakers the more change is possible to occur. Psychologically, attitudes play a crucial role in the linguistic temporary or permanent modification. Social security and approval are always sought by speakers over the regions.

Yet, more challenging questions are to be raised: how about the places which are not yet investigated? If speakers of all these differing origins and from distinct regions come into a kind of continuous contact with each other, what kind of variety will they be using? To which aspects would they converge and from which items would they diverge? Can this change move beyond phoneme and morpheme levels to other more profound linguistic items such as syntactic and stylistic ones? Then, following all linguistic realizations and probably dialectal ‘corrections’, can a regional koiné be the final result of all those processes?

Under the umbrella of the type of contact found between speakers of those dialects which creates different sorts of change, we hypothesise that there emerges a regional koiné in the whole community, used especially among the age cohort of youngsters. This koiné can be seen as a dialectal *lingua franca* used as a middle-positioned variety which neglects the geo- and socio-linguistic extremes, especially identity restrictions to language performance. The studied linguistic variables include three dialect subsystems (phonology, morphology and lexis) since the assumed koiné touches all linguistic levels. We also advocate that the process of koineization is enhanced by social and psychological motivations. Interestingly, aspects of age, gender,

context of interaction, degree of formality and social distance, speakers' awareness, and socio-psychological security with regard to the use, omission or adoption of certain variables are all said to be influencing factors. In order to achieve the final aim, we opt for a triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection.

Linguistically speaking, a koiné is the product of the contribution of many local dialects and is used as a “common means of communication” (Graff, 1932). It is, in Haller (1981:184) simpler terms, “the result of interference between two or more dialects”. The linguistic features of a koiné generally reflect reduction and simplification of the participating regional varieties. Because it is considered as a lingua franca, the koiné is supposed to gather simpler forms basically understood by the global users of those mutually intelligible varieties spoken within wider geographical areas.

The literature on the issue reveals diversity in the definitions of koiné; therefore, we opt for a simpler definition of the concept on which our assumption and investigation will be based. It encompasses both linguistic/stylistic features as well as their social implications. After revisiting Siegel's definition, we come to the conception that a koiné is the result of mixing and simplification of mutually intelligible regional linguistic subsystems. By processes of omission of stigmatized features, simplification of complex structures, and choosing the '*good speech*', a koiné is formed to be produced, understood, and used as a dialectal lingua franca among the majority of speakers of the different contributing varieties once in contact. The formation and utilization of this common dialect does not, by any means, neglect the use of the original varieties within the global speech community; home tongues are still used despite the changes found in youths' speech.

Moreover, we assume that the Algerian Arabic koiné emerging in Tlemcen speech community has socio-psychological implications. Socially speaking, a koiné shows geo-linguistic unification and serves as a way to avoid linguistic featuring, localism and divergence. Psychologically, speakers are observed to be secure and not embarrassed with their interlocutors by avoiding stigmatized features. The regional koiné is supposed to enhance speakers' bi- and multi-dialectal competences which only have a direct reflection on linguistic use as well as social and psychological security.

This study is an attempt to investigate the possibility of a common dialect formation in Tlemcen speech community. That is, we try to test the extent to which dialect change has arrived after all those linguistic manifestations and modifications. Interestingly, we assume that what is linguistically happening in Tlemcen speech community globally goes beyond levelling. We also assume that there is a kind of a dialectal *lingua franca* characterized by being a middle-positioned dialect; a variety that belongs to no linguistic extreme, neither rural nor urban, and takes its features from both contributing varieties. Socio-linguistically speaking, the motivations behind the linguistic choice including simplification, reduction, and omission of certain linguistic items are to be investigated and explained. We concentrate on youngsters because the change is much more noticed, displayed, practiced, and accepted by them.

The objective of any scientific empirical research is either to fill in gaps or continue further already done investigations. Accordingly, our study tries to fulfil both objectives: first, filling blanks left in the comprehension and understanding of lesser-known and lesser- investigated speech communities in order to have an overall account of linguistic variation and change in the Arab world globally and Tlemcen community, in particular. That is, by examining and exploring the linguistic situation in the regions that are not yet examined by researchers and to see how they react once in multi-regional contact situations. By this, we can have a contributory touch on previously established conclusions regarding dialect change and accommodation theory. The purpose of the study is to provide a vivid example from the Arab world where koiné formation might take place. As a matter of fact, many scholars interested in the field of Dialect Contact and Accommodation Theory in Tlemcen speech community claim the possibility of a koineization “incomplete” processing. Yet, the present study tests a more-advanced assumption of the existence of a regional dialectal *lingua franca* among the varieties used in Tlemcen. The combination of Urban, Rural, and other varieties found in Tlemcen in one investigation makes it complementary and analytical in nature. The ultimate interest is to enrich the literature by proposing contributions to the studied phenomenon and to inspire pursuing further research in this field. For this to be achieved, we attempt to ask the following questions: What are the linguistic characteristics of the Algerian Arabic regional koiné that is supposed to be under

construction in Tlemcen speech community? What are the social and psychological motivations that might enhance this linguistic phenomenon? If an intercommunity dialect, an adjusted common variety, is co-occurring with the ‘pure’ original one spoken by older generations in distinct regions that are less mutually intelligible, to what extent are speakers aware of its existence and spread? And how do they evaluate this linguistic situation? What is the relationship between the formation of a regional Tlemcenian koiné, identity affiliation and social class? Concisely put, the present research aims at answering the following research questions:

- **Q1:** To which level has dialect accommodation and change arrived in Tlemcen speech community?
- **Q2:** Are there any symptoms to an emerging regional koiné? If yes, what are the linguistic criteria indicating its formation and use?
- **Q3:** What are the social and psychological motivations behind the enhancement of this linguistic phenomenon?

By consulting other theoretical considerations and empirical investigations regarding sociolinguistic studies and the social psychology of dialect contact in order to find reliable answers to these questions, this study is based on a number of hypotheses. Thus, we suggest that: There is a process of koineization in Tlemcen speech that results in the emergence of a regional koiné where most of, if not all, the marked features at all linguistic levels are avoided by many speakers. Age and gender, along with the context of conversation, tend to be the most influential factors in this process and the use of the koiné is dependent on it. We also hypothesize that there are generally three facts:

- a) Original varieties are still spoken.
- b) People are aware of the existence and need of this middle-position dialect.
- c) Although some would defend their home tongue as better than any other one spoken in the city or outside of it as part of their identity, people of differing origins (coming from distinct areas) still have some background information about other varieties spoken elsewhere in Tlemcen. Consequently, speakers

are pretty much aware of the social value attributed to each one including prestigious and pejoratively perceived linguistic items. For this reason, this koiné might unconsciously spread beyond its established needs and motivations.

Generally speaking, one's identity is mirrored through language and converging to other varieties makes individuals diverge from the group they belong to; yet we hypothesize that using a dialectal lingua franca (koiné) does not touch speakers' identity but deletes prejudices associated to stigmatized linguistic features associated to it, including social class stratification and regionalism. Conventional thought brings the idea that higher social classes are associated with urbanite varieties whereas lower ones are linked to Bedouin forms; consequently, we assume that this regional koiné is taking a middle position that decreases the sensitivity of the concept of social stratification in Tlemcen speech community. The present research hypotheses are summarized as follows:

- **H1:** Dialect change and accommodation have moved to other phases beyond convergence or divergence. Aspects of mixing and levelling are the most prominent ones in the speech of youngsters;
- **H2:** An Algerian Arabic regional koiné acts as a dialectal lingua franca among the province; it is characterized by simplification to promote intelligibility and decrease distinctiveness;
- **H3:** Gender, attitudes, and level of formality are the most important factors leading to the use of the regional koiné.

This study is systematically structured into six interrelated chapters. The first chapter is devoted to theoretical considerations of basic concepts used throughout the study. This theoretical consideration helps the researcher manage the investigation in relation to the broader topic. The second part of the chapter is devoted to Arabic and its dialects as existing in the Algerian context in addition to the other linguistic phenomena that take place there. Chapter two is methodological in nature. It starts with highlighting the literature review of the sociolinguistic situation in the studied community which is seen to provide a significant help in the processing of the current research. It describes

the different samples of the study. It also presents the methods and instruments utilised in data gathering. Its global aim is to expose the details of the procedures of data collection. The chapter that follows brings the results and analyse the findings related to the first research methods: ethnography and the investigation of dialects in different contexts of formality and how the level of formality can enhance the koineization process and koiné use. The chapter that follows is devoted to the results of the experimental study and the effect of gender and ethnic belonging on dialect change or maintenance. Afterwards, the psychological motivations of dialect change and the speakers' linguistic choice namely attitudes and perceptions are presented in a different chapter particularly that data are analysed via perceptual dialectology techniques. The last chapter is devoted to the discussion of the main findings in relation to the pre-established research hypothesis and the possibility of koiné formation in Tlemcen speech community and its different linguistic outcomes as well as processes.

By employing both qualitative and quantitative approaches, our ultimate objective is to gain a good understanding of the current linguistic behaviour of Tlemcenian speakers of different dialects- once in contact. For this reason, many methods and instruments have been implemented along the period of the research. The study starts at an ethnographic level with field observations and jotting notes that focus on formality as a social variable. In later procedures, a single-blind (pre-test/ post-test) experiment has taken place in order to study the effect of gender and residence on speech production and change. Then, a last phase is characterized by a survey method wherein attitudes are investigated. New ways of analysis are implemented including MaxQDA for qualitative and quantitative data analysis, PRAAT for speech transcription, and ArcGIS for perceptual data mapping. The richness and mixture of all these methods and tools leads the research to provide significant and more reliable data.

In fact, this study is an investigation standing at the crossroads of distinct interrelated fields of research. It is a dialectological study whose aim is to describe some basic phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic similarities and differences of the local regional dialects at play. It can also be classified as a sociolinguistic study of dialect contact having an explanatory relation between the linguistic behaviour and the

social factors behind it. This, in turn, qualifies it as a variationist study of linguistic variation and dialect change of rarely investigated speech communities especially by revealing the interplay of the linguistic and social sub-structures: An aspect that makes it a socio-psychological investigation to reflect the extent to which speakers' linguistic behaviour is shaped, changed and affected by their personal attitudes and securities towards or against the modifications occurring to their speech in different contexts.

The principal stimulus and final goal for selecting and investigating the current linguistic phenomena in the field of dialect contact and accommodation stems from the very limited studies carried out on the Algerian dialectal varieties especially the case of the distinct dialects spoken in the divergent regions of Tlemcen province. It is, therefore, an attempt to help providing new insights and vital findings to enrich linguistic studies in this speech community first and this field of research globally. Moreover, we try to constitute a continuation of our previous studies' conclusions with eagerness to reveal navel patterns of linguistic variation and change in lesser-known speech communities akin to regions of Tlemcen.

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1.1. Introduction

This study on dialect contact phenomenon and the probability of an emerging Algerian Arabic koiné in Tlemcen speech community has its roots in the fields of Arabic dialectology, contact linguistics, and variationist sociolinguistics. It also attempts to bring some contribution to these arenas by shedding some light on a rarely investigated linguistic process in Arabic studies; namely koiné formation in urban centres.

This chapter is devoted to a review of the sociolinguistic perspectives to which our study adheres. For this, it is a fourfold chapter. First, it gives an account of dialect and contact studies. A detailed consideration of the discipline of dialectology is provided. Additionally, Arabic dialectology and its methodological procedures ranging from traditional to urban and modern considerations are chronologically stated. Then, variationist linguistics and contact sociolinguistics are defined as they constitute a good part of the current study. Moreover, we try to give an account of koiné and koineization theory as well as the stages of new dialect formation by digging deeper into the Arabic koiné. At the end, the chapter provides an overview of both the Arabic language and its dialects, with some focus on the classification of Arabic dialects in the Algerian speech community.

1.2. On (Arabic) Dialectological Considerations

1.2.1. Definition

Dialectology, in its initial sense, refers to the scientific study of dialects. It originates from the Greek verb *dialegesthai*, i.e., to ‘*dialect*’ which literally means to speak with each other. The Greek *dialektos* is equivalent to discourse or conversation in a local speech. Away from the historical epistemological definition, the term dialect refers to the speech habits which characterize a given geographical area or a certain social group (Swan et al. 2004 qtd. in Labeled, 2014). Studying dialects becomes an interesting discipline to consider and analyse. Perhaps the attractiveness of studying dialects is best explained by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, p. 20) who advocate the idea that:

[O]ur natural curiosity is piqued when we hear speakers of different dialects. If we are the least bit interested in different manifestations of human behavior, then we are likely to be intrigued by the facets of behavior revealed in language.

It should be noted that dialect, as a sociolinguistic concept, refers to a variety of language that is particularly characterized by an independent set of phonological, morphological, lexical and grammatical features distinguished from one region to another (regional dialect or simply regiolect) or from one group to the other (social dialect or simply sociolect). For this, dialectologists commonly have categorized variation by identifying a small set of varying linguistic features in connection with the social background of the speakers (i.e., social dialectology) or with their geographical location (i.e., dialect geography). For this, there emerged two types of dialectology: traditional and urban dialectal studies, as we shall see further in this work.

○ Arabic Dialectology

Regional variation in the spoken dialects of Arabic has witnessed much interest and concern. Although this interest dates long in history, especially with regard to the changes of the 19th century where much attention was given to developing dictionaries and wordlists of colloquial Arabic dialects due to tourism, the creation of Arabic dialectology as a discipline did not establish its roots until the late 19th C. when it was introduced as a part of academic Semitic and Oriental studies.

Arabic dialectology arose in parallel with dialectological studies around the world while mainly French and German maps and atlases were developed as descriptive studies of the dialects spoken in different regions of those countries and speech communities. Interestingly, atlases related to colloquial Arabic were proposed by Gotthelf Bergstraber in 1915 who traced spoken varieties of Palestine and Jean Cantineau in 1940 who talked about the spoken vernacular of *Hawran* in Syria. These atlases were accompanied by linguistic as well as ethnographic data by some archaeologists who were exercising some jobs and activities in parts of Egypt and Iraq (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2013: 301).

Despite the fact that richer data on Arabic and its vernaculars were collected by the beginning of the 20th century which allowed many studies to be achieved,

Arabic dialectology didn't reach the point of being an academic discipline. However, with the growth of economic and political forces of the Arab world, interests on knowing about the dialects of Arabic, not the standard form, began to increase as well. Additionally, studies on Arabic dialects were influenced by dialectological studies and achievements in other parts of the world. Among these advancements was the technique of natural speech recording which developed by 1950. Blanc and Wehr are said to be among the pioneering dialectologists to use recordings to advance the systematicity and scientificity of the field of Arabic dialectology (Jastrow, 2002: 350). More to the point, the discipline of structural linguistics, developed in the period 1930-40, also had its effects on Arabic dialectology with its phonological and morphological taxonomies on the field. Interests in Arabic dialectology focused on large cities like Cairo in Egypt and Damascus in Syria.

Regional variation was given in maps which, in turn, "offered a wealth of data both for the dialect geographer and historical linguist" (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2013: 303). This focus has led to the disregard of other local varieties which were in continuous change due to migration in a first step; a fact that transfers the focus from regional dialect description to studies of different types of contact and their linguistic results. Consequently, interest moved beyond traditional dialectology to what was later called *urban dialectology* and then *sociolinguistics* by the 1980s and 1990s.

1.2.2. Traditional dialectology

Georg Wenker's (1876) large scale survey on dialects, in which the aim was to elicit criteria of local varieties, was said to be the first systematic approach to dialect geography (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998, p. 15). The results were transformed into maps and linguistic atlases later. Through time, other dialectologists opted for other approaches to study dialect variation on geographical basics; among these are small text paragraphs to be translated in daily speech, word lists for lexical variation, dialect tests for sound variation through questionnaires and interviews for illiterate people (Ellis 1889).

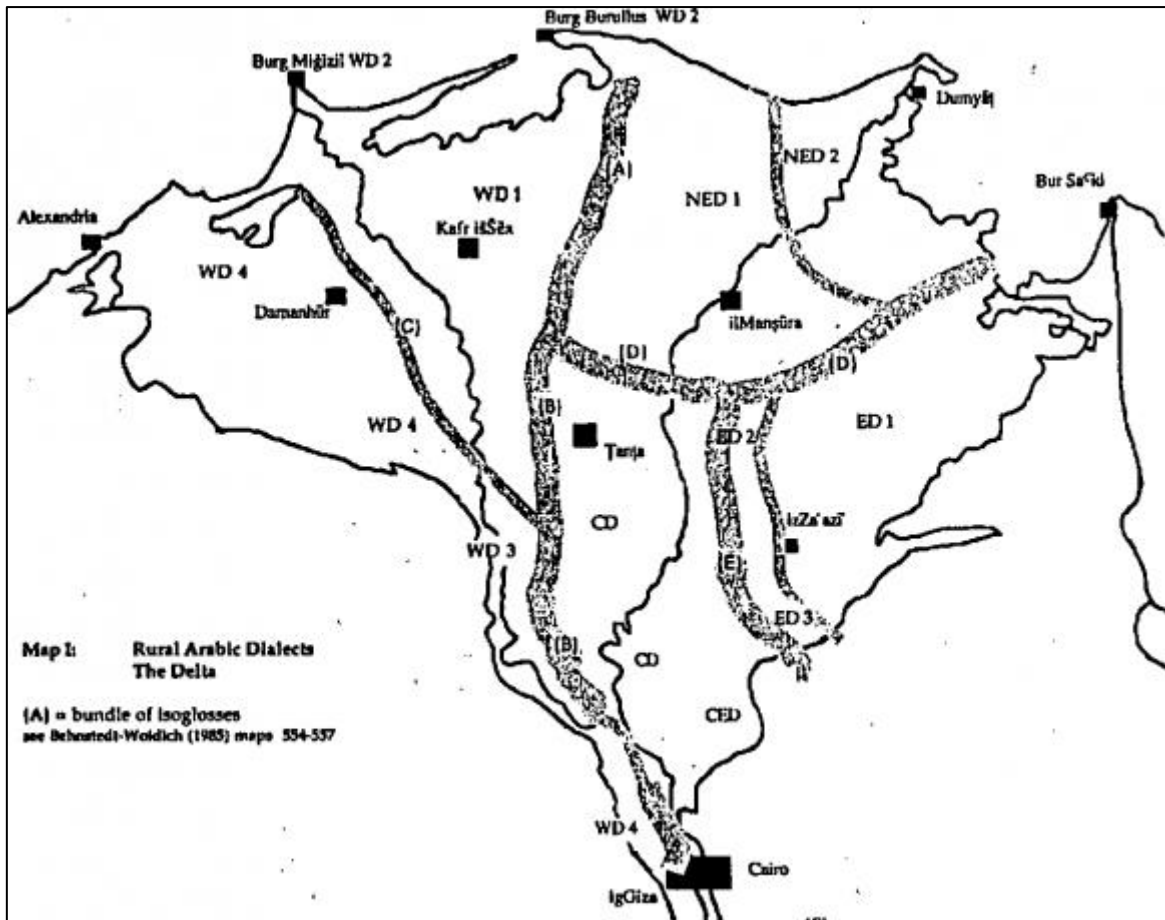


Figure 1.1. The Delta in Egypt: An example of dialect map with isoglosses

Along those studies and others interested in non-standard varieties, the nineteenth century was the period of rural dialect investigation as they were thought to be remote and divergent from the standard form of the language. Traditional dialectologists were interested in rural areas since the speech of its inhabitants, mainly older ones, is pure as they were not affected by any external forces or factors. The NORMs (non-mobile, old, rural, male speakers) were the only true representative of speech. For this, it is also known as dialect geography or rural dialectology (Britain, 2003a).

- **Traditional Arabic dialectology (TAD)**

According to Behnstedt and Woidich (2013: 305), Traditional Arabic dialectology is heavily and primarily fieldwork-oriented and not theory-driven. In more details, it aims at:

1. Capturing Arabic speech as much as possible from a diverse group of community members around the Arab globe and beyond, wherever a version of an Arabic variety is spoken;
2. Documenting and making this set of data available to researchers in a variety of formats, including “monographs, grammars, bidirectional dictionaries, handbooks, collections of texts (of anthropological or folkloristic significance), and textbooks”;
3. Providing regional and general comparative portraits in monographs and articles wherein variances and contrasts between one local dialect and another are given;
4. Categorizing dialects with reference to their “synchronic and diachronic criteria” such as: clustering dialects, defining core areas and transitional areas, identifying dialect continua, and displaying linguistic linkages between different places in the Arab world;
5. Collecting historical, recorded evidence of different Arabic dialects in accounts of historiography, literary works, historical lexical research, and travel narratives (ibid, p.305).

1.2.3. Urban dialectology

Despite the fact that dialect geography was the fashion in the first half of the 20th century, interest started to fade by 1950s. Some researchers have attributed this change to the technological advancement of the era and its influence on procedures of data collection and analysis (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998). At this time, the question has moved from “what are the linguistic criteria of this regional area?” to “is there any relationship between this variation and other extralinguistic parameters?”. Traditional dialectologists recognized that all their focus was on the geographical dimension excluding social factors present in communities. This enquiry has led to the emergence of modern dialectology.

Labov (1966, 1976) was the first to explain linguistic variation in relation to social variables. Since then, many researchers have started to investigate and analyse the influence of social factors on language variation. Accordingly, interest has moved

from rural to urban areas, from non-mobile people to cases in contact, from considering only old male speakers to taking into account ethnicity, race, origin, gender as well as age cohorts in the investigation of linguistic variation in society.

○ **Urban Arabic Dialectology**

Arabic urban vernaculars have been of great importance and consideration in the history of Arabic (Milroy 2004). A number of dialects in the Arab world have been given more attention than others which Miller (2007: 2) emphasizes as “The elevated variety of the urban dialects of cities such as Casablanca, Damascus, Cairo are often labeled Moroccan Arabic, Syrian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, etc.” However, more other parts of the Arabic urban society need to be investigated correctly since “A comparative sociolinguistic analysis, which would take into account the history and social context of each case-city, would lead to a better understanding of the history, development, evolution and transformation of the various Arabic urban linguistic settings.” (ibid. p2).

1.2.4. Social Dialectology

Urban dialectology has inspired its principles from the combination of both sociolinguistics and traditional rural dialectology (Labeled, 2014). Although they are different in criteria, principles as well as methodologies and techniques of linguistic data collection and explanation, they remain complementary in some sense (ibid). In explaining the interdependence of both fields, Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 15) have stated that:

Neither of the positions traditionally assumed by linguists and by dialectologists underwent a kind of radical change that swung it towards the other position. Instead, the rise of sociolinguistics provided dialectologists with natural allies and broadened the constituency studying language variation.

When dialectology and socially-oriented linguistics overlapped, they gave birth to the field of sociolinguistics with its interest in studying language variability and dialect variation in all parts of the society, both rural and urban ones. Sociolinguistics has been always considered as the tight relation between language and society in its general definition.

- **Sociolinguistics and Arabic Dialectology**

As the name implies, Arabic sociolinguistics has as a main concern the sociolinguistic situation in the Arab world; Miller (2007: 1) states that:

A large part of Arabic sociolinguistic studies has focused on the relationship between ‘ammiyya and fusha discussing at length the concepts of diglossia (or its various interpretations in terms of tri- or multiglossia), continuum, Educated Spoken Arabic, etc., and analyzing the various types and rules of code-mixing and/or code-switching between ‘ammiyya and fusha in the conceptual frames of either syntactic constraints (applying the model of Sankoff and Poplack) or matrix frame (applying the model of Myers-Scotton).

Without neglect to the second part of the discussed discipline, sociolinguistics has interacted with dialectological principles in order to study dialect variation manifested in the Arabic-speaking world by applying the principles of dialectological studies onto the study and analysis of sociolinguistics material including dialect variation.

1.2.5. Contact and Dialectology

Dialect contact studies are considered as a sub-branch of sociolinguistics since the object is to study aspects of dialect contact and typologies of linguistic or variationist change. Language and dialect contact phenomena occur in any part of the world, be it a city, a village or an island. The linguistic outcomes supposed to be studied in this field are aspects of dialect variation and change, simplification and levelling, reallocation and so forth (furtherly discussed in the coming section).

- **Arabic Contact and Dialectology**

Dialect contact is the result of many vernaculars being in factual interaction. As far as the Arab world is concerned, two main social events dominated its language setting during the 20th century: first, the spread of education, mass media and the teaching of Modern Standard Arabic leading to increasing contact between Arabic vernaculars and the standard form, and second, the spread of urbanization and the high rate of in-migration leading to increasing dialect contact within the main cities, as expressed by Miller (2007: 1). In this respect, she also states that:

Urbanization brought various dialects (and/or languages in the case of multilingual Arab countries) into contact and led to various phenomena such as dialectal accommodation, dialect shift, leveling and koineization, decline of some specific urban varieties, coexistence and maintenance of different varieties, dialectal variables becoming social variables, etc. (Miller 2007:4)

Put differently, it is the movement of urbanization, the shift of populations to urban centers, that put language and dialect varieties into contact and interaction which, in turn, led to the emergence of new aspects in the contributing varieties wherein accommodation, shifting and koineization are the most prominent outcomes appearing on the Arabic dialects.

1.3. On Linguistic Variation, Contact and Change

1.3.1. Variationist Linguistics

Language is a dynamic system that changes over time and space, and according to context as well. Therefore, it varies from one era to another, from one area to another, from one person to another and even within a person. This all creates variation geographically, socially and contextually. For these to be studied, concepts such as language, dialect, sociolect, accent are very relative and important; the term variety is a “neutrally” representative one. Thus, language variation is defined as the differences in the ways it is used within a speech community including its members, regions, contexts and social stratifications.

The field of variationist linguistics started developing in the 1960s with the aim of studying language variation and its patterns in groups of people and individuals’ speech. The variationist scope of research was basically “concerned with the direction and spread of linguistic variables over specific and predetermined social variables” (Botha 2011: 43). The linguistic variable, in this sense, refers to a structural unit which, according to Wolfram (2006: 233), “includes a set of structuring variants showing meaningful co-variation with an independent set of variables.” Those contributing variables are said to include external linguistic factors influencing the use of language.

Variationist sociolinguistics has started from a great interest in vernacular change beginning by tracing and analysing the effects of social variables, such as gender, age, class, ethnicity, education and any other social criteria that serve for the classification of people in the speech community, on the linguistic variables (phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic) used by the members of the community.

Research has shown that the dialect or vernacular tends to be the best nucleus of any linguistic study. Labov (1984:29) explains the preference of studying vernaculars by stating that:

The vernacular is defined as that mode of speech that is acquired in pre-adolescent years. Its highly regular character is an empirical observation. The vernacular included inherent variation, but the rules governing that variation appear to be more regular than those operating in the more formal “super-posed” styles that are acquired later in life. Each speaker has a vernacular form, in at least one language; this may be the prestige dialect (as in the case of “RP”), or a nonstandard variety.

Following this citation, our interest in the current study will cover the empirical study of vernacular use in different contexts and situations.

1.3.2. Dialect Contact in Contact Linguistics Framework

In his *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Crystal (2008:107-8) defines ‘contact’ as:

a term used in SOCIOLINGUISTICS to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between LANGUAGES or DIALECTS. The result of **contact situations** can be seen linguistically, in the growth of LOAN words, patterns of PHONOLOGICAL and GRAMMATICAL change, mixed forms of language (such as CREOLES and PIDGINS), and a general increase in bilingualism of various kinds. In a restricted sense, languages are said to be ‘in contact’ if they are used alternately by the same persons, i.e. bilinguals.

Language or dialect contact is therefore the co-existence and actual use of more than two languages or dialects within a speech community. It has been also stated that:

From a cross-linguistic perspective, language contact appears to be influenced by –if not constrained by – various social parameters of the contact situation, the modules or levels of language involved (phonology, morphology, etc.) as well as the overall architecture of the languages in contact. (Siemund 2008:4)

Linguistic contact has always existed everywhere as long as different people interacted through business, commerce, wars, movements, slavery, exploration, migrations or just neighbourhood. In contrast with language contact which requires two genetically unrelated languages, dialect contact occurs when two mutually intelligible varieties come in interaction and exchange (Trudgill, 1986). The study that covers both disciplines is contact linguistics though languages received more consideration than dialects which, in turn, marked a turning point by contact-linguists. In other words, the fact that the field of languages in contact has established itself as a discipline for consideration in earlier ages made results akin to bilingualism, multilingualism, language shift, and language death all looked upon through languages around the world. Linguistic results such as mixing, simplification and levelling can only be seen in dialects which have been only recently taken into account as a prominent subject of investigation with new instruments and methodologies (Britain, 2012).

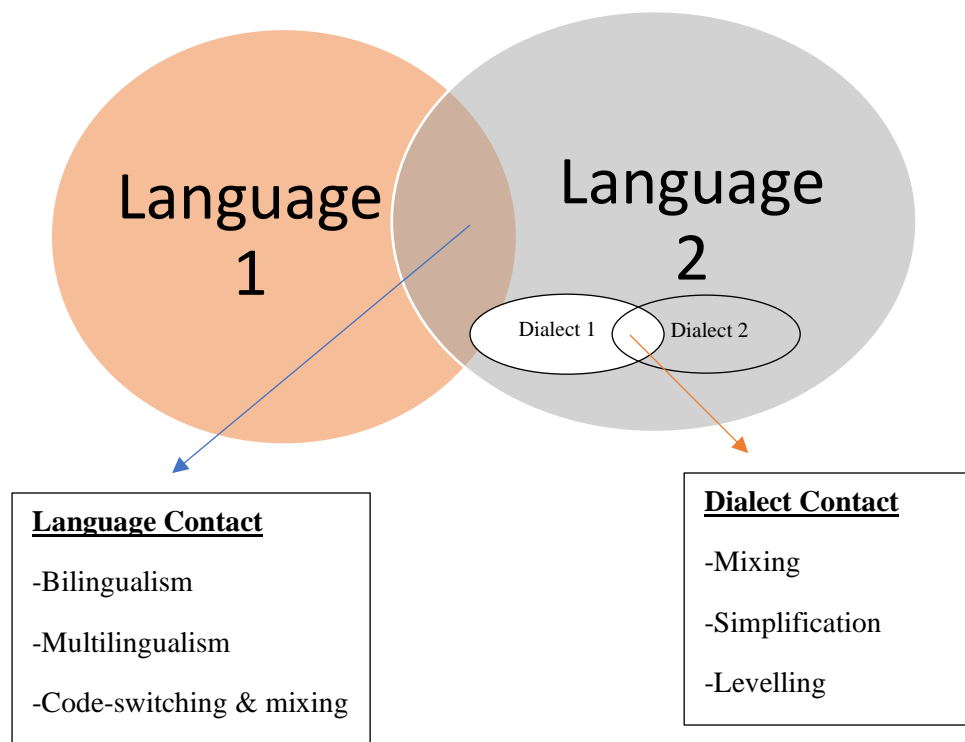


Figure 1. 2. Results of contact linguistics (Languages and dialects in contact)

1.3.3. Dialect Accommodation

Among the outcomes of dialects being in contact is the process of accommodation. Back to the line of research, accommodation theory was put forward by Giles in 1973 and later developed by Giles *et al.* in 1987 and then by Giles and Coupland in 1991. It is generally known as Speech/ Communication Accommodation Theory (SAT/ CAT). In its profound concern, accommodation deals with ways of speech adjustment of speakers with regard to the situation in which they are participating.

These adjustments are created for many reasons, either to maintain or reduce, increase or decrease social distance among speakers in a given communicative situation. Whereas maintaining similarities is referred to as speech ‘convergence’, accentuating the differences is called ‘divergence’. In other words, convergence is a communicative strategy whereby speakers adapt their linguistic behaviour to that of the interlocutor(s). The direct aim is not only to show similarity but also to highlight in-group belonging, to seek social approval and to decrease social distance. This makes the speaker sound more cooperative and the communication more successful. On the other hand, the other communicative strategy of divergence refers to showing verbal and even nonverbal distinctions reflecting linguistic and social gaps between the speaker and the interlocutor. The ultimate objective of one to practice speech divergence is to emphasize distinctiveness, out-group affiliation, as well as contrasting identity.

The primary focus of the accommodation theory was to understand directions of change in accent and dialect use. In later stages, the theory embraced sociolinguistic parameters in its analysis including gender, age, ethnicity, context and culture. Accommodation and adjustment of speech become, then, explained with regard to those parameters; say, one may converge to show formality, respect and sympathy as they may diverge to show opposite opinions and pride (Howard & Giles, 2005).

Socio-psychological aspects of communicators can also be the core of the accommodation theory as an auxiliary accessory to linguistic aspects kept or changed

during the communication process. Nonverbal discursive communicative aspects and identity reflection can be taken into account once dealing with the accommodation theory or once analysing communicative situations according to it. (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988; Giles & Wadleigh, 2008).

In her explanation of the line between accommodation and dialect contact, Kherbache (2017) has mentioned that it was Trudgill (1986) who brought the theory of accommodation in contact dialectology (to be explained in later sections) in order to explain the phenomenon of dialects being in contact and the resulting outcomes associated with that contact. Once mutually intelligible varieties of the same language come to contact, many dialectal realizations can be the outcome of speakers in face-to-face interaction (Britain: 2012). These outcomes are observed in the ‘accommodative’ changes made to the contributing dialects where some social or regional variables are either reduced, levelled out, or dropped showing convergence or divergence among the interlocutors.

The type of dialect contact situation entails the type of accommodation performed. If the contact is temporary, the resultant accommodation is of short-term; however, if dialects experience a permanent period of interaction and mixture, the outcome is labelled long-term accommodation. The first one is situational as, for instance, the adoption of certain phonological features or lexical items or the avoidance of marked, stereotyped or stigmatized variants in a given conversation or a particular context. The latter, however, is much more concerned with the explanation of aspects of linguistic/ dialectal change. If short-term accommodation happens to proceed over longer periods of time in the speech of individuals, it will be a long-term one as the adjustments occurring to one’s way of speaking becomes ‘permanent’.

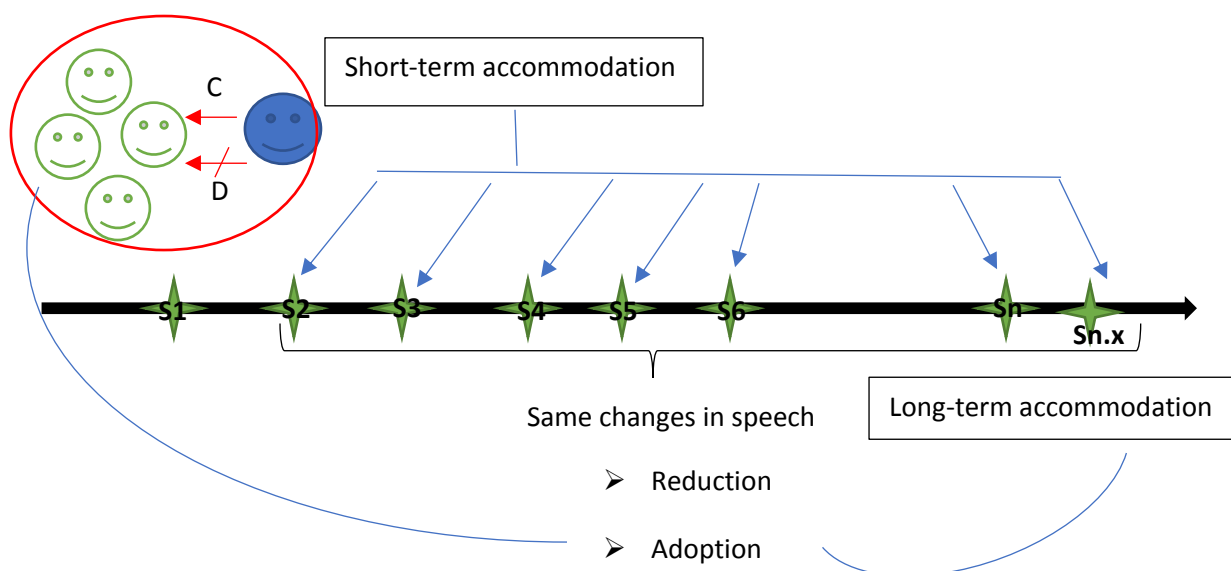


Figure 1.3. From short-term accommodation to the long-term one

1.3.4. Dialect change, shift and maintenance

Dialect contact can also go beyond the level of accommodation to result in other linguistic outcomes like shift, maintenance and change.

Adopting Potowski's definition of language shift (2013: 321), which she defines as "the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization", we similarly refer to 'dialect shift' as the replacement of a dialect by another one whereby primary daily sociolinguistic interaction is undertaken. Shift happens when language perpetuation from one generation to another fails.

Trudgill (1991) believes that language maintenance cannot last unless there is 'an inter-generational transmission' of a given code in a given speech community as a heritage from one generation to the other. Maintenance is similar to divergence in the sense that speakers do not make any linguistic changes (Coupland, 2007; Galois et al.: 2005), stick to and persist in their original style, perhaps for reasons of authenticity or consistency, regardless of the communicative behaviour of the interlocutor (Bourhis, 1979 qtd. in Kherbache, 2017).

Maintenance and shift are two conditioned but contradictory linguistic results of contact; if the first is not accomplished, the latter is surely to take place. Their factors of occurrence are interdependent according to Potowski (2013: 322-332/ adopted to dialects), four dimensions are subject to discussion when treating shift and maintenance. First, at the level of individuals, speakers' proficiency in the minority code and their attitudes towards it can decide the direction of change or preservation. After individual consideration comes the role of the family, especially in the transition of the peculiarities of their linguistic code to preserve it from modification and then disappearance. Third, the whole community's social networks are of great importance to affect the local heritage variety to be either strong enough to persist or weak enough to diminish. Finally, it is said that speakers' attitudes may change according to broader societal factors as, for instance, the prestige associated with the variety and its cultural effects.

A fact to mention is that dialect shift and maintenance are related: the maintenance of one code or vernacular is accompanied by the shift of the other. However, other results can occur as learning the code of the other and keeping one's variety at home or restricting it to intimate interactions. Yet, if the process of learning exceeds the family borders by newer generations where heritage perpetuation is not successful, then, time for shift is an unavoidable consequence.

In parallel with the possibility of occurrence of shifting and maintenance which are considered as the two remote linguistic axes conditioned by socio-linguistic behaviours of the speech community, change can occur in different ways for different reasons. Dialect change refers to the phenomenon whereby a certain number of linguistic features of a given vernacular vary over time. Linguistic changes are studied from historical as well as sociolinguistic perspectives. Whereas the former involves examining and analysing how linguistic forms were used in past times, sociolinguistics deals with figuring out the reasons behind this change in relation to society. Consequently, three main aspects of change are recognized by sociolinguists: lexical, phonological and grammatical.

Change can also be studied in relation to the advancement of time and age. Apparent and real time are two important notions in this context. Apparent time

studies involve comparing how a language/ dialect is used by speakers belonging to different age cohorts. The distinctions elicited between the two age groups or generations can be indicators of change. Real time studies, on the other hand, focus on tracing the changes of a given society over time as it can be by noting the linguistic situation of the society and get back to it after a certain period of time in order to see whether there are changes or not. In these two types of studies, age is of crucial role leading to what is known as trend and panel studies. While a trend study deals with different people across differing points in time, a panel study takes only one individual as its corpus of investigation and follows their sociolinguistic behaviour over time.

The other social variable that plays a role in the explanation of linguistic change is said to be gender. Labov (2001) has paved the way to explain the relation between gender, as a social variable, and linguistic variation and change with reference to some principles (ibid: 274). These include ideas that: ‘Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not’; and ‘For stable sociolinguistic variables, women show a lower rate of stigmatised variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men’; and that ‘In linguistic change from above, women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men.’

Still with reference to gender, change can occur because of other socio-psychological motivations including awareness or non-awareness. Consequently, Labov (ibid) mentions two corresponding levels of change vis-à-vis the speaker’s consciousness: “change from above vs. change from below”. He came to the generalization that females tend to lead linguistic changes coming from above the level of social awareness, and involve aspects of borrowing newer prestigious forms of higher-ranked social groups to their own way of speaking. On the other hand, he states that both males and females contribute to the changes coming from below the level of social awareness, and away from the accepted norms towards the vernacular (ibid).

1.4. On Koiné and Koineization

1.4.1. First studies on koiné formation:

The term ‘koiné’ comes from the Greek *Koinḗ* to mean “common”. It was first applied to a variety of Greek that was used as a lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Thomson (1960: 34 qtd. in Siegel, 1985: 356) stated the development of koiné in the period of the Athenian Empire as:

The Attic dialect spread rapidly as an official language throughout the Aegean, and it was spoken generally by educated Greeks, though they still used their local dialect among themselves. Among the common people, one of the main centres for the growth of a mixed vernacular was the Peiraiens, the seaport of Athens, inhabited by Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean. We hear complaints about the ‘impurity’ of spoken Attic as early as the fifth century B.C. In this way, the conditions were created for the formation of the Hellenistic Koiné, which was mainly Attic but included many elements drawn from Ionic and some from other dialects.

Through time, this koiné reached the level of an official language of the Macedonian Empire where it took the place of a second language, and it even replaced the native one as it was later written and used for correspondence (Thomson 1960: 35). In regard of koiné characterization, Thomson (ibid: 35-36) mentioned concepts of reduction and simplification (discussed in details below): where the former refers to “those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential and non-referential potential of a language” and the latter entails either an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness (Muhlhausler 1980: 21).

Ferguson (1959) describes how koines develop. The focus of Ferguson was on Arabic koiné which he describes as an ancestor of Modern Arabic. He states that “the koine came into existence through a complex process of mutual borrowing and levelling among various dialects and not as a result of diffusion from a single source” (p. 619). Among the criteria that he has mentioned are reduction in morphological categories and phonemic inventory.

Blanc (1968) was the first author to use the term ‘koine’ to refer to the result of the convergence of several contributing dialects at a particular point (qtd. in Siegel 1986: 361). He was interested in providing a rich account on Israeli Hebrew that has

been labelled as a koine that is forged from “a variety of literary dialects, several substrata, and several traditional pronunciations [with no particular dialect] dominant and available” (Blanc, 1968: 238-39). For the development of this koine, nativization was important as it “approximates a *de facto* standard”. This koine has actually some phonetic features such as the loss of some distinctions found in some of the contributing dialects; yet, he did not report any kind of reduction or simplification as contributing elements or modes in the koineization process.

Nida and Fehderau (1970:147) consider koines as “dialectal extensions of a regional language” (p. 147), not formed as a result of the contribution of several dialects. They claim that this extension of use over wider areas by bilingual speakers may lead koines to undergo some “structural simplifications”. The concept of nativization has not been mentioned in their consideration.

Samarin (1971) differs in his conception of koines and focuses on mixing of different dialects saying that “what characterizes [koines] linguistically is the incorporation of features from several regional varieties of a single language... [and] some simplification can be expected” (p. 133). Hymes (1971:79), on his part, mentions that koines can expand their role to develop into a primary language. He supports his argument by stating that “confluence of different linguistic traditions, often with simplification, and by definition through the contact of members of different speech communities” (p. 69)

In the same vein, Mohan (1976) advocates that koines are the result of different dialects/ varieties in contact. She makes a distinction between: a) koines based on dialects which are lexically and morphologically very similar such as Koineized Colloquial Arabic which is not a separate dialect, and b) koines based on dialects which do not reflect that similarity, e.g., Trinidad Bhojpuri for which levelling was so necessary that this koine is considered as a separate dialect (p. 5). In contrast, Gambhir (1981) indicates that koines arise as a result of contact between dialects which are basically varieties of the same language with peculiar ‘structural simplification’ of certain aspects of the contributing dialects. He mentioned that a koine can be nativized via mass education as it can also be the mother tongue of its speakers because it spreads through spoken channels. He says that this development

can be planned or unconsciously developed by the speakers as in Guyanese Bhojpuri, Trinidad Bhojpuri, Fiji Hindi, and Canadian French (p. 184 qtd. in Siegel 1985: 362)

Siegel (1985) has also his viewpoint about koines mentioning that the central point that defines koines should be the concept of dialect mixing. Consequently, no variety can be considered as a koine unless it reflects mixing of “any linguistic subsystems such as regional dialects, literary dialects, and sociolects... Thus, a koine is the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems... It usually serves as a lingua franca among speakers of different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction and simplification in comparison” (ibid: 363). He also distinguishes two types of koines with regard to where they are spoken.

- 1- Regional koine: results from contact between regional dialects and remains, geographically, in the region where all the contributing dialects are spoken; e.g., Greek Koine.
- 2- Immigrant koine: results from contact between dialects but takes place in another location where large numbers of speakers of different regional dialects have migrated; it may become the primary language of the immigrant community, for example, Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975, 1983).

1.4.2. Different definitions of koiné

Koiné has been defined in different ways by different scholars throughout time. Opinions differ not only according to the source but also the procedures that include koiné formation. In addition, many agree on the function of a koiné either as being a lingua franca or a language of trade. However, a disagreement is highlighted upon the precise linguistic features as well as the phases and processes leading to the formation or refinement of this variety of language. In his Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (2008), David Crystal defines Koine as follows:

Koine /'kɔɪni:/ (*n.*) The spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca. The term was originally used with reference to the Greek language used throughout the eastern Mediterranean countries during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; but it is now applied to cases where a vernacular has come to be used throughout an area in which several languages

or dialects are spoken, as in such notions as (for Old English) ‘West Saxon literary koine’ or (for US-influenced British English) ‘mid Atlantic koine’ Linguistically speaking, a koiné is a variety that encompasses linguistic features coming from several regional dialects, though it could be based primarily on one of them which was reduced and simplified accordingly (Siegel 1985: 358). In other words, one of its main characteristics is “a mixture of features from the contributing varieties” particularly in preliminary phases of construction, in addition to features of reduction and simplification which makes the developing koiné different from the contributing varieties. As far as its function is concerned, a koine is said to serve as a lingua franca that “may become the primary language of amalgamated communities” of speakers of divergent dialects (ibid: 376).

- *Koiné as a lingua franca*

A lingua franca is a concept that is associated to a language that is not the mother tongue of speakers but used to promote communication and mutual intelligibility. Lingua francas can be universal spoken languages or varieties as they can be koines, as our study entails. More recently, sociolinguists have come to use the term more specifically, referring to a variety of language showing levelling, mixing, and simplification resulting from rapid population movement and mixing of speakers of different backgrounds particularly once being in continuous contact and intercommunication (Tuten, 2005: 185).

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a koiné as “any language or dialect in regular use over a wide area in which different languages or dialects are, or were, in use locally” (Burchfield 1976: 541). Similarly, Hill (1958: 443) defines a koiné as “any tongue, distinct from his own vernacular, that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars”. Famous examples include Koineized Colloquial Arabic (Samarin 1971: 134) and the Ancestor of Modern Arabic Dialect (Ferguson 1959: 616).

- *Koiné as a regional standard:*

Hartmann and Stork (1973: 123) define a koine as “a spoken dialect which becomes the common standard language for a politically unified region”. For example, Literary Italian (Pei 1966: 139) and Network Standard English (Dillard 1972: 302) have been recognized as regional standards. The area where this koiné is

to be used is globally characterized by a political unification which entail the region to be under the same political system.

- *Koiné as coming from several dialects:*

A Koiné can also be defined as coming from a linguistic ‘compromise’ of many dialects. It is considered as “a form of language resulting from a compromise between various dialects and used as a common means of communication over an area covering all the contributing dialects” (Graff 1932: xxxvii). It also refers to “the term for a common dialect which lacks prominent [negatively seen linguistic items found in the contributing dialects] features of the more conventional dialects of a language. It is the end result of dialect levelling” (Dillard 1972: 302). The relationship between dialect levelling and prominent features is that levelling attempts to omit all pejorative and negatively perceived phonological, morphological, syntactic and other linguistic criteria, in order to render the resulting variety as a refined, more acceptable one. For this, “it is frequently considered ‘good’ speech in the language, and it is most often, but not necessarily, a standard dialect” (qtd in Siegel 1985:360). It also refers to “a compromise among several dialects [used] by a unified group in a self-contained area with a larger linguistic area (Pei 1966: 139) [it results from] a deliberately sought sublimation of the constituent dialects rather than an unconscious and accidental merger”.

- *A koiné developing from several dialects transported to a new environment*

One of the definitions assigned to the koiné is that it can develop from the fact of transporting many dialects to a particular region which is completely different from the originating one. In this line of thought, Haller (1981: 184) says that “koinés are the result of the interference between two or more dialects” in a new environment, i.e., diverging from the one they originated in. To illustrate, Israeli Hebrew (Blanc 1968: 237-51) and Italian American (Haller 1981: 184) are famous examples of koinés resulting from original contributing dialects which are transported from other linguistically and socially different areas (or non-existent areas as is the case for the Israeli dialect).

1.4.3 Koineization as a process

The term koineization first appeared in the literature as a dynamic process of levelling and mixing of mutually intelligible varieties of which the formation of a stabilized koine may occur as one result, as stated by Blanc (1968). He has also mentioned that in order for this variety to come into practical usage, and regular and very complex but stabilized sociolinguistic operation that is characterized by accommodation first and feature selection at a second hand. Again, the Israeli Hebrew koine is said to achieve a precise final shape by an-going deliberate koineization process that draws upon a number of contributing dialects (ibid: 3238- 39).

Samarin (1971: 134) appears to be the first to use the term koineization and mentions it as equal to dialect mixing; but his illustrations were driven from what Blanc calls “dialect levelling” in the peculiar instance of Colloquial Arabic. This levelling occurs in “interdialectal contact” situations when speakers “attempt to suppress localisms in favour of features which are simply more common, more well known”. He implies that the koine is, simply put, the result of koineization.

Dillard (1972: 300) used dialect levelling instead of koineization referring to it as the operation by which salient dialectal stereotypes and negatively perceived features are eliminated and socially rejected and eradicated chiefly once originally distinct speakers get in touch as is the case for migration. He concluded by mentioning that the koine is a result of levelling. Gambhir (1981: 254) discusses levelling as one, among many, result of koineization (*koinization* in his terms). He mentions that:

As a result of a continued contact, one gathers experience as to which idiosyncrasies of one’s own dialect are ill-communicative, mis-communicative, or non-communicative, and accordingly, one starts to shed the hardened localisms in one’s speech, allowing one’s speech to confront to another’s to an ever-growing extent (pp. 191)... dialect levelling which was affected in the process of koineization, is the major cause of all simplification in Guyanese Bhojpuri (pp. 254)... morphological reduction and simplification, loss of the respect feature, elimination of local features and analyzation are all said to be results of dialect levelling (pp. 255).

The concept of koineization has more recently been applied to the process of levelling which may result in the emergence of a new variety that is called a koiné. Siegel

(1985) has linked its different definitions with linguistic contact and what can result from it in distinct contexts as mixing divergent linguistic subsystems. For him, koineization is, by no means, a result of linguistic contact which is, in turn, enhanced by socio-linguistic parameters including learning, imposition (of a given code/variety), bi- or multi-variationism (either bi-/ multi-lingualism or dialectalism). It has been stated that, in ancient times, ‘mixing’ was studied with regard to languages only; however, nowadays, interest has moved to other linguistic subsystems including dialects (as in our case). Therefore, koineization is also applied to the process of linguistic subsystem mixing which will take place along the present investigatory study.

Most writers agree on the fact of the emerging, starting point of koineization and koiné formation as the result of mainly regional dialect contact. Yet, confusion is still raised especially with regard to the term ‘levelling’. This confusion has been explained by Siegel (1985) in terms of stages, stating that whereas they can be similar at beginning stages, they are not in later stages, i.e., while both levelling and koineization entail contact, their results are not the same for the former reflects effects and changes in the contributing dialects, the latter evokes mixing and developing a new one from merging criteria of the contributing linguistic systems. As far as the contributing forms are concerned, the possibility of their maintenance is likely to occur or to fade in parallel with the emerging koiné that constitute a compromise of these codes and utilized “as a lingua franca among speakers of the individual contributing dialects” (ibid: 365). He continues advocating that it is important to mention the constituents of those linguistic subsystems, i.e., two or more linguistic varieties of the same linguistic system. These ingredients have to be a) mutual intelligibility and b) sharing a superposed, genetically related linguistic system (Ferguson & Gumperz, 1960). Tuten (2005) says that koineization takes a period of at least three generations, and can usually be found in new towns, frontiers, and colonies.

1.4.4 Criteria and motivations of koiné formation:

Siegel (1985) has mentioned that koineization is not easy to be achieved as many other consequences can occur as a result of dialect contact among which

diffusion is one which entails transfer of some linguistic features “over conventional linguistic boundaries” (Hudson 1980: 47). Dialect borrowing can also be considered as another result of contact as it involves bringing linguistic features (such as linguistic items) from the standard to the vernacular (for instance Arabic, Meiseles 1981:1079). Mixing, levelling and koineization can also be results of this contact. However, it is the political, social, cultural, economic as well as demographic changes that enhance linguistic change itself. Those reasons show “either increased integration among speakers of various linguistic subsystems or decreased inclination to maintain linguistic distinctions” (ibid: 366). Those reasons have been found when Thomson (1964: 34) first talked about the koine formation of Greek stating that “with the growth of economic and social intercourse there arose within each dialect group a tendency towards unification”. Another crucial example is about the Arabic koiné which raised especially with the spread of Islam.

Another motivation for koineization is migration. In fact, migration is considered as a different phase of contact (Dillard 1972: 300). In this respect, speakers coming from different geographic and linguistic backgrounds including dialects and languages meet in a different but one geographical area constructing a single speech community, a fact that brings space for a koiné to be formed and therefore to replace previous mother-dialects (Gambhir 1981: 183). Similarly, Dominique (1981:150) explains this linguistic situation in relation to “the need for unification... in [the] new environment” which forms the basis of koiné formation and utilization.

Interestingly, the concept of linguistic system unification as a stimulus for koiné formation can be explained by Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1977; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Giles and Smith 1979). This theory holds two explanatory directions to speech adjustment where convergence equals adapting the speech of others to show social integration and divergence refers to accentuating linguistic differences to maintain identity and cultural distinctiveness among speakers once being in communicative and interactional situations. In this vein, Gambhir states that convergence can be equal to levelling as they both refer to “allowing one’s speech to conform to another’s”. Mohan (1976-1978) joins this claim and defines

koineization as “a convergence and levelling between language varieties which are either closely related or typologically very much alike” (1978:21).

Tuten (2007:188) says that “understanding the linguistic changes which lead to the development of a new koiné requires an understanding of the changing social conditions which affect the linguistic activity of speakers, which, of course, leads to the changes in the linguistic system”. He mentions three concepts as conditioning the speaker’s linguistic behaviour namely social networks, accommodation and acquisition. For him, since koineization entails speakers moving from one area to another, they leave strong social networks beyond at their home and establish new ones in the new community; “the loose-knit social networks and weak social ties which characterize a koineization community favour the introduction and adoption of innovations” (ibid.). With the continuous contact of speakers, speech will witness more innovations and “variation peaks at the very time that the strength of norm-enforcement mechanisms declines to a minimum” (ibid). For the sake of developing more social networks, adult speakers accommodate to others (Trudgill, 1986) starting by the elimination of marked linguistic features. Besides, they learn new forms which are perceived as salient and more socially frequent. This sociolinguistic accommodation of features can be later shown in aspects of mixing, levelling, and simplification which are exactly the criteria of koineization process.

1.4.5 Stages of koiné formation:

Many linguists have provided some models to the formation of koines according to the community they have studied. In the coming section, many models are presented according to different cases of distinct worldwide languages and language varieties resulting in koiné formation. These models will be tested at the end of the current study in order to project and see the linguistic situation of Tlemcen regiolects.

1.4.5.1 Moag (1979)

Moag (1979) has studied the koiné of Fiji Hindustani. He proposes the idea that koineization is a twofold process. The first stage is known as the ferment stage. This step is characterized by the existence of both regional and societal dialects in

one single speech community. The second stage is labelled as the standardization stage. This step is characterized by the fact that one of the conflicting dialects becomes the norm and spreads over the other competing varieties.

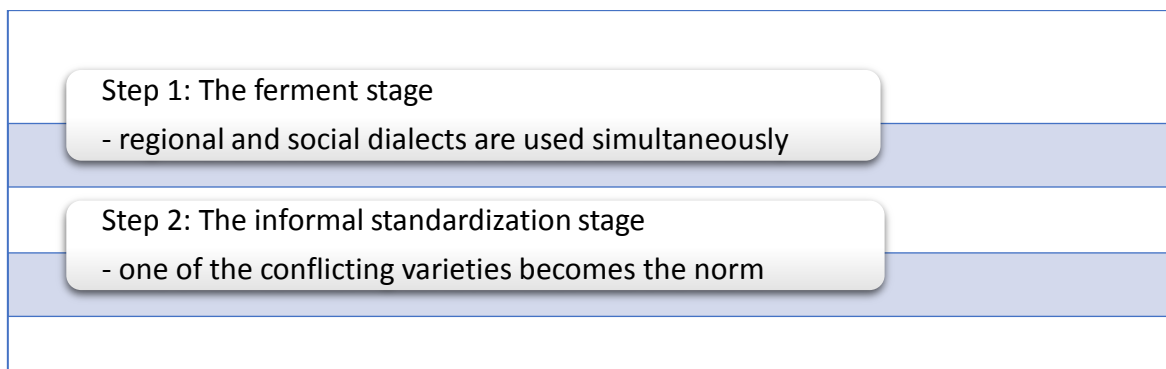


Figure 1.4. Steps of koine formation according to Moag (1979)

1.4.5.2. Gambhir (1981)

Gambhir (1981) is another author who is interested in the process of koineization. He has done a study on Guyanese Bhojpuri. He proposes three stages for koine formation. The first stage is, for him, multi-dialectalism. As the name implies, this step reflects the state of many dialects being in co-existence and contact. The second stage is known by some linguistic adjustments and especially dialect levelling. The third stage comes with the end of the levelling process and then the rise of the koiné.

However, he later states that levelling began in the first stage, and that in the second stage, a particular dialect, Bhojpuri, became the lingua franca “which everyone acquired to some extent and became a bidialectal [speaker]” (1981:193). He continues by advocating that similarly with this operation “came the third stage where the dialects were mixed freely” and it is the result of this mixing that the koine of Guyanese Bhojpuri came to existence (1981: 193) (qtd. in Siegel, 1985: 373).

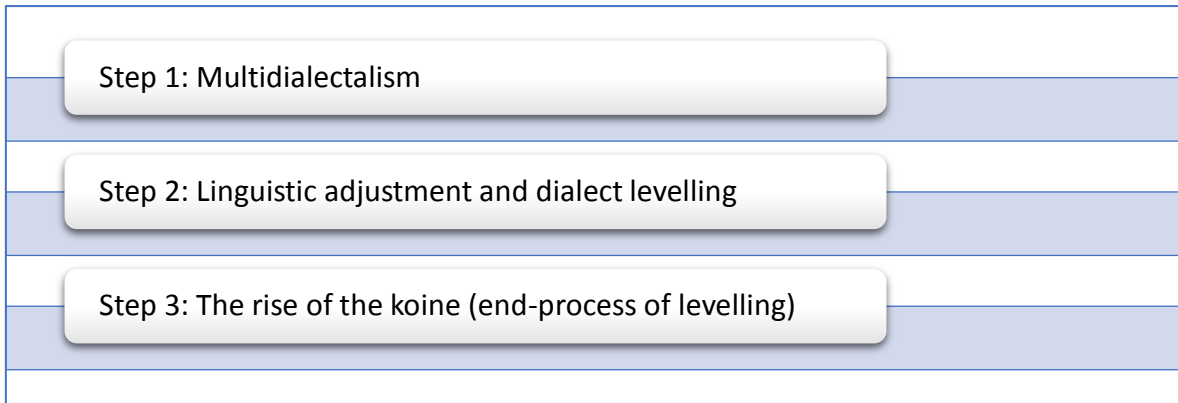


Figure 1.5. Steps of koiné formation according to Gambhir (1981)

1.4.5.3. Siegel (1985)

Siegel (1985) has put forward another model to koineization. He equates what happen to dialects to what happen during the process of pidginization. He proposes four stages to the formation of new dialects. The pre-koine stage is the unstable one since lots of dialectal variation take place due to mixing which itself result in levelling. The second stage is said to be for stabilization where a compromise linguistic system emerges from the competing varieties. Afterwards, the stabilized variety will expand both geographically through larger areas and therefore linguistically. The last stage, for him, occurs with the advancement of time where the koine will become the native language of newer generations.

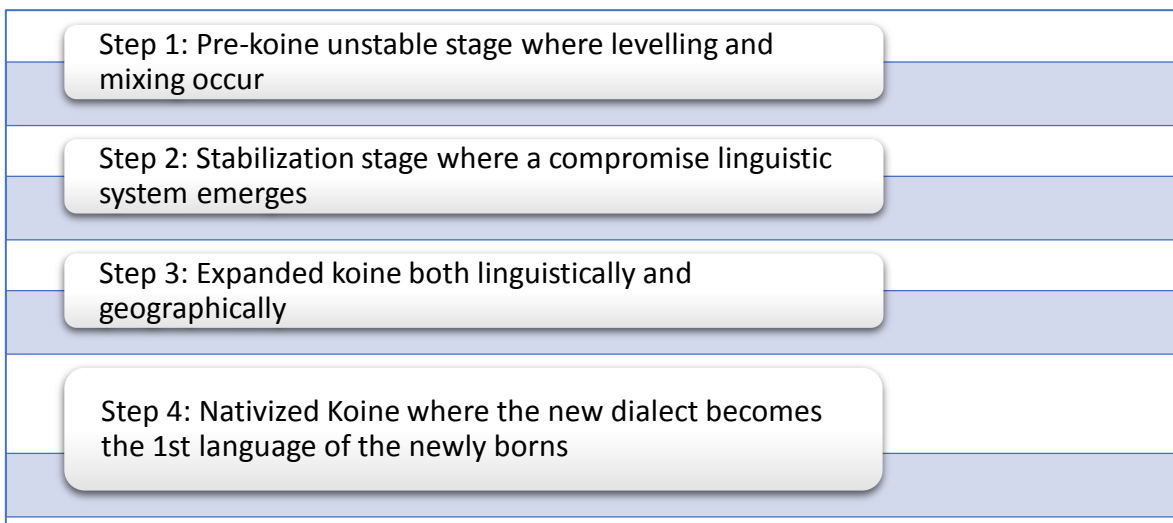


Figure 1.6. Steps of koiné formation according to Siegel (1986)

1.4.5.4 Trudgill (1986)

Trudgill (1986) has made a distinction between stable dialects and mixed dialects which, by means of successive contact, lead to the formation of a new one or what is known as koineization. He relates the process to three important elements including mixing, levelling, and simplification; then exceeds the process to focusing and finally reallocation. It should be noted that his definition of levelling involves the reduction of marked features, i.e., minority or stigmatized linguistic variants (ibid:97). His model of koineization includes three stages as shown in the figure below:

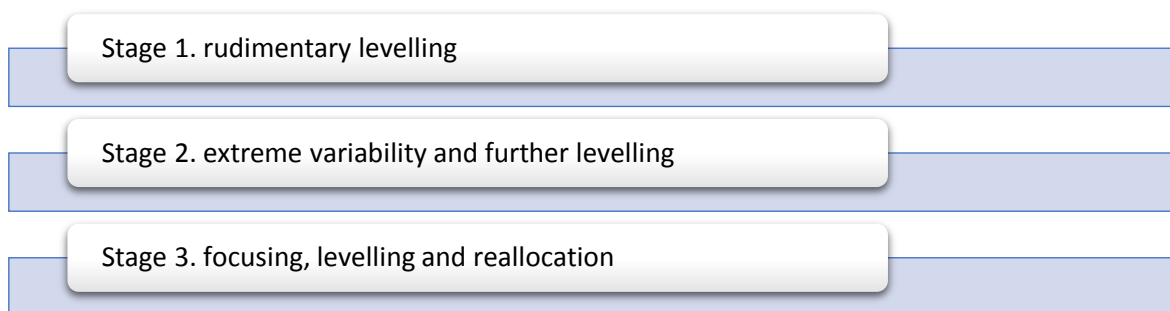


Figure 1.7. Stages in Trudgill's new-dialect formation theory

The first phase is characterized by mixing with levelling of a set of variants; the second phase consists of further levelling which initiates the stage of reallocation, while the third phase is noticeable with stable levelling of marked features where reallocation and focusing take place to form the supposed dialectal koiné.

1.4.6. Procedures of koiné formation:

For the formation of a new dialect or a medium variety, some linguistic modifications are to be made to the contributing varieties. The main concepts that should be introduced at this level are those which are commonly agreed upon from the part of different linguists. These aspects include: levelling, simplification, reduction, reallocation and focusing. The following section provides some definitions as those concepts are to be used along the research.

1.4.6.1. Mixing

The cohabitation of traits with roots in distinct input dialects with the new community is referred to as this process, and it occurs most often because speakers

have diverse dialect origins (Kerswill and Trudgill, 2005: 197). In the same line of thought, Crystal (2008: 83) declares that:

Code-mixing [in general] involves the transfer of linguistic elements from one language into another: a sentence begins in one language, then makes use of words or grammatical features belonging to another. Such mixed forms of language are often labelled with a hybrid name, such as (in the case of English) Spanglish, Franglais and Singlish (Singaporean English), and attract attitudes ranging from enthusiastic community support (as an expression of local identity) to outright condemnation (from some speakers of the related standard languages).

Dialect mixing can also be a figure of code mixing. It reflects the coexistence of many realizations or variants of a given linguistic variable [be it phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic] which originated from different input contact-contributing dialects in a particular speech community of a given geographical area (Kerswill, 2003, Kerswill and Trudgill 2005).

Siegel (1993:6) refers to dialect mixing as a pre-koine stage and Trudgill (1986) views dialectal features mixing from different varieties as the roots of a koineization start (Kherbache, 2017). Thus, dialect mixing is characterised by a high degree of variation among speakers of the mutually intelligible but linguistically contrasting and socially conflicting varieties participating in the contact situation (ibid). This language-mixing activity is a process that paves the way for initiating koineization (ibid). Referring to Britain (2010), Kherbache (2017:29) says that he advocates that “mixing of many different dialect variants of the same variable leads to the emergence of a triumphant variant among the available ones in the input dialects.” This means that once dialects are in contact, they are subject to mixing which, in turn, result in one variant winning among the many contributing ones.

1.4.6.2. Levelling

Levelling is one of the most important aspects of koineization which Crystal (2008:275) characterizes as the progressive loss of linguistic differentiation, resulting in formerly contrastive expressions becoming similar and,

For example, Old English nouns generally distinguished nominative and accusative cases, but in Modern English these have been levelled to a single form. The term is also used in dialectology, where it refers to the lessening of

differences between regional dialects as a result of social forces (such as the media) which are influencing people to speak in a similar way.

Ferguson (1959b: 619) has also mentioned the importance of the levelling aspect in the operation of koineization. Accordingly, he shows that “the koine came into existence through a complex process of mutual borrowing and levelling among various dialects and not as a result of diffusion from a single source”. In the same line of thought, Kerswill (2002:189) considers levelling along with geographical diffusion as important mechanisms of dialect changes. For him,

levelling [...] implies “the reduction or attrition of *marked* variants” (Trudgill 1986:98). ‘Marked’ here refers to forms that are “unusual or in a minority” (*ibid.*). Levelling, in this sense, is closely related to (indeed, results from) the social psychological mechanism of *speech accommodation* (Giles & Powesland 1997; Trudgill 1986:1-4), by which (provided mutual good will is present) interlocutors will tend to converge linguistically. In a situation (such as in a new town) where speakers of different, but mutually intelligible dialects come together, countless individual acts of *short-term accommodation* over a period of time lead to *long-term accommodation* in those same speakers (Trudgill 1986:1-38). The outcome is the levelling of differences among what was at first a conglomeration of varieties, often leading to a new variety.

Siegel (1993:116) perceives that the mechanisms of dialect levelling rely primarily, not on linguistic but, on extra-linguistic interpretations and explanations. The forms which are to be levelled out, i.e., dropped from the linguistic system, and those retained onto it are rather based on the demographic considerations of the population of the contacting or accommodating speech community without neglecting information about the social setting where contact takes place and where a given variety is used. Miller (2004a: 255) reports an example from the Arab world saying:

Cairo and Damascus are very old urban centres. Their vernacular developed long ago in a sedentary environment and the historical levelling processes did not seem to have led to radical structural changes. Today, there is still a kind of levelling process in the two cities: a number of lexical words, which were specific to the old urban vernacular before the 1950s, have been dropped and replaced by more common pan-Arabic words but this can be considered as a ‘natural development’.

Similarly, it has been advocated that levelling is considered as “the reduction in the number of realizations of linguistic units found in a defined area, usually through the

loss of geographically and demographically restricted, or ‘marked’, variants” (Torgersen and Kerswill, 2004: 3). In a precise definition put forward by Trudgill (1994: 20), levelling “may just favour the most simple or most natural or most unmarked variant present in the mixture. It may, on the other hand, favour that variant which is most demographically dominant.” Indeed, this definition tends to be the most reliable one as matching the needs of the research at hand.

Mixing and levelling are tightly related processes: the former entails the coexistence of realizational forms of the same linguistic variable in a particular speech community; the latter denotes the pertinence, prominence, and resistance of one of these realizations and the drop, if not the cancellation, of the contributing/ competing others. Britain (1997) defines levelling in relation to mixing as “the eradication of marked variants in the dialect mix” (p 141).

1.4.6.3. Simplification

Simplification is a necessary constituent of koineization (Labeled, 2014). It is also known as unmarking in Trudgill's (2004) terms which can be considered as another process distinct from levelling. It is the fact whereby “even minority forms may be the ones to survive if they are linguistically simpler, in the technical sense, and through which even forms and distinctions that are present in all ingredient dialects may be lost” (Britain and Trudgill, 1999: 246-7). Simplification, as one stage of koineization, will be highly referenced in the work particularly with the above-mentioned definition.

Simplification involves “an increase in regularity” (Mühlhäusler, 1974, qtd. in Trudgill 1986: 103). It might also include a reduction in the number of grammatical categories such as gender morphologically marked cases, simplified morphophonemics and a reduction in the number of phonemes (Kerswill and Williams, 2000). Therefore, simplification, as the term implies, refers to the linguistic act of making the dialect production and understanding simpler and easier and more importantly commonly accepted over a particular region or a group. These aspects are going to be tested in our research as much concern is devoted to phonological and morphological aspects of the contributing dialects.

1.4.6.4 Bidialectalism

Once two dialects are in unremitting contact, the situation results in what is linguistically acknowledged as bidialectalism. Basically, the concept may denote a certain proficiency in two dialects. However, the idea may carry other different explanations. First, at a macro-sociolinguistic level, bidialectalism entails the prevalence of more than one dialect variety (Abboud-Haggar, 2006) in one specific speech community, i.e., dialect use is conditioned by the social group using it. For example, in the Arab world, the social prestige of the co-existing varieties is shaped by the speech community per se one variety can be attributed a greater standing than the other (s), or all varieties acquire the same rank of prestige (ibid). The second interpretation is understood from a micro-sociolinguistic level in the sense that linguistic adoption is an individual decision. In other words, it means the capacity of speakers to have command over more than a single linguistic variety spoken in a language (Trudgill, 1992: 12).

Dialect switching, together with dialect borrowing are instances of the linguistic outcomes of bidialectalism. Switching refers to the occasional use of forms from different mutually intelligible varieties within speech. It arises usually in communities where the co-occurring related varieties are divergent (e.g. diglossia). Accordingly, switching from one linguistic level to another goes through two processes: levelling and classicizing (Hammoudi, 2017). Levelling occurs when, as previously indicated, “the speaker may replace certain features of his native dialect with their equivalents in a dialect carrying higher prestige, not necessarily that of the interlocutor” (Blanc, 1960: 82), while classicizing entails the idea that the more educated speakers borrow some features and items from Standard Arabic. Dialect borrowing, on the other hand, is the process whereby a given dialect copies a feature or form from another dialect. For instance, in the case of sound borrowing, “borrowed sound changes will usually be embedded in borrowed lexical items. Initially, a sound-change thus adopted will entrench itself in the borrowing dialect in the loan words, before starting to spread in a lexically diffuse fashion” (Hinckens *et al*, 2005: 20).

1.4.6.5 Reallocation

Britain and Trudgill (1999:245) explain how this process comes about: “Reallocation occurs where two or more variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process but are refunctionalised, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect.” Thus, reallocation refers to those linguistic realizations that have not been levelled out but are maintained; these certainly have new socio-linguistic functions in the newly formed dialect; of course, these functions are different from the earlier ones exercised in the original dialects.

Britain and Trudgill (2014) focus on the concept of reallocation as one of the results of koineization. They claim that it refers to the linguistic situation when two or more variations in a dialect mix survive the levelling process but are refunctionalized in the new dialect, they evolve new social or linguistic roles. In their study, the authors have provided many illustrations of social and linguistic reallocation resulting from long term dialect contact and accommodation touching phonological, morphological, and lexical items in the English of the Fens of eastern England.

Britain and Trudgill (2014) state that sometimes, even after the process of koineization, the final product is not always ‘one dialect winning or spreading on the expense of another’ from the contributing varieties. Consequently, “a number of competing variants left over from the mixture may survive” (ibid); this is what they call reallocation or what Taeldeman (1989) labelled as rule-governed contact, where two or more variants survive the mixing situation and gain different functions in the newly formed dialect.

There emerge two types of reallocation: socio-stylistic and structural reallocation. Whereas the former refers to originally regional variants in the dialect mix that may acquire a new stylistic or social status role in the newly formed dialect, the latter occurs when two or more contributing variants are allocated in the new koineized dialect either:

- to different phonological environments (Trudgill 1986, 159; Taeldeman 1989; Britain 1997a),
- to different lexical environment (Taeldeman 1989; Britain 2001),

- or to different morphosyntactic contexts (Britain 2020b)

(Cited in. Labeled, 2014)

1.4.6.6. Focusing

Kerswill (2010) has mentioned the idea of ‘new variety’ as an epistemological issue. He advocates that developing a new variety entails “more than just changes in norms” (p. 230) including reallocation and focusing, which refers to a relative absence of norms as stated by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) who, in turn, claim that the new variety is “partly hybrid, partly innovative” (Kerswill 2010:231) but more focused than the original contributive varieties (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

In more precise terms, focusing is “the process by means of which the new variety acquires norms and stability” (Trudgill, 2004:88). However, “if the level of agreement is low among the members of the speech community, their variety is unfocused (or diffuse)” (Labeled, 2014: 59). In this vein, Miller (2007) advocates that in the Arab world, some urban spoken vernaculars have witnessed focusing and that many old linguistic forms could have been preserved. On the other hand, focusing, according to Trudgill (1998) and Kerswill (2002), is considered to occur in more advanced phases akin to the second and third stages of koine formation. For them, the variety is focused by the first native-born speakers in older ages and the coming subsequent generations.

1.4.7. The Arabic koiné

Many theories have been developed providing the aim of explaining the origins and development of modern Arabic dialects (Aniss, 2003), and most have referred to the issue of koine as an explanatory source. Some scholars say that the first koine is the pre-Islamic one whereby linguistic/ dialectal unification started as many Arab tribal dialects converged into a unified poetic koine to be used. Robin (1955) mentions that this type of koine, with its sophisticated style, was restricted to poetry and all the other contributing dialects co-existed simultaneously with differing degrees of mutual intelligibility (Kherbache, 2017: 41). The aspect of simultaneous

existence of original dialects with the unified koiné is one of the strong points that our research will put emphasis on. Dickens (2013:14) posits, in this respect, that:

The most widely held view among modern scholars is that in pre-Islamic Arabia there existed alongside a number of different tribal-based dialects a pan-Arabic koiné. This was used mainly for the composition of POETRY, which had a central place in pre-Islamic culture.

After the spread of Islam, the poetic koine became the Qur'anic koine for it was the language of the written Holy Book (Holes, 2004). However, confusion was introduced among scholars on the real origin of this koine. The query was whether this koine had originally come from a peculiar tribal dialect or it was basically “a super-tribal dialect distinct” from the other existing ones (Kherbache, 2017: 41). In this respect, Abboud-Haggag (2006:617) says that: “most scholars seem to concur that the poetic-Qur'anic koiné never formed the spoken vernacular of any Arabic-speaking group, either before or after Muhammad” (*Peace be upon him*).

Afterwards, another type of koiné emerged; it was the commercial urban Arabic koine (Coriente, 1976). Economic purposes enhanced commercial as well as communicative contact among speakers of Arabic, particularly in the regions of Kufa and Basra. The continuous contact happening in parallel with business led to the extension of this koine along the Arabia.

Interestingly, whenever there was a change in purpose, there emerged different types of koine; this time at a military basis. Indeed, ‘military Arabic koine’ has been introduced by Ferguson (1959) who views it as developing in “military camps and garrison towns during the Islamic expansion” (Kherbache, 2017: 42). This koine was used for communication among speakers of different tribes and even for non-Arabs. In fact, it has been developed after many linguistic operations, including borrowing, mixing, simplification and levelling (Abboud, 1970). These linguistic operations have been fostered by the military movement and urbanization which, itself, led to the Arabization of many other areas through the process of diffusion, and likewise, developed modern Arabic dialects (Miller, 2004). In this vein, Blau (1981:15-16) advocates that:

The various items, carefully collected by Ferguson, to attest to the existence of the koiné, from which, it is alleged, the modern sedentary dialects have developed, do not, in our opinion prove that such a common language really existed. The koiné stands, as we have tried to demonstrate, at the end of the linguistic process and not at its beginning.

These koines have played an important role in both standardization and spread and growth of Arabic which is the ancestor of Modern Arabic dialects.

1.4.7.1. Ferguson's historical prelude to the Arabic koine

Charles Ferguson was the first one to introduce the concept of koine in relation to the Arabic language in his article "The Arabic Koine" (1956). He mentions that most modern Arabic dialects are the descendants of Classical Arabic (CA) in the form of a koine (p. 616). He also clarifies how CA is different from the other dialects found in the Arab world in the sense that it becomes standardized and unchanged in phonology and morphology and accepted as the norm of spoken and written forms (p. 617). However, with the advancement of time, the spoken form of Arabic (of that era) turns to be distinct from the norm.

1.4.7.2. Ferguson's hypotheses of Arabic koine formation

With regard to the formation of the Arabic koine, Ferguson (1956) put forward three hypotheses: First, a moderately standardised, homogeneous koine, that is not based on the dialect of any region, developed as a conversational form of Arabic and was spread over the Islamic world in the first centuries of the Muslim era. Ferguson has compared the Arabic koine with the Greek one and concluded that the latter was based, to a large extent, on a form of Greek that is spoken in one single centre.

Second, this koine existed side by side with '*Arabiyyah* although it was rarely used for written purposes. Unlike other comparable koines originating from other languages that might have witnessed some modifications, and along with Arabic koine development, CA remained persistent and unchangeable despite all the movements and changes. This koine remained a medium of oral communication and was never introduced to be utilized for writing objectives.

Third, most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia, are continuations of this koine, and their differences are chiefly borrowings or innovations which took place subsequent to the spread of the koine. In other words, Ferguson wants to emphasize the idea that CA and other spoken varieties of the Arab world existed side by side. Those dialects were all the continuous result of this koine; the linguistic distinctions that can be noticed are only regional additions or innovations to the basic koine.

1.4.7.3. Emergence and spread of the Arabic koine

The use of the Arabic language spread along with the expansion of Islam. However, it has been mentioned that the emergence of the Arabic koine started before this spread and expansion as an outcome of mingling of different dialect features with the purpose of facilitating intercommunication among people during that period. Ferguson (1959) clarifies that the Arabic koine witnessed development and spread in most cities and armies. This expansion was achieved in parallel with the spread of Arabo-Islamic culture (p. 618). The influence of those linguistic changes over the sedentary-Bedouin dichotomy has been explained in the sense that restricted varieties of spoken Arabic undoubtedly persisted largely undisturbed by the emerged koine, and in some cases, even very major migrations as that of Bani Hilal who settled in North Africa developed variants of Arabic separate from the main bulk of koine-based Arabic dialects (ibid).

Ferguson (p. 619) states that the Arabic koine is not a result of linguistic diffusion from one particular linguistic source; it is rather a result of “a complex process of mutual borrowing and levelling among various dialects”. He explains this with the idea that no Arabic centre was obviously dominant at that time despite the high consideration that has been attributed to both Bedouin dialects (for being near CA) as the one of Mecca and centres of prestige akin to Egypt. In more precise terms, there was no evidence for any given variety to be of normative influence on the Arabic speech community; this is why the koine is said to have resulted from borrowings and processes of levelling rather than diffusion from a single linguistic source.

1.4.7.4. Linguistic criteria of Ferguson's Arabic koine

It is of great importance to highlight the fact that Ferguson (1959), being the pioneer talking about the Arabic koine, has compared CA to other dialects spoken in differing geographical areas of the Arab world. This comparison, for him, led to the development of the Arabic koine or more precisely to make a categorization of linguistic items to differentiate between CA and other varieties' structures which result in koine formation. This distinction has been drawn between CA and spoken dialects of Syria, Egypt, and Morocco, in some instances.

The following table summarizes the linguistic items chosen by Ferguson in his differentiation between CA and other Arabic dialects (DA) which consequently form the Arabic koine. Fourteen features have been selected for comparison: three lexical, one phonological and 10 morphological.

Table 1.1. Ferguson's differentiation between CA and Arabic dialects

Linguistic items	Classical Arabic	Dialectal Arabic
Dual form	Baytani kabirani	Beten kbar
Taltalah ?	Taftahu Ta3allama	Tiftah Yit3allam
Verb inflections	Qum sir	Quum Sir
Final waw verbs	rama	Rmiit, yirmi
Reformation of geminate verbs	halaltu	Haleet
Verb suffix -l	Lahu laha	ilu ilha
Cardinal numbers 3-10	xamsatu buyutin, xamsu ghurafin	xams byut xams ghuraf
/tt/ in the numbers 13-19	xamsata 3ashara baytan xamsa 3achrata ghurfatan	xamsta3shar beet xamsta3shar ghurfe
Loss of the feminine comparative	Akbaru baytin- albaytu l'akbaru Akbaru ghurfatin- elghurfatu lkubraa	Akbar beet— lbeet l'akbar Akbar ghurfe---lghurfee l'akbar
Adjective plural	Kathiraton-kathirin Jamilouna-jamilaton	Ktirin-ktar Jamilin-hilwin
Suffix of <i>nisbah</i>	Laho laha	Leeh La'elha
Maa 'what'	Maa chaklohu	chou
Laysa 'it's not'	Laysa howa Laysat hya	Mou howee Mou hyee
Aydan 'also'	Kana aydan Howa aydan	Kan kamaan Howee kamaan

1.5. On Arabic and its Dialects

1.5.1. The Arabic language and its dialects

One of the Semitic Afro-Asiatic family of languages, Arabic is indeed one of the ancient languages still living worldwide. After its standardization, and with the spread of Islam along the 7th CE, Arabic has become the language of the empire (Aoun *et al.*, 2010). Different dialects of Arabic appeared after the death of the Prophet in 632 C.E. (Abboud-Haggar, 2006 qtd. in Kherbache, 2017: 32). The label ‘Arabic’ usually refers to Standard Arabic, which Western linguists divide into Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (Kamusella, 2017). It could also refer to any of the varieties of regional dialects or vernaculars of the Arabic language, which are not necessarily mutually intelligible.

- Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic are usually perceived as one. (Holes, 2004:5) states that

Ordinary Arabs themselves do not make a systematic terminological differentiation between CLA and MSA. Both are termed ʔal'arabi:yatu Ifuṣḥa: “pure/eloquent Arabic” or simply ʔl'arabi:ya or ʔal fuṣḥa: for short, in opposition to ʔal'a:mmi:ya ‘the vernacular’, which exists in innumerable varieties and is popularly thought to be a grammarless corruption of “real” Arabic (ʔalfuṣḥa:).

- Mary Catherine Bateson (2003:84) identified three kinds of change that differentiate MSA from CA. These include:

(1) a “series of ‘acceptable’ simplifications” in syntactic structures, (2) a “vast shift in the lexicon due to the need for technical terminology,” and (3) a “number of stylistic changes due to translations from European languages and extensive bilingualism.

As for the dialects of Arabic, scholars have classified them in a number of ways according to various criteria, explained in the following section.

1.5.2. Classification of Arabic dialects:

All scholars and dialectologists agree on the idea that Arabic contains many dialects in the Arab world. The distinction between them has been thoroughly traced according to different parameters including historical, geographical and sometimes in relation to people’s/ speakers’ lifestyle.

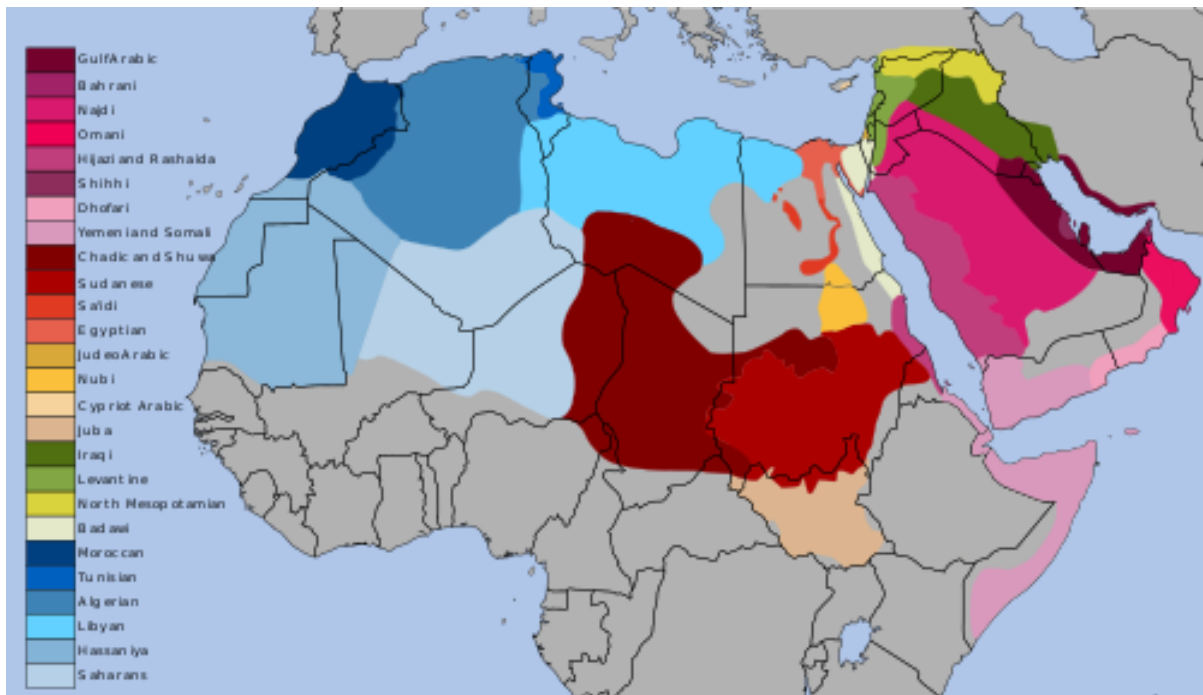


Figure 1.8. Arabic varieties spoken in the Arab world

Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=arabic+varieties+spoken+in+the+arab+world&client=firefox-b-d&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi3wI2QkoT0AhVB6uAXd8zDKUQ_AUoAXoECAEQAw&biw=1366&bih=643&dpr=1#imgrc=MvD5XaFbiBjj7M (retrieved on 10/ 05/ 2019)

a) According to history: Arabic dialect zones

Jastrow (2002: 348) has divided the Arab world into three zones; each is geographically, historically, and linguistically different. Zone (I) is the Arab Peninsula where the Arabic expansion was initiated. It is known by its archaic dialects. Zone (II) refers to all the arabized territories after the expansion. It involves communities of the Levant, Egypt, North Africa, and Iraq. It is known by its colonial Arabic with some innovative features. Zone (III) covers all the remaining areas where other languages are spoken in addition to Arabic. Its regions involve Afghanistan, Cyprus, Malta, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Jastrow's Arabic zones are summarized in the following diagram.

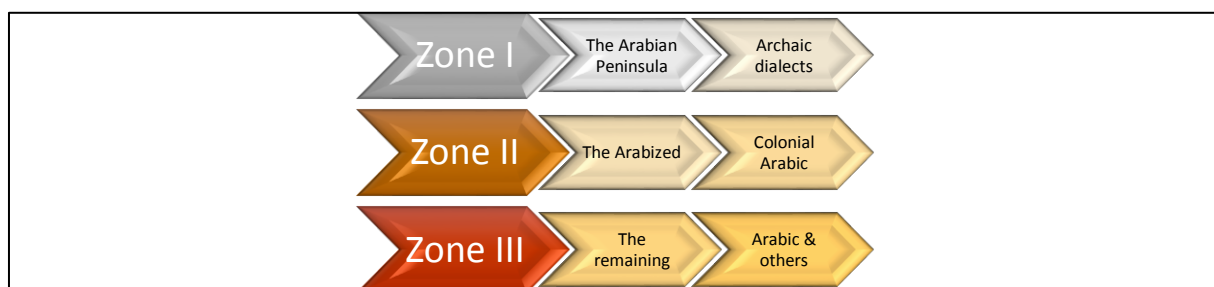


Figure 1.9. Jastrow's zones of Arabic

b) According to geography: Eastern vs. Western dialects

Most if not all studies on Arabic dialects classification rely heavily on space and geography. The dialects spoken in the Arab region were both listed and described with reference to “larger geographical entities” akin to North Africa, Levant, Middle East, Gulf and so forth. Other classifications include western and eastern dialects making their boundary between Egypt and Libya (Owens, 2003).

Although originating from one single ancestor, Arabic, the dialects that are spoken in different regions of the Arab world show divergence more than similarity in their linguistic sub-systems including phonology, morphology, syntax and even semantics and lexicon. In this respect, Watson (2002:8) advocates that “dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible.” Indeed, they show significant differences occurring in parallel with the geographical distances of the areas.

Easter-Western dichotomy of Arabic dialects’ division has been richly explained by Palmer (2007) who mentions that Moroccan Arabic and Iraqi Arabic are two extremes of dialectal realizations as one exists in the final point of the West (Morocco in North Africa) and the other as the extreme point in the East (Iraq in the Levant). The two parts are said to be entirely unintelligible. An interesting illustration has been given by Palmer (ibid.). The example includes different ways of saying ‘I want to go now’ in different dialects of Arabic along the Arabic continuum.

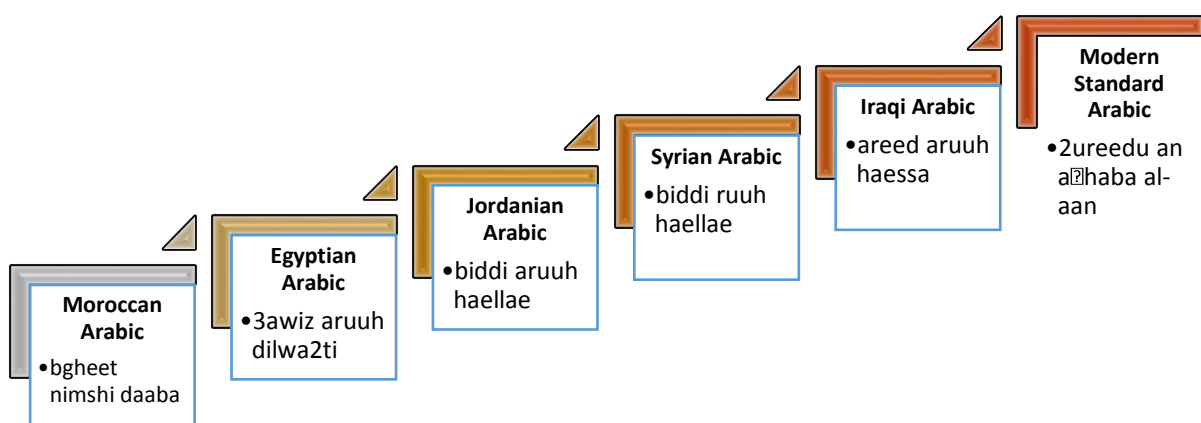


Figure 1.10. ‘I want to go now’ in some Arabic dialects (Palmer 2007 example adopted)

East-West Arabic dialects' division can be seen in many linguistic aspects. For instance, phonetically speaking, western dialect speakers tend to drop short vowels found in the middle position (Palva 2006); they also tend to reduce the length of long vowels which is shown mainly in the Maghreb as a result of the existence of other varieties or even languages akin to Berber and French (Kaye and Rosenhouse, 1998). This distinction can also be witnessed in lexical items due to other paralinguistic factors as migration and contact with other nations of differing origins (Holes 2004; Versteegh 2014).

c) According to lifestyle: Sedentary vs. Nomadic/ Urban vs. Rural

Marçais (1938) was the pioneer to refer to the sedentary-Bedouin division with the aim of explaining the process of North African Arabization. Bedouin groups of people are said to be distinct in both their lifestyle as well as their language behaviour. They were nomadic and their Arabic dialects were reflective of this nomadicity. Their dialect was characterized by [g]-realization of *qaaf*, the presence of interdental consonants as [θ] and [ð]. However, it has been claimed that, through time and along space, this linguistic categorization is not valid for all communities of the Arabic speakers (Blanc 1971, Taine-Cheix 1998, Rosenhouse 2011). Therefore, “Bedouin today is more of a convenient label for a bundle of features and tells us nothing about the present-day lifestyle of the speakers” (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2013: 319).

The dichotomy urban vs. rural is also applied in the distinction between Arabic dialects. It is mainly related to some variables such as, say, the glottal stop realization of standard Arabic *qaf*, considered as urban in many regions of the Arab world (Egypt, Syria, etc.) whereas [g] is seen as a Bedouin dialect feature. This dichotomy can only be applied to smaller speech communities for each is characterized by its own perceptions of what constitutes an urban/ rural feature; though it is quite conventional that the urban dialect is what is spoken in the city and the Bedouin/ rural is spoken in the countryside.

Ibn Xaldun is said to be the first to mention this socio-demographic and historical linguistic distinction of Arabic (Miller 2007). He divided people in the Arab world as *ahl-Erriif* ‘*countyside dwellers*’ or *El-badaoua* for they were of less mixed origins and

ahl-El-mudun ‘city dwellers’ or al-Hadar ‘the civilized’ who witness much contact with non-Arabic speaking people (Kherbache 2017). Accordingly, Bedouin people tend to be more conservative of their variety as it approximates CA as opposed to sedentary people who tend to change and their variety was “corrupted” (Haak 1997, Versteegh 2001, Miller 2007).

Palva (2006) has made an attempt to elicit some typological linguistic features that can be beneficial in the sedentary-Bedouin categorization of dialects. Those features tend to be obviously prominent in the dialects spoken in the Arab world. The following table summarizes Palva’s classifications of Bedouin-sedentary dialectal features. Examples are adopted to clarify each item more.

Table 1.2. Some linguistic features distinguishing Bedouin and sedentary Arabic dialects

Bedouin Dialects	Sedentary Dialects
-Interdental fricatives e.g. [θ-ð-]	-Interdental fricatives > post dental stops e.g. [t-d-]
-Partially retained and generalised indefinite marker –in (tanwi:n) e.g. [waladun] ‘a boy’	-No indefinite marker –in, except in formulaic expressions e.g. [weld] ‘a boy’
-Gender distinction in plural e.g. [anta/nta vs. anti/nti] ‘you.masc & you.fem)	-No gender distinction in finite verbs and personal pronouns e.g. [tina (or ntina)] ‘you for both’
-No verb modifier in the imperfect e.g. [eketb-i] (you.fem.) ‘Write!’ (imperative)	-Different verb modifiers in the imperfect e.g. [ekteb] (you.fem.) ‘Write!’ (imperative)

Profoundly put, Kherbache (2017) mentions that sedentary speech can be divided into urban (city) and rural (village). For this type of sub-categorization of concepts and communities, the east-west dichotomy, on the one hand, was not all the time fairly explanatory as the Arab world is diverse in its social and ethnic platform. Consequently, Cadora (1992) states that: “Arabic speech communities exist in several distinct social units, ranging from tribal and sub-tribal Bedouin groups traditionally associated with desert life to urban families in various socioeconomic classes” (p. XI). On the other hand, the Bedouin-sedentary or rural-urban dichotomy has also shown to be

controversial in the sense that even if “the structural similarities recorded between dialects separated sometimes by huge geographical distances indicate that these dialectal classifications are not completely unfounded” (Miller, 2007: 5), very few features cannot be norms of distinction between all the existing Bedouin and sedentary dialects in the Arabic speaking world.

1.6.3. Arabic and its Dialects in Algeria

The linguistic situation in Algeria is so much bound up with its history especially the foreign interventions and colonization namely the Turkish, Spanish, and strongly the French. Many linguistic phenomena are to be mentioned interesting in the Algerian speech community.

1. 6.3.1. Algerian Linguistic History

Three main periods characterize the linguistic history of the Algerian society:

- * 1) the pre-Islamic era and the existence of Berber;
- * 2) the mid- 7th and 11th centuries and the spread of Islam and Arabic; and finally,
- * 3) the 19thC with the French colonialism and the imposition of French.

It is necessary to point out that other invasions and occupations have entered Algeria in different other periods like the 16th century with the Turkish and then the Spanish whose presence left no prominent cultural and linguistic effects as did the aforementioned ones (Kherbache, 2017: 46). The existence of all those varieties and languages has made the Algerian repertoire richer and thus an Algerian communication cannot be free of aspects of code-switching and borrowing.

As many parts of the Maghreb in North Africa, Algeria had long been inhabited by the Berbers since pre-historic times (Camps 1974). Afterwards, the region witnessed successive invasions; the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Spaniards, the Turks and last the French (Ciment 2015 qtd in Kherbache, 2017: 47).

The Arab expeditions to North Africa started during the 7th C along with the expansion of Islam where the muslim’s goal was not only to spread the new religion

with its culture but the Arabic language, i.e., through the process of Arabicization which was not fully achieved until the invasion of Banu Hilal to the region. As a result, fusion of Berber people to the culture and the language started to spread. In this respect, Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:23) says (this is a translation) that:

Algeria is Arabic and has proclaimed itself to be Arab and Arabophone since the arrival of the successive waves of the Arab fatihin conquerors, who have thus, along with the Islamisation of the Maghreb, allowed its Arabicisation. An Arabicisation which was made slowly and on a long period from the year of Okba Ibn Nafaa in the 7th century up to the later one of the Hilali tribes.

With the Ottoman domination of Algeria by the Turks in the 17th C, Arabicization and Islamization were fostered while Turkish was used as an official language with AA remaining the medium of everyday communication (Charles, 1970 qtd. in Bouamrane, 1986). Nevertheless, the Turkish dominance did not affect the linguistic system and much of it was mainly based on military settlements along the urban regions of the country.

The Arabo-Islamic character of Algeria was subject to destruction by the French colonization, though strongly faced by the famous Algerian revolution. France with its language has been present linguistically and culturally, it was assumed as the first foreign language of the country and besides the fact of being the language of the educated elite, French tends to be considered, in nowadays' Algeria, as a means for educational, scientific, technological as well as diplomatic communication, access and acceptability (Dendane, 2007).

As for Berber, in fact, it remained spoken by some people in particular areas of Algeria with its differing varieties including Kabyle, Mezabi, Touareg and Tashelhit. An exception is made to the use of the French language which is taking a good 'prestigious' part of the Berber speech community.

1.6.3.2. Prelude to the current linguistic situation in Algeria

Four decades of Algerian change in the society are reflected in its linguistic system where Arabic has the lion's share of consideration as the national and official language of the country. As far as Berber is concerned, although it has existed in many

regions since ancient times, it did not gain consideration until the 21st century when it was established as the other national language along with Arabic. In parallel, the influence of French in the administration and education was very prominent; yet, its scope of recognition has been limited, especially with the growth of Arabization since the 1970s.

However, the existence of these languages did not allow any to be the mother tongue of the Algerians; it is Algerian Arabic that remains the native tongue of the majority of the population. Politically, Arabic was declared as the country's national language in 1963 (Art.3 of the Algerian Constitution). What is understood from 'Arabic' in the Constitution is its literary form, referred to today by Western linguists as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is in fact a modern form of *el3arabiyya elfusha* (*wrongly referred to as Classical Arabic*). It is mainly used for religious purposes; it is also the language of education (the means of instruction), formal speech (conferences, parliament, etc.), broadcasting (media and news), etc. However, it is necessary to mention that the Arabic adopted by the government is rather what is known as MSA which has more rate of ease in use and frequency (Maamouri, 1973: 57). MSA refers to "that variety of Arabic that is found in contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines, and that is used orally in formal speeches, public lectures, and television" (Said, 1967:12); and that is absolutely the case in Algeria, but also in all other Arab countries. It is important to note that Arabic in its standard form "is not a spoken language; it is nobody's mother tongue, and the man who wants to talk at all times like a book or a newspaper is a decided oddity" (Mitchell, 1974:124). Therefore, "an Algerian reader whose level of education is equivalent to the Baccalaureate degree cannot read a page of an Arabic newspaper without making mistakes of interpretation" (Achouche 1981, qtd. in Ennaji, 1991: 8) which is an arguable

MSA was introduced as the language of a unifying system of education after a period from the end of colonialism. All Algerian children are given the right of free education beginning from the age of six and instruction in school is in Arabic in all the regions of the country aiming at unifying the educational system, promoting stability and avoiding regionalism. With the linguistic reality created by the juxtaposition of both

society and school, Algerian children find themselves learning new Arabic vocabulary which is not present in their daily life; and therefore, develop a contextual-linguistic awareness that the language learned is for educational purposes and the one spoken at home is for street, informal communication. This situation makes them obviously subject to the diglossic issue of the county.

1.6.3.3. Diglossia in Algeria

Diglossia refers to the co-existence of two varieties of the same language used in a particular speech community, but each with distinct functions. The linguistic duality of standard and colloquial Arabic is explanatory as, for instance, the presence of both varieties of Arabic, Standard and dialectal Algerian Arabic in Algeria. Whereas the first (Ferguson's High variety) holds the function of a formal, written and prestigious code, the latter (Ferguson's Low variety) is informal, spoken and basic, used for ordinary communication purposes.

Within Standard Arabic, two forms can be included: CA and MSA (Ferguson, 1991). These are the High varieties to be attributed socio-linguistically higher functions. They are used for formal purposes and contexts like education, politics, media, conferences, and religious practices. On the other hand, AA is used informally with family members, friends, and other spoken (socially and communicative) intimate reasons and contexts (Figure 1.11).

It should be highlighted that in his paper *La Diglossie Arabe*, Marçais (1930) was the first to describe the diglossic phenomenon in the context of the Arabic speaking world. He mentioned that the linguistic situation in Algeria is to be diglossically explained because of the co-existence of two forms of Arabic: a written form and a spoken form with each having a function specific to it.

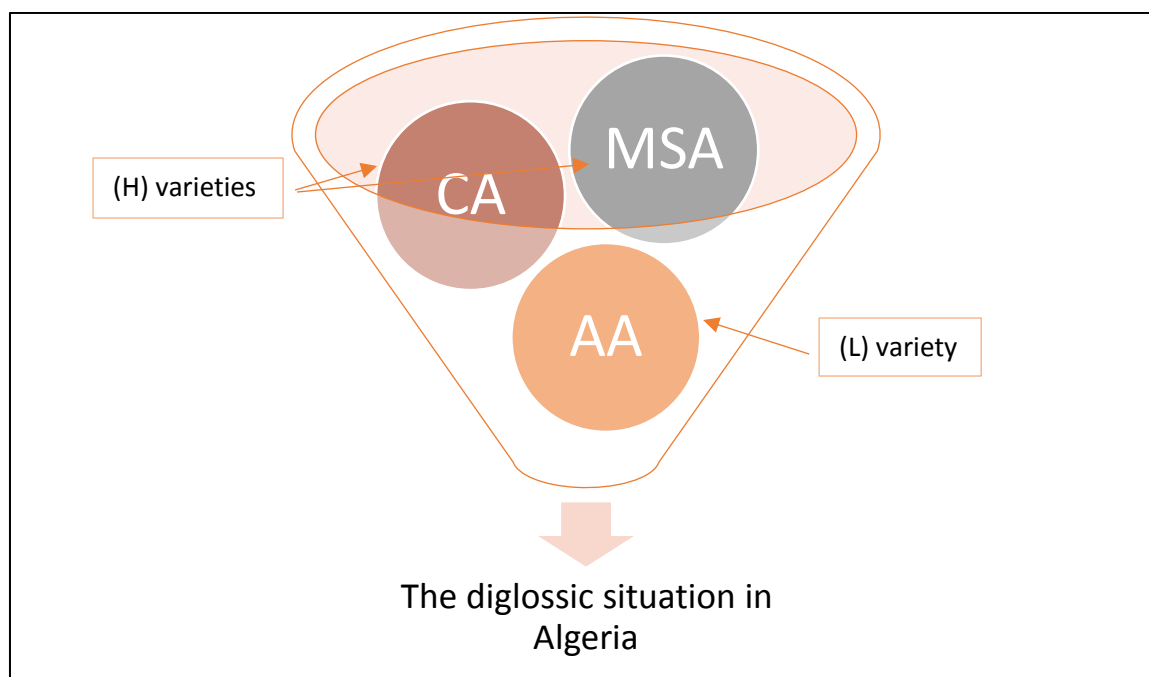


Figure 1.11. (H) and (L) varieties in a diglossic distribution in Algeria

However, this categorization is not always fair as, for instance, “a speech in a parliament, or a political speech elsewhere (H) is usually given in educated spoken Arabic, and sometimes in pure colloquial (L)” (El Hassan, 1977: 115). Roles and functions, as high or low, attributed to the Arabic varieties spoken in Algeria depend heavily on the situation, the context, and the setting where they are spoken.

1.6.3.4. Arabization of Algeria:

Algeria adhered to the process of Arabization, i.e., the use of Arabic in its system including education, before the declaration of its complete independence in July 1962. This process was undergone by the supervision of the ‘Association of Muslim Scholars’ (1931). Arabization was gradually successful and nearly completely achieved by 1971. Then, Arabic started to be the medium of instruction especially with the coming of Egyptian and Iraqi teachers to the country. Some years later, Arabic was generalized to almost all spheres of the Algerian republic; however, French remained a striking issue used in offices and administrations and some private schools as well.

The first and foremost aim of Arabization involved Haugen’s idea that “Every self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of communication, a ‘vernacular’ or a ‘dialect’ but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as

underdeveloped” (Qtd. in Pride and Holmes, 1972:103). For purely political reasons, Arabization was meant to clean the colonizer’s remnants. Still, some scholars mention that Arabization has social and cultural explanations that, say, in Algeria, people qualify and consider themselves as Arabs and Muslims for whom only Arabic is the sign of belonging, identity, dignity and recognition.

Again, although it reached the superposed educational purposes, Arabization was not very much successful especially because Algerians speak either Algerian Arabic or varieties of Berber as their day-to-day means of communication. With this movement, the Berber people reacted as they felt their variety threatened. As a reaction, they asked the government for equal consideration to their language in education and society (Benrabah, 2002:76). The Algerian constitution of 2002 acknowledges Berber as a national language in Algeria representing a unified Algerian linguistic and cultural identity (Art.3). Thence, Berber has witnessed a change in status: from a spoken, informal, non-recognized variety to a standard language for its resistance against Arabization of all regions of the Algerian country.

1.6.3.5. Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) is a variety of Arabic spoken in Algeria. It is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerians who use it in oral communication and everyday interaction. Of course, as other vernaculars of Arabic, AA has no written form. Still, some folk literature can be found in this variety but only written with the Arabic language letters (script) for “desirous of reaching the general public and perhaps also because they had not fully mastered CA the speakers of the revolutions have often used colloquial expression in their formal speech” (Bishai, 1966: 319).

Algerian Arabic, as a vernacular, is distinct from MSA at all linguistic levels. Phonology, morphology, syntax and even lexicon make AA a divergent and a uniquely recognized dialect from other spoken varieties of Arabic in the Levant of the Middle East. Here are some examples.

Table 1.3. Some phonological differences

MSA	AA	English gloss
-----	----	---------------

[Kataba]	[kt↔b]	‘He wrote’
[Fahima]	[fh↔m]	‘He understood’
[akala]	[kla]	‘He ate’

Table (1.3) summarizes some examples taken from both MSA and AA. These examples show differences at the level of phonology. It can be seen that most vowels are deleted or reduced or realized as a shwa.

Table 1.4. Some morphological differences

MSA	AA	English gloss
[bintun]	[bent]	‘a girl’
[Binta:ni]	[Zu:j bna:t]	‘two girls’
[Wisadata:ni]	[Zu:j swayed]	‘two pillows’

Table (1.4) includes some instances where AA differs from MSA at a morphological side. It is shown that AA is simpler in its word formation and suffixation than MSA. It is characterized by the absence of many inflections.

Table 1.5. Syntactic consideration of AA vs. MSA

MSA	AA	English gloss
[kataba muhamadu edarsa]	[muhamad kteb ‘ders]	‘Muhammed wrote the lesson’
[lam afhami edarsa]	[mafhamtch ders]	‘I didn’t understand the lesson’
[atʃamtuhu]	[meditlu yakol]	‘I fed him’

Table (1.5) contains complete sentences said both in AA and MSA. It can be deduced that they are syntactically different, i.e., in their word order (subject-verb-object/ verb-subject-object).

Table 1.6. Lexical differentiation of AA and MSA

MSA	AA	English gloss
[thawratun]	[tawra]	‘A revolution’
[yajlisu]	[Yeg3od/ yjema3]	‘He sits’
[na:fidatun]	[taqa/ ta2]	‘a window’
[ghita2]	[qotnia]	‘a blanket’

We can observe that AA is obvious by its vocabulary peculiarities. Of course, it contains different lexical entries from those of Arabic, and especially the ones based on borrowing mainly from French such as [thalaja vs. frijider] '*a fridge*'.

1.5.3.6. Arabic-French Bilingualism in Algeria

No one can deny the effects of the French colonization on the Algerian society particularly at the linguistic level. Arabic and French are two competing languages that co-exist in Algeria and each is starting to gain certain social values and considerations where:

French has become an elitists language, symbol of social success and remains omnipresent in the fields of the bank, of economy and the opening up of the universal. It remains nevertheless the language of the colonizer

(Akila, 2001: 01)

The long-term contact with the French colonialism has not only left their language to make the Algerian society bilingual, but it also moved to other consequences among which borrowing is one. Some words do not even have equivalents in dialectal AA and are kept in the Algerianized way where the loan word is adjusted according to the linguistic system of the recipient language, AA in our case. We should also note that borrowing came also from other source languages like Spanish and Turkish, but the French one has more effects for (Benali-Mohamed, 2007 qtd. in Labeled, 2014):

- The French occupied that space in the past,
- An important number of Maghrebis have an impressive command of French,
- The nearby location of France allows a great deal of economic and cultural change.

We should also highlight the distinction between borrowing and switching since both rely on two languages or codes (AA and French in our case). Switching is much more contextual and situational and the words are used as taken from the source language. Switching exists between dialectal AA and Standard Arabic and most of the times between AA and French.

Because of this complex linguistic situation, the diglossic classification of what constitute (H) vs (L) varieties has to be reconsidered. The existence and switching from MSA to AA or from AA to French makes Fishman's (1971) model of diglossia applied for he posits that the functions of (H) and (L) varieties are contextually dependent especially in bi- and multilingual communities. In this respect, Kherbache (2017: 52) has opted for the following:

- Modern Standard Arabic/ CA versus AA (intralingual diglossia).
- French versus AA (interlingual diglossia).
- Modern Standard Arabic/CA versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).
- French versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).

1.6.3.7. Arabic Dialects in Algeria

As stated previously, Arabic dialects have been divided differently. Among those classifications, many dialectologists opt for the Eastern-Western dichotomy: where the former refers to the Arabic dialects spoken in the Mashriq, mainly the Middle East, the latter is supposed to refer to the dialectal Arabic that is spoken in North Africa, and more precisely in the Maghreb.

Dialectal Arabic has existed in Algeria since the mid-7th C, the time of the expansion and introduction of Islam as a new religion and Arabic as a language to the whole region of Berbers of North Africa. This conquest came through two waves. The first was the pre-Hilali period which started from mid-7th to the 10th centuries noticing a great merge of sedentary Arab migration as well as the Arabo-Islamic armies (Pereira, 2011). The Hilali period was the second wave starting from the 11th century. It was characterized by the migration of the Arabo-Bedouin tribes namely Banu Hilal, Banu Sulaym and the tribe of Ma'qil, of course, the direction was the same, i.e., North Africa (Palva, 2006: 609).

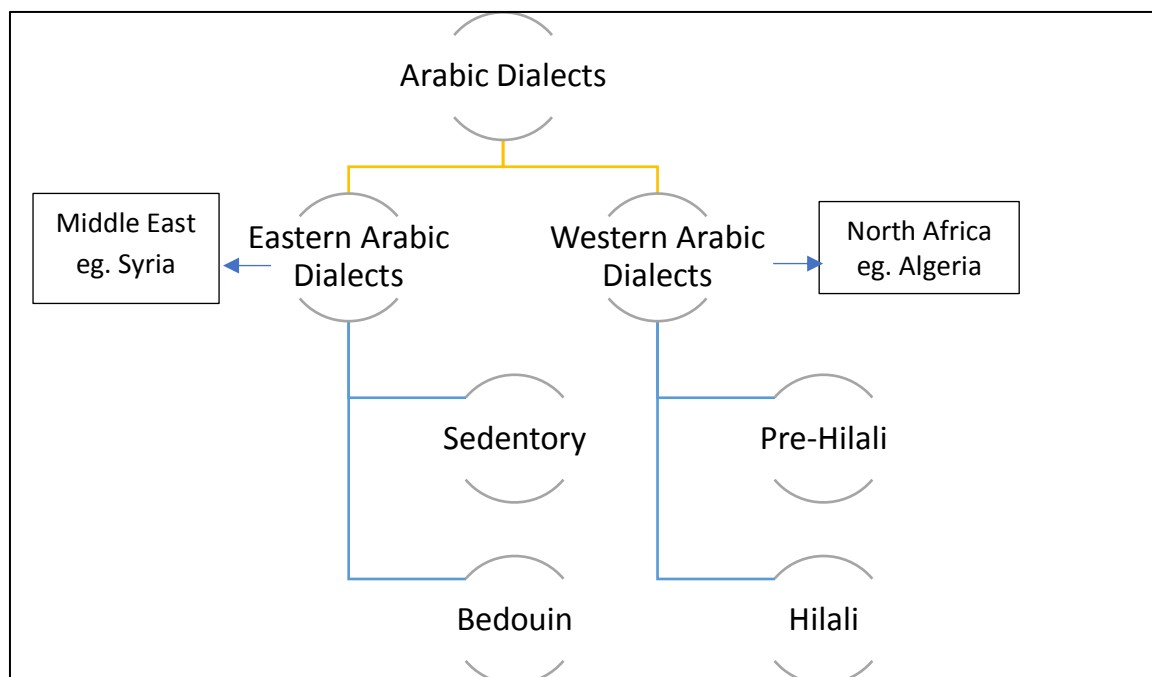


Figure 1.12. The classification of Arabic dialects into equivalents

Consequently, two types of Arabic were introduced to the area generally and to Algeria specifically. These Arabic dialects are the pre-Hilali, or sedentary dialects, and the Bedouin Hilali dialects. As a matter of fact, many dialectologists divide the Arabic spoken in Algeria according to those periods and because it is situated in the Maghreb, its language is classified among the Western category where the pre-Hilali is equal to the sedentary and the Hilali is equivalent to Bedouin; Palva (2006:609) mentions that:

The Western dialects can be divided into two major groups: the so-called pre-Hilali sedentary dialects and the Bedouin dialects. The former harks back to the first phase of Arab immigration (7th–10th centuries C.E.). The rural dialects of the Jbala in northern Morocco as well as those spoken around Nedroma in the northwestern corner of Algeria and in the neighborhood of Djidjelli and Collo in northeastern Algeria also belong to this phase. These dialects display considerable substrate influence from Berber languages... In the 11th century the originally Najdi tribes of Banu Sulaym and Banu Hilal and the southern Arabian tribe of the Ma'qil moved westward and occupied the North African plains and steppes.

The urban dialects are said to be found in Cherchel, Skikda, Tenes, Constantine, Blida, Medea, and some parts of the West including Tlemcen and the old urban centres of Orania and Nedroma (ibid). This category of dialects is also sub-divided into urban (spoken in the city) and rural (spoken in the village).

The second wave resulted in the spread of the Hilali dialects which are said to be Bedouin and nomadic. They are spoken in non-sedentary areas of Algeria as the North-eastern parts. A detailed consideration to the Bedouin dialects' geographical distribution among the Algerian population living is (qtd in Kherbache, 2017):

- 1- The eastern group in the region of Constantine.
- 2- The central and western group in the region of Oran.
- 3- The group of central Algeria and the Sahara.
- 4- The group of the Tell and the Algero-Oranese Sahel.
- 5- The group of the High Plains in Constantine.

The following table is an attempt to summarize some of the linguistic distinctions of both Algerian sedentary and Bedouin dialects that have been stated by some scholars as Cantineau (1937, 1938, 1940, 1941); Mangion (1937); Millon (1937); Marçais (1960); Bouamrane (1989, 1990), Bouhadiba (1992), Caubet (2000-2001), and Pereira (2011) who have been so long interested in Arabic dialectology in general and that of Algeria in particular.

Table 1.7. A comparison between some sedentary and Bedouin dialectal characteristics (found in the Algerian speech community)

Variables	Sedentary	Bedouin
The uvular voiceless plosive (q)	It is variably realised as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [q] in Algiers [qa:] • [ʔ] in Tlemcen [ʔa:l] • [k] in Ghazaouet [ka:l] 'He said' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is realised as [g] However, it is realised as [ɣ] in some Bedouin dialects in the Algerian Sahara (as in Adrar Arabic Bouhania, 2007:136), which is referred to as a case of hypercorrection, eg. [jeɣra] vs [jeqra] 'He studies'
Interdentals	loss of the interdentals / θ/, / ð/, / ð̃, / and their realization as dentals [t], [d], and [d̃] respectively	Interdentals are still preserved.
The diphthongs /aj, aw/	They are substituted by:	They are kept in Bedouin dialects.

	[i:, u:] in the environment of plain consonants, and [e:, o:] in the environment of emphatics /t, ʒ, ʁ, d/ and the pseudo-emphatics /q, r, ʁ, ʁ / respectively	
Gender markers	in sedentary dialects the masculine form is used for the feminine. [ku:l] ‘you eat’ (for both males and females)	Bedouin dialects by adding the suffix {-i} to verbs when addressing females. [ku:li] ‘you eat-fem’ (for females)
Preposed forms (indefiniteness)	The indefinite article a is equal to [ħa] in urban dialects. eg. [ħa lmra] ‘a woman’	The indefinite article a is equal to [waħd] in urban dialects. eg. [waħd lmra] ‘a woman’
Diminutive case	Syir → syiw ↔ r ‘little’ ‘very little’	Syir → syayyar
Plural forms	Use [a] eg. [Mfataħ] ‘keys’	Use [i:] eg. [mfati:h] ‘keys’
Pronominal affixation	Use the suffix [u:] eg. [kt ↔ bt-u:] ‘I wrote it’ eg. [Ktebt-lu:] ‘I wrote to him’	Use the suffix [ah] eg. [Ktebt-ah] ‘I wrote it’ eg. [Ktebt-lah] ‘I wrote to him’
Personal pronouns	Use [ntina] ‘you’ to address females [ntina mrebiya] ‘you are well educated’	Use [nti/ ntiyya] ‘you’ to address females [Nti/ ntiyya mrebiya] ‘you are well educated’
Defective verbs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use [-iw] for future eg. [yemʃiw] ‘they will go’ • Use [aw] for imperative eg. [tmeʃʃaw] ‘you walk’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use [ou] for future eg. [j ↔ mʃu] ‘they will do’ • Use [ou] for imperative eg. [tm ↔ ʃʃu] ‘you walk’
[dʒ]-phoneme	It is realized as [dʒ] eg. [dʒina] ‘we came’	It is realized as [ʒ] eg. [ʒina] ‘we came’
Dual markers	Use the [-a:jən] suffix for dual eg. [saʃta:jən] ‘two hours’	Use the [-i:n] suffix for dual eg. [saʃti:n/ saʃtain] ‘two hours’
Analytic possessive prepositions	The preposition ‘of’ is [djal or di] in urban dialects + [ntaʃ] eg. [djal-i] ‘mine’ [drahem di mu:na] ‘Mouna’s money’/ ‘the money of Mouna’	The preposition ‘of’ is said to be [ntaʃ] in urban dialects eg. [ntaʃ -i] ‘mine’ [drahem ntaʃ mu:na] ‘Mouna’s money’/ ‘the money of Mouna’
Lexicon	Urban vocabulary [jʃabbi] ‘take’ [lbarah] ‘yesterday’ [yi :h] ‘yes’ [ʔadji] ‘come’	Bedouin words [j ↔ ddi] ‘take’ [yames] ‘yesterday’ [wa :h] ‘yes’ [ʔarwa:h] ‘come’

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, basic theoretical concepts have been strongly highlighted in four sections separately. The first one is fully devoted to variationist linguistics as well as contact studies. Of course, these three concepts are really needed in the theoretical consideration of this study.

In the second section, we have attempted to shed some light on the concept of dialect and dialectological studies in relation to Arabic. This part started by old studies on dialect consideration with more focus on the instruments and methodologies used. During each step, we have highlighted where Arabic was situated along those studies. The section finishes by reviewing recent investigations on Arabic urban dialectology and contact sociolinguistics in particular.

The third part is devoted to a deep consideration to the process of koineization and koine formation as it constitutes the core of our study. In fact, we have given much attention to how new dialects can be formed. Aspects of mixing, levelling, simplification and reallocation are all necessary concepts in the process of koineization which is itself a result of the dialectal contact situation that will be studied in the selected speech community. At the end of this part, we have given a precision on which definition we are going to use along the study and the stages and models to be adopted at the level of data analysis.

The last section deals with the Arabic language and its dialects with more focus on the linguistic situation of the Algerian speech community. Many scholars have differentiated between classical stratification and dialectalism with regard to Arabic. More to the point, many have put forward classifications of the different vernaculars of Arabic. This classification can also be applied on the Arabic dialects spoken in Algeria, mainly that of sedentary-Bedouin dichotomy.

Chapter Two: Setting and Methodological Framework

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2.1. Introduction

This chapter has two main points of concern: describing the background of the fieldwork of investigation and then the methodology followed in the research. Accordingly, the first section provides a substantial description about the geographical, historical, social and linguistic criteria as well as realities of Tlemcen speech community. This representation ends up with some questions that trigger the researcher's curiosity to tackle the present study. For this reason, a second section has been provided. This section is addressed to all the methodological phases through which the current investigation has been conducted. It includes detailed account on the research process, design, sampling, ethics of research and all methodical considerations that have been undertaken for the accomplishment of data collection.

2.2. Setting: Tlemcen speech community

2.2.1. Tlemcen province: a geographical consideration

Tlemcen (figure 2.1), one of the Algerian provinces situated in the north-west of the country with the Moroccan borders from the west and the Mediterranean Sea from the north. It occupies a surface of 9061 km² witnessing lots of activities, cultures and historical events along its growth throughout time.

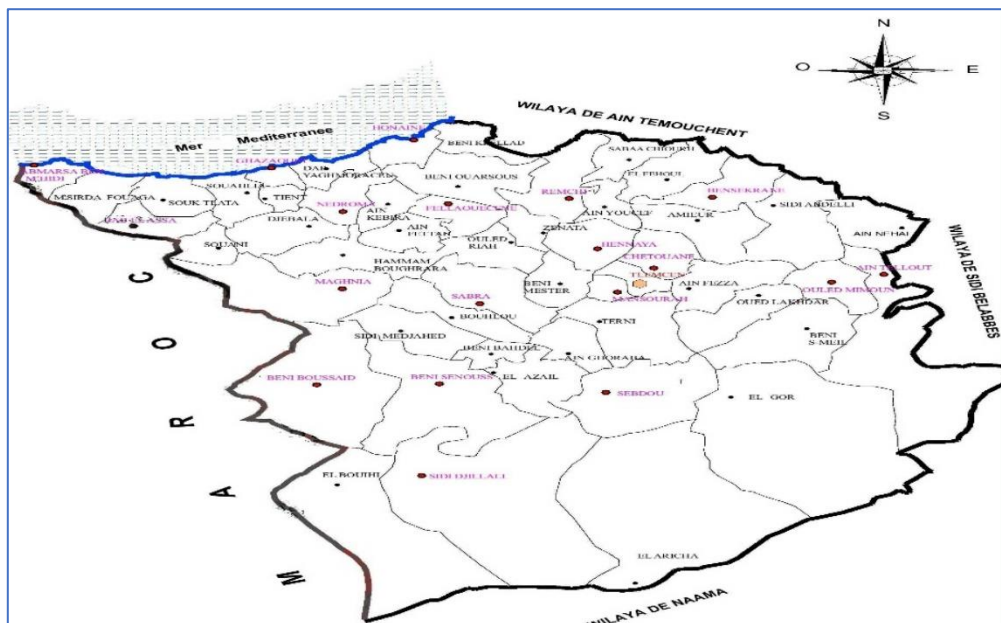


Figure 2.1. The geographical situation of Tlemcen (Source: Official site of Tlemcen)

2.2.2. History of Tlemcen and its inhabitants

The inhabitants of Tlemcen come from three different groups including Berbers, Arabs, and the Turkish (Benhalilem, 2015). Many scholars agree on the fact that north Africa was first inhabited by Berbers; and because Tlemcen is one of the most important geographical places and centers, it was inhabited by the Berbers of *Banu Yafren* (ibid) in some of its parts that up to date still exist. Some ethnic Berber groups exhibit life in the mountains of Bani Snous, Msirda, Fellaoucen, Nedroma, Trara, Beni Ouarsous and many other parts of the coastal mountains (ibid).

As far as the Arabs are concerned, Ibn Xaldun has mentioned that the Arab inhabitants of North Africa in general and those of Tlemcen sphere in particular belong to two main ethnic groups including “*Sanhaja* and *Kitama*” who came from Yemen to settle in norther Africa. The Arabs (*El-fatihun*) were kept in Tlemcen for educational and religious purposes until mid-11th century when Banu Hilal started their conquests and settled in eastern and western parts of Tlemcen. Their prints are left in those places including: Beni Ouazane, Ouled Sidelabdi, Ouled Mimoun, Beni Ghezli, Beni Ouernid, and Beni Hdyel. These regions are still known by those names in present day Tlemcen.

As for the Turkish, they came to Algeria in the 16th century. Many Ottoman soldiers and servants settled in Tlemcen and therefore got married with Arab women and Arabized Berber women. The off-spring of this type of marriage were known as the Koloughlis. The children of hybrid marriages were considered as belonging to the sedentary people of Tlemcen (Benhalilem, 2015: 26).

It has been a difficult task to draw a clear division between the Bedouins and the sedentary people of the province, both geographically and linguistically, through isoglosses (ibid). The reason for this lies not only in the fact that Tlemcen is very small in terms of space, but also in the nature of social and commercial activities that have led people to be socially immersed; an issue that resulted in ruralisation of the city and urbanization of the countryside. In his categorization of urban vs rural Tlemcen, Benhalilem (2015) has taken into account the administrative division of the wilaya saying that Tlemcen city and its surroundings are urban and the remaining part is rural.

2.2.3. The linguistic situation in Tlemcen province

In her article “Historical View of Maghnia Speech Community”, Rabahi (2016) has studied the linguistic and socio-cultural situation in Maghnia, situated in 39 km far from Tlemcen city. She has stated that the speech spoken in this region has been influenced by social factors as gender, age, and educational background in addition to political and geographical factors including its contact with the Moroccan Kingdom. She has also investigated some lexical and structural use of dialect, and has arrived to the conclusion that this dialectal use differs among males and females, and therefore affects their identity.

The speech of Ghazaouet (80 km North-West of Tlemcen) has been investigated by two authors (Hocini 2011 and Salah 2015) and they agree on the fact that the variety spoken there is continually influenced by neighbouring dialects, those with which there is considerable contact due to mobility. They also advocate the fact that the linguistic choice is a matter of gender, age and educational background. Attitudes towards some variables that are specific only to the variety spoken in Ghazaouet have a greater effect on dialectal choice and use. As far as age is concerned, whereas children and old people tend to preserve the home variety with all the criteria of speech, adolescents and middle-aged people tend to change the marked features and accommodate their dialect according to the conversation and situation. Because of social distancing and mobility, Ghazaouet men and women use the dialect differently: females are said to be more conservative as they spend most of their time at home, as opposed to males who change their speech due to outside contact. A common conclusion is that Ghazaouet dialect is witnessing a shift (between urban and rural) although it is categorized as a sedentary variety.

A work undertaken by Ammour (2012) was devoted to sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Nedroma, a city situated 57 km far from Tlemcen city. Nedroma is a city situated 57 km far from Tlemcen city. In addition to its cultural and social distinctiveness, Nedroma’s speech is unique in some of its phonological, morphological and lexical items which make her one of the well-known sedentary dialects of the region. Two groups of people are in the area as Grandguillaume (1976)

called them “*les citadins*” the sedentary and *les campagnards*, mainly from Berber origins. He claims that “the sedentary are those who consider themselves as the ancient inhabitants of the town, descendent of noble families settled in Nedroma by Abdel Moumen... The country people are commonly called *qbayel* by the citizens, or tribe people.”¹ (1976: 145-146). In her investigation, Ammour has shown that the linguistic situation in Nedroma is constantly changing. The reason for this, according to her analysis, is social as well as political. Aspects of gender, age and education have also been shown as main factors influencing dialect use and change. Traditional forms tend to be avoided by youngsters especially males who accommodate more than females due to the contact with surrounding external areas.

In her investigation of the dialect spoken in Sebdou, Negadi (2019) has shown the reality of variation in aspects of phonology, morphology and lexis. Sebdou is an area situated 36 km far from Tlemcen city. Despite the fact that many of its linguistic criteria are rural, the dialect of Sebdou is witnessing a considerable movement of change. It has been stated that the factors leading to this change are mainly age and education. Accordingly, old people are said to be more conservative to the dialectal features of the home variety while youngsters are more innovative by avoiding the bedouin forms found in the speech of their families.

Kherbache (2017) has given a considerable attention to the dialect spoken in the ex-Berberophone region of Beni Snous. She has shown the results of mobility and dialect contact and their effects on the original variety spoken in the region. The analysis of her data has revealed the sociolinguistic truth occurring that dialect accommodation and change take place due to social and psychological factors namely speakers’ contact, needs, speech perceptions and evaluations. Attitudes towards the dialect as well as the prestige or stigma associated to certain features lead to accentuating or reducing the distinction with other surrounding dialects. She has finished her investigation by claiming the idea that the dialect spoken in Beni Snous is in progressive change that may lead to the emergence of a regional koine.

¹ My translation of the French original text : “*Les citadins sont ceux qui se considèrent les vieux habitants de la ville, les descendants des nobles familles installées à Nédroma par Abd-el-Moumen... Les campagnards sont couramment appelés par les citadins qbayel, ou gens des tribus.*”

The city of Tlemcen has also been a good place for sociolinguistic investigation. Despite being classified by excellence as a sedentary variety, the dialect of Tlemcen is subject to continuous change due to many contributing factors. Cultural, social and psychological variables have been investigated and shown to be contributing to the change of this dialect. Dendane (2013) has shown that it is “the massive long-term migration of rural people” towards the city that has led to the change of the economic and social construction of the city and therefore effects are felt in the linguistic level too. Many researchers who are interested in the speech of Tlemcen (Marçais 1902, Dekkak 1976, Dendane 2013-2014, Hammoudi 2017, Obeidat and Hammoudi 2019) agree on the fact that the variety of Tlemcen is changing and that aspects of age, gender, education, attitudes, social distance, and class are all contributors to this change. Whereas young males are said to be leaders of change, old people and females of all age cohorts are conservative and thus preservative of the original dialect. The change from the urban to the rural is encouraged by the negative attitudes towards the variety which leads to its stigmatization not only among rural inhabitants but also amongst its speakers as well.

2.2.4. Purpose of the study

The presentation of the linguistic situation occurring in many parts of Tlemcen province has led us to commence another dimension to research with regard to this area. Our aim is to depict the criteria of the linguistic situation currently happening, more precisely, when members coming from all those regions in one single conversation. Put differently, the researcher does not plan to investigate each area separately or describe its criteria. Rather, we want to go beyond this level to observe and examine the resulting dialectal situation when originally distinct people come into contact. Moreover, we wish to find explanations to those realities reflected in the speakers’ linguistic behaviour; those clarifications and explanations are achieved through the different methods and instruments of data collection from concrete situations. The results of our investigation will confirm or reject the pre-assumed hypothesis that there emerges an Algerian Arabic regional koiné is emerging among speakers of the different Tlemcenian dialects. Consequently, this research is planned to be a contribution to the fields of Contact Linguistics in particular and Sociolinguistics in general.

2.3. The linguistic variables under investigation

The reasons behind the choice of the following linguistic variables for our sociolinguistic investigation are diverse. First and foremost, we have selected the variables that are subject to clear variation along the regions of Tlemcen district as a whole. By ‘clear variation’, we mean that the variable has prominent variants in speech and can be noticed by anyone and everyone as they can even be subject of discussion and observation by speakers and their interlocutors. The second reason for our choice lies in the fact that some variables have been widely investigated in sociolinguistics in many parts of the Arab world; and thus, a verification of results is needed. More to the point, some other variables, although mentioned as existing, have rarely been taken into consideration. An ultimate goal, at the same time, is to reveal the most salient criteria of the assumed regional koine that is emerging in the speech of Tlemcenians (coming from different regions with different linguistic and dialectal backgrounds when interacting in a mixed conversational context).

Dialectal variation has been investigated according to three different levels: phonology, morphology and lexicon. As for the phonological variables, five consonant-sounds have been selected:

- /q/ with its realizations [q], [g], [ʔ], [k];
- /θ/ with its realizations [θ], [t], [tʰ];
- /k/ with its realizations [k], [tʃ];
- /ð/ with its realizations [dh], [d];
- / ð^ç / with its realizations [DH], [d], [D]

As far as the morphological variables, four morphemes have been selected:

- Pronominal suffix/ Possessive morphemes [-ah], [-u] e.g., [ga:l-ah vs. qal-u] ‘he said to him’

- Gender marker [-i] vs. no feminine suffix e.g. [ketb-i vs. kteb] ‘you (feminine) write’ (imperative)
- Dual morpheme [-i:n], [-ain], [-aajen] e.g. [saft-i:n, saft-ain, saft-aajen] ‘two hours’
- Verb endings [-iw], [-u] e.g. [jdʒ-iw, jdʒ-u] ‘they will come’

As for the lexical variation, the researcher has adapted the Swadesh list categorization (see appendix), with some modifications, and classified the terms into rural and urban realizations of the same lexical entry. We have selected words that differ in their basic pronunciation and origins as for the same object, noun, adjective, colour, or activity, we find distinct signifiers.

2.3.1. Phonological variation

Phonological variation is most salient in Tlemcen speech community and it makes the distinction of a given speaker as coming from a given region or area.

2.3.1.1 The variable (q)

The variable (q) has been widely investigated in the Arab world. It has been recognized as a distinctive feature between rural and urban variations of speech with its distinct realizations including [q], [g], and [ʔ]. Many writers have mentioned that the use of these variables depends on many social variables such as gender and origin in addition to level of formality. In Tlemcen speech community, it has been stated (Dendane 2014) that the glottal stop, although stigmatised, is much more used and naturally appreciated by native TA females, whereas [g] is used by males, particularly in constrained mixed settings. The voiceless uvular stop [q] and its velar realisation [k] are relatively of regional distribution in other areas like Beni-Snous and Ghazaouet respectively. In the present study, we assume that despite the fact that some regions still retain their home varieties, once a speaker gets out of their ‘geographical and linguistic circle’, they tend to choose what is more acceptable all over Tlemcen. As for the *qaf* variable, we advocate that the voiced velar counterpart [g] is the characteristic reflex candidate for the assumed established regional koine to be spoken and commonly accepted in many places in Tlemcen.

2.3.1.2 The variable (θ)

The variable (θ) with its realizations [θ] and [t] and in some cases [ts] has been also investigated by many sociolinguists. Al-Wer (2014) differentiated between the two distinctive pronunciations as one belonging to the standard, while the regional realizations as non-standard. Abdel Jawad (1986) claims the former as bedouin whereas the latter as urban realizations. We opt for the bedouin/ sedentary dichotomy to be present in the speech community of Tlemcen. Accordingly, we assume that with regard to the koiné formation, speakers tend to opt for the [t] realization though both variants still have some considerations once checking people's identity and origins.

2.3.1.3 The variable (k)

The variable (k) with its realizations [k], [tʃ] has also a consideration in Arabic sociolinguistics. In many parts of the Arab world, the variant [k] as in [ʔagul↔k] 'I tell you' is realized as [tʃ] as in [ʔagul↔tʃ]. [tʃ] is typically found in parts of Ghazaouet whose speakers are characterized by this dialectal feature. In the present research, if a Ghazaouatee speaker gets in contact with an outsider, this variable is replaced by the most acceptable one in the community.

2.3.1.4 The variables (δ) and (δ)

The variable (δ) with its realizations [δ], [d] and (δ) with its realizations [δ], [d], [d] have also, but rarely, been investigated by variationist linguists dealing with the Arabic language. In her investigation of the Arabic interdental, Al-Wer (2014) classifies the variables and their variants into standard and non-standard. Others still maintain the Bedouin/sedentary distinction which we agree upon. In Tlemcen speech community, the variables (δ) and (δ) are used by people coming from rural areas; however, their realizations are mainly used by people of urban areas. We hypothesize that the variants adopted for the koine formation are the urban ones at the expense of the rural ones especially in mixed contexts of communication.

2.3.2. Morphological variation

Urban and rural variation distinction can also be measured by giving reference to suffixes and endings of words and verbs, i.e., morphology.

2.3.2.1 The attached pronoun suffix morpheme {-h}

The suffix morphemes {-ah} vs. {-u}, as in [gall-**ah** vs. qall-**u**] ‘He said to him’ or [ktab-**ah** vs. ktab-**u**] ‘his book’. The pronoun (-hu) can be attached to verbs and therefore entails an object pronoun rather than a possessive one, for example, [saraqtu-hu] ‘I stole it’ (perfective), [isriq-hu] ‘steal it’ (imperative). In the different regions of Tlemcen, the variables /-hu/ is realized in two different ways that one shows to be urban and the other as being rural. The former is [-u] as in [qutl-u] ‘I told him’, [ktab-u] ‘his book’. The latter is [-ah] as in [gotl-ah] ‘I told him’, [ktab-ah] ‘his book’. In this researcher, we hypothesize that the two realizations are competing to co-exist in the speech.

2.3.2.2 Gender marker {-i} vs. Ø feminine suffix

A simple example of these realizations can be [kt↔tbt-i vs. kt↔bt] ‘you (fem.) wrote’. Gender distinctions can be seen in how males and females are addressed. What is salient in Tlemcen community as a whole is that the way in which females are addressed is different. Whereas rural varieties keep the suffix that denotes the 2nd pers. sing. feminine pronoun, urban speakers omit it. In the current study, we assume that these two variants are also competing to be present in speech and only a quantitative survey can help to answer the question as to which variant will persists in being used more.

2.3.2.3 Dual morpheme {-i:n}, {-ain}, {-aajen}

These realizations appear in examples as [saft-i:n, saft-ain, saft-aajen] ‘two hours’. This morpheme, although obvious in the Tlemcenian speech, it did not have a lot of consideration. It should be noted that the rural/urban distinction is still present whereas {-ain} is used in rural varieties, and {-aajen} is used in the urban ones. A dual morpheme of middle position has emerged as not belonging to any extreme is the {-i:n} morpheme. In the present research, we advocate that the koine emerging in Tlemcen takes the [-i:n] as the suffix of duality.

2.3.2.4 Verb endings [-aw/ iw], [-o]

These realizations appear in examples as [jdʒ-iw, jdʒ-o] ‘they (will) come’ and [yetmesh-aw vs. yetmesh-o] ‘they walk’. Kherbache (2017: 86) has mentioned that “in defective verbs conjugated in perfect and imperfect tenses”, there are two major verb endings including the urban [-aw/ -iw] and their rural counterpart [-o]. In the present investigation, we assume that the emerging koiné of Tlemcen adopts the urban realization instead of the rural one.

2.3.3. Lexical variation

Differences in lexicon can be a major criterion for distinguishing variation in speech and then indicating from where a speaker comes. As stated earlier, we have used the Swadesh list for lexical items categorization. This list generally contains lexical entries for body parts, body verbs, perception verbs, colours, environment, locations, motions, propositions, quantifiers, etc. The items that we have selected are those that really show variation (at the three levels: phonology, morphology, lexis) in Tlemcen speech community with its different manifestations.

As the scope of the current research covers only dialectal Arabic and its variation, it is preferable not to take loan words or borrowings into account, i.e., words from other origins, like Turkish, French and Berber, are not considered. Arabic lexical entries are the only ones investigated. For this, a distinction between urban and rural equivalents is structured in the following table. We have categorized them according to a revised version of the Swadesh wordlist.

Table 2.1. Some examples of lexical variation in Tlemcen speech

Words category	Urban	Rural	Gloss
Body parts	rdʒ↔l	k ^w raʃ	Foot
Body verb	j↔bzaʔ	j↔df↔l	He spits
Environment	ʃʃta	nnaw	Rain
Motions	ʔadʒi	ʔarwah	Come!
Transfer	jm↔dd	jaʃt ^s i	He gives
Quantifiers	kam↔l	gaʃ	All
Perception	j↔smaʃ	j↔ssannatt	He hears

2.4. Research process

The research process refers to all the steps and components of an investigation. The one that we have opted for, in the present study, is the onion research process (figure 2.2) provided by Saunders et al. (2007; 2016). It includes different layers to searching reality starting from broader considerations of research thoughts to profound accounts of concrete field investigation and participants' observation. This is why the onion research is said to provide a rather exhausting description of the main layers or stages which are to be accomplished in order to formulate an effective methodology (Raithatha, 2017).

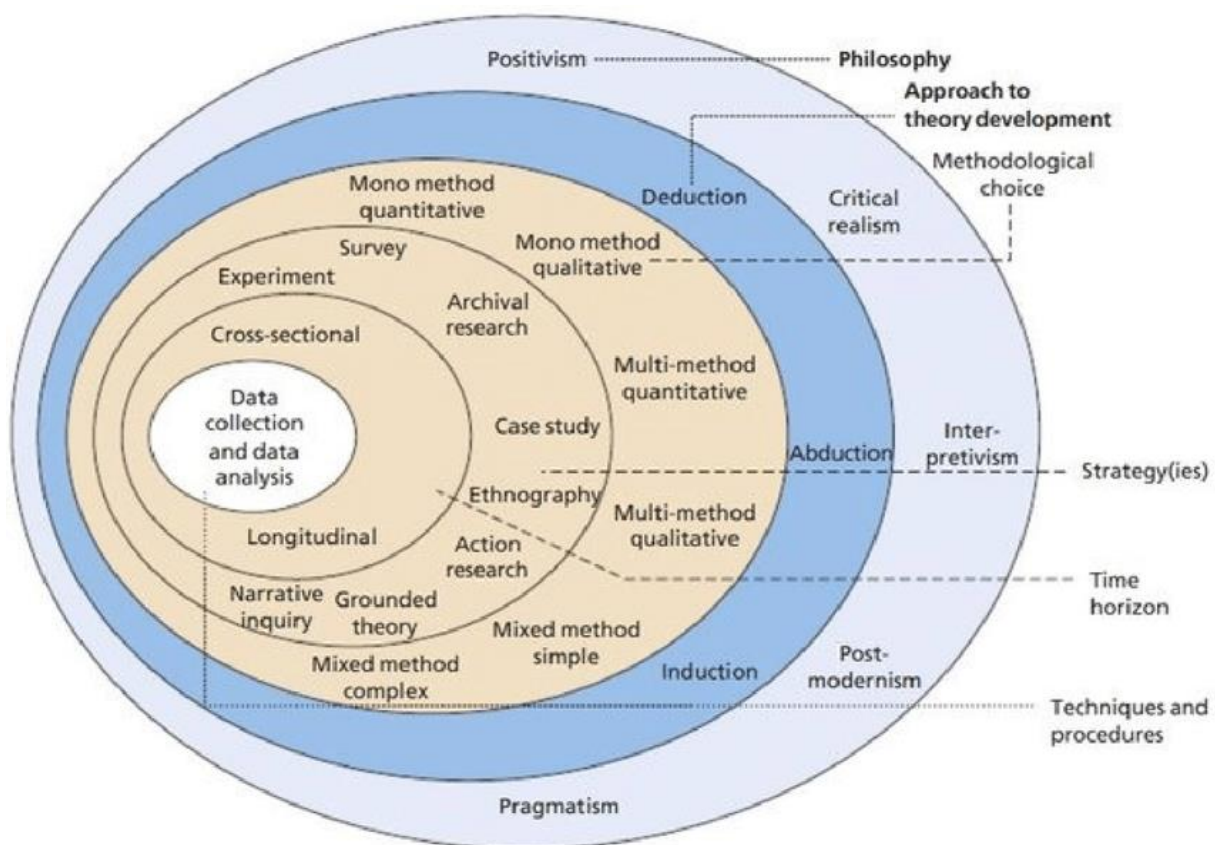


Figure 2.2. The onion research process (Source: Saunders et al., 2016)

The *philosophy* of a research refers to the global belief that a given researcher has about their data collection, analysis and interpretation procedures. These research philosophies include mainly: Positivism, Realism, interpretative, Objectivism, Subjectivism, Pragmatism, Functionalist, Interpretative, Radical humanist, Humanist and structuralist philosophies (Saunders, Lewis, & Thomhil, 2007). In fact, research

philosophy consists of three main components including ontology which is the nature of reality, epistemology which refers to the sources of knowledge, and finally axiology which involves the values of the researcher and ethics of research.

Approach is the second layer of the onion research. It refers to three cases of research: deduction, induction and abduction. The former begins from a theory and works out with testing some hypotheses and assumptions through observations whereby the aim is either to confirm or reject the assumed hypothesis. The second approach is the deductive reasoning. As opposed to deduction, an inductive researcher commences with a set of observations then moves to theory formation. Finally, abduction is said to be an ‘in-between’ approach where “observation of an empirical phenomenon is followed by the research which comes up with a best guess or conclusion based on available evidence” (Melnikovas, 2018: 34).

Methodology is another layer within the deeper parts of the onion. It is also known in some references as methodological choice. It generally gives to the researcher three prominent methodological choices. These choices are: qualitative, quantitative, or mixture of the two. The main distinction between them is that the former is based on texts and descriptions while the latter is based on numbers and statistics. Many researchers rely on the third choice as separating quality from quantity which is not an easy task; and the combination of both in one research gives it more reliability and richness.

Strategy refers to the method of data collection and analysis. The diagram provides us with a variety of strategies. They are: the experiment, survey, ethnography, grounded theory, action research, archival research, case studies and so forth. These strategies differ in their sampling, techniques of collection, types of questions, in addition to their fundamental designs.

Time horizon is another important aspect in any type of research. As its name implies, this layer describes the timing frame of one’s research in approaching the sample and collecting primary data from them. Two horizons of time can be provided: short-term or long-term studies. Whereas short-term research, also known as cross-

sectional, requires collecting data in one single point in time from the (same or different groups of) sample, long-term research, known as longitudinal, collects data through different points of time from the same sample with the aim of comparing the results and describing their development from one period to another.

Techniques and procedures constitute the nucleus of the research onion. Of course, they involve the operation of secondary and primary data collection and analysis, design and selection of sample populations, choosing the appropriate tools and instruments for data collection including questionnaires, interviews, observation, tests, etc. Accordingly, and because onions are to be peeled from outer to central layers, we have designed our own research onion process as shown in figure (2.3).

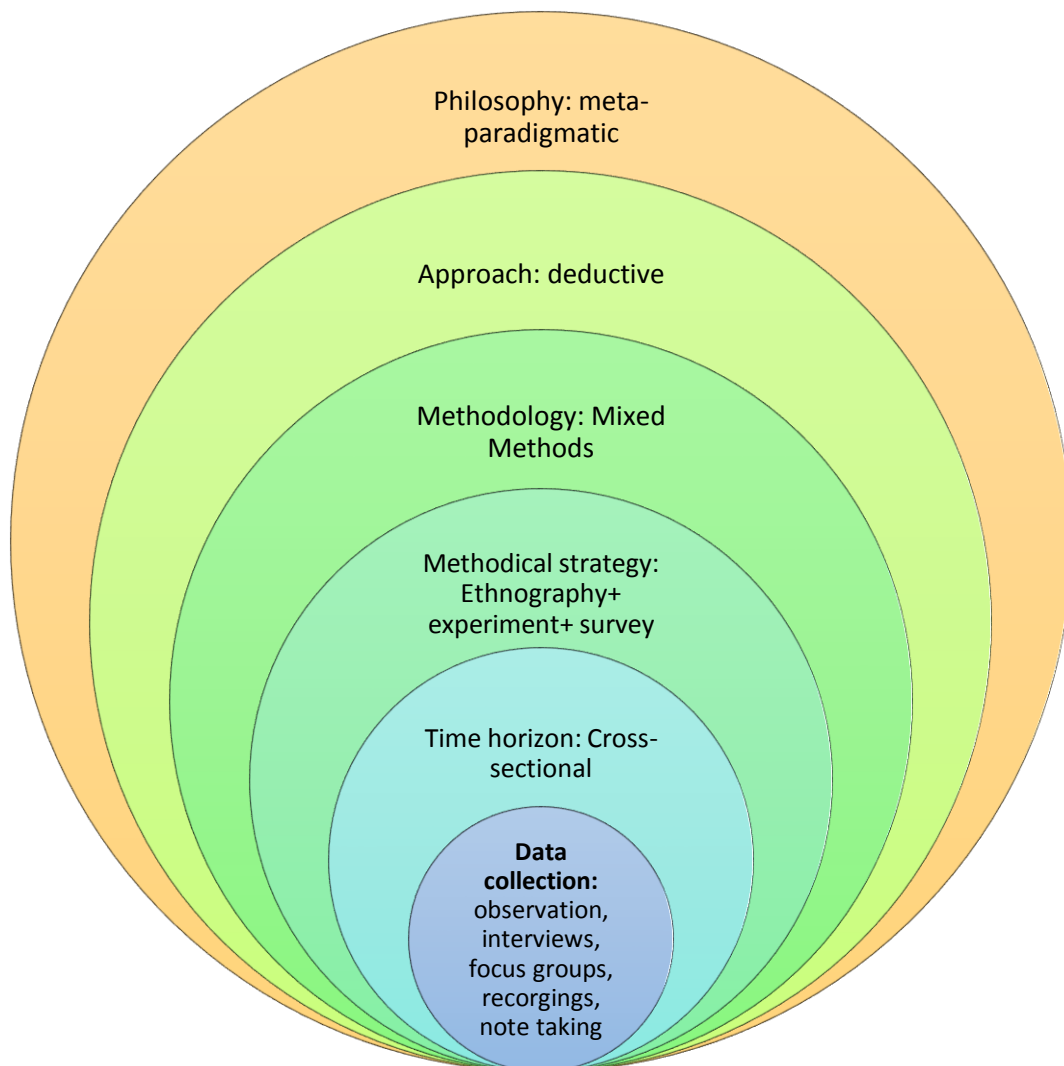


Figure 2.3. The onion research of the current study

2.4.1. Philosophy: which one and why?

As for the philosophical belonging of the current study, it has been claimed that:

In the case of MMR [Mixed Method Research], the claim of knowledge (philosophical assumption) often is pragmatic because the rigid interpretations of methodologies have begun to fade (Onwuegbuzie & Dickinson, 2007). Christ (2013) shows the relevance of a critical realist stance and how these two approaches are very similar in practical terms. Mertens (2011) provides insights into a more transformative paradigm for whenever researchers show concern for priority on social justice and the furtherance of human rights. Other alternatives include the dialectical position (Johnson et al., 2007) or the critical interpretive view (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). These philosophical positions need not be compared as it is evident that the mixing of methods could contribute to a better understanding of the research question (Hashemi & Babaii, 2013).

(Wium and Louw, 2018: 1)

It should be noted that the philosophy of research entails three aspects namely ontology, axiology and epistemology (figure 2.4). Regarding these, when considering the philosophy and nature of the research, there are definite distinctions between quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods approaches (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). As far as the nature of reasoning, i.e., ontology, there is a range between deduction and induction; and our research is of a deductive reasoning as we have started from theory to fieldwork. As for the nature of reality (axiology), quantitative research tends to have a single reality view, which is not the case for qualitative research where multiple views of reality exist. Consequently, because the current study follows Mixed-methods research, it draws from both single and multiple realities existing in the investigated speech community. Finally, the epistemology, the nature of knowing ranges from being quantitatively objective- as in focus groups and interviews- to qualitatively subjective as in ethnographic consideration of the community. However, our research posits itself in neither of the axes which is known as intersubjective though we have tried to represent reality as much as possible.

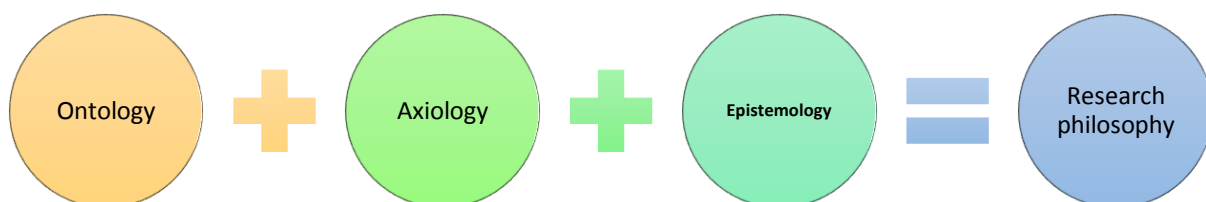


Figure 2.4. The philosophical components of research

2.4.2. Approach: why deduction?

Among the different research approaches, the current study falls into a deductive one. A deductive approach to research is primarily concerned with “developing a hypothesis (or hypotheses) based on existing theory, and then designing a research strategy to test the hypothesis” (Wilson, 2010: 7). It has also been advocated that “deductive means reasoning from the particular to the general. If a causal relationship or link seems to be implied by a particular theory or case example, it might be true in many cases. A deductive design might test to see if this relationship or link did obtain on more general circumstances” (Gulati, 2009: 42). Table (2.2) summarizes the philosophical direction of a deductive research in addition to its objective and operationalism.

Table 2.2. The philosophical explanation of a deductive research

Aim	To test theories, to eliminate false ones and corroborate the survivor
Ontology	Cautious or subtle realist
Epistemology	Falsification and conventionalism: Identify a regularity that needs to be explained
Start	Construct a theory and deduce a hypothesis
Finish	Test hypotheses by matching them with data explanation in that context

Source: adopted from Garima (2017: 175)

The deductive approach can be explained by means of hypotheses, which can be derived from the propositions of the theory. In other words, a deductive approach is concerned with deducing conclusions from premises or propositions. For this reason, deduction is said to start with the general and ends with the more specific. It begins with an expected pattern “that is tested against observations” (Babbie, 2010: 52). Its arguments are based on laws, rules, and any other widely accepted principles are best expressed deductively. Consequently, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) say that the deductive researcher “works from the ‘top down’, from a theory to hypotheses to data to add to or contradict the theory” (p.23).

Accordingly, our research is hypotheticodeductive. It is part of a general theory of koineization and koiné (common regional dialect) formation. Its explicit initiation is a tentative hypothesis derived and assumed from the chosen theory. We then proceed by

using our methods and instruments in order to rigorously ‘check’ or reject our first assumption which states whether there are any signs for an emerging koiné in Tlemcen speech community or not.

Likewise, as a top-down operation, our study moves from a universal statement about koineization to a single concrete statement that is applied to our speech community. In other words, our deduction proposition is introduced and tackled in a hierarchical manner: from theory to practice, i.e., from abstraction to field observation, experimentation and exploration. Working from general to specific makes the deductive researcher to accept the fact that reality is represented by the results brought by the whole process of investigation. This is explained in figure (2.5).

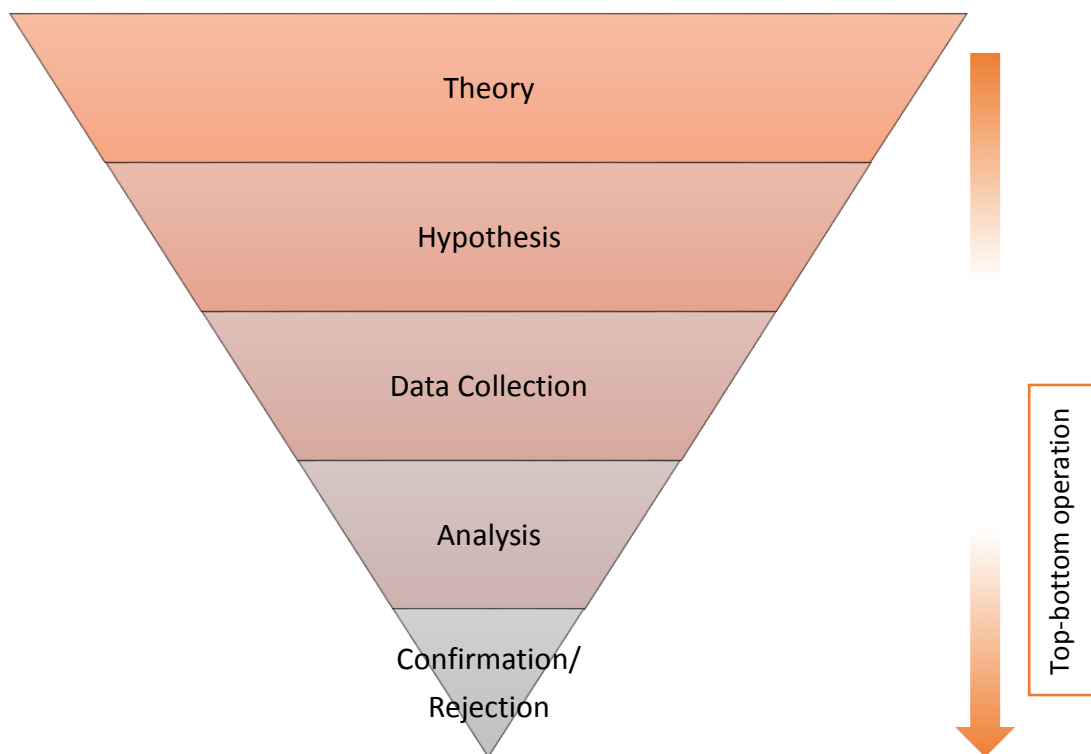


Figure 2.5. The process of deductive research

As shown in figure (2.5), the deductive research is basically processed via four stages:

1/ Deducing hypothesis from theory: which refers to generating a particular assumption to be tested from a given theory. In this study, we have assumed that there emerges a dialectal koiné in the speech community of Tlemcen following language contact outcomes as a general theory.

2/ Formulating hypothesis: refers to establishing and proposing relationships between variables. Two variables are subject to consideration in the current research: linguistic variables including phonological, morphological, and lexical items; and social variables which involve age, residence and gender.

3/ Testing hypothesis: can be achieved with the help of research methods and instruments of data collection. In addition to qualitative ethnographic observations, the researcher has collected quantitative data via focus groups and individual semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews.

4/ Examining the outcome of the whole investigation is the last step to elaborate. It ends, thus, by confirming or disconfirming the established hypotheses. It is crucial to mention the idea that when examining and analyzing the outcomes of research, it is important to compare the primary findings with the secondary findings of the literature.

5/ Modifying theory is an optional step that depends on the results of the current research; it is done in instances when the firstly elaborated hypothesis is rejected. We suggest that modification of theory can also be through the addition of some remarks that have been concluded from our investigation as, for example, if koineization as a theory has been tightly related to the aspect of migration in the literature, we can add other parameters and motivations that enhance the process of koiné formation. Moreover, if literature about koiné formation in the Arab world has been induced from Standard-colloquial distinctions, our investigation could supply further suggestions as to compare regional dialects and how they happen to form a new ‘common’ variety to be used in particular contexts for particular communicative reasons.

2.4.3. Methodology: why mixed methods?

Triangulation is used for two main purposes: confirmation and completeness (Shih 1998). As far as the confirmatory objective is concerned, to validate qualitative findings by quantitative studies is a prominent example (figure 2.6). The second objective can be traced through the recognition of in-depth understanding of a single phenomenon from differing perspectives. For this reason, the current study has followed

a mixed-methods approach as it comprises both qualitative and quantitative considerations to dialect contact and change in the speech community of Tlemcen.

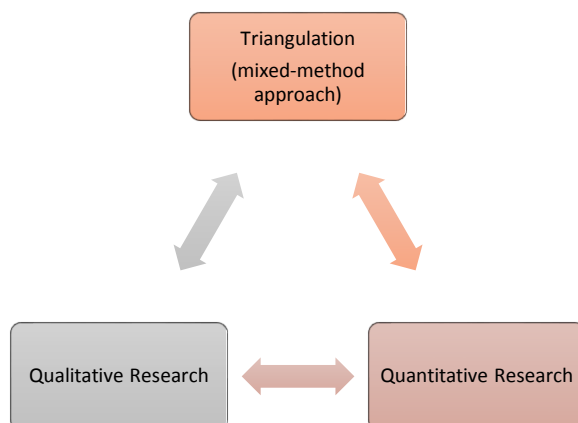


Figure 2.6. Triangulation of research approaches

Although many researchers agree on the fact that a qualitative approach brings ‘soft data’ such as descriptions, impressions and emotions and that quantitative research provides ‘hard data’ reflected in numbers, statistics and percentages, none can deny the importance of both approaches while investigating a sociolinguistic phenomenon (Neuman, 2006: 85). Tables (2.3) and (2.4) below explain the main differences between the two approaches; they include patterns of ‘path, topic selection, research design, purpose and tools for data collection’. At each level, we provide how they have been used, in addition to their manipulation, adjustment and mixture in the current study.

Table 2.3. Qualitative vs. Quantitative research

<i>Items</i>	Qualitative research approach	Quantitative research approach
<u>Path</u>	<i>Cyclical path: successive and regular passing through steps</i>	<i>Linear path: a fixed sequence of steps</i>

→ This study relies on a linear path. The researcher has followed a number of steps and procedures while conducting her research, selecting informants, employing instruments and collecting data. Although some revision was needed here and there, the steps remained exact and ordered.

<u>Topic</u>	<i>Start with vague unclear research questions, the topic emerges during the study</i>	<i>Narrow the topic into a focused question</i>
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→ It is true that the current study has its roots in a larger field and theoretical consideration, the researcher has established her topic via narrowing her focus and did not wait until the procedure of data collection. It should be mentioned that her fieldwork observations and pilot investigations helped her narrow the topic.

<u>Design</u>	<i>Research design while collecting data</i>	<i>Design before collecting data</i>
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→ The researcher did not want to stop at the level of picturing and providing situational descriptions only. She wanted to explain deeply the sociolinguistic situation that characterizes Tlemcen speech community. In addition to testing her global research hypothesis, the researcher wanted to find explanations provided by the participants. Therefore, the design was clear from the beginning of the research.

<u>Aim</u>	<i>The aim is a complete, detailed description</i>	<i>The aim is to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed</i>
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→ The aim of this research has both qualitative and quantitative orientations. Besides providing detailed descriptions of the linguistic behavior of the informants, categorizing the answers, variables and features has also a significant part in the explanation of what is manifested by the participants and observed by the researcher.

<u>Tools</u>	<i>The researcher is the data gathering instrument</i>	<i>The researcher uses tools such as questionnaires or equipment to collect numerical data</i>
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→ The researcher has collected data via a triangulation of instruments including observation, interviews, and focus groups. It must be mentioned that she was the facilitator and moderator in all the situations where she took part as an interviewer in the ethnographic semi-structured interview and as a motivator in focus groups.

<u>Data</u>	<i>Data are in the form of words, pictures or objects. Qualitative data are richer, time consuming, and less able to be generalized</i>	<i>Data are in the form of numbers and statistics. Quantitative data are more efficient, able to test hypotheses, but may miss contextual detail</i>
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→ The researcher instruments include both qualitative and quantitative questions. Hence, the data gathered are of both types. Open-ended and close-ended questions were asked; descriptive and statistical results were obtained.

<u>Researcher</u>	<i>The researcher tends to become subjectively immersed in the subject matter</i>	<i>The researcher tends to remain objectively separated from the subject matter</i>
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→ In sociolinguistic research, the researcher is asked to keep objectivity as much as possible in order to determine the natural contextual details. Even if the researcher was immersed in the speech community, as an ethnographer, she kept her viewpoint away from the study and tried to avoid bias along the procedure of data collection, analysis, and interpretation as well.

In addition to the mentioned principles, other criteria have been provided by Glesne and Peshkin (1992). Those criteria are related to the modes of both qualitative and quantitative types of research. The modes involve many other items akin to: assumptions, purposes, approaches, and the roles attributed to the researcher during the processing of both quantitative and qualitative studies. Table (2.4) summarises those modes and which ones suited most our research. Again, each section of the table explains which items have been selected and manipulated in the present study by the researcher.

Table 2.4. Predispositions of quantitative and qualitative modes of inquiry

<i>Modes' criteria</i>	<i>Quantitative mode</i>	<i>Qualitative mode</i>
<i>Assumptions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Social facts have an objective reality -Primacy of method -Variables can be identified and relationships measured -Etic (outsider's point of view) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reality is socially constructed -Primacy of subject matter -Variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure -Emic (insider's point of view)

→ The assumptions of the present research include:

1. Reality exists in society and the linguistic situation is an objective reality that is present in the selected speech community;
2. Primacy is given both to the method of data collection as well as the informants and the topic of research as a whole;
3. The variables are identified under linguistic, social and psychological items and therefore the relationships are measured accordingly;
4. The study relies on an etic objective view.

Purpose	-Generalizability -Prediction -Causal explanations	-Contextualization -Interpretation -Understanding actors' perspectives
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→ The purpose of the present study relies on:

1. Gathering and describing contextual data which be representative of the population (from contextualization to generalization);
2. At the beginning of the investigation, we have established some hypotheses as predictions to the sociolinguistic behavior of participants. Afterwards, the data are to be interpreted in relation to other pre-proposed variables;
3. Understanding data built on both causal explanations (social and psychological variables) in addition to qualitative responses (by participants).

Approach	-Begins with hypotheses and theories -Manipulation and control -Uses formal instruments -Experimentation -Deductive -Component analysis -Seeks consensus, the norm -Reduces data to numerical indices -Abstract language in write-up	-Ends with hypotheses and grounded theory -Emergence and portrayal -Researcher as instrument -Naturalistic -Inductive -Searches for patterns -Seeks pluralism, complexity -Makes minor use of numerical indices -Descriptive write-up
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→ The approach of the present study involves mixing both principles as:

1. -It begins with a global theory of koineization and hypotheses about its existence in the selected speech community,
2. -It manipulates some variables and check the participants' behavior according to the pre-supposed hypotheses,
3. -The researcher used instruments for data collection,
4. -It is based on deduction reasoning,
5. -The data are presented in numerical and descriptive write-up accounts.

Researcher role	-Detachment and impartiality -Objective portrayal	-Personal involvement and partiality -Empathic understanding
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→ The role of the researcher in the current research is objective and detached from the collected data except in ethnographic fieldworks and interviews where some interference was needed.

Source: (Adapted from Glesne & Peshkin, 1992)

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) have given further reasons for using MMR. For instance, contextualizing information via MMR can be necessary in order to obtain a macro picture of a system like a school or hospital or any other type of society (Wium and Louw, 2018). Picturing the sociolinguistic reality is one of the most important aims of the current study which strengthens our choice to the mixed methods approach to research. More to the point, MMR could be utilized for the sake of developing “a complementary picture; to compare, validate or triangulate results; to provide an illustration of context and trends; or to examine process or experiences along with outcomes” (ibid: p4). They further add that mixed-methods research can also be useful “when one database needs to be built on another, or when one method is failing and the second method can be used to rescue the study” (Creswell *et al.* 2011). In other words, talking qualitatively in linguistic research is not enough, and presenting some quantitative data would rescue the study and, for sure, reinforce the ‘quality’ of research in general and its richness and reliability in particular. Other scholars have reinforced the importance of MMR as Glogowska (2011) who posits that it “is a good option when conducting research on marginalized groups as it provides them with a voice when research is conducted concerning them, which in effect is empowering them” (qtd in. Wium and Louw, 2018: 4). The current sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community has not been documented enough, a fact that makes it marginalized in research; for this, our study is an attempt to picture, and highlight the gap left in Arabic dialectology and Arabic sociolinguistic studies as a whole.

○ **Conducting a mixed-method study**

Steps in the process of conducting a mixed-methods study as proposed by Cannon (2004) involve seven organized steps (figure 2.7). First, the researcher has to determine whether or not the mixed-methods approach is feasible. For the current study, the researcher needs both numerical and descriptive responses and data. Therefore, employing a mixed-methods approach is to be applied. In this vein, Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil (2002:46) advocate that:

Both approaches can be combined because they share the goal of understanding the world in which we live. They share a unified logic, and the same rules of inference

apply to both. A combination of both approaches provides a variety of perspectives from which a particular phenomenon can be studied and they share a common commitment to understanding and improving the human condition, a common goal of disseminating knowledge for practical use. Both approaches provide for cross-validation or triangulation – combining two or more theories or sources of data to study the same phenomena in order to gain a more complete understanding of that phenomenon (interdependence of research methods) and they also provide for the achievement of complementary results by using the strengths of one method to enhance the other (independence of research methods).

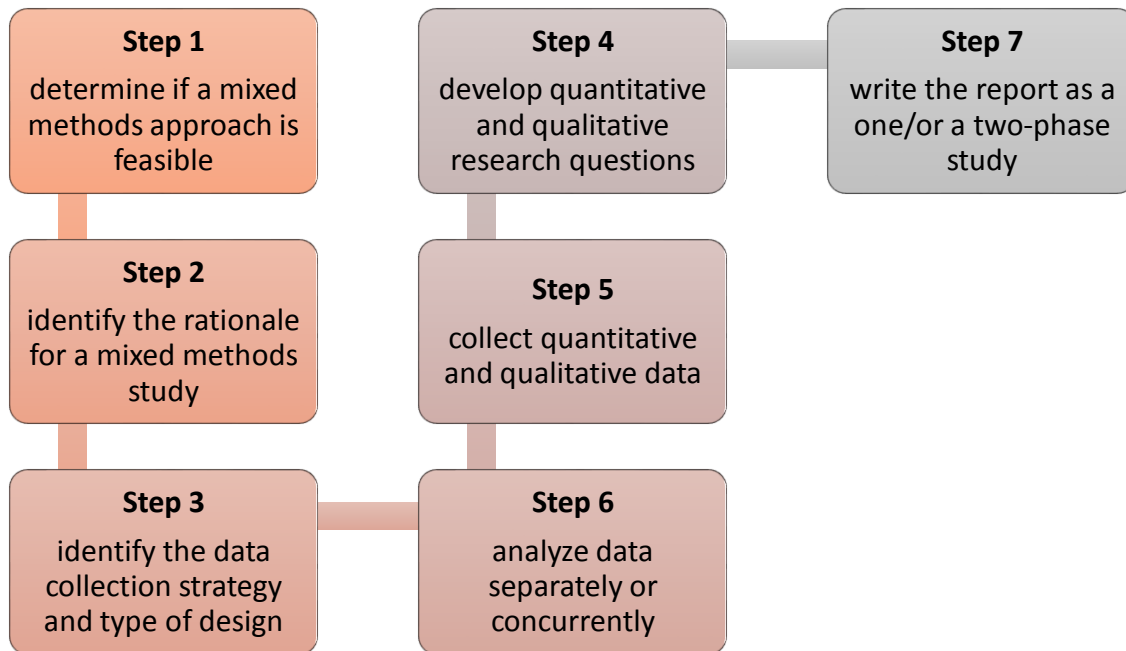


Figure 2.7. Steps in the process of conducting a mixed methods study (Cannon, 2004)

This idea pours in the second step which refers to the identification of the rationale behind and purposes for a mixed-methods study. The rationale of mixing both qualitative and quantitative types of data is that none can be used separately as they complement each other. In this respect, Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:479) identify some rationales for mixing both qualitative and quantitative approaches (figure 2.8). These rationales include: participant enrichment, instrument fidelity, treatment integrity, and significance enhancement. Whereas the former refers to an increase in the number of participants within the study, the second one refers to maximizing the appropriateness and utility of research tools and instruments used for the process of data collection. Combined together, they will ensure the integrity and significance of the data gathered as well as the results obtained which will in turn maximize the researcher's interpretation

and therefore gives stronger contribution to the field of interest. This forth-axed rationale relationship has boosted the researcher while choosing her participants and the instruments as well. By respecting these methodical rationales, the researcher reassures the potential of her research, enhances its significance, and maximizes the validity of her data and results.

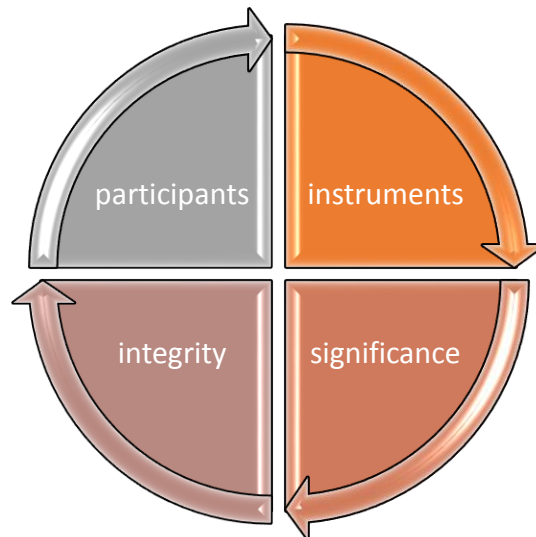


Figure 2.8. Mixed-methods study rationales (Source: Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:479))

More to the point, once we mention participants and instruments, it is crucial to mention procedures of data collection following the established research design. The present study tends to be not only descriptive but also analytical, i.e., explanatory. For this, the design of our study is descriptive in the sense that we provide an overall idea about the sociolinguistic situation; and explanatory as we provide more analysis and explanation to this situation with regard to some other variables and items.

The data were collected in order to answer both qualitative and quantitative research questions that were actually elaborated in earlier stages of the study and later contextually modified. Mathematically speaking, if the questions asked are qualitative and quantitative in nature, they provide qualitative and quantitative. types of responses and thereby data and results. As a last phase, analysis is done concurrently even if we can separate the nature of data as descriptive/ attitudinal and numerical/ statistical. Both types of data are presented according to the objectives of the study, research questions and established hypotheses.

2.4.4. Research design

Research design refers to a plan for any given study, providing the overall framework for collecting data (Leedy, 1997). More precisely, it requires a systematic planification for selecting participants, research sites, and all the procedures of data gathering for the achievement of valid answers to the established research questions (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 166). It has also been defined by Durrheim (2004) as a strategic framework that serves a bridge between the assumed research questions and the execution, or implementation of the research strategy (p. 29).

The general claim states that there are various types of research design: descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory; yet, before dealing only superficially with them, it is necessary to check out the criteria of MMR design. In fact, the design attributed to mixed-methods research relies mainly on two different factors (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Creswell, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Dickinson, 2007) namely: priority of weight and order of data collection. Whereas the former refers to the weight given to quantitative and qualitative aspects of research as being similar or distinct, the latter refers to when any of the types of data is collected with regard to the other. In simpler terms, the weight of data refers to how much quantitative or qualitative data is needed for a given study. Questions like ‘do I need more numbers and statistics derived from close-ended questions? Shall I add more open-ended questions to obtain more qualitative data?’ are often present in this regard. Accordingly, the weight of data needed is similar as the priority is given to both qualitative and quantitative responses; for they are needed in the description, exploration, explanation and analysis of patterns in the current study.

On the other hand, qualitative and quantitative data collection can happen either simultaneously or sequentially (Creswell *et al.* 2011) depending on the research questions, hypotheses and objectives. Concurrent design of data collection is said to be a parallel design of qualitative and quantitative data gathering (at the same time). It is divided into two types: 1) triangulation designs where quantitative and qualitative data are converged to provide a comprehensive analysis of a particular phenomenon; it is also characterized by the use of open-ended and close-ended questions with a survey

(Jick 1979). This type of design is present in the process of instrument structuring, e.g. interview, where yes/no and wh. questions have been used together for an explanatory reason (see appendix). 2) embedded designs refer to the fact of answering two different research questions separately where one is nested within the other (qualitative more than quantitative or vice versa); in fact, this research has given parallel importance to both qualitative and quantitative data.

Sequential design refers to the procedure of data gathering in phases. These phases can be explanatory or exploratory depending on the research process as a whole. Whereas explanatory designs tend to start by quantitative data collection to test a hypothesis then moves to qualitative data for clarification and explanation, exploratory research design reverses the operation: “The second phase would be where the quan phase is used to develop the tool from the results obtained in the first phase” (Wium and Louw, 2018:6).

Likewise, it should be noted that the detailed process of data collection (ranging from ethnography to survey) has been sequential and that the questions asked have been concurrent. The process has been divided into two phases (figure 2.9). The first one is the ethnographic study of the community accomplished via fieldwork notes and participant observations. This phase is qualitative in nature and therefore the data gathered are to be presented in a descriptive manner. After finishing the ethnographic investigation of Tlemcen speech community, the researcher tried to zoom in the social and linguistic categorization of the selected community and attempted to form some ‘smaller’ snapshots of the society by choosing some representative cases from whom data have been collected with the help of a focus group. This step is the exploration phase: what has been observed and noticed within the society was captured and pictured in smaller groups as case studies. Later on, the researcher has moved to the explanatory level through the quantitative survey method. The participants were asked for individual semi-structured interviews with exact questions related to later clarification and explanation of the socio-linguistic behaviour investigated in previous phases. The questions raised during all phases and steps were both qualitative and quantitative in order to ensure a good picture of the studied phenomenon.

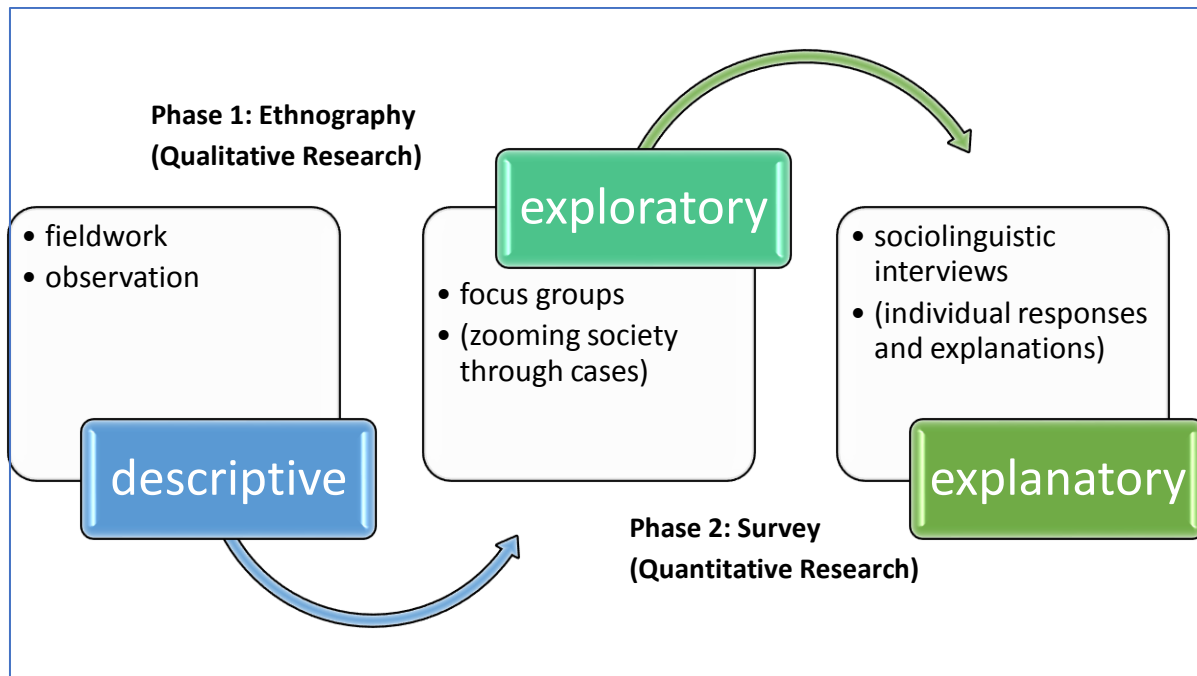


Figure 2.9. Designing the present research

Therefore, the present research is multi-dimensional and its design is representative. It is descriptive because the first question asked before starting the collection of data was “what is going on?”. The answer for this would be a descriptive one as we provide knowledge about the picture of the nature and shape of a given society. Concrete descriptions -on age profiles, gender mix, for example- were provided at the beginning; aspects of the existing layers of Tlemcen speech community in addition to the linguistic situation currently occurring were portrayed in details. Moreover, even after the collection of the primary data, we provided information about the sample population and the participants’ social and linguistic background. Observation and description of global environments led the researcher to investigate the behaviour at a micro level: exploration of the phenomenon. This micro-description leads, in turn, to develop further questions on causal explanations that “why is (Y) variable (dialect) affected by (X) variable (society)?”. The combination of designs was important to treat the basic ‘logical’ problem and reinforces the relevance of evidence, i.e., the evidence needed to answer the research questions including sampling, questioning, and collecting.

2.4.5 Methodical Strategy: can ethnography be merged with experimental and survey research?

As the current research has been processed in three stages, three main research methods have been used ranging from qualitative to quantitative data, i.e, from broader to more specific contexts of investigation: ethnography, experiment and survey. The choice of methods is made according to the needs and objectives of our study. Figure (2.10) summarizes the method used during each stage in our study.

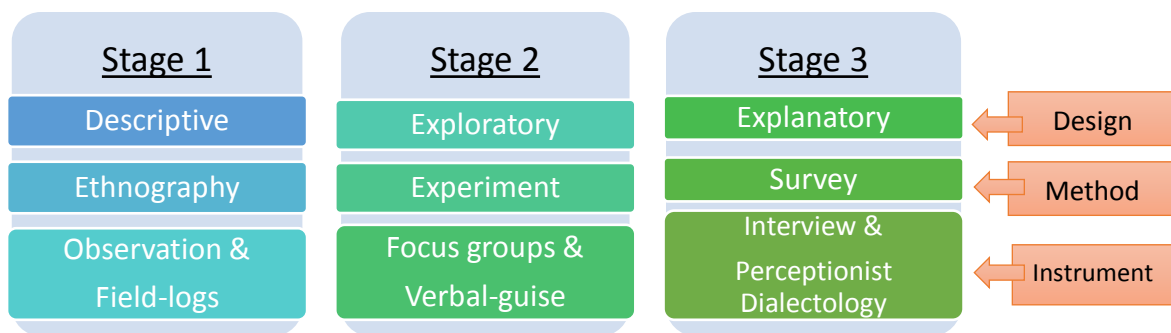


Figure 2.10. Methods used in the present research

2.4.5.1 Method 1: Ethnography

Inspired by Labov (1963), Levon (2013: 197) claims that “it has always been a central tenet of sociolinguistic research that understanding patterns of language variation and language change is impossible without also understanding the social matrix within which those patterns are embedded”. For this reason, we have opted for ethnography as a research method that lies under a qualitative approach to data gathering. Ethnographic data collection is an empirical method which aims at discovering people’s categories, prominent in a given community, according to social, cultural and linguistic contexts. Malinowski (1992) describes ethnography as participatory observation which advocates the fact of understanding how the behaviour observed within a community is linked to the beliefs and practices of a particular group. Doing ethnographic research means getting to know people, gaining their trust, and perhaps committing oneself to long-term friendship relations as Van Maanen (2011, 153) puts it, in your research project you are “part spy, part voyeur, part fan, part member.” Indeed, this was our slogan when conducting our ethnographic research in Tlemcen speech community.

One might ask how can our research be ethnographic? In fact, ethnography is claimed to be a qualitative research method. It has both methodological and analytical contributions to the consideration of the linguistic situation as well as the social life of the studied group which is a central direction of the current research. Most research in Arabic sociolinguistics has been taken from a structural approach to language description; however, ethnography is “a theoretical and analytical framework which takes an epistemological position broadly aligned with social constructivist and post-structuralist approaches by critiquing essentialist accounts of social life” (Creese, 2008; Rampton, 2007). For this reason, we have followed an ethnographic method for data collection as we wanted to move from the structuralist, descriptive consideration to dialects to a more analytical one especially with regard to the social and contextual explanations of dialect use.

Following Edelman and Mandle (2002) reasons for choosing ethnography as a method of data collection, this research is ethnographic because:

- It is best suited for understanding complex societies and cultures as the one extant in Tlemcen community and the complex socio-dialectal behaviours performed,
- It provides thick descriptions of linguistic, social, and cultural aspects of the studied phenomenon, i.e., dialect contact and change,
- It documents, analyses and understands behavioural realities from a) the participants’ viewpoints, and b) the researcher’s consideration as a member of the community (participant observation).

Using this method, the researcher has been able to observe and sometimes participate in some interactional settings. At this level of the study, the researcher was excited as there were no mathematical calculations or statistical considerations to be done; the only purpose and job was to hang out and watch ‘real people’ in ‘real-life situations’, although we had a theoretical background and a given hypothesis in mind ‘the existence or non-existence of a Tlemcenian koine’. Despite its being time and effort consuming, ethnographic research, which took a two-year period of focus, was indeed a richer source of data where people’s linguistic behaviour was under our micro view

during the observation period. Be it on a bus, in the street, in a library or an office, in a shop or a restaurant, in a beauty-salon or whatever place and circumstance, we became ‘*obsessed*’ with observing people’s linguistic performance.

Ethnographic field research has been the starting point as it was appropriate for deep observation, understanding and description of socio-linguistic interaction of people in different regions of Tlemcen. ‘how do people speak?’ was our ultimate objective in this stage. Although the researcher belongs to the studied speech community (insider ethnographic role), she maintained the analytical perspective (outsider ethnographic role) of the changes in dialectal performances. For good understanding, the researcher used some social interactional skills as being humble, sympatic and sociable when observing some conversation.

Although field research does not have a fixed plan for operating, some steps have been taken into account. Some of these have been proposed by Neuman (2006) and we have adopted them according to the community. As far as the first step is concerned, reading the literature has proved to be essential as we have been interested in the dialects spoken in Tlemcen and has done many investigations on it. The social and linguistic realities of Tlemcen speech community have motivated the researcher to decide about the settings: what to observe and where to go. Variation in speech has led the researcher to visit many regions in order to have a direct contact with the original dialectal varieties. In addition to Tlemcen City and its outskirts, places like Maghnia, Nedroma, Ghazaouet, Beni-Snous and Sebdou have all been visited during the very first phases of her research; during later phases, the researcher has fixed her interest to observing youngsters’ linguistic performance at university and its surroundings. Entering the field and establishing relations was quite effort-demanding especially at the beginning. However, after focusing on youngsters, the task did not require a lot as the researcher is a university teacher and having social acceptance in that context was already there. Our job was to watch listen and collect data. Disengagement and leaving the setting has been theoretically achieved as the researcher lives and works there; however, our obsession with people’s linguistic performance lessens once we have moved to other phases of the research.

All that has been observed have also been documented for later analyses. The researcher has prepared a list (time, place, members, gender, topic) and make lots of copies in a form of a book; she has carried out this book-like empty document and filled it with the notes gained from the field. Some of them are jotted notes, written on the spot. Other notes are direct observations, mainly constructed right after going home; they include detailed descriptions of what happened. Analytic notes were kept till the end and sometimes left for the process of data analysis.

2.4.5.2 Method 2: Experiment

The experiment is one of the quantitative data collection methods used for establishing and exploring cause-effect relationships. It answers questions such: “what are the reasons behind a given behaviour or phenomenon?”, “what is the effect of X on Y?”, “what is the outcome if we introduce a given variable on people?” and so forth. The purpose of using an experimental study is to know the causes behind dialectal change or more importantly, whether subjects’ dialectal performance changes according to the variables introduced.

Two important items should be present in any experiment: dependent and independent variables. Whereas the independent variables are those manipulated and exposed by the researcher, the dependent variables are those which receive the conditioning and reflect the outcome (change/ no change, influence/ no influence). In the current research, the dependent variable is the linguistic performance of subjects; while aspects of gender, residence and social distance are considered as independent variables.

The experimental design that has been used is the ‘pre-test-post-test control-group design’. As its name suggests, this design depends on controlling groups of subjects via the use of some tests: pre-test is the one used at the beginning or the group’s situation before being exposed to the independent variables of the researcher; post-test refers to the changes after the test or the exposure.

One might wonder how we managed to use a qualitative data collection tool as ‘focus groups’ and focused ethnographies under a quantitative method, the experiment. Not only does the experiment allow us to observe the relations between variables, but also promotes us to determine and control some variables in order to see the change in the dependent variables in question. Exercising this was more feasible through focus groups where the researcher has selected groups under some variables in order to see how these variables control the subjects’ linguistic behaviour.

What has been achieved in ‘focus groups’ is known as a single-blind experiment. It is referred to as ‘blind’ because subjects are not aware about the real aims and hypotheses of the research. The researcher shows being interested in cultural attribution of her subjects belonging to similar or different regions; however, the real hypothesis is to check their linguistic performance and how it changes from in- and out-group subjects. This procedure has been explained in Neuman’s (2007: 216) experimenter expectancy in the following diagram (figure 2.11). The reason behind using this method was certainly to avoid influencing subjects’ linguistic behavior so as for them not to show bias and diverge their performance according to the researcher’s objectives; this consequently, has led us to see the subjects’ natural behavior. However, for ethical satisfaction, the research had to tell her subjects about the real aims and purposes of her research after the second posttest discussion.

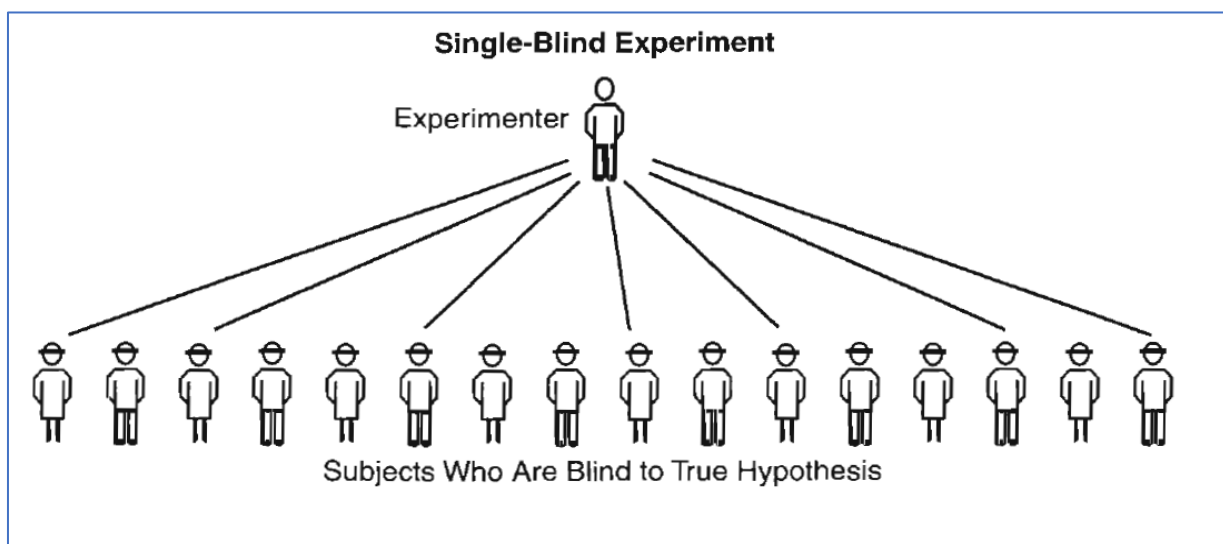


Figure 2.11. Illustrating the single-blind experiment Source: Neuman (2007, p216)

Groups of subjects have been categorized mainly according to place of residence, gender, and linguistic background. Each group has been examined separately; subjects in the pre-test have been of similar gender and from the same linguistic background (e.g. female [q] speakers/ male [q] speakers/ female [g] speakers/ male [g] speakers). Afterwards, some members of each group have been merged with members with different gender first, and then with members with different gender and place of residence (linguistically different). The post-test has been completely measured once being introduced to subjects from different genders as well as different origins and dialects. This method is known as the factorial experimental design (Neuman 2007). The factorial design is used when “a research question suggests looking at the simultaneous effects of more than one independent variable” (ibid: 210); he further explains that the combination of those variables (known as factors) is examined. Figure (2.12) explains this operation.

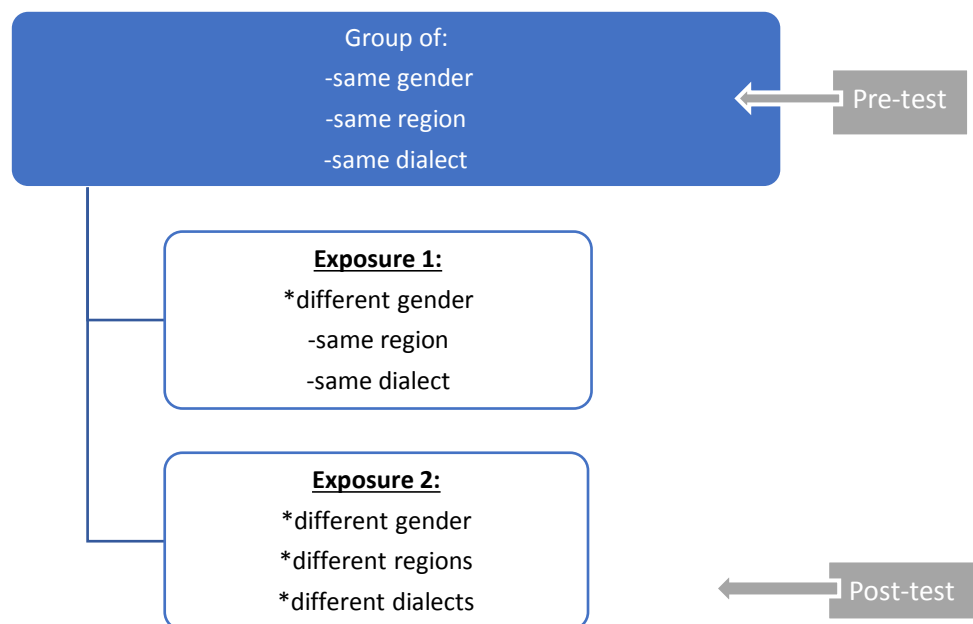


Figure 2.12. Factorial experimental design and examination of variables

By stating these important items, the researcher wants to fulfill the requirements of an experimental procedure put forward by Neuman (2007: 206): in order to be involved in an experimental research, the researcher should first “begin with a straightforward hypothesis”. Indeed, this research has started with clear hypotheses and goals as we wanted to experiment the effect of some social variables on the linguistic behaviour of subjects. The basic hypothesis is that once being in a conversation with an

outsider (of different gender, origin, residence, or dialect), people tend to change their way of speaking; in case of Tlemcen speech community, speakers tend to converge to similar dialect forms by reducing and eliminating all marked and different features.

Second, the researcher has to test practically the hypothesis through an experimental design. As previously explained, a factorial design has been adopted in our research for many variables are examined. Afterwards, the experimenter has created a situation that induces the independent variable and that was the aim behind the use of focused ethnographies and group discussions as a helping research instrument where variables were introduced gradually to conversations. The measurement of the dependent variable (the linguistic performance) has been checked in separate groups before introducing other members (holding external independent variables). In each phase, we included aspects of time and space into account before starting the experiment and piloting has been always achieved with the researcher's friends. More to the point, it should be noted that subjects have been located into groups or cases; they were chosen according to three variables namely origin, spoken dialect, place of residence. Careful instructions have been given to them about what their job will be during the experimental process. At the beginning, they were asked only to tackle open conversations about the topics assigned to them. At this level of research, we have gathered data for the pre-test measure of the dependent variable for all groups. As a further step within other group discussion sessions, the researcher has introduced the treatment to the experimental relevant groups since there are multiple experimental groups and has monitored all of them. Data for post-test measurement of the dependent variable have been gathered, i.e., seeing the effects of the independent variables on the dependent one.

The last step that was compulsory after finishing the discussion with focus groups was debriefing. Debriefing is an ethical consideration to the experiment that should be given to the subjects by the experimenter. Since we didn't inform our subjects about the real hypothesis of research in the beginning and that they have been subject to experimentation along the different sessions of focused ethnographies, it was crucial for the researcher to inform them about the real issue of the study and what they have been doing and from which thing we have benefited from them and which type of data we

have gathered from their performances. Indeed, debriefing the subjects “by informing them of the true purpose and reasons for the experiment” (ZeePedia.com) is the ethical basis between the researcher and the subjects in order to achieve validity and confidence.

The examination of the data collected is to be made in comparisons between different groups and results obtained during the discussions (pre- and post-). Qualitative and quantitative analyses of focus groups, and therefore the experiment, via the use of statistics, graphs and descriptions are surely to determine whether or not the hypothesis is confirmed or rejected.

2.4.5.3 Method 3: Survey

The third phase of our research process relies basically on the survey method. “Survey... refers to a study which attempts to uncover and present a broad overview of the linguistic and sociolinguistic facts concerning a specific ethnolinguistic community in a particular region” (Blair, 1990:1). Cohen et al. (2006: 207) claim that “most surveys will combine nominal data on participants’ backgrounds and relevant personal details with other scales (e.g. attitude scales, data from ordinal, interval and ratio measures).” They add that “surveys are useful for gathering factual information, data on attitudes and preferences, beliefs and predictions, behaviour and experiences – both past and present” (Weisberg *et al.* 1996 qtd in Cohen *et al.*).

The global aim of using a survey as a method in this phase is to approach the sample closely. The face-to-face interaction survey has helped us have a deeper view of the participants on the socio-linguistic situation taking place in Tlemcen speech community and how they tend to explain related phenomena. The factual information, attitudes as well as explanations have all been used for the elaboration of this research. In order to achieve the objective, the researcher respected the necessary steps for the success of her survey.

The first step (figure 2.13) is related to the general hypothesis of research in order to be able to design the layout and questions of the survey. Because our research is deductive, it starts with an established theory and assumption. As previously stated, our hypothesis is still the same as we want to confirm the existence of a koiné in the speech

of Tlemcen speakers or not. For this, we have opted for an interview as a type of survey as the questionnaire seemed to be an old-fashioned research instrument; additionally, we wanted to tackle a face-to-face conversation with the respondents in order to gain more reliable data than could be gathered by a written questionnaire. In this phase, the researcher planned her interview schedule and developed a considerable number of questions which are tightly related to the hypothesis as this last phase of research is said to be terribly explanatory for the researcher. The designed questions were formulated and reformulated then piloted with friends before even being asked; aspects of order, clarity, understanding and completeness were checked. As for the response categories, since both close-ended and open-ended questions were asked, both qualitative and quantitative answers have been expected.



Figure 2.13. Step 1 in survey Source: Adopted from Neuman (2006: 169)

The second step (figure 2.14) is related to the helping instruments and their piloting. Because we have relied on an interview survey, the data gathered have to be recorded. Honestly, sometimes taking pen-and-paper-notes was not efficient as important ideas were forgotten and not well documented. For this reason, the researcher has asked the consent of her respondents to use her phone for recording the interview.



Figure 2.14. Step 2 in survey Source: Adopted from Neuman (2006: 169)

As far as the third phase of survey research is concerned, the researcher has to take into account aspects of population sampling (figure 2.15). In this respect, Naynard and Schaeffer (2006: 9) claim the following:

“the survey interview is a means for measuring demographic characteristics and aggregate attitudes and opinions in many societies and sub-societies around the world. Surveys do this in a systematic way: sampling a population and then using standardized measurement in order to estimate various characteristics of it”.

As previously explained, the sample that has been involved in the survey were the same people taking part in focus group discussions in the experimental phase. The reason for this lies in a twofold fact: first, to get to know more explanations from the respondents who have shown particular behaviors in the discussions; second, to explain in details the objectives of our study and satisfy the researcher-participant confidentiality.

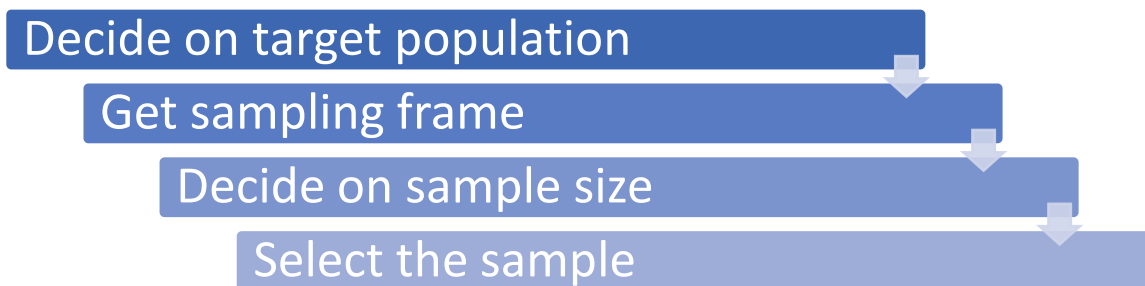


Figure 2.15. Step 3 in survey Source: Adopted from Neuman (2006: 169)

The fourth step (figure 2.16) done by the researcher is to conduct the interview with the respondents. Respondents have been interviewed, in person, individually because personal opinions, reflections and explanations are needed. We have taken into account the schedule of each participant and their availability; we planned the interview after having a *rendezvous* in order to have the sufficient time as the interview had many parts. Of course, data have been recorded by the researcher herself.



Figure 2.16. Step 4 in survey Source: Adopted from Neuman (2006: 169)

2.4.6. Time horizon: a cross-sectional study

As stated earlier, the time line of a given research refers to the period of time where the process of data collection took place. In the current study, the data were collected in a short period of time, not exceed a two-year period. For this reason, the timeline followed by the researcher is a cross-sectional one (figure 2.17).

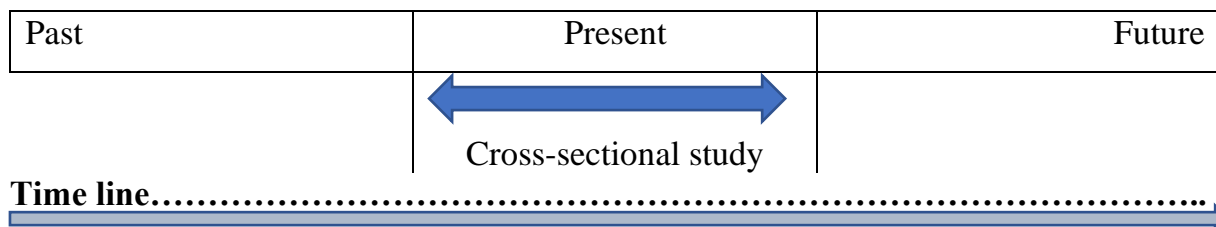


Figure 2.17. Cross-sectional study within a time line arrow

Some criteria and reasons have been taken into account before choosing this strategy. The main aim is to provide a snapshot to the current sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community, which has been fulfilled by providing a descriptive account of the outcomes and criteria of the behaviour of selected subgroups within the community.

Although it is quite difficult to infer causality by medium of short-term studies, the selection of the sample can play a huge role in finding an answer to this issue. The sample selected includes people that have been already exposed to the linguistic reality over a given period of time (at least three university years of direct contact with other dialects than the spoken home variety). This exposure resumes the ‘*before*’ and ‘*during*’ states and characteristics of the sample population. For example, a third-year university student coming from Ghazaouet has surely had enough exposure to the host variety (rural or urban varieties of Tlemcen), and therefore is assumed to be knowledgeable enough about the current linguistic situation as well as the social and psychological aspects associated with it. For this reason, the explanatory side of the cross-sectional study is not to be neglected as the sample is well chosen from the beginning of the research process.

2.4.7 Techniques: Sampling and triangulation in data collection

2.4.7.1 Sampling:

The procedures in sample selection have followed the MMR (mixed-method research) orientation. Collins, Onwuegbuzie and Sutton (2006) have described a model for MMR sampling. For them, this model categorizes sampling designs according to difference in time orientation of the components as well as the relationship of the qualitative and quantitative samples required in the study. Accordingly, sampling can be done either concurrently or sequentially depending on the type (quantitative or qualitative). They offer many categories among which some are applicable to our research. First, identical sampling which includes the same participants during both qualitative and quantitative phases of research. Interestingly, the researcher has opted for this type of sampling as the participants who have taken part in focus groups have been later interviewed individually. Consequently, the experimental sample is identical and similar to survey sample: participants who have taken a part in the ethnographic consideration during the first qualitative phase of research.

The second proposed type is parallel sampling. It refers to bringing informants from the same population as opposed to multi-level sampling where samples are brought from different populations. Obviously, the samples selected for investigation are taken from the same population (inhabitants of Tlemcen). There have been parallel use of probability and purposive strategies to participants selection as reflected in details in the following sections.

- **Sampling in the current ethnographic research**

Because the current research is of an ethnographic direction, its sampling relies basically on detailed observation of selected groups from the studied speech community. In this line of thought, it has been stated that the community that is adequate for investigation in ethnographic research entails smaller and more locally meaningful groups (Hymes 1974; Eckert and McConnell 1992) rather than larger, demographic categories of speakers. The researcher has started with considering all and any type of conversation by people in Tlemcen; an operation which took time and was quite

‘disordered’. For this reason, she has to put emphasis on one direction and that was university. Students of Tlemcen University have been subject to micro-ethnographic observation. Afterwards, the researcher has selected some groups of informants in order to form her sample. These groups were chosen upon linguistic distinctiveness of regions in Tlemcen speech community. In other words, one finds a bouquet of locally different varieties, i.e., dialects differ from one region to another and can be categorized according to the realization of Arabic /q/ as [q], [ʔ], [g] and [k] varieties where:

- ✓ [q] speakers are generally coming from Nedroma and Beni Snous
- ✓ [ʔ] speakers are inhabitants of Tlemcen City and its urban surroundings
- ✓ [g] speakers come from rural areas like distant villages in Sebdou
- ✓ [k] speakers are those specifically coming from Ghazaouet

Following this categorization, our key actors have been selected and grouped accordingly. That is, in the research technique of focus groups, the key actors were gathered as belonging to one single or different linguistic/ variationist stratification in order to see how the in- and out-group interaction took path; thus, testing the direction of dialect change or maintenance.

Interaction with the investigated group is also an important component in sample selection. For this, Geertz (1973) advocates the idea that, in ethnographic investigations, the researcher needs “a bounded and internally cohesive group of speakers that [he] would be able to interact with on a regular basis and whose observed behaviour would allow [him] to fully address [his] research goals.” This was the reason to choose the university and its surroundings to be the most important observed place. In other words, because the researcher’s most time was spent at university, since she works there, she has deduced that university students might form a good sample for her research. University could be considered as a melting pot for people coming from different regions of Tlemcen; thence, investigating dialect contact can be best done there and the students’ linguistic behaviour could easily be observed in a kind of community of practice where interaction with the selected groups was easy, constant, and much more reflective of the linguistic situation happening among youngsters especially.

- **The issue of representativeness**

Among a variety of research methods of sample selection, any researcher should take into account the issue of representativeness, i.e., whether their sample is enough to represent the whole community or not. In fact, the wealth of today's sampling methodologies adopted in sociolinguistic research suggests, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 46-8) say, that

researchers are now more relaxed than they once were about methodological issues such as whether or not their account ... [is] technically representative or whether strict random sampling procedures should be used. This shift in attitude ... enables researchers to select more freely from a range of methods those which, within a defensible theoretical framework, will best enable them to achieve their goals

In the same line of thought, Tagliamonte (2006: 28) proposes that sociolinguistic research is now characterized by a certain mix-and-match attitude: "the critical component of this hybrid methodology of variationist analysis is that the researchers decide which type of representativeness is sufficient- or attainable- depending on the focus of the study." Many authors state the idea that, with regard to the objectives of research, we have the ability to:

- 1) Choose among many methods of sampling the one (or more) that we think will help us achieve the final goals of research
- 2) Decide the type of sample that is seen to be representative

The two ideas are discussed below.

- **Methods of sample selection**

It has been claimed that one of the approaches to target population selection in ethnographic research is to select who and what to study after the rejection or exclusion of the sources that will not provide help to understand life in the selected speech community. In other words, because the researcher is a member of Tlemcen speech community and is supposed to get in touch with people from different origins coming from different geographical areas of Tlemcen, she could have a selective lens to her population with regard to the sources that will provide qualitative additions to the research especially with regard to the research questions and objectives. In addition to that, spending many years following a big net approach conducive to participant

observation, that entails mixing and mingling with everyone and gazing at many interactive situations in different regions and contexts, has led to two main results. First, we have collected a wide view of the occurring geo- and sociolinguistic events. Second, we have managed to arrive at a microscopic level to participant ethnographic consideration via narrowing the focus to a specific portion of the population, meaningfully youngsters, who form the nucleus of our investigation.

This judgemental sampling is one of the common techniques to key actors' selection. We have relied on our judgement to choose those whom, we think, are appropriate for data collection procedures as they reflect the real sociolinguistic situation questioned in this research. More precisely, we have selected the age cohort of youngsters coming from different regions and studying at Tlemcen University after our analysis as they manifest dialect variation more than other categories. This is what makes ethnographic qualitative research different from others that “while survey fieldwork focuses on filling the sample, ethnographic fieldwork focuses on finding out what is worth sampling” (Eckert 2000: 69). Following this claim, and because our research touches a socio-variationist paradigm, we have opted for a specific method in the procedure of sampling by choosing the convenience method of sampling at first. This method is based on working (observing and interviewing) with people (participants) who show will to take part within the research especially that we have taken university as a melting pot for many dialects. However, beside this criterion of selection, and some quantitative satisfaction of research, we opted for another item, taken from the grounded theory method, which is the aspect of saturation. In fact, the concept of saturation is applied for qualitative research with the meaning of arriving to the level where there is no new data elicited from the fieldwork. The combination of the two methods gives us a convenience-to-saturation method. In other words, key actors who have taken part in this research have been voluntarily showing will to help in the current sociolinguistic research which welcomed them until saturation of data, i.e., investigating more interactive contexts till we receive no new information.

- **Sampling and generalization**

In research methodology, once we mention representativeness, we also have to take into account generalization to check whether the results elicited from the selected sample can be generalized on the whole population. However, it is crucial to mention that ethnographic data are not representative in a statistical sense (Eckert 2000; Tagliamonte 2006: 27); any generalized claim has to be treated with care; these **generalizations** are not merely subjective, but rather intersubjective since they (ideally) converge with the community's assessment. Therefore, for the sake of avoiding confusion, the researcher preferred to keep the results as referring to the sample and not to the whole population although it can be generalized upon the category of youngsters exercising dialect contact at mix contexts such as university.

In order to solve this issue, two research methods have been added to the research in order to quantify the quality obtained. The experimental groups and survey respondents have been utilized for the quantitative satisfaction of this sociolinguistic study. Categorization of groups of participants who have, in turn, taken part in individual interviews have helped us not only to obtain a micro-view on the macro ethnographic sample investigated and observed earlier, but also to represent the data observed in numbers with concrete controlled contexts (focus groups) and profound personal explanations (interviews).

- **Social variables of the sample**

The sample has been selected according to some variables. These include:

- Age: youngsters form the nucleus of our ethnographic research. Participants were aged between 17 to 30 and were all supposed to be university students.
- Gender: of course, the current study could not escape gender differences as they take the lion's share in explaining dialectal change.
- Origins: as previously stated, the researcher took into consideration whether her participants were of urban, rural, or Bedouin origins.
- Residence: the coming-from region was also an important criterion in the selection and in interaction with the key actors.

- **Sample size:**

Jassem (1987) claims that there is no general agreement among scholars on the fixed number of speakers that should be involved in any linguistic research (cited in Kherbache, 2017). There are huge differences between sociolinguists, ethnographers and linguists in general in the numbering of their participants. For this reason, the researcher has opted for a number that is seen as reflective enough with regard to the category of youngsters (of different origins/ coming from distinct geographical areas) when put in contact. The current research sample took a number of students from the University of Tlemcen (for the interviews and focus groups) in addition to many others from other contexts to satisfy the ethnographic participant observation objectives.

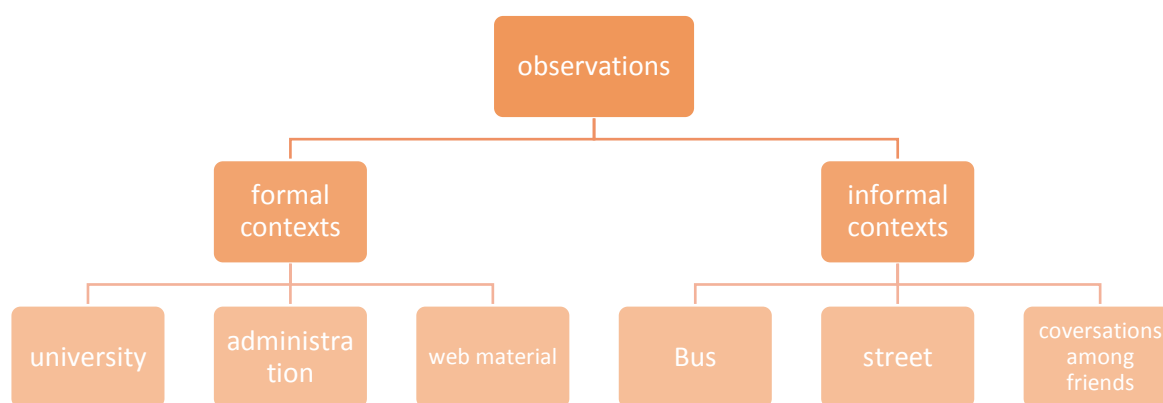


Figure 2.18. Observation cases according to the different levels of context formality

[q] speakers	Gr 1 & 2: 6 female participants each Gr 3 & 4: 6 female participants each Gr 5: participants from both genders and different residential areas (origins)
[g] speakers	Gr 1 & 2: 6 female participants each Gr 3 & 4: 6 female participants each Gr 5: participants from both genders and different residential areas (origins)
[?] speakers	Gr 1 & 2: 6 female participants each Gr 3 & 4: 6 female participants each Gr 5: participants from both genders and different residential areas (origins)

[k] speakers	Gr 1 & 2: 6 female participants each Gr 3 & 4: 6 female participants each Gr 5: participants from both genders and different residential areas (origins)
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Figure 2.19. Categorization of participants according to gender and spoken variety

It is true, in some contexts and for some scholars, that one or two speakers can be sufficient to reveal certain structures and that a sample of 25 informants is large enough to investigate language variation (Labov 1972; Jassem 1987; Al Xatib 1988), but the aim of our research goes beyond seeing linguistic variation. Our aim is to investigate results of dialect variation in contexts where youngsters are in contact without forgetting the complexity of speech situation manifested in Tlemcen community as a whole. Interestingly, managing groups of 5-6 members of similar or differing origins and dialectal backgrounds was so rich that one or two speakers are not enough nor is 100 informants redundant (as stated by Sankoff, 1980a, qtd. in Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 29). We sought, not representing the whole population, but at least reflecting to a ‘*good, sufficient*’ extent the linguistic situation occurring in nowadays’ Tlemcen.

Table 2.5. Sampling and number of speakers according to social and linguistic parameters

Category / gender	Males	Females
[q] speakers	12	12
[g] speakers	12	12
[ʔ] speakers	12	12
[k] speakers	12	12
Distinct	12	12

2.4.7.2 Instruments of data collection:

For the process of primary data collection, many research instruments have been used. Sociolinguistic research has proved that triangulation of tools and techniques can provide richer information and therefore reliable results. In this vein, Jakob Alexander (2001) mentions that:

By combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and empirical materials, researchers can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies. Often the purpose of triangulation in specific contexts is to obtain confirmation of findings through convergence of different perspectives. The point at which the perspectives converge is seen to represent reality.

For the sake of vitality and reliability of findings, the researcher has combined many research methods, instruments and techniques. In the umbrella of qualitative and quantitative mixed-approaches, the collection of data has been fulfilled via observations, interviews, evaluation techniques with help of recordings as well as note-taking. Figure (2.20) explains how the chosen techniques are complementary in the triangle.

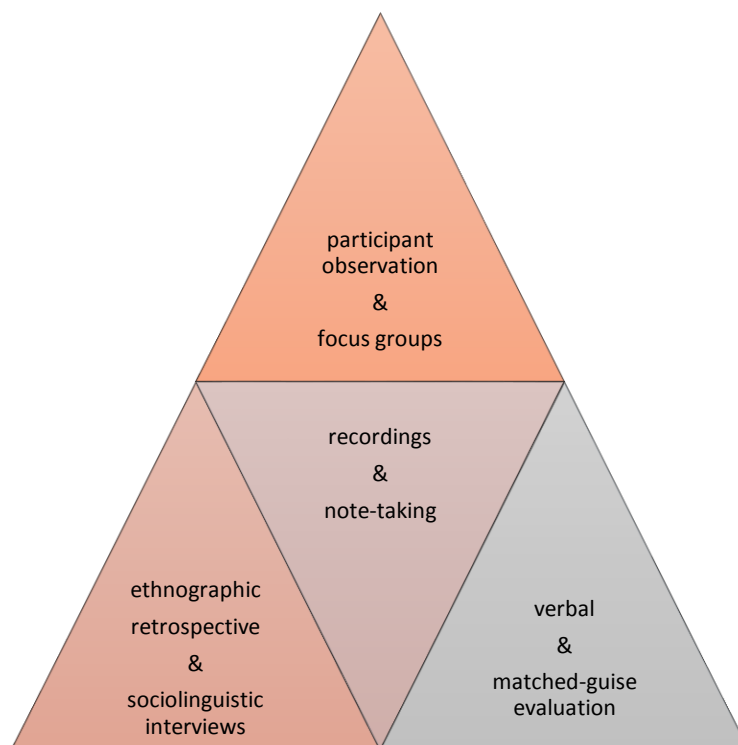


Figure 2.20. Triangulation of research instruments

One: Participant observation and field notes

Observation is one of the most important instruments in data collection especially when it is about linguistic investigation. What is salient about ethnographic participant observation is that it relies not only on noticing aspects of the current studied community but also on combining participation in real life contexts of the population studied with maintenance of a professional distance which allows the researcher to adequate observation and recording of spontaneously occurring linguistic and behavioural data.

Marshall and Rossman (1989) define the method of observation as “the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study” (p.79). For them, observations enable the researcher, especially the ethnographer, to describe existing social and behavioral conditions by reference to his/her five senses, providing a “written photograph” of the case under investigation (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Participant observation is used because it provides the researcher “with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and check for how much time is spent on various activities (SCHMUCK, 1997)” (qtd. in Kawulich, 2005: 5).

Accordingly, and because participant observation entails immersion in both the society and its related cultural background, the researcher has been able to observe, record and understand different contexts where different studied varieties were used. In other words, as the researcher is a member of the community who knows the society, its culture beside its dialectal varieties, and as a researcher interested in the process of dialect variation and change, i.e., the linguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community in general, the criterion of an immersed ethnographer was already present for observation and investigation. Additionally, long-term residence, that is living with the people, gave us continuous access for successful, close contact; a fact that gave our research vitality and validity.

As a first step, when the researcher was still piloting her hypotheses on concrete contexts, she started to throw the eye to all and any conversation she might hear, see or

take part in. This process has taken almost more than a year period. Afterwards, the researcher acquired a linguistic analytical gaze and established a dual ethnographic status for natural speech investigation by both observing the socio-linguistic activities and manifestations as they unfold and by being an active member of the goings-on of the studied community. For this reason, she has selected specific contexts to observe, i.e., contexts where she could take part in or at least having a direct “gaze” at all the components of the conversation including the topic, speakers, varieties used, in addition to concepts of place, time, and mood. Consequently, the researcher has categorized the naturally occurring situations according to levels of formality, i.e., formal and informal contexts in order to see how dialects unfold in those situations.

The observed ordinary observations took place in Tlemcen speech community. More precisely, they were noted in administrations and universities (as formal contexts) and in the street, busses, restaurants and shops (as informal settings). More importantly, the researcher has put her ‘*bumping-into-people*’ focus on speech manifested by youngsters of both genders, be them friends, foreigners, family members, or just people coming from different backgrounds to Tlemcen (the different background is equivalent to the dialectal varieties spoken by the observed speakers).

Likewise, the researcher has touched all the components necessary for a complete consideration to natural speech and she took them into account while developing her observation checklist. The latter was based on the parameters put forward by Richards (2003) who has mentioned that ethnographic observation of social interactions should focus on:

- ✓ The physical settings of events: including the exact place and time
- ✓ The systems and procedures that are followed at these events: whether the conversation is a debate, a joke, a gossip, turn taking, or others
- ✓ The people that take part in the events: who are the speakers taking part in the conversations
- ✓ The practices (including language) that are observed at these events: how language is manifested when people come into contact.

This set of properties has been taken into account as a template for later pre-analysis, that is the reflexive practice that follows ethnographic participant observation which is known as field notes. In fact, field notes, as a research helping tool, refers to jotting down the different memories of distinct observed events into a written form. This procedure followed directly the process of observation as it helped in documenting and recording observations, remarks, impressions, reflections and interpretations of the observed event.

In the consideration of field notes, a list of ‘meta-data’, provided by Sakel and Everett (2012: 13), was followed as it ought to be collected for language elicitation projects (it was adopted by Podesva and Sharma, 2013: 206 to suit ethnographic studies). The list included the following:

- ✓ Type of the observed event: formal, informal, debate, gossip, meeting, etc.
- ✓ Date, time and location of the event: in absolute (e.g. 17/ 06/ 2019) or relative (e.g. afternoon) terms, plus the exact place where the discussion took place
- ✓ Community members involved: how many participants were there in the conversation
- ✓ Language used: in our case, we focused on the varieties spoken
- ✓ Notable linguistic characteristics of the event: e.g. convergence or divergence of speech
- ✓ Notable social characteristics of the event: e.g. age, gender, social behaviours, etc.

The combination of participant observation and field notes was so beneficial for qualitative data gathering and analysis. They were complementary while dealing with the data for they provided the researcher with contextual and linguistic information of the target population: the former referring to concepts of time and space; the latter involving dialectal manifestations including phonological, morphological, and lexical considerations of speech. Afterwards’ reflection of field notes helped generating linguistic explanation with their social meanings embedded in spontaneously observed conversations of regionally and originally different members of Tlemcen speech community.

Two: Focus groups and the verbal-guise technique

Collecting natural speech from organized groups is quite a far-to-be-achieved goal as it results in rising the informants' awareness and therefore paying more attention to their way of speaking, i.e., the observer's paradox. In order to avoid this and elicit natural speech from the informants, the researcher went very informal as informality is most common in ethnographic studies. She tried to make her focus groups as casual conversations as possible. It has been claimed that, in sociolinguistic investigation:

... this is one place where focus groups shine. Through group interaction, we learn that something we hadn't noticed before is a significant issue. ... From the way the group takes up the topic, it is clear that something significant is going on, something significant to them. (Agar and MacDonald 1995: 80)

By having a covert research agenda, the researcher did not reveal the basic objective of her experimentation. She went friendly with her informants and has introduced different topics which motivate the participants to show and talk about their cultures, traditions, and identity related issues embedded in the regions they came from. She went transparent waiting for golden opportunities to naturally ask the 'needed' questions during the group conversation.

Before putting this plan into practice, she, first, gathered her participants according to their linguistic background (as [q], [g], [ʔ] or [k] speakers). Snowball sampling was of advantage during this period of research for each participant could bring their friends to take part in the organized focus group. After the organization of groups, the researcher has informed her participants that the objective of her project is to gather information about cultures and traditions of the different places in Tlemcen. The informants were happy and shewed to be welcoming and volunteer to take part in the research. Focus group key actors were asked to debate and discuss in dialectal Arabic in order to 'explicitly' help them talk and enjoy the talk, but the 'implicit' motivation behind that is, for the researcher, to see how they interact using their home variety once being in a group.

Experimental focus groups were systematically planned according the linguistic and social variables that form the nucleus of the study. Linguistically speaking, the

researcher has formed groups according to their home variety. By paying attention to their number, key actors were first put in groups of similar backgrounds including the spoken variety as well as regions they have come from or places of residence. This helped to observe how they interact when having an in-group discussion. Additionally, the groups were categorized according to gender: two groups of females and two groups of males (each from the same social background); then one mixed group (of both genders and different backgrounds) to test and explore the changes from one group to the other.

Focus group discussions took place in the library of Mohamed Dib, Department of English, University of Tlemcen. They ranged from 40 to 100 minutes of speech depending on the motivation and devotion of the participants. The researcher played the moderator and creator of debates. For this, she needed to record the discussions via her cell-phone which helped her in the process of later analysis, in case some details were forgotten while taking notes during the group conversation. (for more details on the organization of work, see the table 2.6)

The second phase employed as a helping tool for the focus group instrument of data collection was the verbal-guise technique. This technique has for a primary goal to collect information about people's attitudes towards a given aspect or a linguistic manifestation in general. After finishing the discussion about the three proposed topics on customs, traditions and special regional events, the researcher introduced her participants to four different pieces of speech. Those pieces of speech were pre-organized and recorded by the researcher herself and a male friend of hers (to include the gender variable). They included 'saying the same thing using different varieties' which are of focus in our study. The researcher played the recordings (of nearly one minute each) and tried to notice how the focus group key actors reacted to them. Those reactions and comments have been taken as perceptions and evaluative (positive or negative) attitudes towards the different varieties spoken in Tlemcen that is, which one to be more likely appreciative or stigmatized by the key actors.

Table (2.6) summarizes the different steps in conducting focus group discussions. It is adopted from Krueger (2002) on designing and conducting focus group discussions.

Table 2.6. Steps of focus group conduction

Step 1	Plan the entire FGD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What activities need to be planned? • Is there the need for a resource person? • Role of resource person in training field staff. 	<p>Primary goal: Performing speech using dialects</p> <p>Resource people were the researcher's students coming from different regions. They provided her with an overview of the linguistic situation taking place in those areas.</p>
Step 2	Decide what types of groups are needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Method of sampling (selection criteria) • Composition of groups • Number of groups • Group size • Contacting and informing participants. 	<p>Criteria of sampling: age, gender, origin, residence</p> <p>Groups division: according to gender and the variety spoken (5 groups from each category)</p> <p>Size: Each group consists of 6 key actors in addition to the researcher (as a moderator)</p> <p>Participants were contacted directly in face to face consent at university, by phone, via email.</p>
Step 3	Select moderator and field team	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field staff requirements • Moderator • Observer/recorder 	<p>The researcher was herself the group moderator, observer and recorder. She motivated her participants to speak and interact, meanwhile she was observing their behaviour and putting her phone on for recordings</p>
Step 4	Develop moderator's guide and format for recording responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure and sequence of topics • Wording of guide • Number of topics • Example of an FGD guide. 	<p>The topics were introduced in a cool manner so that to make the key actors at ease to answer. Three topics were questioned for discussion. They discussed traditions and customs of the regions of the participants.</p>

Step 5	Train field team and conduct pilot test	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training hints • Training package • Theory sessions • Practice sessions • On-going revision of FGD guide. 	<p>As most of the participants have had continuous contact with the researcher (mainly her students), some theoretical trainings have been introduced as part of the lecture. For example, in the courses of Sociolinguistics, and Research Methodology (LMD 3), the researcher used to ask direct questions about language variation to her students and whether they change their way of speaking or not and what are their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, etc. as such most of the key actors were theoretically and practically ready to take part in the focus group discussions. Therefore, participants (the researcher's students) went directly to Focus Group practical sessions</p>
Step 6	Prepare for the individual FGDs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Site selection and location for FGD • Date and time • Plan for supporting materials or FGD checklist. 	<p>Location: Tlemcen University's library</p> <p>Timing: In the free time of both the researcher and her informants</p> <p>Exact dates: FGD dates vary in the two academic years end of 2018-2019/ beginning of 2019-2020)</p>
Step 7	Conduct the FGD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting the Discussion • Introduction • Warm-up • Discussion • Wrap-up summary • Debriefing 	<p>Phase 1: Discussion about some topics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topic a/ Ramadhan traditions • Topic b/ Wedding ceremonies • Topic C/ Special customs/ events particular to the area they live in

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collecting and managing information in FGD. 	<p>Phase 2: Evaluating pieces of speech (verbal-guise technique)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Piece a/ [ʔ] Variety • Piece b/ [q] Variety • Piece c/ [g] Variety • Piece d/ [k] variety <p>Each topic has been devoted an introduction so that to warm-up the informants for discussion. The researcher has explained that the discussion should be in ‘Algerian Arabic’ (as an umbrella term so that not to mention the term dialect and reflect bias). The discussion of each topic ranged from 15 to 35 minutes</p>
Step 8	Analyse and interpret FGD results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much analysis is required? • Debriefing; • Notes; • Transcripts; and log book • Writing the report • Interpretation of findings • Example of format of an FGD report. 	Discussed in the following chapter

Source: adopted from Krueger (2002)

As stated in the first chapter, Communication Accommodation Theory examines psychological facts behind individual style shifting and some of the social consequences; it also explains motivation for speech convergence and/ or divergence. These two aspects have been tested and answered after the use of the verbal guise technique. This research instrument is a tool to gather people's points of view regarding the diversity and change touching the linguistic varieties used in their speech community. As a matter of fact, speakers' attitudes towards the assumed emerging koiné are of great importance in order to see how they value it. It also allowed the researcher to predict the characterization of this Tlemcenian dialectal lingua franca. In addition to people's positive and negative attitudes and evaluation of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community, this technique paved the way to investigate other concepts including:

a) Social approval: to what extent it is accepted to be used on the expense of the mother tongue;

b) Status of social identity: with the presence of this koiné, do speakers consider their identity (which is generally related and mirrored by the dialect used) as threatened or still preserved?

c) Motivation of material, psychic, and social interests and rewards behind the use or non-use regional koiné. That is, we attempt to reveal the socio-psychological interests of the speakers keeping or diverging the home variety.

Three: Semi-structured interviews and recordings

After finishing the group discussions, the researcher requested the same members to come for individual interviews. The aim of the interview, at this stage, was not basically to observe how people speak. Rather, our aim was to elicit other answers which were thought to play a role in the explanation of certain linguistic phenomena manifested by youngsters with regard to dialectal use. In ethnographic research, this type of interviewing is known as a retrospective one for it provides useful information about

individual participants which help the researcher organize and classify individuals' perception of the linguistic reality that is taking place in Tlemcen speech community.

As planned to be quantitatively analysed, a set of structured questions was developed in different parts. The first part objective was to collect structural answers regarding: identity and personal details as age, gender, residence, and parents' origins, social and cultural interaction and integration in different background communities, and details related to attitudes. On the other hand, the interview's second part contained pictures and proverbs which were organized with the help of a 'revised' Swadesh list. This list involves, primarily, a set of words categorized according body parts, activities, adjectives, opposites, etc. The interviewer has adopted this list according to the needs of the study (see appendix). Interestingly, whereas the first part regarded detailed explanatory participants' interpretations, the second part included pictures to be named and proverbs to be completed. For this reason, in the first part, informants were free to answer in any language or variety they wanted: English, French, Algerian Arabic, etc. however, the second one was asked to be answered using the dialects only in order to get the needed phonological, morphological and lexical data.

The interview was employed at the end of the investigation, the survey phase, for it is considered as a confirmation period. At this stage, research goals were explicit. The interviewer avoided grand tour questions and tried to pose specific questions in order to know, understand, and organize the participants' perception of the occurring linguistic events in Tlemcen speech community.

The interview was accompanied by another helping tool for data collection (as explained in figure 2.21). Making recordings was also of paramount importance at this phase of data collection. They were used for two essential purposes: first, to record the verbal consent of the participants which has also been taken in a written blanket (see appendix); and second, to document the answers for future transcriptions of speech and analysis.

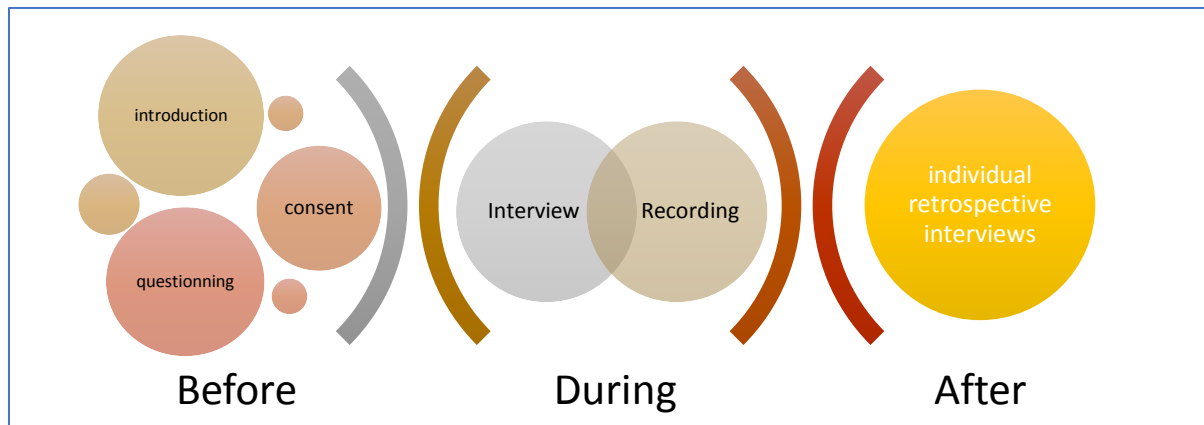


Figure 2.21. The process of data collection via the individual retrospective interview

The last part of the individual retrospective interview was about studying perceptions and attitudes. Because attitudes towards codes affect how speakers use and manipulate them, it makes it a very interesting and exciting point of investigation in sociolinguistic research. Among the different methods of collecting data about attitudes, the indirect one was our method. The reason for this lies in the fact that attitudes can be better elicited through the indirect methods (not by asking direct rigid questions like: what is your opinion about this?) and results are surely different (Garrett, 2010: 42-43). The technique that we have opted for is to present recordings of speech of regional dialects, different from those played during the focus group, performed by the researcher herself; this is what Lambert et al. (1960) label as the matched-guise technique.

At this phase, the researcher has followed the steps provided by Meyerhof et al. (2015: 84-85):

1. **Contextual frame:** preparing the guidelines that contextualize the recordings as for example to mention the same context and content for the pieces of speech said in all the dialects.
2. **Making the recordings:** the recordings were made by the researcher herself. The aim for this was not to influence the listener's perception in terms of quality of voice.

3. **Testing the recordings:** this phase is equal to what we do in questionnaires as a piloting step. The recordings were played afterwards in front of the researcher's friend in order to be sure that the speech was fine and clear and understandable.
4. **The social attributes:** the aim behind varying the speech was to see the evaluation according to certain social attributes, i.e., scales of speech evaluation such as superiority, attractiveness, dynamicity (Zahn and Hopper 1985). This scale was provided later to the respondents.
5. **Creating the survey:** in addition to the recordings, some tasks and activities were given to the informants as tasks of speech evaluation (explained in details later).
6. **Running the survey:** playing the recordings, listening to them, and answering the questions were all administered as a final part of the interview.
7. **Collecting data:** because the interviews were done individually, the data were collected according to each informant in a face-to-face conversation. The researcher helped her informants when things were not totally clear, but not to the level of influencing or diverging their opinions, in order to collect as much reliable data as possible.

Listening to the recordings was associated with two other activities. The first one was the map task. This tool is mainly used in projects of perceptual dialectology. It investigates people's beliefs about where dialect areas are situated, in which area certain dialect is spoken, what is the dialect spoken in a given regional or geographical area. The result is a mind/ mental map of regional speech areas (Preston 2013: 168).

Accordingly, the researcher has given an empty map of Tlemcen community with little details about some famous locations (figure 2.22). The respondents were asked to listen to the recordings and try to elicit from where the speaker is coming. The answers have been mentioned on the map in circles mentioning the belief of the respondent with regard to the origin and existence of a given variety. The objective behind this activity was to see which dialects are prominent as belonging to a given region and which form

can be ‘situated’ or spoken almost in all parts of the district. This activity was a very interesting one as informants thought of it as a challenge from one side, and as testing their knowledge about Tlemcen from the other side.

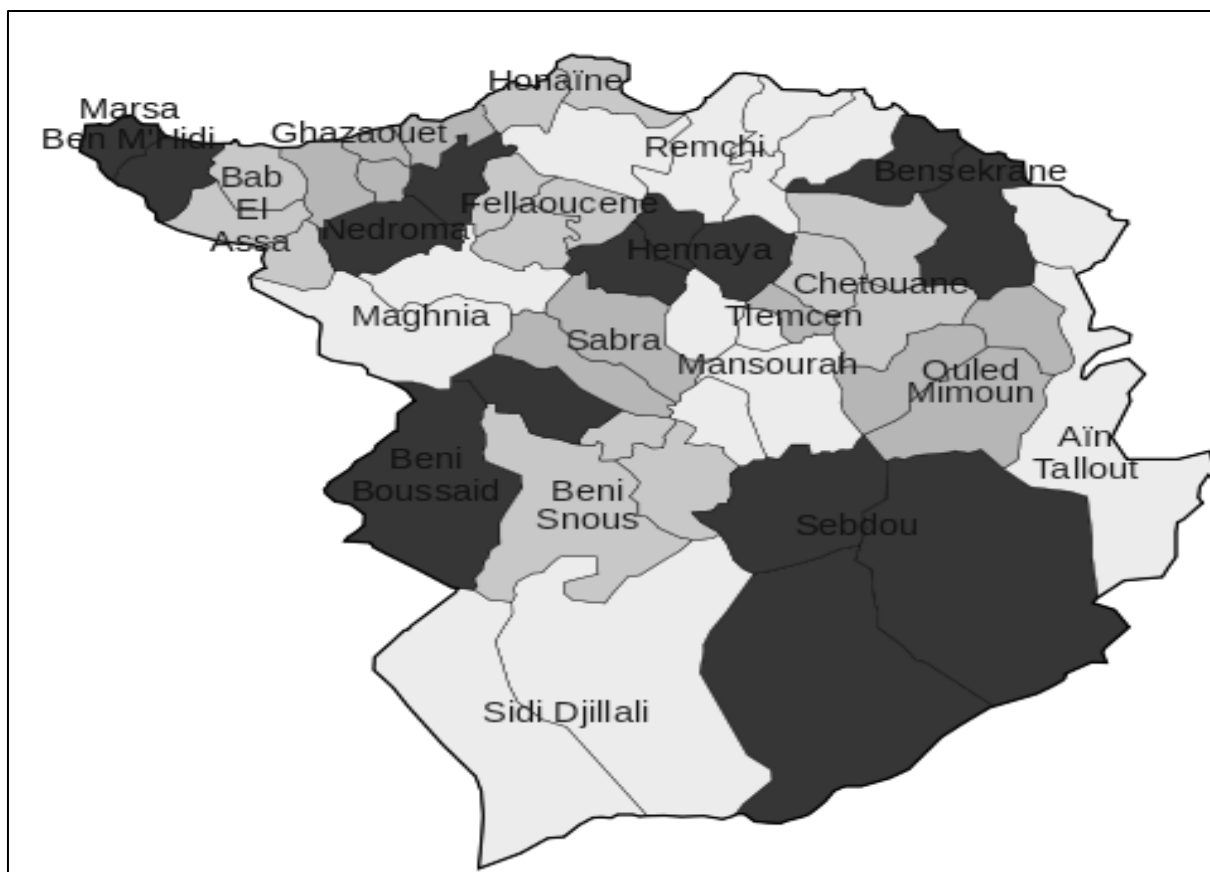


Figure 2.22. The map provided for participants during the ‘map task’

A last activity that was given was ‘the scale of speech evaluation’. In here, participants were asked to relisten to the recordings and try to evaluate them. The evaluation is of course a personal perception of each variety. Some criteria were given as which dialect is more superior/ clear/ attractive/ intelligible than the other (table 2.7).

Table 2.7. Explanation of the criteria of speech evaluation task

<u>Criteria</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Superiority	Which variety is socially highly valued?
Attractiveness	Which among the dialects is more socio-linguistically beautiful?
Dynamism	Which dialect is more dynamic than the others?
Clarity	Which of the varieties is clearer in pronunciation?
Intelligibility	Which regional dialect can be understood if spoken everywhere?
Accommodation	Which of the dialects can be easily accommodated?
Urbanisation	Which variety reflects the urban or rural distinctions?

What was asked from the informants at this level is to mention and classify the dialects according to the scale given. The scales provided to the participants are the variables that we need for later analysis (figure 2.23). Along this task, the researcher provided the necessary explanations when needed.

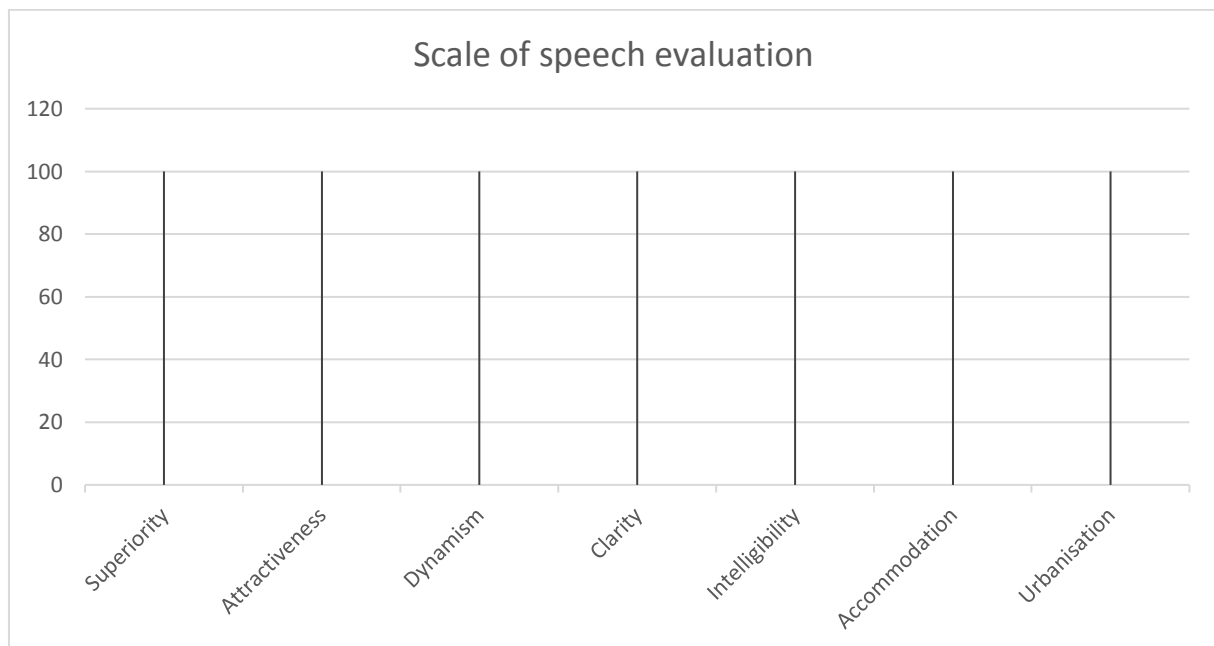


Figure 2.23. The scale of regional dialects evaluation

While conducting this part of perception study, some aspects needed to be taken into account. We tried as much as possible to keep things constant in the sense that they don't vary or change in order not to disturb the focus of the listen nor to affect their opinions. For example, the recordings should be similar in tone, pitch, hesitation, and content. Additionally, the researcher explained the activities whenever something was ambiguous or difficult to accomplish by the respondents.

2.4.8. Ethics of research

Much consideration has been attributed to the notion of research ethics. Surely and with no hesitation, the research has followed all the recommendations of methodology scholars as well as ‘human’ ethics in the procedures of her data collection. As data collection is divided into secondary and primary ones, the researcher has respected the former by giving credit to authors and referencing whenever needed; she has also respected norms of primary data collection starting from elaborating the questions until the concerns of participants’ identity and answers. Table (2.8) provides some research ethics put forward by Cohen et al. (2013: 51) and their application in the present study.

Table 2.8. Ethical consideration of the present research

Principle	Y	N	Application
Informed consent	+		Participants have been given a letter of consent where everything related to research is explained. Before embarking the investigation, informants agreed on the principles of research.
gaining access to and acceptance in the research setting	+		Before starting the fieldwork, the researcher has contacted all the responsible parties akin to the head of the department and the responsible of the library in order to have access to the library and have the focus groups there.
sources of tension in the ethical debate, including non-maleficence, beneficence and human dignity, absolutist and relativist ethics	+		The goal of investigation was clearly exposed. A part of the consent form includes that the research is purely scientific and has no other materialistic outcomes for neither side. The researcher was honest with her participants which reserves human dignity and principles.
problems and dilemmas confronting the researcher, including matters of privacy, anonymity, confidentiality, betrayal and deception	+		Aspects of participants’ privacy, anonymity and confidentiality were all respected. Of course, informants’ personal details are not to be mentioned unless when necessary during the research especially for the social

			variables needed for the analysis as gender, age, and residence.
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2.5. Conclusion

After dealing with the social and linguistic situation present in the studied speech community, Tlemcen, the researcher has devoted a great proportion of the chapter to methodology that underpin her study. Description and explanation about the process of research have been provided and their relevance and application have been explained in details.

Chapter Three: Formality and Koineization Process in Tlemcen Speech

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3.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses dialect variation in relation to formality. That is, we are expected to show the different linguistic criteria that are found in distinct contexts where formality levels diverge. This chapter is divided into two sections: the first one exposes the results related to the data of the casual contexts and the second section represents the data of formal contexts. Along the two sections, an explanation of koineization processes is provided in relation to the different levels of formality.

3.2. Formality

Formality has been defined differently by different scholars and researchers. One of the most important definitions relates formality to the amount of attention a speaker gives while addressing someone, and as Tarone (1988: 40) says, “when a speaker is systematically observed, a formal context is the defined, and the speaker pays more than the minimum amount of attention to speech.” Formality is considered as one of the social variables that influence one’s speech production and performance.

3.2.1. Formality and social distance

Formality levels decide which linguistic material or performances are to be used. It is therefore the degree of the formality of the context that determines the formality of the linguistic variables selected to be used in speech. Formal speech is used when the interlocutors are socially distant. Social distance refers to the fact that people belong to different backgrounds and social groups which can thus show divergent linguistic behaviours. Consequently, an unconscious reaction happens in the linguistic behaviour of speakers having a conversation either for the first time or with someone they don’t know; then the speech uttered is rigidly formal. Yet, once people get to know each other more, this rigidity of speech tends to lessen through time, experience and intimacy between speakers.

3.2.2. Styles of formality

Five styles of formality have been considered in the literature (Joos, 1967). First is the frozen style reflects the speech of formality that generally consists of printed language which is unchanged. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (p.

52), a frozen style often contains archaisms which refer to linguistic criteria that are no longer utilized. The second type consists of the formal style. It is actually a one-way conversation that is free of interruption and full of technical vocabulary. The third one is the consultative style that entails a two-way participation where the participants do not necessarily have background knowledge about each other. On this style, interactions and interruption are allowed as conversational feedback. A casual style is another type of formality style. It occurs among friends and people who are already acquainted with each other. The last style is the intimate one. As the term suggests, the intimate style is spoken in non-public contexts as a private set of linguistic features is used.

3.2.3. Formality levels

Formality has been subdivided into two categories by Heylighen & Dewaele, 1999, namely ‘surface formality’ and ‘deep formality’. Whereas understanding the language meaning is the deep level of formality, attention paid to the form is the surface level. The use of both levels depends on the context, type of formality and the purpose of the speaker whether they want to emphasize meaning or word use. In our study, we focus on surface formality since we are interested in knowing the linguistic items that are used in formal and casual contexts.

3.3. Section One: Informal Speech

The first section in this chapter deals with the data that have been obtained from the ethnographic research including jotting notes and the survey questionnaire that were collected as part of informal and casual conversations.

3.3.1. Results of the ethnographic survey: piloting the concept of formality

In the process of society investigation, a survey questionnaire has been structured. The aim of this questionnaire (see appendix) is to pilot and verify the existence of the concept of formality and its types within the community of practice and among people living in Tlemcen. Interestingly, 270 copies (out of 300) have been gathered from a large number of university students aged between 19 and 47, males and females residing in different regions of Tlemcen, and speaking the dialect corresponding to their area of residence (table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Information about the questionnaire respondents

Male respondents			Female respondents		
In-Tlemcen	N° 39	P. 52%	In-Tlemcen	N° 77	P. 39.49%
Out-Tlemcen	N° 36	P. 48%	Out-Tlemcen	N° 118	P. 60.51%
Total N°	75	100%	Total N°	195	100%

As the frozen type has been excluded from the study, the four other types have been maintained to be investigated. Therefore, the researcher has put four different addressees as examples representing the four types of formal contexts including: the headmaster (formal), a stranger (consultative), a friend (casual) and family (intimate). Respondents have been asked to provide the expressions they might use in ten different situations which involve 1) welcoming, 2) excusing, 3) saluting, 4) asking for help, 5) refusing something, 6) wishing for something, 7) commenting on something, 8) giving condolences, 9) inviting for an occasion, and 10) showing anger about something. Results are as follows.

1* The variety used with the four addressees

Four varieties have been explained to the respondents including the home variety (HV) which is the dialect spoken at home, a common dialect (CD) which is a variety that can be understood by everyone without inserting regional-specific items in it, standard language (SL) which refers to Standard Arabic and finally foreign language (FL) which can either be French or English. Respondents' answers are portrayed in the following figures according to each context and addressee.

a/ with the headmaster

Figure (3.1) summarizes answers related to the varieties used once talking to the headmaster. Starting by male speakers, we notice that the HV and FL are less used than the SL and CD which is favoured by speakers living in Tlemcen; as opposed to that, a good number of respondents living outside the city of Tlemcen said they use their HV but the CD is much more utilized in such a formal situation. When discussing data related to females, Tlemcenians (in) showed an excessive use of their HV and FL

whereas the CD is not that much appreciated once addressing their headmasters; by contrast, females (out) little use of their HV and a welcoming to CD, SL and FL.

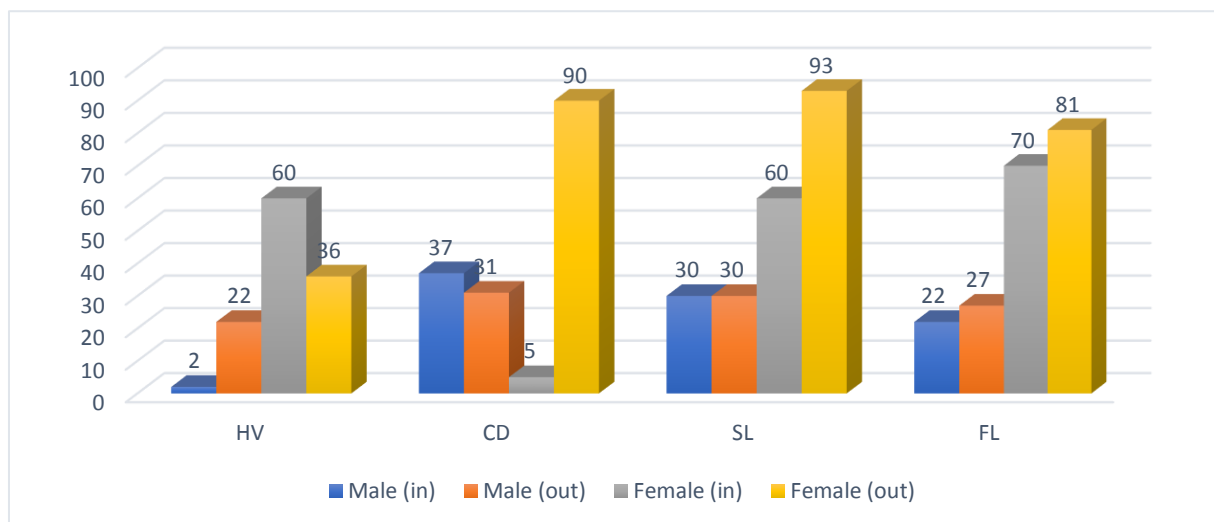


Figure 3.1. Results of the varieties used in a formal context (with the headmaster)

b/ with a stranger

Once addressing a stranger, the medium of conversing changes. We notice higher numbers of CD, SL and FL use in favour of HV. Therefore, the consultant type of formality nearly excludes the dialect used at home when talking to someone we have no idea or information about.

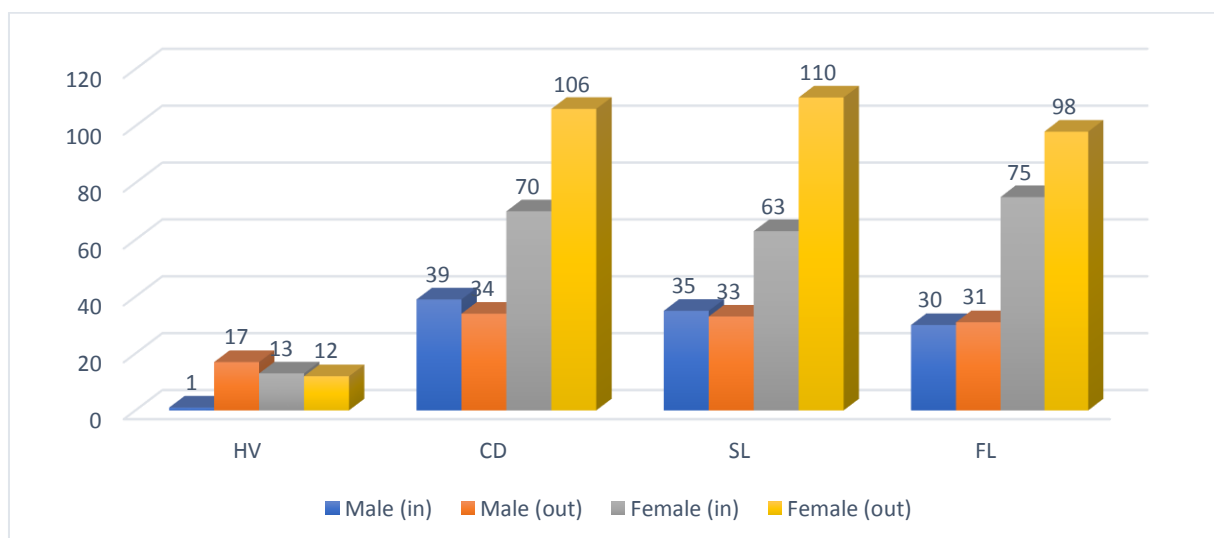


Figure 3.2. Results of the varieties used with a stranger

c/ with a friend

As illustrated in figure (3.3), SL is never used with friends along with the foreign language. Respondents stress out the use of their home tongues (100% of all proportions) and sometimes the common dialect. One can explain this in relation to the psychological comfort that speakers have with their friends as well as the period of time they are supposed to spend with each other which probably allows them to use some words and expressions that are common between the two varieties and understood by the two parties as they don't include regional specificities. CD is much more preferred by Tlemcenian males and non-Tlemcenian females.

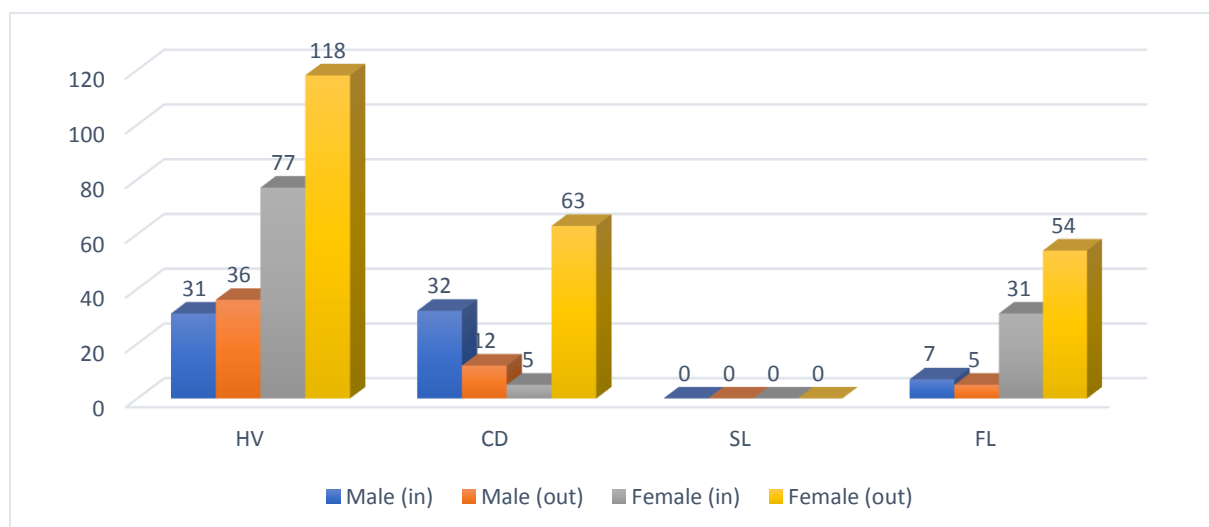


Figure 3.3. Results of the varieties used in a casual context (with a friend)

d/ with family

Family is an intimate context where constraints of language or dialect use are not very offending. This is naturally provided by the respondents. Figure below shows that SL and CD are not used by any of the speakers. The HV is surely utilized and some respondents have mentioned the use of FL with their family; a fact that we have related to the reason that all the respondents are university students who are influenced by the language they have learned or the language they are taught with.

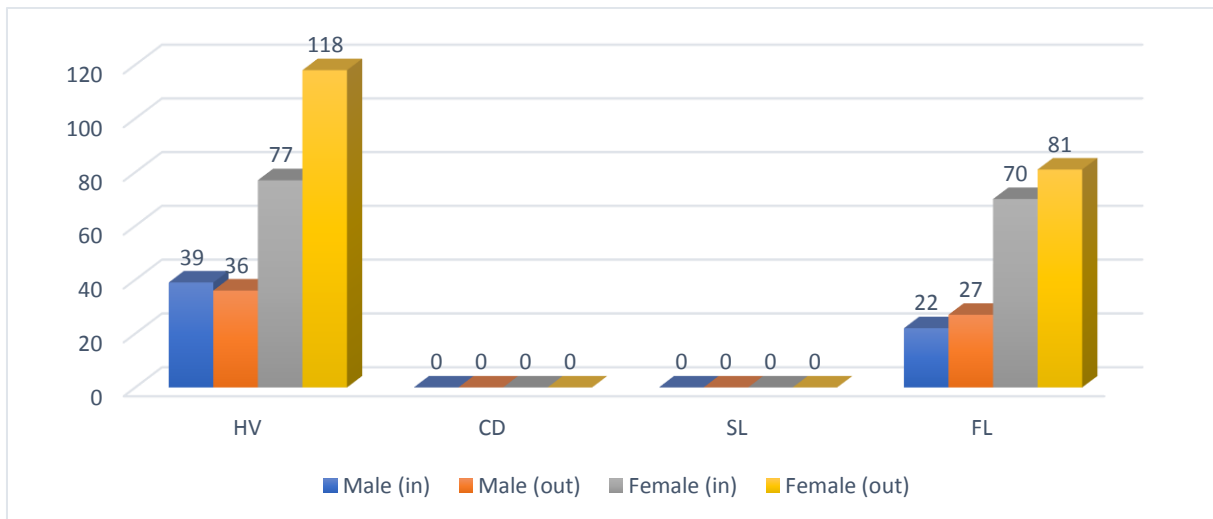


Figure 3.4. Results of the varieties used in an intimate context (with the family)

Table 3.2. The expressions used in the proposed situations

Addressee Situation	Headmaster (formal)	Stranger (consultative)	Friends (casual)	Family (intimate)
Welcoming	MarHba bik shix Salam alaykoum, tfedhel Bonjour monsieur	Salam xouya MarHba bik SaHbi	Zaretna lbaraka Hada ghi nta 3awed arwaH ahla sel3a ahla soHba kifesh	Ahlaa maarHbaa
Excusing	smaHli shix wallah ghi smaHli maqsedtsh ne3tader menek shix welah l3adim rani 7eshman menek ghi smaHli nchallah matet3awedsh	smaHli sadiq smaHelna Hbibi wellah ma bel3ani awedi ghi smaHelna ya l?ax	smaH wela matesmaHsh Ya xouya yek ta3refni kideyer Yla bghit za3ma smaHli	Mashi bel3ani Mate3awedsh
Saluting	salam salam shix, kirak	Salam Ça va wella	mrigal fayen washa maraksh tban	ahlaa salaam
Asking help	lah yxellik ma3lish t3aweni rani meHtaja momkin Talab ostad neTolbak ma3lish yla tenjem t3aweni rani qaSdek f Haja	xouya tqad t3aweni ma3lish t3aweni rebi yaHafDek lah yesetrek Hbibi	arwaH 3andna mission rwaH neHtajak ila bghit ey neHtajek fi haja	ma3lich...?
Refusing	smahli manenjemsh maneqdersh wallah smahli man2adsh la, wellah ghi smahli	smahli smahli manqedsh wallah manqed ya l?ax	laa nta ga3 rak tza3aq berka m shkil nxemem w ngoullek	laa ewa golna laa laa ssi laaa ewa 3effouna

	nshoufah amr mliH beSaH maynasebnish			
Wishing	loukan ghi netmena mn qalbi nchalah tesdaqli golt yarit loukan	wellaH madabiya nchalah ya rebi	3la rabi	nchaallah ga3 teslek
Commenting	wassem had lexber ahh d'accord sma3t wesh sra shix	bessaH?	alaa meneytek goul wellah iya w kifesh w sha sra tani	eeh
Condolences	lah y3addam l2ajer 3addama laho ajrakoum lbaraka frouSkoum qadara lah wama sha2a fa3al	3addama laho ajrakoum	3addam laho ajrakoum rebi yseberkoum kan nas mlah meskine yadra washa xalla	lbaraka frouSkoum
Inviting	bghit na3ardek shix rak ma3rouD tsherrefna netmena teqbel da3wa bghitek taHder m3ana rik ma3rouD nessenawek	yla teqder tji marHba bik marHba bik 3adna	ghi rwaH matjib walou rwaH tet3asha matjish mateshqash tji ga3 dar darek rak ma3rouD bla mangoullek bessif 3lik teHder	marHba bikoum ni 3arDetkoum tjou yek !!
Showing anger	smaHli mais manish ghaya estaghfiro lah smaHli manzidsh nahder mashi haka wellah	smaHli nrouH xoya mashi 3afsa	matnervinish iya berka nsha3tni rabani	booh ewa xlas

3.3.2. Formality and politeness in Tlemcen dialect

The data reported on the table (3.2) stress two different interrelated concepts namely formality and politeness strategies as well promoted by the respondents. Formal contexts denote the degree of politeness strategies used in addition to the style used. The data analyzed bring the conclusion that Tlemcen people are aware of this relational triangle (formality, politeness, style) and therefore are seen to differentiate between the contexts and which expressions to use in each. Whereas conversations with the headmaster tend to be very polite and formally structured, conversations with friends seem to be very casual, if not intimate, and less politeness strategies are used except from the part of some females.

As for dialect use and degrees of formality in relation to politeness, and although speakers tend to use their home variety in their answers, speech seems refined in the sense that expressions, words and even variants are well chosen before being used. For example, with a friend, a girl can, in a funny manner, address her mate saying [xayr xayr] ‘good good’ to mean ‘good morning’ but will never dare to use it with her headmaster and instead [sbaH lxir shix] ‘good morning sir’ is formally spoken. Similarly, many males have been noticed to use the word [washa] or [fayen] or [kifesh] to mean ‘hello’ which can only be used with mates and friends but can never be uttered with a headmaster or a stranger. Words such as [xouya] and [saHbi] and [Hbibi] with their feminine equivalents respectively as [xti], [saHabti] and [Hbibaba] can be used with friends as well as with strangers as being polite expressions to address someone we don’t know. Such expressions can never be used with a headmaster even if we do not know them. Some expressions tend to be somehow ‘standard’ and can be used by everyone to everyone like [3aDama laho ajrakom], [lbaraka f riSankoum] for condolences to someone for the death of a member of their family.

Consequently, it can be concluded that the use of dialect can surely be implemented in whatever type of context in Tlemcen society (in addition to code-switching to French or English which is not our concern in this work). People from different origins, regional areas and backgrounds show an awareness of which words to use and in which context. The home variety is avoided if the addressee is the headmaster

or a stranger (formal and consultative contexts) but can be with friends and mates if they are deeply acquainted with each other; if not some words and even variants need to be changed as is the case for Ghazaouatee people with say Tlemcenian friends. Thus, we notice that even when the social distance is minimized, change can occur with respect to the region of the addressee. Change occurs, not necessarily to the addressee's variety but usually, to a common one that is more understood and accepted by both parties.

3.3.3. Analysis of ethnographic jotting notes

This part of research has been essentially inspired by the approach of the ethnography of communication and its inherent techniques including participant observation and jotting (field) notes implemented in the collection of qualitative data. The question that we have started with is: what are the objectives of my ethnographic field work? And which results are expected to be drawn from long term observation of many cases?

Indeed, the former purpose of implementing this method of research was to achieve substantial descriptions related to dialect use and change in relation to group entities in Tlemcen community as a whole. This idea can be broken down into the below objectives: first, describing the interactional practices and the verbal rituals that are used by the participants to possibly form a koiné among youngsters to eliminate social and cultural difference especially when it comes to casual and informal contexts; second, investigating the resources based upon which this stereotype-free dialect is built by giving more consideration to the dialectal features used or avoided; and third, studying the importance of different discursive styles in conversations occurring in different formality contexts as either part of the home variety or the koiné.

Analysis of the data collected throughout months of ethnographic observations to sociolinguistic practices in Tlemcen community is equivalent to a telling of a story or a number of stories to present a coherent analysis of the linguistic aspect of the people observed in Tlemcen society. From a mess of fieldnote data to readable information is a process that went through line-by-line and even word-by-word categorization of specific notes related to the use of the selected variables under investigation in different formal

and casual contexts which have been considered as major themes for the final ethnographic report.

1. Phonology

First, we will bring the results related to phonological variation undergoing through koineization within Tlemcenian Arabic. The studied consonantal variants reveal lots of processes starting from mixing where the two variants co-exist to levelling where one variant is avoided in favour of a more socially and culturally accepted one till focusing which refers to some variants as being stabilized. All these aspects foster our global hypothesis related to the emergence of a regional koiné in Tlemcen community.

1.1. (q) variation in casual (informal) contexts

Literature shows that this variable has three main variants in the spoken Arabic dialects namely [q] and [ʔ] which are purely urban and [g] which is bedouin in nature. The documented results showed the parallel occurrence of the three variants in casual conversations despite the origin or the area where the speaker comes from. Yet, the use of the variable and its variants is shown to be restricted to certain rules known by all the speakers except those who try to accommodate and do not have enough knowledge about the dialect they are accommodating to; thence, hypercorrection occurs. Beside the hypercorrection issue of convergence, the rules of (q) use are summarized as follows:

***Free variation:** in this case, all the variants can be used interchangeably depending on the origins of the speaker without any effect on the meaning.

***Complementary distribution:** in this case, if one variant is replaced by another one, meaning will be affected. For example: [qar3a/ ʔar3a] and [gar3a] while the first means ‘a bottle’, the second means ‘a bald woman’.

***Words originally from standard Arabic:** in this case, words are to be said in Arabic only and the variant [q] is the only socially correct pronunciation. For example: [taqafa] ‘culture’, [taqalid] ‘traditions’, [roqya] ‘reciting the Quran’.

***Words borrowed from other dialects:** in this case only [g] is used in all the varieties. For instance, [gitoun] ‘tent’, [gorga3], [yregab] ‘to look from above’, [ygawed] ‘to hold the hand’, [Hogra] ‘unjustice’, [gmata] ‘the cover of the baby’.

***Words where [g] is a hypercorrection:** in this case, there are some words that the speaker can only use [q], [k] and [ʔ] but never [g] and even in the dialect of rural areas, [g] is not used. For instance, [qraya/ 2raya/ *graya] ‘*studies*’, [qerftan/ ʔerftan/ *garftan] ‘*a traditional dress*’, [qmeja/ ʔmeja/ *gmeja] ‘*suit*’, [qesh/ ʔesh/ *gash] ‘*clothes*’, [z3aqa/ z3aʔa/ *z3aga] ‘*fun*’, [tesyaq/ tesyaʔ/ *tesyag] ‘*cleaning the floor*’, [qent/ ʔent/ *gant] ‘*a corner*’, [yseqsi/ ySeʔsi/ *ysegsi] ‘*ask*’, [qmesh/ ʔmesh/ *gmash] ‘*tissue*’.

***Words borrowed from French or foreign languages:** in this case, words are pronounced with the same variant, otherwise it will be a hypercorrection and the word will be considered as socially incorrect. For example, [gato] ‘*cake*’ cannot be pronounced as [ʔato] or [qato]. [garo] ‘*cigarettes*’ cannot be said as [qaro] or [ʔaro].

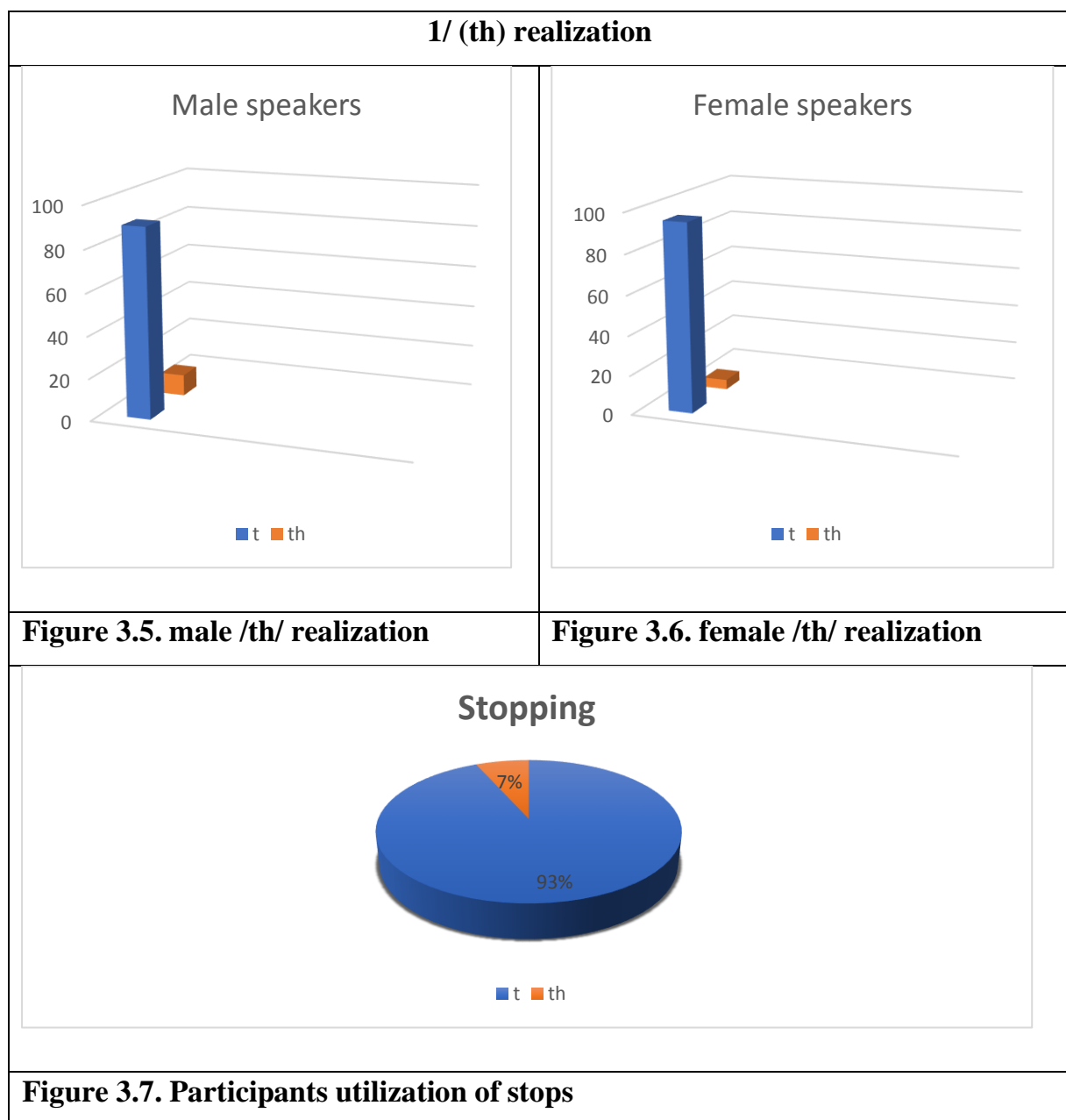
By pouring these results into the koineization model, one deduces that (q) undergoes two different processes: first, mixing; second, socio-stylistic reallocation.

1.2. Interdental variation in casual (informal) contexts

One of the most interesting results obtained from field observations is that not only can we relate dialect change in Arabic communities to realizations of (q) but also to the pronunciation of interdentals. I thought that it is of great importance to check the occurrence or avoidance of interdentals in casual speech rather than formal one since many observations of many cases (including those self-investigated in administration at my workplace) have shown that interdentals do not occur in the speech of any of the students or parents or even guests whom I have received. Casual contexts or intimate ones when the occasion allows me to spy on that or to reflect on certain conversations among best friends, married couples, phone conversations, are thought to be more precise to deduce and ensure that interdentals are really disappearing from the speech of Tlemcenian people of different ages and coming from different regional areas. Surprisingly, the use of interdentals by rural people showed a lot to do with identity affiliation for some (mainly coming from Sebdou and Ouled Mimoun) who really had

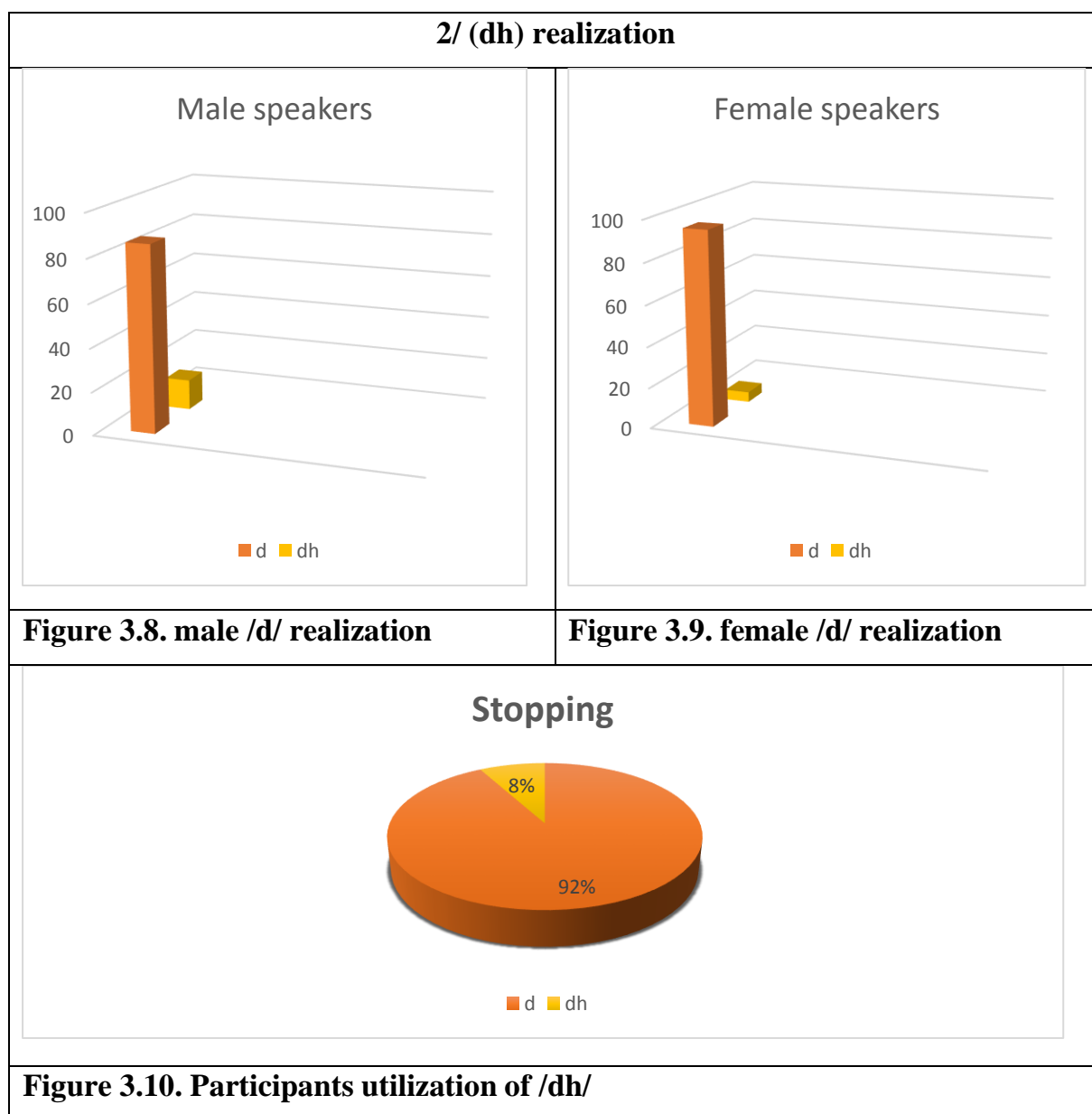
to emphasize their belonging and pride (not to say ‘stressing it’ to others) where they are coming from (explained in the next chapter through group discussion with the participants). However, the big majority of people observed showed the operation of stopping.

Stopping refers to the articulatory operation of shifting from an interdental pronunciation to a dental allophonic realization. A careful observation to 150 participants coming from different regions and aged between 17 and 70 including 100 females and 50 males result in the following diagrams.



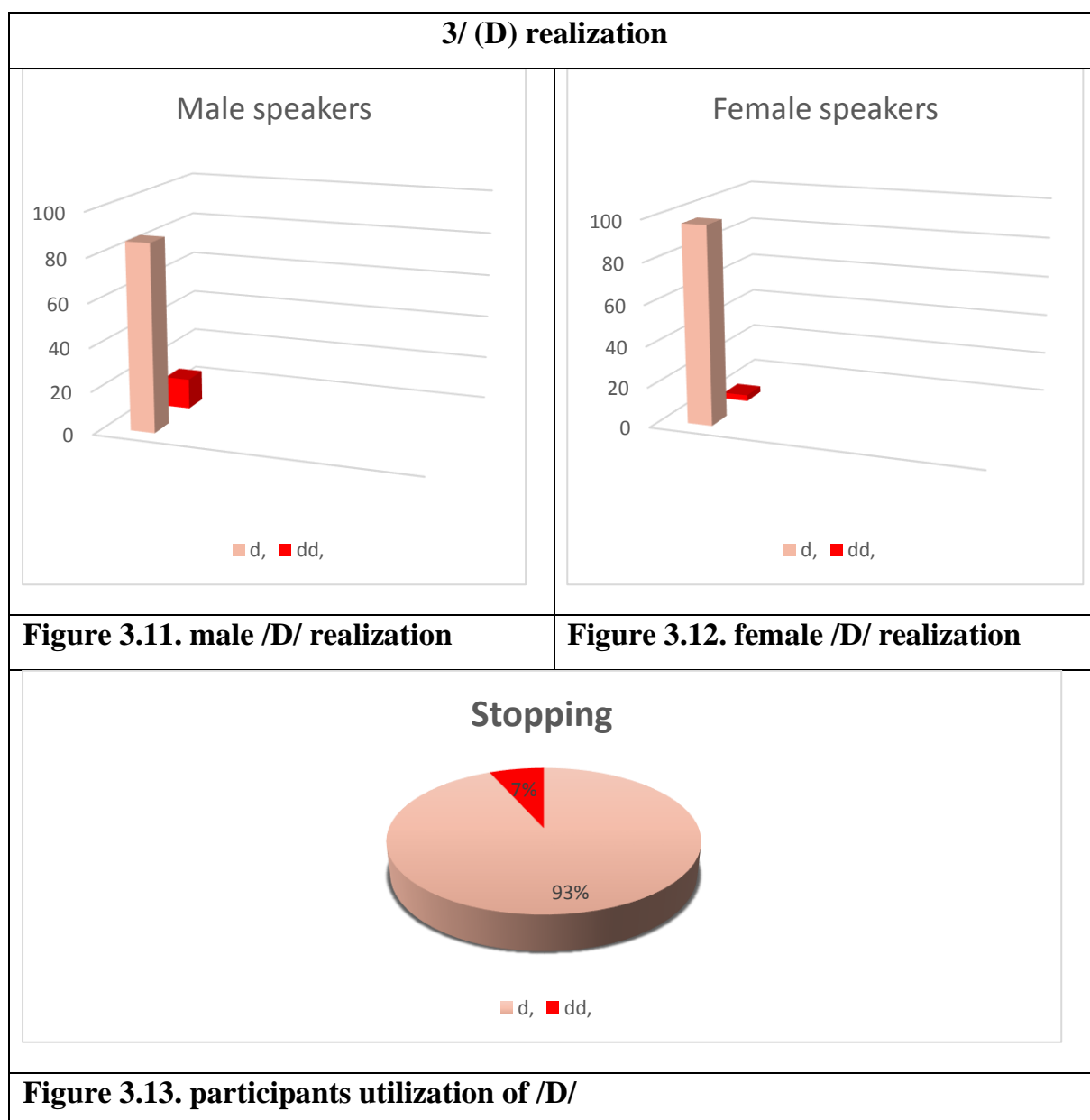
Results talk for themselves. The variable (th) is obviously and by the big majority (93%) translated as [t]. There isn't a big difference between males' and females' performances as the final results of those uttering [th] in their speech tends to be 7% only. Words containing [t] variation can be exemplified as: [tema] instead of [thama] 'there', [toun] instead of [thawm] 'garlic', [temtem] instead of [themthem] 'right away', [tiqa] instead of [thiqa] 'confidence', [tlata] instead of [tlatha] 'three', [tmeniya] instead of [thmaniya] 'eight', [b3atli] instead of [b3athli] 'he sent to me', [ymetelna] instead of [ymethalna] 'he represents us', [mitel] instead of [mithel] 'an example', etc.

Results related to the other interdentalals are highlighted in the following diagrams:



A similar conclusion can be driven from the data related to (dh) realizations. A big majority of participants (92%) realize (dh) as [d] in expressions as [hada] instead of [hadha] ‘this’, [hadak] instead of [hadhak] ‘that’, [hadouk] instead of [hadhouk] ‘those’, [draʃ] instead of [dhraʃ] ‘hand’. Those who have kept the [dh] pronunciation are people originally from Sebdou and Ouled Mimoun (they were from the work-surroundings of the researcher; I had close observations to their linguistic behaviour which allows me to gather enough knowledge about them, their origins and the dialect they use).

And for the third variable, results proceed as follows:



Not surprising the realizations related to (D) are. Speakers observed use [D or d] in expressions such as [derwek] instead of [DHarwak] ‘now’, [Damir] instead of [DHamir] ‘self-reflection’, [Dohr] instead of [DHohr] ‘afternoon’, [De13a] instead of [DHal3a] ‘bone’, [maDi] instead of [maDHi] ‘past’, [Dya3a] instead of [DHya3a] ‘loss’, [taH’Dir] instead of [taH’DHir] ‘preparation’, [waD3iya] instead of [waDH3ya] ‘position’. Only 7% of the participants retain the rural pronunciation; they involve the same proportion cited earlier.

2. Morphology

Despite the fact that casual contexts entail less attention to speech, many remarks have been observed in the performances of participants. As stated earlier, these remarks have been taken from concrete conversations taking place in the street, buses, stations, corridors, shops, restaurants, and every place surrounding student’s environment. These remarks have been taken down in the researcher’s book of jotting notes then summarized in the following conclusions.

a/ (-u) ruralization by males

This process entails from urban dialect speakers the substitution of their native [-u] in for example [2al-u:] ‘he told him’, by the rural [-ah] as in [gall-ah] ‘he told him’. This linguistic operation has been mainly performed by Tlemcenian males. Some instances taken from concrete conversations include: [mal-ah] ‘what’s wrong with him’, [wasem ydirl-ah] ‘what will he do to him’, [wasem gal-ah] ‘what did he tell him’, [mafhamtch 3lesh terd-ah] ‘I didn’t understand why he has fired him’, [kish darl-ah] ‘how he acts with him’, [shHel meditl-ah] ‘how much did you give to him’, [shHel sawemt-ah] ‘how much have you proposed to him’, [shHel naHal-ah] ‘how much did he reduce’, [3andash jab-ah] ‘when did he bring him’. By contrast, rural males keep always using this variant as is the case for females (out); urban Tlemcenians kept using the (-u) in their speech except in some cases where they quote someone, for example: [ewa sheft 2assem ?al-u? meditl-ah wela mameditl-ahsh?] ‘have you seen what he has said to him, have you given it to him or not’, or they make fun of something or of their own speech, for example a female addressing her colleague, in a casual discussion about herbs and

their effects to the virus, saying: [ewa c'est mon accent manbedl-ah-sh 3la xatrek, tezzad tesma3 Hanak t?oul saHter kifesh Hta tekber w twelli tgoull-ah za3tar] *'that's my accent I won't change it because of you, it's my grandmother's speech and I was raised on that accent'*.

b/ (-iw) sedentarization by rural people

An expression like 'they will come' is translated in two different pronunciations in the varieties spoken in Tlemcen: one as [yj-o] which is the rural realization and two as [yj-iw] which is the urban. Despite the fact that a restricted number of tokens has been given to the rural variant, some old people or younger speakers coming from villages and who do not have lots of contact with urban speakers still use [-o] in expressions as [yemsh-o] *'they go'*, [yepropos-o] *'they suggest'*, [yfilm-o] *'they film'*, [yejr-o] *'they run'*. But these cases are very few when compared to those when the urban variant is used even by rural speakers and even once being in casual contexts. Therefore, instead of the formerly cited ones, these expressions are realized instead: [yemsh-iw], [yepropos-iw], [yfilm-iw], [yejr-iw] respectively. Other words include: [ywass-iw] *'they get worried'*, [yzah-iw] *'they are vivid'*, [ymotiv-iw] *'they motive'*, [ysha-hiw] *'they look tasty'*, [ylonc-iw] *'they start'*, [ysoufr-iw] *'they suffer'*, [yrisk-iw] *'they take the risk'*, [yshok-iw] *'they make us shocked'*, [ypous-iw] *'they push'*, [ynaj-iw] *'they swim'*, [nseleksion-iw] *'we select'*, [nreport-iw] *'we cancel'*, [ndefoul-iw] *'we change the mood'*, [nchang-iw] *'we change'*, [nvot-iw] *'we vote'*, etc.

c/ (-i:n) is better used over (ayn) and (aayen)

Observations of casual conversations among people have shed light on the dual forms used. Suggesting that in order to say 'two hours', you have either [sa3tayen] or [sa3tayn] when the former is urban and the second is rural have been examined. Surprisingly, participants are seen to avoid both allophonic morphemes in favour of another one which is apparently urban in nature by saying 'sa3tin' instead. We do not neglect that the two first mentioned ones were observed to be still used but the majority of cases include the third intermediate form. Expressions where the variant has occurred

include: [youmin] ‘two days’, [simantin] ‘two weeks’, [shahrin] ‘two months’, [3amin] ‘two years’, [mitin] ‘two hundred’, [alfin] ‘two thousands’.

d/ (Øfem) depends on the awareness of the speaker

As far as the last morphological variable that addressing a female for example ‘to eat’, one can either say the urban [kul-Ø] or the rural [kul-i] is concerned, data have shown a mixing situation among participants in casual contexts. Urban females along with a big majority of males show maintenance to the urban variant [Ø] when addressing females; rural dialect speakers show also maintenance to their variant [-i]. Some instances of the expressions used include: [g3od-Ø vs. go3di] ‘sit’, [rfed-Ø vs. refdi] ‘take’, [kHoz-Ø vs. koHzi] ‘move’. What is of great importance and interest is that male participants who are originally Tlemcenian, even if they tend to use many aspects from the rural variety in their speech as [g], they rarely (if not never) shown to use the rural variant [-i] when addressing females. When I have approached some of my students (males) and close friends on why they use [g] and [-ah] but keep addressing females the same way they do in their home variety, all of them agreed on two points that: 1) this variant is not “power-threatening” in the sense that it is not stigmatized as much as is the glottal stop which indeed threatens their masculinity and therefore social power linguistically speaking; and 2) this phenomenon is tightly related to the speaker’s awareness and attention to his speech in the sense that most males do not pay much attention to this variant as they do with others nor are they aware of its salience socially; so they keep using it in their speech without feeling the necessity to change.

3. Lexis

Lexical variation has been one of the most challenging parts in this phase of the study as the researcher was not acquainted with the dialects spoken in Ghazaouet and some remote areas as Beni Snous and villages around. Yet, I have tried to draw a map on how to write notes on vocabulary difference (see appendix). The choice of those words has been inspired from the key terms suggested by Bouamrane (1991) for verbs and Heath (2002) in his dialectal approach to Moroccan Arabic and the remaining sets

have been a fellow to Labeled's (2014) PhD project on Oran dialect koineization processes.

The coming table (3.3) explains variation in the vocabulary used by the observed speakers in casual and spontaneous conversations where attention is less paid to speech and relations among speakers are practically cool not to require a linguistic and social distance.

Table 3.3. Respondents' variation in vocabulary use in casual contexts

Concept	Rural T	Urban T	Mostly used
Verbs			
To be able	Ytig- ynajam-ygad	Yqed- yeqder	Yqed- yendjem
Find	Ysib- yejbar	yelqa	yseb
Get down	Yhawad-yenzel	yahbet	yhawad
Give	Ya3ti	ymed	Yati- ymed
Go	YroH- yshawar	yemshi	yemshi
Hide	Yexzen- ydes	yxebi	Yxebi- ydereg
Hold	YaHkem, yegdab	Ye?bet, yaqbett	yegbaD
Lie down	Mtad- mbtaH	Warrak- yesseraH	Werrek
Pick up	yerfed- ytallaġ	Yġalli	yerfed
Rain fall	Tsob	téh	Tsab- téh
Send	Yersel- yeb3ath	ysafet	Yzefet- yeb3at
To do	ydir	Yaġmel	both
To love	yebghi	yHob	both
Kinship			
Child	Chir- baz	bez	bez
wife	mart	mrat	mart
Mother-in-law	ġzouj- ġjouz	xetna	xetna
Father-in-law	shix	xten	xten
Brother in law's wife	Selfa	Nouta	both
Sister-in-law	Hmat	Loussa	both

Animals			
Horse	ɣawed	Hsan- djwad	ɣawd
Cockerel	dik	ferouj	ferouj
Others			
Spoon	Maɣalqa-moghorfa	Mɣil2a- mghirfa	Mɣelqa
Well	LHasi	lbir	bir
All	Gaɣ- jemla	kamel	Gaɣ- kamel- kolesh
Hot	Hami	sxon	sxon

Many aspects of koineization can be traced lexically. In addition to mixing and levelling provided in the table (3.3) above, reallocation and focusing as well occur in Tlemcenian dialect forming a commonly accepted variety used mainly by youngsters even in casual conversations.

Examples of reallocation include Dreb, kla, n3as, ghadi, baghi, and aji.

1/ [Dreb] literally speaking means ‘to hit’ and despite its use in this sense, the term has been reallocated another semantic meaning which means ‘to take’ or ‘to have’. For instance, [Drebt wahd leftor] ‘*I had a good lunch*’, [Drebt wahd regda] ‘*I had a good sleep*’, [Drebt wahd tayha] ‘*I has a terrible fall*’.

2/ [kla] literally means ‘to eat’. It is certainly used in this sense in Tlemcen speech. But other examples including the verb suggest another meaning which is ‘to have’ or ‘to get’. For instance, [klit nesh3a] ‘*I got offended*’, [klit sef3a] ‘*I got a slap*’, [klit lmaxbat] ‘*I got beats*’.

3/ ‘to sleep’ has two realizations as [n3as] which is urban and [rgad] which is rural. The word that is actually used to mean a real act of sleeping is the [rgad] whereas [n3as] is reallocated the meaning of ‘feeling sleepy’.

4/ [ghadi] means to go in a rural sentence like [rani ghadi] to mean ‘*I am going*’ or ‘*leaving*’. Yet, in the observations, utterances that include the word [ghadi] like [ghadi

ndirha zkara] ‘I will do it on purpose’, [ghadi nriyah baHdi] ‘I will stay alone’, [ghadi matefrach] ‘it won’t end’, [ghadi nwesselha] ‘I will transmit it’, [ghadi nbellaſ lſam] ‘I will validate the year’, [ghadi nedxolha ghi nqil] ‘we will copy’, [ghadi nzeyer rouhi] ‘I will work hard’, etc. express the meaning of ‘will’.

5/ ‘can’ or ‘will’ can also be related to another verb as [baghi] which means ‘to love’ basically. Instances of occurrence are: [baghi nerfed stylo, ma3lish?] ‘I will take the pen or can I take the pen?’, [baghi nseqsik, ma3lish?] ‘I will ask you or can I ask you?’.

6/ [adji] which is the urban realization of ‘come’ is also observed to be used in expressions like [aji nahder m3ak] ‘let’s talk’, [aji nwerrik] ‘let me show you’, [aji netfahmou qbel] ‘let’s agree’, [aji neshiw] ‘let’s buy’ not mean the actual verb of calling someone to come or to more but just to get their attention to do something or an invitation to a particular activity.

Examples of focusing include [dxel] ‘to get in’, [shef] ‘to see’, [nad] ‘to get up’ in favour of their counterparts namely [xesh], [ra] and [qam] which are never found to be used in the speech of the informants observed. Focused items are said to have no competition with other words and therefore they are “crystalized” as Labeled (2014, 283) has put it.

3.3.4. Discussion: Informality and koineization in Tlemcen speech

The ethnographic research that has taken place in Tlemcen society has ended in a very interesting quota of data particularly those related to formal and casual speech. Despite the fact that casual speech dictates less attention to speech, participants are seen to implement variants from the opposite variety of theirs. This spontaneous linguistic behaviour reflects the fact that the variants avoided are in their way of being levelled out from the speech of Tlemcen people while those utilized are in their way of focusing. Yet, this conclusion cannot be generalized since a proportion of participants is seen to preserve some variants. Therefore, koineization processes discussed will be fostered by a group but not by another who, certainly under other conditions discussed in the coming chapters, will follow the koineization track.

3.4. Section Two: Formal Speech

The researcher has taken from her surrounding as a source of data when it comes to tracing formal speech. The observations to random incidents in the office of the head of the department, the dean of the faculty, the faculty's administration, and public service offices (e. g. health insurance) have been marked. Two common observations have been noted: 1) speakers are aware they need a formal speech in formal contexts; 2) the dialect used depend on the gender and age of the addressee.

Particular examples include concrete conversations where the researcher has been implemented. When students come to my office, male students who speak urban Tlemcenian keep using it: [miss, lah yxellik, ma3lish nsa2sik?], [miss, na3amlou test 2bel], [miss, n?oullek ghi hadi w nemshi]; however, when the same exact person comes to talk to the head of the department or his assistant, the dialect changes as [shix bghit ghi nseqsik]. Once I had an interview with three of them, the exact answer provided to the question "why do you address me as such and you change your ways of speaking when addressing the head of the department?" was: "you look like our little sister and it sounds cute to address you this way" adding that "but know that talking to you in this dialect shows a lot of respect and estimation to you, madam".

Another anecdote includes the speech of students' parents when they accompany their daughters or come instead of their sons to my office, the speech they use in free of any rural variant; some even use the original urban Tlemcenian which directly changes when the head of the department or his assistant interferes or joins the office. For example, [welah a benti makansh kima le?raya had lwa?t (to me)]... [waqtna w waqthom mashi kifkif (to the head)]... [lah y?edrek madame, saHét w smaHalna (to me)]... [lah y3awenkoum shix (to the head)]... [hamadou kamel lewra? taHa (to me)]... [jebtelha les papiers ta3 lbent (to the head)].

Because data stood at a visual level, more concretized data is needed particularly that the level of formality we basically wanted to investigate entails higher parameters. For this reason, we have chosen to supplement the work with some excerpts taken from secondary sources where the Tlemcenian variety is spoken. Following is the process.

3.4.1. The implementation of secondary data

The use of secondary data in this stage of research has been due to two distinct, but complementary, motivations: first, formal speech cannot be richly observed in Tlemcen community (with the exception of the previously mentioned ones); second, because secondary data as the ones found on YouTube are scarcely utilized in sociolinguistics research. Combined together, this section highlights the following objectives:

- ✓ Tracing formal speech found on different videos, reportages, and documentaries uploaded online where Tlemcen speech is elicited;
- ✓ Checking the relationship between formal contexts and the use of Tlemcen dialect by different speakers.

3.4.1.1. Advantages of implementing secondary data in the current research

As stated earlier, secondary data are all information that have been collected by somebody else for a distinct purpose than the one that is addressed in the target, recipient research. These data are going to be used for a different purpose than the first designed one. For example, most of the videos that have been included in the study are for cultural purposes as to describe Tlemcen culture, food, traditions, music, arts, families, personalities, and so forth. Yet, the researcher has taken advantage of these by deviating the purpose to what best serve the objectives of the study, i.e., examining the dialect utilized by Tlemcen speakers involved in these videos. Secondary data are advantageous in many ways including:

- cost-effectiveness: instead of doing double efforts in creating formal contexts for investigation, internet material has made it less energy consuming.
- convenience: refers to the quality of easiness and suitability of material and dealing with the dataset with comfort especially that it consists of strong types of data that have already been checked for the primary purposes of the researcher who has collected them.

- accessibility: videos are easily accessible on the net. It was only necessary to know how to search for the correct and adequate material that goes hand in hand with the objectives of this research.
- validity: the dataset that has been selected for work is valid and authentic since it offers the quality of sound and logical data that can be manipulated according to the research objectives.

3.4.1.2. Why secondary data in the current research?

The reason behind using secondary data in this project has a tight relationship with the limitations of the study. In other words, the first plan of research has suggested a comparison between formal and informal contexts, yet, data related to formal contexts were not that much enough in order to draw reliable descriptions and conclusions as well. For this reason, and in order to have equivalent amount of data that can be compared and analyzed, it has been noticed that other sources of data can be of paramount help; secondary data found on the net have been chosen to form the nucleus of this part of research.

Due to the sanitary situation, moving from one place to another where formal speech could be noticed was not possible all the time. The researcher took advantage of the context where she used to be most of the time: her office. Being part of the administration staff helped a lot in the process of collecting data in a so-qualified as a ‘formal context’ as explained in the previous section. However, these data were not enough as the settings should have been taken from differing backgrounds so that to arrive to more solid conclusions. Interestingly, and thanks to the availability of technology where previously existing data are archived and more easily accessible that we have found more data and material to proceed with and accomplish the objectives of the current research.

3.4.1.3. Process of secondary data analysis

According to Johnston (2014), secondary analysis is quite similar to any other type of data analysis as it shall be systematic and scientific in its processing. Those methodological procedures include:

Defining the research questions: in this section, the core question that is supposed to be answered is to find out whether people change their way of speaking once being in a formal context and which linguistic variables are prominent in their speech once being aware of the degree of formality, they are in. In addition to this, the global question of this part goes hand in hand with the objectives and global focus of the whole study in the sense that it aims at answering whether there is a koineization process in the speech of Tlemcenians once found in formal restrictions; and what are the criteria of the formal speech that can be considered as a sign for koiné emergence.

Identifying the dataset: the dataset that form the source of data in this section relies on a technique called web scraping which refers to web data extraction for a given research purpose of analysis. Indeed, YouTube videos have been sought, checked, selected and retrieved online under the search content of ‘Tlemcen culture’ in Google search-bar. The fetching process was in Arabic since English material is scarcely found when it comes to Tlemcen and its spoken varieties.

Evaluation of the dataset: relevance of data with the nature and purpose of the study has also to be checked after choosing the videos. Because the videos, documentaries, TV programs and speeches of elections are filmed to be presented to the public, they adhere to the global purpose of the section: checking variation in formal speech of Tlemcenians.

Specifying the population and sample of concern: The population of the study encompass people from Tlemcen undertaking formal video recordings either in official interviews or TV programs and even documentaries.

Table 3.4. The number of participants in the videos implemented

Video number	Male Participants	Female Participants
Video One	7	3
Video Two	1	--
Video Three	3	--
Video Four	1	1
Video Five	1	--
Video Six	1	2
Video Seven	1	--

Video Eight	--	4
Video Nine	4	--
Video Ten	2	--
Video Eleven	1	2
Total n°	22	12

Determining the variables included in the analysis: The variables that are highly addressed at this level are significantly: formality and dialect variation traced in the speech of the informants. As far as the linguistic variables that are analyzed after coding the conversations, three types of variations are addressed: phonological, morphological and lexical ones.

- **MAXQDA for non-verbatim transcription (coding) of secondary data**

Once the material that constitutes the data have been collected, finding a way to deal with it is necessarily the next step. After considering the literature on ways to code verbal data found on videos, the choice has fallen on the MAXQDA software. The acronym stands for the Maximum of Qualitative Data Analysis. In practice, it is a software package that allows one to handle both qualitative and mixed methods types of research data namely on their coding, transcription, categorization, thematization and analysis. Although the use of the software took a considerable amount of time from the researcher, the concept of utilization relies on importing the video and inserting the already achieved file of transcriptions related to the time sequence of speakers.

Coding means assigning a piece of data (segment of speech for example) to a category which is called a code in the software used. In this research we have relied on in-vivo coding mode found withing the software where the linguistic variables are highlighted and then taken as codes for the research. For instance, after transcribing all passages, variables as [q], [t] and [-ah] have been highlighted to be traced and counted along the transcribed texts (example in figure 3.14).

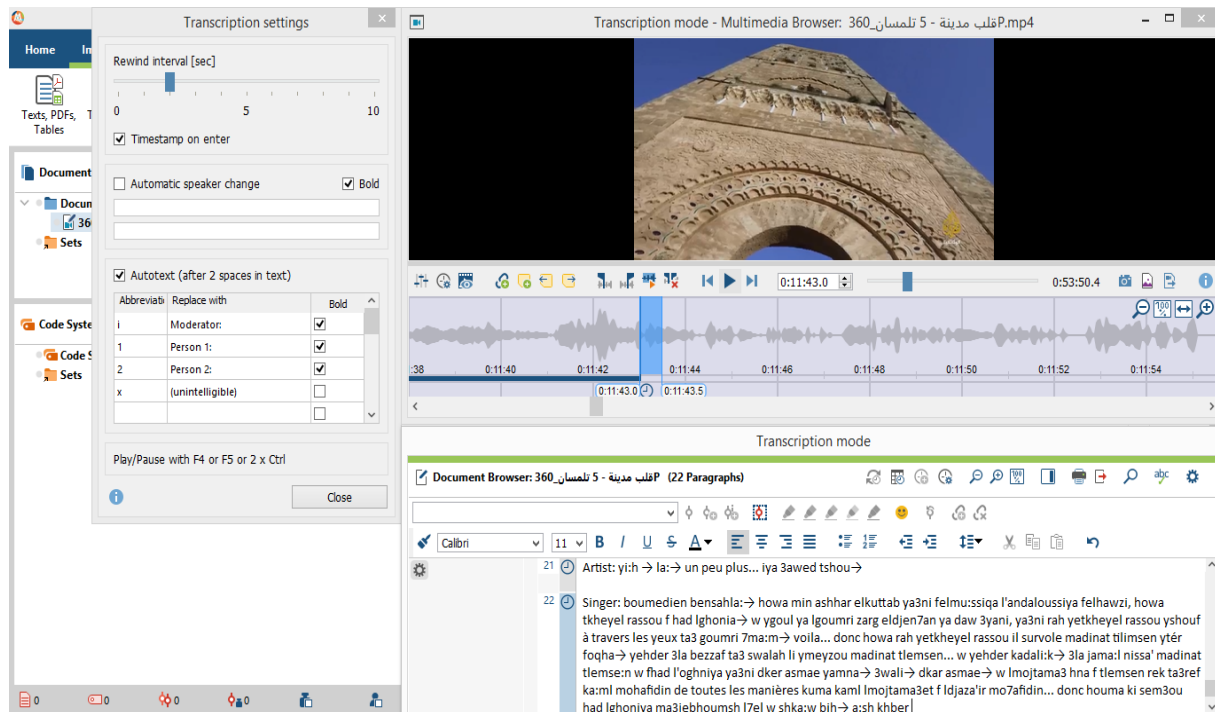


Figure 3.14. Illustrating the coding phase via MAXQDA

- **Non-verbatim transcription**

It is a transcription of speech which is cleaned up from all filler words or empty expressions such as false starts, speaker hesitations, corrections, stutters and other different sounds that one can hear while listening and transcribing a recorded statement in the videos selected for work. Non-verbatim transcription, therefore, highlights the core message that has been advocated by the speaker for readability and focus on the necessary variables and variants of speech. We have focused on the variables under investigation only during the process of transcription in order to have a rapid analysis of data; an example is illustrated in figure (3.15) and more details are found in appendix.

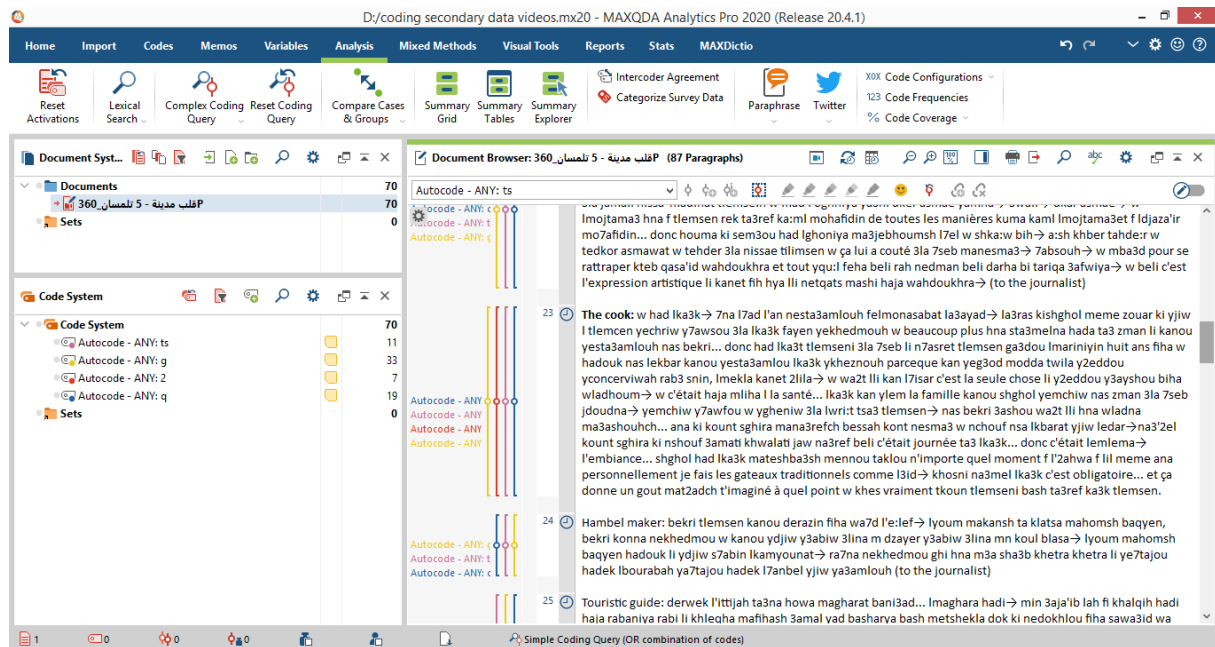


Figure 3.15. Illustrating data coding

3.5. Analysis of results

In this section, we will present the results obtained from the MAXQDA software while analyzing the frequency of occurrence of the studied variables in each video. Because videos were different in their size and the conversations they include, the number of tokens is also automatically different.

3.5.1. Results of video 1:

The first video consists of many Tlemcenian people in contact with each other and regionally different people in front of the camera and journalists, i.e., they are aware of being filmed. After listening to the video many conversations have been split and the variables that have occurred are summarized in the figures (3.16) bellow.

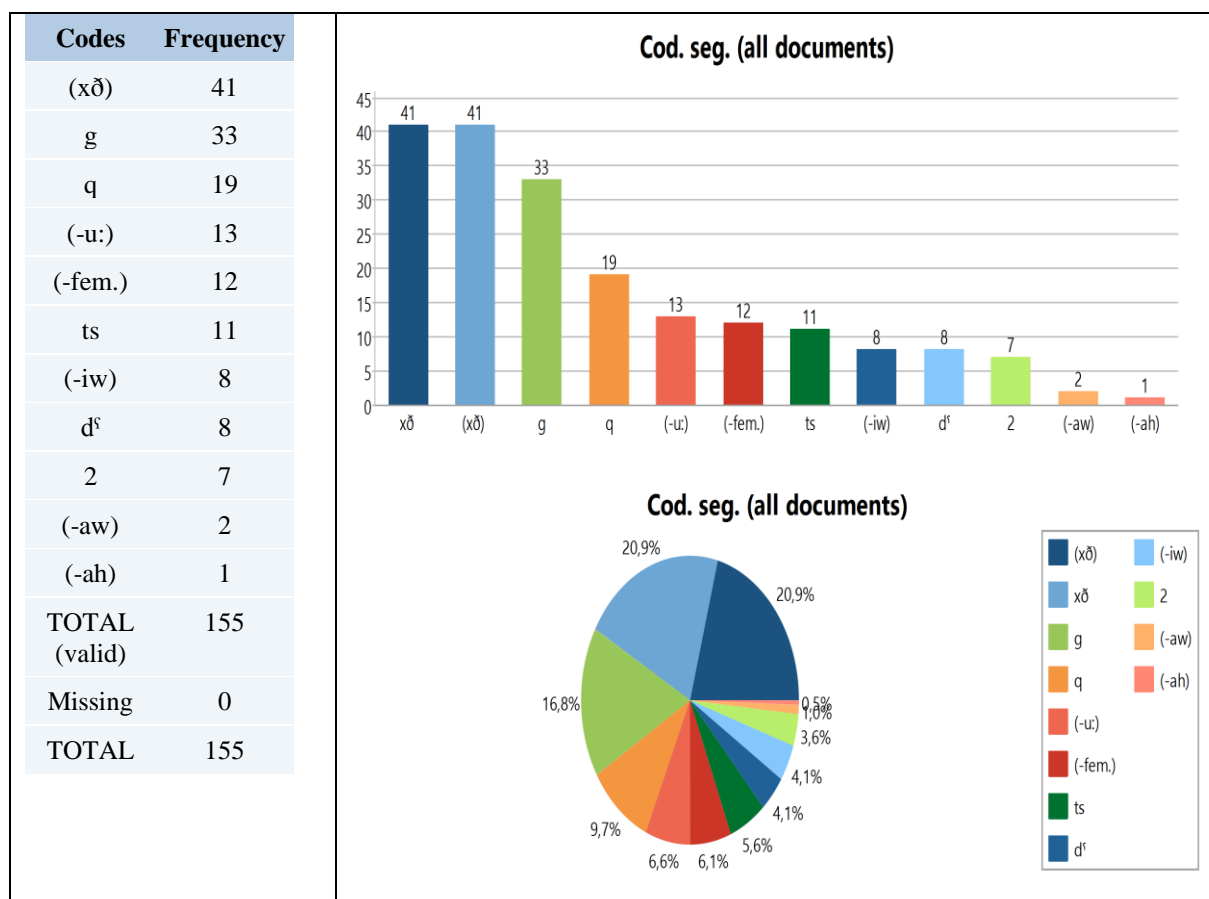


Figure 3.16. The frequency of variants occurrence in V1

According to the results presented, we notice that there's a remarkable variation especially at the phonological and morphological levels. [g] and [q] are present in the speech of speakers where [g] occurs 33 times and [q] 19 times. We notice that one female (Sarah: a Tlemcenian cook) keeps her way of speaking in her conversations with a tourist guide (Feyruz) in excerpt (1), with the journalist in excerpt (2), with an old man (a Tlemcenian baker) in excerpt (3), with a Nedromian elder artist in excerpt (4), and with tourists from different Algerian places in excerpt (5).

Excerpt 1.

1	[0:00:00.0] Sara: alu:
2	Feyruz: [0:03:16.6] alu: wi: sarah
3	Sara: [0:03:19.0] wi: feyruz
4	Feyruz: [0:03:21.5] weʃ rak-i (fem.) sa: va:
5	Sara: sa:va très bien et toi ça va→

6	Feyruz: [0:03:22.3] l7amdoullah.. qu:l-i (fem.) sarah lah yehaf ^d ek we ^f dert-i (fem.) fhadik (x ^ð) l'affaire ta3 lfawj siyahi?
7	Sara: [0:03:30.9] c'est bon, kol ^f i wajed, makan ^f mo ^f kil.. iya nessenak (fem.), ook feyruz
8	Feyruz: iya très bien
9	Sara: [0:03:36.9] saha xti, beslama
10	Feyruz: beslama

Excerpt 2.

23	[0:13:42.2] The cook: w had lka3k→ 7na l7ad l'an nesta3amlouh felmonasabat la3ayad→ la3ras kish ^y ol meme zouar ki yjiw (-iw) l tlemcen ye ^f riw (-iw) y7awsou 3la lka3k fayen yexedmouh w beaucoup plus hna sta3melna hada ta3 zman li kanou yesta3amlouh nas bekri... donc had (x ^ð) lka3t tlemseni 3la 7seb li n7asret tlemsen ga3dou lmariniyin huit ans fiha w hadouk nas lekbar kanou yesta3amlou lka3k yxeznouh parceque kan yeg3od modda twila y2eddou yconcerwiwah (-iw) rab3 snin, lmekla kanet 2lila→ w wa2t lli kan l7isar c'est la seule chose li y2eddou y3ay ^f ou biha wladhoum→ w c'était haja mliha l la santé... lka3k kan ylem la famille kanou ^f yol yem ^f iw (-iw) nas zman 3la 7seb jdoudna→ yem ^f iw (-iw) y7awfou w y ^y eniw (-iw) 3la lwri:t tsa3 tlemsen→ nas bekri 3a ^f ou wa2t lli hna wladna ma3a ^f ouh ^f ... ana ki kount syira mana3ref ^f bessas7 kont nesma3 w n ^f ouf nsa lkbarat yjiw (-iw) ledar→na3'2el kount syira ki n ^f ouf 3amati xwalati jaw na3ref beli c'était journée ta3 lka3k... donc c'était lemlema→ l'ambiance... ^f yol had (x ^ð) lka3k mate ^f ba3 ^f mennou (-u:) taklou n'importe quel moment f l'2ahwa f lil meme ana personnellement je fais les gateaux traditionnels comme l3id→ xosni na3mel lka3k c'est obligatoire... et ça donne un gout mat2ad ^f t'imaginé à quel point w xes vraiment tkoun tlemseni ba ^f ta3ref ka3k tlemsen.
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Excerpt 3.

27	The woman: salam 3alli:koum; mselxi:r 3ami Mohamed lah y3awenkoum
28	Ferran: salam mselxir hamaldik rakoum labas
29	The woman: jebtelkoum lka3k ta3 tlemsen
30	Ferran: Tba:rkellah tbarkellah
31	The woman: ybarek fik ewa thellali fih.. kima ta3 bekri f lferan w bl7tab
32	Ferran: n ^f aallahà
33	The woman: ewa b2aw (-aw) yjiboulel lka3k a 3ami l7aj wela walou?
34	Ferran: laa kayen kayenà
35	The woman: yexedmou rehoum ba2yen yexedmou?
36	Ferran: yih kayen

Excerpt 4.

41	[0:38:38.5] C: yadra 3ami lax ^d erà la commande ta3i wejdet ?
42	L : Ra wajda
43	C : Ça y est c'est bonà lah ya3tek sahaà

44	L : Baraka lahu : fik
45	C : 3jebni hada (ð) le nouveau modèle
46	L : Wah 7afr
47	C : Hada (xð) ja shbeb za3ma mdek ana nexdem la3ras
48	L : Wah ?
49	C : Yjini présentable hada
50	L: Wallah hada (xð) hata f nad ^ɛ ra ya3ti nad ^ɛ ra 7ilwa rak tshouf (addressing the woman)
51	C : f ^ɔ uà lotor aha beraà ma ^ɟ i t2il? N2ed nerfed ?
52	L: La f ^ɔ wya tqil
53	C : Ara n ^ɟ oufà
54	L : Saha
55	C : Allah ya3tik saha ... ma ^ɟ i t2il

Excerpt 5.

64	Sarah : mselxir 3likoumà
65	Guide :Ah sara ahla, merci sa7ità 7ott-i (fem.) qbel qodem d ^ɛ yafna
66	Sarah :Mar7ba bikoum 3adna ça va ?--> hwaset bikoum f ^ɔ wyaà
67	Male tourist :Lah ybarek
68	Sarah : lah ybarek fik mer7ba bikoum
69	Guide :Me ^ɟ ithoum (fem.) f ^ɔ wya lyoum
70	Sarah :Ya3tekoum sa7aà 3ejbetkoum?
71	Male tourist :Eheeh
72	Sarah :Zednalkoum les plats traditionnels
73	Male tourist 2 :Mazelna ma ^ɟ efnash lmakla
74	Sarah :Hna l3andna merhba bikoum nrepresentiwah (-iw) howa lewel
75	Guide :Bessah mani ^ɟ 3aref ^ɟ koun komonda hna 3adna tajin pilipili w kayen hna tajin kebda
76	Male tourist 2:Allah allah
77	G:Rahou (-u:) ye ^ɟ li
78	S:d ^ɛ ok nem ^ɟ i n ^ɟ ibelkoum les commandes loxrin n3awed n ^ɟ i n ^ɟ ixou f ^ɔ wya
79	G:Xlas ma ^ɟ i mo ^ɟ kel

An exception that has occurred in her speech with regard to [q/ g] variation is presented in excerpt (6) where she was giving an overview of the medina of Nedroma in a formal

manner in expressions as [taqalid] 'traditions', [metaqfin] 'agreed', [qbel] 'before', [yqulek] 'he says to you', [neqdi] 'to buy'.

Excerpt 6.

38

[0:26:42.7] **The cook:** Hadi (xð)nedrouma hatta hya 3andha taqalidha à 3andha l7adarat ta7aà hya tsani 3andha nasha met7ad^srin metaqfin ma7aallah hya lewla lli t'assett qbel madina tlemsen... comme rani ma7ya ne7ri men temma ttén menha kima yqoullek haja w 7weyja rani ma7ya hawasa en meme temps neqd^si l7arad dyali w ba7 n7afdou tani 3la taqalid ta3na bash mayem7iwenna7 (-iw), 7ett nas zman kanou yteybou f ttinà kanou kol7i yesta3amlouh b katra, ana personnellement nteyeb f tajin ta3 tin que ce soit 7orba tilimsaniya wela la7rira tilimsaniya wela tajin m7amar tajin zitoun ...

Similarly, a famous Tlemcenian singer (Meriem) has shown an excessive use of [q] while talking to the journalist (excerpts 7+8+9) in favour of her native [ʔ] which she only used with a colleague of her from Tlemcen (excerpt 10).

Excerpt 7.

11 [0:03:39.4] **Meryem:** za:dit f mo7it yesma3 bezaf l'a7yani l'andaloussia li kawna 7na men madi:nat tilimsan.. donc men bekri l'ab ta:3i yesma3 le7ouyoux ta3 l'moussiq a el'andaloussia, Abdelkrim dali, kan yesma3 bezzaf f loto na3qel lnouri lkoufi ya3ni wana kount tefla s7yira neqtabes had (xð) swalah (to the journalist)

Excerpt 8.

22 [0:11:43.0] **Singer:** boumedién bensahla:→ howa min a7har elkuttab ya3ni felmu:ssiqa l'andaloussiya fel7awzi, howa txeyel rassou (-u:) f had (xð) l7onia→ w ygoul ya l'goumri zarg eldjén7an ya d^saw 3yani, ya3ni rah yetxeyel rassou (-u:) y7ouf à travers les yeux ta3 goumri 7ma:m→ voila... donc howa rah yetxeyel rassou (-u:) il survole madinat tilimsen y7er foqha→ yehder 3la lferran w sweqa w bezzaf ta3 swalah li ymeyzou madinat tlemsen... w yehder kadali:k (xð)→ 3la jama:l nissa' madinat tlemse:n w fhad (xð) l'o7niya ya3ni dker (xð) asmae yamna→ 3wali→ dkar asmae (xð)→ w lmojtama3 hna f tlemsen rek ta3ref ka:ml mo7afid^sin de toutes les manières kuma kaml lmojtama3et f ldjaza'ir mo7afid^sin... donc houma ki sem3ou had (xð) l7oniya ma3jebhoum7 l7el w 7ka:w bih→ a:7 xber tahde:r w tedkor (xð) asmawat w tehder 3la nissae tilimsen w 7a lui a couté 3la 7seb manesma3→ 7absouh→ w mba3d pour se rattraper kteb qasa'id wahdouxra et tout yqu:l feha beli rah nedman beli darha bi tariqa 3afwiya→ w beli c'est l'expression artistique li kanet fih hya lli netqats mashi haja wahdouxra→ (to the journalist)

Excerpt 9.

40

[0:29:36.0] **Famous woman (to the journalist):** Ki tetme7a f madinet tlemsen ki tedxol le centre ville ta7a à hya madina yqoullek d'art et d'histoire fiha lfen w l'asl w l3araqa ta3 lmadina t7oufha fi kol mou7a3... tetme7a tseb derb tseb kima qolt mazal baqi l'ata :r ta3 lferran mazal hadi (xð)à

donc déjà le fait lli t7awes f tlemsen w teskoun fiha impossible mayjik f hadek (xð) l'ilhemà les text ta3 la musique andalouse yahadrou bezaf 3la tlemsen w 3la jamal madinat tlemsen

Excerpt 10

17	[0:10:47.6] Artist: 3reftha:→ (to the singer)
18	[0:10:49.5] Singer: yi:h ... semma kif yol jwa:b hadek (xð) l'akapélla lli 3meltou (-u:) →
19	[0:10:54.7] Artist: yi:h d'accord→
20	[0:11:00.0] Singer: Alors hna be f nahderlek 3la le texte→ rek 3aref belli le texte ta3 boumedien bensehla→ howa hab yehder fih 3la la beauté ta3 tlemsen w drouba tsa7a et tout, w3la la beauté tlemcenienne w la femme tlemcenienne
21	[0:11:11.3] Artist: yi:h → la:→ un peu plus... iya 3awed (fem.) tjou (fem.)→

The tourist guide has also shown an excessive use of [q] in favour of [g] and [ʔ] (in excerpts 11, 12, 13) and this can be explained in relation to the audience she was addressing who involve people from different regional areas than Tlemcen.

Excerpt 11.

16	[0:09:03.4] Tourist guide: men bekri na3arfou beli tlemsen 3andha 3idat asami men bekri hata win la7qet l'ism tlemcen... fma: qabl ta:rix kan ismha agadir→ kayen bezaf nas maya3arfou f had (xð) l'ism hada (xð)→ yi lmawqi3 ta3 mantiqat agadir hadi (xð) ma:qabl tarix... w agadir we f yeqosdou biha bi loya l'amazi yiya aw loyat tfinay agadir ta3ni 'elyanbou3 eljaf w kanou yqoulu: agadi min kalimat djida:r w howa jidar sayidna moussa 3alayhi salam, tessem3ou ka:mel bhad (xð) lmaqoula fi su:rat elkahf ta3 lyati:mayn donc sidna moussa l7aq lehna w hadik (xð) lqissa srat fi: mantiqat tilimse:n agadir qadi:man (to the audience from different areas)
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Excerpt 12.

25	[0:19:06.5] Touristic guide: d ^s erwek l'ittijah ta3na howa mayarat bani3ad... lmayara hadi (xð)→ min 3aja'ib lah fi xalqih (-ah) hadi haja rabaniya rabi li xleqha mafihaf 3amal yad bafarya baf metfekla d ^s ok ki nedoxlou fiha sawa3id wa nawazil ya3ni nazila lli tetfekkel melfoug lehtaht w sa3ida lli tetfakel m lta7t w tetla3 w mba3d yetlaqaw ya3ni ki tetlaqa sa3ida m3a nazila tebqa tetbela3 la grotte w had (xð) lmayara 3la 7seb lmo'arixin welba7ithin qallek kanet akbar mn had l7ajm lakin m3a lwaqt wm3a morour zaman bedat tetbella3 d ^s ok ki nhawdou ldaxel ra7 tjoufou raw3at lah fi xalqih (-ah)... w hnaya na3tikoum haja wa7douxra 3awed yqoullek had (xð) la grotte had lmayara fiha mamar yeddi hatta l sebdou yar bouma3za ymor lyar l7ouriet sab3 bi wejda felmo yrib ya3ni kan ittisal bin had (xð) la grotte hata lelmo yrib win kanou lmoujahidin fi fatrat thawra yestyellou hadek lmamar baf ydexlou l'asli7a w lma'ouna... wmba3d jet bi3a ya3ni ba3ou l les français, donc we f darou hna derbohom b les bombes lfoug win ta7 3lihom ba3d nawazil w ja darou, hadek lmamar six kilometres bel3ouh bel'ismant... na3tikoum ma3louma 3labali mata3arfouhaf, tlemsen mafhoura b ajwad anwa3 rouxam fi l3alam kayen hna mantiqa f tlemsen wessehma 3ayn taqbalet fiha manjam elxam min aqdam lmanajim min fatrat maqabla rouman w ka:ml mazalha l7ad l'en texdem pareceque 3lef rxam youled sarilou (-u:) kima lcalcaire... lbayt l'abyad ^s rxem ta3ou (-u:) men taqbalet masjid l7aramayn tani rxem ta3ou (-u:)
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men taqbalet masjid l'amir abdelkader rxem ta3ou (-u:) men 3ayn taqbalet iran ha:liyan teddi lmada l'xam men 3ayn taqbalet.

Excerpt 13.

57	[0:47:57.5] H :3aslama
58	G :Lah yselmek monsieur hassan
59	H :Wej raki (fem.)? à labas à ? ɣaya
60	G :Labas ntouma ɣaya ? à
61	H:Mar7ba bikoumà rey7ou fin terta7ou
62	G :Les invités tawa3na mar7baà
63	H :Mer7ba bikoum
64	S : mselxir 3likoumà derna la marche
65	G :Ah sara ahla, merci sa7ità 7ott-i (fem.) qbel qodem dɣyafna
66	S :Mar7ba bikoum 3adna ça va ?--> hwaset bikoum ɣwyaà
67	M :Lah ybarek
68	S : lah ybarek fik mer7ba bikoum
69	G:Meɣithoum (fem.) ɣwya lyoum
70	S:Ya3tekoum sa7aà 3ejbetkoum?
71	M:Eheeh
72	S :Zednalkoum les plats traditionnels
73	M :Mazelna maɣefnash lmakla
74	S:Hna l3andna merhba bikoum nepresentiwah (-iw) howa lewel
75	G:Bessah maniɣ 3aref ɣkoun komonda hna 3adna tajin pilipili w kayen hna tajin kebda
76	M:Allah allah
77	G:Rahou (-u:) yeɣli
78	S:dɣok nemɣi nɣibelkoum les commandes loxrin n3awed nɣi nɣixou ɣwya
79	G:Xlas maɣi moɣkel
80	S :Feyruz ɣkoun li komonda m7amar
81	G :M7amar melhih
82	S:Hada (xɔ) kefta w tina tajin zitoun
83	G:Xeyerna bash nmelonɣiw (-iw) bash tet3arfou 3la kamel l'atbaq ta3 tlemsen
84	S:Hawada (xɔ) tajin zitoun
85	M:Lah lah
86	S :Baɣ hakda (xɔ) au moins yeb2aw les souvenirs ta3 tlemsen

87 M :Ahh wi :

[q] has also been opted for by elderly and old men once addressing their speech to the journalist. Excerpts 14, 15, 16 illustrate this idea.

Excerpt 14.

12 [0:04:39.3] **Worker DR:** men bekri w hna nexedmou f had dre:z, xdemna fih w f kismah (-ah), w t3allemt-ah (-ah) m fɨbani ta3i wani maza:l gabed fih, hada 3ayeɸ ana w xouti bih, ki fɨbani ta3i mat, iya ana keberthoum ɣi b dre:z, ana ta ki zewejt →kount ɣi b dre:z, iya w mazal baqi fih, w madabina (xð) y3awed ya7ya (to the journalist)

Excerpt 15.

14 [0:05:34.0] **Worker DR:** qdi:ma had (xð)sen3a, ana jeddi kan yexdem had (xð) sen3a, w lyoum ra7na gabde:nha w mabye:na:ɸ nettelgouha nxelliwha (-iw) temɸi, wma baɸ yebqaw (-aw) fiha snay3iya ma:bqawɸ (-aw)→, ɣi ana w s7abi kounna nexedmou lbourabah w l7ambel w ɸrawet →hadouk ta3 7arrara (to the journalist)

Excerpt 16.

15 [0:06:01.3] **Worker FN:** ɸwya bekri kul 7E:ma w ka:nets 3andha lferran dyelha eli ya3ajnou lxoubz heyda sba7→ ta3 zra3 yjibouh lelferran yetter7ouh iya y3awdou yjiw (-iw) y3abiwah (-iw) m3ah tsnaɸ→ leftour, 3awed menba3diha ydjibu lxobz ta3 lfarina... f tlemse:n tabi3a dyalhoum hya lferran kayen lli ydjib wladou (-u:), kayen lli hadi (xð) reb3i:n 3am xemsi:n 3am→ w howa f l3assima merrat w ki ydji yji: lelferran... beditha syi:r ana wah, ana 3andi tlatsa w seb3i:n 3am qu:l 7a setti:n 3am xedma qbel istiqlal, m tawra→ w hna nexedmou sen3a ta3 lferran kberna fiha g3adna fiha (to the journalist)

Excerpt 17.

24 [0:17:51.8] **Hambel maker:** bekri tlemsen kanou derazin fiha wa7d l'e:lef→ lyoum makanɸ ta klatsa mahomɸ baqyen, bekri konna nexedmou w kanou ydjiw (-iw) y3abiw (-iw) 3lina m dzayer y3abiw (-iw) 3lina mn koul blasa→ lyoum mahomɸ baqyen hadouk (xð) li ydjiw (-iw) s7abin lkamyounat→ ra7na nexedmou ɣi hna m3a ɸa3b xetra xetra li ye7tajou hadek (xð) lbourabah ya7tajou hadek (xð) l7anbel yjiw (-iw) ya3amlouh (to the journalist)

Excerpt 18.

37 **Ferran** (to the journalist): wah lferran f remd^ɸan kan yexdem lil w nhar lka3k baɸ ywejdeuhà lka3k w lgateaux w surtout lka3k ba3da hna tlemsen ma3roufa bih xtini m hadouk (xð) swalah ta3 dar kima lgriweɸ w lmaqroul la' bessah ma3rouf belka3k hna konna nexedmouh bezaf f remd^ɸan w f remd^ɸan ba3da ki tji lehna matejbersh kamel blastek

Excerpt 19.

39

[0:28:19.4] **Tajin maker** (to the journalist): Had (xð) ttin sebhan llah mdek (xð) 7na l'insan maxlouq min tin tqoul sebhanllah 3alaqa bin l'insan w tin mayeqderf yetxella 3liha seknetli f qalbi w n7as ka'ani f l'asl nta3i ya3ni bna dem ki ykoun yexdem f tin t7os mn na7iyat no3ouma w men na7iyat lhodou'e ya3ni l'insan ki ykoun yexdem f tin y7es b 7a ra7a w 7a l'itmi'enan maAllah... yana fel7aqiqa 3ejbetni san3a taqlidiya hakda w 7na l7amdoullah mazal metmeskine b had (xð) tajin lyadawi xater ma3rouf tajin ta3 nedrouma ta3 tlemsen ya3ni 7ta men na7iyat ljawda nta3ou w naw3iya l7amdoullah ma3rouf tajin nedrouma a7san torba f lwatan w l'a7san fi ifriqiya naw3ya maAllah texroj 7amra ya3ni tabi3iya w mafihf ziyada lproduit sh7el men xetra kanou bekri ye3tadou yjibou men berra melxarij fih mawad sbiya baf tweli hamza w 7na sebhallah tabi3iyan texrouj 7amra

From the excerpts presented, we can deduce that the phonological variable (q) is witnessing a mixing situation competing between [q] and [g] in formal conversations when addressing a journalist and when presenting a place, a story, an event, or guiding a process. It shall also be noted that the use of [q] is much more influenced by the words and expressions used from standard Arabic into the dialect. It is also interesting to mention that the glottal stop only existed 7 times in a video of 55 minutes which is a sign that this variant tends to be avoided in formal speech.

On the other hand, the diagram reflects the non-occurrence of the variable [ð] in any of the expressions used along the different conversations and excerpts of speech. Interestingly, only [d] is noticed to occur in 41 tokens along the video. We can therefore claim that in addition to [q] realizations that have always been recognized in the literature as being a very remarkable aspect of dialect change, [ð] omission can also be added. [ð] is seen to be completely levelled out from the speech of speakers be them males or females, young or old. Consequently, koineization can be said to start at a phonological level and one of its criteria is the pronunciation of the urban [d] instead of classical Arabic or usually rural variant [ð].

[θ] and [ð^ɕ] have never shown to appear in the speech of Tlemcenian people included in the video. Instead, their urban counterparts have been obviously used including [t] and [d^ɕ] respectively.

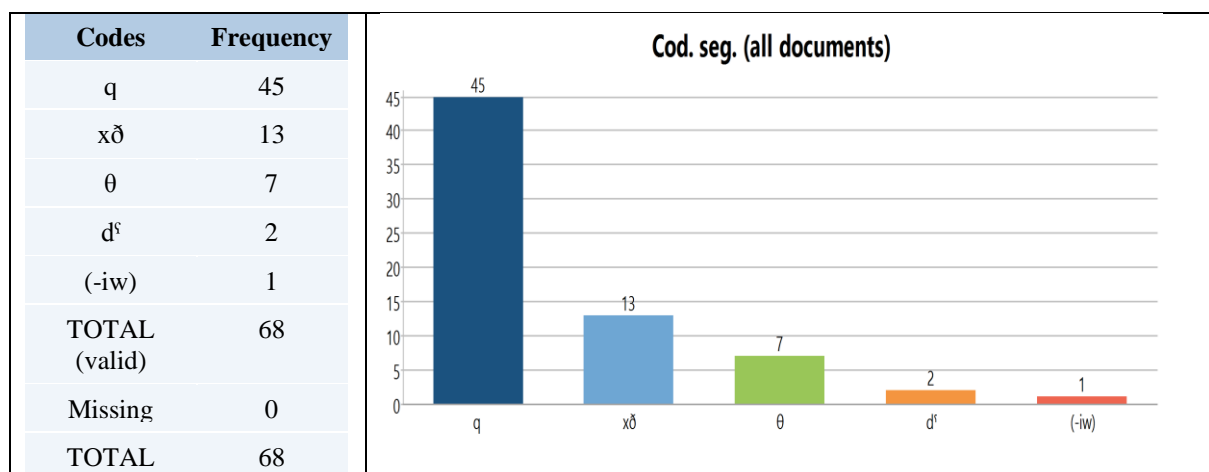
Morphologically speaking, [-u:] has characterized the pronunciation of speakers by occurring 11 times as opposed to its rural counterpart [-ah] which only occurred 2

times in the speech of the tourist guide. When addressing females, the omission of the feminine morpheme has been a realization in speech for 8 tokens. Verbs such as [nemsh-iw] and [nj-iw] have been used instead of [nemsh-o] and [nj-o] which are rural in nature.

As far as the lexical entries used, there's a considerable number of urban lexemes in addition to words taken directly from standard Arabic or French. Examples include: From MSA, words like [Moussiqā andaloussia] 'the andaloussi music'- [istiqlāl] 'independence'- [madina] 'city' (instead of mdina)- [mawqi3] 'location' (instead of blasa)- [kadalik] 'also' (instead of tani); from Urban dialect as: shibani 'old man'- gabed 'hold'- aji 'come'- dyel 'of'- ashxber 'why'- y7awsou 'look for'- y3abi 'take', and from French in expressions like: c'est bon 'it's ok'- comme 'like'- parceque 'because'- beaucoup plus 'more than that'- la beauté 'the beauty'- la femme 'the woman'- la famille 'the family'. Likewise, we notice that the vocabulary used is of a mixture from different entries. Yet, one important item that have not been influenced is obviously the accent and tone of the voice of the speakers. Put differently, speakers can choose their phonemes, morphemes or lexical entries but the accent remains the same indicating where the person is originally coming from.

3.5.2. Results of video 2:

This video includes a speech given by a Tlemcenian elder man in the occasion of the elections of parliament members. It has lasted six minutes portraying the variation presented in the figure (3.17) bellow.



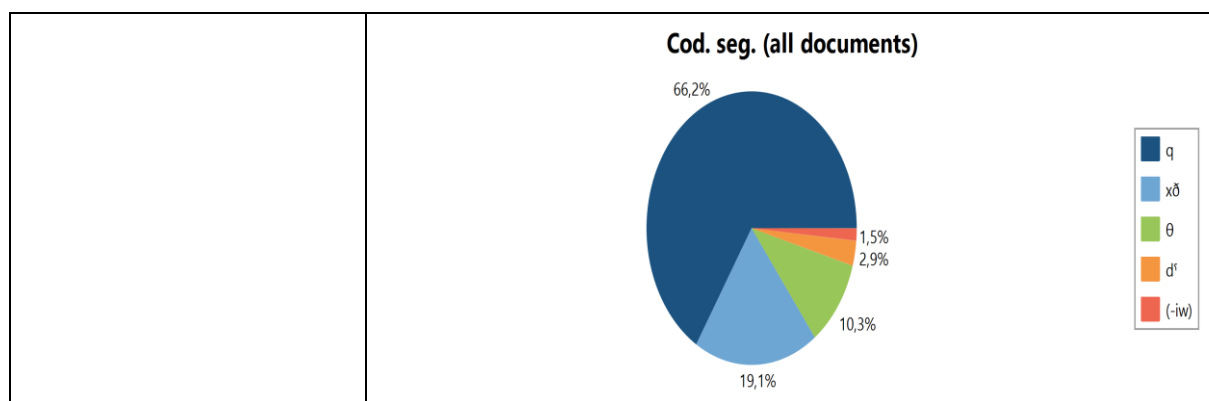


Figure 3.17. The frequency of variants occurrence in V2

From the table summarizing frequencies, the variant [q] has shown the biggest number of occurrence with 45 tokens. It occurred in words as [waqt] ‘time’, [nqoul] ‘I say’, [qowa] ‘power’, [waqifa] ‘standing’, [raqia] ‘developed’, [noqta] ‘point’, [3ariqa] ‘ancient’, etc. which are all taken from standard Arabic as can be read in excerpt N which itself reflects the great influence of the Arabic language on the speaker from one hand and his awareness of the sensitivity and formality of the speech he is delivering.

This influence is also seen in the realization of the variant [θ] which has occurred 8 times including its allophonic pronunciation [t]. Yet, [θ] has only been used in three words [θani] ‘the second’, [istiθmar] ‘economic’, and [θawra] ‘revolution’. [t], on the other hand, occurred in all the other contexts in words as [tani] ‘also’, [tania] ‘second’, [katir] ‘a lot’, [ymetel] ‘to represent’ [mitl] ‘like’ [mitel] ‘an example’, [tlati:n] ‘thirty’.

Excerpt

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Elected man:** ixwani axawati kama ta3lamoun l7amla dexlet fi osbo3iha thani (+θ) whowa waqt mohim jidan binisba li monadʳili jabhat ta7rir lwatani bash tani nfahmou lbarnamaj ta3 ljbha w lmowatinin ta3 madinat tilimsen w nfahmouhom ya3ni mahowa tomo7 ta3na wnqoulhom xasatan anahom yajib 3layhom an yantaxibou bi qowa li'ana tashri3iyat hadi (xð) satoyayir masar eljaza'ir fayajib 3alayna ka jaza'iriyin w ka soka madinat tilimsen 3amatan nentaxbou bi qowa neshtarkou bi qowa fi had l'intixabat wa bitabi3at el7el 3indama nousharik bi qowa kamel dowal el3alam ta3ref beli ljaza'ir raqiya waqifa ka rajol wa7id w dowal l'ajnabiya testahdef lja'ir...fa ida (xð) lam nousharik bi qowa sanostahdaf min taraf elxarij ya3ni kol tomo3 ta3 dowal ajnabiya sa netyaleb 3liha w beli rana waqfin ka rajol wa7id hadi (xð) w yxeliwna (-iw) tranquil noqta oula... noqta taniya (xθ) limada (xð) nantaxib wa limada (xð) jabhat ta7rir lwatani li'enou 7izb sha3b, 7izb asala, 7izb shouhada, 7izb moujahidin w f kol 3a'ila jaza'iriya newjed 3ala l'aqal moujahid wa7ed wela shahid w kol shabab wa3i bel'amr hada (xð) fakayfa nousallim amrina li a7zab yayr ma3roufa ma3andhash baramij mantiqsh fiha robama tosayar mina l'xarij ila'axirih... fa jabhat ta7rir lwatani ma3rouf 7izb 3ariq w yseyer l'bilad min l'alfin (-i:n) ila yawmina hada (xð) w rakoum taqriban shahedtou baramij l'istithmarat (+θ) liqam bihom ra'is ljomhoriya taqriban tmnemiyat maliyar dolar sorifat fi ljaza'ir w fi katir (xθ) min l'injazat

toroqat sakan sodoud jami3at mostashfayat... 'ljaza'ir hya awal dawla mostaqira fi l3alam el3arabi wa 3an tariq ljabha ykoun l'aman w l'aman w l'istiqrar l mmdinat tilimsen maneqedroush ndirou tanmiya bidoun amn... elkatir min lxobara' yxewfouna beli ljaza'ir fi azma iqtisadiya hada (xð) xata' hada (xð) ljaza'ir laysat fi azma iqtisadia sinon kayfa nshoufou balad mitl (xθ) ljaza'ir testewred mawarid teqrib tes3in felmiya min kol ma testahalkou (-u:) min mawad w 3atad ila'axirihi souq ta3na farah ma3adnash mentouj yenba3 f souq ya3ni lqima lmod'afa nta l'intaj l'watani f sina3a ymetel (xθ) xamsa felmiya w hada (xð) qalil jidan l'an ga3 lmashakil natija 3an 3adam l'istiylal l3aqlani lilmawarid lmaliya hna ma3adnash azma iqtisadiya mayxewfounash kol lmashakil lmatrou7a netyeleb 3liha w sawfa netyeleb 3liha 3an tariq barnamaj sid ra'is ljomhouriya fi barnamaj l'iqtisab ljadid w namoudaj (xð) l'iqtisadi hadafoho howa tanmiya w tanwi3 l'iqtisadia.. qolna manetkelsh faqat 3ala lma7rouqat newa3 w nexleq foras w nestyel tarawat (xθ) w nexleq manasib shoyl w nexleq tharwa (+θ) w njibouha l souq hada (xð) howa lbarnamaj l'iqtisadi ljadid w fih taxtit 7ta l'alfin (-i:n) w tlatin (-i:n) w lazem nas wataniyin li tasjid had (xð) lbarnamaj hada (xð)...

The excerpt shows also the realization of [ð] as [d] when [ð] never occurred despite the fact that the speech has been given in a strictly formal context. It is like, in this case, the dialect is affecting the language used and not the reverse as was the case with [q]. [d] is the only realization pronounced 13 times in all the environments where [ð] occurred. The Arabic interdental [ð^ʕ] (for which the rural realization is typically [ð^ʕ]) does not happen to be pronounced in the man's speech; instead, its urban counterpart [d^ʕ] occurred twice.

Morphologically speaking, two morphemes occurred including: [-iw] in [yxeliwna] 'they leave us' and [-i:n] in [alfi:n] 'two thousands' and [tlati:n] 'thirty'.

Lexically, the vocabulary used shows a mixture between standard Arabic and the urban Tlemcenian dialect.

3.5.3. Results of video 3

The excerpt bellow transcribes a short discussion between three male speakers living in the city of Tlemcen and trying to expose how the street has got decorated by volunteers. Results of the linguistic variation occurring in the conversation are summarized in figure (3.18). the conversation is classified as formal since it includes a presentation of a street and the speakers have been filmed so that their speech is uploaded as an online material.

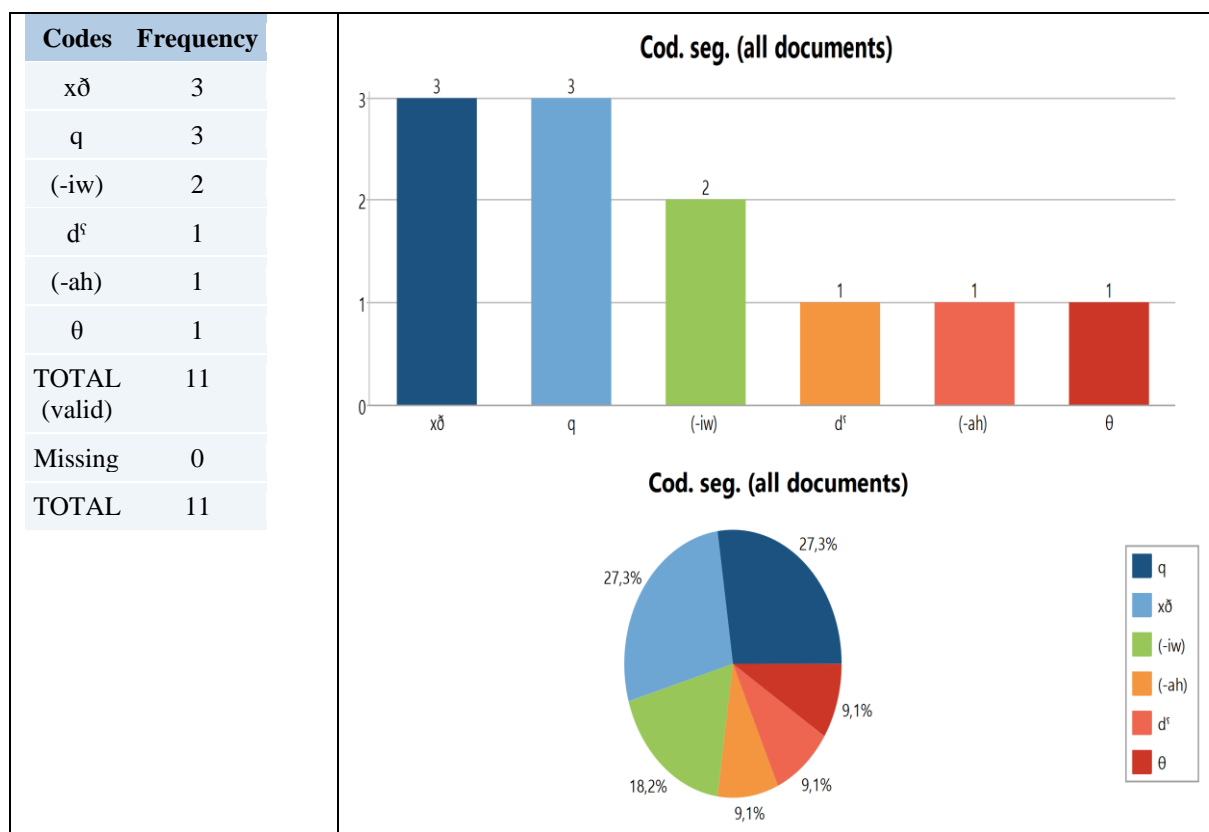


Figure 3.18. The frequency of variants occurrence in V3

Excerpt

- [0:00:00.0] **Male 1:** merhba bikoum rekoum m3ana f derb sid lyedoun li xedmouh lmotatawi3in ta3na hawmadou (xð)
- [0:02:43.2] **Male 2:** iya d^ɕok yjo (-iw) d^ɕork yjo (-iw) d^ɕork lazem tahder
- [0:02:50.3] **Male 3:** ahh lazem nahder? wah→ salam 3alaykoum→ ewa: ra7na f lmedres hada (xð) min bayn l'a7ya'e el3atiqa fi tlemsen→li tfahmet majmo3at shabab bash yredoulah (-ah) l7ayat w rak tshouf bedit ana w na3im w jamel f lewel→ mba3d les volontaires bedaw (-aw) yjiw (-iw) jma3a jet ga3 tsharek wa7ed belmateriel wa7ed belmotivation wa7ed b la determination l'amour drahem kolshi w lhamdoulah hadi (xð) hya lresultat final... qbel ga3 matshouf lrestauration ta3 lcartier wella→ kamel kayna 7a l7aja shwya very deep les relations ta3 lghashi ...w zewaqna da3wa b les fleurs et voila
- [0:03:44.6] **Male 2:** ya3tikoum saha les jeunes mital (xθ) mithal li shab ljaza'iri barakallahou fikoum

In this short conversation, phonological variation tends to be the most prominent in the speech of male speakers. [q] and [d] occur three times each as realizations of /q/ and /ð/ respectively. [d^ɕ] and [θ] did not happen to be pronounced and only their urban realizations did. The rural morpheme [-ah] in [nredoulah] ‘we get it back’ occurred once. The urban morpheme [-iw] in [yjiw] ‘they come’ and [-aw] in [bedaw] ‘they start’ have been pronounced by the same speaker in the same utterance. The lexical items used

show the occurrence of some words from standard Arabic such as [a7ya2 3atiqa] ‘ancient streets’, [maajmo3at Shabab] ‘a group of youths’, and some words from French as [l’amour] ‘love’, [la determination] ‘determination’, [la volenté] ‘the will’, and some others from English like [very deep]. Therefore, we can notice a mixture between urban and rural variants in addition to switching and borrowing from other languages.

3.5.4. Results of video 4

Excerpts below represented in figure (3.19) which summarizes the results of variation that happened in the speech of an elder man and woman from Tlemcen explaining some wedding rituals to the journalist. It is shown that the glottal stop existed only twice in the speech of the female saying [ʔerftan] ‘*traditional dress*’, [nebʔaw] ‘*we keep*’ and [q] only once in [rqas] ‘*to dance*’.

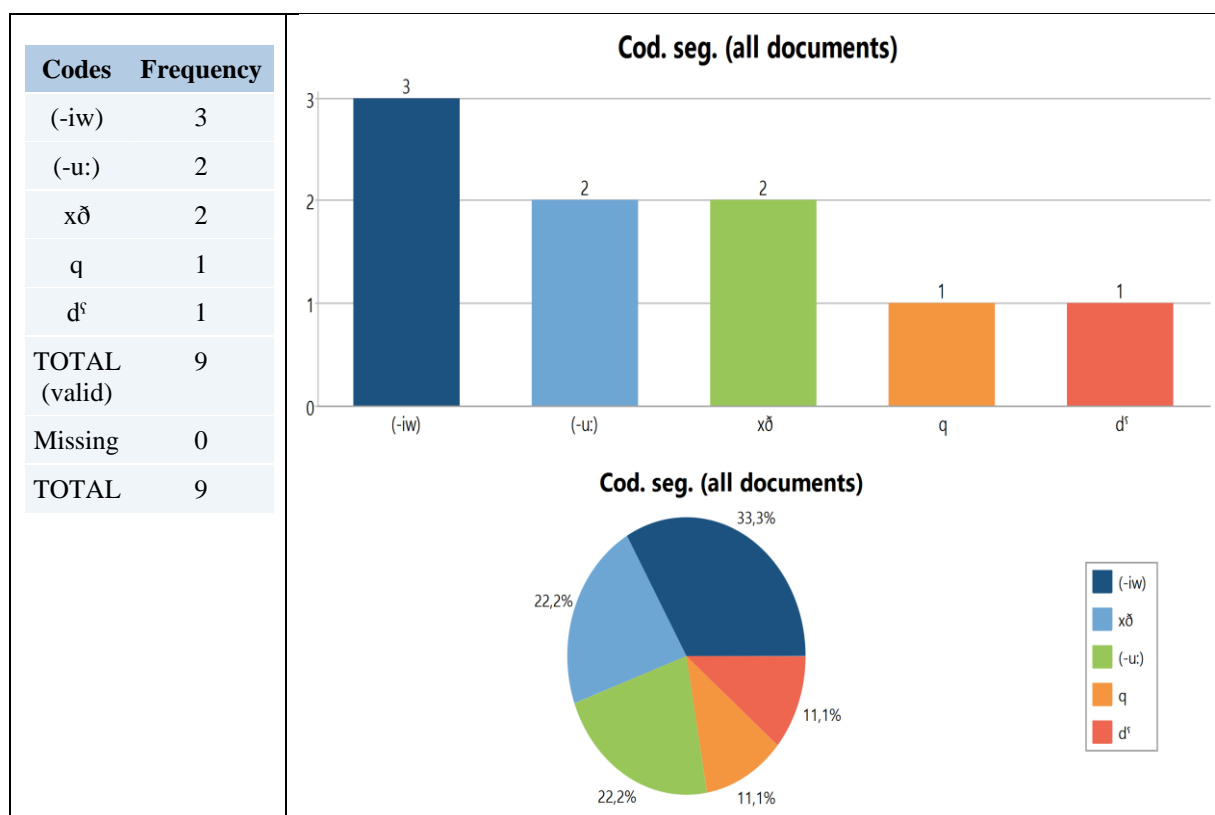


Figure 3.19. The frequency of variants occurrence in V4

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0] Woman (bride dresser): nelbsou lblouza hya lewla→ ta3 lmesouj w mba3d yelesou l2erftan mexdoum b tel... had (xð) kulou (-u:) shoghl yadawi wmba3d na3amlou lekman→ hadi (xð) la3roussa nhar doxla ta7a w mba3d neb2aw na3amlou jwahr min lmeftoud ^d tkoun sh7el mn tshoka melkbira→ 7ta l sghira→ 7atta yghetti kol sder hada nsemmouh (-iw) ljouher ta3 sder yji m3a l2arftan mayjish m3a libas axar... shashya n7otoha 3la ras→ zman lemra li kanet tshed kanet kbira tkoun kbira fi sin jeda wela xala aw 3ama aw wa7da kabira fi sin hya li kanet tshed....
2	[0:01:59.3] Man (groom dresser): l3aris hna f l3ada ta3na ysemmouh (-iw) moulay w ljama3a lkol temshi m3ah moulay soltan wey 3aris lazemlou (-u:) lbarnous b lxil w lbaroud ba3d twelwila hadi (xð) lazem yexliw (-iw) elbaroud
3	[0:02:55.4] Woman (bride dresser): dexelna l3aroussa w ki ja la3rous na7alha ssetra w sellem 3liha lfouq w mba3d rqaq howa wiyaha

3.5.5. Results of video 5

Figure (3.20) summarizes the different tokens for each variant occurring in the speech of a young man from Souahliya, Tlemcen who has been proposed for the parliament elections.

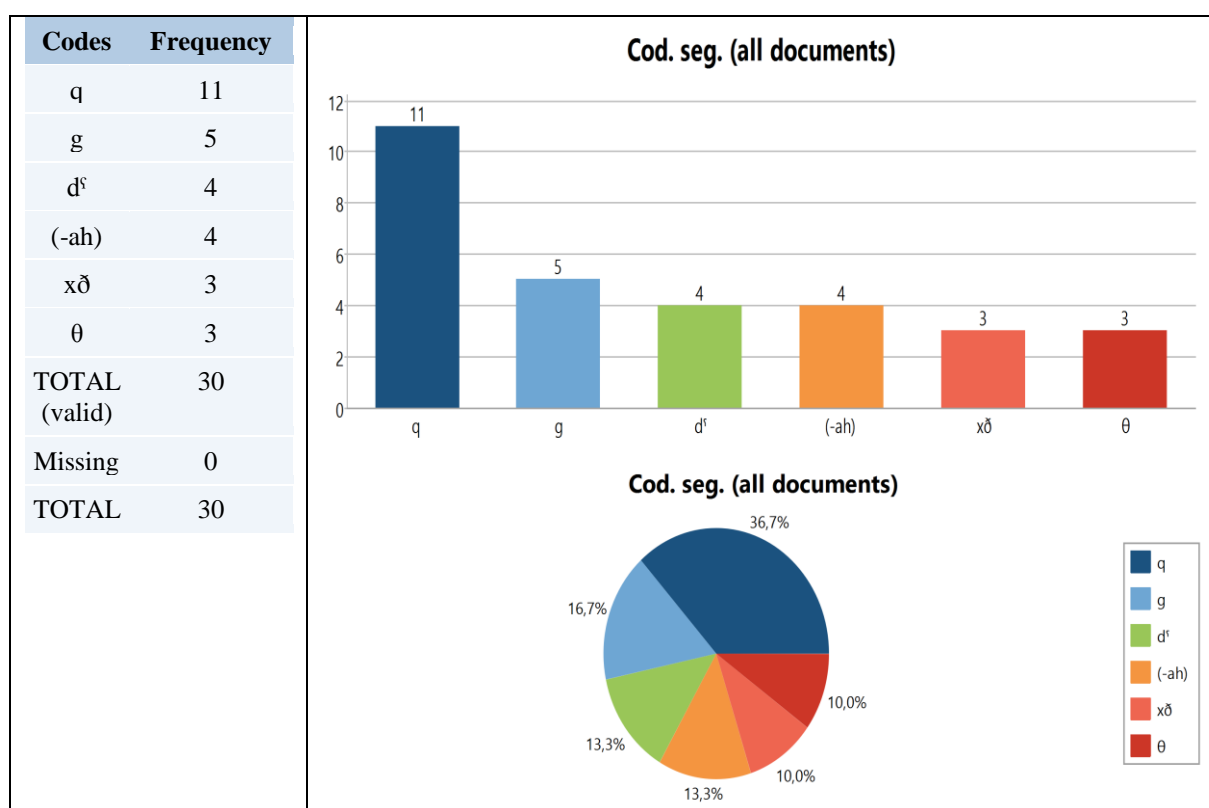


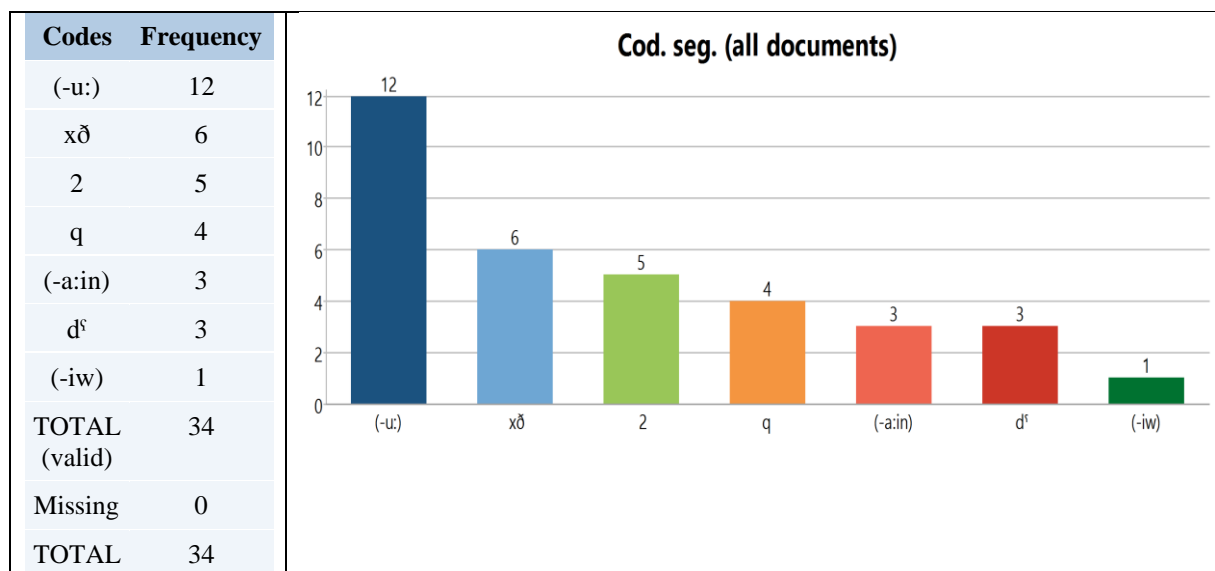
Figure 3.20. The frequency of variants occurrence in V5

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:00:21.4] Elected young man: lqa'ima li rani fiha→aʃxas min ɖawi (+) lkafafa golt awedi momkin anani m3a had (xɖ) lmajmou3a→ neqedrou nexedmou m3a ba3d (xɖ ^s) w neqedrou nexedmou w neweslou lelmobtaɣa maʃi lmobtaɣa ta3na→ wa'inama lmobtaɣa 'laɖi yasbou ileyh elmowatin w li howa enou yelqa ʃaxs bijanibih (-ah) ya3ni yesma3lah (-ah) w y7awel yeswjedlah (-ah) 7oloul lel'inʃiɣalet nta3ah (-ah) aydan (xɖ ^s) qadiyatou oxra howa enou 7ta ykoun 3and l'aʃxas ɖawi el'i3aqa (+) 3onwan maʃi ɣi l'i3aqa lbasariya ykoun 3andhoum tamθil fi lkotla elbarlamaniya l'enou nʃoufou 'enou men moudat l'istiqlal fi lmajlis ʃa3bi lwatani makanʃ hatta wa7el momaθil 3an maʃi ɣi fi'at lmo3aqin wa'inama ga3 lfi'at lhaʃa fi lmojtama3...
3	[0:01:18.9] Elected young man: binisba lya ana l'i3aqa lbasariya makanet abadan 7ajiz fi l7ayat nta3i→ roɣm elmo3iqat roɣm el7awajiz→ roɣm ba3d ^s l'a7yan ta3assofat li kamel d ^s edi fel7ayat dirasiya wela lmihaniya ana manʃoufhaʃ ila 7awafiz lya baʃ netqedem lel'amam w mad ^s enitʃ enou l'intixabat wela doxoul fi elmajlis ʃa3bi hya s3iba baʃ tkoun godam l'i3aqa lbasariya bel3aks wa7ed ʃaxs mou3aq basariyan wyousel li moustawa enou ykoun ba7iθ fi doktora mayexfeʃ 3lik beli lmasar dirasi rah fih kima ngoulou bezaf mo3iqat...

3.5.6. Results of video 6

This video is part of an interview between a journalist and an old woman and an old man from Tlemcen; they have been interviewed about an artist who was supposed to be part of their family and surrounding. The participants were filmed and therefore high awareness is raised with regard to speech production and the formal context they are all in.



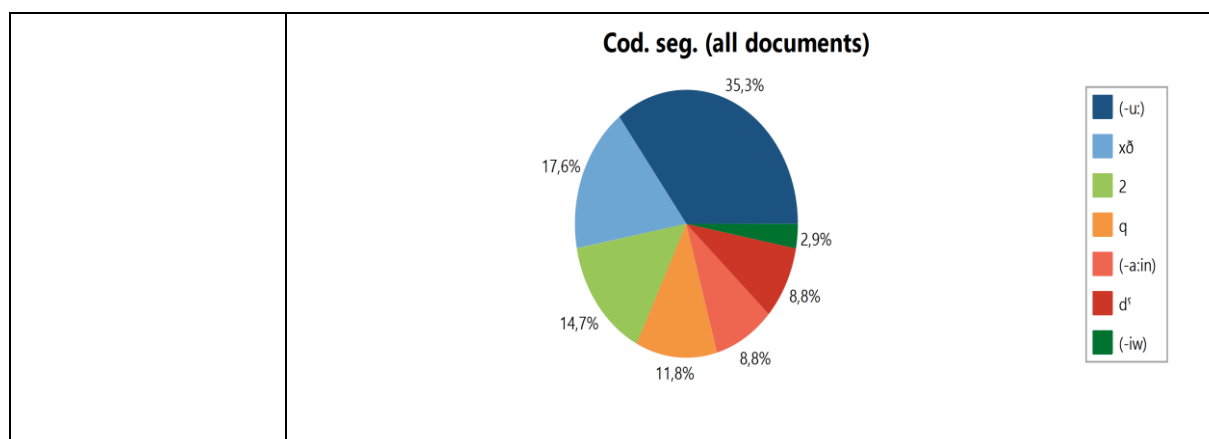


Figure 3.21. The frequency of variants occurrence in V6

Excerpt

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Young woman:** sh7el f 3omrek 7biba?→
- 2 [0:00:11.3] **Old woman:** oumaana3reft... balak mya wella myatayen (-a:in) wela mya w3aʃra lyeh rani syira?→... howa kan ye2ra lfransis w l3arbiya, dja bba 2alou ro7 te2ra dja howa 2alou mane2raʃ 3ya yehreblou (-u:) 3ya m3ah 2alou (-u:) mane2raʃ 2alou (-u:) 2assem texdem 2alou (-u:) nexdem n3awen rassi 2alou (-u:) ya bnelkelb temʃi te2ra xirlek 2alou (-u:) mane2raʃ 3ya y2ayas fih bel7jer ya3ya 7ta beda y2oulha mata3tehʃ yakoul iya ki beda yekber ʃwya mʃa yexdem 3and boudelfa yla tessem3ou bih kan 7ta howa 2ali iya ki ykounou yexedmou rehoum yexedmou w ki matkounʃ y2oulou (-u:) ha: ki ta3mel ha: ki ta3mel hagda→ t3allem mn hadi (xð) l hadi (xð) mn hadi (xð) l hadi (xð) 7ta makemel xmestaʃel3am setaʃel3am 7ta 3mel hala kbira... (to the journalist)
- 3 [0:01:27.4] **Old man:** ana baʃ 3reftou (-u:) 2ed 2ed, howa kan f la3ras kan yqim 7afalat f lqahwa ta3 l7aj 3alal lihna lta7t wmba3d felmeʃta w rbi3 yexdem la3ʃyat m setta del 3ʃya lel 3aʃra ta3 lil w temma kan t3allem howa kan yqoulli 3liha lah yer7mou (-u:) qali hadi (xð) na3amlouha moraja3a ta3na 3la xater kan f la3ras mayexdemʃ leʃyal lli... rek 3aref yi leʃyal li xfef li ma3roufin wa inama ana f lqahwa la kan yexdem koula youm sen3a w leʃyel li yexdemhoum f hadik (xð) sen3a mat3awedʃ tesma3hom→ sen3a tweli b ʃyel wahdoxrin walakin hadouk (xð) leʃyel li tyenaw (-aw) maywelliwʃ (-iw) maba2iʃ y3awdou yer3ou ila ba3d lmouda ta3 3amayen (-a:in) wela telt snin... w l7fadʳa kan f sen3a tamamen 3labalou (-u:) 3omrou (-u:) walayʃouf f 7a lkaret wela yensa kelma wela walou w fel7awzi kadalik (xð) ... fel7awzi ka bentriki→ ka bensahla ka bensayeb ra7imahoum lah ... ka ʃix bengnenou ka lmendasi ka lmedeghli bezaf houman w kan ye7fedʳ leqsayed w kayen leqsayed li teg3od b sa3a→ bsa3a w nos qsayed ta3 benetriki kayen lma3loumi kayen leqsayed li twal w kayna hadik (xð) ta3 lmendelsi allahu a3lam li steʃfaw (-aw) fiya wa2ila teg3od 7a sa3tayen (-a:in) w yehfedʳhom elkoul w yexdemhoum w kan takel 3la rassou (-u:) makan takel 7ta 3la wahed...

The glottal stop has occurred 18 times in the speech of the old woman whereas it occurred four times in the speech of the old man who uses the [q] realization instead 9 times. [g] only happened once in the word [yeg3od] ‘he stays’ for it is the sole realization

of the word. The urban variants [t], [d] and [dʰ] are pronounced in favour of [θ], [ð] and [ðʰ] which never show to occur.

3.5.7. Results of video 7

The results presented below are revealed from the speech delivered by an elder man originally from Ghazaouet in the occasion of elections.

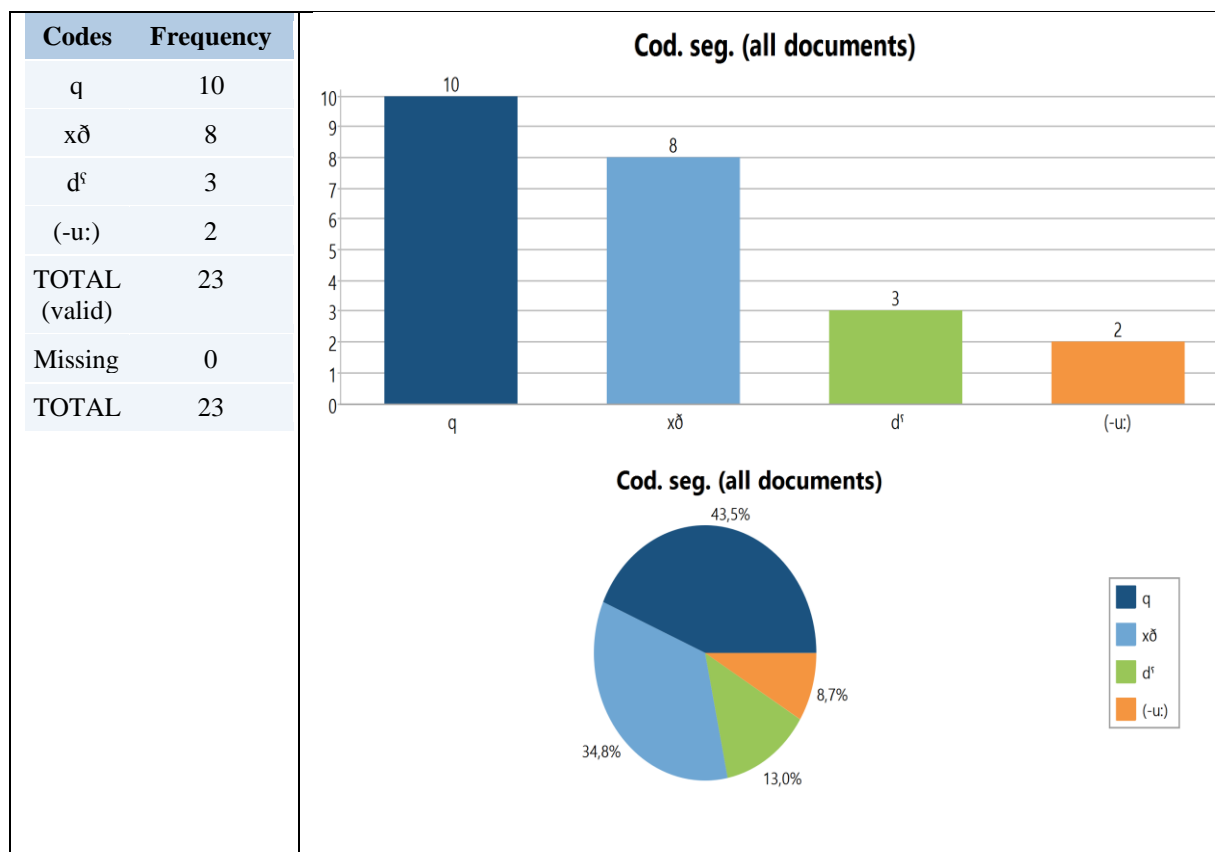


Figure 3.22. The frequency of variants occurrence in V7

Excerpt

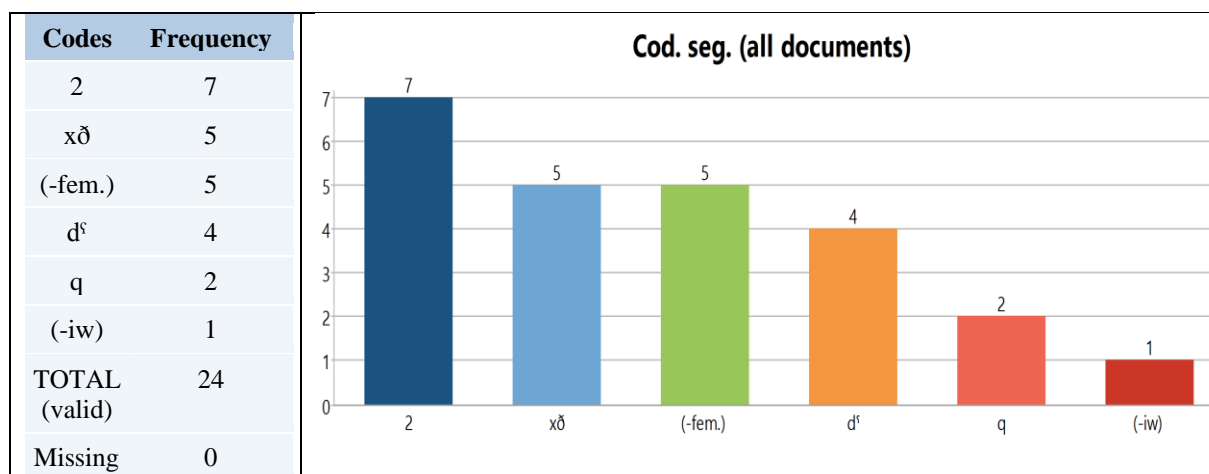
1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:00:33.7] IElected elder: laqad nadʰamna kama la7adʰtom lqa3a momtali'a 3ala l'axir w 7adʰara jami3 mowatini w sakini da'irat lghazawat bi sifa 3ama wa takalamna 3ala 3idet niqat minha tasgghil nta3 ljiha hadi (xð) nta3na li'anaha jiha 7odoudiya w yxesna tashghil f had (xð) ljiha w xalq manasib 3amal w tkelemna 3ala lmajal lfila7i w lfila7a ghadiya texleq 3idat manasib bilmo'asasat saghira w lmo'asasat lmotawassita kamo'asasat li tasbir lmantoujet aw mo'asasat li ta7wil lfila7i wa kadalik (xð) ljiha ta3na jiha sa7iliya wa siya7a 3adra'e (xð) fiha aktar min tna3sh (+θ) shati'e sawa'e sawa7il lba7riya aw 7amamat ma3daniya aw qimam jibel aw ghabat inshalah min had (xð) siya7a nemtasou elbitala w nsheghlou sakinin nta3 had (xð) ljiha el7odoudiya

wakadalik (xð) yxesna fi had (xð) ljiha masani3 kbira li td^fom xemsemyat 3amil wela tshaghal xamsemyat 3amil fama fawq inchaallah w hderna 3la naql bi sifa 3ama naql ljawwi naql lba7ri li'ana wilayat tilimsan fiha matar dawli w fiha mina'e aw ma7ata ba7riya dawliya li naql lmosafirin fiha sika l7adidiya lazem 3lina nfekrou bayash bash nshaalah ntemnouha (+θ) wela nshalah nwelou nketfou min had (xð) lxotout inshalah xasatan xasatan naql lba7ri... ljiha ta3na fiha lmoghtaribin bezaf sawa'an ra7alat ljawwiya aw lba7riya w inshaallah shabab hada (xð) nwefroulou (-u:) lmanasib nta3 l3amal w nweslou l'inshighalat nta3 sakina hadi (xð) lisolta wlqima w inshallah hada howa (xð) lmaham nta3 lbaralamani howa isal l'inshighalat lmowatinin kima qolt felkelma nta3i fi isal inshighal lmowatin d^fa3if bi3aql sharif inshalah hadi hya w hadi (xð) amana 3la rqabina w yla wselna manebexloush had lmowatin... w manensash nqoul lelmowatin nqoulou (-u:) bayash yemshi yentaxeb bi qiwa awalan min ajl ljaza'ir yemshi lsanadiq wa marakiz l'iqтира3 w mayensash bayash yentaxebna 7na el7izb lmatin raqm wa7ed w tlatin (+θ) wa shokran wa salamo 3alaykoum... (to the journalist)

The excerpt summarised in figure (3.22) show that although the speaker tends to use Standard Arabic in his formal speech, mixture with his dialect could not be avoided. At a matter of fact, many urban features have appeared in his speech. Some home-dialect specific variants have been avoided as [k] in [kel] 'say' and many other lexicall items including replacing [bayash] by [bash] 'in order to' where the former is ghazaouatee and the latter is commonly used among people in other regions of Tlemcen.

3.5.8. Results of video 8

The excerpt below has been taken from a documentary presented in Eldjazeera Channel for explaining the rituals of weddings in Tlemcen city. The first conversation run between the bride and her mother, the second one between the bride's mother and the groom's mother and the third is an illustration given by a tourist guide specialized in cultural heritage in the city. All the speakers are females.



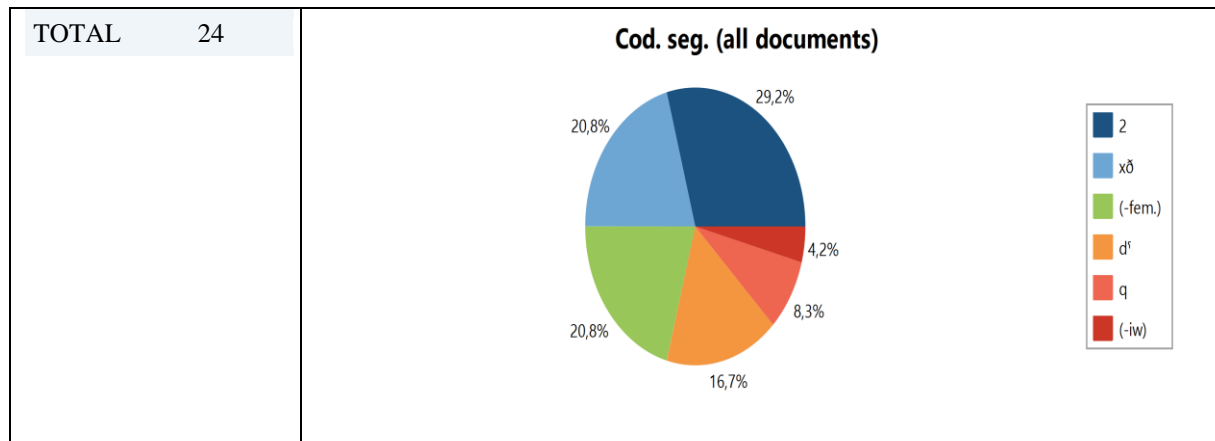


Figure 3.23. The frequency of variants occurrence in V8

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:03:15.2] Bride : mama hada (xð) sh7el matferejnash l'album ta33orsek
3	Her mother : eeh xessek tshouf l3ors kifesh?
4	Bride : yih
5	Her mother : iya aji (-fem.) benti nwerilek aji (-fem.)... hta ana kont 2edek hagdʳa w jaw yexetbouni w hadi (xð) w hata ana la meme chose kuma di hadi (xð) ki rik tina ki 3ejbeuk... iya hawada (xð) benti shou (-fem.) mdexlini 3rousa shou (-fem.) l2erftan
6	Bride : iya hta na na3mel haydʳa
7	Her mother : yek benti? La nchalah na3melek (-fem.) maxir
8	Bride : ni xifana shwiya
9	Her mother : rik xifana yek? Matxafsh benti sheft l3ors ta3 xtek kish 3abinaha
10	Bride : yih
11	Her mother : toujours y3ardʳoulhoum bel2erftan toujours chedda tkoun keyna w hadi (xð) hya
12	[0:05:09.5] Bride's mother : n2oulha benti xessek rajel ki yshoufek mra ta3ref 7oqouqek w wajibatek
13	Groom's mother : yih
14	Bride's mother : hadi (xð)hya
15	Groom's mother : 7na 3arfin trebya w 7na 3arfin
16	Bride's mother : kish n2oullek.. lmra lli t2oum b 3yalha w xyamha
17	Groom's mother : ewa 7na 3lesh xtarinakoum?
18	Bride's mother : yih?

19	Groom's mother: haa 3la kolshi w 2allek kol sba3 b sen3a.. ewa jiboulna xesna nshoufou la3rousa
20	Bride's mother: yih
21	Groom's mother: ewa tbarkellah 3la 3rousetna tbarkellah.. lah ysexer
22	[0:05:45.9] Guide: iya ydexlouha w yga3douha ta7t l7ayek yessetrouha w ydoro 3liha le3rayssat w yeshet7ou belmadi7 li kayna w ki ykounou ydourou 3liha xotha wela riha lta7t ya3amloulha la3ker fi wejha... l3onwan ta3 hadek (xð) la3ker howa ramz la7shouma belma3na 3rousetna te7shem w hadouk (xð) niqat lbayd ^a 'e li fou2hom ya3niw (-iw) riha tetfettah ki lwerda

3.5.9. Results of video 9

The excerpts bellow are taken from a documentary that talks about traditional clothes of Tlemcen. Figure (3.24) represents how many times the variants have occurred in the workers' performance.

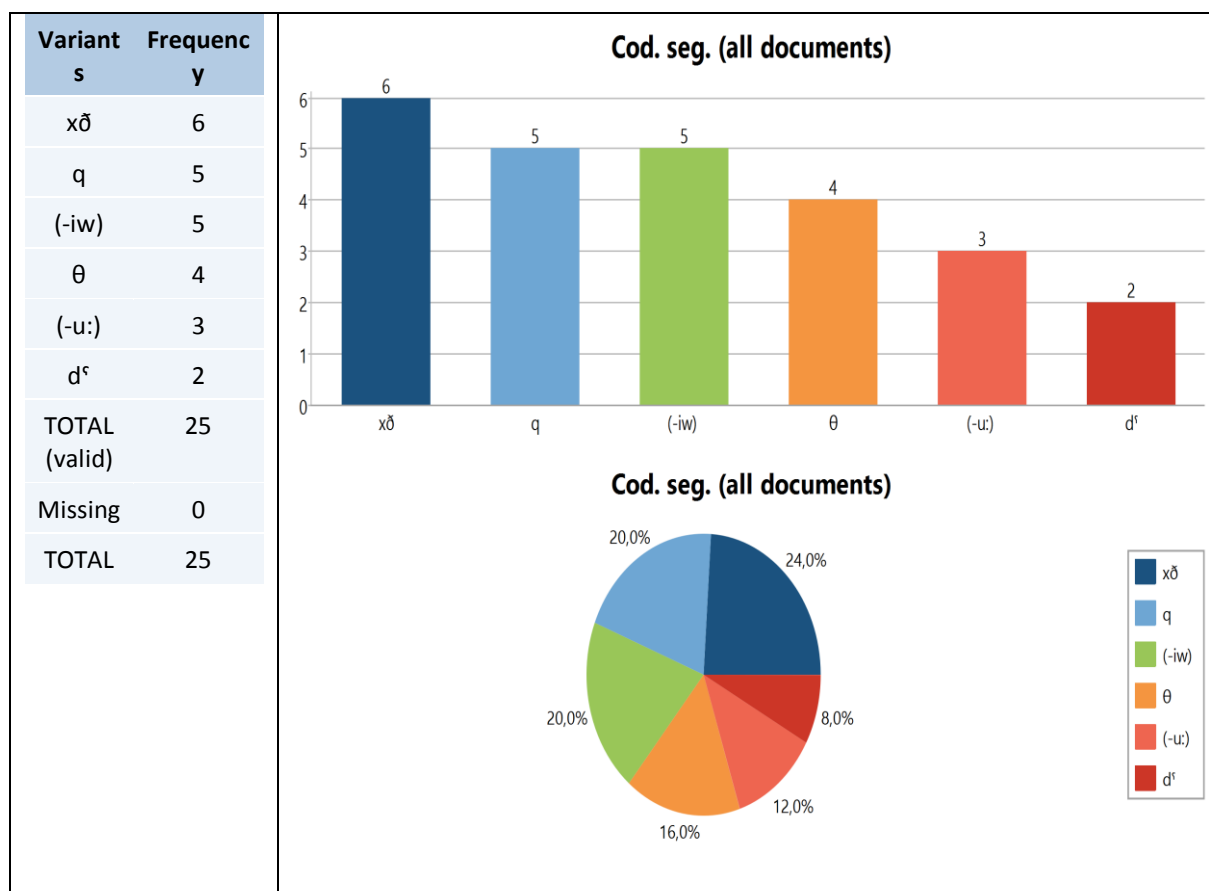


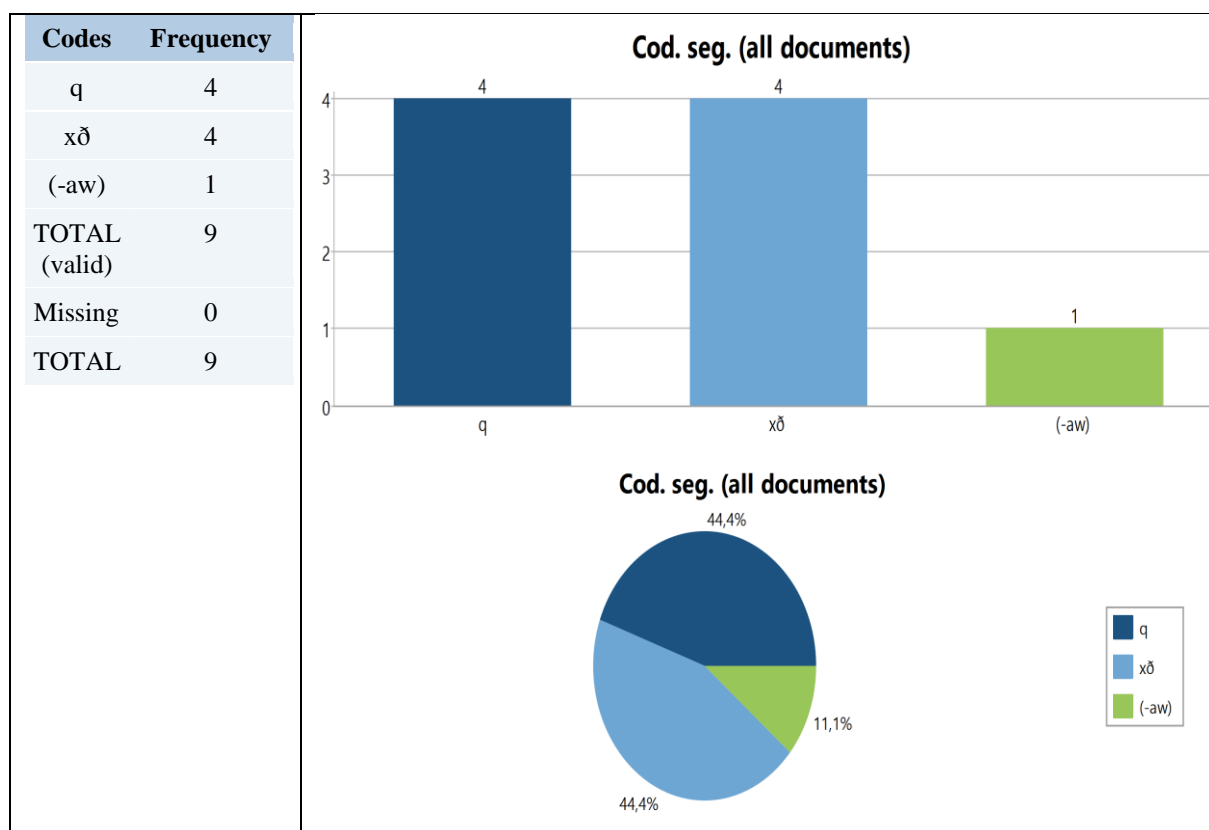
Figure 3.24. The frequency of variants occurrence in V9

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:02:07.1] Silk weaver : had (xǝ) lmendil xessou (-u:) y3awed yetfettel bi tariqa kayen nsa met3almin men bekri l had (xǝ) l7erfa yfetlough alors ki yfetlough hada (xǝ) yji foq ras li fayen shashiya ta3 lqeftan
3	[0:02:27.9] Velvet maker : rshouma taqlidiyin ta3 zman mithl (+θ) lqeftan lli rah hna hada (xǝ) rshem ta3 zman... hada (xǝ) lqeftan la3rousa tlemsenia texrouj bih men dar babaha w 3dna lxedma ta3ou (-u :) hadi (xǝ) hya lxedma nta3ou (-u:) awal mar7ala tbedi 3la lfilé hna bash nwasiw (-iw) awal mar7ala
4	[0:03:06.6] Embroiderer : ana men bekri nexdemou l2aftan la3rousa bash texrouj bih w texrouj biha w telbes lmensouj ta7a lbas w lfouta w l7zam w shashiya w telbes dheub (xǝ) ta7a w texrouj ... hadou (xǝ) ki nxejrouhom n3awdou nwegfouhom shghol ndewrohom w nxaytohom hagd'a w yjiw (-iw) hagd'a w yjiw (-iw) fo2 ras ta3 la3rousa yji m3a l2aftan
5	[0:09:11.2] Guide : ra7na mojbarin bash nxeliw (-iw) libas taqlidi tilimsani nta3na libas taqlidi mahd' nwertouh (+θ) l'ajjalna li yjiw (-iw) men ba3dna kuma li 7na wretnah (+θ) 3la l'ajjad tawa3na w had (xǝ) libas lazem yedxol f lmawrout (+θ) taqafi (+θ) l3alami

3.5.10. Results of video 10

This conversation happened between two tlemcen male inhabitants when presenting their background information about the city's mosques to the journalist. Figure (3.25) represents the frequencies of the variants found in the speech of the speakers.



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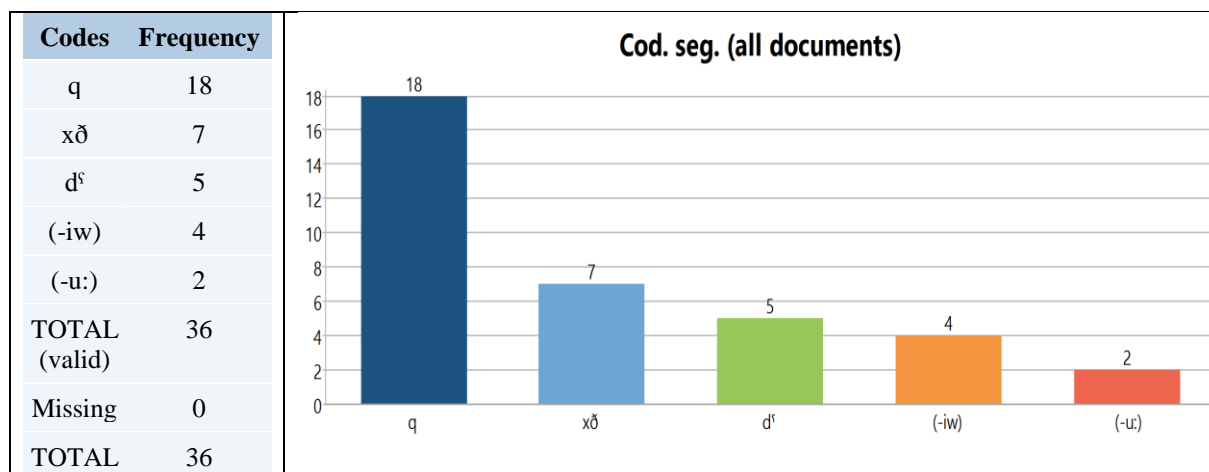
Figure 3.25. The frequency of variants occurrence in V10

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:01:13.2] Male inhabitant 1: besa7 kayen bab zir w kayen jama3 sid e17alwi
3	Male inhabitant 2: sidel 7alwi wah kayen zouj... laa ta3 bab zir howa lewel
4	Male inhabitant 1: laa besa7 sma7li kuma tqoul hadi (xð) sa fé set siekl wela peut etre plus ta3 ljama3 lekbir
5	Male inhabitant 2: hadek (xð) ljama3 ta3 bab zir
6	Male inhabitant 1: yih
7	Male inhabitant 2: men waqt lmorabitin
8	Male inhabitant 1: eyih
9	Male inhabitant 2: mourah 3ad sidel7alwi.... iya bqaw (-aw) 3la xir
10	Male inhabitant 1: hadi (xð) ma3louma mliha
11	Male inhabitant 2: hadi (xð) tediha men 3andi
12	Male inhabitant 1: washenhwa hna ki ngoulou tlemcen nqoulou ljama3 lekbir w nqoulou tani ljama3 ta3 sidi boumedién

3.5.11. Results of video 11

This excerpts has been taken from an Algerian TV show. It consists of a conversation between a journalist and an embroiderer of traditional clothes in Tlemcen. Figure (3.26) represents the frequencies of occurrence related to the variants under investigation.



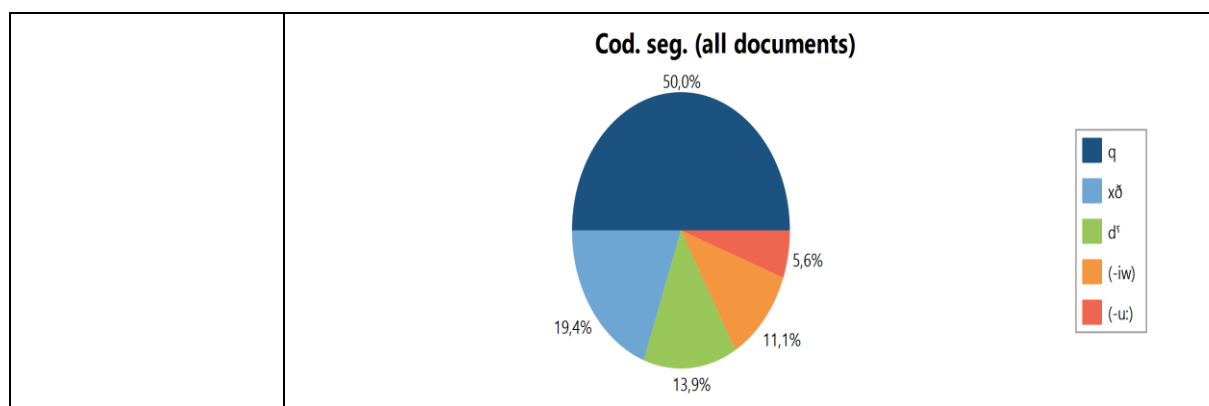


Figure 3.26. The frequency of variants occurrence in V11

Excerpt

1	[0:00:00.0] Embroiderer: oui hadi (xð) l7erfa kayna ghi f tlemcen... men bekri tlemcen ma3roufa b taqalid surtout lmensouj la baz shghol kayen bezaf 7iraf li matou bessah lmansouj yhawed yhawed y3awed yetla3 la base ta3 tlemcen c lmensouj
2	The journalist : lmensouj yrafeq lqerftan, leblouza li trafeq lqerftan ndirou bih srawel
3	Embroiderer: ndirou bih srawel, jipa, lmendil li tshed 3lih tfettel w kayen blouza complé tetla3 belmensouj
4	The journalist: kifesh jetek l'idee nchoufou derwek qlil les jeunes ta3na li yhetemou b l7iraf w yet3almouha tilqa'iyen
5	Embroiderer: la verité sheft bezaf les jeunes za3ma ki tgoullah (-ah) 7irfa maya3tiksh ahamiya pask taqalid ta3 leblad xes t7afedʰ 3liha aucun jeune apar ana li rani jeune t3allemtha
6	The journalist : w li y7ab yet3allem mathalan yeqder yji hna?
7	Embroiderer: yet3allem bessah xes ykoun intéressé bhad (xð) lxedma pck c'est compliqué surtt f départ tshouf hagdʰa wahed t... ana lewel bessah sbert sbart w lhamdoullah
8	The journalist: habit na3ref wesh houma lmawad l'awaliya lmosta3mala
9	Embroiderer: 3adna l7rir, kayen lfedʰa, w lkradʰbel
10	The journalist: wesh howa lkradʰbel
11	Embroiderer: hada (xð) kifesh ngoullek haja mliha hada (xð) li yzid felblouza w yredha chaba... w 3andi la couleur pck kol mra w t7ot la couleur li te3jeubha
12	The journalist: elle l'a mari 3la 7seb lqerftan ta3ha.. esk lblouza ta3 lmensouj loun lli ykoun fiha yetjanes m3a loun ta3 lqerftan
13	Embroiderer: yih yih kuma loun ta3 lqeftan w kayen lli lblouza tetla3 complé b tisuu ta3 lmansouj kol wahda kifesh t7obha, maron, grena , bleu toutes les couleurs w kayen dheub (xð) hada (xð)
14	The journalist: w mazal kayen talabat 3lih
15	Embroiderer: oui lhamdoullah f tlemcen gotlek il faut elmensouj
16	The journalist: w yjoukoum min wilayat wahdoxin

17	Embroiderer: yjiwni (-iw)mn bel3abes wahren alger 3anaba la plu par lli hna proche lli yjiw (-iw) bezaf
18	The journalist: w blouza kima hak sh7el tshedlek waqt bash texdemha
19	Embroiderer: neg3od fiha troi jours
20	The journalist: telt iyem
21	Embroiderer: yih
22	The journalist: bessah xetrat ygoullek ghali pck fiha xedma fiha waqt kol qit3a taxod waqt kbir w hadi (xð) xedma ta3 yed mashi mashina raha texdemha w tetqenha
23	Embroiderer: w sh7el ma tetlob ygoullek ghali bessah mashafoush kifesh tetla3 xit b xit
24	The journalist: pck kol metra sh7el mn xit dexeltou (-u:) w sh7el mn geste dertou (-u:)
25	Embroiderer: yih

Again, as the previous excerpts have shown, this conversation shows that the man did not use the glottal stop in any of his words with the journalist; instead, [q] and [g] alternately occurred. As for the remaining phonological variants, none of the rural variants are utilized.

3.6. Discussion: formality and koineization in Tlemcen speech

The table bellow along with the figure (3.27) describe the overall frequencies and percentages of all the variables transcribed in the formal speech found in the online material analyzed above.

Variants	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage (valid)
q	122	28,77	28,77
xð	98	23,11	23,11
g	38	8,96	8,96
(-u:)	34	8,02	8,02
d ^f	33	7,78	7,78
(-iw)	25	5,90	5,90
2	19	4,48	4,48
(-fem.)	17	4,01	4,01
θ	15	3,54	3,54
ts	11	2,59	2,59
(-ah)	6	1,42	1,42
(-aw)	3	0,71	0,71
(-a:in)	3	0,71	0,71
TOTAL (valid)	424	100,00	100,00
Missing	0	0,00	-
TOTAL	424	100,00	-

Cod. seg. (all documents)

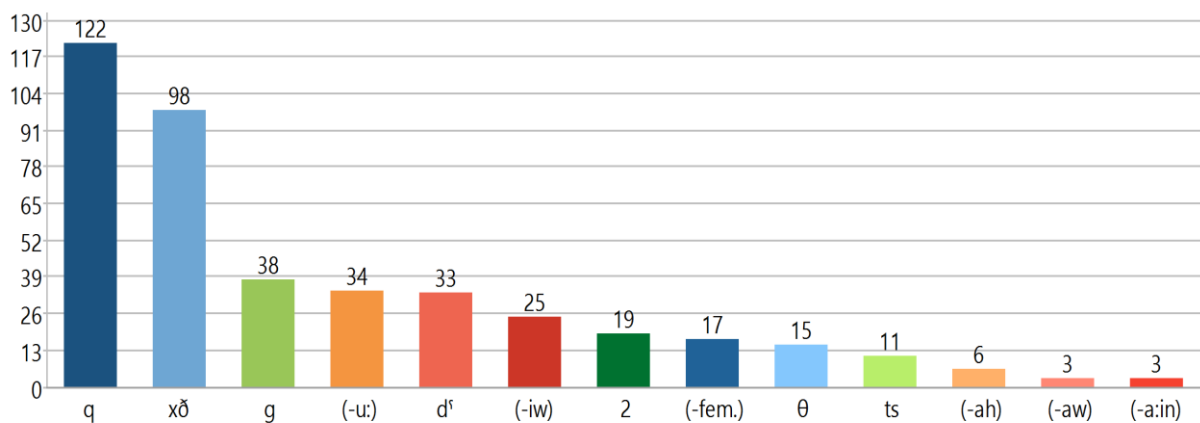


Figure 3.27. The frequency of variants occurrence in all the videos studied

3.6.1. Phonological variation in formal contexts

Phonemes are the most salient aspects of Tlemcenian dialect. Effectively, this aspect is the most characterizing one when it comes to dialect change, accommodation or koineization.

➤ [q] and its variants

[q] occurred 122 times when compared to [g] that has been realized 38 times while [ʔ] has only been performed 19 times in formal speech. Accordingly, one can deduce that the glottal stop, which is a peculiarity of Tlemcen speech, tends to be avoided in formal contexts. As opposed to this, the standard-like variant [q] is implemented in the majority of the conversations. This advocates the idea that standard Arabic has more influence on speakers when it comes to formal speech.

➤ [th] and its variants

Merger of (th) with the voiceless dental [t] in Tlemcenian dialects as one of the Arabic dialects is not a new aspect. Therefore, (th) is colloquialized as [t] in Schmidh's rule (1974). The non-urban realization [th] is only witnessed in few instances which are directly taken from standard Arabic. That is, [th] only exists in instances of speech where words are directly taken from the standard variety. However, its realization as a sedentary stop has been the major fact noticed along the speech. An interesting remark is that (t) has been used in both formal and informal contexts on the expense of (th) which is completely levelled out from one's speech.

➤ [D] and its variants

As opposed to other findings of Arabic dialects that claim that there is a significant relation between gender and [D] variation, results found in our study show that this difference is not significant as both and females use the urban realization in their speech. It shall be noted that no instance along both formal and informal conversations include the rural allophonic realization of the phoneme. These results reflect the idea that (D) of the standard Arabic and its rural realization are eradicated from the speech participants in both formal and informal contexts. This is also included

as a sign of koiné formation in Tlemcen speech which affected more by the level of formality despite it being used in casual speech as well.

3.6.2. Morphological variation in formal contexts

As far as the morphemes tackled in the analysis of formal speech are concerned, the following remarks have been elicited.

First, [-u] has been extensively used on the expense of its rural counterpart [-ah] particularly in formal conversation. It has been noticed that the quality of the realization is moving towards standard Arabic; that is, the [-u] morpheme that is uttered does not belong to the Tlemcenian dialect but to the standard variety of Arabic. For example [teqder tqoul-u; tfahm-u; ta3mel-u; techra7l-u] ‘you can tell him; make him understand; do for him; explain to him’ are felt to be belonging to the standard variety more than being realization of the dialect itself. However, whether it belongs to this or that, [-u] remains an urban morpheme that is one of the signs of koiné use in Tlemcen speakers’ speech as a regional standard.

Second, the null morpheme [Ø] for feminine suffixation to verbs as [fhamt-Ø vs fhamt-i] ‘have you-fem understood’ has not been very much recognized as salient in the speech of participants. There was a mixing between the two realizations of the morpheme; thus, it is possibly induced that there is little attention paid to this morpheme as opposed to the phonological ones.

The dual morpheme [-i:n] is the only variant used in all the analyzed excerpts of speech. The rural form did not show to be uttered in none of the conversations in any type of context; be it formal or informal. Thus, [-i:n] can be overtly said as belonging to the regional koiné in Tlemcen which has overcome the mixing state and has won in favour of the rural [-ayn] that is levelled out in both formal and informal situations.

3.6.3. Lexical variation in formal contexts

The vocabulary used is moving to a simplification process. The words are seen to be chosen and not belonging to any of the two edges (purely rural or purely urban). Speakers had a tendency to use common words used along Algerian speech without any peculiar use of sedentary forms found in the dialect.

3.7. Conclusion

Formality has long been of interest to linguists and sociolinguists. Many of whom have concluded that the concept of formality involves a set of dimensions as those of style, politeness and the knowledge shared (Irvine, 1979; Brown and Fraser, 1979). Indeed, along the literature, the formal-informal difference has even been recognized as being the most crucial side of variation between speech styles (Heylighen and Dewaele, 1999). Familiarity or social distance with the addressee, opinions or views about the subject matter and the conversation objectives can all be revealed via a speaker's level of formality (Hovy, 1987; Endrass et al., 2011).

This chapter has examined dialect contact, change and koineization processes in the speech of participants with regard to degrees of formality. In a combination of field observations, jotting notes, and secondary resources, ethnography has proved its efficiency as a method of research especially that aspects of speech were portrayed and analyzed from an insider and an outsider lens.

Results have shown that speakers are aware of the relationship between the context they are in and the dialect that must be used. In addition to emphasizing urban variants, levelling out rural variants has been the common finding between casual and formal contexts although formal speech is much more influenced by Standard Arabic. In other words, whatever is the degree of formality, rural variants as [th] [D] [DH] are avoided in favour of their urban counterparts in both formal and informal contexts; [ʔ] is avoided in casual speech by males and in formal speech by both genders where [q] is much more used. Phonology is the most salient aspect of dialect change and the koiné formation.

After dealing with and carefully examining variation in relation to degrees of formality, one can answer the fundamental question that has been raised in this part of research: are there any signs for an emerging koiné in Tlemcen speech? The response is certainly “yes”. Aspects of koineization are found in both formal and informal contexts with a slight change in very formal situations especially when it concerns the use of the glottal stop and some lexical items that are peculiar to Tlemcen dialect. Reaching understanding and achieving an intelligible communication are the basic and ultimate

objectives of any speech that has been examined and analyzed in this study; these are the aims of koiné use, in general. Koiné, in the first assumption of the study, is used for a simplification of speech to promote communication and avoid any sort of negativity in the variants used. Data have reflected aspects of levelling which are of paramount importance in koiné formation.

Beside communication goals, koiné is said to be either a regional standard or a lingua franca; and formal contexts have proved this as true. The speakers whose speech have been analyzed show to be users of a refined version of the dialect. Tlemcen speech, like any other dialect in Algeria, has its specificities which makes it not only different from others but also sometimes a bit difficult to grasp particularly if the listener implemented in the conversation does not have direct contact or a good exposure to the variety. For this reason, participants were found to use a refined version of the dialect which is an initiation to a regional standard that takes from the different co-existing dialects as its base but from achieving a successful communication as its ultimate objective. Signs of an emerging koiné are more brilliant when it comes to formal situations; still the same variants are having roots in informal and casual speech styles as well.

Chapter Four: Gender-Oriented Koineization and Ethnic Identity (Dis)loyalty

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4.1. Introduction

The current chapter is primarily designed to report the raw data that have been gathered in the second phase of the study, namely the experiment. For this, it is structurally divided into three parts. First, a recall of how experimental sociolinguistic data must be analyzed has to be mentioned in order to clarify which approach is followed in the analysis of data. Next, data that have been gathered from focus group discussions which, in turn, have been put in an experimental pot, is considered step by step with regard to the pre/post-test phases of the experiment. A last element is the interpretation of those raw socio-linguistic materials in accordance to the background of the study as well as its general hypotheses.

4.2. From ethnography to focused experimental ethnography

Focused ethnography is a kind of focus groups that is distinct in terms of applying ethnography in order to study people's experiences within a given culture or when sub-cultures come into touch especially that the aim is to comprehend social and cultural practices, beliefs and therefore social meanings particularly sensitive topics as is the case of cultural differences and linguistic distinctiveness in Tlemcen speech community. The philosophical understanding of focused ethnography lies in the idea that values and behaviours are constructed via interaction and are certainly negotiated in groups. Yet, it is worth mentioning that this approach to data has two distinct purposes: first, to analyze participants' beliefs about dialect distinction in the community under investigation; and second, to analyze how they discuss those beliefs with regard to the socio-linguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community.

Far from this, dialects can also be included as part of one's identity and ethnic belonging. For this reason, this part of the research aims at tracing the ethnolinguistic vitality of the linguistic groups once being in intergroup conversations (posttest). A linguistic group's loyalty and vitality can only be measured through examining their behaviour outside the regiolect circle. Accordingly, many groups have been selected for a pretest-posttest experimental study in order to see both their ethnolinguistic vitality as well as their identity loyalty with regard to the assumed emerging regional koiné.

4.3. Results

This section provides the results obtained from the discussions that were made with participants as part of the experimental focused ethnographies. Data are presented in phases including the pre-test where males and females (speakers of the same variety) have been put in separate groups. The aim behind this, as mentioned in the second chapter, was to see the natural speech of subjects once being with the same gender. Post-test one aims at bringing subjects of different genders, who speak the same dialect, together in order to see the effect of gender on dialect variation. Post-test two has per objective tracing the effect of origins on dialect performance and how contact between subjects who are coming from different areas influences dialect maintenance or change.

4.3.1. FGD 1: [q] speakers

4.3.1.1. Pre-test (a): female speakers

Table (4.1) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the first experimental group. This group includes five participants who are speakers of the urban variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [q]-pronunciation.

Table 4.1. Illustration of focused ethnography of [q] male speakers in the pre-test phase

Time: afternoon				
Location: Library of the Department of English				
Moderator: Xadidja				
Note-taker: The researcher				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amina	22	Nedroma	Nedroma
P2	Razika	18	Nedroma	Nedroma
P3	Kenza	19	Tlemcen	Nedroma
P4	Hafsa	19	Remchi	Nedroma
P5	Hanene	26	Meghnia	Nedroma

In the pre-test phase, participants have been gathered according to their similarities. That is, they have been put together for they belong to the same gender and same origins and therefore same spoken dialect.

➤ **Dialect maintenance in female in-group conversations**

The regiolect that is characterized by the pronunciation of [q] is recognized in the Arabic literature of the Maghrebi dialects as a sedentary form. The group of female subjects selected to be speakers of this variety tend to be all preservative, without exception. The pronunciation of the dialect was practically the same among all females and the sense of belonging was felt accordingly.

4.3.1.2. Pre-test (b): male speakers

Table (4.2) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the first experimental group. This group includes five male subjects who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [q]-pronunciation.

Table 4.2. Illustration of focused ethnography of [q] male speakers in the pre-test phase

Time: Morning				
Location: Library of the Department of English				
Moderator: Islam				
Note-taker: xadidja (after the recording)				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Youssef	20	Fellaoucen	Nedroma
P2	Islam	24	Nedroma	Nedroma
P3	Hichem	24	Meghnia	Nedroma
P4	Boumediene	23	Meghnia	Nedroma
P5	Djahid	22	Nedroma	Nedroma

➤ **Dialect change in male in-group conversations**

The results that have been recorded have shown that there is a considerable amount of change in the variants used by male speakers. The change occurred particularly when the researcher was speaking at the beginning of the conversation in order to explain the details of what they were supposed to do during the discussion. However, in later procedures subjects have shown a good tendency of group convergence and affiliation. The change was remarkable in the pronunciation of some vowels and the [q] realization as [g] in the majority of times.

4.3.1.3. Post-test 1 (different gender/ same area)

Table (4.3) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the first experimental group during the first post-test phase. This group includes six participants (of both genders) who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [q]-pronunciation. As explained earlier, the aim of this operation was to trace the effect of gender on the performance of subjects.

Table 4.3. Illustration of focused ethnography of [q] speakers in the 1st post-test phase

Time: Morning				
Location: Library of the Department of English				
Moderator: Amina & xadidja				
Note-taker: khadidja				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amina	22	Nedroma	Nedroma
P2	Raziqa	18	Nedroma	Nedroma
P3	Hanene	26	Maghnia	Nedroma
P4	Islam	24	Nedroma	Nedroma
P5	Youssef	20	Fellaoucen	Nedroma
P6	Hichem	24	Maghnia	Nedroma

➤ **The effect of gender on dialect variation**

One of the most surprising results is the maintenance of home dialects among the subjects in this group conversation. Both males and females have recognized each other as belonging to the same origin and therefore the same identity. Thence, they kept speaking the same way along the conversation. Following these remarks, one might conclude that gender, as a social variable, does not affect the pronunciation of [q] dialect speakers. There is indeed a good sense of identity affiliation and social belonging that is felt in the performance of the subjects.

4.3.1.4. Post-test 2 (different gender/ different area)

Table (4.4) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the first experimental group under the second post-test. This group includes eight subjects who are divided into speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [q]-pronunciation in addition to subjects speaking other Tlemcenian varieties.

Table 4.4. Illustration of focused ethnography of [q] speakers in the 2nd post-test phase

Time:				
Location: Library Mohamed Dib (Department of English)				
Moderator: Amina+xadidja				
Note-taker: khadidja				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amina	22	Nedroma	Nedroma
P2	Raziqa	18	Nedroma	Nedroma
P3	Hanene	26	Meghnia	Nedroma
P4	Ali	24	Chetouane	Tlemcen
P5	Ghizlene	22	Imama	Tlemcen
P6	Habib	21	Sebdou	Sebdou
P7	Walid	21	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouet
P8	Ayoub	22	Chazaouet	Ghazaouet

➤ **The effect of contact among different origins and regions on dialect variation**

Not surprising at all were the results of the conversation between subjects from different origins. The change has been clear in everyone’s way of speaking. All subjects have been seen to be trying to speak in a moderate manner. By moderate, it is meant that the variety used was not so salient. In other words, the subjects have shown a good awareness that they are sociolinguistically different which allows them to shift their dialect to what is ‘more common’ and less marked in the Tlemcenian society or among youth’s speech. With the exception of female speakers of the urban dialect, everyone has shown a refinement in their way of speaking which is presented later.

4.3.2. FGD 2: [g] speakers

4.3.2.1. Pre-test (a): male speakers

Table (4.5) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the second experimental group. This group includes five participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [g]-pronunciation.

Table 4.5. Illustration of focused ethnography of [g] male speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: Library Mohamed Dib, Department of English				
Moderator: Nassim				
Note-taker: Xadidja				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Abdessamad	20	Oulad mimoun	Rural
P2	Abdelfattah	26	Meghnia	Rural
P3	Bensayah	22	Tlemcen	Rural
P4	Abdelbasset	20	Sebdou	Rural
P5	Oussama	21	Sebdou	Rural

➤ **Dialect maintenance in male in-group conversations**

Results of this conversation reveal that maintenance cannot only be expressed by females but also by male speakers. Particularly those of Sebdou, the rural dialect has been emphasized and the subjects have a very salient way of speaking which they emphasize and foster while speaking. There is a tendency among them to show their dialect as a symbol of their belonging.

4.3.2.2. Pre-test (b): female speakers

Table (4.6) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the second experimental group. This group includes five female subjects who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [g]-pronunciation.

Table 4.6. Illustration of focused ethnography of [g] female speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: Library of the Department				
Moderator: Khadidja				
Note-taker: after recording				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Aya	23	Sabra	Rural

P2	Rima	26	Sabra	Rural
P3	Soumia	24	Sebdou	Rural
P4	Zahira	21	Remchi	Rural
P5	Sara	22	Tlemcen	Rural

➤ **Dialect change in rural females’ in-group conversations**

As opposed to rural males who have revealed a good tendency to maintain and retain their original variety, originally rural females were noticed to change their way of speaking. However, it should be mentioned that this shift touches only some sounds and few words such as [t] and [d]. The content that shows a person as rural or coming from rural origins can be still felt in the girls’ speech.

4.3.2.3. Post-test 1 (different gender/ same area)

Table (4.7) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the second experimental group. This group includes six subjects of different genders who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [g]-pronunciation.

Table 4.7. Illustration of focused ethnography of [g] speakers in the 1st post-test phase

Location: Library of the Department				
Moderator: khadidja+ Aya				
Note-taker: after recordings				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Soumia	24	Sebdou	Rural
P2	Fatima	22	Bensekrane	Rural
P3	Aya	21	Sabra	Rural
P4	Mohamed A	22	Sebdou	Rural
P5	Chihabe	23	Chetouane	Rural
P6	Otmane	26	Sebdou	Rural

➤ **The effect of gender on dialect variation**

In this case, gender did not show to have any effect on the speech of the subjects. Neither males nor females were seen to be modifying their speech. The same refined way of speaking that has been exercised in the pretest separately was exposed in the posttest at this level.

4.3.2.4. Post-test 2 (different gender/ different area)

Table (4.8) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the second experimental group during the second post-test. This group includes eight participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [g]-pronunciation in addition to other subjects from different dialectal backgrounds.

Table 4.8. Illustration of focused ethnography of [g] speakers in the 2nd post-test phase

Location: library				
Moderator: khadidja				
Note-taker: after recordings				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Aya	23	Sabra	Rural
P2	Amira	22	Tlemcen	Urban
P3	Ayoub	22	Ghazaouet	Rural
P4	Youssef	20	Fellaoucen	Urban
P5	Yassine	23	Tlemcen	Urban
P6	Ali	24	Chetouane	Urban
P7	Rima	26	Sabra	Rural
P8	Gaouer	21	Tlemcen	Urban

➤ **The effect of contact among different origins and regions on dialect variation**

This conversation was one of the most colored among the ones performed previously. Subjects were from different origins which assumes everyone to have a different dialect. This is what contact situations bring as a result which is vividly a proof to the pre-supposed research hypothesis. The latter entails that, once speakers coming from different areas get in touch in one single conversation, refinement does not occur to what is prestigious (as is the case for the urban variety) but to what is more common and basically accepted among people taking part within that conversation.

4.3.3. FGD 3: [ʔ] speakers

4.3.3.1. Pre-test (a): male speakers

Table (4.9) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the third experimental group. This group includes five participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [ʔ]-pronunciation.

Table 4.9. Illustration of focused ethnography of [?] male speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: administration office				
Moderator: khadidja				
Note-taker: researcher				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Ali	24	Chetouane	Urban
P2	Yassine	23	Tlemcen	Urban
P3	Amine	23	Tlemcen	Urban
P4	Alae	22	Tlemcen	Urban
P5	Xaled	24	Tlemcen	Urban

➤ **Dialect change among males**

Despite the fact that the boys who have been implemented in this part of research claimed that they are of urban origins and they speak the urban Tlemcenian dialect, there is a great change in their speech. This change has been noticed even if when they have been gathered in one single group as coming from the same background. The following excerpt shows an example of the speech extracted from the recording of male speakers.

Conversation 1:

Ali : nahadrou f la had soujijet
'we are supposed to talk about these topics'
 Mohamed : lmawdouf l?awal ayam ramadan
'the first topic is ramadan'
 Ali: ramadaan
'ramadan'
 Mohammed: f remdan wassem tebda t'utilizi klayem
'in ramadan, what do you use as words'
 Ali: m?adbin hhhh
'polite'
 Amine: tbedi tnoud f la rebfa taf lafshya
'you wake up at 4 pm'
 Ali : ey should i be honest about it?
'should I be honest?'
 Mohamed: ewa maflich
'sure'
 Amin: yes go ahead
'yes'
 Mohamed: laa za?ma kifesh tfewet remdan c tt
'no, she means how you spend these days, that's all'
 Ali: fadi tafjebni
'I like it'
 Mohamed: laa f remdan makanch haja jdid makanch des termes jdoud kima felSid tbedi
 fidek mebrouk fidek mebrouk bessah f remdan normal... iya w zid wassem yetbedel tani
'no, in ramadan there is nothing new except in the feast'

- Nassim: tketter m lSibadat slat lqor?an
'you pray more and read more quran'
- Amine: kima Ali
'like Ali'
- Ali: wah bna dem ywelli fqih f remdan hhhh
'yes, you become religious in ramadan'
- Amine: ali f remdan matchoufahch hhh yketter lmotalaSa
'you don't see Ali in ramadan, he reads books only'
- Mohamed: wah kont nji hta l tema nHassen w manetlaqakch
'I used to come until there to shave my hair, but I didn't see you'
- Ali: tHassen temma? Rak tji l Houmti tHassen
'you come till there?'
- Mohamed : wah haha that's the joke.. ana m oujlida
'yes, that's the joke, I'm from oujlida'
- Ali: m oujlida tji l negrier tHassen.. 3andmn
'from oujlida to chetouane for this'
- Mohamed : 3and wahed jay chwya kbir ngoullah ghi derfah w sayi ana ma3andish hadik ta3 coupat wela drebli dik
'it's an old one'
- Ali: reba flih lkebda
'you got accustomed to him'
- Amine: flash bik temchi hta l tem.. chri tendeuse f dar w Hassen l rassek
'why do you have to go there, buy one for yourself'
- Mohamed : w kish ndir
'and how would I do'
- Nassim: kish bash yetrassi ha lprobleme
'how to follow it, that's the issue'
- Mohamed: yawedi dertha xetra
'I have tried it once'
- Ali: bessah kish hadi tetrassi zaSmak to be honest ana jamais cheftek metrassi hhhh Sla l3am mghoufel les pates
'I have never seen your beard shaved correctly'
- Mohamed: laa hadouk les pates yegoSdou hadou daxlin m3a lahya rak fahem
'these are included within my beard, do you get me?'
- Amine: nta rah sarilek kuma hadek lli gSad ghi mashi jay Sand lcoiffeur naqasli m les pates naqasli m les pates hhhh
'making fun of their mate'
- Mohamed: kima hadek smin lli mcha ydir diet nsit ljoke hhh rah fya zhaymer
'like that fat guy who wanted to go on diet haha I forgot the joke'
- Nassim: wahed gal nokta madahakch w wahed nsaha ga3 hhhh
'one says a joke that is not funny and another forgot about it'
- Ali: ana 3andi jokes bessah chwya
'I got jokes but a bit...'
- Mohamed: yek gatlek xoud rahtek hhhh
'she said feel free'
- Ali: chet kifesh when you are observed ta3ya taSya b hadik l awareness bessah
'you see when you are observed, your awareness is triggered'
- Amine: wah calm down bro
'so calm down bro'
- Ali: ana fya hadik taS parfois netleg rouhi bezaf
'sometimes I forget about myself'
- Mohamed : wah toujours yexroujlek xerja grave flabalek hhhh
'he acts weird, you know'

Ali : Imouhim ayam ramadan ; ana hadek le changement de rythme yenchafni taƕ remdan manekdebch ƕlik

'I don't lie, the rhythm of ramadan kills me'

Nassim : yawedii walou walou

'not at all'

Ali : chou tkoun gabel programme chbeyeb rek chayef textar nhar bash tetrini w bash dir ha l3afsa iya ki tegbed dek rythm chbiyeb iya yjik remdan kolchi yetgalleb w twelli t3ich f lil

'you start to be well organized with your rythm having plans for sports and any other thing then everything changes once ramadan comes and you start living in the night'

Amine : had lextra sratli ana kont netrini m qbel remdan m3a jarna iya w hchemt maqeditch nhabes wellah ila sebt rassi tyah t reb3a kilo

'this happened to me during this month of ramadan, I used to go to the gym with my neighbour and I felt a bit shy to stop it completely; I carried on playing, I found myself loosing four kilos'

Nassim : ewa ha ki temchi tetrini wenta makali walou

'of course, when you go to the gym without eating, this is the outcome'

Ali : w mn jiha wahdouxra hadik lemlema taƕ gaƕ lqawm w taƕ dar w taƕ lvillage wella

'and from anoher side, the gathering of the family is nice'

Mohammed : t7ass t7ass beli ljaw tbedel w gaƕ.. nas tani

'you feel like the atmosphere has changed and people as well'

Amine: w meme mour remdan tegƕod ki tedreb hadik tnash matqadsh takol c bn twalef hadek rythme

'and even after ramadan, ypu follow the same rhythm'

Mohamed: ana nqed hhh meli y2aden sob7 taƕ lƕid man7abesch hhh lgato li kayen yabes trey qassah jd id qdim gaƕ naklah

'from the prayers of the feast, I don't stop eating all types of cakes'

Nassim: ana les derniers jours taƕ remdan nebqa nxemem ghi f lqahwa taƕ sbah

'during the last days of ramadan I start thinking only about the breakfast'

Amine : laa ana lqahwa taƕ sbah mƕandich probleme mƕaha

'no, personally, I have no problem with the breakfast'

Mohamed: ƕlesh yesra haka pck lqahwa dirlek les nerfs

'why this, because coffee works on your nerves'

Amine: wah lli yketter menha bezaf

'yes, for someone who takes it for too long'

Mohamed: des fois netertag ƕla jel ps ndyaƕ contre atak wella w ywelli ybanlek joueur ƕayan w nta hmar mataƕrefsh telƕab

'sometimes, I get angry due to my PS, it either seems like the player doesn't know how to play or you are stupid and you don't manage it'

Amine : wah hawada mwalef biha

'yes, this one got used to it'

Mohamed : ali teshrob qahwa bezaf ?

'Ali, do you drink lots of coffee?'

Ali: yep

'yes'

Mohamed: hata ana hakekk des fois neshrob seta f safa haka

'me too, i do the same, around six cups per hour'

Ali: laa bezaf.. ana hadi café noir

'ahh, that's too much... this one is a black coffee'

Mohamed: laa ana neshrobha b lahlib semma ana chwiya ƕlik

'no, I take it with some milk'

Amine: bessah ƕla sbah mashi mliha ƕla sbah ki tkoun lkerch xawya nichen

'but it isn't good for health if taken in the early morning'

- Ali : tebbaŕ mou l'conomie yefham f had swalah
'you should follow the student of economics, he knows better'
- Nassim: hadi maŕandha aucune relation mŕa l'conomie
'this idea has no relationship with economics'
- Ali: nassim nta teqra f leconomie ch7el ŕadad ayam ramadan hhhh
'you are a student of economics, how many days are in ramadan?'
- Mohamed : nta teqra f l'conomie ch7el ŕandi f la banque derwek
'you study economics, how much do I possess in my bank account?'
- Amine : c vrai la bourse marahash gaŕ tedxol
'that's true, how about the students' salary?'
- Mohamed : wah kan yewselni lmessage ; weslek?
'I used to receive the message, how about you?'
- Nassim: ana kont dayer hadik taŕ baridi mob wah tema kan yewselni
'I used to work with baridi.mob'
- Mohamed: bessah galoulek wela mazal?
'but have you been told about it?'
- Ali: zahira zahira hya lli gatli xessek temchilhom
'zahira told me i had to go'
- Nassim: ih waqila l hadik taŕ la casnos taŕref fayen exactement? Enface l sbetar
'the direction of CASNOS, facing the hospital'
- Mohamed : ih en face l sbetar iya tebghi ki tji taŕin nta wiyeh nwesselkoum mashi moshkil
'alright, in front the hospital... I can drive you from there once we finish'
- Nassim : ŕandek la carte chifa
'do you have a Chifa card?'
- Ali : ŕandi carte chifa
'yes I do'
- Mohamed : iya c bon taŕtihom ghi dek lcode yaŕtiwek ha lwerqa.. bessah ŕlabalek ybali dernier dŕlai fet manish ŕaref
'so you just give them that code'
- Ali : iya ŕefni menhom
'never mind'
- Nassim : ghi rouh
'just go'
- Mohamed: diha w golhom xesni lcode
'take it and ask for the code'
- Amin: ana lpassport taŕi twederli w manish ŕaref
'I lost my passport'
- Nassim: twederlek? Txelles ŕlih ŕlabalek
'you lost it, do you know that you have to pay, don't you?'
- Amin: bessah kifesh nemchi lelcomisarya w ngoulhom
'but how is that? Shall I go to the police?'
- Nassim: chou ana maŕandish experience f had swalah mais normalement dŕclari ŕlih hadi lli ŕlabali biha
'I am not experienced in these details but I think you should declare its loss'
- Amine : yawedi welah ŕlabali rah ghi f dar bessah win wellah maŕlabali
'I am sure it's only at home but I don't know where exactly'
- Mohamed: tebghi troh tdŕclari ŕlih wella rouh l la mŕri xdem wahed jdid
'yes, go declare its loss and get another one'
- Amine: a sahabi yeqedrou yexedmouli wahed jdid wana deja ŕandi wahed mazal ma met
'do you think I can have another one though I still have a new one?'
- Nassim: hya normallent declare ŕlih w ymedoulek wahd l vingt jours ygouloulek zaŕma hawes ŕlih wela .. txelles ŕlih waqila wahd l quinze wela

***Removed inappropriate passage: male gossip

Ali: semma teskoun f oujlida. ?

'so do you live in oujlida?'

Mohamed : yek gotlek dek nhar belli neskoun f oujlida w ki tji temmak goulli

'yes, I already told you'

Ali : ki negrier ki oujlida hhh

'they are the same'

Mohamed : wah ghi kifkif

'yes, true'

Ali : hadouk gaƣ c des treize virgule

'all of them are thirteen and so'

Amine : laa mashi kif kif

'no, it's not the same'

Nassim : treize virgule houma hadouk meghnia Ghazaouet hadouk

'this concept is given to meghnia and ghazaouet'

Ali: hta oujlida Treize virgule hhhh

'even oujlida'

Mohamed : laa mashi kifkif

'no, it isn't'

Amine : kima hadouk lli jaw retard l'examen w maxellawhomch yedexlou galhom laa men haqna w hadi iya f tali gaƣ medelhom zero virgule treize ƣla xater gaƣ kanou jayin m tlemcen hhh

Conversation 2 :

Mohamed : iya lmawdouƣ thani lƣadat w taqalid

'the second topic is customs and traditions'

Amine: goulli shkoun tqabel ngoullek chkoun nta

'tell me whom you are with, I tell you who you are'

Ali: exactly goulli chkoun s7abek ngoullek chkoun nta..... iya shkoun s7bek?

'exactly, tell me who your friend is, I tell you who you are... then who is your friend?'

Amine: nta hhh

'You'

Mohamed: ƣreftha hhh

'I knew it'

Ali: let's play a game.. chett dib chett kƣaltah chettah (repeated interchangeably with Amine for 10 times with the same pronunciation)

Mohamed: eey washa hada .. lmouhim lƣadat w taqalid ana gaƣ mayaƣejbounish hadouk taƣ laƣraas

'stop guys, well, for me, I don't like the marriage rituals'

Amine: laa shou kayen swalah positives wallah la kayen...

'no, there are some positive things'

Nassim: wah kayen w kayen kaayen swalah positive w kayen swalah negatives

'yes, there are positive and negative things'

Amine: chou nahadrou nishen taqalid tawaƣna ghi chkil welah lƣadim la ghi chkil lcoté taƣ laƣras nahadrou nichen.. par exemple laƣrousa tedi mƣaha camion taƣ lqesh wassem dir bih lah yerham bbak... tmesxir qasaman billah la tmesxir w ghi dyaƣett drahem qasaman billah ghi chkil hada makan

'let's talk seriously, for example the fact that a bride brings a lot of clothes to her husband's house is ridiculous and a waste of money for real'

Ali : chou chou manekdboush ƣla rissana taƣya taƣya had lƣadat w taqalid ...

'whatever it is, the customs and traditions are ours'

Amine: chkil xatem taƣ choufa, xatem taƣ lxotba, lxatem taƣ lmlak hhh wassem hada

'nothingness, a ring for a first day, then another one for the engagement then another one for the wedding, etc what's all that'

Ali: taṣya taṣya gaṣ had les traditions w taqalid w gaṣ sa représente l'identité taṣ tlemceniyyin manekedbouch tebqa kishghol tourat w hadarat

'yes, nevertheless, these traditions represent the tlemcenian identity and it remains a heritage of cultures'

Amine : wah wah masshi ghi Tlemcen

'yes, not only in tlemcen'

Ali: lprobleme taṣ had taqalid c'est une construction sociale 'a social construct' rak fahem kishghol maṣandhash une base objective... c'est humain

'the problem with these practices is that they are a social product... you know they don't have an objective goal but rather they are human'

Mohamed: darha wahed darouha gaṣ

'done by one, done by all'

Ali: le probleme c'est que entant que citoyen moderne ana je suis pas confortable de l'obligation taṣ les traditions xassek bessif dirhom mayaṣejbounish ana lli y7otto sh7el mn melyoun gaṣ f shkil w qerftan even mariage gaṣ le mariage complé je suis pas d'accord ana

'the issue for me as a modern citizen is that I am not comfortable with these traditions being obligatory and that you have to do them all since I don't like those who spend lots of money on ridiculous things like the caftan or for the process of marriage as a whole'

Mohamed : wah masshi bessif

'yes, it's not compulsory'

Ali : hna f la culture taṣna raha ṣada baqiya lemra ghi tedi zero f l'examen iya c bn ygouloulha lezzi de coté wdebri ṣla rajel xessek tezewji surtout lemra wma rajel normal

'in our culture, we still have that idea that once a girl gets a zero in the exam, it's over for her and she has to be married... this applies on females mainly'

Amine : wah kayna

'yes, I do agree'

Ali : ana naṣref wahda la famille taṣi tbéba cinq ans taṣ l'médecine teqra mat2amensh ṣaqlek top lṣam lewel gabdetha depression wela manish ṣaref blokat lṣam ṣawed ki mshet tfewet mora hadek lṣam maxedmetch ghaya f les modules iya la moyenne taṣha tahet la famille taṣha galoulha sayi tzewji

'I know a girl from my family who used to study medicine for five years; once she got a depression or something alike, she didn't get the average; therefore her parents didn't allow her to carry on her studies and told her that it was time for marriage'

Mohamed : zwaj direct m derba loula

'marriage from the first time she failed'

Ali: wah derba loula.. iya kishghol shafou fiha b hadik lṣayn taṣ disappointment kishghol zaṣma

'yes, directly, they looked at her with that eyes of disappointment'

Mohamed: sh7el ṣandha hadi? ṣlabalek jdoudi wmakentch ṣandhoum had lṣaqlya

'this story dates till when?'

Amine: ana naṣref wahda kanet déjà mkemla qrayetha hta hya kanet medicine ki kemlet qraya baha galha welah maraki xedama xessek tezewji

'I know a girl that was studying medicine as well, but once she has finished her studies, her father banned her from working with the excuse that she needs to get married'

Nassim: chriki seize f lbac temchi teqra ch7el mn ṣam bash tkemelha f dar

'bro, all that average and all those years of studies go for nothing'

Ali: kishghol the purpose of the woman yebqa kishghol zwaj

'as if the purpose of women will be always marriage'

Mohamed: hadi sarilha kima hadik lli rana neqrawha f women writers, the yellow paper li wahda kanet tebhgi teqra w loxra tebhgi tkoun ghi mra taṣ dar.. bn it's her choice hta mra taṣ dar mliha biensur bessah kol wahed w kifesh surtout lli mashi qarya bessah lli qarya xoss tfid nas kima tob w gaṣ

'this applies to what we are having in the module of women writers, the story of the Yellow Paper, where one used to study and the other preferred to remain a housewife... well, it's their choice, even the housewife is good of course but the one who is educated needs to feed the society with her knowledge as is the case for medicine'

Ali: bessah f lccoté taṣ zwaj hna f tlemcen maxessahch ykoun une obligation

'but for the topic of marriage, it doesn't have to be an obligation'

Amine : je pense pas que rah obligation f had lwaqt

'i don't think it is still an obligation these days'

Ali : mazelt kayna mais qellet ṣla bekri besah mazelet baqya

'it's less than in the past but it still exists'

Amine : wah ygouloulha nti kberty w xessek tezewji iya yzewjouha bessif

'she is told that she is growing old so she has to get married'

Ali : lbent ghi teqfel tnin wṣechrim ṣam yebqaw ṣliha la famille blabla

'any girl at the age of twenty two, her family starts talking about it'

Amine: c'est vrai des fois teqfel 24 ans ygoullek c bn l'age taṣ zwaj w mena

'yes, sometimes, at the age of twenty four, they start to say that it is the age of marriage'

Mohamed : lprobleme c ke zwaj maṣandahch age fawek ma zewejt hadek howa ki tkoun wajed dir une famille hadek howa

'the problem is that marriage doesn't have an age, whenever you are ready to construct a family, do it'

Amine: chou kayen welah li yetzewej a l'age de 18 ans welah la rajel mas2oulya xedam ṣla rassah

'there are some men who get married at the age of eighteen and they have the sense of responsibility'

Mohammed : w kayen lli ykoun mtektek gaṣ w ygoulou zewjough yestaṣqel

'and there are some others who are completely crazy and they are told to get married in order to stabilize'

Ali : bash yetrezzen

'to get mature'

Mohamed : kayen li yji dek lmoment taṣ lahbel bessah bash tetrezzen b zwaj laaa...

'crazy periods happen to everyone, but none gets mature with marriage'

Ali : zid wassem baqi

'what else?'

Mohammed : baqi lmashakil l2ijtimaṣya f Tlemcen.. hadi tani mashakil ijtimasiya w hta taqalid tawaṣna mashakil ijtimasiya

'there remains social problems, this is a social problem and even our traditions are social problems'

Bensalah: mat7albounish

'let me know'

Amine: xes tjbha behdek improvise gallek lmashakil l2ijtimaṣya

'improvise and talk about the social issues'

Mohamed: kayen l2idarar lli ki temchi tjb warqa ygoullek rouh ṣand flen

'administrations and bureaucracy'

Ali: kayen the black market lli fayen ybiṣo chalabala

'there is also the black market'

Mohammed: bessah gallek fi tilimsan nta lli rak tahder ṣliha mashi ṣadna

'but in tlemcen...'

- Nassim: wah en general w gaƣ f lƣalam had swalah kaynin
'yes, in general, these things exist all over the world'
- Mohammed: mais hya gatlek ghi f Tlemcen zaƣmak swalah li kaynin f Tlemcen w makayninsh f blasa wahdoxra
'but she insists about tlemcen not somewhere else'
- Ali: zaƣma unique ghi taƣ tlemcen.. laa mashi shert
'no necessarily'
- Mohammed : kayen hadouk taƣ 7amama
'the group of hamama'
- Ali: kaynin fi kol blas hta f oujlida hhhh
'they are everywhere even in oujlida'
- Mohamed: hna f derbna wahdin derbou boulisi l dloƣ mƣa zouj hta l rebƣa bash jaw la police ykoun met wella manish ƣaref.. derwek tjiw derweek?
'a policeman has been killed by someone of this group'
- Ali: wah kayen hadeƣ lli en publique derboh b sif f negrier
'and in chetouane as well'
- Amine : hadeƣ lli derboh qbel remdan b wahd six mois
'before ramadan, right?'
- Ali: zadou derbou wahed ghi hna hna
'another one has been recently killed'
- Nassim: ana kount hasseb had swalah kayenin ghi f remshi saƣa
'I thought this stuff exists in Remchi only, but now I'm discovering that all Tlemcen has this'

As it can be clearly seen, the first and foremost remark is the absence of the glottal stop realization in the whole conversation that has lasted more than one hour. Instead, the allophonic pronunciation [g] has taken the lion's share in the speech of all boys without any exception. Similar lexical observation can be made when talking about the realization of urban lexemes. In other words, the male participants included have opted for some rural words in favour of their urban counterparts. These words include: [yebghi, nebghi, yebghiw, nebghiw] instead of [yhab, nheb, yhabou, nhabou] 'to love'; [yeglaƣ, neglaƣ, yegalƣou, negalƣou] instead of [yna7i, na7i, yna7iw, na7iw] 'to omit'. As far as the morphological variation is concerned, a mixture of urban and rural morphemes has been elicited in the excerpts above. [ah] and [iw]

4.3.3.2. Pre-test (b): female speakers

Table (4.10) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the third experimental group. This group includes five female subjects who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [ʔ]-pronunciation.

Table 4.10. Illustration of focused ethnography of [ʔ] female speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: library				
Moderator: Amira				
Note-taker: khadidja (after the recording)				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amira	22	Tlemcen	Urban
P2	Ghizlene	22	Imama	Urban
P3	Firdaws	19	Kiffane	Urban
P4	Téma	19	Tlemcen	Urban
P5	Meroua	19	Chetouane	Urban

➤ **Dialect maintenance among females**

In a conversation of nearly two hours between urban female speakers, the urban variety has been preserved and maintained along the speech. Here is an excerpt from two different conversations between urban females:

Conversation 1 : Ramadan Traditions

Téma : [ʔbel remdan nebɗaw nwejdou les épices w nechriw ha lkokota lelfel nechriw ha lemwaʃen haja]

'before ramadan, we start to prepare the spices and we buy a cooking-pot and some chicken utensils'

Aminra : [yih ne2dew tani]

'yes and we buy the need stuff as well'

Téma : [taynak ta2di]

'we also do the cleaning'

Amira : [bash zaʃma tedxoul ʃla remdan b n2a w belhema zaʃma]

'so that you start ramadan with the concept of cleanness and peace'

Téma : [nechriw lber2ou2 lmeshmamsh]

'we buy some prune and dried apricots (for a special traditional meal in Tlemcen)'

Belkalfat : [saha saha nhar lewel assem teybou]

'but the first day what do you cook?'

Amira : [hna nteybou lmer2a b zitoun lbourak...]

'we cook a soup of green olives in addition to some brick rolls'

Ghizlene : [taʃamlou mar2a b zitoun?]

'do you cook that soup the first day?'

Amira : [yih]

'yes'

Ghizlene : [nhar leweel?]

'the first day, are you sure?'

Amira : [yih nhar lewel]

'yes the first day'

Téma : [laa hna nhar lewel lehlou]

'no, in the first day, we start with sweet things'

Amira : [nhar lewel toujour l7am lehlou w lbourak]

'In the first day there is always sweet meat and bricks'

Belkalfat : [ewa ha lbourak w lhrira w lber2o2]

'of course, bricks, vegetable soup, and prune'

Téma: [bsekkour w lma zhar]

'with sugar and flower water'

Amira: [taʃmel lma2a bahadha w lber2o2 bahdou]

'do you cook the soup and the meat separately?'

Téma : [laa lm7amar yji kili naʃamlou bahdou]

'no, the meat should be cooked separately'

Amira : [yih yji kili salé]

'it is salty'

Téma : [ana l7am 7lou w mar2a hlowa]

'we cook both the soup and the meat as sweet'

Belkalfat: [laa l7am yji sale w ber2o2 yji hlow w taʃmel fih l2erfa]

'for us, the meat is salty and the prune is sweet flavoured with cinnamon'

Firdaws: [yji mélange bessah lmar2a tji m7amar]

'it's a mixture'

Amira: [yih]

'yes'

Téma: [laa ana mama tna2as shwya w taʃmelha hlowa sfiriya wela w tzid lber2o2]

'no, my mom brings some sauce for the sfiriya dish and she adds the prune'

Ghizlene: [hna naʃamlou lmhamar malah w lmar2a belber2o2 hlowa]

'for us, the meat is salty but the prune soup is sweet'

Amira: [hta hna naʃalmou hayda]

'we do that too'

Téma: [yih w naʃamlou lbourak]

'and we cook the brick rolls'

Belkalfat: [yli2 ykoun presentable]

'it has to look very nice'

Téma: [w macédoine]

'and a salad with rice'

Belkalfat: [w les salades]

'yes, salads'

Firdaws: [hna ʃanna slata koulla youm]

'we make salads everyday'

Téma: [hta hna koulla youm]

'we do that too'

Amira: [yih la7rira tani koulla youm lbourak koulla youm]

'the same goes for the vegetables soup and the brick rolls'

Téma : [hna mashi koulla youm]

'not everyday'

Amira : [la7rira taʃ deux jours naʃamlouha... mais nhar lewel biensur manakloush bezaf]

'the soup can be prepared for two days especially that we don't eat much during the first day'

Téma : [xebbiw f lcongélateur w ʃawdou jebdou hhhh]

'we conserve them in the fridge'

Belkalfat : [normalement remdan kamel manakloush bezaf]

'normally, we shouldn't eat much in ramadan'

Amira: [yih]

'yeah'

Téma: [nhar zawej naɣamlou mer2a b jdad w zitoun]

'the second day we cook a dish with green olives and chicken'

Amira : [yih ta hnaya]

'yes, we do that too'

Belkalfat : [hna lmer2a lkotriya f s7eur f lftor naklou ghi nashef]

'we eat soups during sohour, but in iftar we only have dry stuff'

Amira: [eeh saahaa]

'okay'

Téma: [hna f s7or na3almou seffa]

'in sohour we cook the "seffa"'

Amira: [yih na3amlou seffa]

'yes we do'

Firdaws: [yih xess xess tkoun f table]

'yes it has to be served'

Belkalfat: [yih trante jours taɣ seffa]

'thirty days of seffa'

Amira : [hna seffa w lmer2a kayen li mayheubsh seffa]

'it depends on preferences'

Téma : [yih yih... w kayen li yakol le reste taɣ leftor]

'yes and there are people who only like to eat what has remained from iftar'

Belkalfat : [hna les deux w dessert tani]

'in our family, we do both in addition to desserts'

Téma : [w lm7albi w les mousses au chocolat w les mousses bi 2anwaɣiha]

'yes and all types of desserts'

Ghizlene : [w ki takol hakda mataɣtesh lghedwa mn dek]

'and when you eat as such, don't you feel thirsty the coming day?'

Téma: [laa f s7or tsébnî nakol zlabiya et tt manaɣtesh laa bessah xesni nessa7ar wkan manessa7arsh mansoumch]

'not at all, I eat all possible sweet things without getting thirsty the day of fasting but the problem with me is that ifi don't have sohor I cannot fast'

Belkalfat: [ana man2adsh bla s7eur nekmel]

'I feel the same too'

Ghizlene: [ana manhebsh lmakla f lil]

'I don't like eating at night'

Téma: [bash ner2eud w nɣawed noud nse7er w nɣawed nveli ner2eud laa]

'and I can't eat then sleep then wake up to eat then sleep'

Amira: [tana maner2eudsh]

'i don't sleep either'

Téma: [ana laa par exemple mɣa zouj nakoul chi haja w ner2eud]

'i personally wake up at 2' to eat something then I sleep'

Amira : [emmm]

'yes'

Ghizlene : [matnodsh hta ykoun mashi y2edden]

'then you don't wake up until you hear the adhan'

- Belkalfat: [ʃawed mor leftor tfout techrob 2ahwa]
'then after iftar you have some coffee'
- Téma: [yih l2ahwa]
'yes coffee'
- Amira: [felftor taʃamlou l2ahwa?]
'do you serve coffee with iftar?'
- Belkalfat: [mor leftour l2ahwa w 7alwet melyana w lhrissa]
'after iftar, we drink some coffee with some sweets'
- Amira: [lehrissa yih]
'yes'
- Amira: [ewa hderna ghi ʃla lmakla]
'we are talking only about food'
- Téma : [yih ha2a salat]
'oh yes, prayers'
- Firdaws : [kayen lli ychefʃou]
'there are people who go to the mosque for tarawih'
- Téma : [ana sheffaʃt ha telt yam w habest]
'I went for tarawih for some three days then I stopped'
- Amira : [yih laa ana bent Xalti tcheffaʃ f dar bahadha bessah nchoufha kish taʃmel]
'my cousin does tarawih at home and I see how'
- Firdaws : [ana man2edsh bahdi kishghol bahdi naʃya bessah ki f jamaʃ bessif ʃlik]
'I can't do it by myself I get so tired but, in the mosque, I have to handle it'
- Amira: [laa hna ʃanna lmeghreb toujours nselliwha mʃa baʃd]
'we do the maghrib prayer together everyday in ramadan'
- Téma : [laa ana manekdebch ta nakoul ʃada nselli]
'i don't lie i eat first then I pray'
- Firdaws: [ana tani hta nferra2 soum ʃada noud nselli]
'me too'
- Téma: [waʃra waʃra hhh mayjiw yselliw hta ysebo lkoffar klaw les salés hhh]
'the funniest thing is when all people finish their prayers and they come to the iftar table they find those who didn't pray eating everything delicious on the table'
- Firdaws: [ana papa yaʃmelli lcourage w naʃmel kifou shwya shwya hhh]
'I do like my father since he supports me in that'
- Belkalfat: [w netferjou lmousalsalat]
'and we watch serries'
- Amira: [ana ne2bat lpc w nchouf wahed mor wahed f lyoutube]
'I take my laptop and watch them one after the other'
- Téma: [yih kamel swalah shabin yjibohomlek wa2t leftor ʃand lmeghreb]
'yeah, all nice things are performed the time of maghrib'
- Firdaws: [iya la veisselle kifesh ?]
'and who washes the dishes?'
- Amira : [hna kol xetra wahda hhh]
'every time one does her turn'
- Firdaws : [hta ana w xti naʃamlou nhar b nhar]
'I do it with my sister'
- Ghizlene: [ana kolchi ʃlya pck ghi bahdi]
'I do everything myself because I am a lonely girl'

Amira: [hta ana bahdi lmaſen w kolchi mais yxemlouli yſawnouni wela yjeffou lblassa lli klina fiha]

'me too, I do everything by myself, they just help in collecting the dishes or cleaning the space where we generally eat'

Belkalfat: [yih yih ana tani xti txemelli wana nexsol lemaſen]

'my sister does this too with me and I wash the dishes'

Amira: [ana neb2a mſahom xsol xsol xsol hhhh]

'I do the cleaning very fast'

Firdaws: [hna 2bel leftour nexoslou shwya w morah b tour]

'before the iftar, we clean some and the remaining right after it by turn taking'

Merwa: [ana ghi ana w mama ki hya teyeb ana nexsol lemaſen w ki ana nyeb hya teksol]

'I do everything with my mother, when she cooks I clean and when I cook she cleans'

Amira: [ſawed tina teksol]

'yes, you do'

Ghizlene: [xes dir kolchi bahdek bash kolchi yji chbab]

'you have to do everything by yourself so that everything looks nice'

Téma: [ana bahdi nxemel ntem nexsol]

'I clean and wash everything by myself'

Firdaws: [w lſarda]

'and invitations'

Téma: [hna f nef2a netlaymo]

'we are gathered in the middle of the month'

Amira: [tetlaymou kamel]

'you are all gathered'

Téma: [yih nef2a]

'yes'

Amira: [yih hna ſadna nhar lewel w nef2a taſ rbaſtash lyoum w lilet sebſa w ſeshrin]

'we meet in the night of the fifteenth and the twenty-seventh'

Téma: [yih]

'yes'

Amira: [yih hna la grande famille mwalfin yjiw mais had lſam makansh pck lkorona w lſam li fet tani kanet korona]

'we used to gather every year this way, but this year and the one after none has come due to corona virus'

Téma: [hna kamel jaw w baytin makan la korona la walou]

'in our family, they have all come, not believing in corona'

Belkalfat : [iya w la derniere semaine préparation taſ lgato]

'then the mast week is the preparation of cakes'

Merwa : [hna quinze jours]

'we do it fifteen days before'

Téma : [sablé prestige]

'prestigious cookies'

Firdaws : [sablé lgriwesh lma2rott]

'traditional types'

Belkalfat : [samsa]

'and others'

Téma : [hna beddina belbe2lawaw]

'this year, we have started with baklawa'

Merwa : [nehedrou ʕla les gateaux lli xes ykounou f tabla taʕ lʕid f tlemcen]

'let's talk about the cakes that should be present in the table of the feast'

Amira : [lme2li]

'the fried'

Téma : [griwesh w lma2rott]

'some traditional types'

Ghizlene : [traditionnel]

'traditional cakes'

Belkalfat : [lʕassara]

Téma : [yih lʕassara w lkaʕk]

Amira : [w lmadleine lmadleine]

Téma : [lkaʕk nre2douh nfershoulou f sala w nre2douh w lʕid mayji bla kaʕk bla ma2rott]

'The Kaʕk should remain in a room before we cook it'

Merwa : [hna yjiw xwatati w naʕamlou]

'my sisters come in order to cook it'

Téma : [bekri kanou yjiw yetlaymou bash yaʕamlou]

'previously, family members used to gather in order to make it'

Amira : [laa hna naʕamlou lmadlaine bessah lkaʕk nechriw ha shwya]

'we don't cook it, we buy some'

Belkalfat : [hna mn 2bel nkomonidw pck la cheine]

'we do that too'

Firdaws : [yih bekri kona naʕamlou]

'previously, yeah'

Téma : [yih wkan nkono nmouto naʕamlouh]

'it is a must'

Firdaws : [bessah lxedma taʕ lkaʕk chaba teʕjeubni siyina ha lxetra]

'but cooking the Kaʕk is very entertaining, I have tried it once'

Téma : [yih meme hna kanou yjiw xwatati yaʕamlouh w nre2douh f sala w sbah yetter7oh]

'same goes with my sisters'

Belkalfat : [taʕ'2el bekri kanou yʕabiwah berra lelferran f siniyat]

'in old times, they used to take it to the street oven known as Ferran'

Téma : [hna mdek rah ʕadna lferran lkbir f dar semma ghi fih]

'we have one at home'

Amira : [yih voila]

'yeah'

Firdaws : [wa2ila derwa2 kamel maba2esh]

'I think that they are no more used'

Belkalfat : [ba2i]

'they are'

Téma : [ba2i taʕ la rue de paris]

'there is one in the street of "paris" in Tlemcen'

Amira : [ba2i taʕ la rue de paris neshriw ʕlih]

'yes, we always buy from there'

Téma : [kayen taʕ boudghen f telʕa lfou2 f rheba tani]

'there is one in the street of "Boudghen" and another one in the street of "Rhiba" of Tlemcen'

Amira : [kayen wahed berber f brya hta howa yexedmou ghaya]

'there is another one in Brea street whose name is Berber, he cooks it very well'

Merwa : [bekri kanou yexedmou lgato w yṣabiwah lelferran]

'in old days they used to take it there'

Amira : [yih c'est ça yaṣamlou la quantité bezaf]

'with big quantities'

Téma : [yih]

'yes'

Belkalfat : [yih]

'yes'

Firdaws : [yih]

'yes'

Belkalfat : [yaṣamlouh f swani lekbar]

'and in larger pots'

Amira: [rekoum ṣada taṣamlou griwesh ?]

'how about griwesh ? do you still do it at home?'

Téma : [lgriwesh w lma2rot la base]

'these are the most important ones'

Merwa : [mayentekloush bezaf bessah naṣamlouhom]

'they are not very much eaten but they are always present'

Wafa : [ana manakloush bessah naṣamlou lihom seyitou lṣam li fet w had lṣam sa va il reussi]

'I don't eat it but I cook it, I tried the recipe last year and this year and I have succeeded'

Amira: [teṣref tcherbkou?]

'do you know how to shape it?'

Wafa: [naṣmel taṣ lemgharba lli tedfer w naṣmel taṣ tlemcen lli tji hayda ki lwerda]

'I do both the Moroccan and the Tlemcenian ones'

Belkalfat: [kayen lli tji kuma lewrída kima lmerwah]

'there are some which are shaped like flowers'

Firdaws:[yih sheftha f samira TV]

'yes, I saw it in the channel of Samira TV'

Amira: [yih ana maṣyit y2oulouli t7i sbaṣ mena w sbaṣ mena w walou]

'i have tried my best but I couldn't'

Belkalfat : [laa sahla]

'it's easy'

Firdaws : [tsellek linguistique w matsellekch lgriwesh hhhh]

'you manage to study linguistics and not griwesh'

Belkalfat: [iya w ki tezwej kish taṣmel]

'and once married, how would do?'

Amira: [rajli mayhobsh had swalah]

'my husband doesn't like this stuff'

Téma: [ywaa sh7el ṣandek zhar]

'ah lucky you'

Amira: [hhh normal]

'it's fine'

Téma: [thaniyaa]

'good for you'

Belkalfat: [xtaritou civilisé]

'you have chosen a civilized one'

Amira: [hhh taʃ derwa2 mashi kuma taʃ bekri ʃawed]

'nowadays' men are not the same as in the past'

Wafa : [taʃ bekri ʃlesh kanou yaʃamlou lgato hayda kan lwahed 2edou 7adou donc ki yji lʃid]

'in the past, people used to have a hamble life style, the feast was an occasion to do a quantity of cakes'

Téma : [yih lfarina w zit]

'yeah with flour and oil'

Wafa : [hadi hyaa tji haja kbiraa]

'yes, that's it'

Téma: [ʃla biha kanou yaʃamlou leghribiya taʃ zit]

'that's why they used to cook the ghribia type of cookies made with oil'

Wafa : [w derwa2 reh kayen lʃir c pour ça manaʃamloush des quantité kbar ghi lelfel]

'but nowadays, everything is available that's why we don't make large quantities of cakes, only some for the occasion'

Belkalfat : [w ʃadna tani hadi lʃafsa taʃ tchicha b sa7ter]

'and we also have what we call tchicha with thyme'

Téma : [yih]

'yeah'

Firdaws : [yiii h wkan matkoun tchicha b sa7ter f lʃiid]

'it is a must in feasts'

Amira : [yih w kayen lli yaʃmel hta tʃam]

'there are some people who make kouskous'

Wafa : [yih naʃamlou hna tʃam]

'yes, we do it'

Firdaws: [naʃamlou tʃam lelfetor w tchicha sbah]

'we cook kouskous for lunch and tchicha in the morning'

Téma: [yih tchicha ʃla sbah]

'yes early in the morning'

Firdaws : [tji tʃamma2 taʃmelha ʃla lʃam w matjish bennetha kima taʃ lʃid]

'it is incredible even if you do it the whole year'

Ghizlene : [ana mama taʃmelha bessah manakolhash]

'my mom cooks it but I don't eat'

Amira: [hna naʃamlouha belxliʃ]

'we do it with xliʃ "dried meat"'

Firdaws: [hna kamel yjiw yeffetrou ʃana]

'all the family comes to our house for lunch'

Belkalfat: [hta hna netlaymou]

'we gather as well'

Firdaws: [yghafrou ʃla kamel la famille w yʃawdou yjiw ʃadna yeffetrou]

'they greet all the other family members then they come to have lunch with us'

Téma : [laa hna lmetghafra hta lmbaʃd yjiw ghi yet2ahwaw w sayé]

'no, greetings come first then family members only have coffee with us'

Amira : [w ntouma lebnat rekoum ʕada texrjou ? temshiw]

'and you, girls, do you still get out for the feast greetings'

Belkalfat : [laa laa]

'no'

Merwa : [ana déjà ʕaycha ʕand jeddati]

'I already live with my grandmother'

Téma : [hna laa manexorjouch]

'we don't get out'

Firdwas : [hna nemchiw ʕand jeddati]

'we go to our grandmother's house'

Belkalfat : [bessah lmra wela laʕroussa f Tlemcen hta lelʕid zawej wela talet ʕada texroj]

'the bride in tlemcen doesn't get out for greetings until her second or third occasion'

Ghizlene : [yih hta l talet]

'yes, until the third'

Belkalfat : [majiya chwya ʕayb f lewel]

'it sounds a little embarrassing if done from the first days'

Wafa : [rek tesmaʕ a laʕroussa nhar talet ʕada temchi ldarkoum]

'are you listening to this, ohh new bride, until your third day that you can go visit your family'

Amira : [hhh yih]

'yes'

Ghizlene : [ewa ha hta lnhar zawej w temshi ʕand la famille taʕ rajelha]

'yes, till the second day that she can go to her husband's house'

Wafa : [hya surtt laʕroussa lmezewja]

'especially the married one'

Téma : [yih hta na xti hayda hata ltalet ʕid]

'me too, my sister did this, till the third day of the feast'

Wafa : [yih hta l talet ʕid]

'yes'

Ghizlene : [wkayen lli darhom Houma lli yjiw yshoufouha ki tkoun ʕad ʕroussa]

'and there are some families who themselves go visit their daughter as it is her first occasion outside their house'

Conversation 2

Ghizlene : [yih ewa ʕa fait parti de lʕadat w taqalid]

'all these are included in our traditions and customs'

Amira : [2atlek ʕla laʕras taʕna]

'maybe about our weddings'

Wafa : [lah laah w l2ar2abo hhhh]

'ohh yeah, with the karkabou'

Téma : [nahkiw ʕla ta2yil]

'let's talk about the bride's night'

Benabadji : [nbediw m lxotba nbediw m lxotba]

'we should start from the engagement'

Firdaws : [kima nti amira hedro ʕlik ʕada w xotbok wela]

'for example you Amira, how was it with you?'

- Benabadji: [w ɣawed nahadrou ɣla assem yjibo w hadi]
'then we talk about what should be brought'
- Téma: [yjibo la tarte w sayé]
'they bring the cake, that's all'
- Amira : [yih]
'yes'
- Téma : [w f lkmel ki yji howa yjib mɣah]
'and in later procedures of the engagement, the groom comes'
- Benabadji : [yih derwa2 hadi zadouha]
'yes, it has been added recently'
- Ghizlene: [liyeh nhar lxotba wassem yɣabiw?]
'what do they bring during the first day?'
- Amira: [esk ntouma rekoum ɣada ba2yin xes yji ldarkoum yshoufek ɣad yextob wela]
'do you still want the man to come to your house first then ask your hand?'
- Belkalfat: [bessah derwa2 sayé]
'but now it's no more the case'
- Wafa: [laa ɣa dépond psk kayen li b tenɣat]
'no, it depends since there are people who are only guided'
- Belkalfat : [kayen li yɣaytou 2al rana majyin nchoufou]
'there are some people who give a call to announce their visit'
- Firdaws : [yih hakda bessah yla ntina tkoun taɣarfou mn 2bel ykoun déjà chayfek hhh]
'yes this way, but if you knew him before, this means he has already seen you'
- Téma : [par exemple meme nkoun naɣarfou tji mah w jedatou yshoufou zaɣmak laɣroussa w hadi]
'For example, even if I know him, his mother and grandmother have to come to see me'
- Ghizlene : [yjib ɣamtou wella]
'he bring his aunt or something'
- Amira : [laa]
'no'
- Téma : [laa]
'no'
- Belkalfat : [laa]
'no'
- Benabadji : [laa mah wela xtou w jedatou hada makan makansh wahdaxour]
'no, his mother or sister and grandmother, that's all, not other people'
- Ghizlene: [yih]
'yes'
- Téma: [balak ha lxmestash lyoum ɣad yjiw loxrin]
'after some fifteen days the remaining people come'
- Ghizlene: [ewa kayen li jedatou mat2edsh tetmecha wela donc yjib xaltou wela]
'there are some grandmothers who cannot walk or something so they bring their aunt'
- Amira: [ana f lxetra lewla jet xtou w mah bessah lxetra lewla kaamel jet mah shafetni ɣawed simana moraha ana li sheftou]
'for me, the first time the groom's sister has come with his mother but the very first time only his mom has come to see me and one week after they came so that I see him'
- Téma: [ih makontch taɣarfou naɣtoukom]

'didn't you know him before?'

Amira: [yih.. ʃlabiha rani n2olkoum thabou taʃ tenʃat taʃ lew2ar wela ʃa dépond]

'that's why i asked if you like the old way or not'

Benabadji: [ana direct laalaa laa manhabch tenʃat]

'I personally don't like to be shown by others as a bride (arranged marriage)'

Amira: [wela ila hta ana kont haydek melbʃid laalaa laa]

'I swear god I was saying exactly the same thing from far'

Téma: [bessah meme ki yenaʃtou xes tetʃarfou w thabou]

'and even if your meeting is arranged you should get to know him and love him'

Benabadji: [w taʃref lʃa2lya taʃou kili derwa2 txaf]

'and you should get to know his way of thinking, things are scarry nowadays'

Amira: [derwa2 rekoum thebou hta taʃarfou lʃa2liyet ta7oum ?]

'so nowadays, you like to get to know them well?'

Wafaa: [baʃda f hadik la période]

'at least in that period'

Ghizlene: [voila la periode taʃ lxotba]

'yes, durring the engagement period'

Belkalfat: [yih w t2olhom sbar nsa2siw w ʃla quinze jours tredelhom lexbar]

'and you tell them to wait a while till you ask about them and their family'

Téma: [yih ʃla quinze jours]

'yes, for some fifteen days'

Benabadji: [tse2si ʃla bah w tse2si ʃla mah w tse2si ʃla darhoum]

'you ask about his father and mother and all his family'

Téma: [hna xti hakda hta ki kemelna w ʃmelna lxatem ʃad b2at tchoufou]

'my sister, until after the engagement that she started to meet him'

Ghizlene: [w tia amira]

'and you Amira'

Amira: [ma2ah hderna mʃa baʃd ghi hadek nhar li ja shafni]

'no, we talked to each other only the day he came to see me at home'

Belkalfat: [bessah masheftouch chkoun wela mena?]

'and didn't you ask about them?'

Benabadji: [w haja li nse2siw ʃliha le2sem weldmen darmen mah bentmen w howa weldmen w jedatou bentmen nejebdou kolchi hhhh]

'the things that we ask about are the name, who are they, his mom and everything related'

Belkalfat: [kayen li y2oullek hadou darmen w yexrouj mashi tlemceni bessah tkoun xedemtou zaʃma ghaya w b hemtou w hadi...]

'there are some names who are not tlemcenian but his work is good and he has a good status and so on...'

Berrabah: [mashi ʃla tlemceni bessah la reputation hya lli texdem ʃlih]

'it's not about being tlemcenian, it's more about their reputation in society'

Firdaws: [bessah xes le2ssel taʃou ykoun bayen hada makan]

'but his origins need to be clear and known that's all'

Amira: [bessah kayen bezaf hna li tlemceniyn bessah yhoud kuma la famille boushna2 bezaf y2oulou ʃlihom yhoud]

'but there are many families in Tlemcen that are described as jewish'

Benabadji: [yih yih y2oulouha y2oulouha ʃla boushne2]

'yes, they say it about the family Bouchnak'

Amira : [iya maymedoulhomch]

'so none accepts to give them their daughters'

Benabadji: [iya sayé derwa2 mab2atsh]

'but it's no more the case now'

Téma: [Imouhim yjib mah w jedatou w mor xmestash lyoum yṣaytou y2olou madinalkoum]

'the most important is that he brings his mother and grandmother and after a couple of weeks they call them back to announce their agreement'

Berrabah: [wella mamedinash lah yjibelkoum mabrek]

'or we disagree'

Amira: [ana lxetra lewla jet mah chafetni w simana moraha ṣaytet bash weldha yji ychoufni howa 2atlou sayi ṣejbetni ana wela manish ṣarfa iya ṣawed ja howa iya ki ja gaṣdouna f sala w gṣad ychouf fya hhhh]

'the first time his mother came to see me, a week after she has given us a call so that her son comes to see me as I pleased her apparently then he came... once in our house, they asked us to sit together in the living room where he started to look at me'

Téma: [hhhh chkoun nta]

'who are you?'

Ghizlene: [kayen lli ṣandhom ṣada f shoufa hayda ymedou drahem]

'there is a custom that once the groom sees the bride for the first time, he gives her money'

Benabadji: [laalaa hna maṣenash hadi]

'no, we don't have this'

Amira: [hna ṣadna normalement ṣroussa hya li dexelni iya ana mdek kont xeyfa dexelni weld Xalti hhh gṣadt nerjef lli tji dexelni n2oulhaa laalaalaa]

'among the customs that we have is to be introduced by one member of the family and because I was so afraid, my cousin did the job since I didn't let anyone to do so'

Firdaws: [ṣandkoum ṣroussa f dar]

'is there a newly married woman with you athome?'

Amira: [yih ṣrousset Xalti]

'yes, my aunt's daughter in law'

Ghizlene: [saknin mṣa baṣd]

'do you all live together?'

Amira: [yih hna ltaht w homa lfo2]

'yes, we live in the first floor and they live in the second one'

Ghizlene: [iya w li maykounch ṣandhom ṣroussa?]

'and how about people who do not have a newly married woman in their family?'

Téma: [wahda mzewja normal]

'any married woman will be fine'

Belkalfat: [Imouhim tkoun mṣak mak wela xtek wela]

'what matters is that you are accompanied with your mom or sister'

Benabadji: [yih]

'yes'

Ghizlene: [iya w tegoṣdou techerbo mṣahom l2ahwa wela la?]

'and you sip some coffee with them?'

Téma : [yih]

'yes'

Benabadji: [mak taʕayetlek wela]

'your mother calls you'

Firdaws: [w ma dik l2ahwa kish tfout]

'and it feels embarrassing to drink coffee at that moment'

Berrabah: [ewa mashi m debu tbeyen kemartek]

'you are not supposed to show who you are from the beginning'

Téma: [iya amira magʕadtch 2edamou]

'so amira, didn't you sit in front of him?'

Amira : [kanou kamel mʕana iya jet ʕrousset xalti w 2aletena wa2ila rekoum 7ashmanin temchiw lehnak tegoʕdou bahadkoum]

'they were all there with us so my aunt's daughter in law said "are you embarrassed?" and she invited us to sit alone in another room'

All girls : (laughter)

Amira : [iya gʕadna f lbit loxra bahadna w gʕadna nahadrou hayda]

'so we set in the other room and we talked'

Firdaws : [wassem sa2sak]

'what did he ask?'

Téma : [wassem 2eltou]

'what did you say?'

Amira : [wassem ysa2sini lah yxellik ? 2alli ha kismni ha sh7el ʕandi men ʕam iya saha w tina ha kismek w ʕandek lage hayda... généralement rajel ki yji ykoun déjà ʕaref.. iya 2ali yla ʕandek shi haja se2sihani wana 2etlou yla ʕandek shi haja se2sihani... iya w mbaʕd dexlou yselliw 2edamou]

'what do you want him to say? He mentioned his name and age'

Ghizlene : [yih kayen lli yse2siw ʕala salat]

'sometimes they ask about prayers'

Belkalfat : [ewa salat haja bayna]

'but this is obvious'

Benabadji: [kayen meme li yse2siw ʕla lbent yla tselli zaʕma f din]

'there are people who ask about the religious side of the girl'

Téma : [laa hna maʕadnash hadi]

'we don't have this'

Ghizlene: [kayen meme li yse2siw ʕla shrab esk yeshroub wela la]

'some people even ask about whether the guy drinks or not'

Benabadji: [booh]

'astonished'

Ghizlene: [yih pck kayen meme li pratiquant w yeshrob wellah]

'there are men who pray but drink'

Berrabah: [ewa kayen li yhob ytoub ki yetzewej wela]

'they can get over it after getting married'

Amira: [bessah mahouman les questions li généralement yse2siw ʕlihom hna f tlemcen ?]

'but what are the questions to be generally asked in Tlemcen?'

Téma : [dar]

'the house'

Benabadji: [darmen]

'the origin'

Belkalfat: [darha bahadha]

'an individual house for her'

Benabadji: [le2sem]

'the name'

Berrabah: [lxedma]

'the job'

Téma: [shert]

'the requirements'

Belkalfat: [kayen li yjiw yeshertou yetfahmou mn nhar lewel]

'some people agree on elmahr from the first time'

Téma: [yih normalement hta lelkmal w yeshertou]

'normally this is done in later procedures of the engagement'

Amira: [yih f lkmal yjiw nsa lkbarat bessah ana mah ghi binatna se2satni 2assem teshertou]

'yes other women come in later procedures but his mother asked me before about elmahr'

Ghizlene: [iya wassem shrett]

'and what did you ask for?'

Amira: [ana ma2elt walou]

'I didn't say anything'

Ghizlene: [mashrreetch ahaay]

'that's unfortunate'

Amira: [ewa 2elt lxalti debrou rissankoum iya saha sherto 2erftan]

'I asked my aunt to take in charge these details so they asked for a dress'

Téma: [yih toujours hayda li mayaɣamloush lemlak y2oullek zid haja taɣ dheub zaɣmak zerrouf wela]

'something of gold can be also added'

Firdaws: [yih zerrouf wela gourmette]

'like necklace or a curb'

Benabadji: [bessah generalement hna f Tlemcen y2oulelek yesherto ya l2erftan ya lkarakou]

'generally in tlemcen they ask for either a caftan or a karakou as traditional dress'

Amira: [ana tani se2sawni 2assem thob 2arftan wela karakou tina textar]

'yes, me too, i have been asked to chose between the two'

Belkalfat : [hna yaɣamlouhom lezewj]

'or both'

Téma : [laa hna f meriem 2alha ghi wahed]

'my sister, meriem, had only one'

Amira: [ewa ɣla hseb les moyens taɣ la famille]

'it depends on the status of the family'

Ghizlene : [voilaa]

'indeed'

Amira : [yla kanou mrefhin yaɣamlou]

'If they are rich they bring stuff'

Ghizlene : [w drahem]

'and money'

Amira: [ana mashrettch drahem bessah Houma jabouli bahadhom]

'I didn't ask for mone but they have brought me some'

Firdaws: [bessah kayen lli mayefahmouh had lwa2t ki mateshrettchch iya mayjiboush]

'but there are people who do not understand if you don't ask they won't offer you things'

Amira: [ɤawed 2elt ana naɤmel lfersh kanou habin houman yaɤamlou ɤla biha mahedrouch ɤla drahem iya ɤawed ki habit ana naɤmel 2eltelhom ana nextar hayda swalah taɤ lemra]

'then i told them that I would take in charge the house equipments so they gave me money for this because I wanted to choose things for the house by myself'

Téma: [ewa yih swalheek]

'yeah, it's your stuff'

Amira: [iya ɤtawni une somme bash yɤawnouni f lfersh]

'yes'

Belkalfat : [des fois la maman hya li t2oul naɤmel lfersh lweldi]

'sometimes, it is the groom's mom who wants to do these things for her son'

Amira : [yih ana xetenti 2alet felewel hya taɤmel lfersh pck kont mashya neskoun hayda mɤa lextan iya 2atlek yaɤtiwni ghi bit iya bit ana naɤref kish n2imha]

'my mother in law said the same thing in the beginning since I was going to live with them and they wanted to give me one room; so I thought that I took this one room in charge by myself'

Téma : [ghi bit ? w t2addek]

'only one room? And do you think it is enough?'

Amira : [asber.. ana mshit ɤmelt salon iya donc ki taɤmel salon fayen thotto ?]

'wait... i have bought a sofa, so the question is where to put it if you only have one room?'

Ghizlene : [yih ki tkoun ghi bit wahda kish tseddefhom]

'how can you organize many things in one room?'

Amira: [yih houma ɤandhom hakda kamel saknin mɤa baɤd m lxetna lelxtina kol wahed teb2a teb2a]

'yes, they have this tradition of living all together all in one house with each in a separate floor'

Téma: [w tina fayen]

'and you, where will you live?'

Amira: [laa nekriw]

'we will rent an appartement ?'

Firdaws: [yih yhobek]

'he surely loves you'

Benabadji: [ewa shwya privacy baɤda]

'some privacy is needed'

Amira: [ana f lewel kont pour l'idee hadik ɤawed mbaɤd xoft]

'at first, I agreed with the idea, but later on I got scared'

Téma:[ewa meme lxetna tkoun mliha mat2edsh taɤref mbaɤd 2assem]

'you can never know'

Ghizlene: [ewa kayen li yaɤamlou lhijab f dar]

'there are people who wear the scarf at home'

Amira: [ana shrett ɤlya naɤamlou f darhoum]

'he asked me to wear it at home'

Téma: [ewa li y7e2lek mʕahom zwaj xes telbes 2edamhom]

'yes, you have to'

Ghizlene: [iwa ki ykounou lexout wahed maykoun yaʕmelha wmbaʕd ki laxor yezweʒ yeʕmel lemratou iya y2oullek chou zaʕmak ana mrati kanet normal w howa ʕmelelha ʕliha y2oullek ya yghettiw kamel ya ynahiw kamel]

'they should agree on all women of the family to wear it'

Firdaws: [ana mama taʕmel lfoulard 2eddam rajel Xalti... mama makanetsh ʕamla iya ʕawed ʕamlet]

'my mother wears the scarf in front of my aunt's husband'

Ghizlene: [ana tani mama makanetsh ʕamla ʕawed ʕamlet bessah gaʕdet f dar tna7i ghi hadi ʕamayen wela tlata meli wellat taʕmel]

'my mother as well, didn't use to wear it till recently'

Amira: [hna f darna la2 mayaʕamloush bessah f dar xtani kanou mobligyin ʕliya bash naʕamlou bessah ki neseknou bahadna c bon]

'in our house, we don't wear it, but'

Ghizlene: [yih jatek mliha temshi ʕandhom ghi sweyʕa w sayi]

'That's better for you, you will go only for some hours to check on them'

Amira: [yih]

'yes'

Téma: [ana xti mataʕmelsh mʕa xtanha w lwayessha]

'my sister doesn't veil with her parents in law'

Firdaws: [ʕayshin mʕa baʕd]

'do they live together?'

Téma: [kanet ʕaysha mʕahom w xorjet bahadha]

'she used to; but she has got her own house now'

Firdaws: [kanet mwalfethom]

'she was already accustomed to them'

Téma: [yih...]

We notice that in the conversations mentioned and all those recorded and observed female urban dialect speakers did not shift to any other variety and have kept their way of speaking along the conversations. This is known as dialect maintenance and retention. Actually, like any other research addressing Tlemcenian females, this part of the current study resulted in the same exact assumption that females who speak the urban variety tend to be preservative more than any other proportion in the society.

4.3.3.3. Post-test 1 (different gender/ same area)

Table (4.11) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the third experimental group. This group includes six participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [2]-pronunciation.

Table 4.11. Illustration of focused ethnography of [ʔ] speakers in the 1st post-test phase

Time:				
Location: Library of the Department of English				
Moderator: Ali & khadidja				
Note-taker: khadidja				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Ali	24	Chetouane	Urban
P2	Amine	23	Tlemcen	Urban
P3	Ghizlene	22	Imama	Urban
P4	Téma	19	Tlemcen	Urban
P5	Firdaws	19	Kifane	Urban
P6	Aziza	23	Imama	Urban

➤ **The effect of gender on dialect variation**

One of the surprising results of bringing male and female participants together in one conversation was the recognition of all the members as belonging to the same group and sharing the same identity traits including the dialect spoken as well. However, and despite this harmony, male subjects insisted on using the refined version of their speech and not the urban one. When asked, in later procedure of the conversation, about why they change their way of speaking in spite of the fact that the females they were with are of the same background and therefore won't judge their speech, they answered that the glottal stop in particular does not suit the conversation with females of the same age and same level. Therefore, we have deduced that the context was not that much comfortable to let the boys speak the way they do at home. In a further interview with Ali and Aziza who are pretty close friends, Ali tended to sound urban in some examples where he included the glottal stop to utter some funny words as [mbeʔetin or tbeʔtit].

4.3.3.4. Post-test 2 (different gender/ different area)

Table (4.12) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the third experimental group. This group includes eight subjects of mixed genders and origins who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [ʔ]-pronunciation.

Table 4.12. Illustration of focused ethnography of [ʔ] speakers in the 2nd post-test phase

Location: Library of the Department of English				
Moderator: khadidja				
Note-taker: after the recording				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Ali	24	Chetouane	Urban
P2	Ghizlene	22	Imama	Urban
P3	Wafaa	21	Tlemcen	Urban
P4	Abdelfattah	26	Meghnia	Rural
P5	Habib	21	Sebdou	Rural
P6	Nassim	25	Remchi	Rural
P7	Ayoub	22	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P8	Amina	22	Nedroma	Nedroma

➤ **The effect of contact among different origins and regions on dialect variation**

Surprisingly, no aspect in males' speech has been subject to modification. It seemed like everyone was accommodating to everyone in the sense that their speech matches and no differences could be elicited. Here is an excerpt from a conversation between boys coming from different regional areas.

Ali: nta dayer anglais

'do you study English?'

Habib : wah

'yes'

Ali : cha rak baghi dir littérature wela linguistique

'What do you want to study, literature or linguistics?'

Habib : mouhal la nkemel ana

'I don't think i will carry on my studies'

Ali : matkemelch

'ah aren't you willing to carry on your studies?'

Habib : wah lxedma nedfa3 kash dossier wella

'yes, I will look for a job by submitting my file here and there'

Ali: dir lli tsa3dek

'do whatever suits you'

Mohamed: tsa3efni ghi kemel

'if you take my viewpoint, carry on your studies'

Habib: aweddi kraht ana

'I am fed up'

Mohamed: justement ki tekrah mashi ga3 raison be careful

'being bored is not a reason at all; be careful'

Amine: lmaster welah mat7os biha surtout 2eme année bessah yla rak baghi lxedma hadik haja wahdoxra

'master's studies happen very fast especially the second year, but if you really want to work, that's another story'

Habib: hya kishghol rani damen lposte

'it's like the job is available'

- Mohamed : ewa hta tedmen mya belmya 3ada bloki
'then, do not make a step until you are sure'
- Ali: kishghol yla marakch sur pour moi benesba lya tkemel lmaster nta3ak
'for me, if you are not sure, it's better you carry on your studies'
- Habib: tana madabya bessah makansh kifesh
'I really want to but I don't know how'
- Mohamed: 3lesh lmaster wassem fiha, fiha lycée?
'does the master degree allow us t work is the secondary school?'
- Amine: fiha lycée maximum
'yes'
- Ali: apart traduction yballi yqerriw biha ghi f cem chou didactique tqed tqerri biha anglais, littérature qader tqerri biha anglais, esp qader tqerri biha anglais hadou 3andhom l'avantage m licence. Traduction tqarri biha anglais tanik beesah lmaster tqeri f lycée...
'Except translation which allows one to teach in the middle school, the other specialties allow one to teach in the secondary if you have your master's'
- Mohamed: ghi tqerri?? that's the last result
'only teaching, that's all?'
- Ali: ma3lish teddi chwya experience
'never mind, you will have some experience'
- Mohammed : bessah 3labalek xes les fautes lli darouhom fik les profs xessek nta madirhoumch ta3ya ta3ya joz2 mn childhood ta3ak
'but you should not repeat the same mistakes that have been done to you by your teachers'
- Ali : bessah xessek tetkel 3la rassek
'and you need to count on yourself'
- Mohamed : surtout f ljami3a
'especially at university'
- Ali : wah yji ymedlek titre w hawada l'index iya deer 3la rassek ... temmak kayen lli yemlilek 3awed chix washa nrivizi w dorous washa houma
'yes, there are some teachers who give you the title of the lecture and you have to deal with it by yourself and there are others who dictate and give what to revise and all the details of the lectures'
- Amine : wellah l3adim ya3té k b detail
'I swear god you will be given all the details'
- Mohamed: xatersh sayi rak kbir rak intellectual derwek 3andek lqiwa l3aqliya
'because now you are mature enough and intellectual with all the mental abilities'
- Ali: had la phase lli rak mashi tfout 3liha ta3 researcher mashi ta3 student
'in this phase, you will be a researcher not just a student'
- Mohamed : laxater matqedsh temchi 3and prof w tgoullah kifesh dert nhar lewel matqedsh fiha fiha
'since you cannot go and ask a teacher how he has acted in their first day of work, you can you?'
- Ali: 3la biha ana hade k le groupe manish ga3 nedxollah ki nshoufhom yechkiw ga3, am out mba3d hhhh aslan not all people are interested to improve themselves
'for this reason, I am no more chatting in that facebook group especially when everyone is complaining... besides, not everyone is interested to improve their competences'
- Mohamed: ana xrejt bessah loukan ghi yredni negla3 discussion mn 3andi kash ma nkoun golt wella negla3ha 3la rassi
'I am out of the group but I want to get back just to delete the messages from my chat box'
- Ali: kisemouk
'what's your name?'

Habib: B. Habib

'my name is B. Habib'

Mohamed: ahh habib wah hbibna

'ohh habib our friend'

Habib: ma3rifet xir

'nice to know you'

Ali: ey lgato hada ta3na wella

'are these cakes for us?'

Mohamed: wah ta3na bsahtek.. ta3 l3id

'yes'

Amine: hadek manebghii

'ohh I love that'

Mohamed: testahlou koulou.. ana mma demandat griwesh m3and lli yexedmou gotelha jibli lya haja wahdoxra manebghihch

'you deserve, eat (invitation) my mom has asked for 'griwesh' (a traditional type of cookies) from someone who cooks it, I told her to bring something else to me since I don't like it'

Habib: hta ana manebghihch hhhh

'me neither'

Mohamed: des fois ma tgouli ha washa kayen lelqahwa manebghich hta n3awed tji f xatri

'sometimes my mom invites me for cookies with coffee but I don't like to have it at that time till I desire it later'

Nassim: yawedi ki tkoun ji3an takol

'once you are hungry you eat whatever thing'

Mohammed: gotlek lefchouch ki ykoun 3andek kolchi mate7medsh rebi teg3od ghi tetfeshesh

'once you have everything in front of you, you feel spoiled'

Amine: masheftch tani belli hna fina tbi3a ghi tnoud teghsel wejhak w temchi tetqahwa

'haven't you noticed that we are accustomed to eat directly after we wake up in the morning?'

Nasim: mashi mlih ga3

'it isn't good at all'

Mohamed: wah meshi mliha.. w tani kayna li lmanque ta3 n3as howa lli mayxelliksh takol bezaf... ghi meyez f lweekend tkoun ragad ghaya ki tnoud sbah tnoud ji3an mais f leyemat ta3 xedma wela ta3 qraya tnoud cheb3an

'yes it isn't... and there's also the disequilibrium in sleep that can cause you to stop eating... you can notice this in the weekends when you sleep well, you wake up with a will to eat but in days of work or studies you wake up already full'

Nassim: ana 3andi noqs l7adid kishghol loukan noud 3la ghefla manqedsh

'I have got a lack of vitamins I don't feel fine once I stand'

Mohamed: w lanemi tani

'and anemia as well'

Ali: bessah ga3 mabaynash 3lik

'but you don't seem to have it'

Habib: awedi tbedi doux

'you start to have dizziness'

Mohamed: ki tesralek bezaf balak tkoun fik lanémie mais ki tesralek xetra wela hadik ga3 tesralna

'when it happens for so many times, it can be anemia but if it happens only once, I think it occurs to everyone of us!'

Habib: awedi mana3ref

'I don't know'

- Mohamed: ta3ref lanemie tani tegbed ki tkoun fik depression ta3ref ana kanet fya depression f l3am nta3 lbac w mashi meme pas 3la lbac
'you know anemia can be caused due to depression... I got sick with anemia during the year of the baccalaureate because I had a depression; my depression was not because of the bac exam itself'
- Habib: ha 3lesh
'why then?'
- Mohamed: gabdetni thanatophobia
'I suffered from thanatophobia'
- Ali: wassem hya
'what is it?'
- Mohamed: ta3 lfear of death... kishghol the process of death... kili meli jarna met chett ki tegabdek ssadma 3aqlek yebda toujours yel3ablek dik la scene ta3 lejnaza w tetfeker
'it is the fear of death... as if you fear the process of dying I started to have it right after the death of my neighbour I was shocked and the feeling remained in my head'
- Ali: w tbedi dir scenario f rassek
'and you start to draw scenarios by yourself'
- Mohamed : wah scenario ta3 waldik tetxeyel bak mat
'yes, a scenario of your parents dying'
- Amine: balak ghi moment ta3 pain
'maybe it was just a moment of pain'
- Habib : iya w kish fatetlek
'and how did you get over it?'
- Mohamed: t2amen bash fatli.. welah la belqor2an
'do you believe how... it was due to Quran'
- Habib : ewa lqor2an chifa2
'of course Quran is a cure'
- Mohamed : wah shifaa lima fi sodour... kayen hadik ta3 ljaadb w ga3 na3refha w n2amen biha c vrai ki tqena3 3aqlek b haja yeqtana3 biha bessah l'effet mashi kifkif
'yes it is a cure to what we have inside us... there is also what we call the law of attraction, I believe in it that once you convince your head by something you'll get however between the law of attraction and quran the effect is never the same'
- Nassim : lcontraire yballi 3labalek ki tqana3 3aqlek b haja beli dertha iya c bn maghadich ga3 dirha
'I think the opposite that once you convince your brain of something, it will never process to do it'
- Mohamed : sarilha kima min tgoul hadek lmodule sahel maghadish nrivizi l'examen w nedfi fiha iya ki tedxol l l'examen ta7ssel hhhh
'it is like when you say that a particular module is easy and I won't revise for its exam being sure you will obtain a good grade then once you are in the exam you will find it more difficult'
- Nassim : wah c vrai
'yeah that's true'
- Ali : kima min techri ktab te7seb ghadi teqrah sa3a mateqrahch
'it's like when you buy a book and you think you will read it but in reality you don't'
- Habib : hada dopamine
'it's the effect of dopamine'
- Mohamed : kima ana chrit lektab ta3 dracula bash neqrah en français tellement nebghi had swalah
'i bought the book of Dracula in French since I am keen about this stuff'
- Amine : mashi qdim jib haja jdida
'isn't it old? bring something new'
- Mohamed : laa ana nebghi hadou w harry potter

- 'nah, I love these stories like the one of harry potter'*
 Habib: tferejt (title of a movie not recognized in the recording)
'have you watched it?'
 Ali: wah w laxor (title of a movie)
'Sure and another one'
 Habib: wah tferejthom ga3 baqili ghi hadou zouj
'yes I did, there remains only these two'
 Mohamed: kima hbibna mena mayebghich anime
'our friend here doesn't like anime movies'
 Habib: ana nmout 3lihom
'I like them so much'
 Amine: that's the effect of globalization
'that's the effect of globalization'
 Ali: wah da3wa txeltett mabqatsh par exemple l'identité ta3 tlemcen
'yes everything has got mixed for example the identity of tlemcen'
 Mohamed : apart ki temchi les villages tsebhom m7afdin sinon tlemcen txeltett
'except from villages who tend to be preservative, Tlemcen has really got mixed'
 Ali : sarilha kima la3reb m3a leqbayel bon ana yballi 3arbi mais wkan tji l kifesh rahom
 leqbayel m3a le gouvernement nsuporté leqbayel 3laxater ja boumedyen w 3arrabelha jed
 babaha w madahach fihom
*'it is like the conflict between arabs and berbers... I think I'm an arab but if you see
 how the berbers are with the government, I am going to support them because the ex-
 president "Boumediene" has come to the country with the Arabization process and
 has completely neglected them'*
 Amine: leqbayel yxedmou 3la rwa7hom... xedamin, they are strict
'berber people are real hard workers... they work hard, they are really strict'
 Mohamed: w ygoulou tlemceniya aselhom traka
'they say that Tlemcenian people are turkish'
 Nassim: awedi tellement txelletna matqadsh ta3ref
'things got over mixed, you cannot even know about this'
 Mohammed: kima li ydir hadek test w telqa rouhak one percent African
'and if you do the test, you'll fine only 1% of you african'
 Ali: nigaa
'oh friend'

This conversation is but an excerpt of the many recorded and analyzed speech. The participants who have been talking are from different areas and origins. However, it can be easily noticed that no way of talking is different than the other as if all of them are speakers of the same variety. Instances of similarities include the substitution of [th] by [t] and [dh] by [d] in addition to some lexical items as [wah] instead of [yih], [dir] vs [3mel], [xes] vs [yliq], [yegla3] vs [yna7i], [wassem] vs [assem/ washa], etc.

4.3.4. FGD 4: [k] speakers

4.3.4.1. Pre-test (a)

Table (4.13) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the fourth experimental group. This group includes five participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [k]-pronunciation.

Table 4.13. Illustration of focused ethnography of [k] male speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: classroom				
Moderator: Ayoub				
Note-taker: after recordings				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Ayoub	23	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P2	Chouaib	21	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P3	Halim	23	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P4	Merouane	25	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P5	Walid	22	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee

➤ **Dialect maintenance among males**

Not surprising at all the results of this pre-test were. This assumption has been expected right after collecting some notes on how Ghazaouatee people speak to each other once being together (observations made in earlier stages of the work). Within a focused discussion of an hour, subjects have shown a considerable maintenance of their speech features.

4.3.4.2. Pre-test (b): female speakers

Table (4.14) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the fourth experimental group. This group includes five female participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [k]-pronunciation.

Table 4.14. Illustration of focused ethnography of [k] female speakers in the pre-test phase

Location: office				
Moderator: Djihene				
Note-taker: after recordings				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amina Had	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P2	Amira Gun	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P3	Fatna	22	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee

P4	Yasmina	21	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P5	Djihene	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee

➤ **Dialect maintenance and change among females**

In the literature of Ghazaouet dialect performance, females are said to be conservative of their home variety wherever they are. Indeed, this conversation has proved that girls of Ghazaouet are conservative and even our observations have shown that it was easy to recognize a speaker from Ghazaouet. Conservatism and retention were highly seen in the speech of females with some modifications of sounds in case the researcher does not grasp a word.

4.3.4.3. Post-test 1 (different gender/ same area)

Table (4.15) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the fourth experimental group. This group includes six participants of the different genders who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [k]-pronunciation.

Table 4.15. Illustration of focused ethnography of [k] speakers in the 1st post-test phase

Location: library				
Moderator: Ayoub				
Note-taker: after recordings				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Amina Had	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P2	Amira Gun	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P3	Ayoub	23	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P4	Chouaib	21	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P5	Djihene	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee

➤ **The effect of gender on dialect variation**

No change has been noticed in the speech of rural speakers and there is no difference between how both subject groups spoke to each other when being in separate sections of the same gender. However, by saying that there is no difference, we do not

mean that the performance of the subjects is purely rural; rather, variation still occurs in the discourse recorded. Aspects that have been noticed are mainly the urbanization of some items as [t], [d] and [dh]. Lexical features have also been subject to change for example [rdjel] instead of [kra3]. Morphological items did not show high rates of variation except for the dual form as in [sa3ti:n] instead of [sa3tayn].

4.3.4.4. Post-test 2 (different gender/ different area)

Table (4.16) shows the number of participants who have been implemented in the fourth experimental group. This group includes eight participants who are speakers of the variety of Tlemcenian Arabic that is characterized with the [k]-pronunciation.

Table 4.16. Illustration of focused ethnography of [k] speakers in the 2nd post-test phase

Location: library				
Moderator: khadidja				
Note-taker: researcher				
Participant	Work-name	Age	Residence	Origin
P1	Ayoub	23	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P2	Chouaib	21	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouatee
P3	Djihene	20	Ghazaouat	Ghazaouatee
P4	Ali	25	Tlemcen	Urban
P5	Aya	22	Sabra	Rural
P6	Amina	22	Nedroma	Nedroma
P7	Mohamed A	24	Tlemcen	Urban
P8	Ghalem	20	Ouled Mimoun	Rural

➤ **The effect of contact among different origins and regions on dialect variation**

The focus of this stage of the second post-test was to see the behaviour of [k] speakers. It should be noted that the sole aspect that is unchangeable in the discussion was the accent of each subject, i.e., the quality of speech pronunciation that denotes one as coming from a particular region. Beside that, [k] speakers tend to avoid their stereotyped features and replace them by their commonly pronounced counterparts.

4.4. Interpretation of Findings

The data that have been presented along the experimental study are to be interpreted in relation to the literature as well as the basic concepts contributing to the process of dialect change, maintenance and koineization as well.

4.4.1. Masculinity and dialect change

Among the most motivating factors to dialect change in Tlemcen speech community is the fact of male participants to seek social approval and reflect their masculinity in speech. It was seen in the discussions throughout the experimental phases that male speakers tend to abandon the most salient feature of the urban Tlemcenian dialect namely the glottal stop and the [k] and [tsh] sounds for Ghazaouatee participants. If we try to find explanations to this linguistic behaviour throughout the literature, it is said that the glottal stop has always been recognized as a symbol of feminine speech, though being prestigious. The stigma that is allocated to this allophone has put male participants into the need to get rid of it in favour of the rural [g]. Similarly, when Ghazaouatee and Nedromian speakers change their dialects to suit their interlocutors by accommodating their speech to what they perceive as being the common linguistic behaviour among the groups they were included in.

4.4.2. The influence of origins on dialect maintenance: are these social rules?

One of the things that has been obviously observed along the results is the maintenance of some peculiar speech features among female subjects. These features are namely the glottal stop and its sedentary counterpart realization [q]. Females included in the study did not show any will to switch their urban dialects. This can have a direct relation with the concept of origins and belonging. It has always been declared throughout the literature and even within the observations and random conversations with females that they consider themselves as the only medium to save the original varieties which symbolize their origins and where they are coming from and to whom they belong. This is why maintenance is highly recognized among sedentary dialect female speakers.

However, the question that needs to be asked is whether this linguistic comportment is to support one's origin and reflect ancestry or it is the social rules that impose this behaviour over females to speak as such. Indeed, and despite what is overtly said, society has a different view on the dialect that is used. One of the researcher's friends who has attended some focus group discussions, Ismahan, has narrated a story of hers during the conversations saying that she has been raised by an urban dialect female speaker 'tlemsania', in her words; this woman used to oblige her to speak using the glottal stop in examples as [2ahwa and mer2a] and many other urban vocabulary as [sxu:n] and [ykesh] instead of her rural dialect variants [7ami] and [yegdab] 'hot and take' respectively. She added that if she didn't speak that way, the woman would have treated her in a harsh manner. An example as such in addition to other stories given by some participants along the research phases can entail that there are some social restrictions over the use of some features especially by females.

4.4.3. Contact at university: A space for dialect change

As said in earlier stages of this research, university has been chosen as a spot for investigation for the variety of people it holds in its scope. Being a space for youngsters of different origins and coming from different areas make it really a very rich context for contact and therefore accommodation. In fact, accommodation that occurs results from either the difficulties that one faces during communication or with reference to what is acceptable within this small restricted community or not. Students, in general, once coming from different areas in the first weeks of university, they are supposed to be users of the original variety they were accustomed to when they were in their hometowns; I specify this for all regions be them urban or rural. Then, and throughout time and continuous communication, their way of speaking is subject to influence and change. For this reason, we notice that the more the period of contact among speakers is long, the more their dialects once communicating is free of region-specific markers. This was the case of master's students included within the study and who has nearly five years of contact with their partners coming from different areas. Therefore, we have noticed, particularly with males' speech, that the dialect is nearly similar that we could not recognize any difference between them when relistening to the recordings for

transcription in later procedures of the analysis of data. For this reason, university can be documented as a good melting pot of regionally divergent regiolects which throughout time become nearly similar in their production especially that dialect-specific features are omitted in intergroup conversations.

4.4.4. Avoiding one's dialect equals avoiding regionalism or class division

One of the reasons that have been discussed in dialect accommodation and change in Tlemcen is its relation with regionalism or what many participants call 'racism' or 'class stratification'. Many people along the community advocate the existence of 'racism' in Tlemcen, according to our observation and the discussions with subjects. Scientifically speaking, racism is defined as the existence of many races where one considers (or is perceived) its group as superior than the remaining; this feeling is advocated by the participants which claim that in order to avoid this sensation of division, they need to avoid the linguistic features that are salient to recognize them as belonging to a particular group. For this, by avoiding one's dialectal peculiarities is a good way to avoiding regional signaling.

By levelling out the salient features of each dialect and adopting the commonly accepted features, there emerges a middle-positioned dialect which is free of stereotypes and that can be used by every speaker. This makes social connotations and stratifications and divisions as well quite disappearing. And this is one of the reasons of koiné use in any speech community that hold the same social realities as Tlemcen. Furthermore, one can advocate the idea that a regional koiné can be used not only as a dialectal lingua franca to overcome communication issues among interlocutors but also as a social medium to promote a more 'comfortable' communicative situation among originally different speakers of the community.

4.4.5. Developing contextual and linguistic competences via koiné use

The awareness that is raised by speakers with regard to the saliency of regiolect markers can enhance their linguistic and contextual competences on when and how to use the refined version of the dialect, i.e., the regional koiné. Dialect modification,

adjustment and change reflect speakers' awareness and their competences in developing linguistic and contextual communicative competences as well.

4.4.6. Does changing the dialect equal changing the identity?

A pretty confusing question has been addressed to the participants during the focused ethnographies: does changing your dialect equate you changing your identity? And an expected/ confirmed answer was that this is not and will never be the case. Both rural and urban participants have shown a change in their way of speaking in especially the second post-test which includes subjects of different genders and origins. If the dialect is seen as a crucial representative part of one's identity, it can by no means be changed in favour of another existing counterpart, objectively speaking. However, a contradiction is observed here that: in one hand, the dialect is one's identity and that, on the other hand, changing one's dialect does not entail abandoning the identity. So, how can one explain this complex phenomenon?

Despite the fact that one's way of speaking is part of who they are, the communicative needs, sometimes, are stronger than showing one's grouping: this is actually the purpose of koineization and koiné formation. There is a clear cut between belonging and communicating. Subjects have all shown their pride to belonging to a particular group and to identify themselves as coming from a specific area; however, none has denied that they change their way of speaking according to the needs of the situation. The change from one's regiolect to koiné use shows their will to promote a faster and a more successful communication where there is no need to show their group belonging. This can be labelled as a non-truth conditional divergence which means that the conditions for diverging from a variety to another are not fulfilled since divergence in the studied cases entails one to be different from their ancestors (or people of the same group who are speakers of the same variety).

4.4.7. Sect-affiliation and dialect (dis) loyalty

Linguistic loyalty refers to the fact of showing fidelity to one's language, dialect or accent to be identified among the group. It generally leads to the preservation of the traditional form especially once being under threats (Crystal, 2008: 266) as is the case

for the glottal stop among urban Tlemcen dialect users, as previously mentioned, where females tend to show, to a great extent, linguistic loyalty.

One of the most beautiful criteria to describe linguistic loyalty is that it arises from the feeling of appreciation of a linguistic variety spoken by a group of speakers. In the same line, this loyalty is said to be fostered by positive attitudes of a variety's speakers who are supposed to, unconditionally, use it in all contexts without exception. As for the current study, despite the fact that all subjects have shown positive attitudes towards their home tongues, reality is found to shake their linguistic loyalty. The opposition has been found in the performance of all subjects in the focused ethnographies. Therefore, we can induce that once comparing personal feelings to situational deeds, we fall under the dichotomy of overt and covert attitudes towards linguistic performances.

Linguistic loyalty mirrors ethnic loyalty as it features membership to a particular group. The findings of the focused ethnographies once the subjects have been in a pre-test phase have reflected that linguistic loyalty does indeed mirror ethnic belonging. The subjects have been among the members of the same ethnic group they are supposed to belong. The pre-test results show complete linguistic and ethnic loyalty among female urban dialect speakers, but this loyalty has been touched at the phonological level particular rural dialect speakers who tended not to utter [th] and [dh] in their speech even once being within the same group. Following these results, can we induce that female rural dialect speakers are disloyal to their variety and therefore their ethnic belonging? Or, if the behaviour is expressed in their in-group discussion, do they consider these variants as part of their speech? Or are they leading to an urbanization process via levelling out stigmatized markers of bedouinity?

The second post-test done within those focused ethnographies has had per aim to examine the saying that loyalty to one's variety comes as a result to contact with other codes which can lead to conflict (Areiza 2004). Surprisingly, once the groups have been mixed, linguistic loyalty has been questioned with the exception of female urban dialect speakers who retained their dialect. However, a great sense of identity betrayal and

therefore linguistic disloyalty have been seen in the speech of urban males and rural females and, to a smaller extent, rural males particularly at the phonological level.

4.4.8. Does koineization threaten the ethnic pride

One of the basic questions that has been asked at the very beginning of our study is the conflict between dialect change and one's ethnic pride. In other words, we wanted, along the investigations namely the experimental ethnography, to trace where the ethnic identity is placed when the dialect is produced. More importantly, the aim was to find out whether dialect change that occurs in one's performance. A conclusion that was elicited revealed that koineization does, by no means, threaten the ethnic pride of the subjects. It is true that the linguistic performance shows a dialectal disloyalty, but the ethnic pride and identity traits have always been fostered by the subjects throughout the discussions. Therefore, ethnicity and identity can be said to be covert issues which have their impacts in probably other social areas which goes beyond communicative situations needs which are the overtly-mentioned present conditions.

4.4.9. The ethnolinguistic vitality theory applied to the current study

The data that have been collected from the experimental part of the current study have indeed to be portrayed in the ethnolinguistic vitality theory which has its roots in the relations between ethnic groups distinguishing themselves from each other linguistically. The concept of vitality denotes the typical behaviour of a given group which fosters its uniqueness as a distinctive entity once being in an intergroup context (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308). The discussion of our finding has to be done in relation to this theory since the experiment was completed by linguistically and culturally distinct groups whose members have been exposed to intergroup discursive contexts.

As seen in the results above, once the members are subject conversations with speakers who identify themselves from the same group, their speech serves as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity. Once the participants were put in separate groups which include speakers of the same variety, they have been reminded of their distinctiveness from others and their uniqueness as an entity which possesses a speech

that is peculiar to them as part of their cultural heritage. Accordingly, we have seen an ethnolinguistic identification among the participants in the first stages of the experiment or mainly the pre-experimental study.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the effect of gender and contact on dialect change, maintenance and the koineization process as well among groups of subjects taken from different ethnic backgrounds. After a pre-test/ poste-test experiment, results have shown very interesting facts particularly once relating dialect use to ethnic identity belonging. Linguistic maintenance is strongly practiced by female Tlemcen urban dialect speakers who therefore score a high ethnolinguistic vitality be them in an in-group conversation or in mixed contexts as was explained in the post-test. Through their dialect disloyalty, rural dialect speakers show a low vitality; both males and females.

Results presented in both pre- and posttests go hand-in-hand with the general assumption of the current research which advocates that a refined version of the dialect mix is practiced when speakers of different origins come into contact in one conversation. In parallel, home varieties are said to be spoken in their territories once speakers are in in-group conversations, with family members or in a very comfortable situation.

Chapter Five: Attitudes Towards Dialect Diversity and Change in Tlemcen

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5.1. Introduction

The results that have been elicited from the third research method are all presented in this chapter. The global aim is to trace respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards the dialectal diversity that is exercised in Tlemcen speech community. For this reason, three research instruments have been implemented within the survey. The results obtained from each are analyzed in a separate section by using different analytic methods.

The first section presents the semi-structured interview results. The purpose of the interview is to trace direct opinions on dialect use and change in the community studied. The data are treated using a content analysis method with its qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thematisation is done in accordance with the research questions in general and the survey questions in particular. Thus, results are provided in categories, themes and explained descriptively with reference to the respondents' answers. Close-ended questions and common categorical responses are statistically quantified.

The second section is based on a direct translation of items from English to the mother tongue (home dialect). A modified Swadesh list of linguistic entries has been implemented in order to serve the purposes of the work by taking into account phonological, morphological and lexical items. Its insertion aims at covering the assumption that attitudes can be linguistically performed rather than expressed. Both transliteration and phonetic transcriptions are needed in order to highlight the real performance of the respondents. Tables presenting the translations, and therefore item realizations, allow one to compare dialect performance reflecting similarities and differences in dialect use or change.

The third section relies on two research tools: matched-guise technique accompanied with perceptual maps and scales. This section aims at eliciting respondents' awareness on the difference of the dialects listened to, geographical distribution of these varieties, and their evaluation and ranking as well. The data

obtained are analyzed via an ArcGIS software in order to reveal respondents' dialectal perceptions and evaluations.

Combined together, survey results are interpreted in relation to the two basic terms dialects and attitudes. Comparison can be made between what is overtly said, what is unconsciously linguistically performed, and what is mentally mapped. The chapter ends with the conclusion that attitudes can be measured differently and disguised techniques can help a lot in achieving more concrete results and explanations.

5.2. Section One: The interview's results

The interview has been implemented in order to have direct self-reported attitudes with regard to the linguistic situation in Tlemcen speech community in addition to the possibility and motivations that can lead speakers to opt for a common or neutral variety when being in mixed contexts. Information related to the respondents' profile are summarized first, then the method of analysis is presented. Raw data are thematized and discussed based on content analysis procedures.

5.2.1. Demographic information

As previously stated, the respondents have been categorized according to gender (table 5.1) and residence (table 5.2). It is also necessary to point that they are all university students aged between 18 to 30 years old.

Table 5.1. Participants according to gender

Gender	Males	Females
Number	80	100
Percentage	44.44%	55.56%

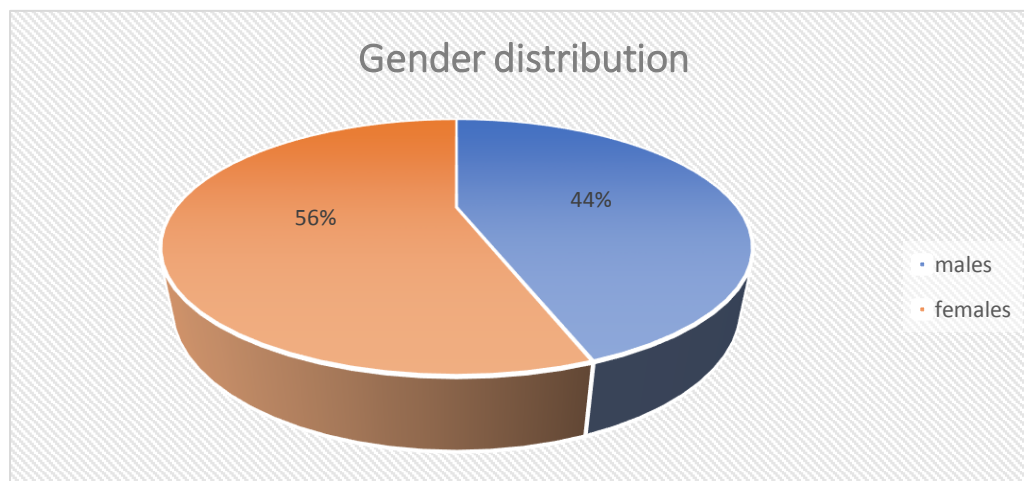


Figure 5.1. distribution of respondents according to gender

Table 5.2. Participants according to residence

Place	In-Tlemcen	Out-Tlemcen
Number	90	90
Percentage	50%	50%

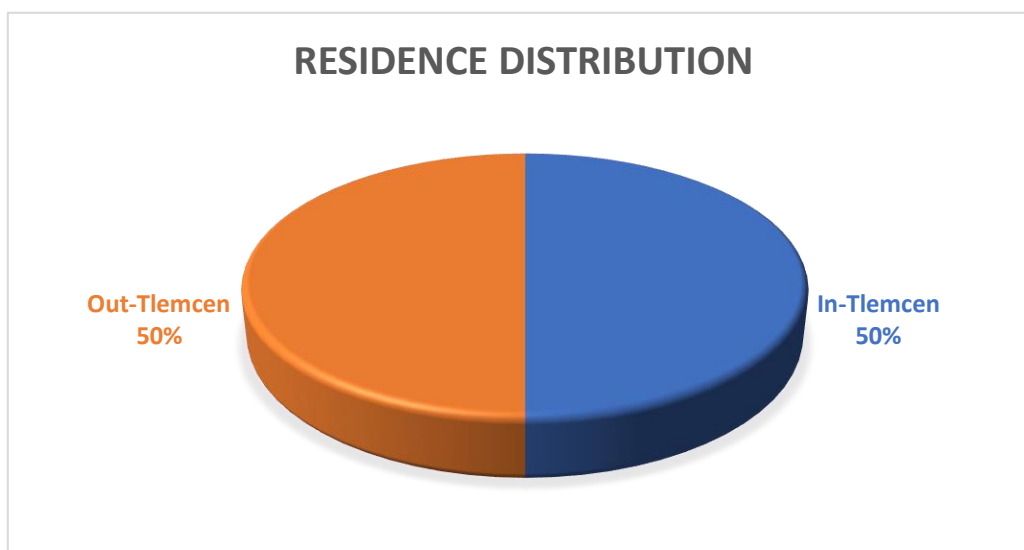


Figure 5.2. Distribution of respondents according to their place of residence

5.2.2. Synopsis of Interview Content Analysis

Because there are many points of overlap between content analysis and others implied in qualitative data analysis, the researcher has opted for the latter as it has some peculiarities that better serve the objective of the current research especially with regard to the complexity of data. Since the data obtained from interviews are basically qualitative, content analysis tends to be its systematic transformation into an ordered summary of basic results. In order to achieve a consistent categorization of meaning units, the analysis has gone through the steps below.

- Listening to the recorded interviews
- Gaining an overall understanding of what the data present as information (what the respondents are providing as data to answer the research questions)
- Extracting main points of similarities and differences in order to make meaning units
- Condensing the data by shortening the text and preserving the meaning
- Formulating codes which are labels given to each condensed meaning unit
- Creating categories by grouping codes according to the different aspects they describe in relation to the content (including: who, what, when, and where)
- Thematising the categories in an interpretive manner (including: why and how)

However, an important point on the type of the interview data needs to be mentioned since the interview offers both qualitative and quantitative data as well. Content analysis method applied can go both directions with regard to the nature of research, objectives, hypotheses, samples, and data itself. What is more, the current research is deductive in nature; thence, a quantitative content analysis (based on deducing an assumption rather than forming a theory) is more reliable. Table (5.3) explains the differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches to content analysis; what is colored refers to the principles opted for in the analysis of the present research.

Table 5.3. Principles of qualitative and quantitative content analyses

Quantitative content analysis	Qualitative content analysis
-------------------------------	------------------------------

used in mass communication in order to count textual elements in terms of frequencies.	developed primarily in anthropology, qualitative sociology, and psychology, to understand meanings behind messages.
is deductive in nature addressing questions and hypotheses previously established.	is inductive attempting to grounding and generating theory.
produces numbers to be manipulated statistically.	produces descriptions emphasized by expressions reflecting the participants' views
has a statistical significance of the frequency of word/ concept occurrence	has a thematic significance relying on interpretations of meanings

The implementation of both approaches comes from the fact that the two are not mutually exclusive but can rather be utilized in combination for a better understanding of results. As advocated by Smith, “qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form” (Smith, 1975, p.218). Putting the principles of both approaches together makes this content-analytic work richer and more reliable.

5.3. Results

The interview that we have been through has generated a considerable amount of qualitative data which, for its analysis, identification of patterns is crucially needed: a process that is known as thematization in content analysis. Thematization refers to finding patterns in the data obtained that seem to be interesting and to provide reliable results in relation to the research questions and hypotheses pre-proposed in the study.

5.3.1. Theme 1: Dialect and identity affiliation

It is a natural assumption that people have a sense of belonging to the different elements they identify themselves through, and linguistic performance is not an exception. For this, respondents have been asked three interrelated questions emphasizing the concept of identity in relation to the dialect they use. These questions bring the following results.

1) Do you speak like your parents? And in which ways do you differ?

As far as this question is concerned, all the participants, with no exception have answered that they speak like their parents or more correctly their caregivers since some have mentioned that they have grown up with their grand-parents. This statement, they said, applies truly at home where the situation is familiar, intimate, casual and more relaxed. Without any doubt or hesitation, the dialect spoken at home is identical and similar in production to what the caregivers utter. Yet, some of the answers have shown that youngsters differ in being lexically innovative for the reason that they bring new terms which have not been used previously as *'facebook, twitter, skype, teams, la fac, etc.'* and many other lexemes which are said to be newly introduced to be part of their daily speech. This falls into code-mixing which falls out of the objectives of the current research; therefore, this idea has not been discussed in details.

When asked about points of difference, answers differ among participants of distinct genders and origins as well. Male participants who originally speak the Tlemcen urban dialect have stated that despite the fact that home seems to be a relaxing environment for the use of the glottal stop "*le pure tlemcenien*", they find themselves inserting the [g] sound sometimes without even paying attention to that. This means that it becomes part of their speech as an unconscious linguistic behaviour. Obviously, they said, their dialect outside family borders is different and what is previously mentioned is a good example of that. As opposed to males' answers, females have said that they keep the same variety at home and outside it with some 'rare' exceptions of not being understood or feeling embarrassed in a particular group of friends or mates which dictates change of dialect to occur. Surprisingly, six female respondents have a different attitude and said that because of the excessive interaction with rural girls, they tend to speak using [g] even at home and among family members: an action that made their parents really mad at them literally saying [yeHachmou bina ki manahadrouch b l?a]. Yet, female respondents of other origins (those coming from Nedroma, Maghnia, Ghazaouet, Sebdou, Ouled Mimoun) have mentioned that their speech goes under some refinement once being outside the zone they belong to especially in words and some sounds.

2) How do you interact with your family members who live in other locations than yours?

Family equals belonging; therefore, the dialect used is the same with them, all the respondents answered. They have highlighted the fact that if the family member is from the same geographical area, the accent, dialect and all the socio-linguistic performance should be identical. Even if s/he lives in a different area (but have grown up with them), the linguistic performance is still the same with them. Exceptions are found with Tlemcenians going out of the skirts of the city to other ‘different’ areas as Oran, Sidi Belabbes, Ghilizene, or Algiers (examples given by some of the respondents) where a refinement of the dialect is made. Tlemcenian males have mentioned this action as a very normal one especially if there is a considerable social distance between them and those family members. Three female participants have said that even if they try to change their way of speaking (due to an intermarriage with an external who becomes a new family member), they are asked to keep their home variety with which they were seen speaking the first time; it suits them more; it is more prestigious.

3) Are you proud of your way of speaking (the dialect used)?

100% of the respondents have answered positively to the question of being proud of their dialect. Although the question has been asked after a number of other unrelated queries like ‘what do you think of life in your hometown?’ and ‘are you proud of where you live and belong? And ‘if you have the chance to change your place of residence, what will you choose?’, the answer to ‘are you proud of your dialect?’ shows a completely different attitude from the responses given to the very first questions. The respondents have said that life in their hometown is not pleasant due to people around them, they are not having a good social life which itself becomes boring and if they had the chance to move somewhere else, they would easily abandon it for better places. The city of Tlemcen, Imama and Kifane were the only cited among all the participants except those already living there or in other places like Birouana, Les Dalias, and the so-called sophisticated areas. Therefore, between what is overtly said as being proud of

where they belong and what is covertly aspired for are extremely divergent behaviours which need to be furtherly discussed in the coming sections.

5.3.2. Theme 2: University as a place of linguistic diversity and contact

It is an obvious reality that university is a melting pot for students coming from different places. However, the main question that needs to be raised in relation to this reality is related to the effect this diversity causes on the linguistic performance of those students; and among them who is the most influenced or influential. Following are the answers obtained as responses to those enquiries.

1) As a university student, do you have friends/ mates from different geographical areas? How do you recognize they are of different origins?

The first question has revealed our assumption that university is truly a place where contact is high for the reason that all participants (table 5.4) have mentioned they have class-mates and friends coming from different regions of Tlemcen province.

Table 5.4. Respondents' answers on having friends from different regions of Tlemcen

Yes		No	
Males	Females	Males	Females
90	90	00	00

Indeed, it was the stereotypes (including sounds, pronunciation and even lexical items) associated to each dialect that prove, according to the participants, that a given individual is originally different (figure 5.3).

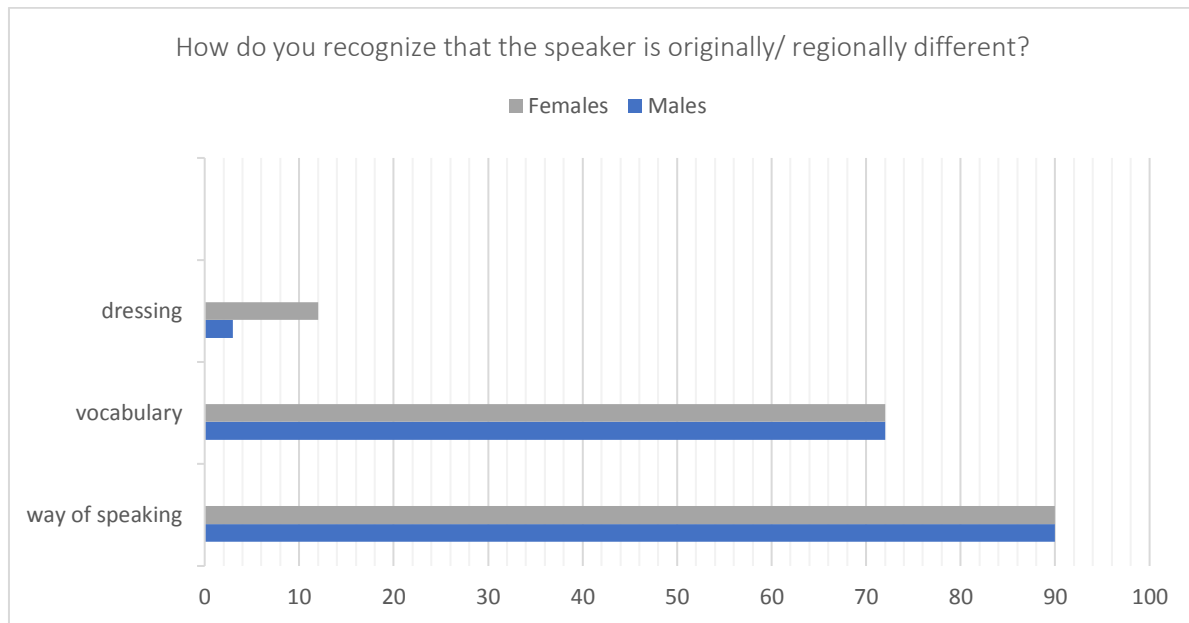


Figure 5.3. Respondents' answers on origin differences of speakers

2) Do you have difficulties when interacting with them? If yes, what type of difficulties?

Indeed, it is the stereotype that indicates that an individual is coming from a different area that makes understanding a bit difficult. When asked about the deficiencies they face while interacting with mates coming from other areas or different origins, respondents have said that the difficulties are not that huge, after all they are speaking the same language. Yet, when it comes to certain sounds as the Ghazaouet [tsh] or Nedroma accent or purely Tlemcenian one (to cite some examples), understanding becomes a little bit challenging especially at the level of the lexis used.

In reaction to that, another question has been raised: 'how do you react to those difficulties?'. Respondents have said that asking for the meaning of a given ambiguous word makes the conversation very interesting. This enriches their vocabulary and makes later discussions easy as they, with time, learn new concepts in the corresponding dialectal variety. This answer has been mainly given with regard to the dialect spoken in Ghazaouet which, seemingly, tends to be challenging to understand from the first exposure (except with its native speakers or people who have been already exposed to the variety and have prior familiarity and knowledge about it). It was surprising that

most of the respondents have mentioned that in case of ambiguity, they use ‘common’ words or known expressions in order to enhance mutual intelligibility.

5.3.3. Theme 3: Promoting intelligibility with dialect change

These exact parameters (pronunciation of words, variance in vocabulary and accent) are considered as points of difficulty while interacting or being in a mixed context. For this, a next question demands from the respondents to reflect on the things they do in order to avoid ambiguity and make the communication intelligible and successful. In answering this (figure 5.4), respondents show tolerance and their will not to keep the home variety but to use one that is understood and free of stereotypes.

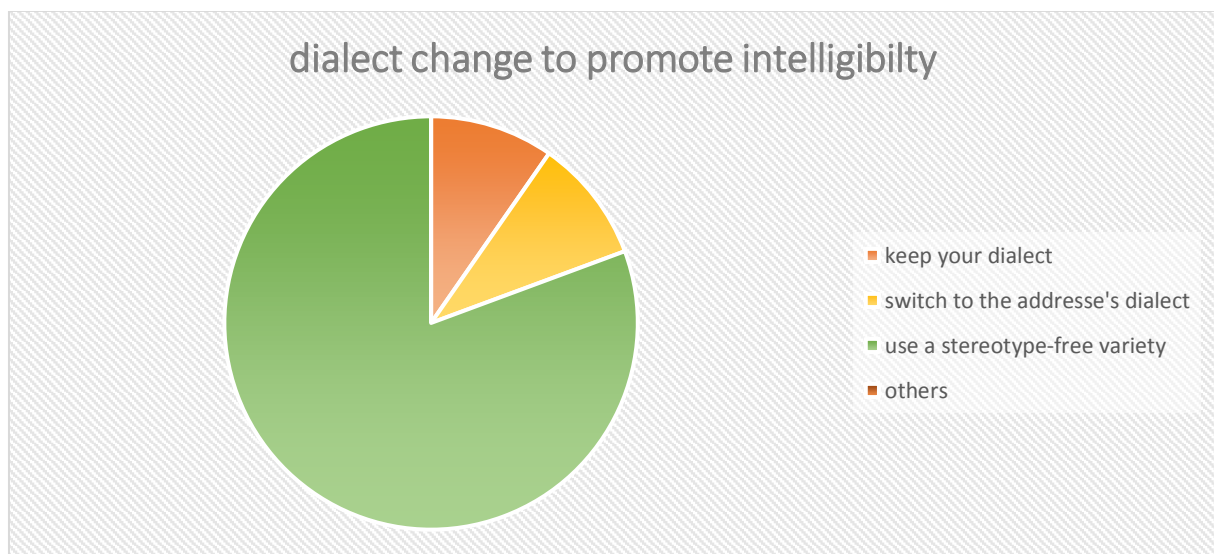


Figure 5.4. Respondents' reactions to dialect change to promote intelligibility

As illustrated, the big majority (80%) have shown that for a successful communication, it is important to omit all what cause difficulty or ambiguity in understanding. Consequently, dialect markers once avoided will make the conversation easier and can sometimes even prevents the embarrassment of not understanding or misunderstanding or funny moments when some concepts are taboo in one variety but fine in another. Thus, while initiating a speech with someone whom one is sure they are of different origins, it is preferable, according to the respondents, to use a common variety that is widely accepted without any social, cultural or linguistic limitations. Still the remaining 20% of the sample indicate that they either keep their home variety

without any attempt to modify their speech or to switch to the addressee's dialect with the condition of having enough knowledge about its use and production.

5.3.4. Theme 4: Other purposes for dialect change

The previous question has paved the way for another explanatory one that despite the fact that dialects reflect one's identity, in which contexts a speaker falls under the obligation to change them. A variety of answers has been provided and categorized as follows:

a/ Formality: a neutral variety, one that is stereotype-free, has been chosen to be used by the majority of informants in formal contexts such as administrations, work-heads, hospitals, managers, and any other situation that requires from the speaker to speak formally. Avoiding stigmatized forms and negatively perceived ones will boost the appreciation of the speaker and therefore enhances their positive perception from the receiver.

b/ Prestige: in addition to the urban Tlemcen dialect, the neutral variety is also seen as prestigious and highly perceived by both speakers and addressees. For them, it shows that the speaker of this variety is highly ranked in status as opposed to someone speaking the rural variety who tends to be primitive or have no relation with urbanity.

c/ Education: besides the urban dialect that is spoken in Tlemcen, the neutral variety is also evaluated as reflecting the educational level of its speaker. If one switches to an urban-like dialect (but with the omission of any possible marker that can be negatively perceived), s/he will show to be educated which is not the case for someone using the rural dialect that makes them sound uneducated.

d/ Urbanity: being socially and culturally advanced is also a parameter of linguistic variable selection. All what is pejoratively seen is avoided since it reflects the person as coming from a remote, rural or bedouin area which is, most of the time, seen as 'not urbanized'.

5.3.5. Theme 5: Dialect attitudes and social connotations

This theme has been the most interesting part in all the interviews the researcher had conducted with her respondents in a way that some conversations have exceeded one hour in discussing matters related to the social realities lived in Tlemcen and their relation with the dialects spoken.

1) Do you think in order to be culturally immersed, in the context of Tlemcen province, you have to use a city-like dialect?

75% of female respondents have agreed with this idea that in our society ‘hypocrisy’ in speech is needed if one wants to gain approval. The remaining portion of the respondents have said that it is not important the dialect we use, what matters the most is the way we use it to convey a particular message.

2) What to do you think of the following statement?

“Generally speaking, in Tlemcen, women refuse any external contact with non-Tlemcenians for the reason that they regard Tlemcenian culture and Tlemcen itself as being the perfect example of the culture and the city. This very subjective attitude is translated by such acts as, say, refusing to let their daughters- and very often their sons- marry an NT, except if the partner is rich or has a very high social position”
(Dekkak 1976)

The first reaction that the respondents have once hearing this question was ‘laughing’ and saying [wah kayna] ‘yes, this is absolutely true’. None of them has negated this statement except some who have given some peculiar experiences as counterpart examples to show that the opposite of the statement is possible to happen, although rare.

3) What are the social connotations associated with dialect diversity in Tlemcen, according to you?

The respondents seem to agree on the social connotations associated with the diversity of dialects exercised in Tlemcen. Here are some excerpts summarizing the perceptions best.

Excerpt 1: [shou hna f Tlemcen l regionalism wella l racism dayer Hala]

Excerpt 2: [hna yebghiw ghi fi ba3adhahoum]

Excerpt 3: [kayen li ghi mn hadertek ygoulek nta mayen wela aslek kish surtout hna f Tlemcen]

4) Do you think that the rural-urban dichotomy creates a racist society?

Although the topic of regionalism or what is popularly conceived as racism in Tlemcen seems really sensitive to be discussed overtly, respondents did not hesitate in answering. All confirmed that there is a certain social group division in the province of Tlemcen in the sense that urban people consider themselves as belonging to an upper class and therefore are highly positioned than others who come from rural places and who are then considered as [beraniyin, mashi wlad leblad] that is external from the city.

5) Can we avoid regionalism in Tlemcen by changing our linguistic performance?

70% of the respondents have mentioned that regionalism can never be avoided in Tlemcen but it can only be contextually hidden as is the case of dialect use. Following are some excerpts provided from the respondents' answers.

Excerpt 1: [possible ila matbeyensh nta min mais li mashi tlemceni yji bayen]

Excerpt 2: [normal bla ma tahder b l2a mais kol wahed w kifesh]

5.4. Section Two: Phonological, Morphological and Lexical Variation

This section is devoted to the realizations of some speech patterns that were provided in the translation part of the interview. These realizations, as advocated previously, are mainly phonological, morphological and lexical according to the selected variants under investigation in the current research.

5.4.1. Phonological variation

- /q/- variation

Table 5.5. /q/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [q]		Tokens for [g]		Tokens for [ʔ]	
Neck	[raqba]	25	[ragba]	78	[raʔba]	45

Heart	[qalb]	93	[galb]	56	[ʔalb]	45
Vomit	[yetqia]	25	[yetgia]	00	[yetʔia]	45
Blue	[zraq]	112	[zrag]	33	[zraʔ]	45
Burn	[yaHraq]	25	[yaHrag]	56	[yaHraʔ]	45
Kill	[yeqtel]	20	[yegtol]	00	[yeʔtel]	45
Cut	[yqeta3]	25	[ygata3]	60	[yʔata3]	45
Split	[yeqsem]	112	[yegsem]	12	[yaʔsem]	45
Up	[lfoq]	25	[lfoug]	56	[lfoʔ]	45
In front	[qodam]	25	[godam]	61	[ʔedam]	45
Stand	[youqaf]	25	[yougaf]	41	[yewʔaf]	40
Sleep	[yeq3od]	25	[yergod]	90	[yerʔed]	45
Say	[yqoul]	30	[ygoul]	112	[yʔoul]	82

- /t/- variation

Table 5.6. /t/ Variation results

Words	Tokens for [th]		Tokens for [t]		Tokens for [ts]	
Snow	[thalj]	06	[telj]	180	[tselj]	03
Three	[tlatha]	06	[tlata]	180	[tlatsa]	00
Eight	[thmenia]	06	[tmenia]	180	[tsmenia]	03

- /dh/- variation

Table 5.7. /d/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [d]		Tokens for [dh]	
Ears	[wednin]	180	[wedhnin]	06
Lie	[yekdeb]	180	[yekdheb]	06
This	[hada]	180	[hadha]	06
That	[haddek]	180	[hadhek]	06

- /D/-variation

Table 5.8. /dd/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [D]		Tokens for [DH]		Tokens for [T]	
Back	[Dhar]	180	[DHhar]	06	[Thar]	09

Laugh	[yeDhak]	180	[yeDHhak]	06	[yeThak]	00
Green	[xDer]	180	[xDHer]	06	[xTer]	00
white	[byaD]	180	[byaDH]	06	[byaT]	25
Fog	[Dbab]	180	[DHbab]	06	[Tbab]	00
Hit	[yeDreb]	174	[yeDHreb]	06	[yeTreb]	09
Get up	[ynouD]	174	[ynouDH]	06	[ynouT]	00

5.4.2. Morphological variation

- /ouh/ vs /iwah/

Table 5.9. /ouh/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [-ou]		Tokens for [-iw]	
Hta yzid w nsemmouh/iwah sʃid	[nsemmouh]	153	[nsemmiwah]	52
Nechriw/u ljar qbel dar	[nechrou]	21	[nechriw]	180
Manechrouch/iwsh lhout f lbHar	[manechrouch]	14	[manechriwch]	180

- /u/ vs /ah/

Table 5.10. /u/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [-ah]		Tokens for [-u]	
Elli fi ʃomrah medda matekkotlah chedda	[ʃomrah]	33	[ʃomrou]	65
Rebbi yaʃti lHam lelli maʃandah sennin	[ʃandah]	156	[ʃandou]	29
Li ghwah roxsah-u xella nossah-u	[roxsah]	08	[roxso]	44
Li yebghi hajtah-u yergoud ʃliha	[Hajtah]	20	[hajto]	38
Tgoul wledtah-u w nsitah-u	[wledtah]	149	[wledtou]	31
Ssakett tahtah nabett	[taHtah]	08	[taHtou]	112
Mayebqa f lwad ghir hjarah- u	[Hjarah]	20	[Hjarou]	180
Ki kan hai kan mechtaq tamra w ki mat ʃalqoulah ʃarjoun	[ʃalqoulah]	76	[ʃalqoulo]	52

- /-Ø.fem/ vs /-i/

Table 5.11. /i/ variation results

Words	Tokens for [-i]		Tokens for [-Ø]	
Elbes-i mastar w koul-i mahdar (fem.)	[lebsi]	75	[lbes]	82
Wessel-i lkeddab lbab dar (fem.)	[wessli]	23	[wessel]	180
Ƨamel-i-ni kif xouma w hasseb-i-ni ki Ƨdouk (fem.)	[Ƨamlini]	14	[Ƨamelni]	166
Dir-i ki der jarek wella bellaƧ-i beb darek	[diri]	98	[Ƨmel]	36

5.4.3. Lexical variation

Table 5.12. Lexical variation results

Word	Urban		Rural		Others	
Foot	[rdjel]	180	[kraʃ]	21	[gdem]	02
Liver	[kebda]	180	[kabda]	08	[kaHla]	32
Spit	[yebzaq]	180	[yedfel]	112	[/]	--
Rain	[chta]	98	[nou]	112	[mter]	02
Come	[adji]	95	[rwaH]	151	[aya]	08
See	[ychouf]	180	[yexzer]	35	[ybergag]	12
Hear	[yesmaʃ]	180	[yesmaʃ]	--	[yessanat]	27
Here	[hna]	143	[hnaya]	96	[/]	--
There	[hnak]	102	[lhih]	143	[lhihet]	13
What	[assem]	97	[washa]	66	[wassem]	161
Where	[fayen]	124	[win]	26	[finta]	07
When	[fawaq]	116	[fiwak]	15	[winta]	07
All	[kamel]	81	[gaʃ]	180	[kollesh]	03
many	[bezayef]	05	[bezaf]	180	[ʃoram]	04
Give	[ymed]	180	[yaʃti]	59	[yaati]	48
Hold	[yeqbett]	87	[yegbad]	162	[ykesh]	02
Push	[yʃin]	79	[yedʃez]	14	[yedfaʃ]	31
Throw	[yseyebe]	46	[yqis]	74	[yermi]	180

5.5. Section Three: Speech Perception and Evaluation

5.5.1 Introduction

This section investigates perceptions carried by speakers of the different varieties of Tlemcen dialect especially with regard to the linguistic variation and change occurring onto their dialects, the socio-cultural evaluations linked to their attitudes, and reasons behind such attitudinal perceptions. Relying on perceptual dialectology research

methods, the participants have accomplished a two-fold task that has started with a pointing-on-a-map and a disguised projective technique. The maps have been gathered after being filled by the respondents and treated individually by the researcher; then analyzed via a software labelled Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping software so as to cumulate, query and generate an amalgamated map of perceptions. The second task has provided a ranking scale of seven parameters wherein the respondents were asked to order the varieties exposed to them through a matched-guise technique with four recordings of different varieties spoken along different areas in Tlemcen province.

5.5.2 Objectives

The aim of the implementation of these tools is to collect primary data on respondents' attitudes with regard to the linguistic situation taking place in the speech community of Tlemcen. Yet, it should be noted that categorizing or placing those attitudes spatially is lacking in the studies of Arabic sociolinguistics in general and dialectology in particular although studying the link between linguistic performance and geography has always significantly been a matter of concern in those two fields. Many sociolinguists and dialectologists have focused on production-based regional variation; for this reason, the present part of the current research tries to adopt and shed light on a perception-oriented approach as part of perceptual dialectology which targets the views and perceptions of people toward linguistic performance, variation and change with regard to its spatial distribution wherein their language variety is exercised. Accordingly, perceptual dialectology serves to detect the extent to which regional dialects are geographically mapped in the minds of the members of a given society of a speech community, which dialectal realizations are socially relevantly prominent to them, and what attitudes they possess and associate to those realizations as sociocultural meanings and associations. Likewise, all those angles of perceptual information function as a helpful upshot not only to the description but also to the analysis of the authentic forms of linguistic variation (Evans, 2013).

When discussing primary data related to perceptual dialectological studies, it is obvious that literature on English and similar western varieties had and still have more concern in dialect perceptual geography in comparison to what Arabic has received which makes it seriously lagging behind in its findings (Horesh and Cotter, 2016) especially when it comes to dialect perceptions and so is the case of Tlemcen Arabic dialect. Arabic, as a rich pot with dialect varieties, has always portrayed an excellent case study to explore regional dialectal variation from a perceptual perspective. This tends to be more evident in a community like Tlemcen which presents an abundance of many dialects that have not been investigated, at least from a perceptual point of view. For this, this part of the study has per objective the investigation of Tlemcen youngsters' perceptions about variation and change among Tlemcen dialect speakers by examining not only the mental mappings of regional distribution of the four excerpts of speech but also their reactions and attitudes towards them: a fact that reflects their perceptions, opinions and evaluations of those varieties spoken in Tlemcen speech community.

Perceptual dialectology as a subfield of sociolinguistics (Preston, 1989) explores individuals' attitudes towards linguistic performance as well as social ideologies held especially in relation to other geographical distribution in a particular area. Among the methods and techniques employed by perceptual dialectology lies the elicitation of participants' mental maps beside social ideologies related to spatial and geographic variation via the 'draw-a-map' task (ibid). These maps are generally elaborated and gathered in order to see their understandings and mental representations of geo-linguistic variation distribution, i.e., their ability to identify where speakers are coming from or in which area they similarly or differently speak. In this vein, Evans (2011) has stated that this notion of exploring perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs through language performance "reveals underlying theories of language held by the speakers and provides a window to the cultural beliefs of the respondents" (p. 384). Interestingly, research on dialect perceptions can initially be a starting point in both the description and analysis of the relationship between patterns of dialectal performance and patterns of evaluation of variation occurring in a given geographical (dialectal) area.

As far as Arabic perceptual dialectology is concerned, very few studies have been conducted on attitudes in relation to their sociocultural and regional distributions (towards the dialect) especially with regard to the incorporation of perceptual dialectological approaches (Albirin 2016). Compared to other languages, studies on attitudes towards varieties of Arabic have been heavily based on survey-oriented research as is the case for Alahmadi (2016) who studied Meccan Hijazi dialect and Hachimi (2012-2013) on Moroccan Arabic. Exceptions go to Alrumaih (2002) when studying attitudes toward Najdi Arabic, Theodoropoulou and Tylor (2015) while trying to locate ideologies and attitudes of Moroccans towards different Arabic varieties, and finally, Al-Rojaie (2020) while dealing with people's mental mappings of the Arabic variation spoken in Qassimi in Saudi Arabia. Algerian dialects, particularly the Tlemcenian, are of no exception with rare, if not any, contributive works related to the study of attitudes and speakers' mental mapping in relation to linguistic variation distributed geographically.

5.5.3 The matched-guise technique:

It is worth mentioning that since our research relies on knowing and measuring attitudes, an indirect method is seen to be more suitable. Accent stereotypes and dialect indicators are the first elements to be noticed by people; that's why recordings have been presented to the participants to see their perceptions and evaluations of dialects as well. It is necessary to mention that this technique is not experimental in nature but has been utilized as a helping instrument for the coming perceptual and evaluative tasks.

As for the implementation of the technique, first, the researcher has recorded herself pronouncing the same sentence in four major varieties using a recorder application on her cell-phone. Three of them are highly stereotyped and are therefore expected to be known by the sample and easily pointed over the map. Whereas Ghazaouet speech is known by the [tsh] sound which is a realization of /k/ and the [k] sound which is a realization of /q/, Tlemcen urban speech has throughout time been recognized by the realization of qaf as glottal stop. What is more, the third variety is highly stereotyped by the prominent pronunciation of interdental. The researcher has

emphasized on those aspects so that to make it more informative for the respondents to proceed within the task.

The fourth variety is performed as a neutral one. It holds no specific pejorative nor prestigious linguistic indicators. All the stereotypical linguistic aspects have been avoided. This results in a simplified version of the dialect which we assume to form the common variety (koiné) to be spoken by many people in different places of the province. Indeed, the four recordings have been introduced to each of the informants as part of the matched-guise technique in order to accomplish two differing up-coming tasks.

Recording n°1: Ghazaouet Speech

[kuna kašdin fi raHmet rabi Hata kerkbo ũlina dyaf ũla ghefla, safetna sghira tHol, lkinahom saHbet ũatika xti w yemaha, dexelnaHom w raHabna bihem, Hatinalhom lkahwa, shexna shwya w mshaw]

Recording n°2: Tlemcen City speech

[kuna gašdin fi raHmet rabi Hata ʔerʔbo ũlina dyaf ũla ghefla, zafetna sghira tHel, sebnahom saHbet ũati'a xti w maha, dexelnaHom w raHabna bihom, Hatinalhom lʔahwa, shexna shwya w mshaw]

Recording n°3: Rural speech

[kuna mjamũin fi raHmet rabi Hata tabatbo ũlina dhyaf ũla ghefla, zayfetna sghira tHel, jbarnahom saHbet ũatiqa xti w mha, dexalnahom w raHabna bihom, Hatinalhom lqahwa, shexna shwya w raHo]

Recording n°4: Neutral speech

[kuna gašdin fi raHmet rabi Hata qerqbo ũlina dyaf ũla ghefla, zafetna sghira tHel, lqinahom saHbet ũatiqa xti w maha, dexelnaHom w raHabna bihom, Hatinalhom lqahwa, shexna qhwya w mshaw]

English gloss:

'we were sitting in a good mood till we have heard someone was knocking the door. We have sent the little daughter to open it; we found out it was our sister's friend Atika and her mom. We welcomed them and made some coffee for them we gossiped for some time and then they've left'

After listening to each recording separately, the informants were asked to place each dialect on the map that is given. The map includes a regional division of Tlemcen province where big cities are highlighted. Later, the respondents were asked to evaluate each of the given varieties according to a scale that includes basic measuring and evaluative variables which help indeed in knowing the attitudes towards the varieties spoken in different geographical areas in Tlemcen community.

5.5.4 The map survey instrument:

A pointing-on-a-map survey has been accorded in this part of research. Respondents implemented have been provided a map of Tlemcen province with some minimal details of its prominent regional borders including cities and well-known areas in Tlemcen. The motivation behind the use of a map with minimal, but salient, details is first to promote respondents' observation and grasping of the task, and second to minimize additional and unnecessary influence that more chaotic geographical details can have over their perceptions of the dialect varieties they listen to from the recordings played. Respondents at this level have been asked to initially listen to the recorded excerpts presented to them. The recordings of the same utterance in four distinct varieties have been previously prepared by the researcher herself and registered on her cell-phone while the map was printed and present at hand. They were instructed to write a number for each variety they hear (respectively from 1 to 4) and try to locate each number in the space they think a particular variety is spoken. Later on, the researcher has tried to observe respondents' reactions while listening to the recordings and pointing them over the map.

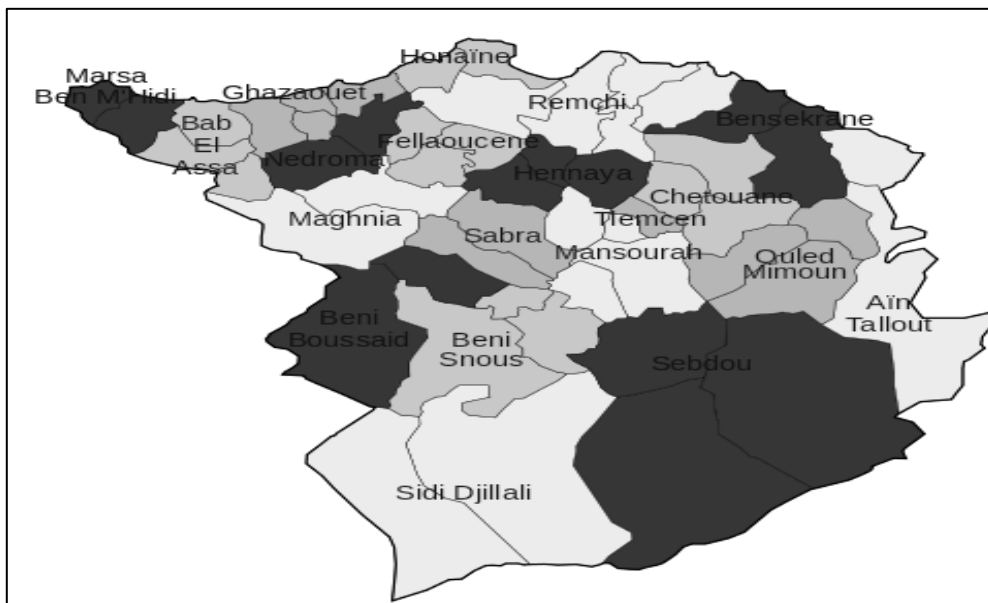


Figure 5.5. The empty map used in the 'draw-a-map' survey

Maps (5.6) and (5.7) show some raw answers that have been given by some of the respondents, as examples. It shall be noted that the map-survey has been part of the interview; therefore, the number of respondents does not change.

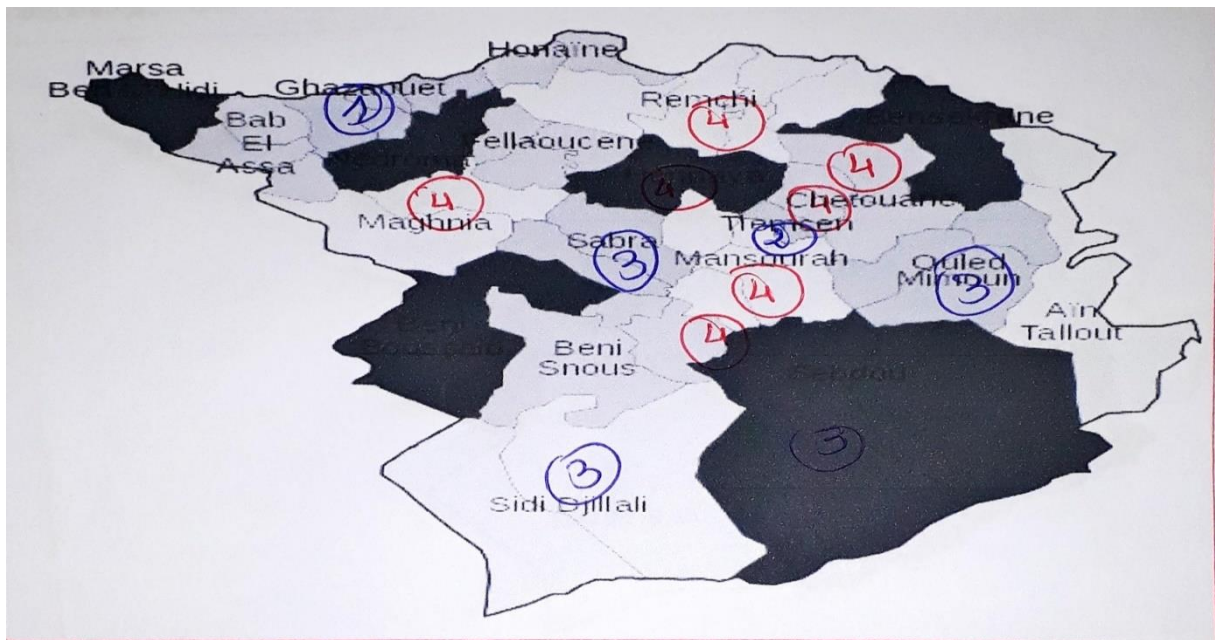


Figure 5.6. An example of a scanned map filled with a respondent's perception

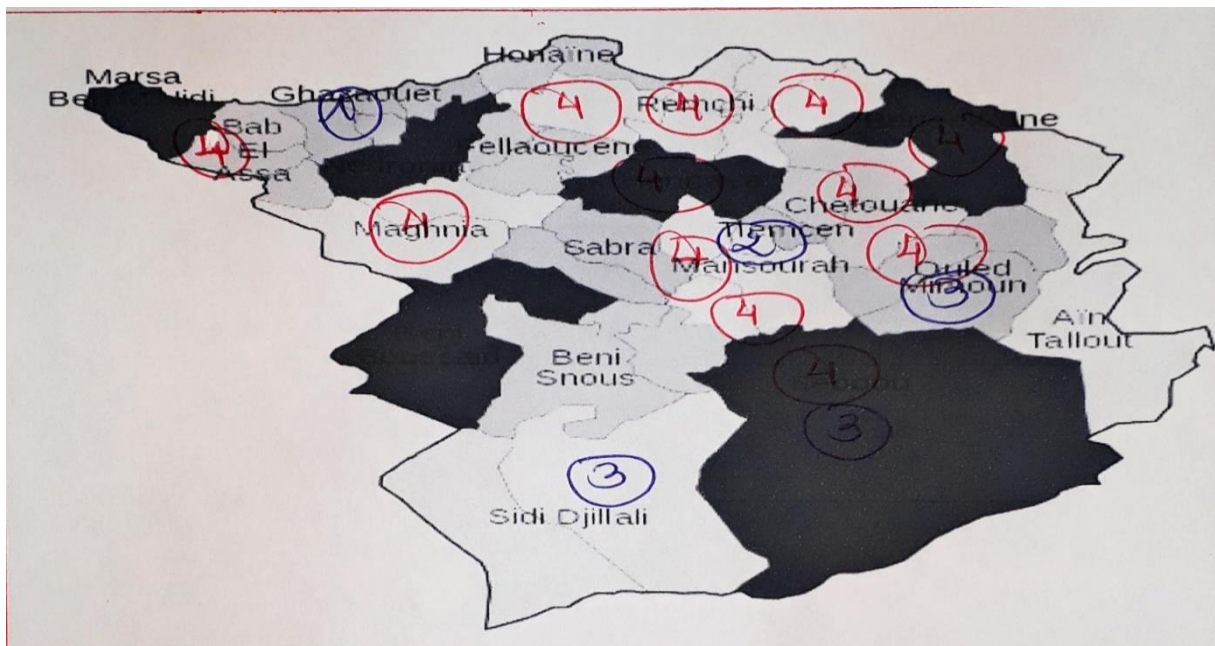


Figure 5.7. Another example of a scanned map filled with a respondent's perception

5.5.5 Data analysis

5.5.5.1 GIS analysis

Recent perceptual dialectology research studies are adopting the mapping software known as the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in order to digitally localize, treat, and analyze larger amounts of hand-drawn maps and maps that include written details on them. Technically speaking, GIS is a software that is mainly designed to accumulate, save, restore, scrutinize and analyze any data related to geography and space. Likewise, this software enables a systemic visualization of spatial data promoting one for the identification of features located in any part of the map. The central positive point of implementing such a software is its capacity to aggregate and combine the respondents' different answers into one single map. Additionally, it has been stated "by Evans (2013: 271), [that] the digital analysis of maps via GIS software provides a variety of maps that have been derived from qualitative and quantitative aspects of the data;" (Al-Rojaie, 2020: 2) this reflects the idea that "both objective and common patterns of perceptions and attitudes can be seen," detected, and presented over the map (ibid).

In this survey, the researcher has collected maps from 180 respondents which is a large number to be analyzed manually. Therefore, in order to study this number of answers (4 dialect perceptions on each map x180) a computerized tool of analyzing and aggregating the attitudinal data/ perceptual dialect (henceforth PD) evaluations: GIS software falls into those objectives. Although literature on the description and displaying of the software seems complex, there are different approaches for implementing GIS in PD data. It shall be mentioned that softwares demand clear instructions on how to adequately transform data related to 'spatial entities' to 'geographical representations' (Heywood et al., 2006: 77) particularly those processed in hard copies, and so is the case for GIS which processes PD data into technological/ technical aspects in terms of layers so as to generate collective aggregated maps.

5.5.5.2. From hand-drawn maps to digitized forms

The very first step to process data offered on the collected maps by the respondents is to scan all the hand-drawn maps in order to get them georeferenced.

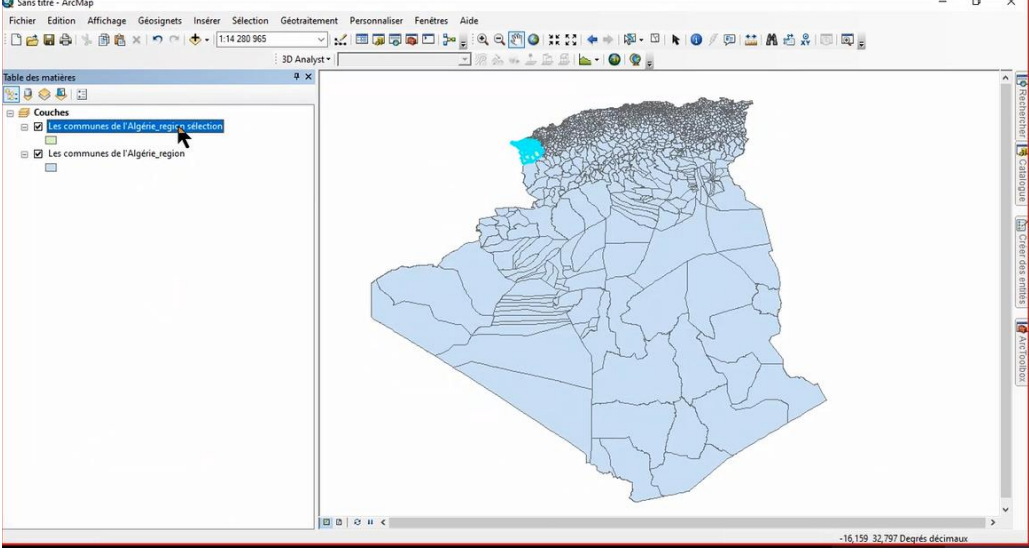
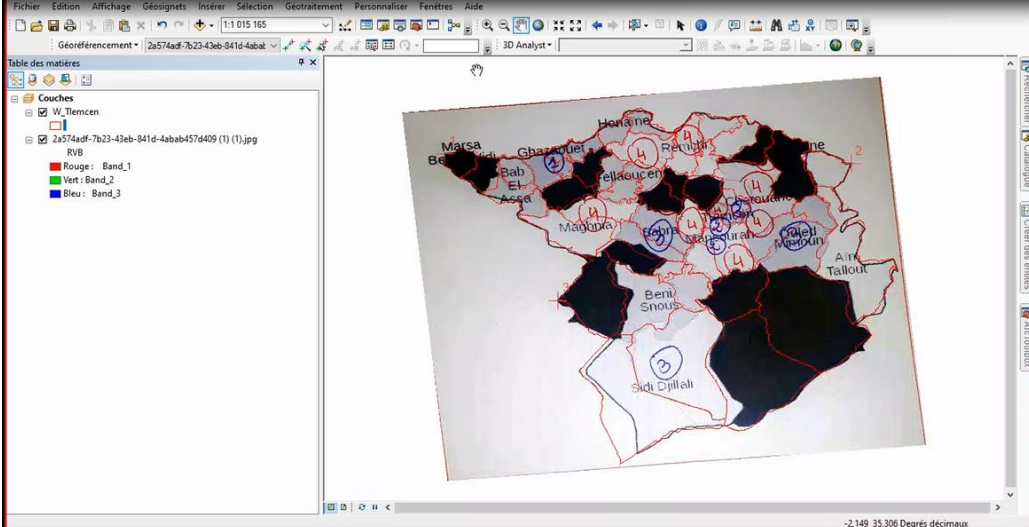
Georeferencing refers to the combination between geography and reference in space wherein a given datum is supposed to have a spatial reference appointed on a digital map since GIS is a system that brings three basic elements to function with one another including the hardware (hand-drawn maps collected from the respondents who gave their evaluations on them), software (the use of computerized system to classify similarities and differences among the raw data supplied), and the data “for capturing, managing, analyzing and displaying all forms of geographically referenced information” (ESRI, 2011b). In the current research, it is the ArcGIS that has been implemented in order to process and display the data collected. Thence, the initial phase to start with the GIS program is to combine the data offered on maps to the earth’s surface where the former is called ‘semantic information’ and the latter is ‘geometric information’; the combination results in georeferencing. Generally speaking, spatial data tend to be stored in GIS and can be easily accessed in terms of latitude and longitude depending on the precise ‘zoomed’ location of the region under investigation by using different projection techniques in terms of size and clarity.

After georeferencing, it is time for geoprocessing. The first stage falls into scanning the collected maps and then add them to a new ‘project’ on ArcGIS. Some control points can be created or more correctly identified on a map that is identical to the ones filled by the respondents in the printed version; control points are already known spots that can be mentioned over the map according to the data collected. Thus, georeferencing, in this case, executes according to the existing data (geography of the region on the map, i.e., borders of the different regions in Tlemcen as Dairas). The control points that have been executed in this research are illustrated in the captions presented in table (5.13).

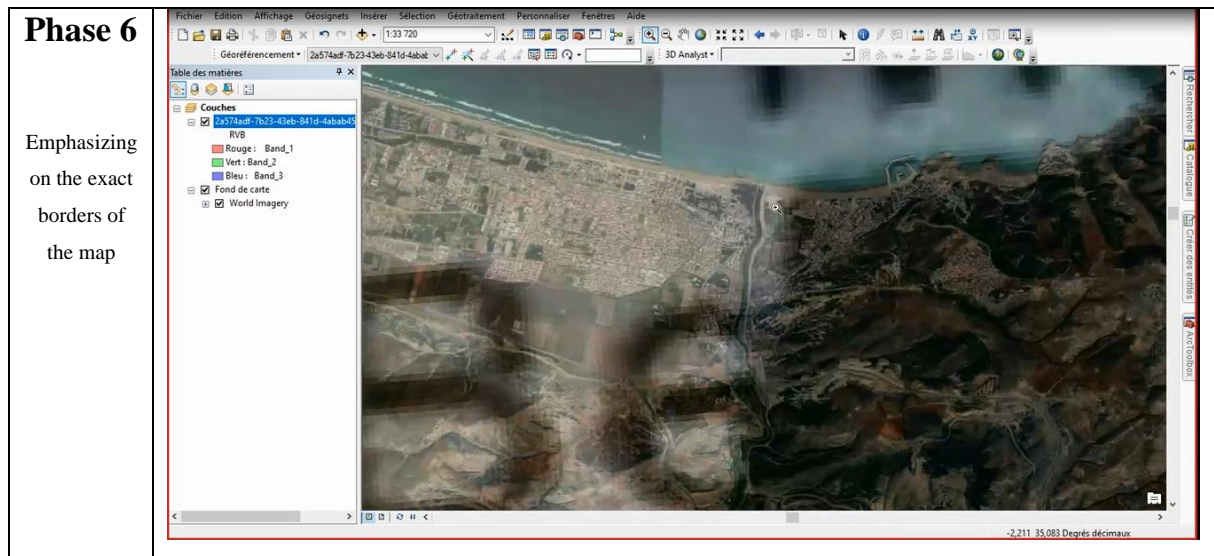
Geoprocessing refers to digitizing the dialect areas that have been identified and drawn by the respondents on the maps collected. Using the ArcGIS software, the user has to create a polygon feature class which is initially an empty file that can be edited in order for the polygon to be populated with new features (the attitudinal/ region-identification data, stereotyped dialect areas). The option, on the software tool bare, “create a new feature”, allowed the dialect region pointed on the respondents’ maps to

be inserted into the feature dataset. Other data can be entered such as descriptions or remarks written on the mental maps in addition to the respondents' personal information including their profile wherein sex, origins and age are mentioned.

Table 5.13. Illustrating the different phases of georeferencing

<p>Phase 1</p> <p>Pointing the wilaya of Tlemcen on the surface of Algeria</p>	
<p>Phase 2</p> <p>Georeferencing the scanned map with regard to the wilaya's map selected above</p>	

<p>Phase 3</p> <p>Highlighting the different communities so as to point on the spaces drawn by the respondents</p>																																																									
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<p>Phase 5</p> <p>Posing the geo-referenced map on google earth surface</p>																																																									



Afterwards, aggregation of maps is to be processed. Aggregation is a very important stage in data processing since the answers that have been provided by the respondents are supposed to be processed and presented in a single dataset. That is, even each map content is inserted as a separate polygon, all the results appear on a single map in order to show similarities and differences among the respondents. The following figures show the same dataset that contains distinct polygons wherein each represents the perceptions of the same dialect area identified by different participants. In the current study, aggregation has been developed four times (D1, D2, D3, D4), each according to the recognized regions identified by the respondents (Tables 5.15, 5.16, 5.17). As explained on the tables, the first phase happens to highlight the zones mentioned by the respondents on the map as ‘where the speaker is coming from?’.

The zones have been taken in a digital form as the communities encompassed within the global daïra. The second phase shows the process of inserting the names of dialects corresponding to the numbers mentioned on the map e.g., Ghazaouet dialect took n°1, so in all maps this number makes reference to that dialect only; the same applies for the urban dialect which took n°2, and so forth. The third phase shows the primary result of an aggregate map of the zone of a given dialect.

Table 5.14. Phases of aggregation of the 1st map (Ghazaouet dialect)

<p>Phase 1</p> <p>Highlighting the zones mentioned by the respondents</p>																																													
<p>Phase 2</p> <p>Inserting the type of the dialect mentioned on the geographical reference by the respondents</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>ID</th> <th>COMMUNE</th> <th>WILAYA</th> <th>NATURE</th> <th>CODE</th> <th>COMMUNEO</th> <th>POP1987</th> <th>POP1998</th> <th>TAUX_ACC</th> <th>surface</th> <th>Dialecte</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>485</td> <td>DAR YAGHMOURASSENE</td> <td>TLEMEN</td> <td>COMMUNE-COTERE</td> <td>13</td> <td>1319</td> <td>6590</td> <td>8274</td> <td>-0.44</td> <td>0</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>487</td> <td>GHAZAOUET</td> <td>TLEMEN</td> <td>COMMUNE-COTERE</td> <td>13</td> <td>1307</td> <td>29795</td> <td>33994</td> <td>0.94</td> <td>0</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>412</td> <td>SOUHLIA</td> <td>TLEMEN</td> <td>COMMUNE-COTERE</td> <td>13</td> <td>1345</td> <td>4723</td> <td>4688</td> <td>-0.37</td> <td>0</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	ID	COMMUNE	WILAYA	NATURE	CODE	COMMUNEO	POP1987	POP1998	TAUX_ACC	surface	Dialecte	485	DAR YAGHMOURASSENE	TLEMEN	COMMUNE-COTERE	13	1319	6590	8274	-0.44	0		487	GHAZAOUET	TLEMEN	COMMUNE-COTERE	13	1307	29795	33994	0.94	0		412	SOUHLIA	TLEMEN	COMMUNE-COTERE	13	1345	4723	4688	-0.37	0	
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Table 5.15. Phases of aggregation of the 2nd map (Tlemcen dialect)

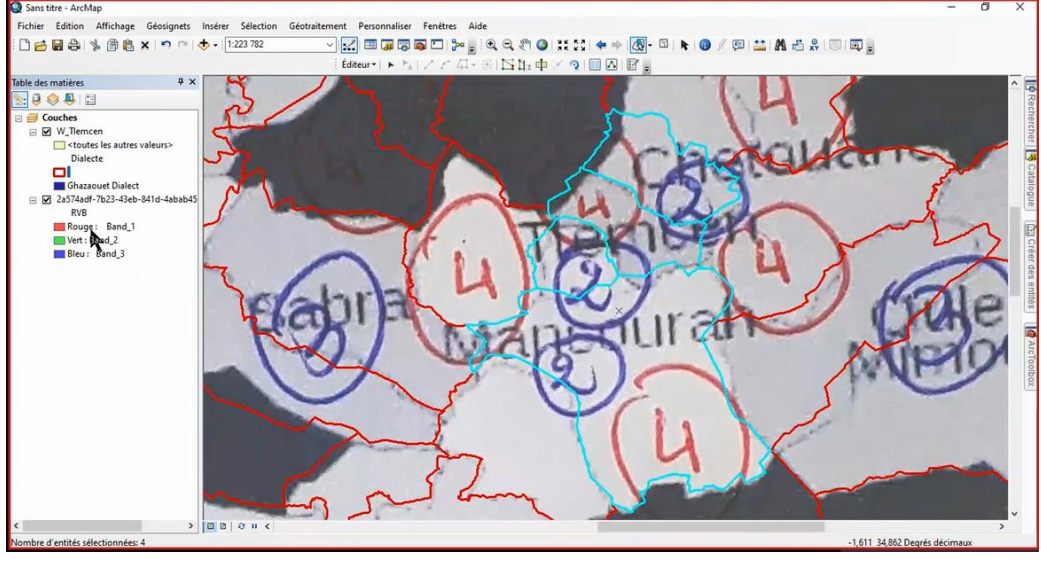
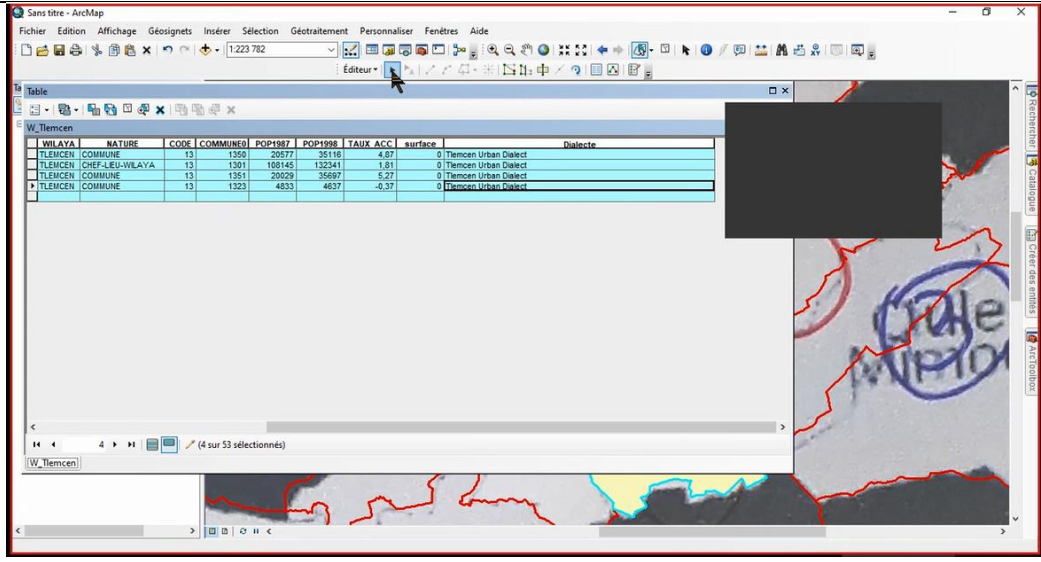
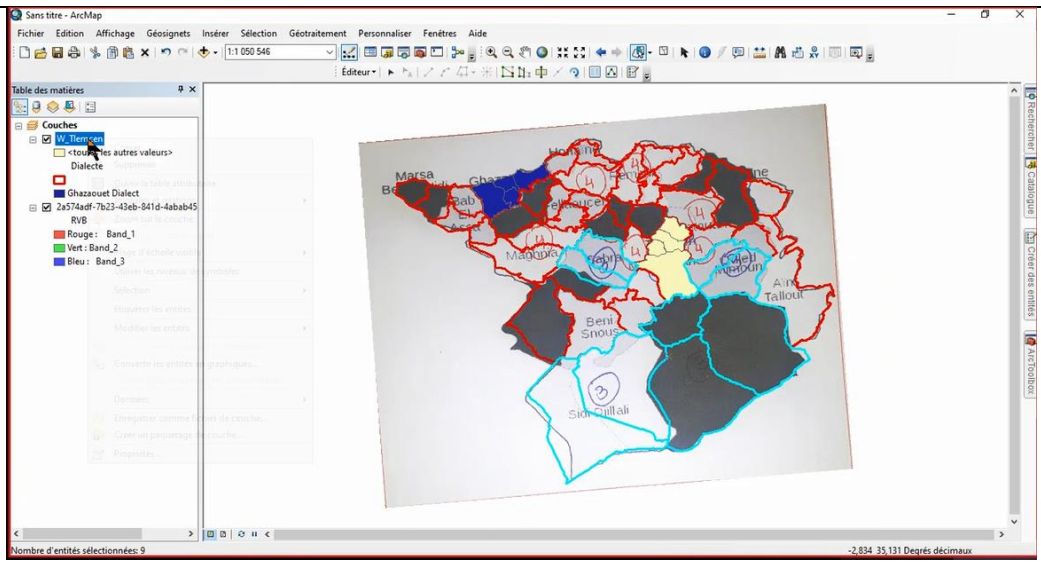
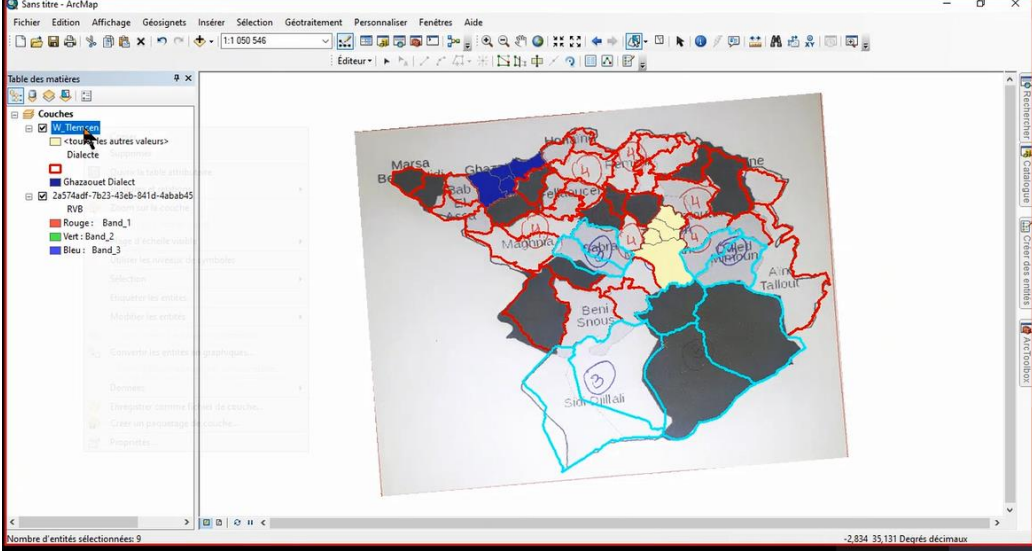
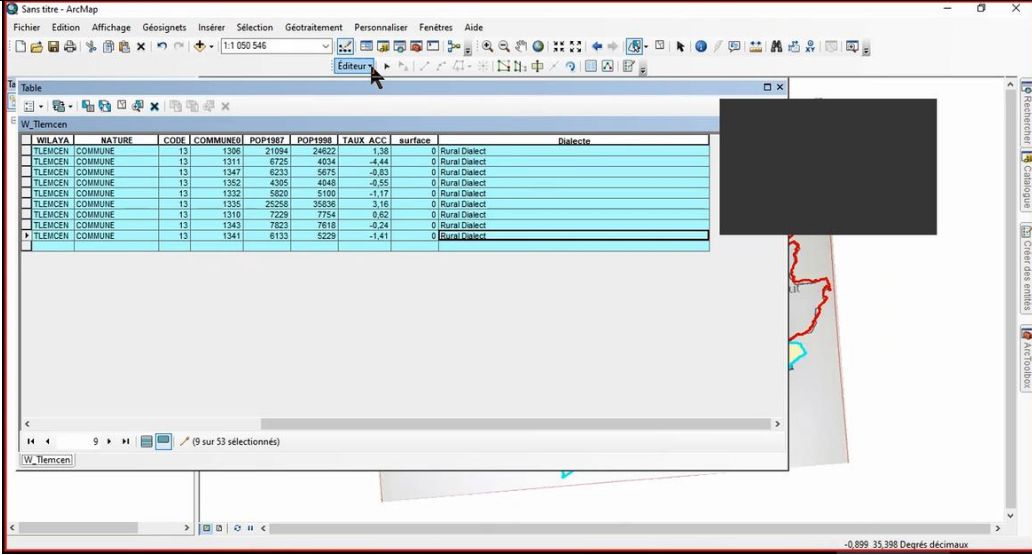
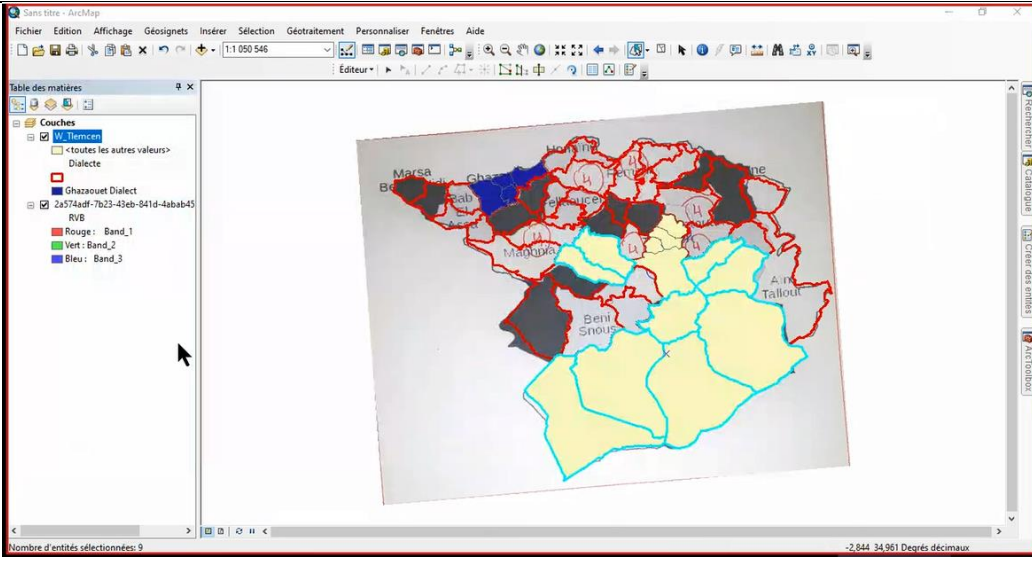
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Table 5.16. Phases of aggregation of the 3rd map (Rural dialect)

<p>Phase 1</p> <p>Highlighting the zones mentioned by the respondents</p>																																																																																											
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The neutral variety of speech has given a diversity of answers among the respondents especially to be localized geographically. Still, the data provided on the respondents' mental maps have been done following the common regions provided and pointed by the respondents. It is important to mention that the number of answers related to a particular variety have been inserted into a dataset table; these frequencies are calculated and added on the map showing the places of agreement or disagreement among the participants' responses.

5.6.Results

After analyzing responses related to each dialect separately, it is important to show the results of this geoprocessing.

5.6.1.Overall perceived dialect areas:

Map (5.8) portrays an aggregated map of the perceived dialect regions that have been identified on the respondents' hand-drawn (mental) maps. It displays an overall image of their perceptions with regard to the placement as well as geographical extent of where a certain variety is spoken. After inserting each polygon separately, the frequency of agreement among the responses collected can be easily made. Thus, the map illustrates levels of approval among the respondents in the task of marking 'where the speaker is possibly coming from?' when listening to the four recorded dialects separately. This indicates that there is a degree of agreement with regard to the prominence and saliency of regional dialect varieties spoken in Tlemcen province as a whole.

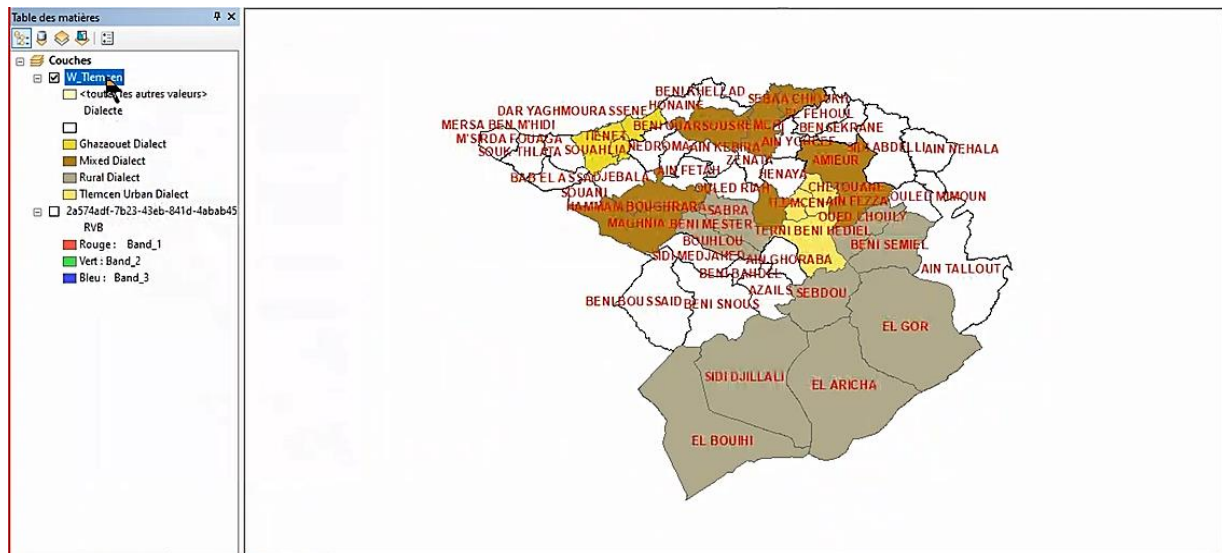


Figure 5.8. Map representing overall perceived dialect areas

The respondents’ awareness of the diversity of regiolects as well as their spatial distribution has been measured by combining overlapping areas and displaying percentages of agreement levels. Therefore, it can be easily read on figure (5.9) that there is a high degree of agreement on the saliency of the different spoken regiolects in Tlemcen community among respondents while the lower rates of answers reflect low agreement degrees; i.e., the higher the arrow is on the figure the highest is the level of agreement among respondents.

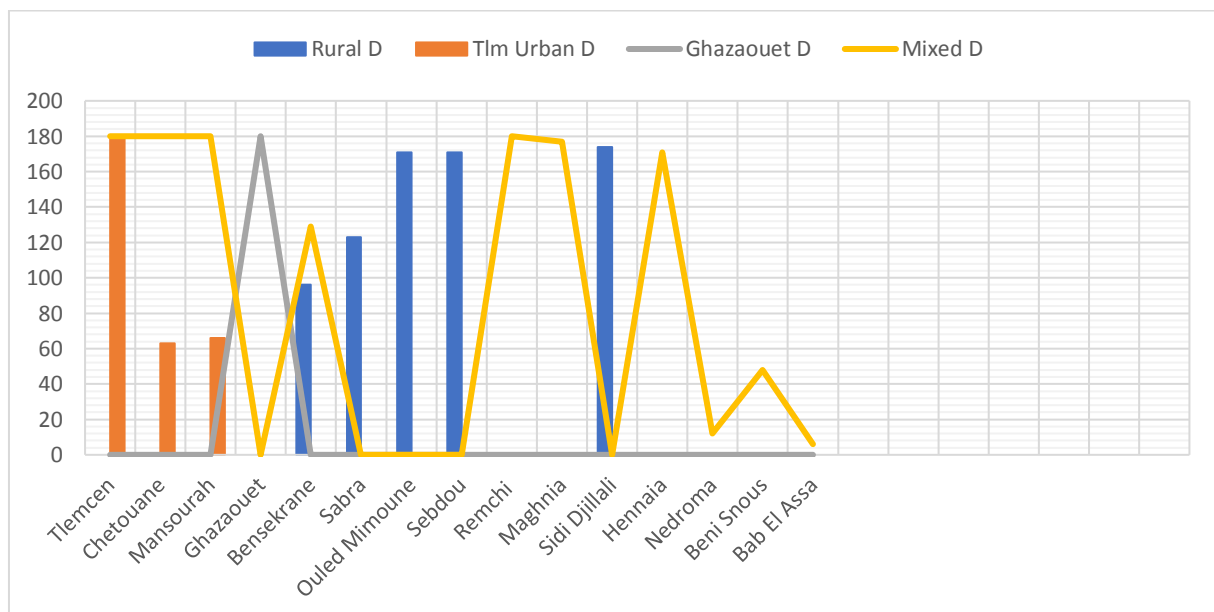
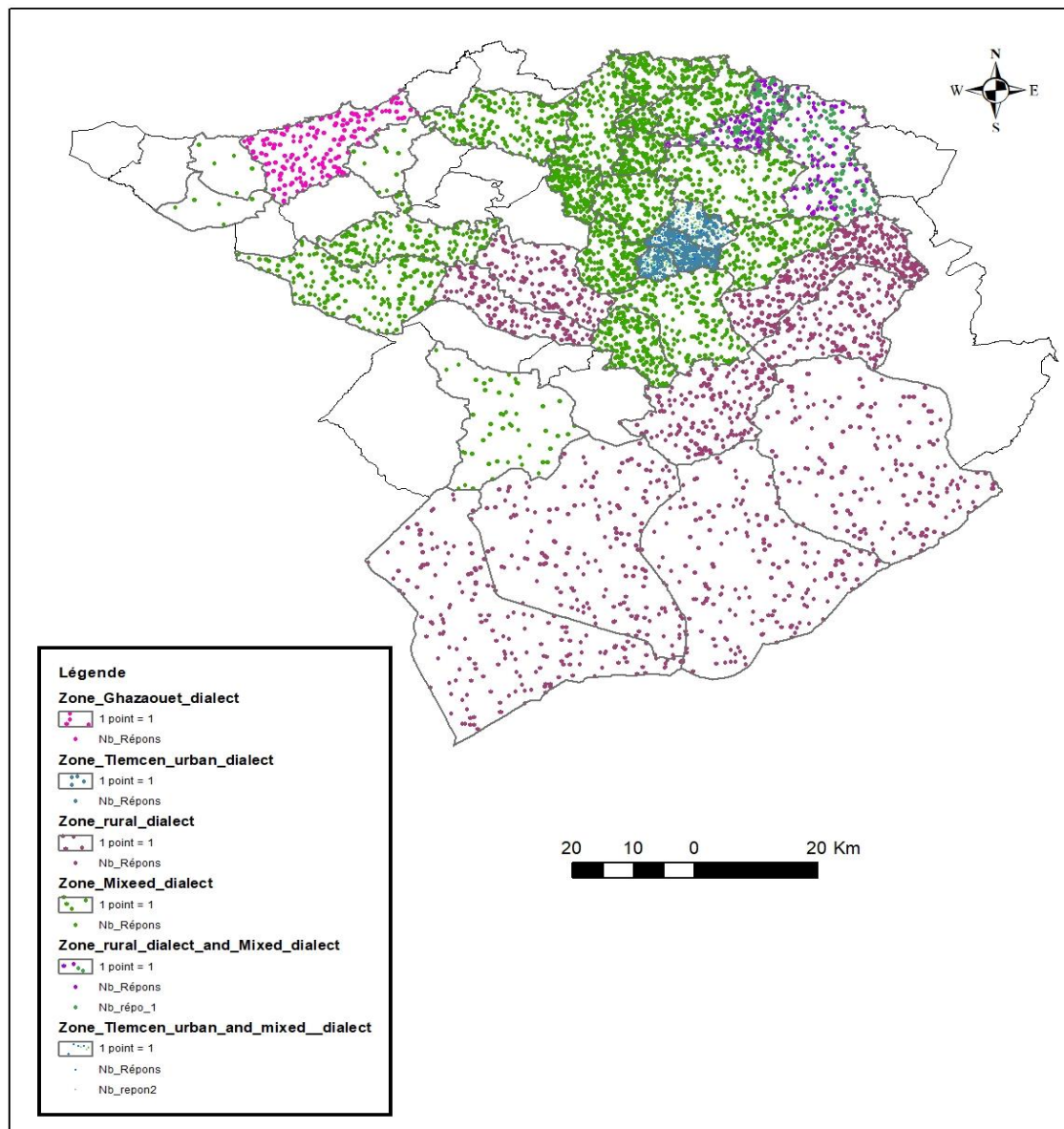


Figure 5.9. Number of responses in categorizing dialects and their places

Table 5.17. Detailed explanation of the number of tokens related to each dialect

DAIRA	COMMUNITIES CONCERNED	DIALECTS INDICATED	NUMBER OF TOKENS
GHAZAOUET	Ghazaouet	Ghazaouet Dialect	180
TLEMCEN	Tlemcen	Tlemcen Urban Dialect	180
CHETOUANE	Chetouane	Tlemcen Urban Dialect	63
MANSOURAH	Mansourah	Tlemcen Urban Dialect	66
BENSEKRANE	Bensekrane, Sidi Abdelli	Rural Dialect	96
SABRA	Bouhlou, Sabra	Rural Dialect	123
OULED MIMOUNE	Bni Smeyel, Ouled Laxdar, Ouled Mimoun	Rural Dialect	171
SEBDOU	El Aaricha, El Gor, Sebdou	Rural Dialect	171
SIDI DJILLALI	Elbouihi, Sidi Djillali	Rural Dialect	174
REMCHI	Aain Youssef, Bni Ouarsous, El Fhoul	Mixed Dialect	180
MAGHNIA	Hammam Boughrara, Maghnia	Mixed Dialect	177
HENNAIA	Hennaia, Zenata	Mixed Dialect	171
TLEMCEN	Tlemcen	Mixed Dialect	180
MANSOURAH	Mansourah, Ain Ghoraba, Beni Mester, Terni, Bni Hdiyel	Mixed Dialect	180
CHETOUANE	Chetouane, Ain Fezza, Amieur	Mixed Dialect	180
BENSEKRANE	Bensekrane, Sidi Abdelli	Mixed Dialect	129
NEDROMA	Nedroma	Mixed Dialect	12
BENI SNOUS	Bni Snous	Mixed Dialect	48
BAB EL ASSA	Bab El Assa, Souk Thlata	Mixed Dialect	6

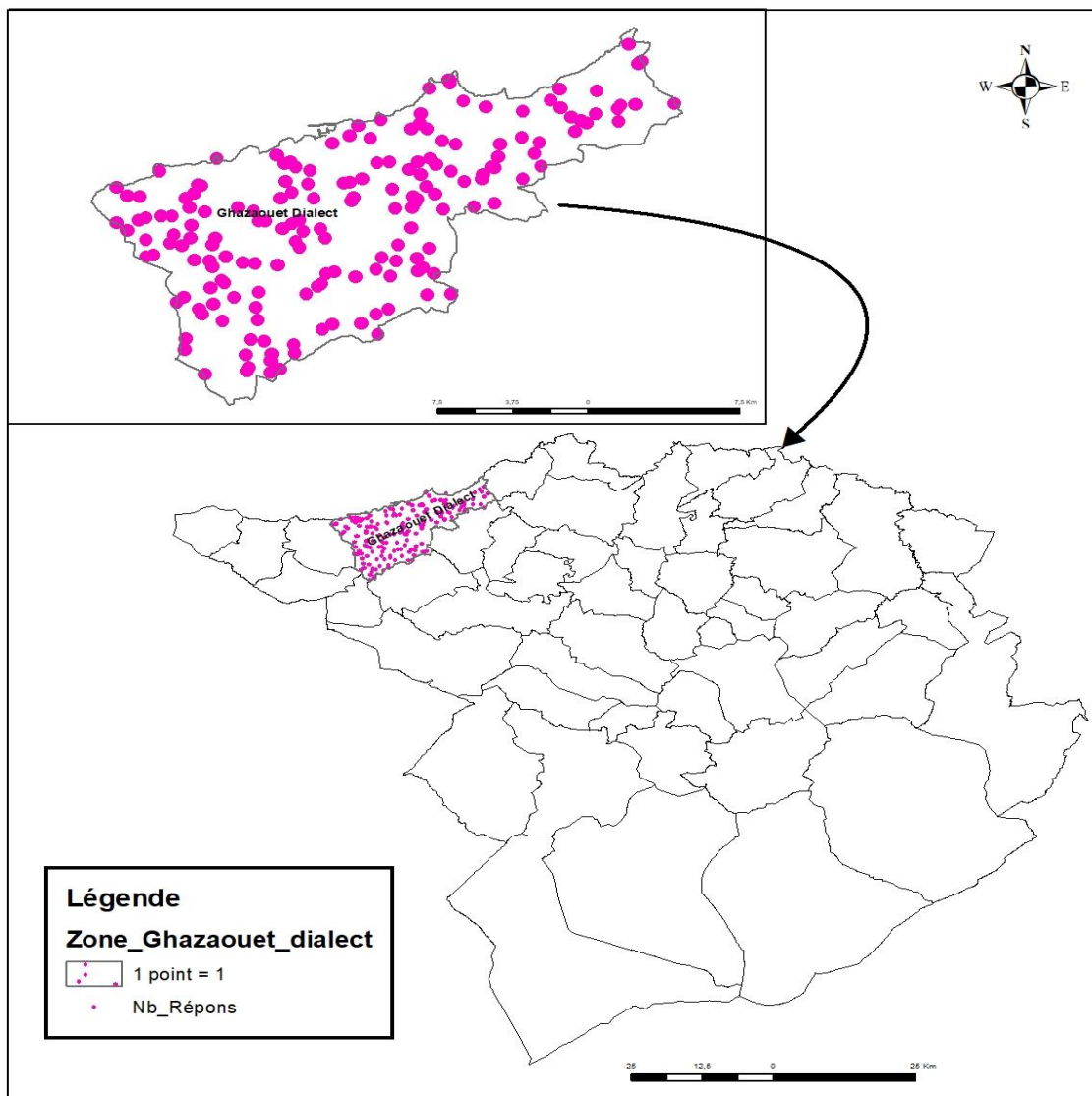
The above results discussed in figure (5.9) and table (5.17) are summarized in map (5.10) which is a reflection of the respondents' perceptions of the varieties of speech exposed to them by the matched-guise technique. Some areas have remained uncolored and the sole explanation for that is probably the respondents' lack of knowledge to those areas.



Combination and comparison of respondents' perceptive mental maps of the four Tlemcen dialectal varieties

Figure 5.10. Combination and comparison of respondents' perceptive mental maps of the four Tlemcen dialect varieties

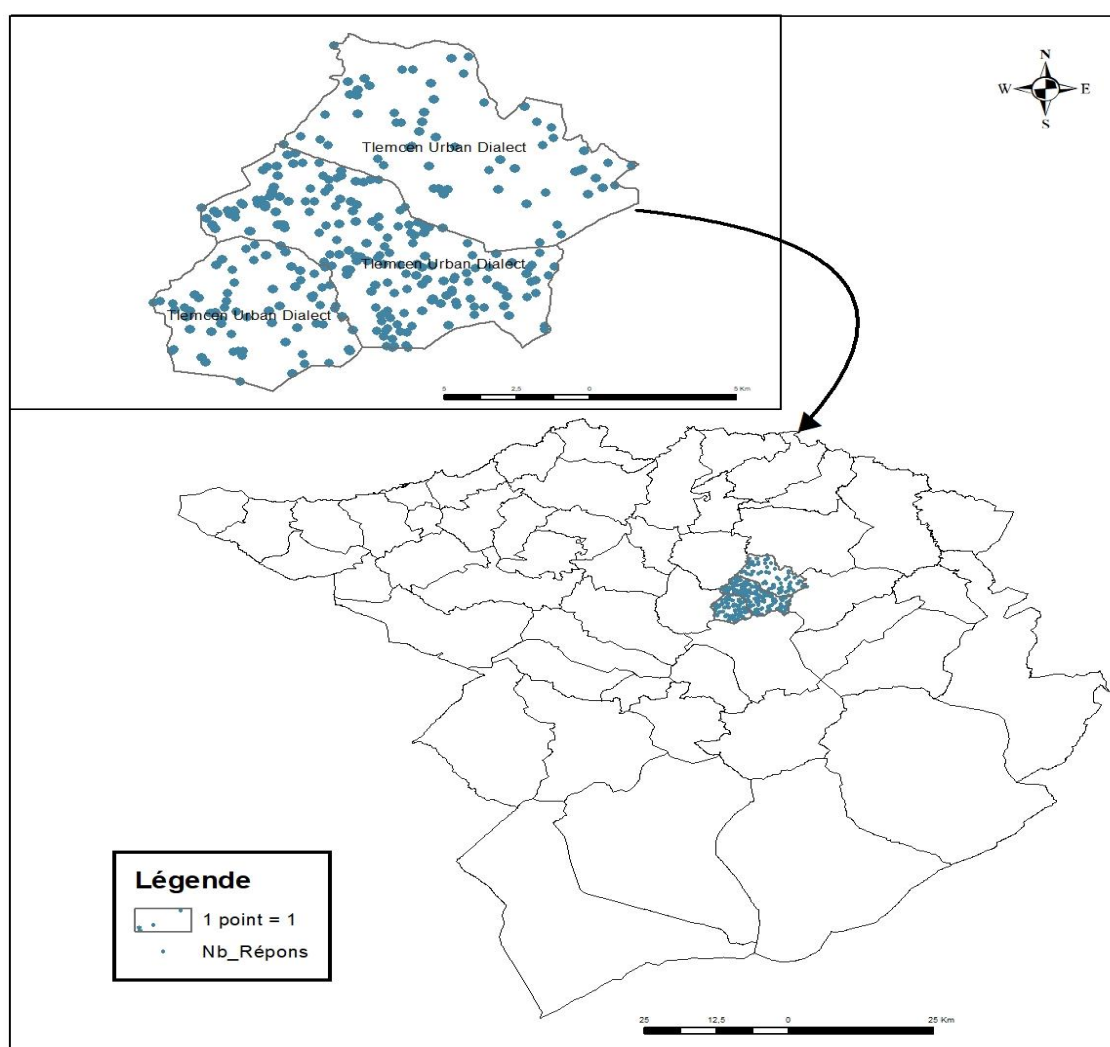
Dialect areas of Ghazaouet and Tlemcen city are the most salient regiolects for the respondents. As illustrated on the map (5.11), Ghazaouet variety is the darkest, thence, there is a high degree of agreement among the participants on its prominence and saliency (percentage 100%). The respondents' reactions while listening to the recording displaying this variety have strongly shown that they are aware of where the speaker is coming from. Consequently, indicating the region of the dialect has been an easy task to identify on the hand-drawn maps of each.



/ Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of Ghazaouet dialect

Figure 5.11. Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of Ghazaouet dialect

Similarly, the urban variety spoken in Tlemcen city (characterized mainly by the realization of qaf as glottal stop) has also been a matter of easy-to-find concern from the respondents. Interestingly, none of them has found a difficulty in knowing from where the speaker is coming and all have indicated their geographical perception of the variety on the map. It should be necessary to highlight that the degree of agreement is high but still larger in space than that of Ghazaouet. The extent has moved from a high focus on the city to nearer areas where the dialect is possibly expected to be spoken including regions as Mansourah and Chetouane (map 5.12).



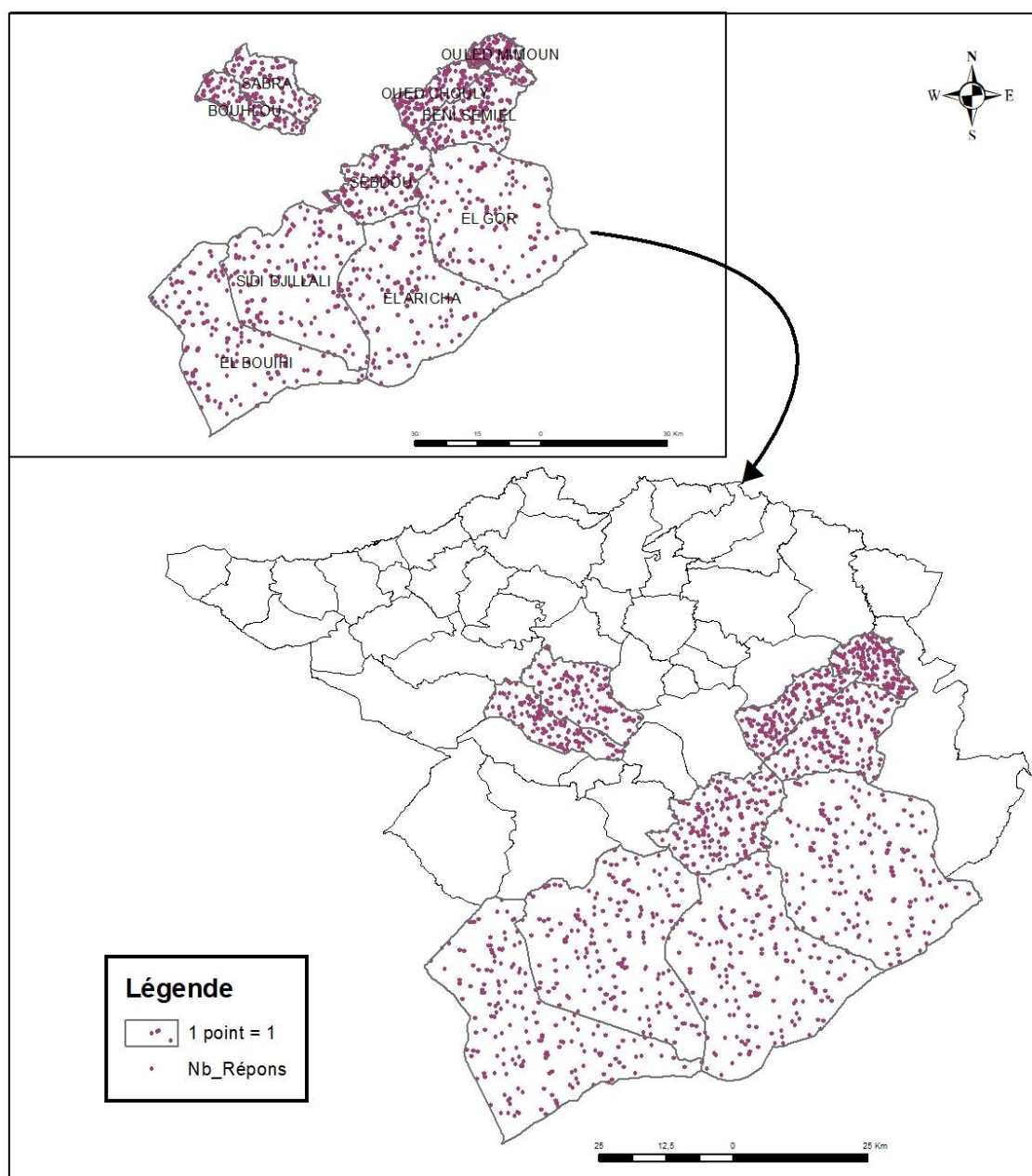
Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of Tlemcen urban dialect

Figure 5.12. respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of Tlemcen urban dialect

This can be explained in accordance with the respondents' knowledge of the area, exposure to other varieties, and extensive contact with people coming from different areas as opposed to those who have only mentioned the speaker as a city dweller without any expansion of the dialect area to whom their awareness, and probably linguistic knowledge, is but restricted to stereotyped variants.

When the task came to listening to the third (rural) variety, respondents have shown a very pejorative reaction right after displaying the recording. They started laughing even though some have recognized themselves, or in many times their friends, as speakers of this variety but restricted to home. For this reason, pointing the origin of the speaker has been distributed along remote areas in the province. Consequently, the regions mentioned on the respondents' maps include: Sebdou, Ouled Mimoune, Sidi Djillali, and Bensekrane with an agreement level of (95%) among all (Map 5.13).

However, a magnificent action has been done by some of the respondents was to illustrate other areas that were not mentioned on the map stating that some villages and towns of Remchi, Meghnia and Hennaya speak exactly this way. They have also mentioned that although the variety spoken in cities like Meghnia, Remchi and Hennaya is not as prestigious as the Tlemcenian one, for example, it is still better than that variety which reflects the person as coming from a very remote area which they labelled as [Taiwan] and [Şrubi] reflecting them to be socially pejoratively seen.



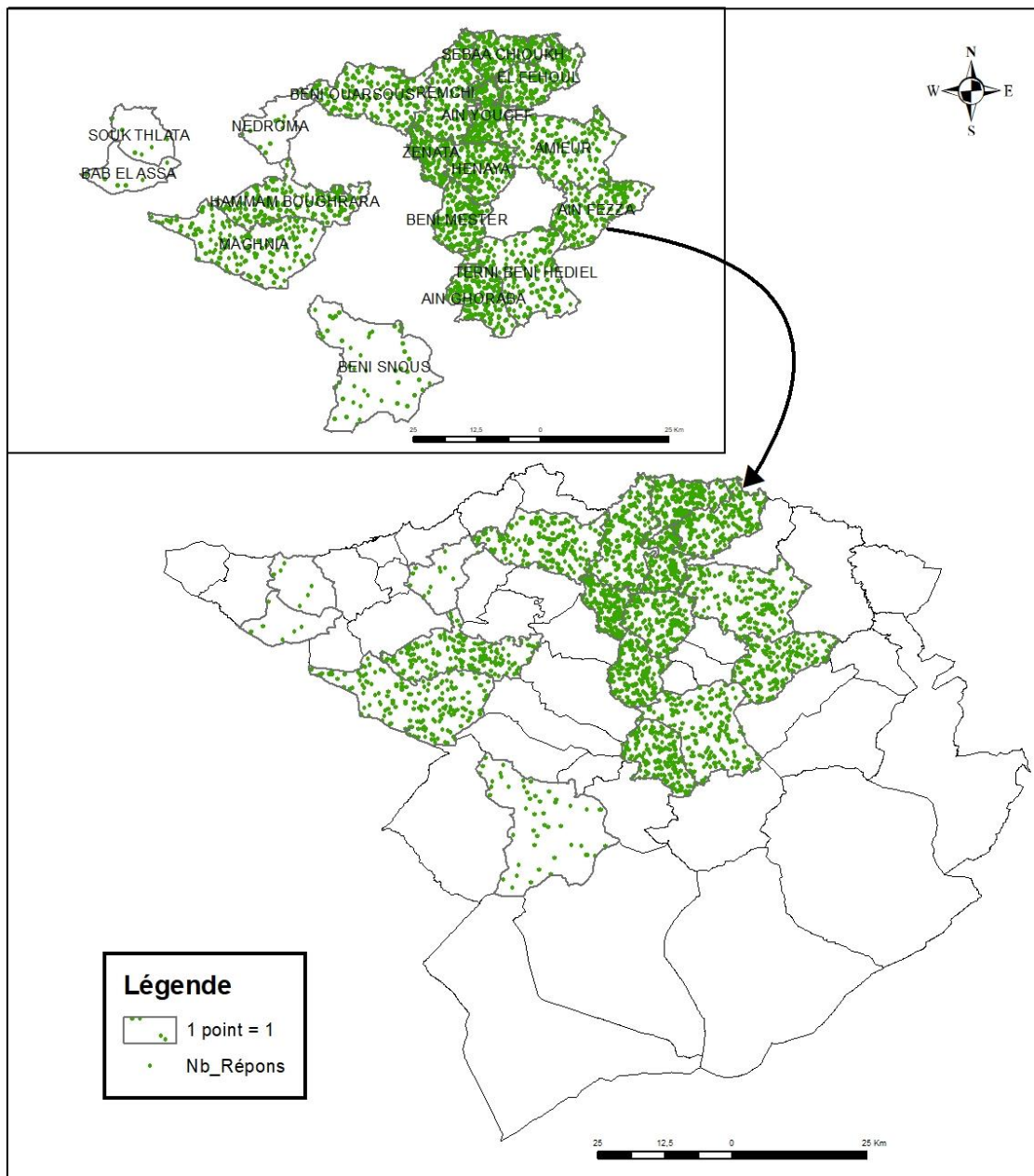
Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of the rural dialect

Figure 5.13. Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of the rural dialect in Tlemcen

As far as the last variety of speech is concerned, agreement among respondents has not been distributed similarly over their perceptual maps. Despite the fact that all the respondents have clearly known and rapidly recognized that the speaker is a

Tlemcenian one, speaking a very pleasant, probably refined dialect, pointing one single area was not easy on the maps given. Some participants have even asked for a second play to the record. Therefore, one can notice the distribution of responses on the hand-drawn maps which indicate that the dialect can be spoken everywhere among the province with a strong/ high agreement level focused on surroundings of Tlemcen city, in addition to Hennaya, Remchi and Meghnia. (with a slight difference on the accent). Some respondents have added certain remarks, since the task was part of a face-to-face interview, that inhabitants of Sebdou, Sidi Djillali, Ain Tallout, Ouled Mimoune, Sabra and Bensekrane can modify their home variety and switch to the one displayed in the recording peculiarly once getting out of the geographical area of their belonging. Examples of some scanned maps (see appendix) show the remarks added with reference to the variety of regiolects. All in all, the last variety has been easily and quickly recognized as Tlemcenian, Pleasant, refined, and clearly understood but too broad to be geographically place on the respondents' mental maps since it is 'stereotype-free'.

The results show that the respondents have a consistent awareness and knowledge of two distinct socio- and geo-linguistic assumptions that: first, what is stereotyped can be easily indicated; second, a neutral variety can be spoken in many regions of Tlemcen which reflect aspects of dialect simplification and levelling where all marked features and negatively perceived dialectal stereotyped variants are omitted. Hence, despite mentioning that the dialect is sedentary, it has not only been placed on the city of Tlemcen; rather, respondents have managed to point other regions and eventually some situations where the variety can be spoken. This result can be an addition to what Evans (2013) and Jeon (2013) have found that not only dialect regions wherein an urban variety is spoken tend to be the most salient, but saliency can occur at a linguistic level by recognizing that the dialect is sedentary, yet, still a bit hard to be identified or placed geographically as is the case of the 'neutral' variety in this study.

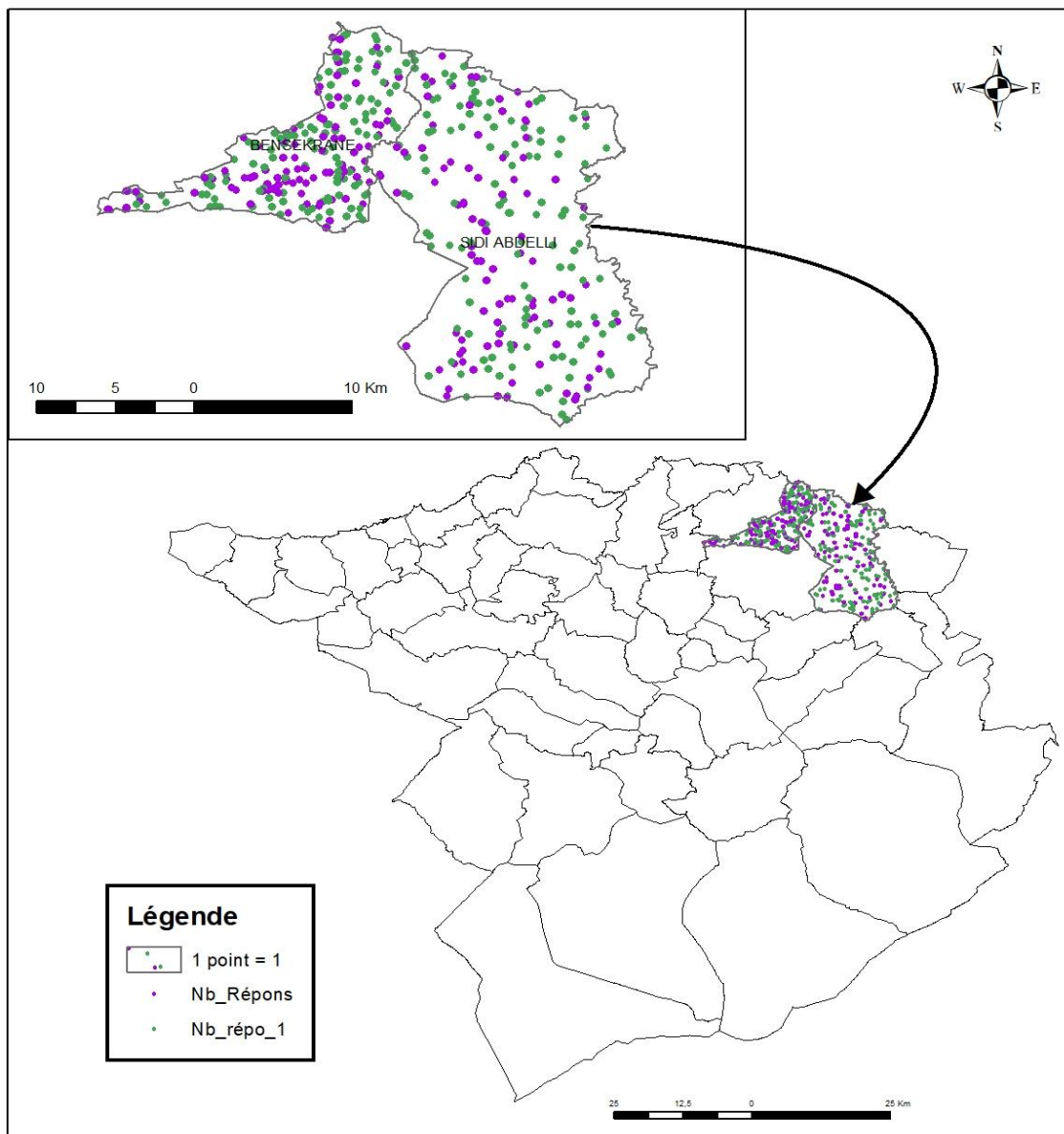


Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of the mixed dialect (the proposed koiné)

Figure 5.14. Respondents' perceptions of the geographical distribution of the neutral (stereotype-free) variety

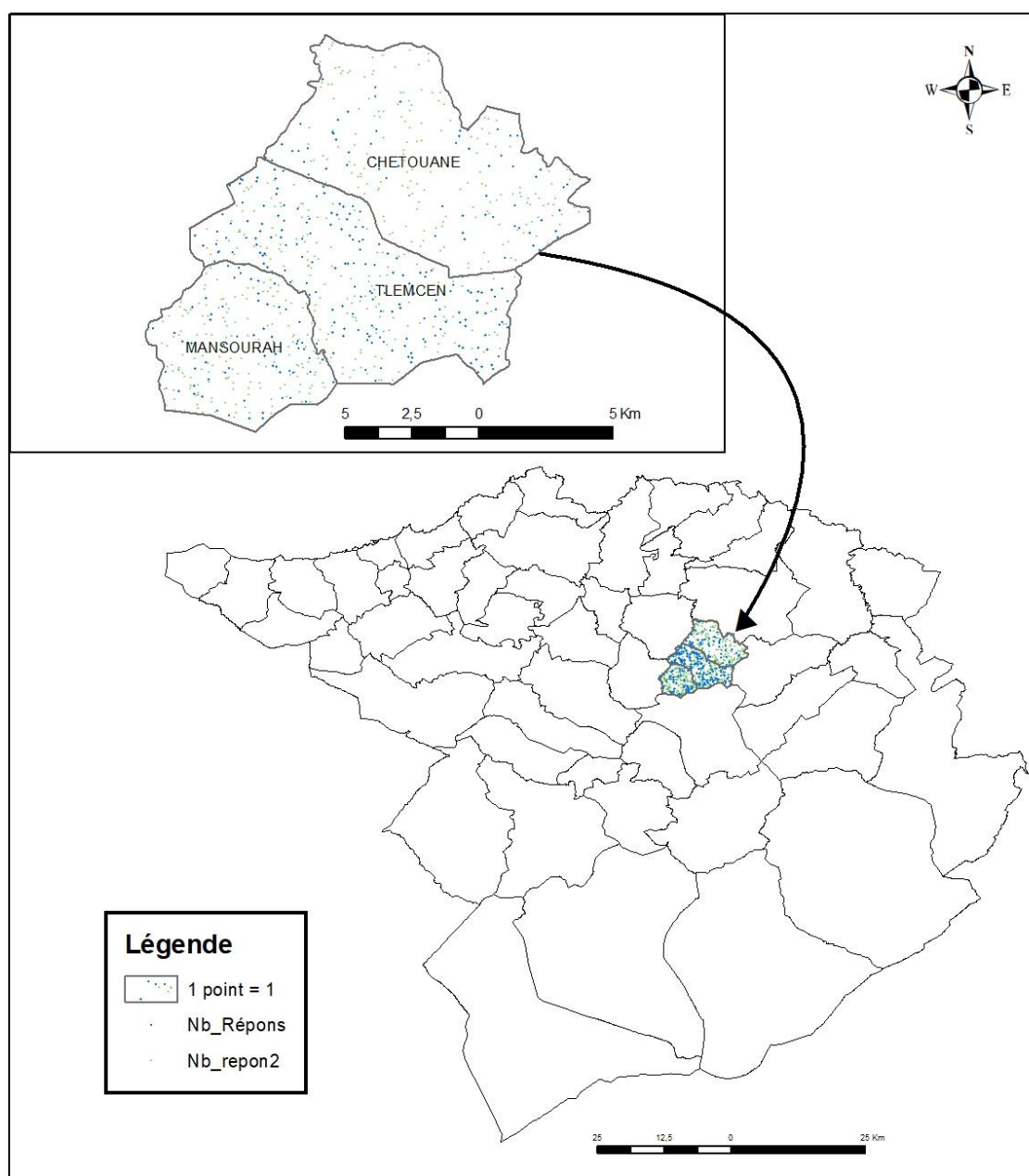
As far as the three first varieties, it is obviously seen that there was no attempt from any of the respondents to add more regions beside the ones mentioned on the map given to them except for the third where some, as previously stated, have mentioned

some villages as speakers of bedouin dialects. Such results reflect the idea that regiolects as the Ghazaoueti and the Tlemceni have remained limited to their areas and their dialect has apparently not spread out of these skits despite being recognized in literature (and even in society) as urban. However, the saliency of the last ‘neutral’ dialect as being legitimate to be spoken along the province as perceptual boundaries do not include, for the respondents, the city only but have spread to rural and bedouin areas with more focus on the fact that is used by rural people when moving out of their region (geographically speaking) or when they desire to show prestige in their way of speaking (socio-linguistically).



Zones of overlap between the mixed and rural dialects according to respondents' perceptions

Figure 5.15. Map representing the zones of overlap between the mixed and rural dialects according to respondents' perceptions



Zones of overlap between the mixed and Tlemcen urban dialects according to the respondents' perceptions

Figure 5.16. Map representing zones of overlap between the mixed and Tlemcen urban dialects

During the process of data collection through mapping, most of the respondents exhibited an attitude showing their belonging and affiliation to a certain group or geographical area projecting their linguistic performance in relation to that of the

recorded speaker (in the matched-guise technique). This has been shown in acts as saying [ya:h yahder kifna] or [haka nahadru řadna] by frequently highlighting the dialectal features which make each distinct from the other. The three first varieties were mocked especially that they were full of stigmatized or more correctly stereotyped features. Yet, unlike Ghazaouet, Tlemcen or rural excerpts of speech which have been automatically and heavily mocked by most, the fourth variety has not received this attitude as it has not been associated to a particular area. Male speakers of Tlemcen sedentary dialect and female speakers of rural dialects have identified themselves as speaking this variety once being in restricted contexts as: (T) males with (T and NT) males and (NT) females with (T) females when being outside the regional skirts of their belonging. Thus, the results show that there is a contextual constraint that is triangulated between group affiliation, patterns of dialect variation, and perceptions on dialect use in real life situation.

5.6.2. Scales' analysis

After the map task, respondents were asked to evaluate the dialects they have listened to in the rating/ranking scale given to them (figure 5.17). As shown, it was based on seven parameters wherein social, cultural and linguistic aspects of perception have been questioned. The respondents have asked for some clarifications in relation to the fact of ranking itself and the meaning of each of the parameters provided.

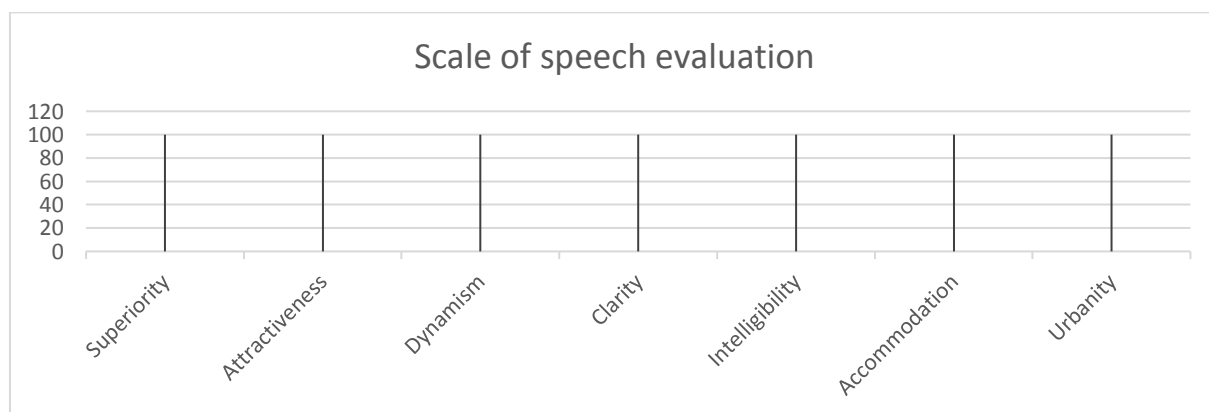


Figure 5.17. Parameters of dialect evaluation

Therefore, the task requires basically the respondents to rate each of the varieties they have listened to (from 0% to 100%); then, once posing each of them on the diagram, a classification (ordering) of dialects appear on the chart. So, they only had to look at the map where they have drawn dialect boundaries and rank them as if they were giving grades to each variety and the scale relates the parameters with their perceptions and evaluations.

- **Scales:**

Scaling, as a research tool, has been implemented as a measuring device. Measurement has occurred in two phases: first, to rate, i.e., giving the evaluation of each regiolect from 0% to 100% according to the parameters of comparison provided and second, to rank, that is, to end up by ordering the varieties from 1 to 4 on the diagram given. Put differently, the varieties (listened to) are considered as the standards presented to the raters (the respondents). They are labelled standards since they belong to the same type (linguistic performances in the region of Tlemcen province) which are to be rated and evaluated with the pre-established seven scale values discussed below.

5.6.2.1. Scale one: Superiority

Superiority refers to the simple question ‘which dialect, according to you, is better than the other?’. The legitimate objective is comparing the relative social worth of the exposed dialects in the perceptions of the informants. It is true that the participants’ bias is highly required in this phase; yet, it shall be noted that by the criterion of superiority there is no betrayal to the researcher’s objectivity not to the linguists’ dichotomous assumption ‘superior vs. primitive’. The sole aim is but to know which variety seems better to the ear of the respondents though in many cases they have responded to it as having a racist approach.

Despite the fact that many respondents have said that all dialects and language varieties are similar according to them, results on the superiority rating scale are shown in the following bar-graph (figure 5.18).

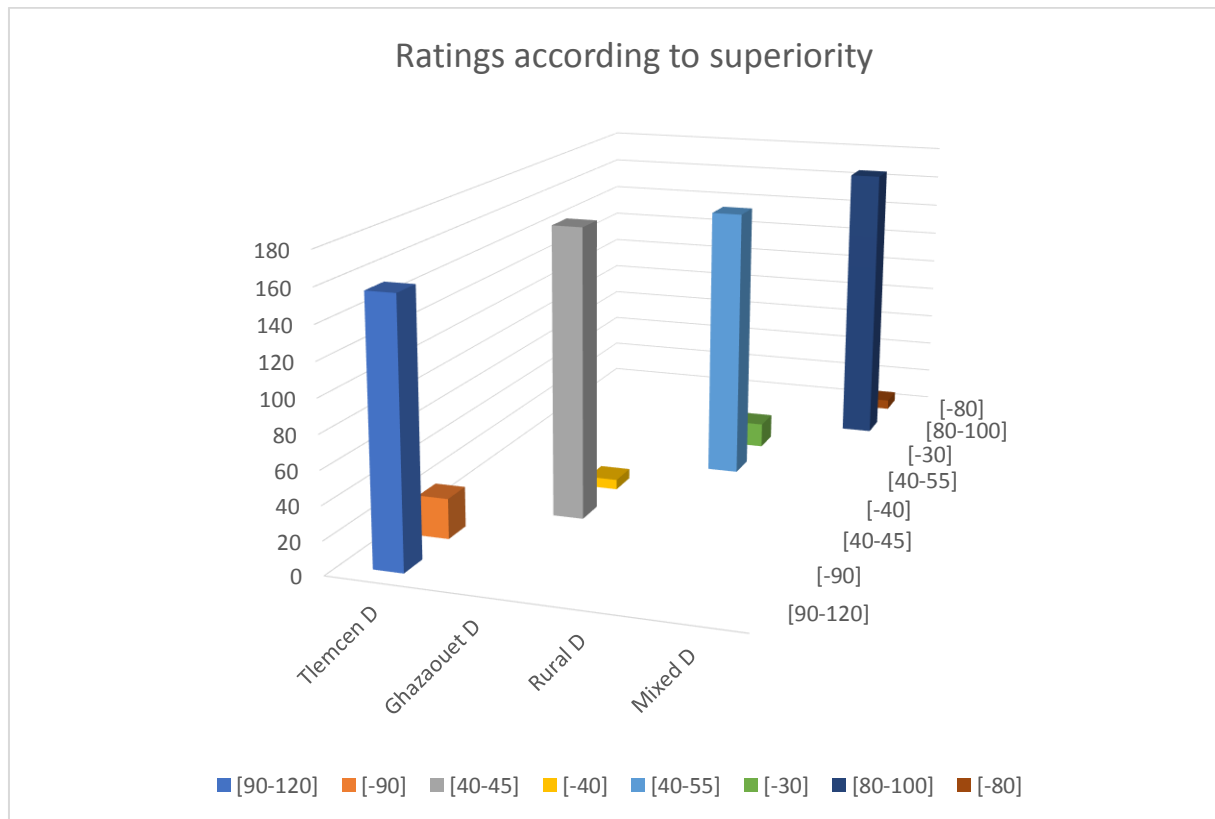


Figure 5.18. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to superiority

Figure (5.18) reflects that 156 of the total number of the respondents have classified Tlemcen Urban dialect as more superior than the others with a rate [90-120]. It is also shown that the mixed variety comes in a second position with a rate [80-100] by a majority of 174 from our respondents. Meanwhile, the rural and Ghazaouet varieties have been classified in a zone of less than [30-55].

5.6.2.2. Scale two: Attractiveness

When respondents asked for the meaning of attractiveness, the researcher has clarified it as 'which of the exposed dialects tends to be more positively attractive to the ear?'. The term positively has made the difference as, for them, any dialect or accent is said to be attractive in its own manner. More importantly, attractiveness, in this vein, refers to the quality of a given variety to be pleasant while listened to.

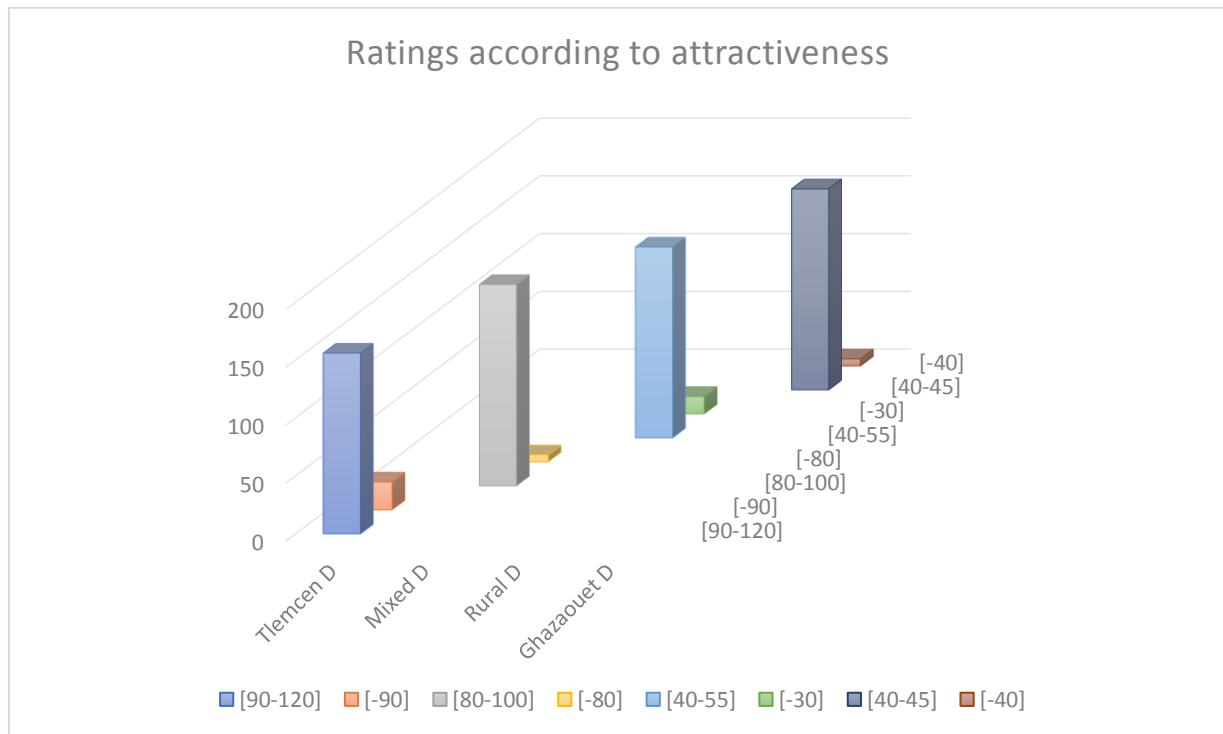


Figure 5.19. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to attractiveness

Interestingly, as illustrated in figure (5.19), 156 of the respondents have rated Tlemcen Urban speech between [90-120] which reflects it as being so attractive as a variety of speech. In a second position, but not so far in evaluation, the mixed variety has scored a grade of [80-100] by 174 of the respondents' answers. The two remaining varieties have been explicitly mocked and some of the participants said [alah ghaleb, you are not attractive]; therefore, they have been classified it as last in scoring [30-55].

5.6.2.3. Scale three: Dynamism

Dynamism refers to the fact that a given dialect can be used everywhere in our conversations. By everywhere it is meant all over Tlemcen province. When the respondents have understood the meaning of the parameter, they have all shown a positive reaction to the mixed variety saying that it can be spoken not only along the city but also outside it to other cities in Algeria.

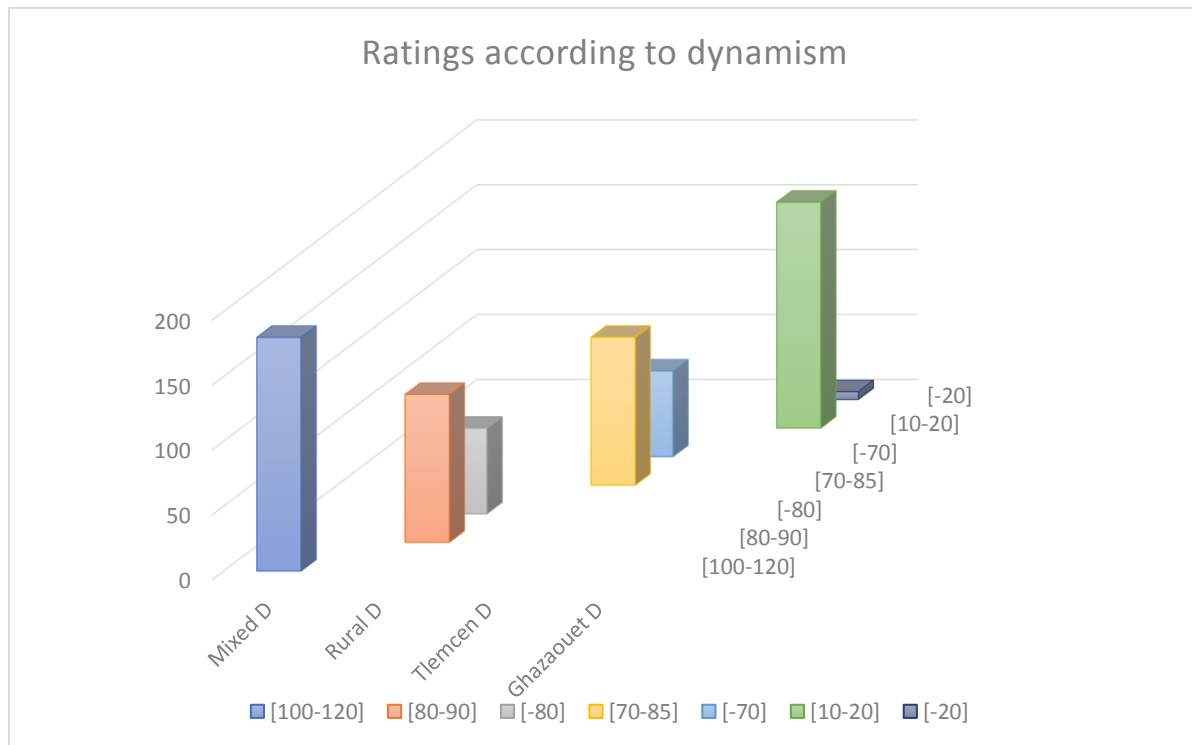


Figure 5.20. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to dynamism

Thus, figure (5.20) portrays that 180 of the participants agreed to evaluate the mixed speech between 100% and 120%. Surprisingly, 114 of the respondents have mentioned the rural dialect to be dynamic as well and can be used everywhere to converse. On the other hand, 66 of the respondents have evaluated the urban variety on less than 70% while 174 participants said that Ghazaouet speech is not understood even on Tlemcen skirts and it can never be dynamic or spoken elsewhere than its borders.

5.6.2.4. Scale four: Clarity

Clarity, as the term implies, refers to the quality of easiness in understanding and absence of ambiguity. To explain this in simpler words to the respondents, the question of 'which dialect tends to be clearer when spoken?' has been aborded.

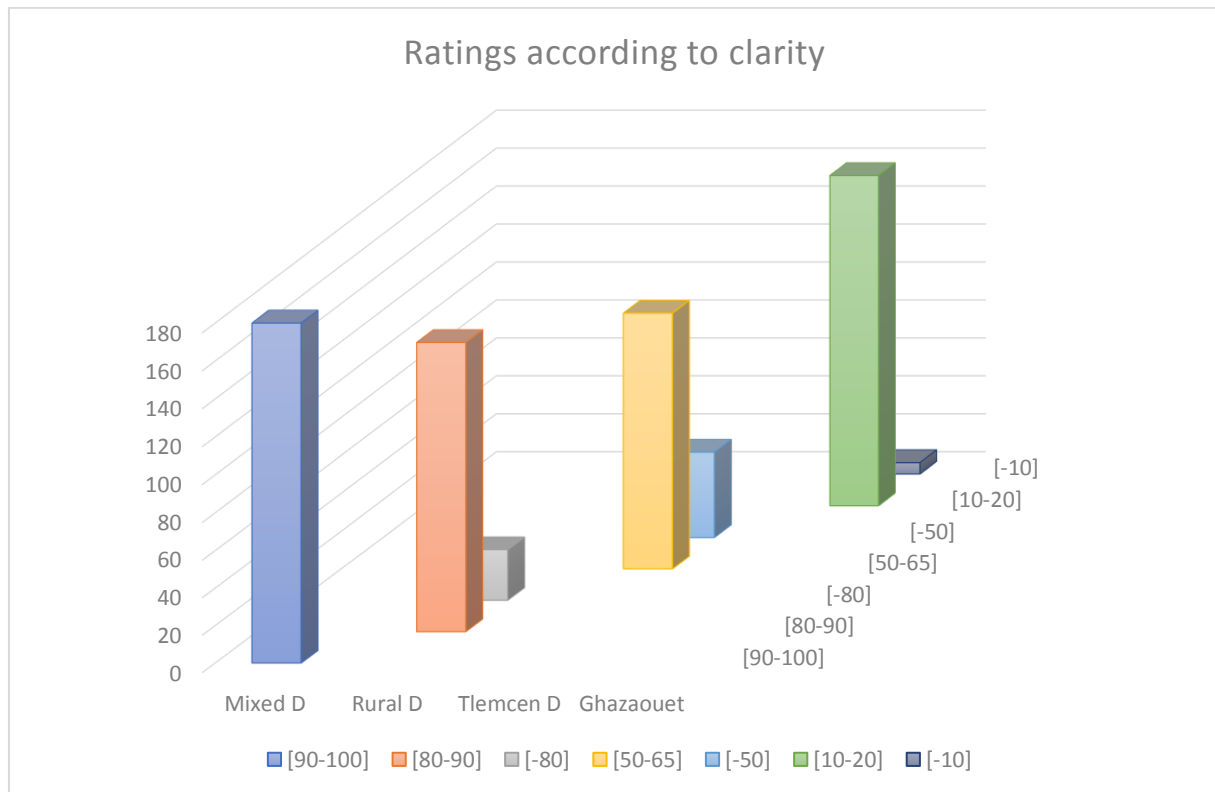


Figure 5.21. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to clarity

As illustrated in figure (5.21), the mixed dialect has reached an approval among 180 participants as being clearer in both pronunciation, articulation, perception, and understanding. For this reason, it has been evaluated between 90% and 100%. In a second position comes the rural dialect which has scored 80-90% as a rate by 153 respondents. Tlemcen urban dialect is thirdly ranked by 135 of the respondents with an average of 50% to 65%. At last, the dialect spoken in Ghazaouet has been criticized for its unclarity especially in word pronunciation.

5.6.2.5. Scale five: Intelligibility

Intelligibility is a purely linguistic concept. Since the respondents were all from the department of English, the researcher has expected them to be acquainted with the term from their lectures. Still, some (those who did not reach third year at university and those of literature stream) have asked for a clarification for the term. Thus, the researcher

has had to explain the concept in relation to the varieties of dialects exposed to them. Indeed, intelligibility has been explained as the fact of easiness in understanding a given variety without any efforts or hesitation.

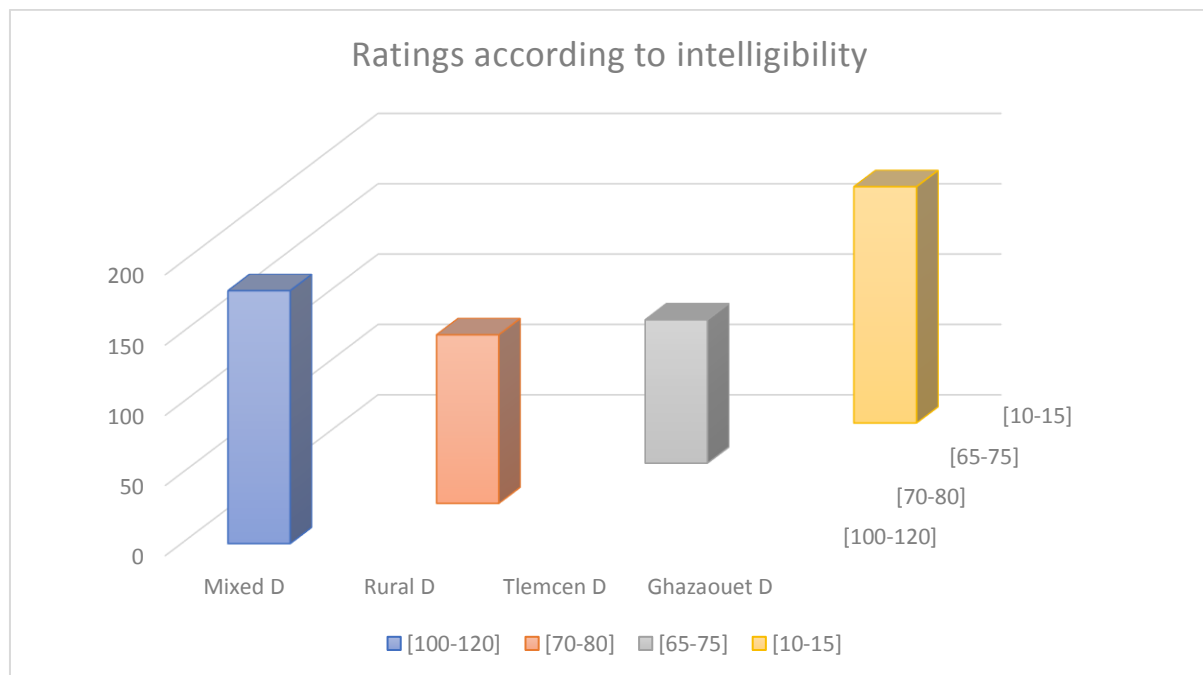


Figure 5.22. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to intelligibility

Clearly drawn, 180 of the respondents have mentioned that the mixed dialect is intelligible. It can be easily produced and understood without any prior familiarity with it. It has been ranked at first and rated from 100% to 120%. Second is the rural dialect with an evaluation of [70-80] given by 120 respondents. Not very far, the urban dialect of Tlemcen has been categorized by 102 respondents as scoring [65-75] with regard to intelligibility. Some of them have even added some remarks that the phonological and lexical peculiarities of Tlemcen speech makes a bit hard to comprehend. Similarly, Ghazaouet speech has been evaluated as being difficult to understand especially when it comes to the [tsh] sound. It is also hard to decipher from the non-natives of the dialect or outsiders of Ghazaouet and Tlemcen as a whole. Consequently, 93.33% from the participants have ranked it last with a score of [10-15] a fact that reflects the dialect not to be intelligible as opposed to the mixed one which has gained the agreement of all the respondents of being easily understood and therefore intelligible.

5.6.2.6. Scale six: Accommodation

Accommodation, as a well-known concept in sociolinguistics, remains as a technical term to be explained to the respondents. It refers to the linguistic operation of adjusting speech once being in a conversational context. By adjustment, it is meant ‘to which variety do speakers in Tlemcen accommodate the most?’. Figure (5.23) represents the answers of the respondents.

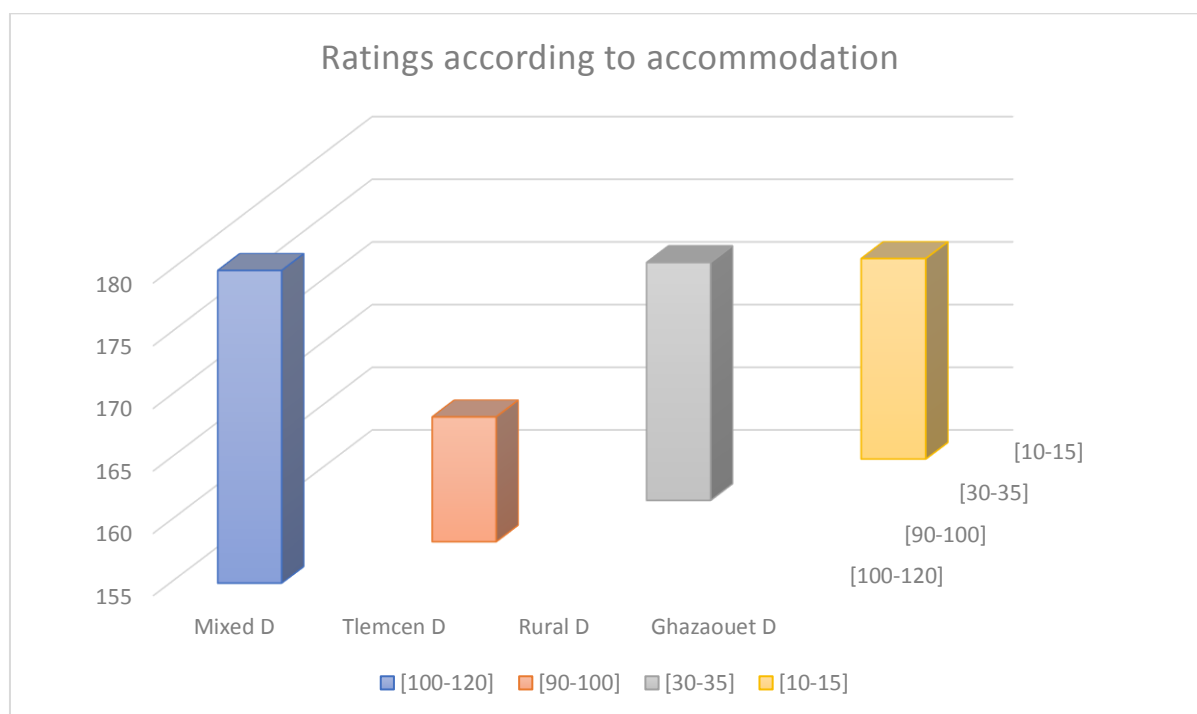


Figure 5.23. Analyzing respondents’ rating to the four dialects according to accommodation

Changing one’s speech to a variety that is well-known and understood by everyone has been the reaction of all the respondents in the sense that Tlemcen people generally accommodate to a variety that is commonly used and not pejoratively seen. Put differently, respondents have shown a great awareness that first people change their way of speaking once feeling stigmatized and second that this change goes into the direction to a variety where the most accepted linguistic criteria are used. Interestingly, 180 respondents have mentioned the mixed dialect in a former position [100-120] while Ghazaouet speech is evaluated less than 15% by 174 respondents since it isn’t commonly used (minority speech) nor easily understood. However, the previous

statement is not always applied when the ingredient of prestige comes into play. Accordingly, 91.67% of the respondents have shown that people accommodate to the urban variety.

5.6.2.7. Scale seven: Urbanity

Urbanity refers to the state of being and acting urban or city-like. In this context, urbanity is related to the linguistic behaviour of people in Tlemcen. The question was ‘which of the dialects, if spoken, reflects the person as urban and civilized?’. Statistics show a very negative evaluation of the Ghazaouet and rural dialects where respondents have rated them as [40-55] and [20-25] respectively. By contrast, the urban and mixed dialects are said to be a reflection of an urban speaker with a greater emphasis on the former as illustrated in figure (5.24).

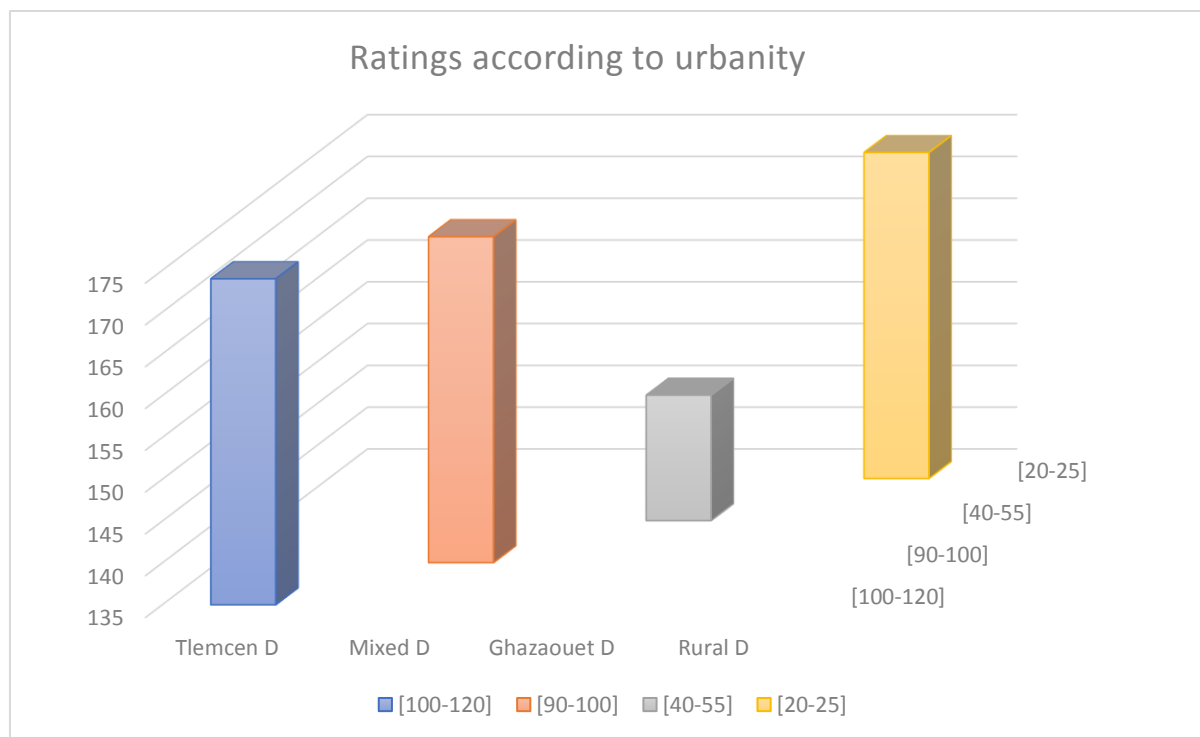


Figure 5.24. Analyzing respondents' rating to the four dialects according to urbanity

An **overall result** has ended in a diagram that is scanned after being coded manually is presented according to the numerical data provided in table (5.18).

Table 5.18. Scales results

Parameter	Dialect	Grading	N° of answers
Superiority	Tlemcen	[90-120]	156
		[-90]	24
	Mixed	[80-100]	174
		[-80]	06
	Ghazaouet	[40-45]	174
		[-40]	06
Rural	[40-55]	165	
	[-30]	15	
Attractiveness	Tlemcen	[90-120]	156
		[-90]	24
	Mixed	[80-100]	174
		[-80]	06
	Rural	[40-55]	165
		[-30]	15
Ghazaouet	[40-45]	174	
	[-40]	06	
Dynamism	Mixed	[100-120]	180
		Rural	[80-90]
	Tlemcen		[-80]
		Ghazaouet	[70-85]
	Ghazaouet		[-70]
		Ghazaouet	[10-20]
Ghazaouet	[-20]		6
	Clarity	Mixed	[100-120]
Rural			[80-90]
		Tlemcen	[-80]
Ghazaouet			[50-65]
		Ghazaouet	[-50]
Ghazaouet			[10-20]
	Ghazaouet	[-10]	06
Intelligibility		Mixed	[100-120]
	Rural		[70-80]
		Tlemcen	[-70]
	Ghazaouet		[65-75]
		Ghazaouet	[-60]
	Ghazaouet		[10-15]
Ghazaouet		[+20]	12
	Accommodation	Mixed	[100-120]
Tlemcen		[90-100]	165

		[-9]	15
	Rural	[30-35]	174
		[-20]	06
	Ghazaouet	[10-15]	171
		[+20]	09
Urbanity	Tlemcen	[100-120]	174
		[-90]	06
	Mixed	[90-100]	174
		[-80]	06
	Ghazaouet	[40-55]	150
		[-30]	30
	Rural	[20-25]	174
		[-20]	06

A very interesting result has been reflected after analyzing the responses of the participants. The dialect that has been noticed to be difficult to categorize and situate geographically has been the one that has attracted the attention of all the respondents especially in terms of dynamism, clarity, intelligibility and accommodation. The four of these criteria are the most essential while communicating, according to the respondents. The neutral variety has been classified on the top since it can be used along the province of Tlemcen (dynamism), clearer when someone utters it (clarity), understood when spoken (intelligibility) and can be opted for as a linguistic refuge/ dialectal lingua franca while interacting with people from different geographical areas (accommodation).

5.7. Interpretation of findings

Dialect contact and its outcomes have recently been a central point of attraction to socio-linguists and psycho-linguists alike. Tlemcen speech community is not an exception as it is a melting pot of a variety of Arabic dialects including rural, urban, and even bedouin. This linguistic situation, like others occurring around distinct societies, has been explained in relation to paralinguistic factors among which age, gender, residence, occupation and origin are the most prominent ones. Attitudes, as social constructions and psychological affiliations, have scarcely been introduced as explaining the outcomes of dialect contact especially in the Arab world; for this reason, this research is an attempt to introduce attitudes as one factor affecting linguistic change

and enhancing new dialectal results akin to the process of koineization and koiné formation.

The choice of attitudes as a parameter to dialect change goes back to its importance on language (or generally linguistic) preferences and performance. Two basic items need to be paused that: first, attitudes are socially constructed and, second, that they certainly refer to the personal beliefs and preferences of the individual. Put differently, whereas the former assumption entails attitudes as being acquired from the individual's environment, the latter happens at a personal level. Yet, taken together, attitudes, be them social or personal, will be shown in the linguistic performance of the speaker namely on the selection or omission of certain linguistic variables than others.

How attitudes dictate linguistic actions in Tlemcen speech community has been a gap in literature of dialectal variation and change and it is therefore the aim of this part of the present research. On the other hand, despite the fact that many researchers (Dendane 2013, Kherbache 2016, Obeidat and Hammoudi 2019) tried to highlight that the linguistic situation in Tlemcen is witnessing change, levelling and probably koineization, none has proceeded to discuss the possibility of regional koiné formation in the community and its relation with attitudes. Thus, the research offers a conceivable relationship between young speakers' attitudes and an on-going koineization process which entails operations of simplification and levelling as well.

Many researchers have provided a variety of definitions to the concept of attitudes. Whereas McGuire (1985) has mentioned attitudes as referring to “responses that locate ‘object of thought’ on ‘dimensions of judgment’” (p. 239), Eagly and Chaixen (1993) have highlighted the concept as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (p. 1). However, it is to be noted that those evaluations are “formed when needed, rather than enduring personal dispositions” (Sahwarz, 2007: 639); that is, they are context-dependent where criteria of favor, disfavor, preferences and disagreement are all implicit (Lowery, Hardin and Sinclair, 2001) depending on a stimulus material. Despite the fact that most social psychologists agree that attitudes are but a self-reflective sense that most humans have,

literature emphasize that they are “associations between an object and its evaluation” (Benaji and Hecpheta, 2010: 353). The latter is considered as a highly consistent and reliable factor in attitude formation (ibid). Attitudes can be measured by verbal self-reports which give an assessment of the individual’s subjective evaluation of opinions, beliefs, preferences, dislikes, and values as well. These components are generally elicited by psychologists via simple and direct questions like “what do you like? And what do you like about this?”. Those self-reported attitudes rely heavily on the responses of participants and constitute the core element in processes to attitude measurement. Most psychologists agree on the idea that it is from the social surrounding that people acquire attitudes. They can be learned from parents, peers, and media as well. Interestingly, those evaluations are shown in the behaviour of those individuals, and language is of no exception.

Be them self-structured or socially constructed, respondents’ attitudes with regard to the different dialects spoken in Tlemcen community have been similar to a great extent. While positive attitudes are expressed towards more prestigious and commonly accepted varieties, negative attitudes are associated to marked features and dialects which are socially and culturally stereotyped. When dealing with preferences and favors, respondents have shown a positive orientation towards the neutral variety which is stereotype-free and belongs to all the province and not only to one particular area in Tlemcen as a whole. This suggests that there is a certain awareness among respondents of the existence of a common variety that can be spoken in Tlemcen, everywhere, and without any communication issues among people nor does it hold negative connotations except being recognized as the dialect of Tlemcen as a whole: a dialect that is clear, intelligible, acceptable and can be used almost everywhere without any communication difficulties among interlocutors. This variety also hold a prestige touch and a social welcoming and acceptance among the respondents which indicates that the neutral variety, the suggested koiné, is having space in fostering ‘good’ speech, clear communication and a refined status in the society as opposed to the original contributing dialects or regiolects which symbolize the areas they are spoken in addition to the connotations related to each. Therefore, one can assume that the supposed

Tlemcenian koiné has a positive state in respondents' attitudes which entail its acceptance in the society as whole.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter covers the attitudes of respondents on the dialectal diversity found in Tlemcen speech community as a whole. Results show that attitudes do not really differ from what is overtly expressed and what is mentally mapped. The realization of phonological, morphological and lexical items enhances the hypothesis of koine formation especially at the phonological level where all the respondents have shown a common linguistic performance of the items given.

Chapter Six: Towards an Emerging Regional Koiné

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6.1. Introduction

This chapter is a concluding one. The pre-established research questions and hypotheses of the current project are going to be answered based on the discussion of the results analysed throughout the previous chapters. It will also treat the process of koineization as a result of dialect contact situation occurring in Tlemcen speech community. It shall be noted that what will be mentioned forthcoming is the researcher's own suggestion based on the behavioural and attitudinal data collected through ethnographic observations and interviews done with the sample studied along the different processes of the research.

6.2. Dialect contact in Tlemcen

Dialect contact, as agreed among scholars, refers to an interface and interaction between speakers of originally distinct varieties, dialects or linguistic subsystems. Tlemcen as a speech community in whole contains a lot of regional dialects each spoken in a given area and characterizes its people from the others. Participants, as a representative sample of this speech community, show variability in their way of speaking and agreement in their attitudes towards this regional variation. They have also agreed (chapter five) that contact is often present due to movement of the inhabitants from one place to another particularly from surrounding areas to Tlemcen city which is the center of many social, educational and economic activities.

Results obtained from this study reflect that Tlemcen is still witnessing a continuous contact among people coming from different regions of the province. University, in addition to the other investigated settings where youngsters are in constant communication, have proved to be good spots to investigate dialect contact especially that they gather speakers of different origins and therefore different backgrounds. Said differently, contact is more and more enhanced via education, intercommunication and media as well (by media, we refer to using social media site as Facebook where youngsters tend to be in contact using their dialects in texting, messaging, and commenting over posts). These suggested factors foster knowledge and interference among tongues of the surrounding, contributing varieties.

When varieties come into contact socially, they witness a linguistic change that, in turn, results in psychological contact which is raised through the development of individual communicative competences (Trudgill 1986). Contact can be explained at a macro level including space and geography where people move between areas and have to communicate along regional borders as it occurs at a micro level, i.e., between one speaker and another. Both types of contact are witnessed in Tlemcen where participants show their movement (to avoid the use of the term migration) from rural areas to urban cities and from other regions to Tlemcen bringing their varieties with them and facing new varieties in front of them in daily conversations and interactions. Data have shown that contact has resulted in many linguistic formulae including especially dialect maintenance and dialect change where the latter is exercised in many other socio-linguistic aspects as exposed in the forthcoming parts. These two operations affect, and are affected by, the situation where the speaker is akin to formal or informal contexts (as shown in chapter three), being in in-group or out-group conversation (chapter four) or attitudes towards the addressee and the will to foster comprehension (chapter five). Combined together, this social and linguistic contact lead to the development of individual competences; as say linguistic and pragmatic, practical awareness on which variant to use and which one to avoid in parallel to when and where to use one and not its counterpart.

6.2.1. Dialect accommodation in Tlemcen

Generally speaking, linguistic accommodation refers to speech adjustment in particular conversational situation. It happens either by convergence or divergence depending on the purpose of the speaker. When two speakers of two varieties of the same language which are mutually intelligible come into contact, transfer from one code to the other happens (Trudgill 1986); the code can definitely be a dialect as in the present research. Once looking for reasons beyond such an act, literature shows it as a ‘universal characteristic of human behaviour’ that someone adapts their voice, accent, or body language according to their addressee and the audience to whom one’s talk is addressed. Other explanations to these speech modifications are found in the speech accommodation theory proposed by Giles (1973). The directions of these modifications

have also been problematic and raise many other questions as who accommodates to who, for what reason, to what extent they do it, and how they are perceived by others when speaking in peculiar ways (Giles *et al.* 1973).

In order to answer these questions, we should first have a look at the type of accommodation that is taking place in Tlemcen. According to the results, both accommodation types occur: short-term accommodation that is contextual which has been seen in the formal speech of participants and long-term accommodation that is portrayed in the casual speech obtained from the ethnographic study to the community.

The accommodation theory generally mentions the minority converging to the majority's speech in answering the question who accommodates to who. However, according to the results obtained, we cannot trace who the minority are: are they people coming from outside the city and moving to studying, working and living in Tlemcen city? Or are they Tlemcen city dwellers in comparison to other cities and regions in the province who are demographically more numerous? But surely, the remaining raised questions: to which linguistic forms, to what extent and for what reason accommodation occurs, can only and certainly be answered with reference to the data gathered.

As to the reasons of one's speech refinement and modification, Labov (1972) has mentioned both social and stylistic variation; if the modification is related to both, then, the variable is a marker but if it is related to only social class, then, the variable is an indicator. The case of phonological variables during the current investigation explains the accommodation to either the commonly-wide spread [g] in casual contexts and very often [q] in formal ones as style shifting. This happens on the expense of the urban glottal stop which is therefore considered as a marker. [th] and [DH] are also radically avoided in practically all the types of conversations but are not necessarily related to social classes distinction in Tlemcen speech but rather to the urban-rural dichotomy. The same applies on the morphological variants [-o vs -iw] and [-ah vs -u:]. Interestingly, whether to call these items markers or indicators or even stereotypes, their use or omission is highly dependent on speaker's awareness as advocated by Bell (1984) that

speakers modify features of their speech or some features of their speech which they are more conscious about and aware of.

This awareness to speech has been explained by Trudgill (1986) in many terms as 1) awareness is related to features that are socially highly stigmatized as is the case for the glottal stop when used by males in casual conversations and mixed situations and for [th] and [dh] when pronounced outside conversations requiring the use of Standard Arabic or rural intimate conversations; this can be related to the second item which is 2) awareness to linguistic features which are supposed to be socially modified and subject to dialect change due to the social connotation attributed to these features; and 3) awareness to variables whose variants are ‘radically’ distinct which has been shown in syntactic structures of negation in saying [manish ʒaref] instead of [mashi rani ʒaref] ‘*I don’t know*’ and vocabulary choice as in, for example, replacing [yaʒti] by [ymed] ‘*to give*’ as the former sounds socially taboo in the community particularly once pronounced individually, as explained by the interviewee.

Prominence, salience and stigmatization are the main factors that enhance long-term accommodation of linguistic features. [-u:] is too salient to be adopted, and so is the case for the feminine gender marker [Ø]. Probably, less attention is given to these variants and therefore they can be used or avoided depending on the speakers themselves and how much focus they put once uttering words in intergroup conversations.

Comprehensibility or the need to be understood when two mutually intelligible varieties communicate is one of the factors that linguists must pay attention to when talking about accommodation (Trudgill 1986). Throughout time, speakers can gain some awareness that peculiar linguistic features can cause serious difficulties in understanding and interrupt the flow of the conversation. This situation is very clear in the case of the two allophones [k] and [tʃ] sounds uttered by Ghazaouatee speakers and the use of [ʔ] with non-Tlemcenian people. These variants are the most salient ones as causing short-term communication problems mainly hearing and grasping issues with outgroup interlocutors; therefore, speakers develop a certain awareness not to use them and utilize or adopt their realizational, most common, widely spread, conventionally accepted

variants especially in conversations with speakers of differing origins or outsiders of Tlemcen province as a whole.

Of course, accommodation and speech modification among which koiné use is one aspect can only be related to the degree of contact of speaker (A) with the dialect or region of speaker (B). It is also certainly related to the degree of willingness to communicate and seeking intelligibility and understanding among interlocutors whose aim is certainly not to diverge or exclude a particular speaker from the communicative group but rather to achieve a successful conversation since many speakers can aim at diverging and showing distinctiveness by keeping the peculiarities of their speech features which exclude others from the conversational context as a whole. These features show that, as opposed to what Trudgill (1986) proposes, accommodation in Tlemcen speech does not necessarily start at a lexical level but rather at a phonological level. This means that salience starts at a sound level rather than vocabulary although some lexical items have seen some change as presented in chapter three and five.

6.2.2. Dialect change in Tlemcen: urbanization or ruralization?

Among the outcomes of dialect contact is either maintenance or change. Among the questions that are found in the literature when discussing the koineization process is: which variants are avoided or even lost and which ones are retained and strongly maintained? The data collected have clearly shown answers to this question in the sense that dialect change is mainly lead by Tlemcenian males and non-Tlemcenian females while maintenance is practiced by the opposite gender respectively.

Arabic dialects are all characterized for their interdentalals as being replaced by stops (Al-Wer, 2014) wherein the loss of interdentalals in favour of dentalals is a feature of dialect sedentarization. The results of the three former chapters reflect that speakers, whatever their original dialect is, are favoring the adoption of sedentary stops; therefore, they pave the way for an urbanization rather than a ruralization change. However, this is not the case for the variable (q) where the path is moving to a ruralization change

rather than urbanization as native [q] and [ʔ] speakers are favoring and adopting the rural form [g] at the expense of their sedentary feature except in extremely formal contexts where [q] use is highly influenced by Standard Arabic particularly in formal contexts and mixed conversations. Thence, these two opposite trends of change are obviously, though gradually, contributing in the formation of a mixed urbanized ruralized koiné in Tlemcen.

As far as the morphological aspect is concerned, variation tends to be irregular as the results have shown. In other words, the variants [-u] and [-Ø.fem] show mixing in their use since both the original and counterpart variants are found. These irregularities are said to be paving the way for a progressive change occurring onto the dialect as said by Bassiouney (2009) when compared to the [-iw] and [-i:n] are used on the expense of their rural counterparts which are completely levelled out and are becoming prominent in the future formed koiné.

6.3. Koineization and symptoms for an emerging regional koiné

Indeed, the linguistic situation in Tlemcen has moved beyond accommodation as brought out by the current investigation. Koineization is a '*dynamic*' linguistic process that involves mixing and levelling of different forms coming from distinct contributing dialects (Siegel 1986). It starts by a '*gradual*' operation that encompasses selection and accommodation of dialectal features (Blanc 1968). Despite the fact that accommodation can start in a very limited environment as a temporary conversation, two important ideas can emerge from the results analysed. One, that accommodation can exceed to a more advanced stage and becomes a long-term process; and two, along accommodation, be it temporary or permanent, selection of linguistic items among the contributing dialects carries on occurring depending also on the society where the dialects are in contact and where they are spoken and evaluated too. This assumption is projected in the speech situation occurring between the dialects spoken in Tlemcen.

Samarian (1971) equates koineization to levelling that happens in 'interdialectal contact' situations wherein speakers try to overturn and defeat localisms and regional peculiarities in favour of more common linguistic features; and I add that these features

are simpler, more widely used and more socially accepted. In the current study, levelling can be considered but a step initiating the whole process of koineization for the sole reason that levelling does not entail an emerging of a common variety while koineization does. The koiné, as previously mentioned, functions as a lingua franca and the contributing dialects keep to be maintained in their restricted environments as is the case in Tlemcen where the original varieties are kept to be spoken at home or in casual conversations among in-group speakers. For a dialectal lingua franca to be emerging and utilized as well, it is worth mentioning that the contributing varieties (regiolects spoken in Tlemcen) are, of course mutually intelligible and belong to the same superposed genetically linguistic system, i.e., Arabic as advocated by Ferguson and Gumperz in 1960.

Additionally, koineization requires the elimination and exclusion of prominent stereotypes (Dillard 1972) found in the contributing dialects as is the case for the glottal stop and the interdental variables, phonologically speaking. From a morphological side, the feminine morpheme attached to verbs is omitted but not as much as is the case for the dual form found in both extremes (the bedouin -ayn and the sedentary -ayen) and the most commonly accepted one prevailed.

With koineization also rises a sense of unification or more precisely elimination of regionalism and differences among speakers of differing dialects particularly that each hold a significant stereotype in the community. However, the use of a simplified, common variety erases all the boundaries that if a speaker uses the refined variety s/he cannot be traced as coming from a particular region or belong to a certain group except in cases of divergence or when the accent related to particular regional dialect is emphasized over.

Other researchers add the concept of migration as a phase of contact that can result to koineization processes; data of chapter three have proved that formal contexts can also be considered as phases, or more correctly faces, of contact (even though they are temporary), they consequently entail the use of the refined form of Tlemcen dialect. Therefore, the degree of formality fosters the use of the common variety that is free of

regional stereotypes. Linguistic barriers are broken down, social negative connotations are neglected but also formality is highlighted in order to eliminate or at least overcome comprehensive communicative difficulties.

The koineization process is processed in five main steps explained forthcoming (figure 6.1). they include mixing, levelling, unmarking, interdialectalism, and reallocation.

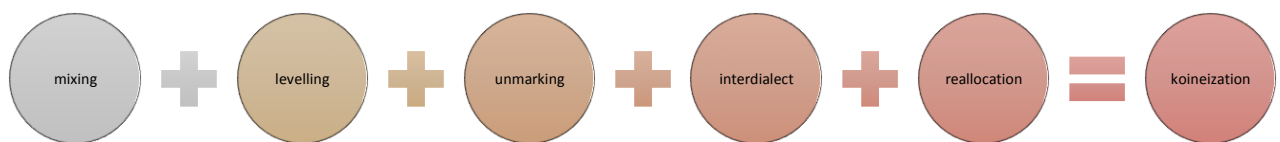


Figure 6.1. The five steps of the koineization process

6.3.1. Projecting Trudgill's (2004) model on koineization and new-dialect formation in Tlemcen speech

Starting from the idea that accommodation can become routinized through koineization which, itself, can result in the building of a new dialect that is simpler in form, less complex in features, we will manage to test the new-dialect formation model on the results obtained along this research. In his equation on how a new dialect can be possibly formed, Trudgill (ibid) states that it is moulded with the five steps of koineization previously mentioned plus focusing (figure 6.2).

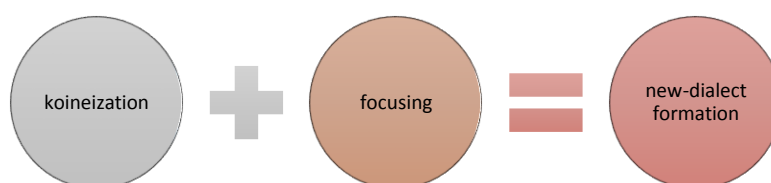


Figure 6.2. Steps for new dialect formation

Trudgill's (2004) model to new-dialect formation (table below) suggests three main stages for the formation of new dialects once many come into contact over a region. Indeed, after reading and consulting the meaning and steps involved in all stages, I believe that reporting information about the first stage is much more relevant than others for the reason that further stages entail investigating the speech of children which is out of the scope of the current research.

STAGE I	a) rudimentary levelling	and	b) interdialect development
STAGE II	a) extreme variability	and	b) apparent levelling
STAGE III	a) choice of majority forms	and	b) reallocation

Table 5.1: Stages in Trudgill's new-dialect formation theory

Source:

[file:///C:/Users/Home/AppData/Local/Temp/New-Dialect%20Formation%20in%20Canada%20Evidence%20from%20the%20English%20modal%20auxiliaries%20\(Studies%20in%20Language%20Companion%20Series\)%20by%20Stefan%20Dollinger%20\(z-lib.org\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Home/AppData/Local/Temp/New-Dialect%20Formation%20in%20Canada%20Evidence%20from%20the%20English%20modal%20auxiliaries%20(Studies%20in%20Language%20Companion%20Series)%20by%20Stefan%20Dollinger%20(z-lib.org).pdf)

Stage (I) is related to rudimentary levelling and interdialect development. This stage requires initial contact and mixing among adult speakers of originally distinct spoken varieties be them regional or social. Accommodation is supposed to occur in face-to-face conversations with basic modifications to one's dialect. The consequence

is a simply qualified dialect levelling including the neglect of localized features, minority-group forms and old or traditional linguistic/ dialectal aspects. That is absolutely the case in Tlemcen where minority-group forms such as [k] and [tsh] are levelled out and traditionally socially recognized features such as [ʔ] and [Ø] are avoided in intergroup conversations. These linguistic behaviours are supported by paralinguistic reasons such as difficulties in comprehension and sociolinguistic distance among interlocutors which leads to bidialectalism, contextual switching and maintenance of home varieties in addition to attitudes towards certain variants particularly negative sentiments that speakers have towards those ‘original’ varieties. All the lately mentioned metalinguistic features with their consequences are found in the studied communities particularly in the experimental focused ethnographies wherein participants have shown contextual shifting and others mention contextual diverging without forgetting that these behaviours are tightly related to the respondents’ and speakers’ attitudes towards those varieties (including beliefs, emotions and linguistic behaviour).

6.3.2. Projecting Gambhir’s (1981) stages of koineization on Tlemcen case

Gambhir (1981) who has been interested in Guyanese Bhojpuri koiné has divided its linguistic development into three complementary stages: (1) "multidialectalism," which involves the coexistence of many regional dialects at the same time in the same area, (2) feature adjustment, refinement and dialect levelling, which include accommodation and modification and sometimes even the loss of marked items and (3) the emergence of the koiné which is the last stage (1981:189). Afterwards, he has added that levelling starts within the first stage. Then, the next stage is characterized by a particular dialect that becomes the lingua franca to be acquired and used by everyone (1981: 193). He ends the discussion by claiming that the last stage is achieved once all these dialects are found in a free mixture and there arises the “koiné Guyanese Bhojpuri” (1981: 193).

In both versions of Gambhir’s conception, we believe that the supposed Tlemcenian koiné falls into his stages. Stage one referred to as multidialectalism is

present in the studied situations and contexts with the co-occurrence and existence of a variety of regional dialects in Tlemcen; this has been proved in the ethnographic research that lasted over a long period of time in the area. In face-to-face interactions, linguistic adjustment occurred among different social groups, genders and even formal contexts in addition to levelling which is greatly seen in the phonological variables of [ʔ], [th] and [DH]. These findings form the second stage of Gambhir's koiné formation. And, according to him, out of this speech modification, adjustment and mixing, there arises a regional koiné. Interestingly, this is the case in Tlemcen speech. Now, if we move to his assumption on the koiné as an acquired lingua franca which makes from its speakers bidialectal, it still has to be investigated and followed throughout different periods of time and among distinct groups in further research.

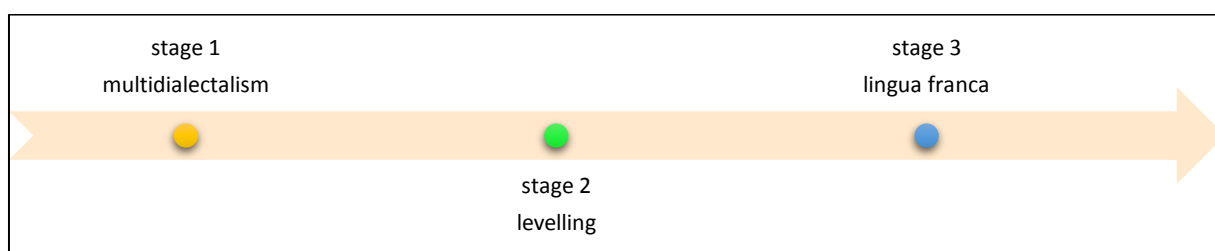


Figure 6.3. Rise of koiné through time

6.3.3. Projecting Moag's (1979) stages of koineization on Tlemcen case

As opposed to Gambhir, Moag (1979:120) has proposed two stages to koiné formation and mainly to dialect levelling in Fiji Hindustani. These stages include the ferment stage (different dialects in contact) and the standardization stage (the koiné as a regional standard). Whereas the former refers to the co-existence and simultaneous occurrence of forms from a variety of regional and social dialects, the second one reflects the process of standardization which he qualified as 'informal'. He illustrates this idea by mentioning that in the standardization process among the many conflicting contributing varieties of a language, one is supposed to become "the norm by consensus and usage." (ibid)

As far as stage one is concerned, the linguistic situation in Tlemcen has achieved the ferment stage. This can be explained in the sense that many regional dialects co-occur and their distinctive variants are simultaneously used. However, to call the process

of levelling a standardized or standard variety, even if in an informal sense, is a little premature assumption principally in relation to the data gathered in the current research. Put differently, we would suggest that levelling of certain items is present but to have it as a norm among all members of the community needs larger corpora and even longer periods of time to assume to be occurring. Therefore, in Moag's terms, the Tlemcenian koiné is still achieving the ferment stage and moving towards standardization in probably the coming years or the raising generations.

6.3.4. Projecting Siegel's (1986) stages of koine formation on Tlemcen case

In his discussion to the former models, Siegel has proposed a threefold developmental continuum to the emergence of a koiné. The first stage is the pre-koiné which he equates with Gambhir's linguistic adjustment stage and Moag's ferment stage. He has qualified this period as unstabilized for it occurs at the beginning of koineization. He explains the term 'unstabilized' because of the inconsistent occurrence of various forms due to the contact between speakers of the contributing dialects. As a result, mixing and levelling start to take place.

The second stage is called the development of a stabilized koine which he equates to Moag's informal standardization. Therefore, phonological, morphological and lexical norms are established and "a new compromise subsystem" among the contributing systems emerges. In the last stage, Siegel has proposed the possibility of the formed koine to become the first or the native language of a particular group of speakers as is the case for the original Greek Koine.

As far as Tlemcen speech is concerned, data show that the two first stages are practically occurring. Mixing of dialectal aspects in one conversation, to cite a narrow example, and in formal contexts, to mention broader examples, are a good proof of an unstabilized koineization process in Siegel's words. The unstabilized koiné, in the investigated area, is achieving a degree of stabilization particularly in phonological and lexical realizations. The compromise subsystem starts to have a clear range of components including, for instance, the use of stops [t] and [d] on the expense of their counterparts [th] and [dh/ DH] respectively. The last stage is still to be traced along

periods and periods of time where nativization has to be studied throughout the coming generations of the community.

Siegel has move way further to elaborate the functions of the koiné to be a possible first language to speakers characterized by complete innovation that does not trace back to the contributing forms. This is actually not within the scope of our study since it is an apparent time study. Probably, if we trace the development of the contributing regional dialects spoken in Tlemcen, after years and years, a Siegel's koiné can be formed by then. Therefore, if we apply Siegel's koiné development continuum to Tlemcen dialects, we are still in a pre-koiné stage where various forms from the contributing regional dialects co-occur as a result of their contact. This stage, according to him, is also characterized by mixing and levelling which have indeed been presented in the previous chapters.

Combined together, the koiné that is formed in Tlemcen is suggested, in this research, to be in its early stages of formation (figure 6.4). Yet, the koineization processes are all present according to the data gathered. What remains to call it a regional koiné is its stabilization and use among the members of the addressed community. Till then, lots of research has to be done throughout time in order to trace to continuity and development of this supposed koiné particularly if accompanied by social and psychological investigations of people from different cohorts.

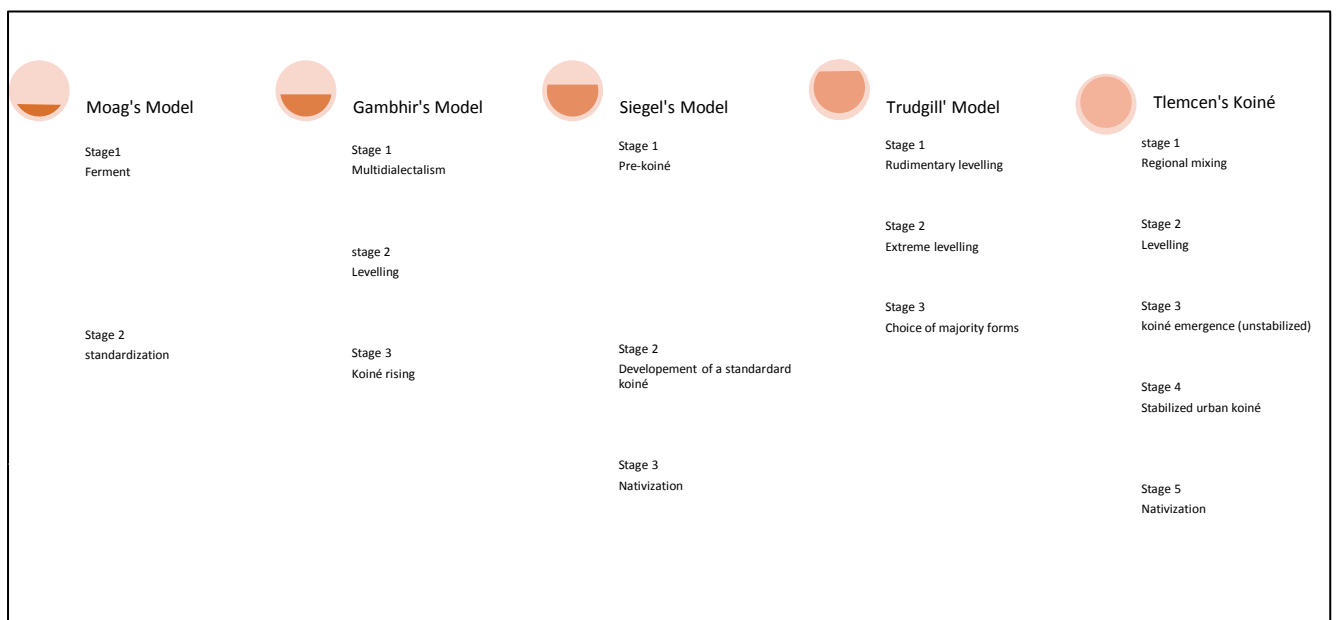


Figure 6.4. Comparing the four models of koineization with Tlemcen koiné formation

Figure (6.4) imports a comparison between the four models that treat koineization and koiné formation processes. In parallel to that, an attempt has been made in relation to the current situation investigated and lived in Tlemcen speech community. The first stage is characterized by mixing and co-occurrence of many regional varieties at the same time. Progressively, stage two emerges with the appearance of some features levelled out in favour of majority accepted ones. If this process exceeds to more prominent features and get overtly used along the population, hints of an emerging koiné arise but, in our case, because of attitudinal directions and maintenance of some features for their relation with one's identity, this koiné is still unstabilized. It can be stabilized only and only if these attitudes get lowered in favour of the widely used items (more accepted and more socially needed for successful communications). The last stage is labelled as nativization wherein the koiné becomes more stabilized and known where, when and how to be used; consequently, its function moves from being used as a lingua franca only to being widely spoken and even having native speakers of it. These speakers do not utter regional salient features which are still in the mixing nowadays. The reason for the assumption for the last stage, despite it not being present in the current situation, is the observations done outside the scope of this study to rural children who are adopting the urban features such as [t] and [d] from their childhood without being influenced by their surrounding as grandparents, for example. This assumption is far from occurring in present-day Tlemcen; but further real-time investigations need to be followed to either validate or disconfirm that last proposed stage.

6.4. Features of the Tlemcenian emerging koiné**6.4.1. Mixing**

No variety has to be called a koiné unless it indicates mixing (Siegel 1989). Mixing occurs when speakers of different but mutually intelligible dialects or varieties of a single language come into contact in one particular location and their varieties got put together for conversing. This is the case in Tlemcen community. Different features

originating from different areas coexist at the majority of linguistic levels including phonological, morphological and lexical ones. The quantitative data presented along the practical chapters prove the mixing situation in Tlemcen.

Table 6.1. Examples of Tlemcen dialect mixing

Items	Rural	Urban
Musicians of T weddings	qarqabou	ʔarʔabou
Get closer	qarrab- garrab	ʔarrab
Sick with louse in hair	mgammal- mqemmel	mʔemmel
To take	yeddi	yʕabi
To take off	yegla3	ynaHi
To sit	yjama3	yegʕod
Wife of the husband's bro	selfa	nota

6.4.2. Levelling

Levelling is the next process after mixing. It requires that demographically minority features start to be lost. Among the many variants present in the mixing situation, some will be certainly subject to reduction. The factors that enhance this operation are, in addition to those related to status, demographic accounts which tend to be more vital. Those which disappear belong to a restricted area but those which survive belong to larger areas. Likewise, the amount of variability can be reduced once speakers converge to a particular linguistic item. In this vein, the term convergent linguistic accommodation has been proposed by Britain (2010) who says that it usually paves the way to levelling where “highly local dialect forms are often beginning to be eroded, levelled away in favour of spatially more widely distributed variants” (p.199).

Levelling has also been called “supralocalization” by Britain (2010) to mean abandoning the localized features in favour of their counterparts that are found or spoken over a wider regional area.

Table 6.2. Examples of levelling in Tlemcen dialect

Items	Rural	Urban	The remaining	The levelled out
We went	mshayna	mshina	mshina	R
We came	jayna	jina	jina	R
We took	dayna	ɣabina	ɣabina	R
Two hours	saɣtayn	saɣtayen	saɣtin	B
Two weeks	simantayn	simantayen	simantin	B
To give	ymed	yaɣti	ymed	U
What	washa	assem	wassem	B

6.4.3. Reduction

This operation entails the fact that the linguistic forms or variants that have been included in the mixture of the contributing dialects become reduced in number. Reduction eliminates the most peculiar and salient features of the contributing dialects; especially local features, surprisingly, this process can also include structures that are idiosyncratic to different categories of community, such as neighborhoods.

Among the variants that witness reduction in Tlemcen koineization process is the lexical level. We have noticed through our long-term ethnographic investigation to the speech of many regions of Tlemcen that vocabulary is reduced in the mix situation. The linguistic performance includes mainly rural and urban variants while traditional forms and bedouin variants are not included for the reason that they are restricted to a particular group of old people and hold a social connotation of being traditional features. For this reason, some items are subject to be extremely eradicated from the originating dialects and that's why reduction of features is taking place in the dialect mix situation in Tlemcen.

Table 6.3. Examples of reduction in Tlemcen dialect

Items	Rural	Urban	Reduced as
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Guest	DHayf	dif	deef
Light	DHaw	do	daw
To melt	ydhoub	ydoub	ydouub
To hurt	yDHor	yewjaʃ	Youja3
To go/ will	ghadi	mashi	mashi

6.4.4. Reallocation

Reallocation, as a feature of a regional koiné, is found to happen after levelling; some variants which persist in the mixture will be assigned new roles as being social class variants or stylistic variants. Britain and Trudgill (2005) state that the final result of reduction can be a number of surviving variants which acquire a distinct function or role in the dialect mix situation.

Table 6.4. Examples of reallocation in Tlemcen dialect

Items	Rural	Urban	Reallocated meaning to
To kick/ he kicks	DHrab	dreb	To have
To eat/ he eats	kla	kla	To get
To leave	ghadi	ghadi	A will
To want/ he wants	baghi	baghi	Can

6.5. A regional koiné in Tlemcen community

Among the different definitions that have been presented in the literature, our definition of the term koiné, which we have proposed in the global hypothesis of the current research, refers to a linguistic variety that originates from the mixing of two (or more) contributing dialects spoken in a given (or distinct) area characterized mainly by simplification and reduction of socially marked features.

Following what has been advocated by Siegel (1989) that, **linguistically** speaking, the koineized variety takes from the contributing dialects its structure which

can rely much more on one of the dialects rather than all. Still, its formation is increased in simplification and decreased in markedness.

When discussing the **function** of koines, it is indeed a regional medium of communication that serves as a dialectal lingua franca among speakers coming from different regions. However, it must be mentioned that the use of this dialectal lingua franca is not only to facilitate communication but also to avoid stigmatization and regionalism in the community in addition to its implementation in formal contexts and among people of different but local neighbouring origins.

The definition of the **type** of koine depends strictly on ‘where’ they are utilized (Siegel 1989). If the variety originates from contact between dialects of the same language and remain spoken in the same area, the koine is then a regional one. However, if it is spoken in another location than where the contributing dialects originates and whose speakers have migrated to, this koine is called the immigrant one. Obviously, the results of chapters three and four have shown that the variety is regional but it should be mentioned that its use can be exceeded to outsider regions not only restricted to Tlemcen itself.

Data show that what is occurring in Tlemcen is a **multidialectal koine**. This type entails levelling at the lexical level as well as the morphosyntactic one. I shall mention that the term koiné is used, in this context, to refer to the development of a modified urban dialect in Tlemcen community. The data that have been presented along the work have shown a good amount of phonological and lexical levelling. As far as the morphosyntactic changes, the morphemes [-u] and [-Ø.fem] are subject to be levelled out in the emerging koiné. Syntactic structures fall outside the scope of the research but external observation notes indicate a simplification in sentence structure for better understanding and mutual intelligibility.

6.5.1. Koineization or diffusion?

In order to make sure of the koineization process that is taking place in the studied community, a comparison with linguistic diffusion is needed. Diffusion is said to happen

in instances where the accommodator uses the accommodated-to variants in their speech without the presence of the speaker of the original variety from which the variants are taken. For example, if a Ghazaouatee speaker uses [g] instead of [tsh] at home when no outsider is present there, diffusion occurs. As opposed to this example, we have mentioned in our hypothesis that koineization occurs along with the maintenance of the contributing dialects which is absolutely the case of the data obtained from ethnographic observations and focus groups as well. Accordingly, there is no diffusion in the whole province. I say ‘whole’ to mean the geographical spread of Tlemcen. In addition to this, context of use tends to make the distinction between the two linguistic processes. While diffusion is mainly geographic, koineization is context dependent and purpose related. In other word, diffusion is said to be the spread of a given variant from one region to another whereas koiné use is not only restricted or concerned with geographic distribution or spread of variants along regions but rather it is highly contextual and the purpose behind its use is crucial.

However, one can assume that some features that are part of the supposed koiné can move above the context they are used in to larger contexts as being adopted at home in the speaker’s home tongue. In this case, the code will be diffused to other geographic areas in Tlemcen. Therefore, we will move from koineization to geographic distribution and spread. This spread would be surely enhanced by the demographic growth and population size, i.e., once the features become adopted by larger samples and certainly used at home as part of the tongue originally utilized by the speakers.

6.5.2. Koineization or shift?

A distinction between koineization and shifting is needed particularly to make sure whether the linguistic situation at hand is leading to a regional koiné or to shifting among varieties only.

Dialect shift encompasses, in the outward level, an alteration in the resulting output of a given dialect (D1) speaker, toward the output linguistic product of their interlocutors who are speakers of a distinct dialect (D2). What makes shifting different from koineization is that shifting occurs without any necessary

presence of the speaker of a different variety, a dialect that is distinct from the speaker's one while koiné use is motivated contextually as in our assumed definition, we advocate that the koiné is used as a dialectal lingua franca that serves simplification of items when communication and neglect socially pejoratively perceived features. In more precise terms, shift is said to be a 'permanent' linguistic operation whilst what we are suggesting in this research work is that the koiné is used in particular contexts for particular reasons among speakers without any touch to the original contributing dialects that keep to be used at home or in their former occasions. Consequently, it can be concluded that koineization and dialect shift are two different linguistic outcomes and indeed, what is present in the current study entails an emerging koiné that has its significance of use along the speech community.

6.5.3. Koineization or borrowing?

One of the questions that one might ask during the intercourse of the interpretation of the results gathered is whether this is a koineization process or just a linguistic borrowing of items between the contributing varieties or more precisely between the varieties in contact. Whereas borrowing refers literally to the fact of importing items, mainly lexical words, from one source to another to become part of the receiving linguistic system; koine's aim is quite divergent. First, koineization is developed through dialect mixing, simplification and reduction of many contributing varieties and not only bringing one word from a dialect and start to use it as part of the recipient one due to its inexistence in the welcoming dialect as is the case for borrowing. Second, borrowing is mainly lexical, but throughout the study, it has been shown that the koiné does not only involve lexical variation but also phonetic and morphological as well as syntactic structures of dialects. Third, koineization, by contrast, incorporates items from different contributing dialects and does not depend on one source like in borrowing which advocates the absence of lexical entries in one dialect and its need for vocabulary supply to fill in its lexical gaps.

It should also be noted that all Algerian dialects contain borrowed words from different languages and distinct sources which is not a fact to be denied. However, what

is supposed to be occurring in the studied community is the result of contact between regional varieties spoken along Tlemcen province wherein items are selected, simplified and refined once speakers of different, but mutually intelligible, varieties of Tlemcenian are in direct contact or in contexts requiring a common dialect to be utilized and understood.

6.5.4. Koineization or pidginization?

Because koineization and pidginization tend to be slightly similar operations, a look at the difference between the two with regard to the linguistic situation happening in Tlemcen speech community is really necessary. Although both concepts are said to be lingua francas characterized mainly by simplification, their difference lies in the degree of simplification which tends to be minor in koinés rather than that of pidgins. In addition to that, koiné tends to hold its features from the contributing varieties which still remain mutually intelligible that is not the case for pidgins which witness a ‘structural break’ with their original varieties and the ones contributing in the contact situation.

Mohan, in differentiating between the two concepts, claims that in pidginization, “the super-strate speakers do not themselves change their language, nor do they actively fraternize with the sub-strate speakers” (1976:2). By contrast, in koineization, the speakers of each of the contributing varieties do fraternize but the linguistic modification cannot be denied; it is there (qtd in Siegel 1986). In the same line of thought, Gambhir points out that even though koinés are progressively known by their “structural simplification” (1981: 181), they still “exhibit structural continuity with the language from which they issue,” while pidgins are “structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents” (1981: 185) which makes the pidgin different from the originally contributing varieties; this is not the case for koinés, as explained along the work. This means that koinés do preserve the original contributing dialects in one way or another for the simple reason that they are used to achieve some purposes be them social, communicative or psychological.

And this is what our former hypothesis claims that despite the changes that are occurring in the different dialect found in Tlemcen as a whole, maintenance and preservation are still practiced and the original varieties are to a great extent kept at home and with in-group conversations. We find Tlemcenian males keeping the glottal stop at home and with family members; Ghazaouatee people speaking their original variety to converge to each other and to show their belonging; and the same applies for [q] and [g] speakers. Thus, that's an evidence that the process which the dialects of Tlemcen is witnessing is, par excellence, koineization rather than pidginization.

6.6. Features of the emerging koiné:

In a comparative study of the different worldwide koines done by Siegel (1989), it has been pointed out that there have been some common or distinct parameters among researchers interested in describing koines in distinct speech communities. I will show his comparison and will try to project the findings of the current study on it.

TABLE 1. Comparison of features of original koine and other "koinés"

	1 ^a	2	3	4	5	6
Original koine	+ ^b	+	+	+	+	+
Blanc (1968)	-	+			+	+
Burchfield (1976)				+		
Dillard (1972)		+		±	±	
Ferguson (1959)	-	+		+	-	
Gambhir (1981)		+	+		±	±
Graff (1932)		+		+		
Haller (1981)		+				
Hartmann & Stork (1973)	+			+	+	
Hill (1958)				+	±	
Hymes (1971)		+	+		+	+
Mohan (1976)		+	+			
Nida & Fehderau (1970)	+		+	+	±	
Pei (1966)		+		+	+	
Samarin (1971)		+	+	+	±	

^aFeatures of the original koine:
 1. based primarily on one dialect
 2. has features of several dialects
 3. reduced and simplified
 4. used as a regional lingua franca
 5. is a standard
 6. is nativized to some extent
^b+ = feature is described as being present
 - = feature is described as being absent
 ± = feature can be either present or absent
 blank = feature is not mentioned

Figure 6.5. Comparison of features of different koinés

Source: Siegel (1989) p. 362

On the basis of this comparison, table (6.5) mentions the features of the regional koiné proposed in this research.

Table 6.5. Features of Tlemcen emerging koiné

Features	Present	Absent	Either P or A	Not mentioned
1. Based primarily on one dialect			+	
2. Has features of several dialects	+			

3. Reduced and simplified	+			
4. Used as a regional lingua franca	+			
5. Is a standard			+	
6. Is a nativized to some extent				+

As to the first criterion, Tlemcen regional koiné, according to the data gathered, is urban in nature but we cannot assume that it is based on only one dialect despite the existence of two urban varieties namely the Tlemcenian and the Nedromian. It, indeed, takes its features from several contributing dialects as, for example, the rural [g] and the urban [t] which emphasizes the second criterion. This koiné is basically emerging for simplification reasons and is, therefore, characterized by reduction of marked features as [ʔ] and runs on selecting simpler, more common features as [q] in formal situations. The fourth feature has been emphasized along the steps of research as this koiné is considered as a lingua franca among the different regions in Tlemcen and even outside of it once being in contact with people who are supposed to be outsiders of Tlemcen, or being in formal contexts, or to show the speaker is Tlemcenian but still wishing to show linguistic tolerance in their speech. This can result in its possibility of being a regional standard dialect but, of course, after years from now for contact and change cannot happen through one generation only nor can it be assumed after a research of a small proportion of the whole population. For this, more investigation is needed.

6.7. Domains for koine use:

Fishman (1970) has proposed some contexts that are adequate for the use of a particular code in multilingual communities. By trying to apply this categorization on multidialectal regions as Tlemcen, particularly with koiné use, table (6.6) summarizes the situation.

Table 6.6. Domains of koiné use in Tlemcen speech community

Domain	Home variety	Regional Koiné
Family	X	

Friends	X	X
Education/university		X
Work		X
Market		X
Neighborhood	X	X

Source: adapted from Fishman (1970)

Based on the data gathered, it is clearly possible to evidence that in the case of Tlemcen, speakers use different domains for each situation or context seeing their conveniences to use the language. For instance, at home they speak their home tongue, with their friends and in the neighborhood, they can use both varieties all depending on the addressee and degree of social distance they have; while in other places, the koiné is welcomed to be used.

6.8. Conclusion

This last chapter is one that combines between theory and practice; between the data that have been gathered, the theories that have been exposed and the problematics that has been raised in the onset of this research project. In order to avoid confusion between what our data present and what our analysis entails, a comparison between concepts has been made. Indeed, this comparison has ended in reinforcing the hypothesis that koineization is taking place in the speech of Tlemcen province or more correctly among the regional dialects helping in the contact and accommodation processes. Additionally, we tried to relate the results to Trudgill's processes for koiné development and stages to new dialect formation. The discussion brought the conclusion that there are signs for an emerging regional koiné in Tlemcen which can, in turn, and through time advancement, possibly lead to the formation of a new dialect as we are already contributing in its first stage. Beside all what has been exposed, the assumptions advocated in this research are subject to verification and further research may validate or negate what has been arrived to along this project. For this reason, I invite researchers for further investigations to the community of Tlemcen by not restricting their studies

to one area but by enlarging the scope to more regions particularly the lesser-known speech communities.

General Conclusion

The objective of this work is the exploration of dialect contact and change in Tlemcen speech community with more emphasis on the emergence of an Algerian Arabic regional koiné mainly by university youths. Dialect contact has been a central point of investigation by many researchers especially in the community of Tlemcen. However, previous studies have been noticed to be tackled in separate communities as case studies and there has been little attempt to gather those environments in one case certainly that Tlemcen province as a whole is a melting pot of a variety of regional dialects. It is this variation that promotes one to trace its outcomes and university has been chosen as a place of investigation for its richness with people coming from different backgrounds and therefore distinct dialectal performances. In order to explore those outcomes, one has posed the following research questions:

- **Q1:** To what level has dialect accommodation and change arrived in Tlemcen speech community?
- **Q2:** Are there any symptoms to an emerging regional koiné? If yes, what are the linguistic criteria indicating its formation and use?
- **Q3:** What are the social and psychological motivations behind the enhancement of this linguistic phenomenon?

Multiple data tools and sources have been implemented in order to support the hypotheses that:

- **H1:** Dialect change and accommodation have moved to other phases beyond convergence or divergence. Aspects of mixing and levelling are the most prominent ones in the speech of youngsters;
- **H2:** Regional koines act as a dialectal lingua franca among the province; it is characterized by simplification to promote intelligibility and decrease distinctiveness;

- **H3:** Age, attitudes, and level of formality are the most important factors leading to the use of the regional koiné.

We have started this project by reporting a theoretical consideration of the literature related to the concepts of dialectology and koineization as they form the basics of our study. In chapter one, there was a good focus on different models of koiné formation proposed by previous researchers. Next, a description of the setting, i.e., Tlemcen speech community and other communities in the province, have been provided. Chapter two was a thick presentation of the methodological procedures followed including research design, methods and instruments of data collection. Data analysis has been portrayed in separate chapters in the order research was done starting by the results of ethnography chapter three; those of the experiment in chapter four, and then results of the surveys in the chapter after. Finally, on the basis of the analyzed data, the last chapter has been devoted to the discussion of the proposed general hypothesis and the possibility of an emerging koiné in the province of Tlemcen.

Results obtained from the current study have brought new insights into the field of Arabic dialectology and Arabic sociolinguistics as a whole. The informants' linguistic behaviour has shown that their speech is in continuous change. Modification tends to be not only restricted to context but probably moving to be arbitrary as part of their daily performance. Likewise, the global problematics of the present research has been answered for the reason that when originally different speakers coming from different backgrounds and differing geographical areas in Tlemcen province come into contact, they tend to use a common variety where all the stereotyped and marked features are omitted and all what is socially and linguistically accepted is performed in their mixed intergroup conversations. This behaviour does not, by any means, neglect the use of the original home variety once being only with the members of the same community as shown in the experimental phase, without neglecting that some stigmatized features are moderately used according to the psychological and social motivations of the speaker. Put differently, the present investigation has helped in drawing considerable conclusions with regard to the preestablished research hypotheses.

First, dialect change and accommodation have moved to other phases beyond convergence or divergence. It is worth mentioning that convergence and divergence are only momentarily as linguistic actions where the speaker either uses or avoids the variety spoken by their interlocutors. However, the qualitative and quantitative analysis of data obtained from the ethnography and observations, experiments and focus groups, as well as the surveys have shown other directions of dialect change, or more correctly new outcomes. Interestingly, aspects of mixing and levelling are the most prominent ones in the speech of youngsters who constitute the sample of our research. Levelling is related to the omission of marked features and namely the stereotypes as the phonological variants like [tsh] and [k] in Ghazaouet speech and the glottal stop in urban males' speech. Mixing is much more obvious at the lexical level. Results of the three methods provide evidence in favour of the first hypothesis and it is therefore confirmed.

Second, regional koinés act as a dialectal lingua franca among the province. It is shown in the last chapter that the koiné can satisfy the principles of a lingua franca. This regional koiné is characterized by simplification of speech and the use of common, acceptable linguistic features. The aim behind this koiné use varies according to the objectives of the speaker namely to promote communicative intelligibility and decrease social distinctiveness among speakers. These results indicate that there emerges a regional urban koiné in Tlemcen speech community which is certainly used as a dialectal lingua franca among Tlemcen youths and confirms our second hypothesis.

As far as the phonological variation is concerned, the findings demonstrate that there is a considerable change in the use of the chosen variables. Interdentals are seen to be completely avoided by the participants. Instead, the sedentary realizations [t, d, D] are used respectively. Therefore, it is obviously concluded that originally bedouin variables are no more pronounced by youths while their urban counterparts are seen to be more privileged. These findings indicate the phonological basics of a regional urban koiné in Tlemcen speech community.

When it comes to the variable /q/, many assumptions can be driven. First, the glottal stop is regarded as prestigious for T. females and is never aspired to be omitted. It is only in moments of ambiguity, misunderstandings, traveling or embarrassment that

they switch either to [q] or [g]. Yet, females coming from other regional areas and thus dialectal backgrounds are never seen to pronounce [ʔ] in their speech as it is strictly stigmatized and many associate it to a racist portion of the community or a cultural linguistic superiority. Even those whose original variety is [q] avoid it in favour of [g] so as to avoid stigma and promote understanding.

On the other hand, [g] is noticed to be strongly used by males with the exception of native T once having an in-group conversation or in formal contexts where the level of formality and the gender of the addressee are said to be extremely influential as revealed in the ethnographic research. Ghazaouet and Nedroma males are seen to avoid their dialect markers [k], [tsh] and [q] respectively and talk using [g] even once tackling in-group conversations as was the case in the first stages of focused ethnographies. In this vein, neither the gender nor the origins are found to influence the retention of their original dialect. Still, they have all advocated that the original variety is maintained at home and family zones.

Ethnography, focus groups, and interviews as well have given attention to other phonological variants including diphthongs. In all instances with no exception, no informant has been heard, recorded or noticed to pronounce 'two' as [zawj] or 'we went' as [mshaina]. The rural realizations [-aw] and [-ai] are completely dismissed from the speech of youths. Instead, it is the urban [-u:] in [zu:j] and [-i:] in [mshi:na] that are pronounced.

Therefore, what can be built as a conclusion with reference to koiné formation at the phonological level is that the criteria of this koiné are phonetically urban except for the use of [g] which defeats the prestige of the urban [ʔ] and [q] due to social and psychological needs of speakers which can only be expressed and reflected linguistically in Tlemcen speech community. Interestingly, the koineization process has moved beyond mixing and levelling to a stability of variant use when it comes to the discussed phonological items. Linguistic performance is selective and is characterized by *sedentarization* of dialects once being in mixed communicative situations.

As far as the morphological level is concerned, mixing is still occurring; this can only be explained in relation to the lack of participants' awareness to the saliency and markedness of those features. In expressions as '*I told him*' [gotl-ah vs. gotl-u:], participants are seen to keep their home realization of the morpheme with a tendency, in many cases, of using [-ah] by T males and [-u:] by NT females. Ruralization and urbanization are still struggling at this level; thus, the koineization process is at the phase of mixing. Similarly, the 2nd-gender (fem) marker [-i] is not seen to be used a lot by T participants even males who accommodate the rural dialect very often do not address females by indicating the related morphemes. T females are never observed to use it except for emphasis in mixed contexts or for humour. As opposed to that, NT females start to humbly accommodate the urban behaviour by omitting the feminine gender marker while addressing T recipients. As stated earlier, this can only be explained due to the lack of awareness and that no serious 'social' attention or connotation is associated with those variants.

However, the third morpheme is obviously undergoing a koineization process more than levelling. None of the participants, along all the phases of the current research, has been noticed to pronounce '*we go*' as [nemsh-o] or '*we buy*' as [neshr-o]. All of them prefer and use the counterpart realization [-iw] in instances as [nemsh-iw] and [neshr-iw] respectively. Thus, it is clearly shown that the first morpheme is considered as bedouin and is totally avoided by the participants. In contrast, [-iw] is viewed as urban and there is no social or psychological negativity associated with its use. Thence, it can be concluded that youngsters tend to be selective and perform according to their individual awareness and saliency advocated by society and imposed by the communicative context.

When it comes to lexis, the koiné is characterized by simplification of concepts. Findings obtained from the three phases of research emphasize this conclusion. Participants have revealed consistency of lexical choices between what is commonly used and what is specific to their own home variety. They go in favour of what is socially accepted and approved in the community as [bezaf] instead of [bezayaf- ʕaroum], [rejlin] instead of [karʕin-mgatiʕ], [hna] instead of [hnaya], [wassem] instead of [assem-

washta]. We notice that youngsters try to avoid the two extremes of being either rural or urban by choosing the widely used and less stigmatized. Yet, it is important to cite that some words are considered as taboo if said in one variety and not in the other, for example, ‘to give’ has been translated as [yafti] and directly corrected as [ymed], ‘to throw’ has been translated as [yermi] instead of [yqis]. This is known as inter-individual production or even witnessing refunctioning as one is used for some contexts where the other cannot be used by becoming semantically different; what is labeled “semantic reallocation” by Labeled (2014) as another process of koineization. The remaining studied lexemes are stabilized via focusing as in: [ynod] ‘to get up’ instead of [yqum], [yshouf] ‘to see’ instead of [ra], [yesmaʃ] ‘to hear’ instead of [yessenet], [yerfed] ‘to take’ in favour of [ykesh]. Consequently, at the lexical level, many koineization processes are induced including: mixing and levelling with higher degrees, simplification, reallocation and with a lesser degree focusing.

As far as the third hypothesis is concerned, it is stated that koiné use is tightly related and explained with reference to social and psychological parameters. Indeed, many social and psychological variables can be involved as explanatory factors to the emerging regional koiné. Age, attitudes, and levels of formality are the most important factors leading to the use of the regional koiné in intercommunicative contexts in Tlemcen.

Youngsters are the focus of this study as they are advocated to be initiators of dialect change more than any other age cohorts; an assumption that has been arrived to from the first phases of the ethnographic research and participant observation. Youths tend to be distinct from children who are only imitators of caregivers and from old people who are dialect preservers. Gender, as well, has been regarded as an influencing factor to koiné formation especially in variants choice: whereas some variants are used by both genders, some others are only restricted to females especially Tlemcenians who tend to preserve the urban [ʔ] but are certainly subject to speech modification in addition to momentary and contextual accommodation. Residence, as a variable, has melted away in mixed conversations and can therefore not be considered as a largely influencing factor. As opposed to that, the level of formality and attitudes are the

strongest in effect. Whereas in formal context, participants try to free their speech from any marked feature with the aim of not sounding pejorative (rural or urban). These linguistic behaviours are tightly related to their attitudes elicited through the perceptual dialectology and matched-guise technique. What is stereotyped in a given dialect is negatively seen and therefore socially avoided. The evaluation of the koiné has been considered as high especially in concepts of communication as intelligibility, clarity and accommodation in contrast with other existing varieties in Tlemcen which have been evaluated of less prestige and communicative efficiency. Awareness of what is socially preferred and accepted leads the participants to speak in a way that gives a hint to an emerging regional urbanized koiné that is used in mixed contexts in Tlemcen speech community.

The data collected and the findings analyzed have allowed us to trace the contributions of the current study and to compare the state of dialects in Tlemcen speech community with previous studies. The linguistic situation is still in continuous and constant change especially when contact among people of different origins and dialectal backgrounds is fostered by such contexts as university. In addition to dialect levelling that has been indicated by Dendane (2014), Kherbache (2016), Hammoudi (2017), to cite a few among many, other aspects of koineization have been deduced as paving the way for an emerging regional koiné along the province. It is compulsory to note that the original accents of speakers and their pitch of voice are not touched. The criteria of a common dialect turn within phonological, morphological, lexical and probably syntactic levels; yet, the accent remains identical to each speaker identifying them as coming from a certain background. Indeed, this idea can be the focus of further research which traced the development and change of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen.

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Appendices

Appendix (B)

Focus group N°.....

Category of speakers:

Name	Age	Origin	Residence
Name: Number			
Name: Number			
Name: Number			
Name: Number			
Name: Number			
Name: Number			

Phase 1: Discussion about some topics

- Topic a/ Ramadhan traditions
- Topic b/ Wedding ceremonies
- Topic C/ Special customs/ events particular to the area they live in

Phase 2: Evaluating pieces of speech (matched-guise technique)

- Piece a/ [ʔ] Variety
- Piece b/ [q] Variety
- Piece c/ [g] Variety
- Piece d/ [k] variety

Phase 1: Discussion and interaction

Participant	Topic a/ Ramadhan	Topic b/ Weddings	Topic c/ Special

Phase 2: Matched-guise and attitudes

Speech	Positive attitudes	Negative attitudes
[ʔ]		
[q]		
[g]		
[k]		

Appendix (C)

Interview

Participant profile:

Gender:

Age:

Origins:

Residence:

Section One:

1. As a university student, do you have friends from different geographical area than yours? How do you recognize they are of different origins? How often do you communicate with them?

.....
.....

2. Do you find difficulties while interacting with them? If yes, which type of difficulties?

.....
.....

3. What's the origins of your parents? Do you speak like them? If no, in which way you differ in speech?

.....
.....

4. Do you have family members in other locations in Tlemcen rather than where you live? If yes, how do you interact with them?

.....
.....

5. Do you participate in any other activity (cultural, sports, etc.)? where? And with whom?

.....
.....

6. What do you think of life in your home town? Do you advise people to come live there? Why?

.....
.....

7. Are you proud of belonging to your home town? Why?

.....
.....

8. If you want to change your place of residence, which location do you choose in Tlemcen? Why?

.....
.....

9. Have you changed your way of speaking when moving to study? In which contexts?

.....
.....

10. Have you ever felt stigmatized/ mocked at from your way of speaking/ your speech negatively seen?

.....
.....

11. Are you proud of your way of speaking?

.....
.....

12. Do you think, in order to be culturally immerse and accepted, you have to speak like city or home (urban/ rural varieties)?

.....
.....

13. What are the social connotations associated with the use of the glottal stop in Tlemcen? If you find yourself in a situation where you have to use it to be socially accepted, will you? why?

.....
.....

14. Do you think that the rural-urban dialectal dichotomy that is found in Tlemcen gives a racist society? How is that?

.....
.....

15. What do you think about the following statement:

“generally speaking, in Tlemcen, women refuse any external contact with non Tlemcenians for the reason that they regard Tlemcenian culture and Tlemcen itself as being the perfect example of the culture and the city. This very subjective attitude is translated by such acts as, say, refusing to let their daughters -and very often their sons- marry an NT, except if the partner is rich or has very high social position”. Is this statement applied in the region where you live? (Mohamed Dekkak, 1976)

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

Section two: (phonological and lexical variation)

Translate the following words to your home dialect

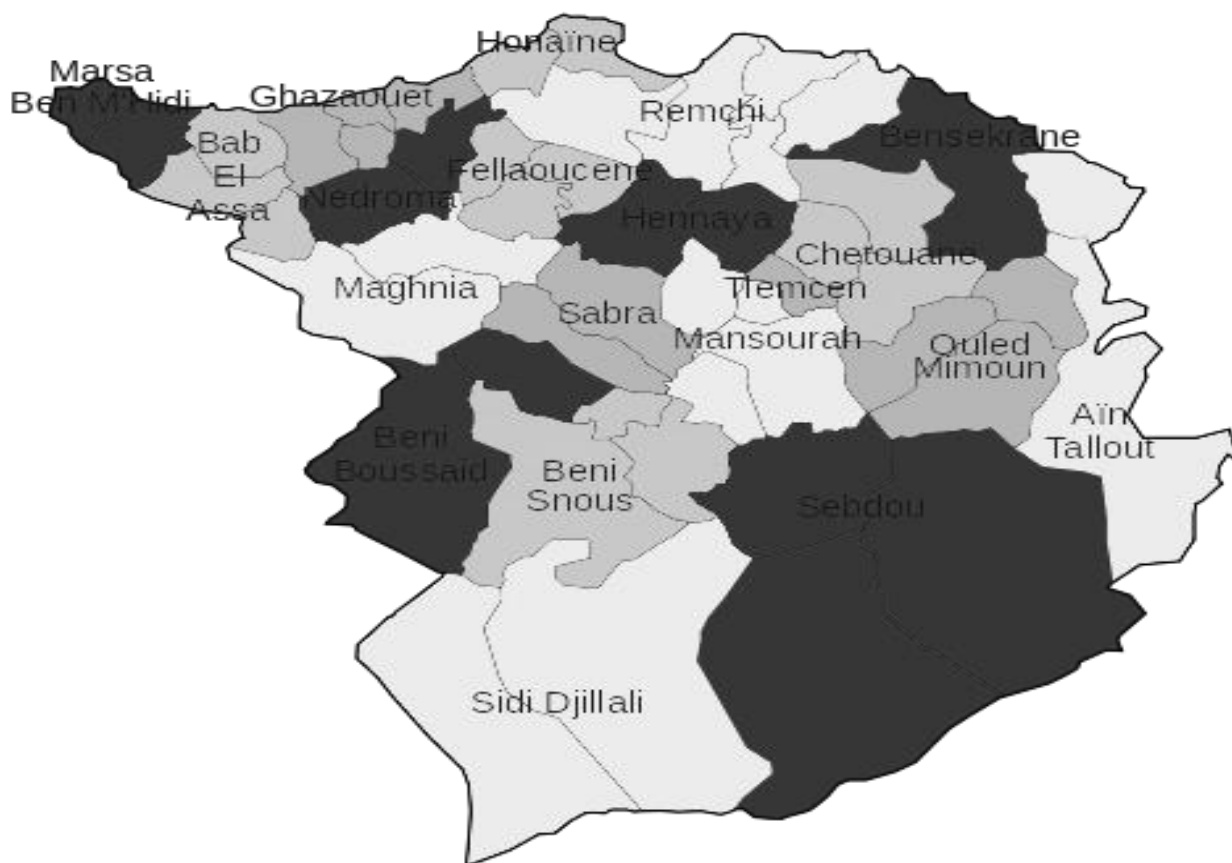
Category	English gloss	Dialectal pronunciation
Body parts	ears	ذ د
	feet	L
	neck	ق
	back	ظ ض
	heart	ق
	liver	L
Body verb	spit	L
	vomit	ق
	laugh	ظ ض
Colours	green	ظ ض
	white	ظ ض ط
	blue	ق
Environment	rain	L
	fog	ظ ض
	snow	ت ث
	burn	ق
Impact	kill	ق
	hit	ظ ض
	cut	ق
	split	ق
Locations	up	ق
	in front	ق
Motions	come	L
	get up	ظ ض
	lie	ذ د
	stand	ق
Perception	see	L
	hear	L
	sleep	ق
	say	ق
Pro.	this	ذ د
	that	ذ د
	here	L
	there	L
	what	L
	where	L
	when	L
Quan.	all	L
	many	L
	three	ت ث
	eight	ت ث
Transfer	give	L
	hold	L
	push	L
	throw	L

Section Three: (morphological variation)

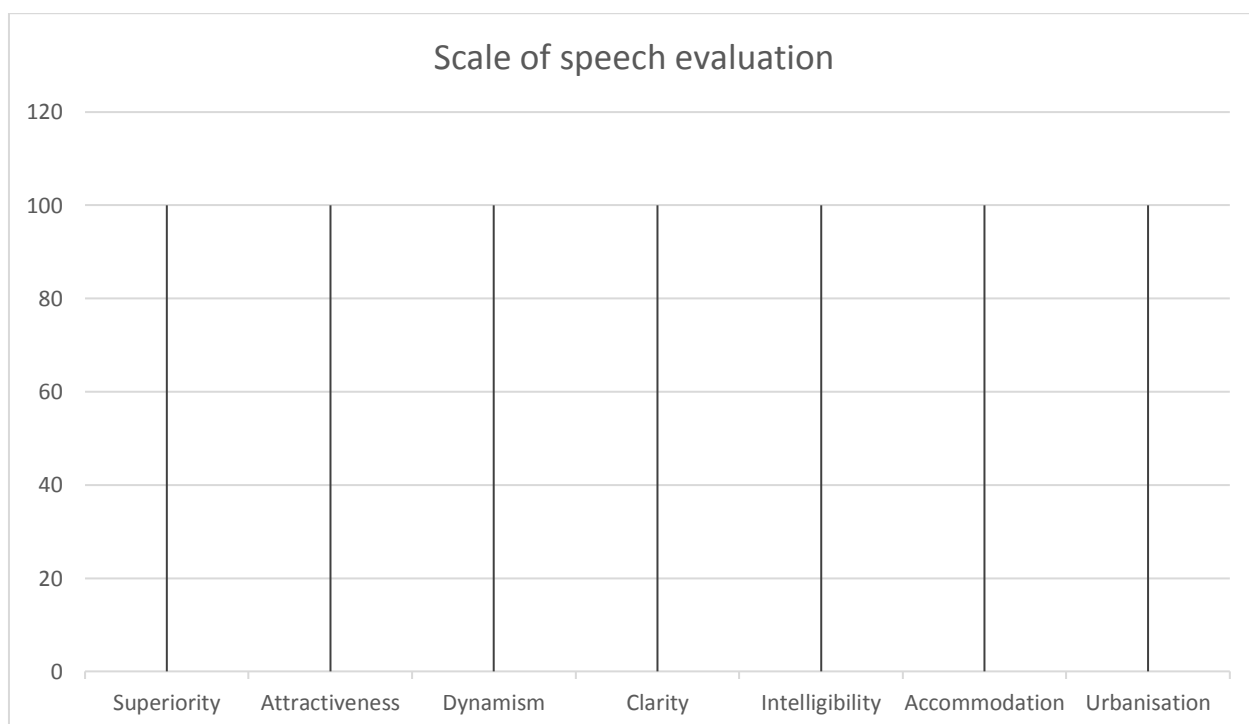
Complete the following list of proverbs in your dialect

Question	Answer
	Elli fi omrah medda matekkotlah chedda
	Rebbi ya3ti l7am lelli ma3andah sennin
	A3tini wahed fahem w lqari <i>dih</i>
	<i>Dib</i> hlel dib hram terk hsen
	Li ghwah roxsah-u xella nossah-u
	Li yebghi hajtah-u yergoud 3liha
	Hta yzid w nsemmouh/iwah s3id
	Tgoul wledtah-u w nsitah-u
	Ssakett tahtah nabett
	Mayebqa f lwad ghir hjarah-u
	Nechriw/u ljar qbel dar
	Manechrouch/iwsh lhout f lbhar
	Ki kan hai kan mechtaq tamra w ki mat 3alqoulah 3arjoun
	Elbes-i mastar w koul-i mahdar (fem.)
	Othkor lgatt lji ynatt
	Wessel-i lkeddab lbab dar (fem.)
	3amel-i-ni kif xouma w hasseb-i-ni ki 3douk (fem.)
	Dir-i ki der jarek wella bella3-i beb darek (fem.)
	Hmar ben hmar elli mayexlef thar
	Thwab laxra ynessi mcheqet denya
	Kthir las7ab yebqa bla sa7eb

Map task: Listen to the following recordings and try to elicit from where the speakers are coming, then mention it in the map provided



Speech Evaluation: Listen to the recordings again (if needed) and put your evaluation (on each speech) in the following scales.



Appendix (D)

Consent Form for Interviews: A Qualitative Sub-study

Research Project Title: Dialect Contact and the Emergence of an Algerian Arabic Koiné in Tlemcen Speech Community

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the above research project. Ethical considerations require that interviewees explicitly agree to being interviewed and how the information contained in their interview will be used. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. Would you therefore read the accompanying information sheet and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

- the interview will be recorded and a transcript will be produced
- you will be sent the transcript if you ask for it
- the transcript of the interview will be analysed by the researcher herself
- access to the interview transcript will be limited to the researcher and academic colleagues and researchers with whom she might collaborate as part of the research process
- any summary interview content, or direct quotations from the interview, that are made available through academic publication or other academic outlets will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed
- the actual recording will be kept for further research where the name of the informant will never be revealed and all or part of the content of your interview may be used;
 - In academic papers, policy papers or news articles
 - On university archives and in other media that we may produce such as spoken presentations
 - On other feedback events
 - In an archive of the project as noted above

By signing this form, I agree that;

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I don't have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time;

2. The transcribed interview or extracts from it may be used as described above;
3. I have read the Information sheet;
4. I don't expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation;
5. I can request a copy of the transcript of my interview and may make edits I feel necessary to ensure the effectiveness of any agreement made about confidentiality;
6. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.
7. I agree to be quoted directly if my name is not published and the researcher may publish documents that contain quotations by me.

Signature of research participant

Participant's name:

Signature:

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study.

Researcher's name: **Xadidja HAMMOUDI**

Signature:

Ms. HAMMOUDI Khadidja
Assistant Lecturer
Department of English
University of Tlemcen

Advisor's name: **Zoubir DENDANE**

Signature:

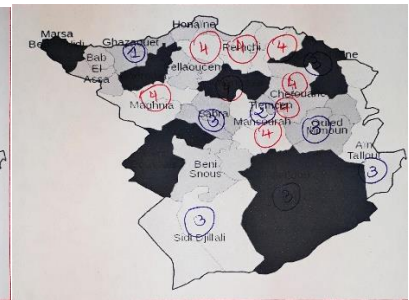
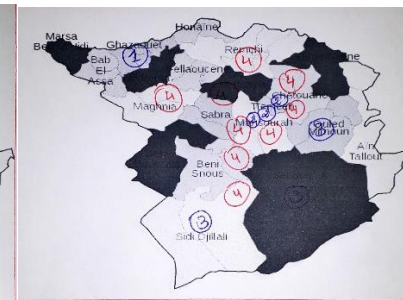
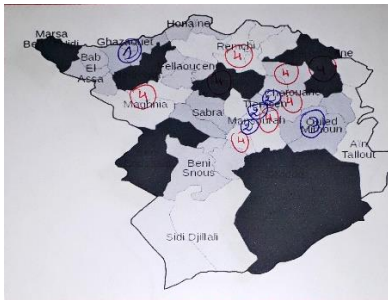
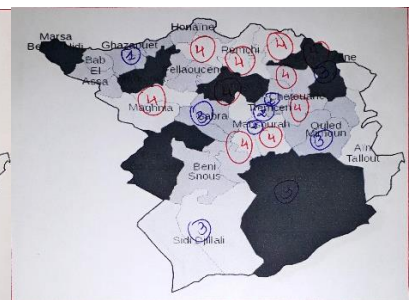
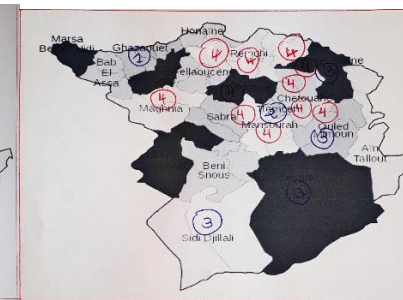
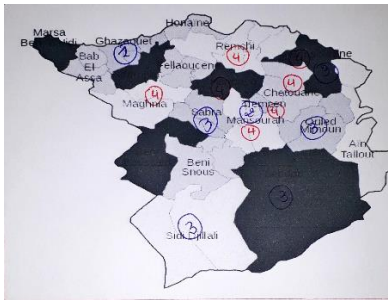
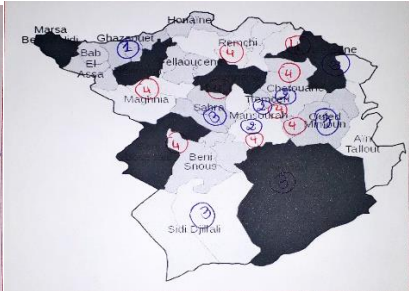
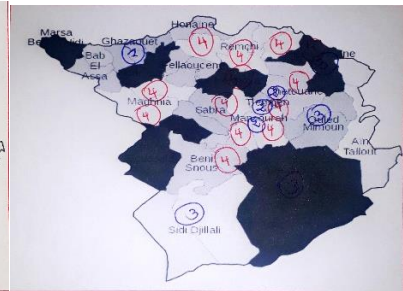
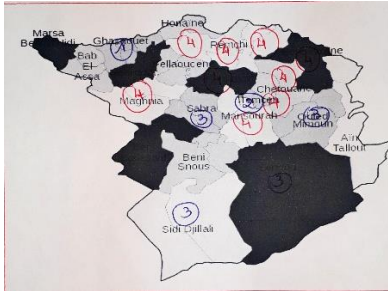
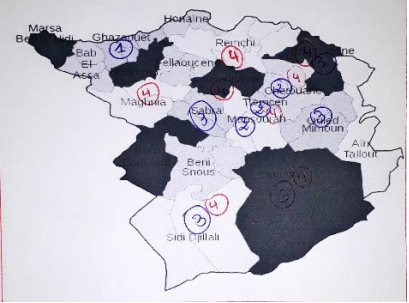
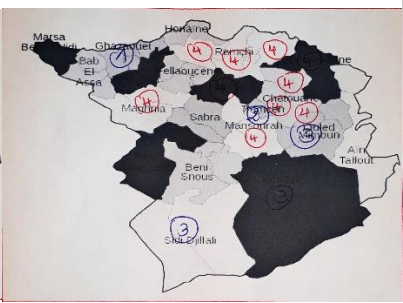
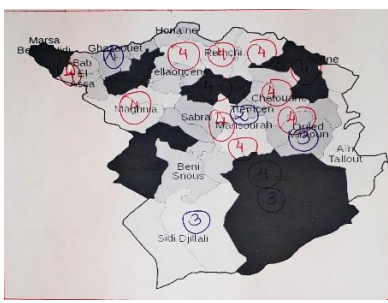
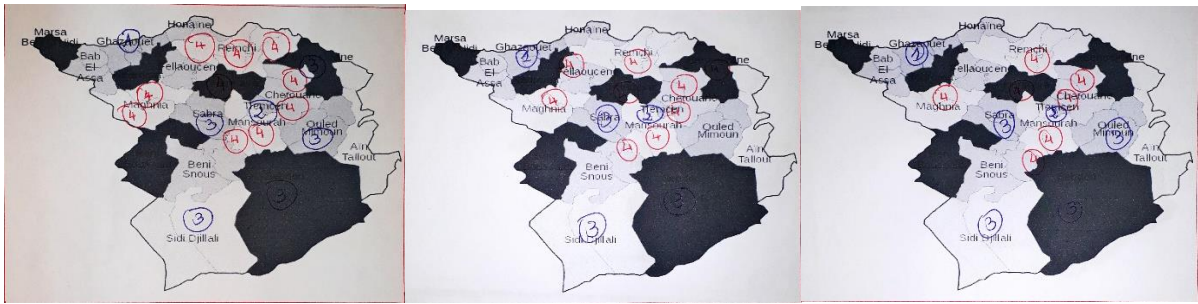

 ا.د. زبير دندان
Pr. Z. DENDANE
English Department
Tlemcen University

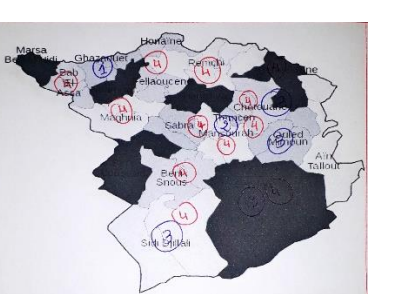
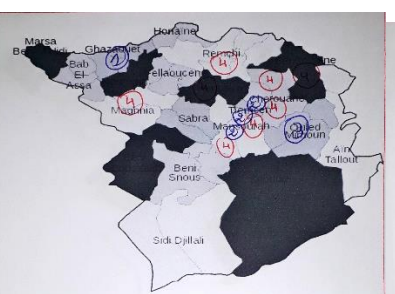
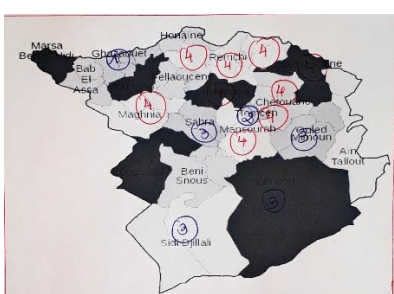
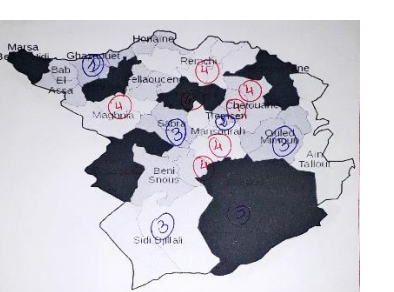
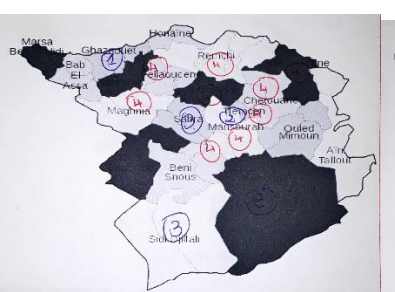
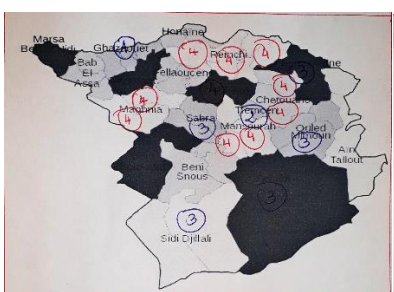
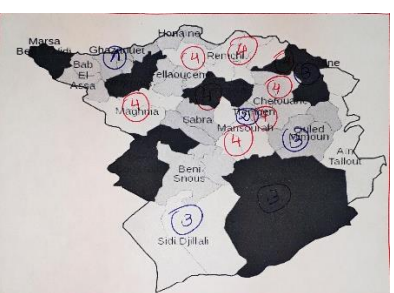
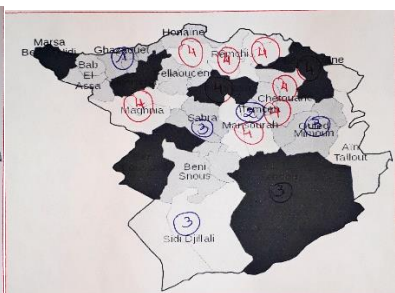
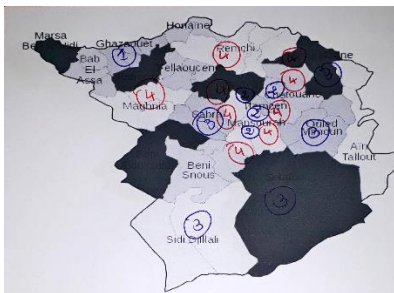
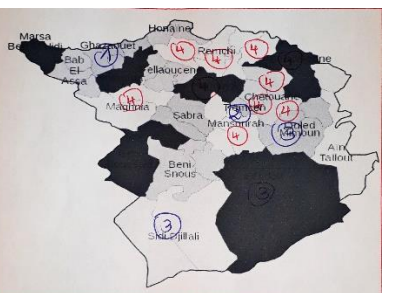
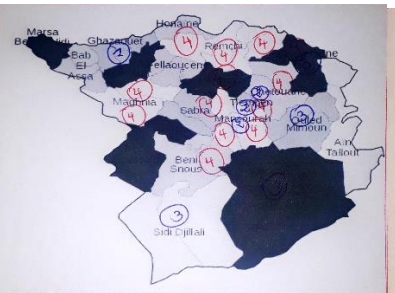
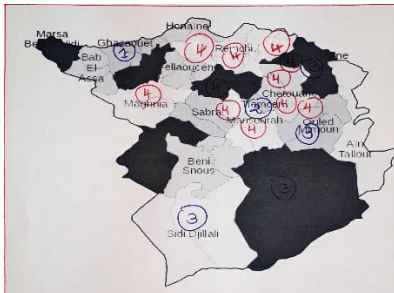
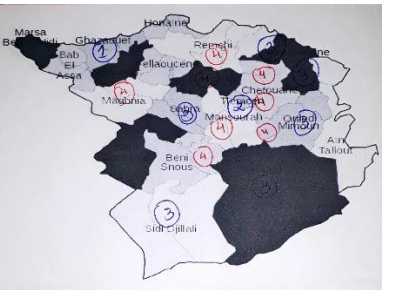
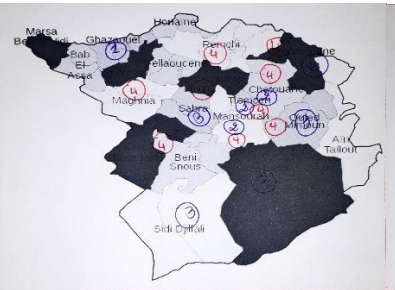
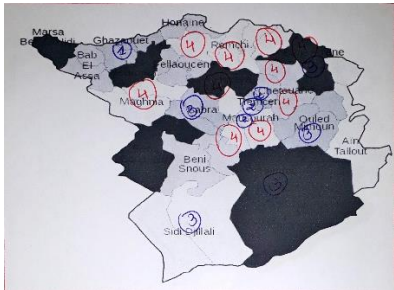
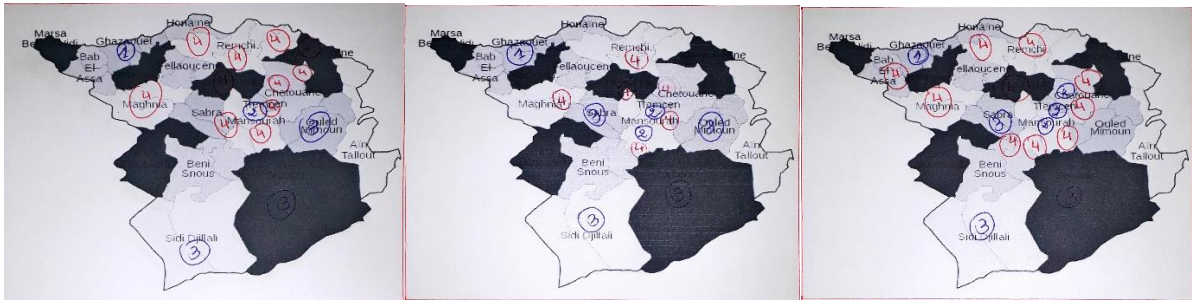
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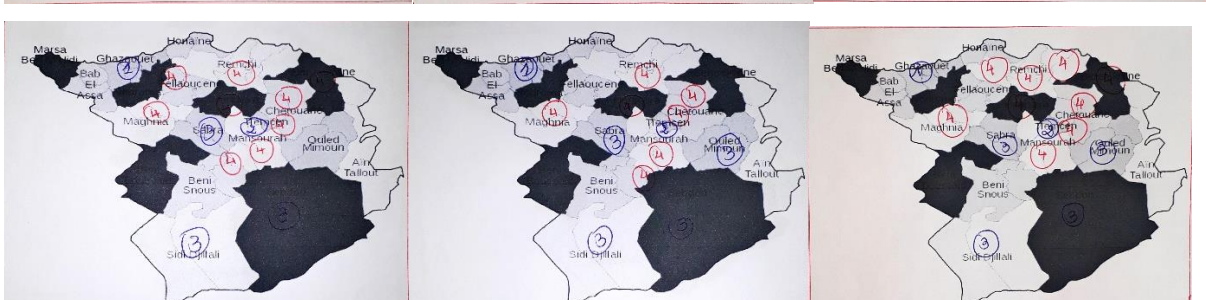
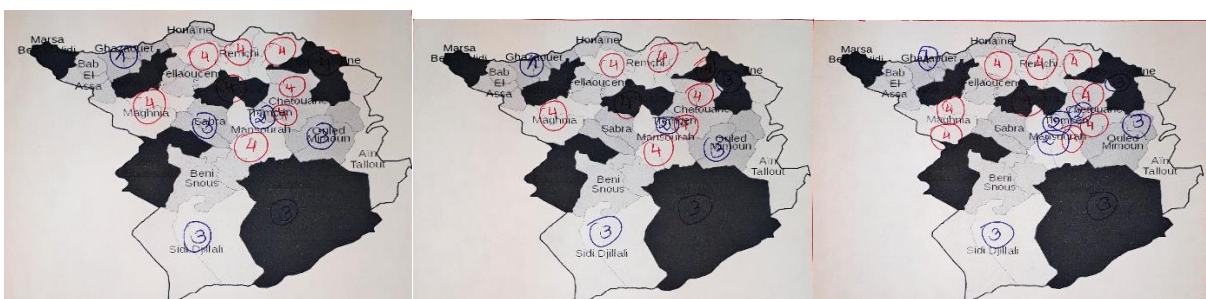
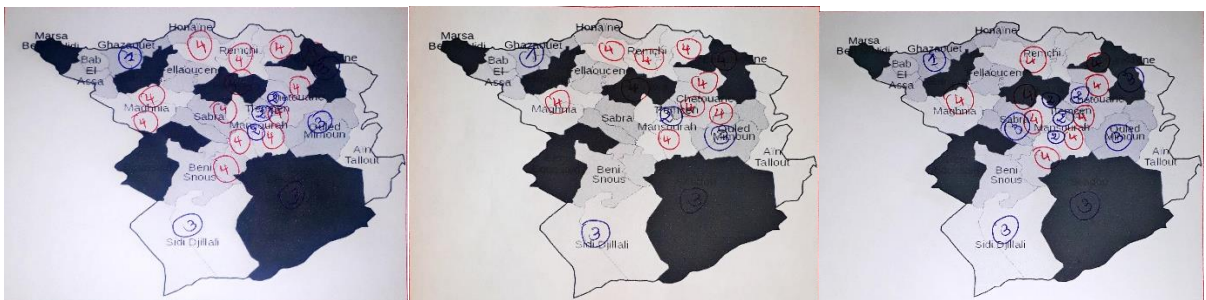
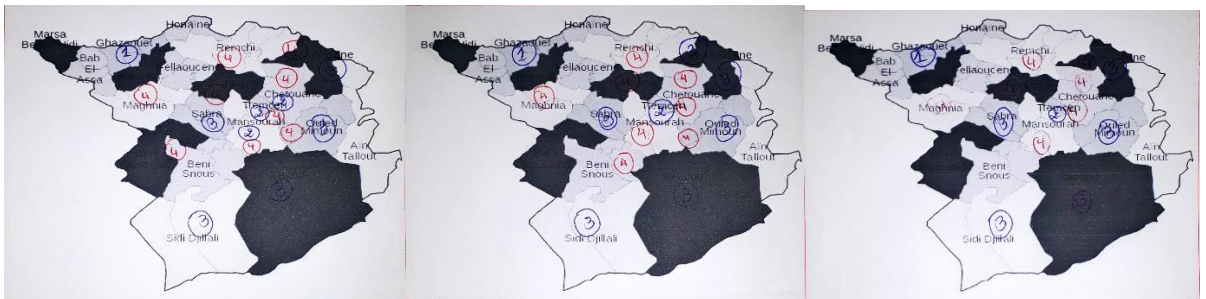
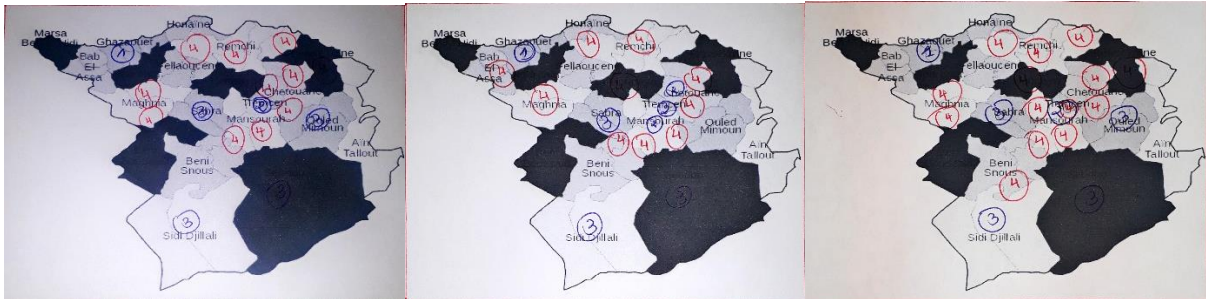
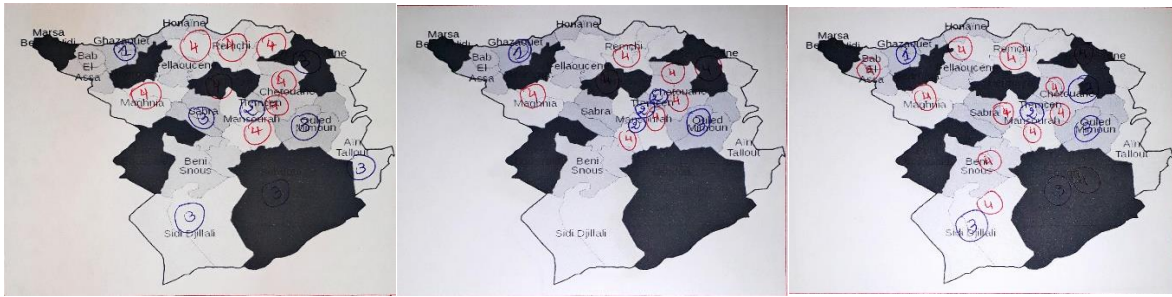
doujamido1@gmail.com

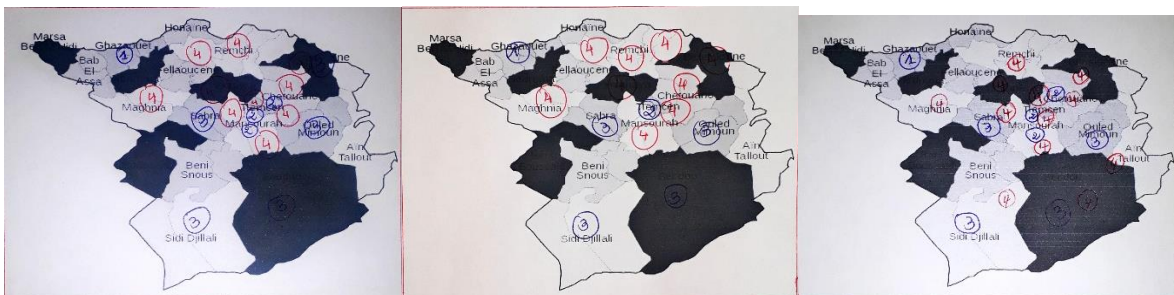
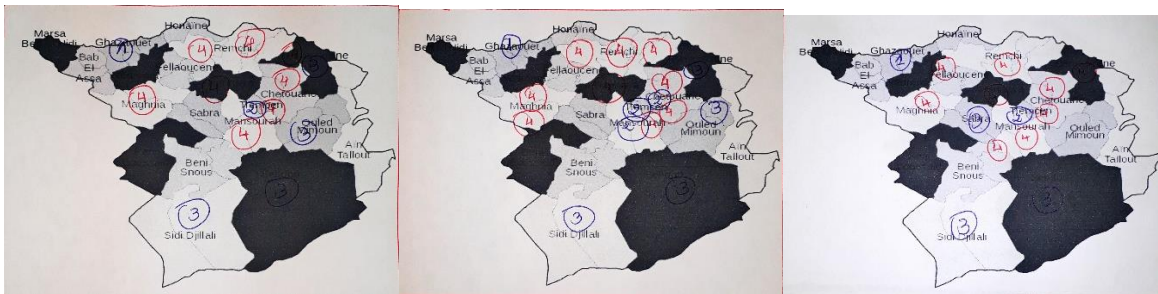
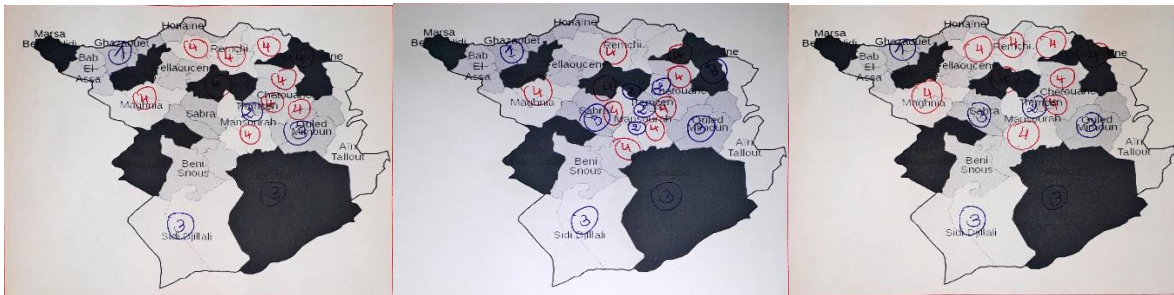
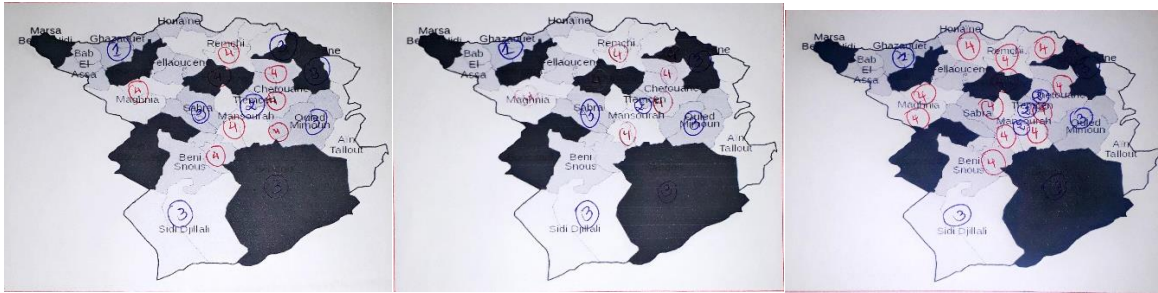
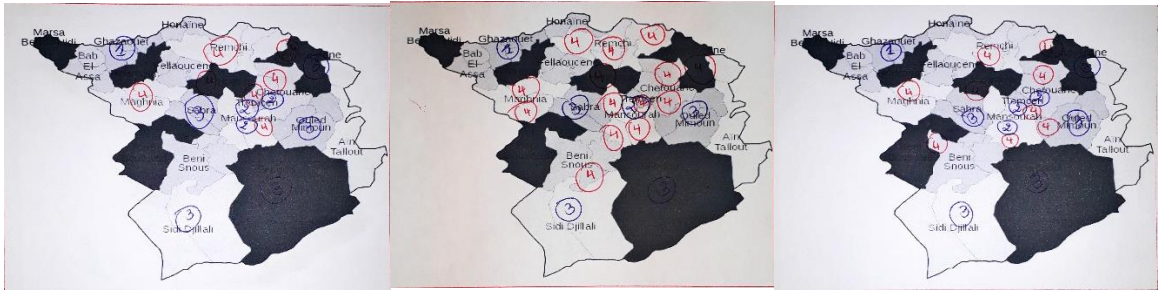
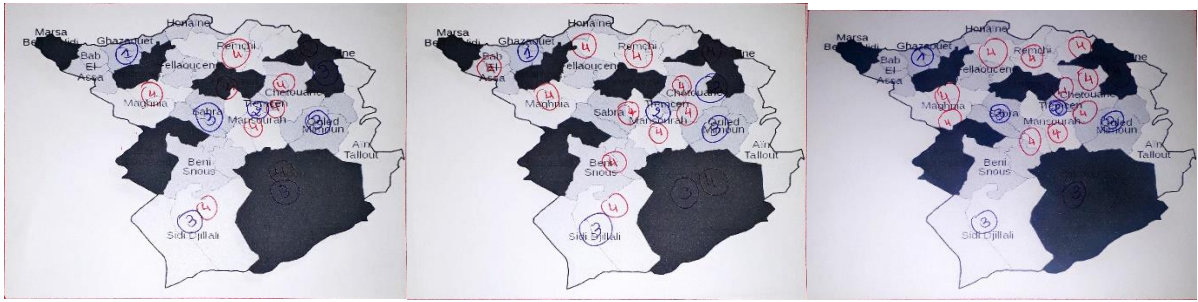
Copies: *Once this has been signed by all parties, the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the main project file which must be kept in a secure location.*

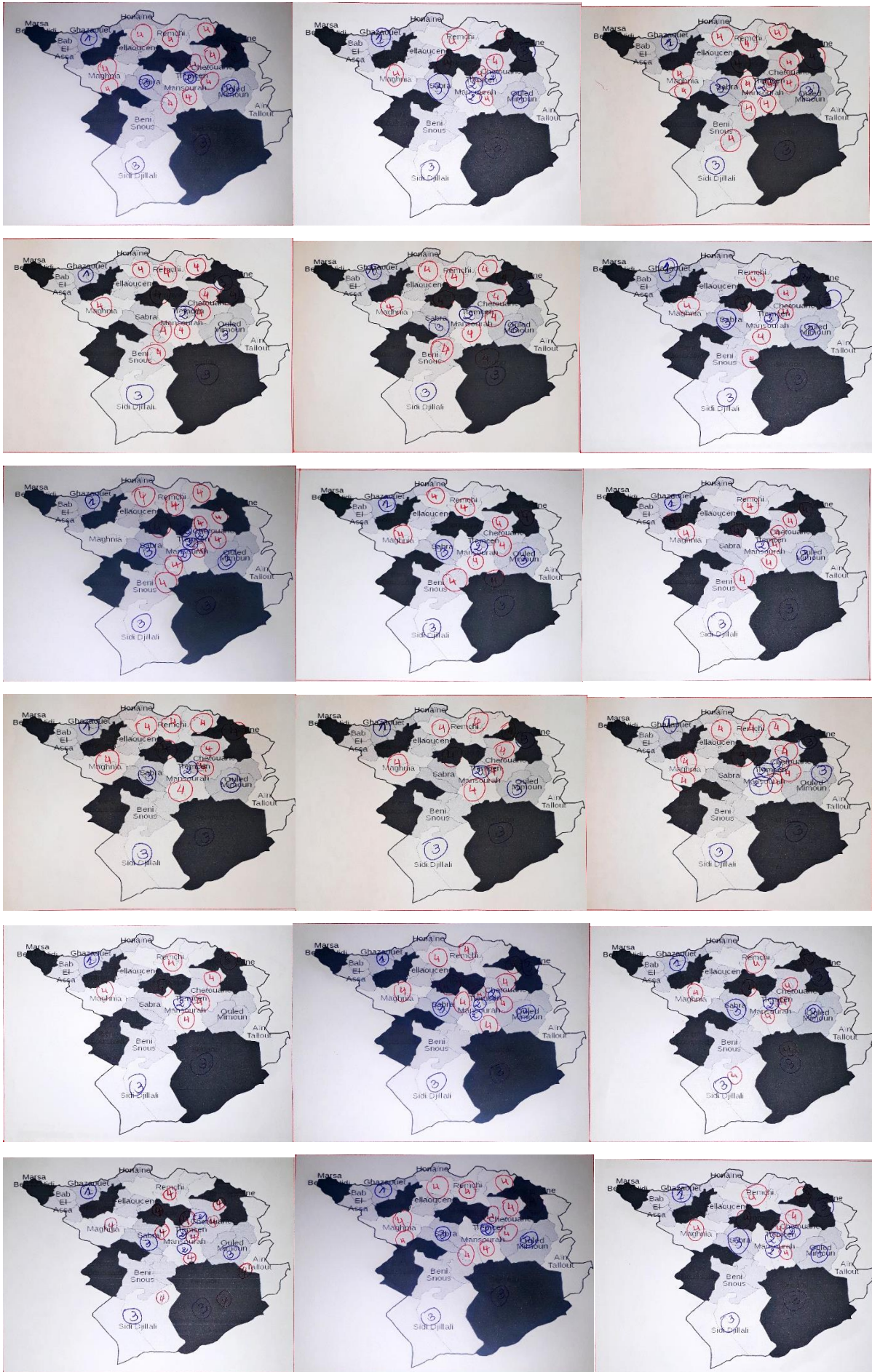
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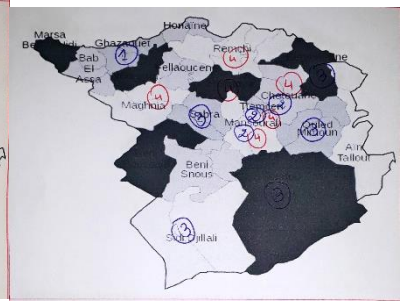
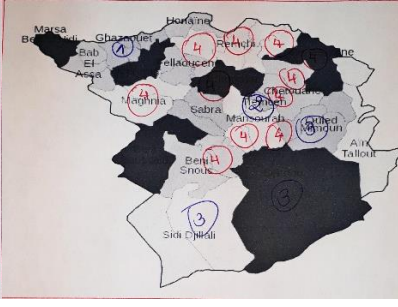
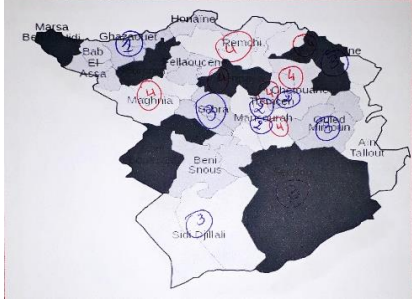
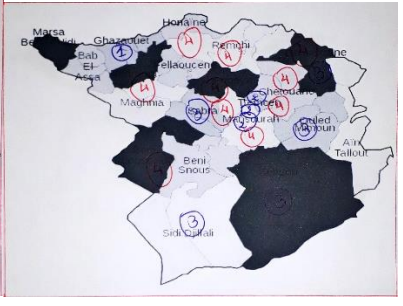
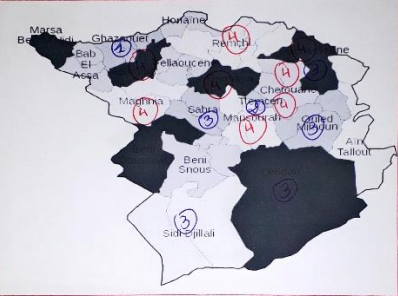
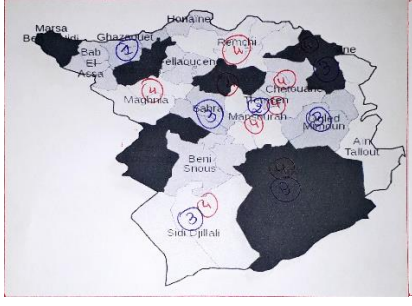
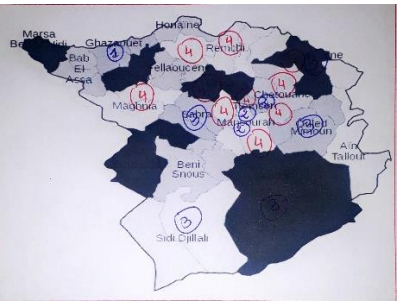
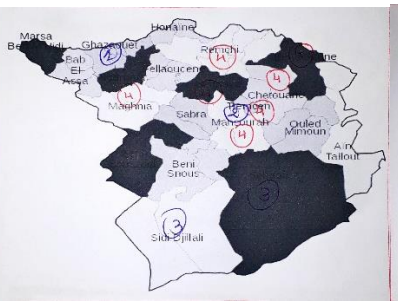
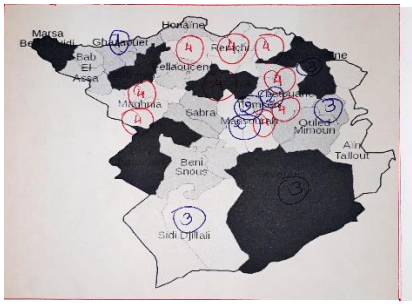
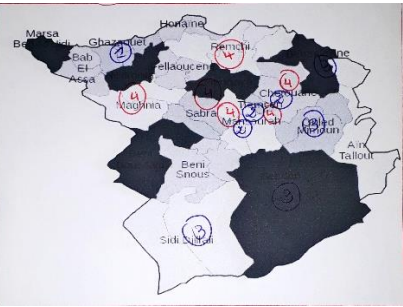
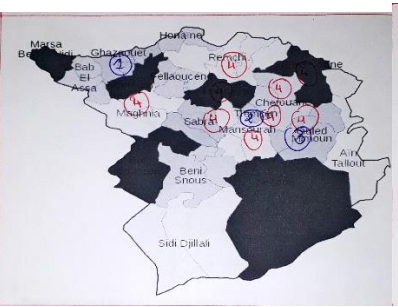
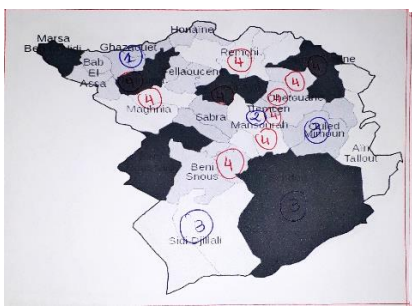
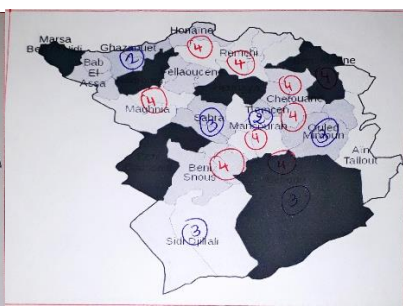
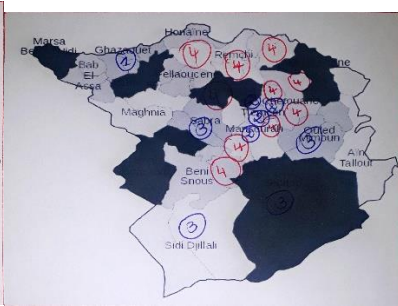
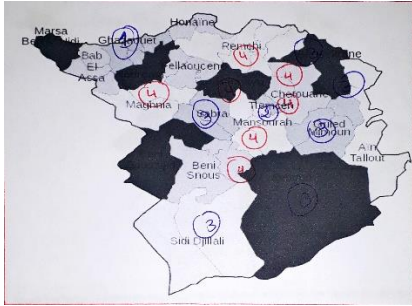
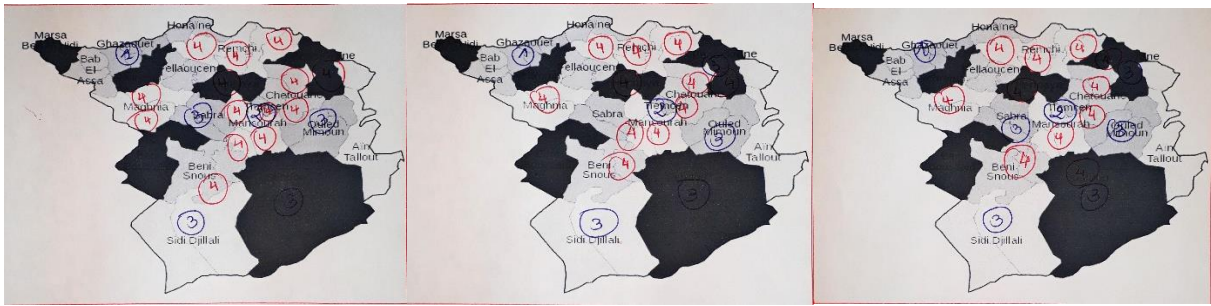


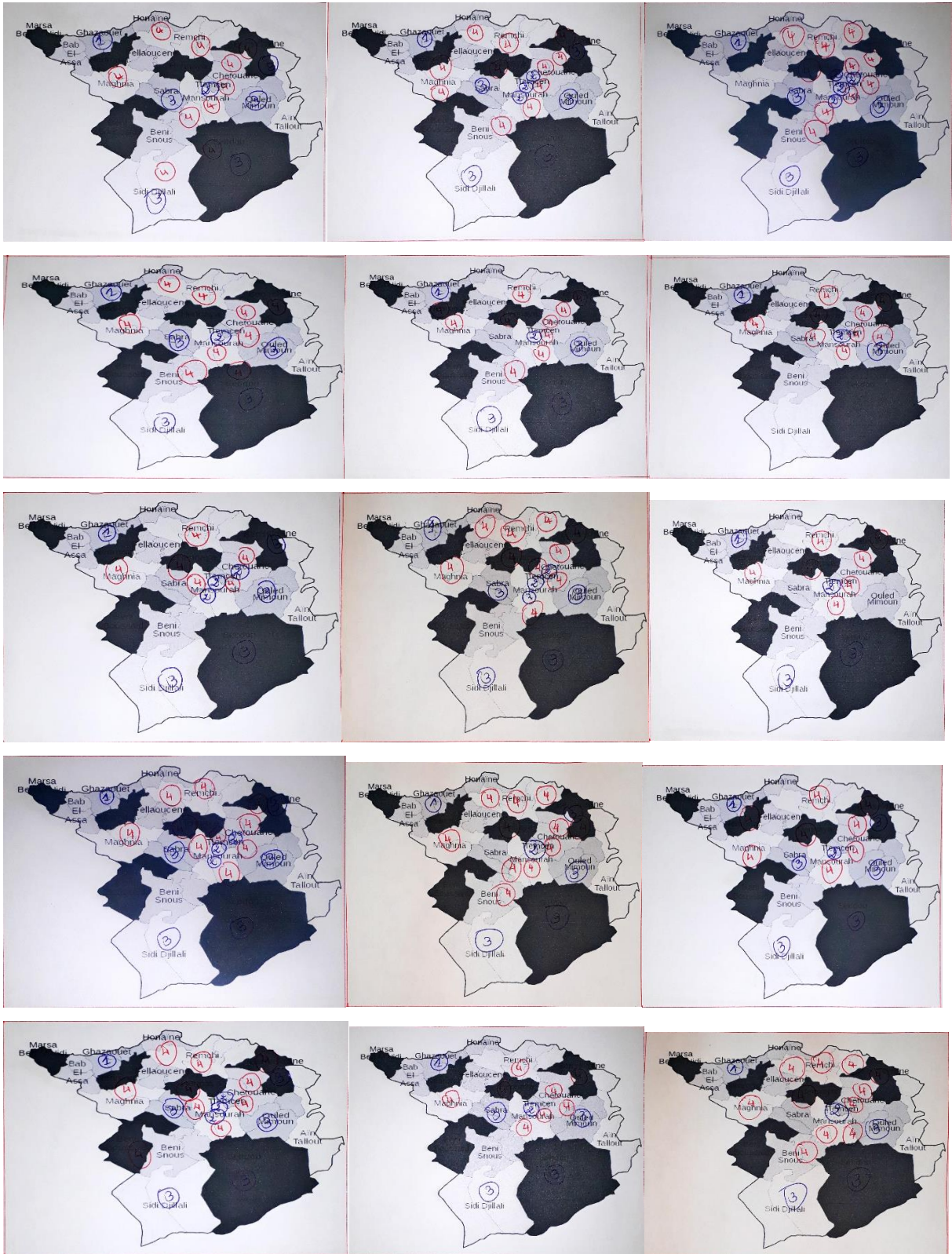


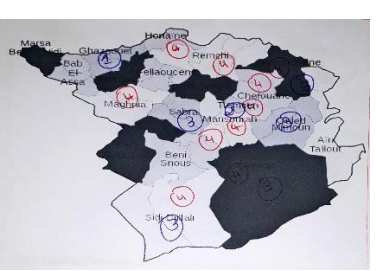
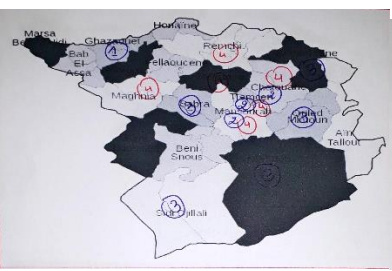
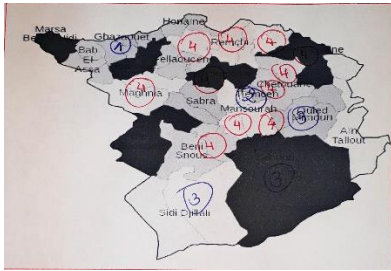
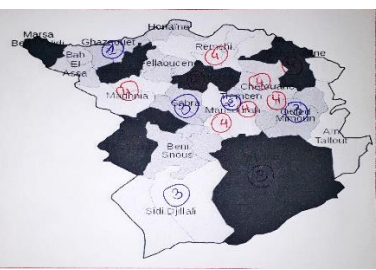
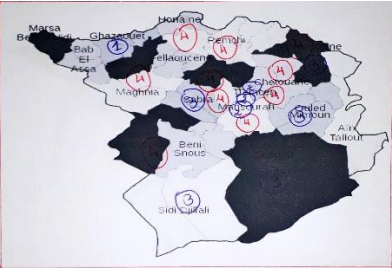
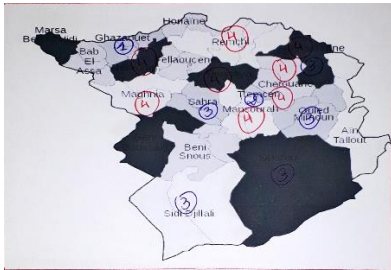
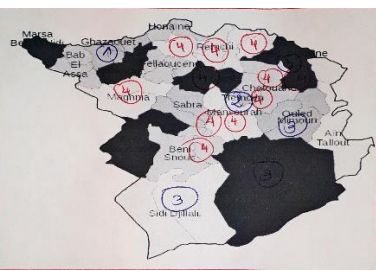
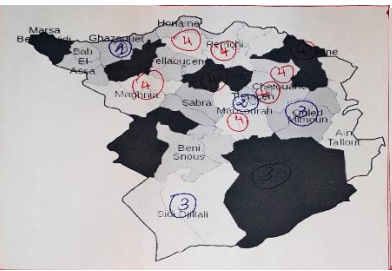
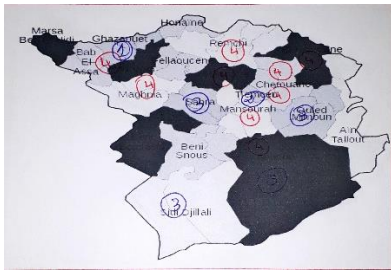
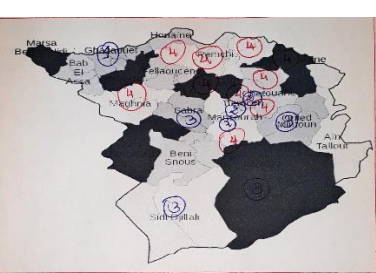
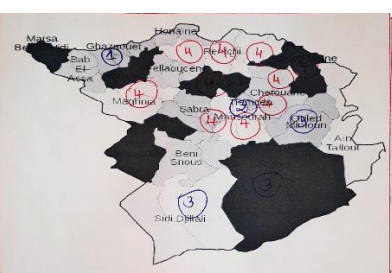
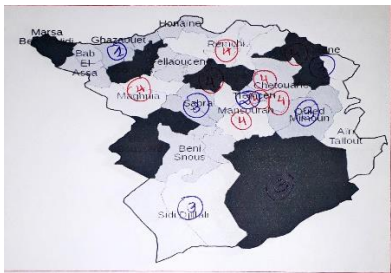
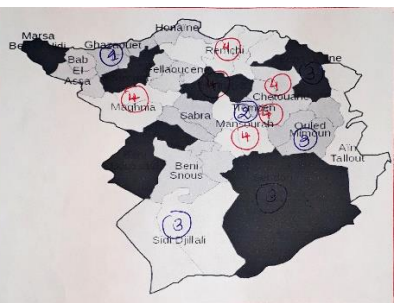
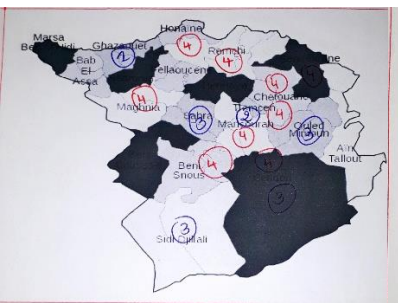
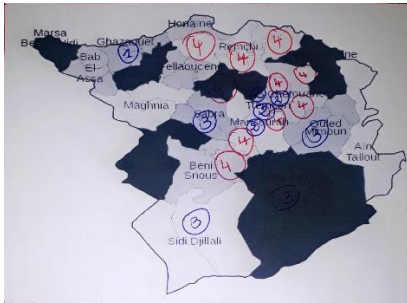
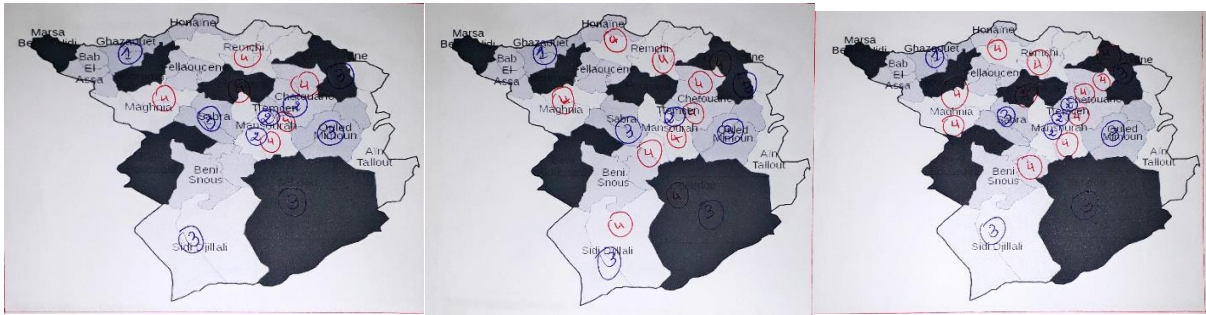


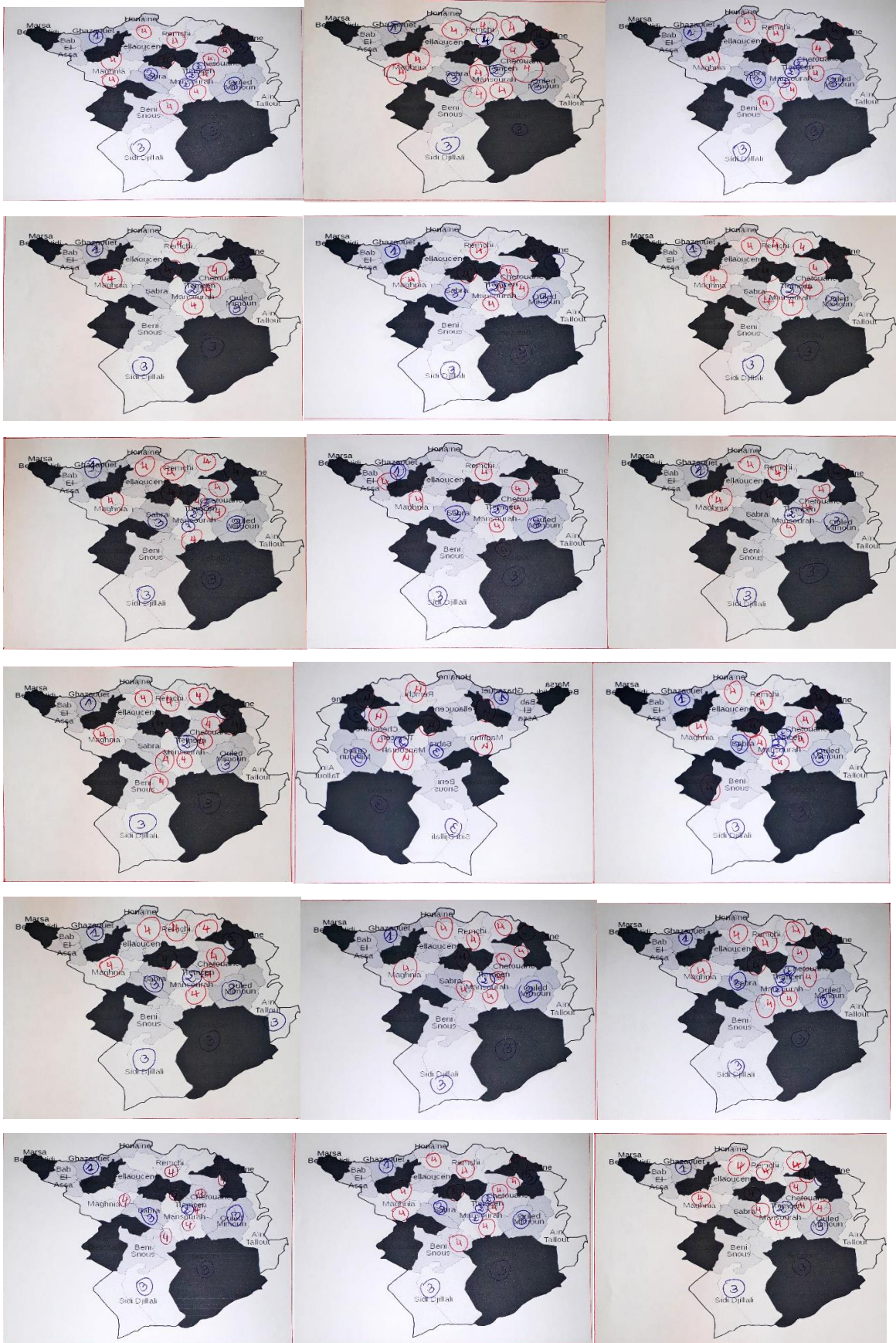


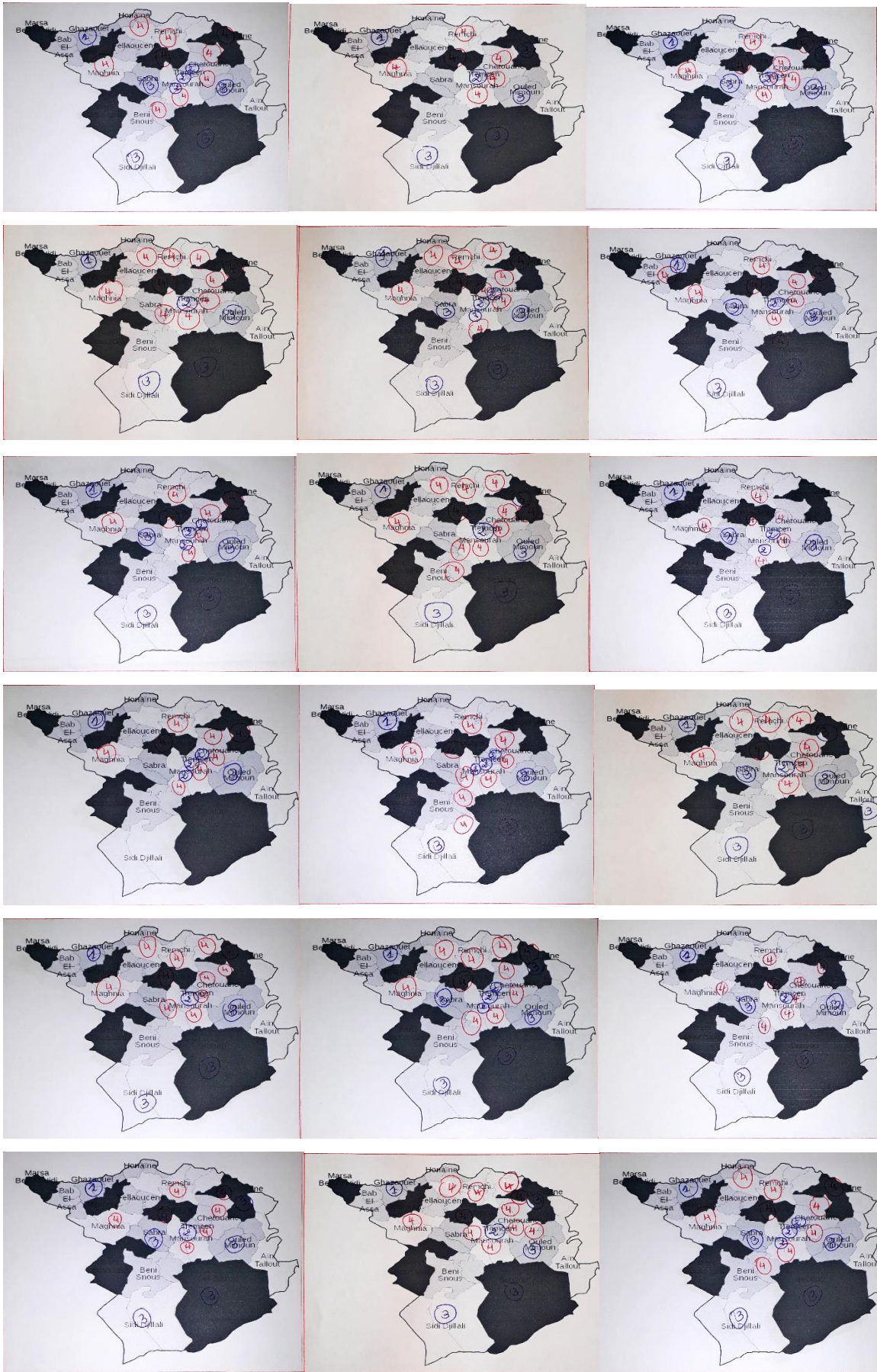












مكتبه الدراسات والبحوث، والريفي والمصري
بوحمام محمد الطاهر الخروب - قسنطينة

شهادة مشاركة في التكوين عن بعد



Système d'Information Géographique (SIG) ArcGIS 10.3

Attestation de participation de formation par visioconférence

لورة 04/04/2021 au 11/04/2021

Pour :

ل :

اللقب : حمودي

الاسم : خديجة

تاريخ و مكان الميلاد : 1993/03/16

ب تلمسان

Nom : HAMMOUDI

Prénom : Khedidja

Date et lieu de naissance : 16/03/1993

Tlemcen

Constantine le : 17/04/2021

قسنطينة في :

Le Professeur
M.T BOUHEMAM

En fait, la présente attestation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

الأستاذ: بوحمام محمد الطاهر

Appendix (F)

قلب مدينة - 5 تلمسان

1	[0:00:00.0] Sara: alu: <i>Hello</i>
2	Feyruz: [0:03:16.6] alu: wi: sarah <i>Hello, yes sarah!</i>
3	Sara: [0:03:19.0] wi: Feyruz <i>Yes Feyruz?</i>
4	Feyruz: [0:03:21.5] wej rak-i (fem.) sa: va: <i>How are you doing?</i>
5	Sara: sa:va très bien et toi ça va→ <i>I'm fine and you ?</i>
6	Feyruz: [0:03:22.3] l7amdoullah.. qu:l-i (fem.) sarah lah yehafdek wej dert-i (fem.) fhadik (xǝ) l'affaire ta3 lfawj siyahi? <i>Thank god. Tell me sarah, please, what have you done in the story of the group of tourists?</i>
7	Sara: [0:03:30.9] c'est bon, kolji wajed, makanj mojkil.. iya nessenak (fem.), ook Feyruz <i>It's fine, everything is ready, I will wait for you, ok?</i>
8	Feyruz: iya très bien <i>That's great!</i>
9	Sara: [0:03:36.9] saha xti, beslama <i>Ok sister, bye!</i>
10	Feyruz: beslama <i>Bye!</i>
11	[0:03:39.4] Meryem: za:dit f mo7it yesma3 bezaf l'ayani l'andaloussia li kawwna 7na men madi:nat tilimsan.. donc men bekri l'ab ta:3i yesma3 lefouyoux ta3 l'moussiqa el'andaloussia, Abdelkrim dali, kan yesma3 bezzaf f loto na3qel lnouri lkoufi ya3ni wana kount tefla syira neqtabes had (xǝ) swalah (to the journalist) <i>I was born in an environment that listens a lot to the andalousi music since we are originally from the city of Tlemcen... so, from ancient times, my father used to listen to famous singers of andalousi such as Abdelkarim Dali, I remember he used to listen to Nouri Koufi in his car and since i was a child, i used to take those things from him and get inspired!</i>
12	[0:04:39.3] Worker DR: men bekri w hna nexedmou f had dre:z, xdemna fih w f kismah (-ah), w t3allemtah (-ah) m jibani ta3i wani maza:l gabed fih, hada 3ayej ana w xouti bih, ki jibani ta3i mat, iya ana

keberthoum **yi** b dre:z, ana ta ki zewejt →kount **yi** b dre:z, iya w mazal baqi fih, w madabina (xǝ) y3awed ya7ya **(to the journalist)**

From ancient times, we work on this draz, i have learned it fromm y father and i still work on it, I hzve lived me and my brothers with ist income, i have worked fort hem to feed them only with crafting the draz, even once i got married, i was working onlyy on the draz, and i am still working on it and we really aspire it to get revived.

13 [0:05:29.6] **Worker DR:** iya mba3d a:dji (fem.)... adji (fem.) **yedwa:** → adji: (fem.) **yedwa:** → **(to a woman customer)**

You can come later or tomorrow... yes, better come tomorrow!

14 [0:05:34.0] **Worker DR:** qdi:ma had (xǝ)sen3a, ana jeddi kan yexdem had (xǝ) sen3a, w lyoum ra7na gabde:nha w mabye:na:f nettelgouha nxelliwha (-iw) temfi, wma baƒ yebqaw (-aw) fiha snay3iya ma:bqawƒ (-aw)→, **yi** ana w s7abi kounna nexedmou lbourabah w l7ambel w ƒrawet →hadouk ta3 7arrara **(to the journalist)**

This craft is very ancient, my grandfather used to work on it, and today we are holding it and we don't want to leave it to disappear, but unfortunately there aren't lots of craftsmen interested in it, there is only me and some of my friends that construct the bourabah (heavy cover used in winter) and the hambel and the shrawet (heavy pieces of tissue to be put on the floor for sleeping, they constructed with different types of tissue and especially clothes).

15 [0:06:01.3] **Worker FN:** ƒwya bekri kul 7E:ma w ka:nets 3andha lferran dyelha eli ya3ajnou lxoubz heyda sba7→ ta3 zra3 yjibouh lelferran yetter7ouh iya y3awdou yjiw (-iw) y3abiwah (-iw) m3ah tsnaƒ→ leftour, 3awed menba3diha ydjibu lxobz ta3 lfarina... f tlemse:n tabi3a dyalhoum hya lferran kayen lli ydjib wladou (-u:), kayen lli hadi (xǝ) reb3i:n 3am xemsi:n 3am→ w howa f l3assima merrat w ki ydji yji: lelferran... beditha syi:r ana wah, ana 3andi tlatsa w seb3i:n 3am qu:l 7a setti:n 3am xedma qbel istiqlal, m tawra→ w hna nexedmou sen3a ta3 lferran kberna fiha g3adna fiha **(to the journalist)**

A bit earlier in time, every street has ist own ferran (traditional big oven) for bread baking. In the morning they used to bring the bread made of sow and they come to take it back by midday for lunch and after that they bring the bread made of wheat... in Tlemcen, their nature is the ferran... some people bring their sons and children; some other people who spent fifty or sixty years in the capital city but once in Tlemcen they have to come to the ferran... I have started this craft at a very early age, yes, I am now thirty-seven years old you can say sixty years of work from the revolution before independence... we have grown with this craft and we are still in it...

16 [0:09:03.4] **Tourist guide:** men bekri na3arfou beli tlemcen 3andha 3idat asami men bekri hata win la7qet l'ism tlemcen... fma: qabl ta:rix kan ismha agadir→ kayen bezaf nas maya3arfouƒ had (xǝ) l'ism hada (xǝ)→ **yi** lmawqi3 ta3 mantiqat agadir hadi (xǝ) ma:qabl tarix... w agadir weƒ yeqosdou biha bi loƒa l'amaziƒiya aw loƒat tiffinay agadir ta3ni 'elyanbou3 eljaf w kanou yqoulu: agadi min kalimat djida:r w howa jidar sayidna moussa 3alayhi salam, tessem3ou ka:mel bhad (xǝ) lmaqoula fi su:rat elkahf ta3 lyati:mayn donc sidna moussa l7aq lehna w hadik (xǝ) lqissa srat fi: mantiqat tilimse:n agadir qadi:man **(to the audience from different areas)**

From ancient times, we know that Tlemcen has had a lot of names before arriving to be named as Tlemcen... before history, Tlemcen was called Agadir, a name that many people do not know since they only know the place of Agadir... the meaning of this word in the tiffinagh language refers to the dry source. Some people say that Agadir is taken from the word jidar 'wall' with reference to our prophet Moussa peace be upon him. I guess you all know about the story of the wall and the orphans. So, our prophet Moussa has arrived till here and that story has happened in the region of Tlemcen which is the old Agadir.

17 [0:10:47.6] **Artist:** 3reftha:→ **(to the singer)**

Did you know it?

- 18 [0:10:49.5] **Singer:** yi:h ... semma kifjɔl jwa:b hadek (xǝ) l'akapella lli 3meltou (-u:) →
Yes... as if it is a jwab (type of music) to the acapella that I have performed previously
- 19 [0:10:54.7] **Artist:** yi:h d'accord→
Yes, alright!
- 20 [0:11:00.0] **Singer:** Alors hna bef nahderlek 3la le texte→ rek 3aref belli le texte ta3 boumediene bensehla→ howa hab yehder fih 3la la beauté ta3 tlemcen w drouba tsa7a et tout, w3la la beauté tlemcenienne w la femme tlemcenienne
So, here I'll talk about the text... you know the text belongs to Boumediene Bensahla who wanted to talk about the beauty of Tlemcen and its streets and so forth and especially the Tlemcenian beauty and the beauty of its women
- 21 [0:11:11.3] **Artist:** yi:h → la: → un peu plus... iya 3awed (fem.) tjou (fem.)→
Yes... no! a bit more, repeat again!
- 22 [0:11:43.0] **Singer:** boumediene bensahla:→ howa min aɣhar elkuttab ya3ni felmu:ssiqa l'andaloussiya fel7awzi, howa txeyel rassou (-u:) f had (xǝ) lyonia→ w ygoul ya lgoumri zarg eldjén7an ya d'aw 3yani, ya3ni rah yetxeyel rassou (-u:) yfouf à travers les yeux ta3 goumri 7ma:m→ voila... donc howa rah yetxeyel rassou (-u:) il survole madinat tilimsen ytér foqha→ yehder 3la lferran w sweqa w bezzaf ta3 swalah li ymeyzou madinat tlemcen... w yehder kadali:k (xǝ)→ 3la jama:l nissa' madinat tlemse:n w fhad (xǝ) l'oyniya ya3ni dker (xǝ) asmae yamna→ 3wali→ dkar asmae (xǝ)→ w lmojtama3 hna f tlemcen rek ta3ref ka:ml mo7afid'in de toutes les manières kuma kaml lmojtama3et f ldjaza'ir mo7afid'in... donc houma ki sem3ou had (xǝ) lyoniya ma3jebhoum f l7el w jka:w bih→ a:f xber tahde:r w tedkor (xǝ) asmawat w tehder 3la nissae tilimsen w ça lui a couté 3la 7seb manesma3→ 7absouh→ w mba3d pour se rattraper ktab qasa'id wahdouxra et tout yqu:l feha beli rah nedman beli darha bi tariqa 3afwiya→ w beli c'est l'expression artistique li kanet fih hya lli netqats mashi haja wahdouxra→ **(to the journalist)**
Boumediene Bensahla is one of the most famous writers of the andalousi and hawzi music, he has imagined himself, in this song, and says 'oh pigeon with gray wings... the sight of my eyes', which means he is imagining himself seeing through the eyes of the pigeon. He imagines he flies over the city of Tlemcen and talks about the ferran and the sweqa (small streets) and lot of things that characterize the city of Tlemcen. He talks also about the beauty of Tlemcenian women and in this song, he has even mentioned some names like yamna and awali... and you know people here in Tlemcen are very preservative like all the other cities in Algeria who are preservative... so once hearing this song they didn't like the fact that some names have been mentioned and that he shouldn't have talked about Tlemcenian women in his song... and to my knowledge, he has paid it by going to jail. Later, in order to make his mistake up, he has written another poem in which he mentions that he regretted what he did and all of it was spontaneous since it is the artistic expression that he had was the one talking on his behalf and there was nothing bad behind that!
- 23 [0:13:42.2] **The cook:** w had lka3k→ 7na l7ad l'an nesta3amlouh felmonasabat la3ayad→ la3ras kishyol meme zouar ki yjiw (-iw) l tlemcen yefriw (-iw) y7awsou 3la lka3k fayen yexedmouh w beaucoup plus hna sta3melna hada ta3 zman li kanou yesta3amlouh nas bekri... donc had (xǝ) lka3t tlemseni 3la 7seb li n7asret tlemcen ga3dou lmariniyin huit ans fiha w hadouk nas lekbar kanou yesta3amlou lka3k yxeznouh parceque kan yeg3od modda twila y2eddou yconcerwiwah (-iw) rab3 snin, lmekla kanet 2lila→ w wa2t lli kan l7isar c'est la seule chose li y2eddou y3ayjou biha wladhoum→ w c'était haja mliha l la santé... lka3k kan ylem la famille kanou fjol yemjiw (-iw) nas zman 3la 7seb jdoudna→ yemjiw (-iw) y7awfou w yjeniwiw (-iw) 3la lwri:t tsa3 tlemcen→ nas bekri 3ajou wa2t lli hna wladna ma3ajouh... ana ki kount syira mana3refj besa7 kont nesma3 w nfouf nsa lkbarat yjiw (-iw) ledar→ na3'2el kount syira ki nfouf 3amati xwalati jaw na3ref beli c'était journée ta3 lka3k... donc c'était lemlema→ l'ambiance... fjol had (xǝ) lka3k matejba3f mennou (-u:) taklou n'importe quel moment f l'2ahwa f lil meme ana personnellement je fais les gateaux

traditionnels comme l3id → xosni na3mel lka3k c'est obligatoire... et ça donne un gout mat2adj t'imaginé à quel point w xes vraiment tkoun tlemseni ba_f ta3ref ka3k tlemsen.

We, up to date, still use this cake 'ka3k' particularly in occasions and feasts and weddings. Even when tourists come to Tlemcen, they buy it and they look where it is baked. We still bake the one that has been done by our ancestors. So this Tlemcenian ka3k has a story from the time Tlemcen has been conquered by the merinide around eight years, and old people at that time used to stock it because it used to stay conserved for a long period of time when food was few, the ka3k was the only thing that children could eat and it was good for the health... the ka3k in its preparation used to gather the family; they go while singing 'elhawfi music' about different places in Tlemcen, they had a very beautiful time that we and our children didn't... when I was young, I wasn't aware of things, but I used to listen and see old women coming to our house and whenever I see my aunts coming, I used to recognize that it was the day of the ka3k... so it was a symbol of gathering, motivation as if you cannot get enough of this ka3k, you eat it in whatever time you want with coffee or at night... for example, even if I personally cook traditional cakes for feasts, I have to bake the ka3k, it's an obligation... and this gives a taste that you can never imagine to which point it is great; you really need to be Tlemcenian to be able to recognize the ka3k of Tlemcen.

- 24 [0:17:51.8] **Hambel maker:** bekri tlemsen kanou derazin fiha wa7d l'e:lef → lyoum makan_f ta klatsa mahom_f baqyen, bekri konna nexedmou w kanou ydjiw (-iw) y3abiw (-iw) 3lina m dzayer y3abiw (-iw) 3lina mn koul blasa → lyoum mahom_f baqyen hadouk (x_ǒ) li ydjiw (-iw) s7abin lkamyounat → ra7na nexedmou yi hna m3a ja3b xetra xetra li ye7tajou hadek (x_ǒ) lbourabah ya7tajou hadek (x_ǒ) l7anbel yjiw (-iw) ya3amlouh (to the journalist)

Previously, there have been a thousand of craftsmen on draz. Today, they are very few maybe three or less. Previously, we used to work and lots of customers used to come from Algiers and from everywhere in order to take products we did. Nowadays, they don't come (people with lorries coming from far distances). We only work with local people from time to time once they need a bourabah or hambel, they order it from here.

- 25 [0:19:06.5] **Touristic guide:** d^ƒerwek l'ittijah ta3na howa mayarat bani3ad... I mayara hadi (x_ǒ) → min 3aja'ib lah fi xalqih (-ah) hadi haja rabaniya rabi li xleqha mafihaj 3amal yad bajarya ba_f metjekla d^ƒok ki nedoxlou fiha sawa3id wa nawazil ya3ni nazila lli tetjekkel melfoug leлтаht w sa3ida lli tetjakel m lta7t w tetla3 w mba3d yetlaqaw ya3ni ki tetlaqa sa3ida m3a nazila tebqa tetbela3 la grotte w had (x_ǒ) I mayara 3la 7seb lmo'arixin welba7ithin qallek kanet akbar mn had l7ajm lakin m3a lwaqt wm3a morour zaman bedat tetbella3 d^ƒok ki nhawdou ldaxel ra7 t_foufou raw3at lah fi xalqih (-ah)... w hnaya na3tikoum haja wa7douxra 3awed yqoullek had (x_ǒ) la grotte had I mayara fiha mamar yeddi hatta l sebdu y_{ar} bouma3za ymor ly_{ar} l7ouriet sab3 bi wejda felmo_yrib ya3ni kan ittisal bin had (x_ǒ) la grotte hata lelmo_yrib win kanou lmoujahidin fi fatrat thawra yestyellow hadek lmamar ba_f ydexlou l'asli7a w lma'ouna... wmba3d jet bi3a ya3ni ba3ou l les français, donc we_f darou hna derbohom b les bombes lfoug win ta7 3lihom ba3d nawazil w ja darou, hadek lmamar six kilometres bel3ouh bel'ismant... na3tikoum ma3louma 3labali mata3arfouha_f, tlemsen ma_fhoura b ajwad anwa3 rouxam fi l3alam kayen hna mantiqa f tlemsen wessema 3ayn taqbalet fiha manjam elxam min aqdam lmanajim min fatrat maqabla rouman w ka:ml mazalha l7ad l'en texdem pareceque 3le_f rxam youled sarilou (-u:) kima lcalcaire... lbayt l'abyad^ƒ rxem ta3ou (-u:) men taqbalet masjid l7aramayn tani rxem ta3ou (-u:) men taqbalet masjid l'amir abdelkader rxem ta3ou (-u:) men 3ayn taqbalet iran ha:liyan teddi lmada l xam men 3ayn taqbalet.

Now, our direction is the cavern of beni-ad... the cavern is one of the natural miracles which has been created by Allah and it doesn't include any human touch... the question is how it is constructed? Once we go to the inside, we will see stalagmites and stalactites; the former refers to what is constructed from the bottom and the latter is formed from the roof and later they get in touch and the consequence is closing the way. This cavern, according to historians and researchers, it was bigger than the size it has nowadays but through time, it started to get closed... once we are inside, you will see the beauty in Allah's creation. In this place, I give you another information. Some say that this cavern includes a path that goes till Sebdu in the cave of Boumaaza until the cave of the seven mermaids in Oujda in Morocco the time were the fighters

used to take and transmit food and material in the era of the revolution. But later, they have been declared by a spy to the French colonizer; so, what did they do? They have closed that path of six kilometers with cement... I will give you an information I am sure you don't know: Tlemcen is famous with the finest types of marble in the world. There is a region here in Tlemcen that is called Ain-Taqbalet wherein there is a great old ore mine from the time of before the Romans. Up to date, it is still functioning because marble is like lime, it gets bigger by its own. The white house's marble is from Ain-Taqbalet; the mosque of Elharamaine's marble is from there too and so is the marble of the mosque of Amir-Abdelkader and even Iran recently is taking the raw material from Ain-Taqbalet.

26 [0:23:12.3] **Ferran** : kol wahed 3andou (-u:) lmetari dyalou (-u:)... kolji yji l ferran tji lmra yji rajel kanou yjiw (-iw) nsa bezaf l'enou lferran mo7taram → makanj kamel li y'adiha wela li yehder m3aha f triq.

Everyone has their value, everyone comes to the ferran men and women as well used to come since the ferran is well-known by its good reputation as being respectful and respected... none can touch her or do bad to her in her way to here!

27 **The woman**: salam 3alli:koum; mselxi:r 3ami Mohamed lah y3awenkoum

Hello; good evening ancle Mohammed; may allah help you!

28 **Ferran**: salam mselxir hamaldik rakoum labas

Good evening, thank you, are you fine?

29 **The woman**: jebtelkoum lka3k ta3 tlemsen

I have brought to you the Tlemcenian ka3k (sort of traditional cake)

30 **Ferran**: Tba:rkellah tbarkellah

May allah bless it

31 **The woman**: ybarek fik ewa thellali fih.. kima ta3 bekri f lferan w bl7tab

May allah bless you too, please, take care of it... like ancient times in the ferran and with wood

32 **Ferran**: njaallah →

If god wills

- 33
The woman: ewa b2aw (-aw) yjiboulek lka3k a 3ami l7aj wela walou?
Do people still bring the ka3k to here ancle?
- 34
Ferran: laa kayen kayen →
Yes, they still do
- 35
The woman: yexedmou rehoum ba2yen yexedmou?
They still cook and bake it here?
- 36
Ferran: yih kayen
Yes, they still
- 37
Ferran (to the journalist): wah lferran f remd^ɕan kan yexdem lil w nhar lka3k baƒ ywejdeuh → lka3k w lgateaux w surtout lka3k ba3da hna tlemsen ma3roufa bih xtini m hadouk (xǝ) swalah ta3 dar kima lgriwef w lmaqrout la' bessah ma3rouf belka3k hna konna nexedmouh bezaf f remd^ɕan w f remd^ɕan ba3da ki tji lehna matejbersh kamel blastek
The ferran in the month of ramadan used to work day and night particularly the ka3k. The ka3k and other types of cake, especially the ka3k, we are famous with it here in Tlemcen without mentioning the types of cake that can be baked at home as is the case for the Griwesh and the Maqrout. We used to work on it a lot in ramadan and once you arrive here, you won't find a space where to stand!
- 38
[0:26:42.7] **The cook:** Hadi (xǝ) nedrouma hatta hya 3andha taqalidha → 3andha l7adarat ta7a → hya tsani 3andha nasha met7ad^ɕrin metaqfin maƒaallah hya lewla lli t'assett qbel madina tlemsen... comme rani maƒya neƒri men temma ttén menha kima yqoullek haja w 7weyja rani maƒya hawasa en meme temps neqd^ɕi lyarad dyali w baƒ n7afdou tani 3la taqalid ta3na bash mayemƒiwennaƒ (-iw), ƒett nas zman kanou yteybou f ttin → kanou kolƒi yesta3amlouh b katra, ana personnellement nteyeb f tajin ta3 tin que ce soit ƒorba tilimsaniya wela la7rira tilimsaniya wela tajin m7amar tajin zitoun
This is Nedroma. It is also known by its traditions and its civilizations. Its people are very civilized and cultivated. It has been constructed before the city of Tlemcen. As I am going to buy mud from there as the proverbs says 'two birds with one stone', I want to have some fun there and will buy the necessary material in order to preserve our customs. You see, old people used to cook very often in mud utensils. Me, personally, I use and cook in mud utensils whatever the dish is.
- 39
[0:28:19.4] **Tajin maker** (to the journalist): Had (xǝ) ttin seghan llah mdek (xǝ) 7na l'insan maxlouq min tin tqoul seghanllah 3alaqa bin l'insan w tin mayeqderƒ yetxella 3liha seknetli f qalbi w n7as ka'ani f l'asl nta3i ya3ni bnadem ki ykoun yexdem f tin t7os mn na7iyat no3ouma w men na7iyat lhodou'e ya3ni l'insan ki ykoun yexdem f tin y7es b 7a ra7a w 7a l'itmi'enan maƒallah... yana fel7aƒiqqa 3ejbetni san3a taqlidiya hakda w 7na l7amdoullah mazal metmeskine b had (xǝ) tajin lyadawi xater ma3rouf tajin ta3 nedrouma

ta3 tlemsen ya3ni 7ta men na7iyat ljawda nta3ou w naw3iya l7amdoullah ma3rouf tajin nedrouma a7san torba f lwatan w l'a7san fi ifriqiya naw3ya maJaallah texroj 7amra ya3ni tabi3iya w mafihJ ziyada lproduit sh7el men xetra kanou bekri ye3tadou yjibou men berra melxarij fih mawad sbiya baJ tweli hamza w 7na sebhallah tabi3iyan texrouj 7amra

This mud, and because human beings are created from mud, makes you feel there is a sacred relationship with it. Humans cannot get rid of it or live without it, for this reason, I love this craft from the bottom of my heart and I feel like I am in my origins especially for its softness and the calmness it provides. Once someone works with mud, he feels comfort and safety. In reality, I liked this traditional craft and we are still holding on it particularly with this 'tajin' which Nedroma is well known with. The greatest type of soil in the country and Africa; it is red in color and very natural without any addition of products as opposed to foreign countries, our mud is naturally red!

40

[0:29:36.0] **Famous woman (to the journalist):** Ki tetmeJa f madinet tlemsen ki tedxol le centre ville ta7a → hya madina yqoullek d'art et d'histoire fiha lfen w l'asl w l3araqa ta3 lmadina tJoufha fi kol moud^fa3... tetmeJa tseb derb tseb kima qolt mazal baqi l'ata :r ta3 lferran mazal hadi (xǿ) → donc déjà le fait lli t7awes f tlemsen w teskoun fiha impossible mayjikJ hadek (xǿ) l'ilhem → les textes ta3 la musique andalouse yahadrou bezaf 3la tlemsen w 3la jamal madinat tlemsen

When you walk in the city of Tlemcen and you enter its city center, you find out that it is a city of history and arts. There is art, originality, and antiquity that is seen almost everywhere... while walking, you fine older streets, the ferrans' taces asyou said it earlier; so, the fact that you travel in it or live in it, it is impossible not to get the feeling of inspiration. The texts of the andalouisi music talk a lot and describe the city of Tlemcen and the beauty of Tlemcen city.

41

[0:38:38.5] C: yadra 3ami laxd^fer → la commande ta3i wejdet ?

So my ancle Laxder, is my order ready?

42

L : Ra wajda

Yes, it is!

43

C : Ça y est c'est bon → lah ya3tek saha →

Ohh really? May allah give you health (thank you)

44

L : Baraka lahu : fik

May allah bless you

45

C : 3jebni hada (ǿ) le nouveau modèle

I like this new sample

46

L : Wah 7afr

Yes, it is digged!

47

C : Hada (xǒ) ja shbeb za3ma mdek ana nexdem la3ras

This one looks very beautiful... you know I organize weddings

48

L : Wah ?

Yes?

49

C : Yjini présentable hada

It looks elegant!

50

L : Wallah hada (xǒ) hata f nad^fra ya3ti nad^fra 7ilwa rak tshouf (addressing the woman)*Yes, even once looking at it, it gives a very nice view... it looks very nice as a decoration*

51

C : Jou → lotor aha bera → maji t2il? N2ed nerfed ?

Look, the car is outside, isn't it heavy? Can I hold it?

52

L : La jwya tqil

I think it's a bit heavy!

53

C : Ara njouf →

Let me see!

54

L : Saha

Ok!

55

C : Allah ya3tik saha ... maji t2il

May allah give you health... it's not that heavy!

56

[0:39:22.2] L: Nedrouma qdima f had (xδ) sen3a men bekri yJoufou hta lgwer yjiw yediw leqdari kayen hatta nekwa ysem mouha qeddar kanou yexdmou kima nqoulou lqedra

Nedroma is ancient in this craft and even some foreigners come in order to take pots from here. There is even the family name Keddar with reference to the kedra (cooking pot)

57

[0:47:57.5] H :3aslama

Hello!

58

G :Lah yselmek monsieur hassan

Hello Mr. Hassan!

59

H :WeJ raki (fem.)? → labas → ? yaya

How are you doing? Fine?

60

G :Labas ntouma yaya ? →

Very well, how about you?

61

H:Mar7ba bikoum → rey7ou fin terta7ou

Welcome to everyone, you can sit wherever you feel comfortable

62

G :Les invités tawa3na mar7ba →

Our guests you are welcomed

63

H :Mer7ba bikoum

welcome

64

S : mselxir 3likoum →

Good evening

65

G :Ah sara ahla, merci sa7it → 7ott-i (fem.) qbel qodem d^syafna

Hello sarah, thanks a lot... put it here in front of our guests first!

66

S :Mar7ba bikoum 3adna ça va ?--> hwaset bikoum f wya→

Welcome to our hourse... have you had a good time?

67

M :Lah ybarek

May Allah bless everything

68

S : lah ybarek fik mer7ba bikoum

May Allah bless you, you are welcomed

69

G:Me fithoum (fem.) f wya lyoum

Have you walked a bit today?

70

S:Ya3tekoum sa7a→ 3ejbetkoum?

May Allah give you health, did you like the area?

71

M:Eheeh

Yeah!

72

S :Zednalkoum les plats traditionnels

We have also traditional food here

73

M :Mazalna ma fefnash lmakla

We haven't seen anything till now

74

S:Hna l3andna merhba bikoum nepresentiwah (-iw) howa lewel

Here, you are the most welcome, I will bring it right away!

75

G:Bessah manif 3aref f koun komonda hna 3adna tajin pilipili w kayen hna tajin kebda

But I don't know the requests: we got the pipili tajin and the liver tajin

76

M:Allah allah

Oh god!

77

G:Rahou (-u:) yeqli

It's boiling...

78

S:d^ook nemji njibelkoum les commandes loxrin n3awed nji njixou jwya

I will go bring the remaining orders and will get back

79

G:Xlas ma^ji mo^jkel

Ok, no problem

80

S:Feyruz jkoun li komonda m7amar ?

Who have asked for a mhamar tajin?

81

G :M7amar melhih

From there!

82

S:Hada (x^o) kefta w tina tajin zitoun

This one is kefta tajin (mincemeat) and the other is zitoun tajin (olive)

83

G:Xeyerna bash nmelonjiw (-iw) bash tet3arfou 3la kamel l'atbaq ta3 tlemcen

We have chosen to make a variation in order to know all the traditional food of Tlemcen

84

S:Hawada (x^o) tajin zitoun

Here is the zitoun tajin (olive)

85

M:Lah lah

Ohh god!

86

S :Baf hakda (xǝ) au moins yeb2aw les souvenirs ta3 tlemsen

This way, you will keep a lot of memories from Tlemcen!

87

M :Ahh wi :

Ohh yes!

Appendix (G)

هذه ليست شفشاون هذا الحي في تلمسان Discover Tlemcen

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Male 1:** merhba bikoum rekoum m3ana f derb sid lyedoun li xedmouh Imotatawi3in ta3na hawmadou (xǝ)
- Welcome, you are with us in the street of sisi lyedoun which has been decorated by some volunteers here they are!*
- 2 [0:02:43.2] **Male 2:** iya d^ook yjo (-iw) d^oork yjo (-iw) d^oork lazem tahder
- So they are coming right now... now you have to speak and say something*
- 3 [0:02:50.3] **Male 3:** ahh lazem nahder? wah→ salam 3alaykoum→ ewa: ra7na f lmedres hada (xǝ) min bayn l'a7ya'e el3atiqa fi tlemsen→li tfahmet majmo3at shabab bash yredoulah (-ah) l7ayat w rak tshouf bedit ana w na3im w jamel f lewel→ mba3d les volontaires bedaw (-aw) yjiw (-iw) jma3a jet ga3 tsharek wa7ed belmateriel wa7ed belmotivation wa7ed b la determination l'amour drahem kolshi w lhamdoullah hadi (xǝ) hya lresultat final... qbel ga3 matshouf lrestauration ta3 lcartier wella→ kamel kayna 7a l7aja shwya very deep les relations ta3 lghashi ...w zewaqna da3wa b les fleurs et voila
- Oh, do I have to speak? Yes! Hello everyone; so we are in the Medres this is one of the most ancient streets in Tlemcen. A group of youngsters have made a commitment in order to give it back some life and as you see I have started me and Naim and Djamel and the beginning. Later, volunteers started to come. All the group have come in order to participate: one with material things, one with motivation, one with determination, love, money, and everything... and thank god, this is the final result... and before you see the decoration of the street, there was something really very deep which is the relationships among people here... then, we have decorated the space with flowers and that's it!*
- 4 [0:03:44.6] **Male 2:** ya3tikoum saha les jeunes mital (xθ) mital li shab l7aza'iri barakallahou fikoum
- May god give you health guys... you are a real example of the Algerian youth... may Allah empower you*

Appendix (H)

تلمسان القائمة المستقلة الحصن المتين في تجمع شعبي بالسواحية

- 1 [0:00:00.0]
- 2 [0:00:33.7] **Elected elder:** laqad nad^famna kama la7ad^ftom lqa3a momtali'a 3ala l'axir w 7ad^fara jami3 mowatini w sakini da'irat lghazawat bi sifa 3ama wa takalamna 3ala 3idet niqat minha tashghil nta3 ljiha hadi (xǝ) nta3na li'anaha jiha 7odoudiya w yxesna tashghil f had (xǝ) ljiha w xalq manasib 3amal w tkelemna 3ala lmajal lfila7i w lfila7a ghadiya texleq 3idat manasib bilmo'asasat saghira w lmo'asasat lmotawassita kamo'asasat li tasbir lmantoujet aw mo'asasat li ta7wil lfila7i wa kadalik (xǝ) ljiha ta3na jiha sa7iliya wa siya7a 3adra'e (xǝ) fiha aktar min tna3sh (+θ) shati'e sawa'e sawa7il lba7riya aw 7amamat ma3daniya aw qimam jibel aw ghabat inshalah min had (xǝ) siya7a nemtasou elbitala w nsheghlou sakinin nta3 had (xǝ) ljiha el7odoudiya wakadalik (xǝ) yxesna fi had (xǝ) ljiha masani3 kbira li td^fom xemsemiyat 3amil wela tshaghal xamsemiyat 3amil fama fawq inchaallah w hderna 3la naql bi sifa 3ama naql ljaw i naql lba7ri li'ana wilayat tilimsan fiha matar dawli w fiha mina'e aw ma7ata ba7riya dawliya li naql lmosafirin fiha sika l7adidiya lazem 3lina nfekrou bayash bash nshaalah ntemnouha (+θ) wela nshalah nwelou nketfou min had (xǝ) lxotout inshalah xasatan xasatan naql lba7ri... ljiha ta3na fiha lmoghtaribin bezaf sawa'an ra7alat ljawiya aw lba7riya w inshaallah shabab hada (xǝ) nwefroulou (-u:) lmanasib nta3 l3amal w nwelou l'inshighalat nta3 sakina hadi (xǝ) lisolta wlqima w inshallah hada howa (xǝ) lmaham nta3 lbaralamani howa isal l'inshighalat lmowatinin kima qolt felkelma nta3i fi isal inshighal lmowatin d^fa3if bi3aql sharif inshalah hadi hya w hadi (xǝ) amana 3la rqabina w yla wselna manebexlous had lmowatin... w manensash nqoul lelmowatin nqoulou (-u:) bayash yemshi yentaxeb bi qiwa awalan min ajl ljaza'ir yemshi lsanadiq wa marakiz l'iqтира3 w mayensash bayash yentaxebna 7na el7izb lmatin raqm wa7ed w tlatin (+θ) wa shokran wa salamo 3alaykoum... **(to the journalist)**

We have organized, as you notice the room is full of the inhabitants of Ghazaouet province and we have talked about different points among which is the elaboration of work in this area, our area because it is situated in the borders and we need to create new places of work in it. We have also talked about the field of agriculture and agriculture will create a lot of professions in the big and medium association like associations for products and the agricultural transfer. In addition, our space is a coastal one and its tourism is still virgin. It includes more than thirteen beaches be them sea coasts or mineral sources or mountain peaks or forests. If God wills, from this tourism, we will absorb the unemployment and we will employ the inhabitants of this region. Moreover, we need big factories that hold five hundred employee and above. We have also abord the topic of transport in general including land and sea transport because the province of Tlemcen consists of an international airport

and a seaport for the transportation of travelers and there is also a railroad that we should think of its development and we will reinforce those lines especially sea transport... there are lot of immigrants either in aero- or sea trips and we will try to supply those youngsters with jobs and will transmit their demands to the higher authorities. These are the tasks of the parliament... to transmit the inhabitants' enquiries as I have said in my word the weak inhabitants' enquiries through a noble mind and it is a debt on our shoulders if we will arrive, we won't stint those citizens... without forgetting to tell to the citizens to go to vote so strongly first of all for Algeria... citizens should approach the voting centers and vote for us the Matine party number thirty-one. Thank you and good buy!

Appendix (I)

تلمسان سيدي محمد مكاوي.. كيف يدخل سباق التشريعات

- 1 [0:00:00.0]
- 2 [0:00:21.4] **Elected young man:** lqa'ima li rani fiha → aḵas min ḏawi (+) lkafafa golt awedi momkin anani m3a had (xḏ) lmajmou3a → neqedrou nexedmou m3a ba3d (xdᶜ) w neqedrou nexedmou w neweslou lelmobtaḡa maḡi lmobtaḡa ta3na → wa'inama lmobtaḡa 'laḏi yasbou ileyh elmowatin w li howa enou yelqa ḡaxs bijanibih (-ah) ya3ni yesma3lah (-ah) w y7awel yewjedlah (-ah) 7oloul lel'inḡiḡalet nta3ah (-ah) aydan (xdᶜ) qadiyatou oxra howa enou 7ta ykoun 3and l'aḡas ḏawi el'i3aqa (+) 3onwan maḡi ḡi l'i3aqa lbasariya ykoun 3andhoum tamḏil fi lkotla elbarlamaniya l'enou nḡoufou 'enou men moudat l'istiqlal fi lmajlis ḡa3bi lwatani makanḡ hatta wa7el momaḏil 3an maḡi ḡi fi'at lmo3aqin wa'inama ga3 lfi'at lhaḡa fi lmojtama3...

The list in which i am includes people with disabilities. I have said that it is possible, with this group, that we can work together and we can work and arrive to a goal that is not ours but rather the goal of all the citizens which lies in finding someone near them who listen to them and tries to find solutions to their worries. In addition to that, the aim is to establish a title for people with disabilities and to have a representative in the parliament because we have observed that since the independence, there is no representative of not only disabled people but also all the society's fragile categories in the national assembly.

- 3 [0:01:18.9] **Elected young man:** binisba lya ana l'i3aqa lbasariya makanet abadan 7ajiz fi l7ayat nta3i → roḡm elmo3iqat roḡm el7awajiz → roḡm ba3dᶜ l'a7ḡan ta3assofat li kamel dᶜedi fel7ayat dirasiya wela lmihaniya ana manḡoufhaḡ ila 7awafiz lya baḡ netqedem lel'amam w madᶜenitḡ enou l'intixabat wela doxoul fi elmajlis ḡa3bi hya s3iba baḡ tkoun godam l'i3aqa lbasariya bel3aks wa7ed ḡaxs mou3aq basariyan wyousel li moustawa enou ykoun ba7iḏ fi doktora mayexfeḡ 3lik beli lmasar dirasi rah fih kima ngoulou bezaf mo3iqat...

For me, the visual disability has never been a barrier in my life. Despite all the difficulties and the barriers and sometimes the abuse that I had in my academic or professional careers, I don't consider it but a motivation for me in order to advance and I don't think that the vote or being part of the national assembly is difficult in front of my visual disability. In the contrary, a disabled person who managed to arrive to a high academic level managed to be a doctoral researcher and you know that the educational path has a lot of difficulties as we might say...

Appendix (J)

عرس تلمساني و زي العروس المصنف لدى اليونسكو

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Woman (bride dresser):** nelbsou lblouza hya lewla→ ta3 lmesouj w mba3d yelesou l2erftan mexdoum b tel... had (xǝ) kulou (-u:) shoghl yadawi wmba3d na3amlou lekman→ hadi (xǝ) la3roussa nhar doxla ta7a w mba3d neb2aw na3amlou jwahr min lmefroud^f tkoun sh7el mn tshoka melkbira→ 7ta l sghira→ 7atta yghetti kol sder hada nsem mouh (-iw) ljouher ta3 sder yji m3a l2arftan mayjish m3a libas axar... shashya n7otoha 3la ras→ zman lemra li kanet tshed kanet kbira tkoun kbira fi sin jeda wela xala aw 3ama aw wa7da kabira fi sin hya li kanet tshed....

We wear the blouza (dress) of the mensouj at first and then the caftan that is constructed with the tel... all this is done by hand and later we place the kmam (covering the hands) the day of the bride's wedding and later we put the jewelry over her chest it is called the jouher and it is only worn with the caftan, we put the hat on her head... previously, the woman who took those details in charge used to be old either a grandmother or an aunt or any other old woman specialized in that...

- 2 [0:01:59.3] **Man (groom dresser):** l3aris hna f l3ada ta3na ysem mouh (-iw) moulay w ljama3a lkol temshi m3ah moulay soltan wey 3aris lazemlou (-u:) lbarous b l3il w lbaroud ba3d twelwila hadi (xǝ) lazem yexliw (-iw) elbaroud

The groom, here, in our traditions, we call him -moulay- (our prince) and all the group accompanies him... every groom has to wear the barnos and goes with a horse and after this twelwila (a sound uttered by women to declare or celebrate a happy event) they have to use the gunpowder as a symbol of celebration and happiness.

- 3 [0:02:55.4] **Woman (bride dresser):** dexelna l3aroussa w ki ja la3rous na7alha ssetra w sellem 3liha lfouq w mba3d rqaq howa wiyaha

We have brought the bride and once the groom has come he has omitted the cover she had on her face and kisses her on her forehead and then he danced with her

Appendix (K)

كلمة الدكتور دنوني عبد المجيد مترشح بقائمة حزب جبهة التحرير

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Elected man:** ixwani axawati kama ta3lamoun l7amla dexlet fi osbo3iha thani (+θ) whowa waqt mohim jidan binisba li monad^fili jabhat ta7rir lwatani bash tani nfahmou lbarnamaj ta3 ljbha w lmowatinin ta3 madinat tilimsen w nfahmouhom ya3ni mahowa tomo7 ta3na wnqoulhom xasatan anahom yajib 3layhom an yantaxibou bi qowa li'ana tashri3iyat hadi (xδ) sato^yayir masar eljaza'ir fayajib 3alayna ka jaza'iriyin w ka soka madinat tilimsen 3amatan nentaxbou bi qowa neshtarkou bi qowa fi had l'intixabat wa bitabi3at el7el 3indama nousharik bi qowa kamel dowal el3alam ta3ref beli ljaza'ir raqiya waqifa ka rajol wa7id w dowal l'ajnabiya testahdef lja'ir...fa ida (xδ) lam nousharik bi qowa sanostahdaf min taraf elxarij ya3ni kol tomo3 ta3 dowal ajnabiya sa net^yaleb 3liha w beli rana waqfin ka rajol wa7id hadi (xδ) w yxeliwna (-iw) tranquil noqta oula... noqta taniya (xθ) limada (xδ) nantaxib wa limada (xδ) jabhat ta7rir lwatani li'enou 7izb sha3b, 7izb asala, 7izb shouhada, 7izb moujahidin w f kol 3a'ila jaza'iriya newjed 3ala l'aqal moujahid wa7ed wela shahid w kol shabab wa3i bel'amr hada (xδ) fakayfa nousallim amrina li a7zab ^yayr ma3roufa ma3andhash baramij mantiqsh fiha robama tosayar mina lxarij ila'axirih... fa jabhat ta7rir lwatani ma3rouf 7izb 3ariq w yseyer lbilad min l'alfin (-i:n) ila yawmina hada (xδ) w rakoum taqriban shahedtou baramij l'istithmarat (+θ) liqam bihom ra'is ljomhoriya taqriban tmnemiya maliyar dolar sorifat fi ljaza'ir w fi katir (xθ) min l'injazat toroqat sakan sodoud jami3at mostashfayat... 'ljaza'ir hya awal dawla mostaqira fi l3alam el3arabi wa 3an tariq ljabha ykoun l'aman w l'aman w l'istiqrar l mmdinat tilimsen maneqedroush ndirou tanmiya bidoun amn... elkatir min lxobara' yxewfouna beli ljaza'ir fi azma iqtisadiya hada (xδ) xata' hada (xδ) ljaza'ir laysat fi azma iqtisadia sinon kayfa nshoufou balad mitl (xθ) ljaza'ir testewred mawarid teqrib tes3in felmiya min kol ma testahalkou (-u:) min mawad w 3atad ila'axirihi souq ta3na farah ma3adnash mentouj yenba3 f souq ya3ni lqima lmod^fafa nta l'intaj lwatani f sina3a ymetel (xθ) xamsa felmiya w hada (xδ) qalil jidan l'an ga3 lmasakil natija 3an 3adam l'isti^ylal l3aqlani lilmawarid lmalija hna ma3adnash azma iqtisadya mayxewfounash kol lmasakil lmatrou7a net^yaleb 3liha w sawfa net^yaleb 3liha 3an tariq barnamaj sid ra'is ljomhouriya fi barnamaj l'iqtisab ljadid w namoudaj (xδ) l'iqtisadi hadafoho howa tanmiya w tanwi3 l'iqtisadia.. qolna manetkelsh faqat 3ala lma7rouqat newa3 w nexleq foras w nest^yel tarawat (xθ) w nexleq manasib shoyl w nexleq tharwa (+θ) w njibouha l souq hada (xδ) howa lbarnamaj l'iqtisadi ljadid w fih taxtit 7ta l'alfin (-i:n) w tlatin (-i:n) w lazem nas wataniyin li tasjid had (xδ) lbarnamaj hada (xδ)...

Brothers and sisters, as you know, the campaign is in its second week and it is a very sensitive period for the fighters of the national liberation front in order to explain the program of the front to the citizens of Tlemcen city and to understand what is our ambition. I tell them especially that they have to vote because these elections will change the future of Algeria. Therefore, it is an obligation for us as Algerians and as inhabitants of Tlemcen city in general to vote and strongly participate in these elections. Certainly, once we strongly participate, all the other countries will know is standing as a single person since many foreign countries target Algeria... so, if we don't participate, we will be targeted from the outside in the sense that we will get over all the external greediness and they will leave us in peace from one side, from another side, why do we vote? And why exactly the national liberation front? Simply because the party is genuine, it is the party of Maritimes and in each Algerian family there is at least one maritime or one fighter and all people are aware of that. For this reason, how can one give the cause to parties that we don't even know and which do not even have programs, we cannot trust them and probably they are under an external authority. The national liberation front

is an ancient party that runs the country from the tow thousands up to nowadays and you have probably seen the programs that has been done by the president of the republic; around eight hundred milliard of dollars have been consumed in Algeria in a lot of plans, roads, mansions, universities, hospitals... Algeria is the first country in the Arab world that is well-established and stable and through the front there will be safety, security and stability for the city of Tlemcen because we cannot achieve development without peace... there are lots of experts who claim that Algeria is in an economic crisis; that's a mistake... how can we a country like Algeria brings ninety percent of the material; where is our market? We don't have a product that is sold in the market which means the value that should be added to the national production that is five percent in whole and that's very little because all the problems are the result of the misuse of finance; we don't have an economic crisis, we are not afraid and we will get over all those problems through the program of the president of the republic and the goal of the economic sample is the development of economy... we have said that we should not only rely on oil, we should get things differently by creating chances and getting advantage of the resources and also by creating positions for employment and we create a richness and bring to this market which is the new economic program that included planning till two thousands and thirteen... we only need competent people in order to realize this program...

Appendix (L)

لهجة تلمسان ولهجة فاس - Tlemcen vs. Fez

- 1 [0:00:00.0] **Young woman:** sh7el f 3omrek 7biba?→
How old are you my dear?
- 2 [0:00:11.3] **Old woman:** oumaana3reft... balak mya wella myatayen (-a:in) wela mya w3a^fra lyeh rani
syira?→... howa kan ye2ra lfransis w l3arbiya, dja bba 2alou ro7 te2ra dja howa 2alou mane2ra^f 3ya
yehreblou (-u:) 3ya m3ah 2alou (-u:) mane2ra^f 2alou (-u:) 2assem texdem 2alou (-u:) nexdem n3awen rassi
2alou (-u:) ya bnelkelb tem^fi te2ra xirlek 2alou (-u:) mane2ra^f 3ya y2ayas fih bel7jer ya3ya 7ta beda
y2oulha mata3teh^f yakoul iya ki beda yekber ^fwya m^fa yexdem 3and boudelfa yla tessem3ou bih kan 7ta
howa 2ali iya ki ykounou yexedmou rehoum yexedmou w ki matkoun^f y2oulou (-u:) ha: ki ta3mel ha: ki
ta3mel hagda→ t3allem mn hadi (x^ǔ) l hadi (x^ǔ) mn hadi (x^ǔ) l hadi (x^ǔ) 7ta makemel xmesta^fel3am
seta^fel3am 7ta 3mel hala kbira... **(to the journalist)**

I don't know... maybe a hundred maybe two hundred or a hundred and ten; am I young?... he used to study French and Arabic; my father told him to go to study but he said he wouldn't go and he flees from him... my father tried so hard with him but he said he wouldn't study. My father asked him what would you work? He told him that he would work in order to help himself financially. My father has insisted that studying is better so he said he would never do it... so once he has grown a bit old, he started to work with Mr. Boudelfa if you know him and he has told that once there is work, they were working and in case there wasn't the mister used to show him how to do things... therefore, step by step he has learned a lot of things and by the age of fifteen or sixteen, he has gained fame...

- 3 [0:01:27.4] **Old man:** ana ba^f 3reftou (-u:) 2ed 2ed, howa kan f la3ras kan yqim 7afalat f lqahwa ta3 l7aj
3alal lihna lta7t wmba3d felme^fta w rbi3 yexdem la3^fyat m setta del 3^fya lel 3a^fra ta3 lil w temma kan
t3allem howa kan yqoulli 3liha lah yer7mou (-u:) qali hadi (x^ǔ) na3amlouha moraja3a ta3na 3la xater kan f
la3ras mayexdem^f le^fy^{al} lli... rek 3aref ^yi le^fy^{al} li xfef li ma3roufin wa inama ana f lqahwa la kan yexdem
koula youm sen3a w le^fy^{el} li yexdemhoum f hadik (x^ǔ) sen3a mat3awed^f tesma3hom→ sen3a tweli b ^fy^{el}
wahdoxrin walakin hadouk (x^ǔ) le^fy^{el} li t^yenaw (-aw) maywelliw^f (-iw) maba2i^f y3awdou yerj3ou ila ba3d
lmouda ta3 3amayen (-a:in) wela telt snin... w l7fad^a kan f sen3a tamamen 3lbalou (-u:) 3omrou (-u:)

walayj^fouf f 7a lkaret wela yensa kelma wela walou w fel7awzi kadalik (x^ö) ... fel7awzi ka bentriki→ ka bensahla ka bensayeb ra7imahoum lah ... ka j^fix bengnenou ka lmendasi ka lmedeghli bezaf houman w kan ye7fed^c leqsayed w kayen leqsayed li teg3od b sa3a→ bsa3a w nos qsayed ta3 benetriki kayen lma3loumi kayen leqsayed li twal w kayna hadik (x^ö) ta3 lmendelsi allahu a3lam li stej^ffaw (-aw) fiya wa2ila teg3od 7a sa3tayan (-a:in) w yehfed^chom elkoul w yexdemhoum w kan takel 3la rassou (-u:) makan takel 7ta 3la wahed...

I knew him well after the fact that he was celebrating parties in the cafeteria of Mr. Allel in the neighborhood. Then, in winter and spring, he used to work during the afternoon from six to ten in the night. And at that time, he has already learnt the job. He used to tell me, may he rest in peace, this period was designed for our revision because in weddings he used to work on the type of music that is well-known but, in the cafeteria, he used to work on the type of music that is original, if done once, you wouldn't hear it again until after two or three years. He was great in the learning-by-heart, once singing he never looked at a piece of paper nor had he forgotten a word in both the sen3a and the 7awzi (types of music). He used to perform 7awzi poems such as those of Benetriki, Bensahla, Benguennou, Lmedeghli... poems that last one hour till one hour and a half or two hours... he used to learn all of them and work on them; he was competent and he didn't depend on anyone.

Appendix (M)

مساجد تلمسان في حقبة المرابطين ومن جاءوا بعدهم Les mosquées de Tlemcen

1	[0:00:00.0]
2	[0:01:13.2] Male inhabitant 1: bessa7 kayen bab zir w kayen jama3 sid el7alwi <i>But there is bab-zir and there is also the mosque of sisi-lhaloui</i>
3	Male inhabitant 2: sidel 7alwi wah kayen zouj... laa ta3 bab zir howa lewel <i>Sidi-lhaloui yes, there are two but the one of bab-zir is the first</i>
4	Male inhabitant 1: laa bessa7 sma7li kuma tqoul hadi (xǝ) sa fé set siekl wela peut etre plus ta3 ljama3 lekbir <i>No, but excuse me, as you say, there have been around seven centuries or even more from the construction of the great mosque</i>
5	Male inhabitant 2: hadek (xǝ) ljama3 ta3 bab zir <i>That was the mosque of bab-zir</i>
6	Male inhabitant 1: yih <i>Yes!</i>
7	Male inhabitant 2: men waqt lmorabitin <i>From the time of the moravides</i>
8	Male inhabitant 1: eyih <i>Yeah!</i>
9	Male inhabitant 2: mourah 3ad sidel7alwi.... iya bqaw (-aw) 3la xir <i>After it the mosque of sisi-lhaloui has been constructed... now, stay safe!</i>

10

Male inhabitant 1: hadi (xǝ) ma3louma mliha*That's a good information*

11

Male inhabitant 2: hadi (xǝ) tediha men 3andi*I am sure and certain about it*

12

Male inhabitant 1: washenhowa hna ki ngoulou tlemcen nqoulou ljama3 lekbir w nqoulou tani ljama3 ta3 sidi boumedien*Nevertheless, whenever we talk about Tlemcen, we have to mention the great mosque and the mosque of sidi-Boumediene!*

Appendix (N)

[S02] Au cœur de l'Algérie avec Shérazade – Tlemcen

1

[0:00:00.0] **Embroiderer:** oui hadi (xǝ) l7erfa kayna ghi f tlemcen... men bekri tlemcen ma3roufa b taqalid surtout l'ensouj la baz shghol kayen bezaf 7iraf li matou bessah l'ensouj yhawed yhawed y3awed yetla3 la base ta3 tlemcen c l'ensouj

Yes, that job only exists in tlemcen... from old times, Tlemcen has been known for its customs especially the mensouj which is the basis in the sense that there are a lot of crafts that have died but the mensouj even if it falls sometimes, it always continues to prosper for the basis of Tlemcen is the mensouj.

2

The journalist : l'ensouj yrafeg l'qerftan, leblouza li trafeg l'qerftan ndirou bih srawel

The mensouj accompanies the Caftan, the blouza that is worn with the Caftan and its pants.

3

Embroiderer: ndirou bih srawel, jipa, l'mendil li tshed 3lih tfettel w kayen blouza complé tetla3 belmensouj

We sew with it pants, skirts, the mendil that the bride wears and there is also a whole blouza constructed with the mensouj.

4

The journalist: kifesh jetek l'idee nchoufou derwek qlil les jeunes ta3na li yhetemou b l'iraf w yet3almouha tilqa'iyen

From where have you been inspired... we see now that very few youngsters are interested in crafts and to learn it automatically

5

Embroiderer: la verité sheft bezaf les jeunes za3ma ki tgoullah (-ah) 7irfa maya3tiksh ahamiya pask taqalid ta3 leblad xes t7afed^f 3liha aucun jeune apar ana li rani jeune t3allemtha

The truth, I have seen a lot of youths once mentioning a craft in front of them, none gives you importance... the city's customs have to be protected and preserved for this reason youths are not into it except me that I have learned it.

6

The journalist : w li y7ab yet3allem mathalan yeqder yji hna?

And those who want to acquire it, can they come here?

7

Embroiderer: yet3allem bessah xes ykoun interessé bhad (xǝ) l'edma pck c'est compliqué surtt f départ tshouf hag^da wahed t... ana lewel bessah sbert sbart w l'hamdoullah

Yes, he can learn but he has to be interested by this job since it's complicated especially in the beginning you face difficulties... but from e, i was really patient thank god.

8

The journalist: habit na3ref wesh houma Imawad l'awaliya lmosta3mala

I want to know what are the raw materials used

9

Embroiderer: 3adna l7rir, kayen lfed^a, w lkrad^fbel

We have got silk, silver and the kradbel

10

The journalist: wesh howa lkrad^fbel

What is the kradbel?

11

Embroiderer: hada (x^o) kifesh ngoullek haja mliha hada (x^o) li yzid felblouza w yredha chaba... w 3andi la couleur pck kol mra w t7ot la couleur li te3jeubha

This thing... how to say it... it's something very nice that adds beauty to the blouza... and I have got the color since each woman decides the color that pleases her to put on her dress.

12

The journalist: elle l'a mari 3la 7seb lqerftan ta3ha.. esk lblouza ta3 lmensouj loun lli ykoun fiha yetjanes m3a loun ta3 lqerftan

She marries the dress with the caftan's color... does the color of the blouza go hand in hand with the once of the caftan?

13

Embroiderer: yih yih kuma loun ta3 lqeftan w kayen lli lblouza tetla3 complé b tisuu ta3 lmansouj kol wahda kifesh t7obha, maron, grenna , bleu toutes les couleurs w kayen dheub (x^o) hada (x^o)

Yes of course like the caftan's color and there's the blouza that is sewed completely with the mensouj and every woman loves the style she wants brown, garnet, blue.. all the colors... and there is also gold... this one...

14

The journalist: w mazal kayen talabat 3lih

And do people still request it?

15

Embroiderer: oui lhamdoullah f tlemcen gotlek il faut elmensouj

Yes, thank god, i told you in Tlemcen the mensouj is an obligation

16

The journalist: w yjoukoum min wilayat wahdoxrin*And do you receive orders from other provinces?*

17

Embroiderer: yjiwni (-iw)mn bel3abes wahren alger 3anaba la plu par lli hna proche lli yjiw (-iw) bezaf*Yes, I do receive from Belabbas, Oran, Algiers, Annaba but the majority of requests come from the surrounding areas.*

18

The journalist: w blouza kima hak sh7el tshedlek waqt bash texdemha*And a dress as such how much time does it require from you to finish it?*

19

Embroider: neg3od fiha troi jours*It takes three days*

20

The journalist: telt iyem*Three days?*

21

Embroiderer: yih*Yes!*

22

The journalist: bessah xetrat ygoullek ghali pck fiha xedma fiha waqt kol qit3a taxod waqt kbir w hadi (xǝ) xedma ta3 yed mashi mashina raha texdemha w tetqenha*But sometimes some people say it's expensive... it takes a lot of efforts and time and each part consumes time particularly that this job is done by hand not a machine.*

23

Embroiderer: w sh7el ma tetlob ygoullek ghali bessah mashafoush kifesh tetla3 xit b xit*And whatever price you say, they complain it expensive but none has seen how it is constructed string by string*

24

The journalist: pck kol metra sh7el mn xit dexeltou (-u:) w sh7el mn geste dertou (-u:)*Because in each meter, you have inserted lots of strings and implemented lots of gestures and efforts.*

25

Embroider: yih

Yes!

Appendix (O)

عزيزي المشترك

يهدف هذا الاستبيان الجمع بعض المعلومات الخاصة بالتصرفات اللهجية من طرف سكان ولاية تلمسان. لأغراض علمية بحتة يرجى منكم الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية بكل حرية. شكرا على تعاونكم.

السن	النوع/ الجنس	مكان الإقامة	الأصل

اختر الإجابة التي تتناسب مع تصرفك اليومي باستعمال اللهجة الخاصة بك

ما هي العبارات المستعملة للتحدث مع الفئات التالية

الحالة	مع المدير	مع غريب	مع صديق	مع العائلة
الترحيب				
الاعتذار				
التحية				
طلب المساعدة				
التمني				
رفض أمر ما				
التعليق على خبر معين				
التعزية				
دعوة لمناسبة				
التعبير عن الغضب				

Appendix (P)

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
جامعة أبو بكر بلقايد - تلمسان -

تلمسان في 11-10-2020

كلية الآداب واللغات الأجنبية
قسم اللغة الانجليزية

الأستاذة الباحثة خديجة حمودي
السيدة رئيس قسم اللغة الانجليزية

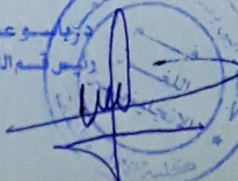
الموضوع: لمحة إجرائية مقابلة شفوية مع الطلبة
في إطار جمع المادة الأولية الخاصة بالذكوراه

يشرفني أن أتقدم إلى سيادتكم للموقرة بطلبي هذا والمتضمن في
الموافقة على إجراء مقابلات شفوية (Interviews) مع الطلبة وذلك
للتمكن من جمع المادة الأولية الخاصة بالذكوراه. أعلمكم، سيدي، بأن
المقابلة ستكون فردية مع احترام كل الإجراءات الوقائية الواجب اتخاذها.
ستتيم هذه للمقابلة - بعد إيدانكم - في قاعة للمطالعة محمد ديب و لن
تتجاوز العشرين دقيقة (كأقصى حد) مع الطالب الواحد.
في انتظار رؤيتكم بالإيجاب وللوافقة على طلبنا، تقبلوا منا
فائق الاحترام والتقدير.

المعني بالامر


Ms. HAMMOUDI Khadidja
Assistant Lecturer
Department Of English
University of Tlemcen

رئيس القسم


د. بوعبد الرحيم
رئيس قسم اللغة الانجليزية

Appendix (Q)



الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
جامعة أوبكر بلقعيد - تلمسان
كلية الآداب واللغات الأجنبية
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية



دراسة ميدانية حول اللهجات المستعملة في مختلف مناطق ولاية تلمسان

ملخص البحث

يشمل هذا البحث دراسة لسانية اجتماعية حول اللهجات المنطوقة في مختلف انحاء ولاية تلمسان و آراء الشعب حول استعمالها او تغييرها عند الاختلاط مع المتحدثين بلهجات أخرى غير لهجتهم. هذه الدراسة الميدانية مقسمة الى عدة اقسام من بينها الاستبيانات المكتوبة والحوارات الشفهية مع عامة الشعب من كل الفئات العمرية في المناطق المدروسة. الأسئلة تدور حول الأسباب الاجتماعية والنفسية لاستعمال او تفادي بعض الأصوات او الالفاظ في لهجات سكان ولاية تلمسان بمختلف مناطقها.

هدف البحث

سيتم جمع المعلومات اللغوية من عامة الشعب (حسب اختلاف مكان سكنهم- العمر- الجنس- المستوى الدراسي وغيرها من المعايير). المعلومات المجموعة تنقسم الى صنفين:

1. معلومات لغوية/ عبارات من اللهجات اليومية...
2. معلومات اجتماعية لآراء الشعب.

يندرج هذا البحث ضمن علم اللسانيات الاجتماعية.

أسئلة عامة لمحتوى البحث

يعالج هذا البحث (لا يقتصر على) مجموعة من الأسئلة:

- هل تضطر لتغيير لهجتك عند التواصل مع شخص من خارج منطقتك (لا يتكلم اللهجة ذاتها)؟ لماذا؟ وكيف؟
- هل تشعر بالخجل عند استعمال لهجتك خارج نطاق الاسرة؟ لماذا؟
- هل يمكن اعتبار اللهجة مقياسا لتحديد الطبقات الاجتماعية في ولاية تلمسان؟
- هل يوجد فرق بين الذكر والانثى في استعمال اللهجة في منطقتك؟ على أي أساس؟
- ما رأيك في الاختلاف اللغوي الموجود بين اللهجات المتحدثة في ولاية تلمسان بمختلف مناطقها؟ وهل يؤثر هذا التنوع على لهجتك مستقبلا؟

المطلوب

- ملأ استبيانات كتابيا
- تسجيل صوتي للإجابات
- تسجيل خطي للملاحظات الميدانية للتصرفات اللغوية

*تحلل وتدرس هذه المعلومات لاحقا من طرف الأستاذة الباحثة ذاتها

*تبقى هوية المشاركين مجهولة في كل الأحيان وكل المعلومات المدرجة ستستخدم في إطار علمي لا غير. هناك إمكانية نشر البحث والمشاركة في ملتقيات علمية لكن سيتم مناقشة المعلومات اللغوية فقط.

*يشمل هذا البحث عدة أماكن لكن لا يقتصر على:

1. مدينة تلمسان وضواحيها من قرى ومدن
2. مغنية-ندرومة-الغزوات-سيبو... الخ وما يجاورها
3. الأسواق-الشوارع-الأماكن العامة... الخ
4. المدارس-الجامعات-الإدارات... الخ

*يمكن الاتصال على بريد الأستاذة الباحثة خديجة حمودي doujamido1@gmail.com

*كما يمكن التواصل مع مدير دراستها الأستاذ الدكتور زبير دندان zdendane@yahoo.com

تتمتع الأستاذة الباحثة بكل الحريات لاستعمال هذه الوثيقة في إطار ما يسمح به القانون.

امضاء رئيس القسم

د. باسمة عبد الرحمن
رئيس قسم اللغة الإنجليزية

امضاء الأستاذ المشرف

أ.د. زبير دندان
Pr. Z. DENDANE
English Department
Tlemcen University

امضاء الأستاذة الباحثة

خديجة حمودي

يهدف هذا العمل الى دراسة نتائج الاحتكاك اللهجي في المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني. وعن طريق استعمال عدد من الوسائل والأدوات انتهى البحث بنتائج مبهرة خاصة على المستويين اللغوي والاجتماعي. الأصعدة اللغوية الثلاثة بما فيها الصوتية والبنوية الصرفية وكذا المعجمية قد تأثرت بالحركة الكونيزية خاصة عند مقاربتها بالمتغيرات الاجتماعية على رأسها الشكليات والجنس والانتماء الاثني بالإضافة الى مواقف المشتركين تجاه استعمال لهجة مشتركة بالمنطقة. انتهت الدراسة باقتراح نموذج- بالمقارنة مع نماذج سابقة- للهجة مشتركة إقليمية والتي هي على أبواب البزوغ في المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني.

الكلمات المفتاحية الاحتكاك والتغيير اللهجي- الكونيزية- المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني

Summary

The purpose of the current study is to investigate the outcomes of dialect contact in Tlemcen speech community. Through a variety of research methods and instruments, research has brought up fascinating results particularly at the linguistic and social levels. Three linguistic parameters as phonology, morphology and lexicon are touched by koineization processes especially when related to social variables namely formality, gender and ethnicity as well as participants' attitudes towards a dialectal lingua franca use. The study has ended up by a proposition of a model, compared to other worldwide models, for regional koiné formation that might be emerging in Tlemcen community.

Keywords: *Dialect contact, dialect change, koineization, Tlemcen community*

Résumé

Le but de la présente étude est d'enquêter les résultats du contact dialectal dans la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen. Grâce à une variété de méthodes et d'instruments de recherche, l'étude a abouti à des résultats fascinants, notamment aux niveaux linguistique et social. Trois paramètres linguistiques comme la phonologie, la morphologie et le lexique sont touchés par les processus de koinéisation, en particulier lorsqu'ils sont liés à des variables sociales, à savoir la formalité, le sexe et l'ethnicité, ainsi que les attitudes des participants envers une utilisation d'une lingua franca dialectale. L'étude a abouti à la proposition d'un modèle, comparé à d'autres modèles mondiaux, pour la formation d'une koiné régionale qui pourrait émerger dans la communauté de Tlemcen.

Mots clés : *Contact dialectal, changement dialectique, koinéisation, communauté de Tlemcen*

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الكلمات المفتاحية الاحتكاك والتغيير اللهجي- الكونيزية -المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني

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