

**MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF TLEMCCEN
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTEMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
SECTION OF ENGLISH**



**Sociolinguistic Variation in the Speech
Community of Ain Sefra : A Comparative
Lexical Analysis between El-Ksour
and El-Amour Varieties**

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in
candidacy for the requirement of the Degree of “Magister” in
Sociolinguistics.

Presented by:

Miss. Anissa MBATA

Supervised by:

Dr. Amine BELMEKKI

Board of Examiners

Dr. Zoubir DENDANE	MC' A. Chairman (University of Tlemcen)
Dr. Amine BELMEKKI	MC' A. Supervisor (University of Tlemcen)
Dr. Lotfi BENHATTAB	MC' A. External Examiner (University of Oran)
Dr. Ilhem SERIR	MC' A. Internal Examiner (University of Tlemcen)
Dr. Nour-Eddine MOUHADJER	MC' A. Internal Examiner (University of Tlemcen)

Academic Year: 2011/2012

DEDICATION

I dedicate this modest work to my lovely mother, there is no doubt in my mind that without her I would never go further in my life, and I say to her:

*“Thank you for your affection, prayers and your
selfless sacrifices.”*

Besides my mother, to all my sisters and brothers, and to my grand mother and my aunt *Atika* who has encouraged me with her moral and financial support, and my greatest gratitude goes to my uncle *Mohamed SAHLI*.

To all my friends and colleagues, especially *Ismahan Mangouchi, Mustapha Djebli, Amine Dendane, Hayat Bagui, Toufik and Redouan Berrani, Ahmed Aggoun, Meriem Babou, Asma Bouchkif, Hynd Kaid Slimane, Naima Ammour Karima Bouheddi, and Khadidja Belaskri.*

I ask each one who will find a benefit in this work to ask **ALLAH** to send His mercy upon my father. ‘*Amine*’

Anissa MBATA.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should first address praise to Almighty **ALLAH** Who helps me to accomplish this modest work.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Dr. *Amine BELMEKKI* for his invaluable guidance, encouragement and patience for the realization of this work.

I also wish to acknowledge my teacher Dr. *Zoubir DENDANE*, for his very helpful insights, comments and suggestions.

A special thank is addressed to all my teachers of the department of English language for their help and support during my university studies.

Great thanks go to whom I owe my deepest gratitude, to Pr. *Kebir BOUCHERIT* who has helped me with his extremely constant encouragement and precious advice especially when I felt despair and failure.

Special thank goes to *all* those who helped me to achieve this work.


Anissa MBATA.

ABSTRACT

The ultimate purpose of this analysis is to identify some aspects of lexical comparison between two dialects co-existing in Ain Sefra, a town located in the South West of Algeria. The varieties under study are abbreviated to Amr and Ksr after their indigenous social ethnic groups, 'El-Amour' and 'El-Ksour' respectively. The current lexical comparison contains also certain features related to the vocabulary such as the phonological and morphological levels. These levels of analysis display basic distinctions between Amr and Ksr lexemes.

This dissertation also explores the reasons behind the preservation of the indigenous varieties in spite of their co-existence within the same geographical area. In addition, it seeks for other facts as linguistic switch and change, and the reasons which might play a role in the reluctance of using some of the indigenous forms in accordance with sociolinguistic criteria as the variety itself and the users of this variety .

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Algerian Arabic
Adj.	Adjective
Abbr.	Abbreviated
Amr	El-Amour
CA	Classical Arabic
cons	Consonant
CS	Code Switching
diff	Difference
F	Female
Fig.	Figure
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Ksr	El-Ksour
M	Male
N	Noun
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
ONS	Office Nationale de Statistics
Pl.	Plural
SC	Speech Community
Sing.	Singular
V	Verb
+	Affix boundary
()	Linguistic variable
[]	Linguistic variant
#	Word boundary
<>	Word root
//	Phoneme
...	Conversation not mentiond
	Rising intonation

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Manner	Symbol	MSA lexeme	English Gloss
plosives	/b/	/bajt /	House
	/t/	/tamr /	Date
	/d/	/dubb/	A bear
	/t/	/ʔama:ʔem/	Tomato
	/d/	/ dʕʊʔ/	Light
	/k/	/kam/	How much?
	/q/	/qalb/	Heart
Fricatives	/f/	/farah/	Joy
	/s/	/sirr/	Secret
	/z/	/zawdz/	Pair/ husband
	/ʃ/	/ ʃaʔʔ/	Evil
	/dʒ/	/ dʒabal/	Mountain
	/ʂ/	/ ʂabʔ/	Patience
	/ʁ/	/ ʁi :ra/	Jealousy
	/ʕ/	/ ʕa :m/	A year
	/ħ/	/ ħulum/	Dream
	/h/	/haram/	Pyramid
	/θ/	/ θaʕlab/	Fox
	/ð/	/ðɪʔb/	Wolf
	/ɖ/	/ɖill/	Shadow
Nasals	/m/	/ma:ʔ/	Water
	/n/	/na:r/	Fire
Lateral	/l/	/lajl/	Night

Flap	/r/	/rɪdʒl/	A foot
Approximates	/w/	/warda/	A flower
	/j/	/jadd/	Hand

Table of Vowels:

Length	Symbols	Ksr	Amr	Examples	English gloss
Weak	/ə/	+	-	a- / kərsi/	A chair
Short	/æ/	≈+	+	b- / ʒ mæl/	A camel
	/i/	≈+	+	b-/jæ ʒ ri/	To run
	/ʊ/	≈+	+	b-/juwru ʒ/	To go out
Long	/æ:/	+	+	b-/særwæ:l /	Trousers
	/u:/	-	+	b-/fu:l /	Bean
	/i:/	+	-	a-/ bxi:l /	Mean
	/œ/	+	-	a-/llœ h /	Wood
Diphthongs	/aɪ	-	+	b-/ ʃ am/	Ugly
	/aʊ/	-	+	b-/d aʊxæ/	Dizziness
	/eɪ	-	+	b-/b eɪr/	well

- : almost not existing

+ : existing

≈+ : existing in few amount of instances

a : Ksr articulation

b : Amr articulation

❖ The example is mentioned according to the variety which seems to have the highest amount of the vowel occurrence.

LIST OF FIGURES AND CHARTS

Figure 1.1: Ecological Structure and Linguistic Correlates in the Arab World. (Derni, 2009: 54)	32
Figure 2.1: The Location of Ain Sefra and Other Regions in the West. (ONS, 2010)	46
Figure 2.2: The Old Map of the Geographical Borders of Ain Sefra. (Revue Pasteur, 1956)	47
Figure 3.1 The Ecological Change. (Adopted from Cadora, 1992)	97
Figure 3. 2 The Linguistic Change. (Adopted from Cadora, 1992)	97
Chart 3.1: The Differences within the Lexical Relationship between Ksr and Amr	72
Chart 3.2: Amr Consonants Vs MSA	76
Chart 3.3: Ksr Consonants Vs MSA	76
Chart 3.4: Amr Consonants Vs Ksr Ones	77
Chart 3.5: The Use of Ksr Lexis by Amr Speakers	89
Chart 3.6: The Use of Amr Lexis by Ksr Speakers	90
Chart 3.7: Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Males Speakers in relation to Age	93
Chart 3.8: Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Females Speakers in correlation with Age	94
Chart 3.9: Scores of the Variant [q] in correlation with Age and Sex	96

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Ain Sefra Population in Correlation with Age and Gender. (ONS, 2008).....	51
Table 2.2: The Decay of Short Vowels	56
Table 2.3: The Alternation of the Glides /aɪ/ and /aʊ/	57
Table 2.4: The Alternation of Diphthongs after Emphatic Consonants	58
Table 3.1: The Distribution of Informants in correlation with Age and Gender ...	64
Table 3.2: Lexical Comparison between Ksr and Amr	67
Table 3.3: Vowels in Ksr Vs Amr Variety	73
Table 3.4: Consonantal Distinction between Amr and Ksr variety.....	75
Table 3.5: Moving from a Long Vowel to a Diphthong in Amr Variety.....	77
Table 3.6: The Decay of the Short Vowels in Ksr Vs Amr.....	78
Table 3.7: Reduplication Verbs in Ksr variety	79
Table 3.8: The Plural in Krs and Amr Varieties.....	80
Table 3.9: The Contrastive Use of (q) and (g) In Ksr Variety.....	83
Table 3.10: The Scores of the Lexical Relationship between ksr and Amr.....	85
Table 3.11 : Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Males in relation to Age.....	92
Table 3.12 : Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Females in relation to Age.....	94
Table 3.13 : Scores of the Variant [q] by Amr speakers in relation to Age and Gender.....	95

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	iv
List of Phonetic Symbols	v
List of Figures and Charts.....	vii
List of Tables	viii
Table of Contents	ix
General Introduction	01
 <i>Chapter One: Sociolinguistic Review</i>	
1.1. INTRODUCTION.....	06
1.2. DIALECTOLOGY	06
1.2.1. Language Vs Dialect	08
1.2.2. Language Variation	09
1.3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC AIMS AND METHODS.....	13
1.4. ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES	16
1.4.1. Community Approaches.....	17
1.4.2. Linguistic Variable	20

1.4.3. Gender and Age Effectiveness	21
1.4.4. Ethnic Distinction.....	22
1.4.5. Bedouin/Urban / Rural Classification	24
1.4.6. Language Contact	25
1.4.7. Language Accommodation	27
1.4.8. Linguistic Change	28
1.5. CONCLUSION	33

Chapter Two: Ain Sefra A Social Context of Linguistic Variability

2.1. INTRODUCTION	36
2.2. THE ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC CONTEXT	36
2.2.1. The Arabic Language.....	37
2.2.2. Diglossia and Multilingualism.....	40
2.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF AIN SEFRA	45
2.4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND INHABITANTS' ORIGIN	49
2.5. DESCRIPTION OF POPULATION AND LINGUISTIC VARIATION	50
2.5.1. Ethnic Groups	50
2.5.2. Linguistic Variation.....	53
2.6. CONCLUSION.....	60

Chapter Three: A Comparative Analysis between Ksr and Amr Varieties.

3.1. INTRODUCTION.....	63
------------------------	----

3.2. POPULATION SAMPLING AND DISTRIBUTION	63
3.3. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	64
3.3.1. Recordings.....	64
3.3.2. Wordlist.....	65
3.3.3. Interviews	65
3.4. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS.....	66
3.4.1. Lexical Variation	66
3.4.2. Distinctive Units of Analysis	72
3.4.2.1. Phonological Aspects	73
3.4.2.2. Morphological Features	78
3.5. DATA INTERPRETATION.....	82
3.6. LINGUISTIC STEREOTYPES	98
3.7. STIGMA AND PRESTIGE.....	99
3.8. CONCLUSION.....	100
GENERAL CONCLUSION	103
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	106
APPENDICES	
I- Recordings	112
II- Word-list	115
III- Interviews	121

A decorative rectangular frame with rounded corners and a double-line border, centered on the page.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Remarkable linguistic achievements in studying language seem to have extensively flourished during the last century raising many questions in several fields of research. These works shed more light on different linguistic behaviours and to their social correlation. This has called for the progress of sociolinguistics.

As far as sociolinguistics is concerned, the investigators in such field relate the occurrence of the variants of the linguistic variable to a number of social factors within the same speech community (Labov's work 1966 in New York City, Trudgill 1974 in Norwich, and others). Thus, they were fundamentally interested in answering some questions such as: what are the factors that affect linguistic behaviour differences? Why and how do neighbouring varieties differ? Such questions open the doors for other important discussions and investigations.

Many sociolinguistic studies on the Arabic-speaking world have been interested in investigating different dialects in comparison with MSA due to the wide typical heterogeneity in the social organizations, national constructions, urban contexts as well as language situations. In this respect, many factors were taken into consideration such as: sedentary and nonsedentary (firstly recognized by Anis (1952) and later by Al-Jundi (1965)) and rural versus urban. The 'tripartite distinction' which is comprised by the stated factors (urban, rural and nomadic Bedouin groups) cannot be defined in purely social, cultural or even geographic items (Cadora, 1992). This fact has been recently discussed in an international workshop on Arabic urban vernaculars which was organized in October 2004 gathering many researchers from different traditions, in addition to the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL) which was published in August 2006 including 14 case-studies in Amman, Cairo, Damascus, and other Arab cities. Yet, it has been claimed that the convergence towards MSA in any dialectological research was merely observed on lexical level, whereas on the other levels MSA/dialects aspects were analysed in terms of stylistic variations or

instances of code switching rather than practical implication of language change. (Haak *et al.*, 2004).

However, in recent years, analytic investigations have tackled the description of the dialects in contact within urbanized contexts influenced by non-urban ones which are purely Bedouin (Miller *et al.*, 2007). In this sense, the current dissertation explores the lexical differences between two Algerian social dialects in contact within an intricate linguistic profile. The investigator has chosen Ain Sefra as a speech community in which many social and geographical linguistic varieties have coexisted for about a half century. Though the linguistic image of this speech community is rich, the researcher tends to introduce two distinct varieties which are: El-Ksour and El-Amour varieties (henceforth, Ksr and Amr respectively), for the following reasons: they are two social dialects involved in the rural/ Bedouin context which still display some differences though they coexist in the same speech community. In this way, the conductor of this research insists on the representatives who are living in the town of Ain Sefra. Thus, this study aims at investigating the following research questions:

What does characterize the main linguistic differences between the two varieties (Ksr and Amr) and according to what social factors? In addition, some sub-questions are worthy to be investigated:

- Why are these varieties still different though they coexist within the same geographical area of Ain Sefra?
- Is there any influence of one variety over the other in a given social interaction between interlocutors of both varieties?

In this line of thought, the hypotheses which might be advocated at this level are:

- The main linguistic variations seem to occur at the lexical level, which may be related to differences in age and gender.

-The linguistic differences still co-existing may be due to the preservation of the linguistic behaviour expressing tribe belonging, in addition to the loyalty to the variety which denotes ethnicity.

- It may appear that one speaker may switch his/her way of speaking to the other speaker's variety in the same conversation in order to be understood.

Hence, this research work is framed within three distinctive chapters. The first one is almost devoted to the discussion of the key- concepts that are related to the area of research. This part should be seen as an analytic background for the second and the third chapters rather than only a significant theoretical collection of information. The second chapter is the central body of the whole study, since it is a description of the speech community in question on geographical, social and linguistic dimensions. The third chapter is highly practical as it presents the sample of informants and its categorization into age and gender classes. Then, it introduces the research methods, which the investigator has considered to collect data. The data will be analysed in quantitative and qualitative paradigms, according to age and gender. The interpretation of the data will reveal some results according to the stream of the methodology followed in choosing the representatives, research tools and methods of analysis.

CHAPTER ONE:

SOCIOLINGUISTIC REVIEW

Chapter one:

Sociolinguistic Review

1.1. Introduction

1.2. Dialectology

1.2.1. Language Vs Dialect

1.2.2. Language Variation

1.3. Sociolinguistic Aims and Methods

1.4. Essential Elements in Sociolinguistic Studies

1.4.1. Community Approaches

1.4.2. Linguistic Variable

1.4.3. Gender and Age Effectiveness

1.4.4. Ethnic Distinction

1.4.5. Bedouin/Urban / Rural Classification

1.4.6. Language Contact

1.4.7. Language Accommodation

1.4.8. Linguistic Change

1.5. Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

In human societies, the basic means to interact between the members is language. Though its system and use is more or less distinct from one society to another and within the same society as well, the purpose of communication and building up relationships is still the same.

On a way of giving an overview on the needs of this research work, some introductory points and substantial technical terms, which the researchers in the field are acquainted with, will be clarified in this chapter. From the general to the specific, this is how the ideas in this chapter are organized; the researcher sheds some light on language and its variations. Then, in spite of the existence of divergent streams in studying language, the investigator presents the perspectives of the present research within the scope of dialectology and sociolinguistics in addition to all the social variables involved when studying a linguistic phenomenon.

1.2. Dialectology

As its name implies, dialectology is simply defined as ‘the study of dialect and dialects’, (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004: 03). It is also defined by Spolsky (1998: 28) as: “the search for spatially and geographically determined differences in various aspects of language [...] to know the typical local vocabulary or pronunciation”. Dialectologists attempted to study the distinctive aspects between the regional dialects in order to identify the places of ‘isoglosses’ on geographical maps. The isogloss is a term used usually in dialectology to mean the geographical regions or boundaries which describe a specific linguistic variable used in a specific variety, it can be a phoneme named ‘isophone’, a morpheme coined as ‘isomorphe’ or even a vocabulary called a ‘isolexe’ (Hudson, 1996)

The interest in investigating regional dialectal differences had progressed by the second half of the nineteenth century, when these investigations had become systematized through a set of methodological tools of research and analysis.

Indeed, the achievements in dialectology had affirmed that sound changes are governed by rules as opposed to the ‘Neogrammarians’ principle of regularity’, which was labeled in ‘sound changes are exceptionless’ (Trudgill, 1995) i.e. the traditional fact that the sound change is regular implies the generalization of a certain case of changes in all utterances in the variety under study. Many interesting works were introduced in form of atlas projects throughout Europe such as: in Switzerland, Germany, Italy and Spain, besides, the Linguistic Atlas of the United State and Canada (LAUSC) founded in 1930s. In addition, in the early years of traditional dialectology, the fieldworkers tended to use linguistic maps to precise the isoglosses in which the linguistic variables are distributed (Meyerhoff, 2006).

Moreover, regional dialect maps and atlases have always helped to further research in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics later on. In so far as the investigated variation had exhibited variability related to social variables, the sociolinguistic analysis had interfered, and this is Britain’s idea (1980s) of expanding regional dialectology into social dialectology¹ (Meyerhoff, 2006). In fact, in addition to regional and social dialectology, structural dialectology had begun in 1954 by the publication of Weinreich’s article ‘Is a structural dialectology possible?’ This approach lies in the consideration of the dialect system, as Chambers *et al.* (2004:34) claim that:

Dialect researchers should be aware of varieties as having systems, and not rely on atomistic phonetic transcription alone. They should investigate phonemic contrast by asking informants whether pairs of words sound the same or rhyme.

This statement shows the implications of the systematic approach to dialect differences for the dialectological realisations. The investigators in such field

¹ “Social dialectology is the study of linguistic variation in relation to speakers’ participation or membership in social groups, or in relation to other non-linguistic factors” (Meyerhoff, 2006: 15)

include the levels of language structure in the analyses of the data in order to find out the differences between varieties in phonetic, phonological and even lexical areas.

However; by the emergence of sociolinguistics, in the late 19th century, the image of the language manifestations had become much clearer. The sociolinguists attempt at developing the rules, differentiating between the terms and organizing the areas of research methodology on social bases. In addition, the fact of including the different social factors when delivering the different linguistic behaviours in the study had made the field of investigation richer and more complex regarding the methods and results (Miller *et al.*, 2007). Thus, it is more productive to state the distinction between language and dialect within the sociolinguistic perspective.

1.2.1. Language Vs Dialect

From the linguistic perspective, the distinction between the two terms, language and dialect, is much more difficult than being recognized through a definite simple word or a sentence, but it might be useful and necessary to seek for the social dimensions of those terms, such as: the speakers and their community. Accordingly, Lyons (1981: 214) asserts that:

[...] we express our personality and individuality in our language behaviour, we do so in terms of the social categories that are encoded as it were in language variation in the community of which we are members.

In this statement, there is an emphasis on the social meaning as a language function, since the individual expresses himself through his linguistic behaviour. In addition, language, as a general linguistic notion, and ethnicity as a social meaning, are ‘virtually synonymous’ (Coulmas, 1999), i.e. language is considered as an ethnicity index, since it indicates the speaker’s belonging to certain social group, but the ambiguous fact is whether the linguistic behaviour of this social group is a language or a dialect.

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

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

However; a number of paradigms discussing the dichotomy (language/dialect) exists, there is no conventionally accepted criteria for clarifying the distinction, for it is a matter of the user's point of reference, since dialect contains a set of linguistic specificities (phonological, grammatical¹ and semantic one) which make one group of speakers distinguishable from another of the same language (Waurdhaugh, 2006). Hence, a language reaches the status of being officially recognized as the formal language of the nation, or the speech community² through the processes of standardization³.

Furthermore, the term 'variety', put forward by Weinreich (1963), as a common neutral concept is used to decrease the ambiguity when using the terms, language and dialect, especially when studying a complex linguistic profile of a specific social group, in which many language manifestations come together into play. These matters, which are referred to as language variations, are discussed through the next points.

1.2.2. Language Variation

As it has been widely noticed and linguistically agreed, one of the properties of language is its variability, as it is simply shown in Waurdhaugh (2006: 04): "The language we use in everyday living is remarkably varied". Then, he (ibid: 05) adds:

¹ Morphology and syntax.

² It will be discussed in (1.4.1)

³ For more discussion, see Haugen (1966) in Waurdhaugh (2006) pp. 33-41

A recognition of variation implies that we must recognize that a language is not just some kind of abstract object of study. It is also something that people use.

Therefore, Waurdhaugh asserts that variability, as a language stamp, offers the researchers several fields to discuss, since it is not that static phenomenon as it was seen. In addition, there is an indication for the necessity of integrating the social factors when studying language variation in his two last words, 'people use'. Thus, language varies according to user and use, i.e. speaker and context respectively.

In the same stream of thought, Trudgill (1995: 20) notes:

[...] a study of language totally without reference to its social context inevitably leads to the omission of one of the more complex and interesting aspects of language and to the loss of opportunities for further theoretical progress.

Hence, there is this stress on investigating language within its social scene of performance in correlation with its social components such as: age, gender and ethnic group (factors related to speakers), setting, language purposes, and others (these are contextual matters).

Narrowly speaking, language exhibits internal variation depending on many extralinguistic factors characterizing the speakers. Among these factors, one can state the following: age, gender, and ethnicity. (These variables are explored throughout this research work).

On another facet of practice, in addition to what is said above, there are other perspectives different in form but alike in function which is sustaining the idea of language variability. These perspectives which deliver three kinds of linguistic varieties among the scale of social roles the individual plays in the environment are displayed by his/her linguistic behaviour:

1/ Regional dialects (geographical varieties): in this category, the linguistic differences occur because of the geographical barriers. The questioning on this

subject of research is held under the discipline named dialectology¹ (Hudson, 1996). In other words, individuals living in urban cities speak differently from others living in rural regions. For instance, in the Arab world, their dialects are forms of the classical Arabic, indeed, the difference between them lies firstly on the difference between the geographical locations of the continents, the countries, the towns and so on. This is what makes the dialects on this level classified into a continuum of mutual intelligibility, the adjacent dialects geographically are the least different linguistically.

2/ Social dialects (sociolects): by considering the social factors within the linguistic investigation, another vision of language has emerged and brought under the name of social dialects (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004). This branch of dialectology relates linguistic differentiation to variables as social stratification and groups where there is no interference of regional factors, and this is simply evident in Hudson's saying: "Dialectologists, therefore, speak of SOCIAL DIALECTS, or SOCIOLECTS, to refer to non-regional differences."² . In other words, there is no account for the speakers' regional belonging but rather their social membership, since speakers from the same social group may speak in the same way though their existence in different areas and vice versa. The distinction becomes clearer in certain societies which know a hierarchical demographic order of classes (or castles in India). Each class contains categories of people (male/ female, youngers/ elders, etc) with the same social, religious and economic characteristics sharing the same linguistic features (both dialect and accent are included in this sense) in the one class and different between the members of other classes. (Spolsky, 1998; Crystal, 2006).

Therefore, the individual's social identity is basically depicted from the way he/she speaks apart from some differences in 'phonology', grammar and even 'vocabulary' which seem to be more personal rather than social which is known in the field of research as *idiolect* defined by Weinreich (1954: 389) as "The total set

¹ See (section 2.1)

² Originally capitalized in Hudson (1996: 42).

of speech habits of a single individual at a given time”, he describes the term as the speech patterns such as expressions, idioms and intonations which are specific to one speaker and distinguish his/her speech from the other members within the same speech community and the same period of time.

3/ Professional varieties (or registers): this sociolinguistic term refers to ‘varieties according to use’ (Hudson, 1996: 45). As much similar as the dialect, registers also can reveal an act of the speaker’s identity¹, which is the individual’s profession or specialty. At this point, Halliday’s Model of dimensions (1978) (field, mode and tenor) might provide a better understanding for the analysis of registers. In this way, ‘field’ refers to the aim and the subject of the communication, ‘mode’ is concerned with the communicational means, either spoken or written. Then, ‘tenor’ relies on the relationship between interlocutors. However; registers do not need only a three-dimensional analysis but rather a multi-dimensional one (Hudson, 1996).

In fact, though all these varieties are kept quite apart in their functions, they can be tightly co-existing within the speaker’s speech, and “the totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community make up the *verbal repertoire* of that community”². In this vein, Fishman (1972) states that:

‘Proper’ usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasion* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*

(Cited in Dendane, 2007: 118)

Therefore, individuals make their linguistic choices between the linguistic options existing in their verbal repertoire depending on their communicative purposes and according to well-defined social dimensions. Additionally, in his work in New York City, Labov (1966) maintains that the speaker pays different

¹“Broadly speaking, a category that refers to the sense of who we are as individuals or groups. It can be very roughly split into social and regional identity. Aspects of our social and regional identities, such as social class, age, ethnicity and geographical origin are correlated with linguistic variables in studies of language variation.” (Llamas *et al.*, 2007: 216)

² See Gumperz (1968: 72)

degrees of attention to his way of speaking, and this results in his different *styles*. Fishman (1972) agrees that the speaker tends to shift between the styles according to the addressee, the topic of the communication and the setting (when and where the communication is happening). Yet 'style' is a vague notion which has been defined in numerous expressions and ways of thoughts. According to Crystal (2006: 316), "these ways of thoughts can be classified into two broad types: the evaluative and the descriptive". Depending on this definition, the evaluative type, as its name indicates, implies the judgement on someone's linguistic productions for being distinctive in the sense of being 'excellent in performance'; by contrast, the descriptive one is based on describing the individual's linguistic manifestation of being, for instance, 'informal' because of the use of nonstandard distinguishable characteristics which reflect place, period of time, etc with no value judgements or personal bias (Crystal, 2006). The descriptive 'approach' is used in the descriptive studies as in linguistics in which the objectivity is basically required.

1.3. Sociolinguistic Aims and Methods

Over time during the progress of the scientific fields, every discipline had led to the emergence of another discipline (or disciplines) which is (are) not much more important but rather more enriched in other subjects marginalized or not tackled before, and this is the case within language studies. In fact, this was not a matter of a total separation but rather a helpful accumulation in aims and consequences.

Indeed, dialectology as an autonomous discipline standing by its own methods and aims had had a great effect on the development of sociolinguistics, since the geographical variations studied in traditional dialectology had been introduced in correlation with social factors. Then, sociolinguistics also has progressed due to the introduction of discourse analysis, pragmatics and ethnography.

In the same line of thought, Llamas *et al.* (2007: xv) state that:

Sociolinguistic interest in variation and change¹ can be drawn in a straight line back to the earlier traditional concerns of dialectology and philology, which described the different varieties that make up a language and traced the historical development of particular features of vocabulary and grammar

Thus, this statement draws the connection between ‘the study of language in relation to society’², i.e. sociolinguistics, and dialect geography which aimed at providing the geographical location of speakers and their varieties on maps (or specifically variables). In addition, the sound historical studies in philology offer important linguistic descriptions on which sociolinguists might rely.

As a matter of fact, sociolinguists aim at examining the effect of social differences in linguistic behaviour. Since sociolinguistics is a scientific research, it might imply either explicitly or implicitly thinking about language variations through comparison, as Swanson (1971) posits “ thinking without comparison is unthinkable”³. In another word, comparison is used either in single-case (one variable or variety) or in multiple-case (two or more variables or varieties) studies.

Comparison might be translated in a number of systematic comparative methods and techniques such as the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). The latter was developed in the late 1980s to mix between “qualitative” (i.e. case-oriented) and “quantitative” (i.e. variable-oriented) techniques as being “synthetic strategy” in order to “integrate the best features of the case oriented approach with the best features of the variable-oriented approach”⁴ so as to have a fruitful accumulation in analysis and results (Rihoux *et al.*, 2009)

¹ Language change will be discussed in the 3rd chapter (section 1.7)

² Sociolinguistics, see Hudson (1996: 01).

³ Quoted in Rihoux *et al.* (2009: xvii)

⁴ Quoted in Rihoux *et al.* (2009: 06)

‘Comparative analysis’ had emerged in all disciplines (e.g. dialectology and philology¹ as well) before the arrival of sociolinguistics. As an example, in the early years of the eighteenth (18th) century, the philosopher Leibniz encouraged the searchers in the field of language to gather lexical items throughout unlimited range of languages for the sake of comparing and categorizing them depending on the Swadesh’s core-vocabulary list, including proper names, common verbs and climate phenomena. (Gulya, 1974 in Jourdan and Tuite, 2006). In the case of this research, the comparative method is applied on the contemporary Arabic varieties under study, ‘Ksr and Amr’; whereas CA or MSA has an analogical background function (Jackobson, 1972).

During the second half of the nineteenth (19th) century, the comparative method sustained the studies of language change for the sake of answering certain questions like: how do languages change? As a result of sociolinguistic provisions, further systematic explanations for language change had been offered through exploring questions like: why do languages change? Amongst those methods which followed the new technology: the recording on digital tape device, telephone surveys, using computer programmes for storing great amounts of information and others. In addition, the quantitative² analysis of the recorded data makes the comparisons between the linguistic variables in question across different accents and dialects possible (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004). Moreover, ‘Comparative reconstruction’ is another research procedure which implies the phonological comparison between languages through a backward chronological scheme, a precised period; but the phonetic deduction seems to be less certain as much as the historical facts are uncertain (Crystal, 2006).

As it is mentioned before, dialectologists were concerned with mapping the geographical boundaries between rural varieties and its users (see section 2.). They

¹ The scientific study of the linguistic development.

² They are “techniques of randomized experiments, quasi-experiments, paper and pencil “objectives” tests, multivariate statistical analyses, sample surveys, and the like”; whereas, qualitative methods involve “ethnography case studies, in-depth interviews and participant-observation”, (Cook and Reichardt, 1979. Quoted in Paulston, 1992: 133)

based their analysis on informants whose social characteristics are simplified in the acronym 'NORMs' i.e. non-mobile, older, rural, males (Chambers and Tudgill, 2004). However, sociolinguistics drew the attention towards a detailed study relying upon a multi-dimensional categorization for the social factors of the informants: age (older/younger), gender (male/female), context (rural/urban), and others.

1.4. Essential Elements in Sociolinguistic Studies

In every dialectological or sociolinguistic research, there are certain significant elements that the researcher should explore. These bases are described in Chambers *et al.* (2004: 45) who notes that:

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

Accordingly, through analyzing this quotation, one can easily notice that the speakers exhibit social and regional stamps through their speech, so as to identify their belonging to a specific community. In addition, the linguistic behaviour also indicates the speaker's membership to particular social categories like age, gender, ethnicity, and others.

Chambers' statement includes a great deal of bases and criteria upon which this dissertation is constructed. Therefore, by considering the varieties under analysis, El-Ksour and El-Amour, the speakers of each variety are from two different social background, and they are originally from different geographical regions, Sfissifa (ksour area) and countryside of Ain Sefra ¹ respectively. Therefore, the speakers must be categorized in social and regional groups or communities according to the aim of the research.

¹ These matters will be discussed in details in the next chapter.

1.4.1. Community Approaches

Overtime, ordinary people tend to live in groups under the human principle of collection and sharing within family, tribe or society. However, in fields of research the terms concerning people collection must be much more technical in use, helpful in analysis and influential in results. Therefore, the specialists have established a scale for categorising people according to the objectives and circumstances of research.

The term *speech community* describes the basic sample of informants in the sociolinguistic research, (Gumperz, 1968). A number of definitions were established during the life of language study, Trudgill (1992: 69) defines the term as: “A community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who share the same norm for linguistic behaviours”. In other words, it is a group of people who share the same linguistic system / subsystems.

In addition, every person belongs to several speech communities at the same time, because he can identify himself with a particular SC in a special occasion, a specific place or time, in this vein, Fasold (1990) says:

People alter their norms for speech behavior to conform to the appropriate speech community, by adding, subtracting, and substituting rules of communicative behavior.

(Quoted in Dendane, 2007: 33)

In this view, the different social identities, rules and norms which indicate the individual's belonging to his appropriate speech communities are identified in their different linguistic manifestations. Regarding the speaker's manipulation of his linguistic behaviour to identify or to change his social or regional belonging, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) explain the notion of *acts of identity* in the following terms:

The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

In this way, the speaker's linguistic behaviour identifies a great scheme of social identities, as he can be identified with/or distinguished from a particular group of people either willingly or unwillingly.

Furthermore, *social network* as a concept taken from sociology was introduced in sociolinguistics due to its significance in patterning people for the sake of studying their linguistic behaviour (s). This term is defined by Milroy and Gordon (2003) as "the relationships [individuals] contract with others... [reaching] out through social and geographical space linking many individuals"¹. In such a manner, the social network is concerned with the close geographical and social environment of the individual, that is to say, what are the social patterns of association between people (family and friends) for studying the effect of each pattern on shaping the individual's way of talking?.

Many researchers like the Milroys (1987; 1994) have claimed the necessity of the network as a social basis of research for a better understanding of how social and regional linguistic variables are distributed, as well as how linguistic change is taking place within a community or throughout communities (Jourdan and Tuite, 2006; Labov, 2010).

Moreover, the concept *communities of practice*, introduced in sociolinguistics by Eckert (1992), denotes another way of describing a social grouping. Meyerhoff describes the community of practice simply as 'a specific kind of social network'², Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) define the term as:

¹ Stated in Meyerhoff (2003: 184)

² Meyerhoff. (2006: 189)

[A]n aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations- in short practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour.

(Quoted in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 29-30)

Communities of practice are concerned with a ‘mutual engagement’ which is a narrow environment in which individuals are involved in social interaction based on social endeavours for epitomizing group membership and on a common linguistic repertoire, in addition to an important criterion which must be mentioned that is working on shared goals in practice within a space of function, otherwise, the community of practice becomes a social network, and the term would be needless (Meyerhoff, 2006). Besides, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet extend the term to global communities with large notions as religion, academic trends and professions (Llamas *et al.*, 2007).

Overall, those three different ‘community models’ have commonalities as well as differences. Obviously, social network and community of practice seem to share noteworthy points with each other more than with the speech community model. Both use the qualitative data collection (e.g. the participant observation in Milroy and Eckert) (Meyerhoff, 2006).

By comparing speech community with community of practice, one can see that the membership is constructed internally within the latter and externally with the former. In other terms, mutual engagement is not necessary to assess the membership to a specific speech community in contrast with community of practice which necessitates the engagement in practice to serve particular goals in the workplace (Llamas *et al.*, 2007).

Despite these contrasts between the frameworks, the researcher must be cautious when using the terms, especially when he/she is engaged in a complex sociolinguistic case of study. Although, further researches are inquired in order to found fruitful criteria of distinction and use, the term ‘speech community’ is used in

this research work relying on Spolsky's definition, after giving numerous explanations to the term, he (1998: 27) claims that:

The speech community is, therefore, the 'abstract' space studied in sociolinguistics, the location in which the patterned variation in selection from the available repertoire takes place

Spolsky relates the definition of the speech community nature to the set of variations in question within the sociolinguistic research itself. At this point, one can consider the sample of population under the linguistic study a 'speech community', as its main aim is the identification of certain sociolinguistic realities (purposes).

1.4.2. Linguistic Variable

The use of this term is very necessary in any sociolinguistic achievement. It was introduced in Labov's work (1963) in the rural speech community Martha's Vineyard. The existence of the linguistic *variable* can be clearly shown in Llamas *et al.* (2007: 03) statement: "A choice between two or more distinct but linguistically equivalent variants represents the existence of a linguistic variable". In this way, the linguistic variable is the linguistic feature that sustains two realisations, which are governed by social variables and offer social interpretations within the same speaker's speech or different speakers'. (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004; Waurdhaugh, 2006)

In sociolinguistics, this linguistic unit is considered as an indispensable basis for qualitative and quantitative data analysis; Llamas *et al.* (2007: 221) defines the linguistic variable as "a descriptive and analytical unit used to describe and quantify patterns of variation in speech and writing". The alternation between the variants of a certain variable within the same utterance does not affect the meaning as they are allophones and not phonemes. For example, the variable (h) in the following words has two variants: [h] in "who" and [Ø] in "while", and the variable (t) which occurs as a glottal stop [ʔ] as in "not" for the Cockney. The occurrence of variants is governed by linguistic factors such as the position of sounds within the

utterance, and non-linguistic factors such as the age of the speakers, in a way or another, it needs sociolinguistic interpretations. Variables can be found at all levels of the linguistic structure; phonology, morphology and lexis.

1.4.3. Gender and Age Effectiveness

One among the most known works on language and *gender* is the one edited by Holmes and Meyerhoff in which the contributors tended to consider the significance of ‘gender’ as a momentous social factor within the study of the variability of linguistic behaviour. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003: 01) claim that “Language and gender is a particularly vibrant area of research and theory development within the larger study of language and society” i.e. the involvement of gender categorization in the data analysis is very necessary for the development of the sociolinguistic field of research. In the context of language and gender studies, Kendall (1999) notes:

Women and men do not generally choose linguistic options for the purpose of creating masculine or feminine identities; instead, they draw upon gendered linguistic strategies to perform pragmatic and interactional functions of language. Thus, constitute roles in a gendered way. It is the manner in which people constitute their identities when acting within a social role that is linked with gender- that is, being a “good mother”, being a “good manager”.

(Cited in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 13)

This ‘framing approach’ of ‘gender-based social categories’ demonstrates that the distinct linguistic features associated with gender serve pragmatic and communicational functions within the society. Likewise, the study of language including sex factor¹ as an identity index is as a salient constituent in the study of language social indices in general, i.e. the individual’s identity is a member of the social group’s identities.

¹ It is convenient to distinguish between gender and sex as “[they] serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts” (Shapiro (1981), quoted in Holmes *et al.* 2003: 22). Thus, the distinction is rather a matter of the researcher’s reference, whether it is biological or sociocultural one. However, in this research work the distinction is not demanded.

Moreover, many studies on linguistic change, as Labov's *Language Variation and Change* (1991), have asserted that women use a higher frequency of standard linguistic forms than men and they are generally responsible for linguistic innovations.

Just like the case of gender, *age* is another important social factor in studying language: Llamas *et al.* (2007: 69) assert that: "The treatment of age in sociolinguistic studies is influenced, to a degree, by a primary concern with language change or with language variation". Subsequently, the importance of age variable lies into two principles within the language study: linguistic variation within the language (variety) itself synchronically and change of language during generations diachronically. The individual's age is used as a criterion in qualitative and quantitative data analysis. For instance, sociolinguists collect data based on age classification in order to seek for answers to the following questionings: do the linguistic differences within a particular dialect refer to the speakers' difference of age? Do old individuals speak like young ones? Which category of people uses a great amount of linguistic changed features: elders, adults or younger? Many studies have tackled the comparison between adults' and younger's' speech (Labov, 1990; Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003)

1.4.4. Ethnic Distinction

The term *ethnicity* has been firstly introduced in the social science literature in the 1950s. Like gender and age, ethnicity has been considered as a key aspect of individuals' identity (O'Reilly, 2001; Good, 2008) According to Llamas *et al.* (2007: 78) the ethnic group usually implies the following parameters:

- 1) Origins that precede or are external to the state.
- 2) Group membership that is involuntary.
- 3) Ancestral tradition rooted in a shared sense of people hood.
- 4) Distinctive value orientations and behavioural patterns.

5) Influence of the group on the lives of its members.

6) Group membership influenced by how members define themselves and how they are defined by others. (National Council of Social Studies, Task Force on Ethnic Studies 1976).

Therefore, the belonging to one's ethnic group is not willingly or voluntarily as it is born with no choice; it is based on how the members who share the same way of life, traditions and behaviours define themselves and are defined by others, i.e. the way they distinguish themselves and are distinguished by the others is held through the appearance of cultural traits which identify people ethnically. As Crystal (2006: 302) shows, the ethnic group term can be used in order to identify many of the 'tribal divisions' by which numerous countries in Africa are characterized, both of the terms 'tribe' and 'ethnic group' are used alternatively in this research work with no different denotative meaning.

Nevertheless, other researchers tend to introduce other criteria for the definition, one that is based on the individual's deeds rather than his personal characteristics (Giles, 1976; Fought, 2002)¹.

Numerous studies have tackled the varieties based on the ethnicity criterion as 'ethnic varieties' which "may serve a full range of symbolic social roles and functions, from marking relations of social dominance and subordination to constructing and negotiating individual and group identities"². Again, ethnicity is considered as a proof for identifying the identity and the purpose of both of the individual and his group. As it is the case of any linguistic behaviour, ethnic varieties supply social functions for denoting the identity of the individuals as well as the group. This appears in Spolsky's (1998: 57) sentence: "Most ethnic groups believe that their language is the best medium for preserving and expressing their traditions." He uses the term language in its general meaning, a system or a sub-

¹ Refer to Llamas *et al.* (2007)

² Llamas *et al.* (2007: 82)

system, yet it is specific to the members of an ethnic group by which they express and protect their customs and own traditions.

Algeria, the second largest country in Africa, was inhabited by many ethnic groups and sub-groups, namely the berbers during the ancient time who are considered as the first natives with a number of tribes and sub-tribes. By the Islam arrival to Algeria in the eleventh (11th) century, the berbers' conversion to Islam was the first measurement in arabizing the population due to the Arabic existence along its territories; hence, the variability of people's settlement and contact makes the Algerian social profile variable and that influences the linguistic behaviour within the human group and individual himself, since on the linguistic ground, the contact between people plays a great role.

It is important to seek the differences between two different ethnic varieties throughout different speech communities, but it is interesting when the ethnic groups are from the same community speaking the same varieties and using different distributions of specific linguistic variables, quantitatively and qualitatively.

1.4.5. Bedouin/Urban/Rural Classification

Speaking about this kind of classification within the Arabic context is clearly epitomised in Ibn Jinni in the tenth (10th) century and Ibn Khaldoun's *Muqaddima* in the fourteenth (14th) century. Many studies in traditional dialectology inherited from Ibn Khaldoun have revealed that the Arabic people patterns are typically divided into two types: Nomadic (Bedouin) and Sedentary (rural and urban). Accordingly, in correlation with this contextual classification, there are three different typological divisions of Arabic varieties: Bedouin (*badawî*) dialect and Sedentary (*hadarî*) dialect in which there are rural (*qarawî* or *fellâhî*) and urban (*madanî*) dialects (Cadora, 1992; Miller *et al.*, 2007). Many studies on the dialects of North Africa have followed Ibn Khaldoun's historical demarcations such as Ph. Marçais (1960).

In his description of Bedouin and Sedentary dialects, J. Cantineau (1937, 1941) distinguishes between the two categories of dialects by characterizing the bedouin as the one which keeps the realisation of the three interdentalals /θ, ð, ð̣/ which are produced as the two dentals /t, d / in sedentary one.

In addition, the voiced [g] is the most known feature within the bedouin dialects in contrast with the voiceless [q], the glottal stop [ʔ] and the voiceless plosive [k] which are sedentary features, specifically urban ones. Concerning the pronunciation of [q], Cantineau (1938)¹ asserts that only the sedentary dialects have this pronunciation.

In certain contemporary studies, from the linguistic point of view, the distinction between the classes of Arabic varieties does not rely on the speaker's geographical location or people's lifestyle but rather on the presence/absence of certain features on the linguistic levels. In this context, according to Cohen (1970), rural varieties as opposed to urban varieties are characterized by the following features:

- The preservation of diphthongs in use which are realised as long vowels in the urban varieties, i.e. the glides /ai, au/ for underlying [i:, u:]. For example, the words /b ait/ and /jaum/ are articulated as [bi:t] and [ju:m] ('house' and 'day') respectively
- The keeping of the interdentalals (of MSA) /θ, ð, ð̣/ which are replaced by the dentals [t, d,] in urban varieties
- The conjugation of defective verbs is different from the form within the urban variety, for instance: the root < mfj > and < bkj > 'idea of going' and 'idea of crying' respectively are conjugated as: /m fɪ:t/ and /b ki:t/ in urban varieties while in rural ones /mfajt/ and /b kæjt/ are used.

¹ Cantineau's French quotation (1938: 82) is: « Seule une prononciation sourde du *qaf* a un sens décisif: tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation »

In some cases, it is quite difficult to classify a dialect as Bedouin or sedentary because of the vernaculars which have been emerged from the process of bedouinisation and urbanisation (Miller *et al.*, 2007). Yet, by applying all these considerations on the Ksr and Amr varieties, the former seems to be closer to a rural variety; while the latter might be classified as Bedouin variety due to the origin of its ethnic group.

The above traditional division of the Arabic dialects in Ibn Khaldoun's work is still productive and used today, as it is the case in this research work. In addition, the ethnic factor helps in understanding the linguistic accommodation and change theories resulting from language contact processes.

1.4.6. Language Contact

In a multilingual society, the individual controls a range of two or more languages (or 'varieties', neutrally). When languages come together into play, they are subjected to contact since the speakers need to interact for several reasons, and this what Malinowski (or Malinovsky) called "phatic communion" which means the expressive function of speech (language). These language functions are the essential aim of any contact. Jakobson (1960: 353) defines this term as follows: "CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication". Jakobson, here, relates 'contact' with any communicative channel to include all what is beyond face-to-face conversations for he does not precise the dependency of the psychological relation on the nature of the channel. Thus, any contact between two (or more) people that holds a communicative purpose designates the contact between two (or more) languages (or varieties). Yet, the fact of studying many languages subjected to contact implies the study of different cultures, as Sapir (2004: 87) claims:

Languages like cultures are rarely sufficient unto themselves; the necessities of intercourse bring the speakers of one language into direct or indirect contact with those of neighboring or culturally dominant languages.

In this statement, Sapir states that neither human culture nor language can grow in a vacuum, and social necessities drive individuals to get involved in communicative exchange of their habits and ideas which deliver certain cultural behaviours most of which are linguistic ones. Among the language contact phenomena, one might mention the following: multilingualism (to be discussed in chapter two), code switching¹ and borrowing² and others (Waurdhaugh, 2006).

In like manner, dialects of the same language are also addressed to contact. Then, numerous linguistic features come out from this contact as Llamas *et al.* (2007: 109) say: “dialect contact is rather associated with more gradual, often quantitative changes in the realisation of certain variables in morphology and phonology”. The linguistic change realised through dialect contact appears gradually on the speakers’ phonological and morphological features. Hence, the same results of language contact could occur within dialect contact and vice versa (Jourdan and Tuite, 2006).

Trudgill’s work (1986) on dialect contact has revealed many claims on the significance of this process in shaping other processes such as linguistic accommodation.

1.4.7. Language Accommodation

Different neighbouring dialects that have been subjected to communication play a great role in decreasing ‘dialect diversity’ (Labov, 2010). This process of reduction of linguistic diversity and differences between dialects was labelled as ‘dialect levelling’, which is the building of new patterns of a “historically mixed

¹ “The use of more than one language in the same place at the same time”, (Thomason, 2001: 01)

² “The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the ‘borrowing’ of words when there is cultural borrowing there is always the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too”, (Sapir, 2004: 37)

but synchronically stable”¹ dialect, that is to say, the new forms established to decrease dialectal unintelligibility are mixed by the lexemes used during precise historical periods and at the same time are used in the period studied synchronically, within a precise period (Trudgill, 1986; Auer and Hiskensen, 1996; Llamas *et al.*, 2007). According to Meyerhoff (2006: 239), dialect levelling is “the gradual erasure or loss of the differences that have traditionally distinguished very local or highly regionalised varieties of a language”. It is the outcome of the gradual process of reducing the linguistic distinctive features when the contact between the speakers of different varieties of the same language takes place.

Furthermore, Bloomfield’s principle of *accommodation* has led to better understanding of ‘dialect levelling’; he (1933: 476) claims that “Every speaker is constantly adapting his speech-habits to those of his interlocutors.”² Hence, the speaker may adapt his way of speaking to other dialectal features in a way or another, on different linguistic levels within certain circumstances. According to Chambers (1992: 667): “the lexical replacements are acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants”, i.e. when a specific speech community has witnessed a linguistic change, or narrowly speaking accommodation on the lexical level, the replaced (new) lexeme spreads across the speakers’ linguistic behaviour more quickly than new accents³ or phonemes do.

Within the speech community, the speakers who are more adaptable in nature exhibit a high degree of adopted linguistic features from the target dialect, and vice versa (Trudgill, 1986; Chambers, 1992). In this way, language accommodation is the outcome of dialects contact and this phenomenon may result in the *linguistic change* process.

¹ Trudgill (1986: 107).

² Quoted in Labov (2010: 05)

³ “The characteristic pronunciation patterns of a variety of speech. A speaker’s accent can often identify their social class, age, gender, geographical origins, ethnicity and even their political affiliations. Accent can be technically described by phonemes and intonation patterns”. (Llamas *et al.*, 2007:205)

1.4.8. Linguistic Change

Throughout the nineteenth (19th) century, the primary aim of linguistics was to study the historical progress of particular languages for the sake of building general hypotheses for linguistic change, under the branch of historical linguistics, or in another term: *diachronic* studies of language¹ which Lyons (1981: 35) defines as follows :

A diachronic description of a language traces the historical development of the language and records the changes that have taken place in it between successive points in time: ‘diachronic’ is equivalent, therefore, to ‘historical’.

This definition maintains that language change is a diachronic process, for these studies are concerned with the change of language over time or during a period of time. Briefly, it is the result of time and history as well.

Essentially, linguistic change must be seen at two different but correlated levels, as Labov (1994: 26) asserts:

[...] we must separate the variation due to change from the variation due to social factors like sex, social class and social networks, and ethnicity. And from the variation due to internal factors like sentence stress, segmental environment, word order and phrase structure.

In fact, Labov insists on including both social and structural analyses when investigating the change of a particular variety (language or dialect). Thus, language change might be recognized by the systematic differences in the linguistic behaviour itself (the linguistic levels of analysis) and the social differences between the speakers of that variety (social variables). As it is widely agreed, the explanation of the language change lies in knowing its causes. Accordingly, by investigating the factors behind linguistic change, the researchers come out with some factors related to the nature of society and others related to the language itself.

¹ De Saussure’s dichotomy (diachronic /synchronic), the latter is defined in Lyons as “A synchronic description of a language is not historical: it presents an account of the language as it is at some particular point in time” (ibid)

Moreover, a number of researchers differentiate between two types of language change, which are rather correlated with the reasons and circumstances behind the change. In this respect, Trudgill (1983) states that:

[L]inguistic changes may come in two rather different types. Some forms of linguistic change may be relatively ‘natural’, in the sense that they are liable to occur in all linguistic systems, at all times, without external stimulus, because of the inherent nature of linguistic systems themselves—and it is here of course that the stability of the nature of human beings is relevant. Other types of linguistic change, on the other hand, may be relatively ‘non-natural’, in the sense that they take place mainly as the result of language contact. They are, that is, not due to the inherent nature of language systems, but to processes that take place in particular sociolinguistic situations.

(Cited in Good, 2008 : 218)

In sum, historical linguistic change research has taken into consideration the study of the social dimensions of the speakers, such as age, gender and ethnicity, on the one hand, and the investigation of the structural system of the variety, such as: phonological, grammatical and lexical level, on the other hand.

As far as this sociolinguistic research is concerned, it is very convenient to mention at this point the language change on the lexical level. However, the researcher cannot marginalize the effects of sound change on the lexical change, as Chen and Wang (1977) claim:

Sound change does not operate on the lexicon en bloc and instantaneously or according to a uniform schedule: rather, it spreads itself gradually across the lexicon, and operates on words or groups thereof one after another [...] this gradual spread of phonological change from morpheme to morpheme has become known under the name of lexical diffusion.

(Quoted in Cadora, 1992: 09)

Accordingly, the operation of sound change happens through time with no uniform or regular way to follow¹. Thus, lexical change is a gradual process; it

¹ See section (1.2.)

begins from the small unit in the linguistic system of the variety, which is the phoneme¹ and spreads across the morphemes, until this change covers the whole lexicon of the variety. This process is coined as ‘lexical diffusion’. In the same vein of ideas Chen and Wang (1977) say:

[...] a phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon until all relevant lexical items have been transformed by the process.

(ibid: 08)

This idea of the phonological rule as a first step clarifies the procedures of language change maintenance and transmission which begins from the smallest unit to the meaningful unit then make up the whole system of the language. At this point, it is worthy to mention the difference between the technical terms, *transmission* and *diffusion*. Labov (2010: 11) defines the concepts:

Transmission is seen as the product of children’s cognitive capacities as language learners: it is the basic process responsible both for stability and for the regularity of change within the speech community. Diffusion across speech communities, on the other hand, is seen as the product of the more limited learning capacity of adults. Because adults acquire language in a less regular and faithful manner than children do, the results of such language contact are found to be less regular and less consistent than transmission within the community.

Thus, though both terms exhibit the idea of language change, transmission is the result of the children’s cognitive process when learning language within a specific community, whilst diffusion is the adults’ product when acquiring language throughout speech communities and along their life experiences. Diffusion is, therefore, less regular than transmission, since it is a matter of adults’ responsibility, and here the significance of the age factor within the sociolinguistic study inevitably occurs.

¹ The very smallest building parts of phonological structure are the features, the characteristics of phoneme, e.g. n [+nasal], and since language change is concerned primarily with phonemes, it is also concerned with features.

On another facet, Cadora (1992) relates between the linguistic structure and ecological one, in the following figure. It might simplify the explanation of linguistic change through change in social classification:

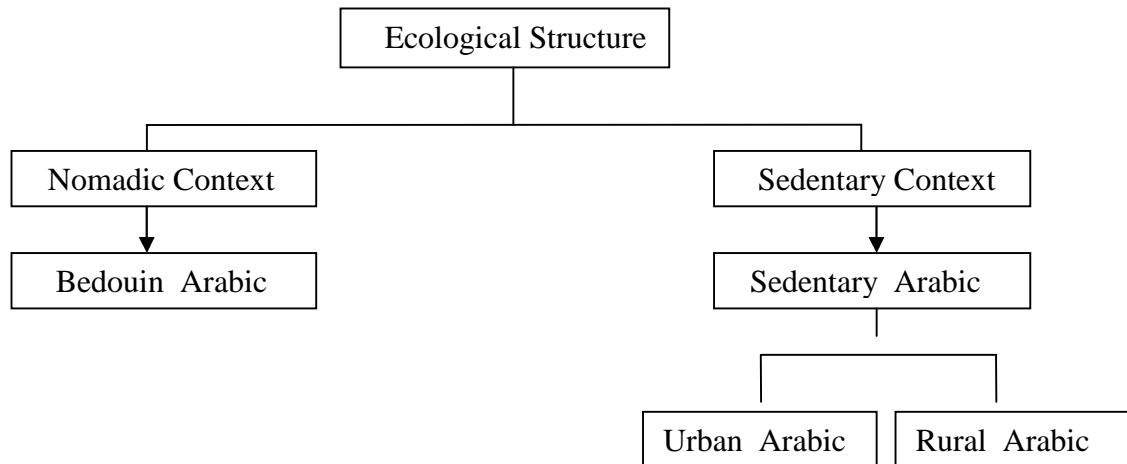


Figure 1.1: Ecological Structure and Linguistic Correlates in the Arab World.

(Derni, 2009: 54)

Cadora places the importance of studying linguistic change with reference to the ecological change of the environment of the language in question. In his work about studying a Palestinian dialect, he claimed that the rural features of this dialect had been replaced by the urban prestigious elements of Jerusalem.

In this respect, Cadora explains these cases of ecolinguistic¹ change occurrences by saying:

These ecolinguistic changes occur, not as result of processes of imitation or borrowings, but rather from the application of new ecolinguistic rules developed through an intuitive process that subjects the ruralite linguistic system to an analysis which takes into consideration the new urbanite data.

(Cadora, 1992: 136)

Hence, Cadora's view of the change from the rural to the urban linguistic system is, therefore, ecological transformational process from rural to urban social

¹ “Ecolinguistics is the study of language according to the environment it is used in it. The term emerged in the nineties as a new paradigm of language study that speculates about not only the intra-relations, the inter-relations, and the extra-relations of language and environment, but also combinations of these relations” (Derni, 2009: 18)

environment and not an outcome of pure linguistic operations as borrowing¹ or imitation through imitating the others for a range of personal or social reasons.

In this context, within the speech community “changes in social structure are translated into changes in linguistic structure”. (Meillet, 1921)². Thus, linguistic change is a result among the facts resulting from the social change, one can suggest that whenever there is a change on the linguistic level there is behind this automatically a change on the social level. Indeed, the process of investigating the causes of a result is more difficult than describing the fact solely. This reality has called for the assumption that globalization evidently influences language change interms of ‘language ideologies’, or in other words, the linguistic representations and forms that serve the social transformations within a specific human group (networks, speech communities and communities of practice, etc.) which must be analysed within the sociolinguistic scale of globalization (genres, registers, styles and others) (Blommaert, 2003)

1.5. Conclusion

This chapter is purely the theoretical phase of the whole work. It has introduced a number of language aspects, phenomena and fields of study. Furthermore, its aim was to consider the relation between the linguistic behaviour and non-linguistic factors, as well as to demonstrate the reflection of a large scheme of social identities in the individual’s language variations.

The application of the technical terms stated in this chapter will be clearly seen in the next one. Thus, the reader will take a close look on the scene of language variation, i.e. the speech community under study, which is Ain Sefra. The researcher will describe this community from the social and linguistic perspectives in order to demonstrate the several dialects connected to this geographical space.

¹ The adoption and adaptation of new words from other language in the native language, by “mixing the systems themselves” (Hudson, 1996: 55).

² Quoted in Labov (2010: 185)

CHAPTER TWO:

**AIN SEFRA A SOCIAL CONTEXT OF
LINGUISTIC VARIABILITY**

Chapter Two:

Ain Sefra A Social Context of Linguistic Variability

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Algerian Linguistic Context

2.2.1. Arabic Language

2.2.2. Diglossia and Multilingualism

2.3. Geographical Location of Ain Sefra

2.4. Historical Background and Inhabitants' Origin

2.5. Description of Population and linguistic Variation

2.5.1. Ethnic Groups

2.5.2. Linguistic Context

2.6. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

The speech community of Ain Sefra which is under investigation is widely known by its ethnic and biological diversity. This is due to the historical facts that had shaped the social status and the geographical image that created the different biological lives in that region.

However, the concern of the research work is to draw the attention towards the linguistic level in which a comparison takes place between actually coexisting varieties which are the Ksr and Amr ones. These varieties, are called thus after their ethnic groups, seem to be worthwhile for analysis, since during the researcher's trip of observation of the two specific ethnic groups, El-ksour and El-Amour, various differences have been extremely remarked apart from others that will be cited through the points discussed in this chapter.

Therefore, this chapter explores many issues related to the region of Ain Sefra. Thereof, the geographical, historical and social domains are tackled along the lines coming below. In addition, this part introduces the general linguistic profile of Algeria and the specific one of the region which is the indispensable vein of the body of the research.

2.2. The Algerian Linguistic Context

In order to give a broad picture of the linguistic profile in Algeria, it is necessary to talk about variability in all its sorts, since there is common consensus among linguists and even non-linguists that the Algerian linguistic figure is colourful due to the various language phenomena that co-exist in the community.

2.2.1. The Arabic Language

Arabic as a semitic language is spoken all over the Arab world countries. It takes two forms: Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic; the former includes Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) while the latter is the set of varieties used in daily life communications. The difference between CA and MSA lies basically in lexis, CA is the form of the Qur'an, it was used in writings and poetry even in the pre-Islamic era; whereas, MSA has developed to serve education and mass-media inquiries and be used in official circumstances all over the Arab Nation. Marçais (1960: 566) notes in his description of CA that:

[Classical Arabic] had an extremely rich vocabulary, due to the Bedouins' power of observation and partly to poetic exuberance; some of the wealth may be due to dialect mixture. It was not rich in forms of constructions, but sufficiently flexible to survive the adaptation to the needs of a highly urbanized and articulate culture without a disruption of its structure.

Marçais insists on the lexical richness of CA in using the adverb 'extremely'. He presumes the reasons by referring to its Bedouin origin, its use in poems and the probability of its mixing with other dialects. He also gives another characteristic of CA which is the flexibility to cope with the new without losing its structure, through introducing the urbanisation process. In a way or another, Marçais sheds the light on an important questioning of whether CA is really a dead language! According to many researchers in the field, CA is classified as dead language besides others such as Latin (Waurdhaugh, 2006), Mouhadjer (2002: 989) asserts that: " Classical Arabic, the language of the Koran is considered as a dead language", this can be referred to the no longer use of this form of Arabic in the formal settings since MSA is used instead apart from religious circumstances as prayers or reading the Qur'an, i.e. although the language exists in writings and archives it cannot be considered as a 'living language' (Sapir, 2004).

As it is discussed in the first chapter, social contact has a very important influence on the linguistic profile of the society as well as the individuals. Similarly, the different civilisations which occupied Algeria have left different linguistic prints. The socio-historical background of Algeria can be displayed through three main periods of time, firstly the existence of the Berbers in the country, secondly, the Arabic settlements and thirdly, the French colonisation.

In spite of the Arabisation which had spread all over the Algerian territories due to Islam spread, Berber language or ‘Tamazight’¹ still gains a salient social status among their speakers, and the proof on this is the preservation of its use till nowadays.

MSA was stated to be an official and national language of Algeria according to the constitution (1963). The French policy of education in 1880s in Algeria was aiming at eradicating the Algerian belonging, since Jules Ferry believed that the French identity could be seeded through schools. Although the French denial of the Arabic language during the era of colonisation by officializing French language, Arabic was still the print of the Algerian Muslim identity, since it was taught in traditional schools, named ‘zawiyat’ (sing. ‘zawiyah’).

Moreover, the Spanish and Turkish existence in the country had left some prints on the linguistic domain, since Algeria was considered as a motive for many invasions during the history. Certain researchers have proved some Spanish features which are likely to be lexical ones were left behind during the Spanish presence in Algeria in the sixteenth (16th) century, for example: /rokna/ in Spanish “rincón” (a corner)². As Algeria became under the Ottoman authority in 18th century, certain elements were realised on the sociolinguistic level, e.g. the word /tɔpsi/³ (a plate). These lexemes are instances of language interference which can be illustrated as loan words.

¹ ‘Tamazight’ => the language, ‘Amazigh’ => free man, ‘Imazighen’ => people (Pl.)

² An example mentioned in Chachou, I. (2009). ‘Remarques sur le parler urbain de Mostaganem’. *Synergies Algérie*. N° 4, pp. 69-81

³ In narrow phonemic transcription, [tɔpsi] — [- voice] / regressive assimilation of voicing.

2.2.2. Diglossia and Multilingualism

Among the phenomena which describe the different use of the linguistic behaviours (either languages or dialects) under certain conditions, one can mention *diglossia* and *bilingualism*.

There are certain levels and directions in which Arabic dialects might be classified. For instance, geographically, dialects are divided into Oriental and Occidental varieties; while historically, they are classified into two categories, the ancient and the medieval varieties (Miller *et al.*, 2007). These facts make the views towards MSA language and Arabic varieties different in terms of position and function. Then, here, it is worthy to speak firstly about *diglossia*.

Diglossia is a linguistic contact phenomenon, according to Ferguson (1959) it is defined as the existence of two different varieties: high (H) which is the standard language and low (L) variety or the vernacular dialect side by side throughout the speech community. Ferguson requires that the two varieties should certainly belong to the same language and each one serves specific purposes, as he (1959: 245) says: “one of most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L”. In this case, the diglossic situation in Algeria could be represented into the existence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as H variety used in schools, formal meetings and religious ceremonies, and colloquial Algerian Arabic (AA) as L variety used at home and informal settings. In sum, Ferguson spoke of H and L as ‘superposed’ languages. Indeed, the diglossic situation within the Arab world had not been recently existed far from being recognized and written about, as Ferguson (1959: 327) says: “Arabic diglossia seems to reach as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes”; and as it is widely accepted, besides Qur’an, Arabic was also the language form of the pre-Islamic period.

In diglossic situation, the H variety seems to be distinguished from the L one in Romaine's statement:

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

(Romaine, 1994; Quoted in Mouhadjer, 2002: 991)

As it is stated, it is necessary to analyse each of the linguistic and the social aspects of difference separately and by Romaine's order, through considering CA / MSA as the 'high' variety and AA as the 'low' one:

- Grammar: Since L variety is not written and is not taught in schools, it has no common and standardized grammar in addition to the disappearance of some representative Standard grammatical features and categories which H variety contains.
- Phonology: Some phonemes either consonant or vowels in the L variety(es) have other variants within the H variety, as the case of /q/ → [g] (Marçais, 1960).
- Lexis: Since H and L are from the same language, they probably share the same lexicon which behave differently grammatically and semantically besides other items and expressions which denote different social meaning (Crystal, 2006). In addition to those structural differences, social characteristics have to be taken into consideration.
- Function: Each of H and L has (a) specific function(s) which means the appropriacy of use. MSA is used in formal speech as mosques; while AA is the form of everyday speech as home. The use of L variety in the situations in which the H usage is more appropriate seems to be a kind of an awkward behaviour and vice versa (Hudson, 1996).

- Prestige: Generally H variety is more prestigious than the L one due to many reasons, such as the former is used in education, religion and literature; Whereas the L use is limited to daily life conversations (Spolsky, 1998)
- Literary heritage: Literature is used to be written in H form either in prose or poetry. The most known heritage in Classical Arabic is Coran whereas there is few or almost no literature in L (or AA) only the occurrence of the popular expressions and the folklore.
- Acquisition: Since the H variety is taught in schools, it is acquired through learning; yet, the L variety is first acquired as a mother tongue.
- Standardization: As it is agreed, standardization is an important step in preparing a chosen variety to be an official and national language which is the H form.
- Stability: as Ferguson (1959), diglossia is a stable phenomenon. It still denotes the specification of functions and status of each of the varieties.

However, the term diglossia has been further extended and refined by Fishman (1967) who describes it as:

An enduring societal arrangement [...] such that two 'languages' each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions.

(Quoted in Waurdhaugh (2006: 95) originally italics)

Thus, Fishman's view includes in addition to monolingual cases, bilingual and multilingual ones in which there is a huge range of varieties (languages and dialects) genetically unrelated (they do not belong to the same language family) and have separate and precised functions. Considering the following language relations within the Algerian society, French as (H₁) and Arabic as (L₁) which is divided into MSA as (H₂) and AA as (L₂) relationships besides Berber language as (L₃), every

language (or variety) is used according to certain purposes, circumstances and situations.

In Algeria, the individuals tend to use three languages composing their verbal repertoire which are: Arabic (by considering both of the standard and the vernaculars), Berber¹ and French. This linguistic phenomenon refers to numerous historical facts. The following bilingual forms: Berber/ Arabic, Arabic/ French and Berber/ French need to be analysed under the term of *multilingualism*.

Multilingualism, on the one hand, is the ability of an individual to speak two or more distinct languages which are genetically unrelated (Gumperz, 1982). Moreover, this term refers to the use or knowledge of more than one language either by the individual or by the whole speech community. It is an individual as well as social measurement, as Clyne (1998) states that:

The term ‘multilingualism’ can refer to either the language use or the competence of an individual or to the language situation in an entire nation or society

(Quoted in Coulmas 1998: 01)

In this quote, Clyne distinguishes between two types of multilingualism, individual and societal one. The individual’s bilingual abilities can be classified in a continuum, from the very proficient to the very less proficient, this degree of proficiency is assessed through the four skills products (listening and reading comprehension, speaking and writing expression). The fact in which Haugen (1966) explains “[bilingualism begins] at the point where a speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language”² . Many of the Algerian who had the opportunity to learn French and Standard Arabic in schools are considered as a basis in forming what is known the ‘élite’. Hence, they contribute in creating the different degrees of bilingualism on the one hand and maintaining the bilingual use in communication on the other hand.

¹ After the recognition of Berber as an official language under the ‘law of the 10th April 2002’.

² Stated in Spolsky (1998: 97).

When Spolsky (1998: 47) writes that “It is rare to find equal ability in both languages”, he asserts by using the adjective ‘equal’ that it is not always likely to find bilingual speakers who are capable of mastering both languages in the same degree equally. In Algeria, bilingualism, French/Arabic, is not homogeneous neither at the individual level nor at the societal one, since not all the Algerians are bilingual (at least not in the same level of language mastering). This calls for mentioning passive and active bilingualism. Regarding the language skills, the active bilingual can speak and understand the second language, though he does not write or read whereas who has passive bilingual capacities he understands it with no ability to speak it (Mouhadjer, 2002).

The use of these three languages differs depending on the speaker, the listener and the context. The linguistic phenomenon which governs the process of moving back and forth between one language and another (or between more) within the same chain of speech is identified as *code switching* that is clearly noticeable in multilingual speech communities.

Romaine (1995) mentions monolingual code switching by expanding the meaning of CS to include what Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) have called *style shifting in monolingual speech*, she (1995: 121) says:

I will use the term ‘code’ in a general sense to refer not only to different languages, but also to varieties of the same language as well as styles, within a language.

In her statement, Romaine uses the expression ‘not only[...] but also’ in order to go beyond the different systems to the different sub-systems; in other words, from language to dialects. Through this generalization, one can say that code switching is the result of the variability within the speaker’s components of his/her verbal repertoire, since the individual can choose to switch between all the codes according to the appropriate context. That is, many Algerians can switch between Arabic, French and Berber words or expressions.

Another instance of language contact resulting from the history in Algeria is borrowing. Its definition is mentioned in Sapir's statement (2004: 37):

The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the 'borrowing' of words when there is cultural borrowing there is the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too.

This definition maintains that whenever there is a cultural contact between two speech communities, each has its own linguistic system, the process of borrowing is an undeniable consequence by referring to the relationship between language and culture. Concerning this process, it is hard to clearly identify at what point in time the new lexemes gained the position of being loan-words.

As the interest of our research work is concerned with Ain Sefra, this speech community might be characterized by a set of features mentioned above since it is a part of Algeria.

2.3. Geographical Location of Ain Sefra

The region of Ain Sefra is situated in the heart of the Ksour Mountains inside the occidental Saharian Atlas of the Algerian South West. This region is considered as the opening door over the Sahara from Wilaya of Naama. It is commonly known as a rich place by its natural resources and monuments, mountains and huge sand hills, and others. It occupies a surface reaching 1023 km² as it is stated in the Atlas of Naama of 2010. It is limited from the North by wilaya of Naama, from the South by Moghrar. And, from the East, it is restricted by Sfissifa, and from the West by Tiout. (See fig. 2.1)

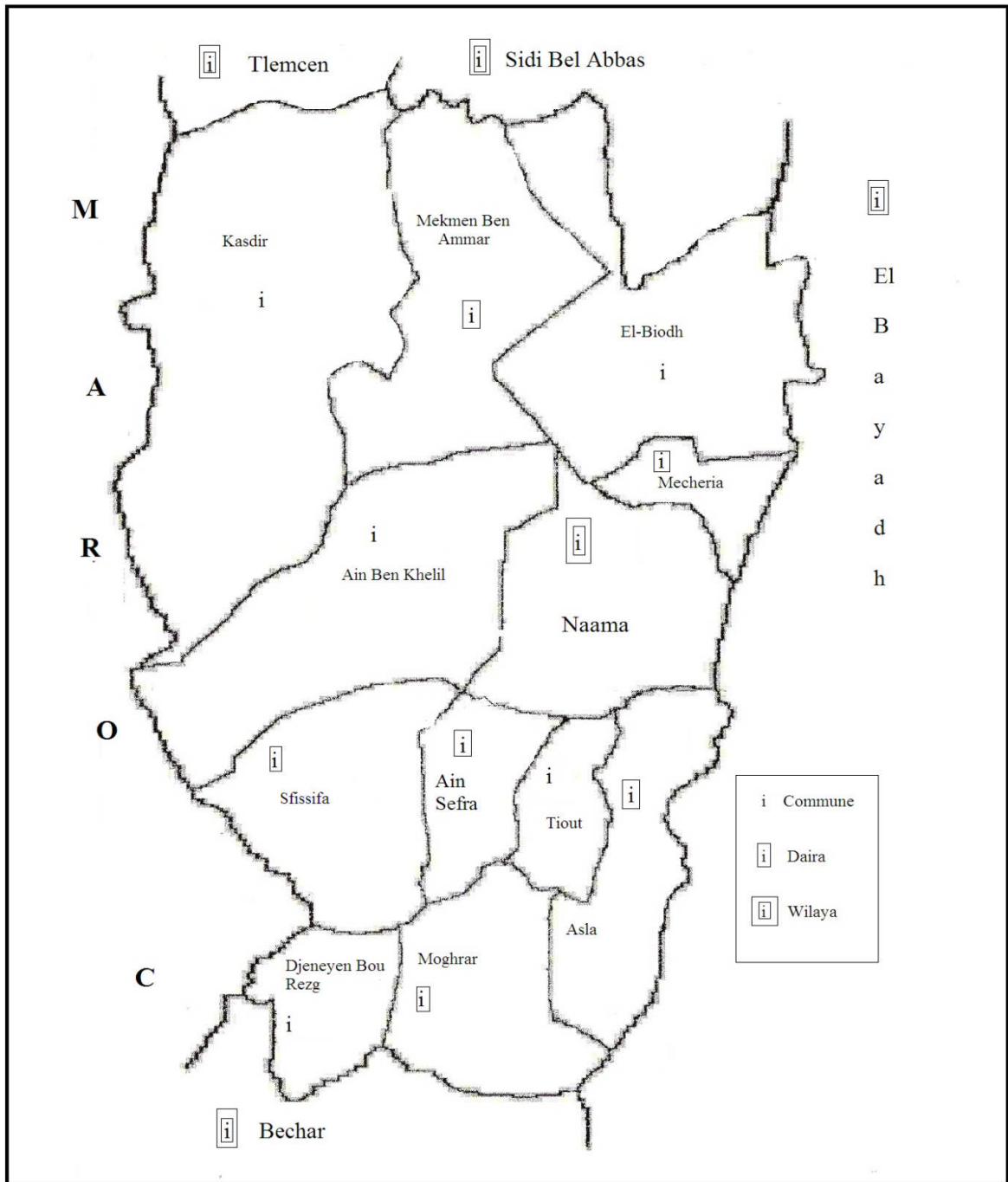


Figure 2. 1 The Location of Ain Sefra and Other Regions in the West (ONS, 2010)

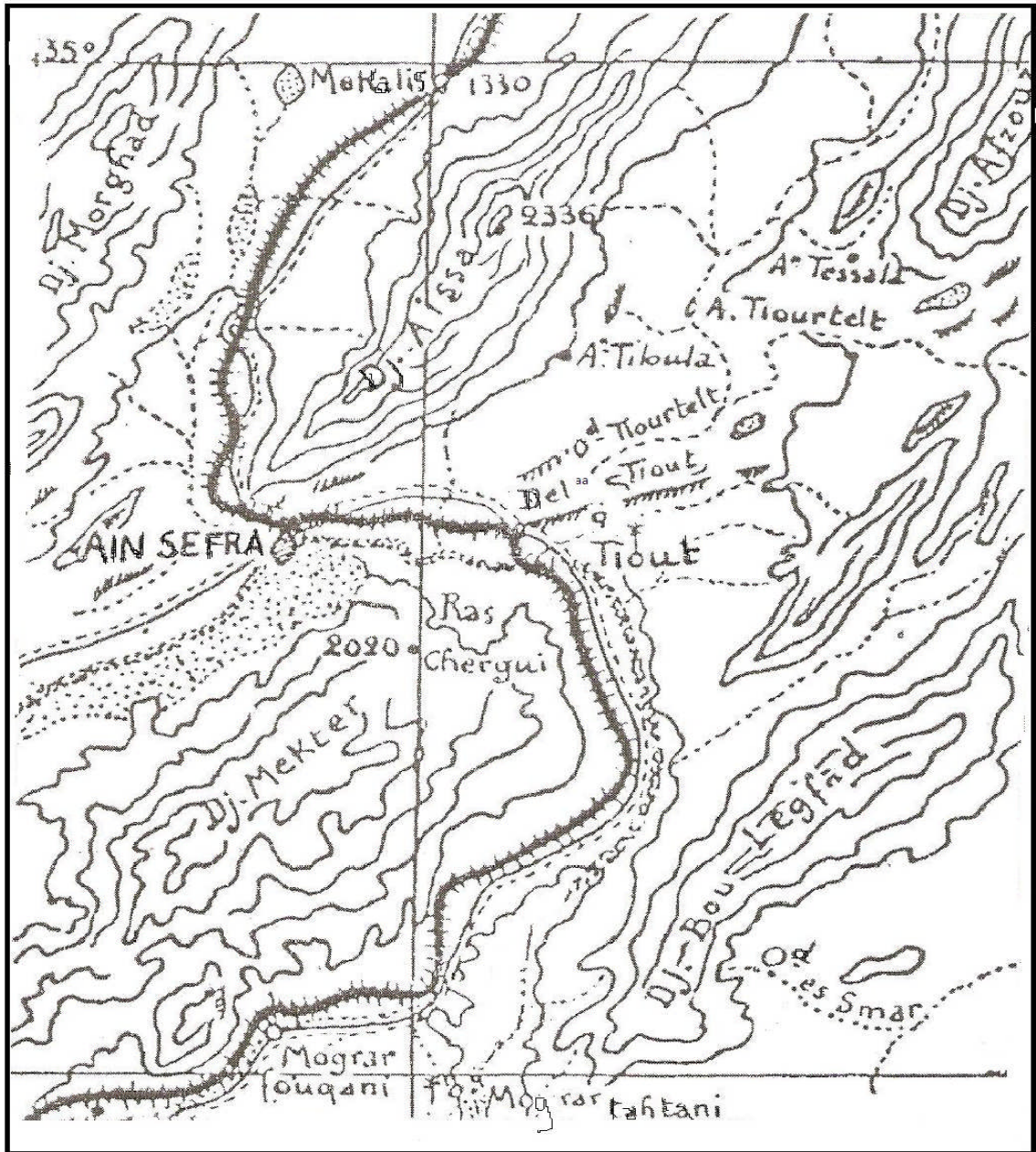


Figure 2.2: The Old Map of the Geographical Borders of Ain Sefra.

(Revue Pasteur, 1956)

Remarkably on the map above (fig: 2.2), Ain Sefra is surrounded by the Ksour mountains. Hence, from the geographical point of view, it is divided into three big parts which are:

1/ Zone of higher steppe areas which are characterised by the dominance of pastoral activities of Arab inhabitants living in nomadic conditions of life (tents, cooking on fire, etc) this area is covered mostly by 'Harmal' (genre of plant called scientifically 'Peganum Harmala')

2/ Pre-Saharan zone which occupies the surface between the Ksour Mountains and the 'occidental Erg' where all the valleys (Oueds) present the anger of nature, for instance the floods happening especially in winter.

3/ Zone of mountains: it is presented in the Ksour mountains (fig. 2.2). This part is considered as the savage image of Ain Sefra and a refuge for all kinds of animals, this area goes along 2 236 m besides 'Djebel Aissa' (Aissa mountain). The latter has been established as a national Park since 2003, it occupies 24500ha (Atlas of Naama, 2008)

2.4. Historical Background and Inhabitants' Origins

As is the case for many parts of Algeria, Ain Sefra knew several streams of people settlements and dynasties from the Neolithic settlements¹ till nowadays. The researchers in this fields thought that there has not been 'anthropologic interruption' and the inhabitants are then the descendants of those of Neolithic (Benamara, 2008). Furthermore, certain anthropologic Latin sources introduce the Getules as the people living in 'Gétulie', the region of higher hills on the Saharian frontiers (Grec 'gaitoula' and in Latin 'getuli', i.e. the grand nation). In addition, those inhabitants are the ancestors of the 'Amazigh' in that region who were named as the Berber firstly by the Romans when that region was under the Roman authority (5-7th century).

- In the eighth (8th) century, the Zenetes Ouacin of the South West descendants of the ancient Getules had embraced the Islam due to the Muslim settlements during the period of the Islamic expansion. It is worthwhile mentioning that in spite of the islamization of people they were still no arabised.

- In the tenth (10th) century, the region came under the Fatimides (/ʔalfa:t imijja/) throne.

- In the eleventh (11th) century, the wave of Arabic settlers who are 'Banu Hillal' in Algeria, this expansion is systematized especially by Ibn Khaldoun in his Muqaddima.

- In the middle of the twelfth (12th) century, the South West came under the Almohades (/ʔalmuwahhidi:n/) dynasty.

- In the thirteenth (13th) century, the Tlemcenian governor Yaghmorassen, from the tribe of 'Abdel-Wad', founded the Zianides dynasty ('zenata' or 'Zenaga' in some documents). Therefore, the region became a part of that kingdom. During his period of governing, the king had brought an Arabic tribe called 'Banu Amer'

¹ The last part of the Stone Age.

from an Arabic branch named El-Amour (El-Milli, 1989; Ibn Khaldoun) and he gave them the South West as a concession to settle. Thus, the partial arabisation of the people in this region had witnessed a wider large scale of acceptance.

- In the eighteenth (18th) century, the Western-South came under the Othomanic authority, then, the French colonisation since the nineteenth (19th) century until the second half of the twentieth (20th) century. After the independence, it became a district (‘/da:ʔira/’) of wilaya of Naama N° 45 among the administrative division of the year 1987.

As a result of those geographical and historical realities, Ain Sefra is considered as an important touristic place in Naama demonstrating a large sociocultural and instructional heritage.

2.5. Description of Population and Linguistic Variation

As a matter of fact, the region of Ain Sefra is known by its cultural and biological diversity down to the historical factors that influenced all the life domains, social, architectural and economic ones, among the examples of this historical richness: the Ksour (old castles) engraving and monuments. As the case of any speech community, the individuals within Ain Sefra identify a scale of identities which are not only regional but also social.

2.5.1. Ethnic Groups

According to the demographic statistics of ONS¹ of 2008, the table 2.1 describes the number of population of Ain Sefra in correlation with age and sex:

¹ Acronym for ‘Office National de Statistics’

Age (years)	Males	Females	Total
0-24	13 370	13 040	26 410
25-49	9 726	9 209	18 935
More than 50	3 576	3 399	6 975
Total	26 672	25 648	52 320

Table 2.1: Ain Sefra Population in Correlation with Age and Gender.(ONS, 2008)

Nevertheless, Ain Sefra has witnessed a noticeable augmentation in the demographic rate, since its population reaches 55 878 inhabitants in 2010 (ONS, 2010).

As our concern in this work is to draw a clear image about the sociolinguistic diversity which characterizes Ain Sefra, and as it is systematically agreed on the tight relationship between language and social factors (e.g. age, gender, social groups and others). Then, it is quite necessary to speak about the ethnic groups existing in Ain Sefra. The following tribes are cited according to the amount of people in each group from the greater to the smaller percentage with reference to the whole number of people in the region.

1/ The Nomads: The minorities of them are still living in tents in the surrounding countryside and the majority had moved to the town recently. The principle confederations of the nomadic tribes existed in Ain Sefra are:

a- El-Amour (or ‘Amûr’ in some documents): who are believed to be from purely Arabic origins since Ibn Khaldoun states ‘El-Amour’ as a branch of Arabs of ‘Banu Hillal’ (see section 2.4). In this respect, Ibn Khaldoun asserts that ‘Bani

Hillal' entered Algeria from three directions; one of them is the highland, the areas between the Saharian and the Tellian Atlas.

Furthermore the very most known branches are: 'Ouled¹ Boubker', 'Ouled Selim' and 'Souala'. These nomadic groups were living in the countryside and in Amour Mountains which are the mountains between Ouled Naiel Mountains from the east and El-Ksour Mountains from the west.

b) El-Hmayan: they present the minority of inhabitants since the majority exists in Mecheria and its surroundings. (see Fig 2.1)

c) Other confederations: Ouled Sidi Ahmed El-Majdoub and Ouled Sidi Tadj. (El Boubakryin or Ouled Sid Sheikh, they entered Algeria in the fourteenth (14th century).

2/ The Ksour (or 'qsûr' in certain documents) : they are the inhabitants of the Ksour, the collection of ancient buildings, named so after the Arabs' arrival meaning 'castles', they are said to refer approximately to the second (2nd) century AD. The majority of its settlers are Amazigh, Zenetes Ouacine tribe (see section 2.4) they were speaking only 'Zenata' or in other word 'Chelha'. In addition, among the ksours found in Ain Sefra: Sfissifa ('Tennent' /tnæ:nt/ in Berber language means 'our town'), 30 Kilometers far from Ain Sefra town, and Tiout ('Tit' /te:t / in Berber language which means 'eye', yet it denotes 'the source of water'), 17 Kilometers from the town (see fig 2.1 and section 2.2). Furthermore, the Ksour² coming from Sfissifa play a great role in composing the demographic number of population in Ain Sefra.

¹ i.e. sons, and refers to the descendants e.g. Ouled Selim refers to Selim's sons or descendants.

² It refers to the inhabitants of the Ksour.

Besides, El-qsar existing in Ain Sefra is occupied by Ouled Sidi Boutkhal who are said to be ‘Chorfa’ i.e. descendants of the ‘Sohaba¹’ /ʃoha:ba/ (El-Achmaoui, 1979 in Benamara, 2008).

Moreover, during our dealing with those compatible tribes composing the plural society of Ain Sefra, we could be able to distinguish between them at the level of accent, morphological forms in addition to pretty distinct specific lexicon. Yet, the sociolinguistic research at hand will focus on studying two among the former tribes which are ‘El-Amour’ and ‘El-Ksour’ of Sfisifa for the reason mentioned before, in order to pick out linguistic peculiarities of each.

2.5.2. Linguistic Variation

As the current work deals with the linguistic differences that occur between El-Amour and El-Ksour varieties, the investigator tries to shed light on certain linguistic features that characterize each variety, they seem to be identified through observation:

a/ Amour variety (Amr variety): As a fact, when the linguists attempt to study a variety, they are likely to do so within its original specific community, i.e. within the social context, on one hand, where there is little language contact, and concentrating on the elders’ speech on the other hand.

Yet in spite of the lack of references and documents tackling the linguistic aspects that characterize the Amr variety, the investigator makes some witty observations about this variety which are worthwhile to be mentioned:

I/ The preservation of the dental fricatives: When the researcher started to discuss with the speakers of the Amr variety, the first attractive thing was the wider occurrence of: /θ/, /ð/ and /ḏ/ as in one man’s saying in one of the discussions

¹ The prophet’s companions, “Mohammed peace upon Him”.

about the climate: / θθæɪɜ # məjðu:bəʃ # fæ # d̥d̥æɪɪ / (i.e. Snow does not melt under the shade). Obviously, the speaker keeps the phonemes as they are in their original pronunciation in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

2/ The replacement of /q/ by /ɣ/ and vice versa: Noticeably, the Amr variety speakers use the uvular plosive /q/ instead of the uvular fricative /ɣ/ as in /lmæqræb/ (transcribed as /ʔalmɑɣrib/ in MSA, i.e. ‘the sunset’). Besides, the alternation of /q/ by /ɣ/ as they say /tæɣʃ i:ræ/ instead of /tæqʃi:ræ/ as in many Algerian Western dialects. (The transcribed word means ‘a sock’).

3/ The plural form of noun: Amr variety is characterised by a morphological print specific to the MSA which is ‘dʒæmʕ tækæsi:r’ or the ‘broken’ plural, for instance the plural of /zɛiʕæ:n/ in Amr variety is /zjæ: ʕ/ (i.e. ‘hungry’ adj. pl.), the researcher can assume that this linguistic feature seems to refer to the Arabic nature of the Amr speakers’ origin.

4/ The lexicon: the Amr variety has a range of vocabulary pretty difficult for the researcher to understand even within the whole stretch of expression, for example consider an Amr woman’s saying to her daughter: /læ # tkæfheɪʃ # ælwætjæ # qæ # məħtɛihæ/. The meaning of this sentence did not come across though the informant spoke for a long time, but after demanding explanation, the utterance means: ‘do not water the place just wet it’. Moreover, there are words specific to their own lifestyle and conditions, for instance: /læqræræ/: ‘the place where they hide dates’ /lʕæʃʃ æ/: ‘the tent of guests’.

b/ El-Ksour variety (Ksr variety): This variety is spoken in many Ksour areas within Naama as in Tiout, Sfissifa, Asla and others. Most of the Ksr people are from Amazigh origin (see section 2.4). In this vein, Martin (1920: 02) assumes that:

“[la langue Berbère] se partage en plusieurs dialectes assez différents l’un de l’autre pour ne pouvoir se comprendre sans quelque difficulté, et qui ont chacun une aire particulière d’utilisation”.¹

In this statement, the writer asserts that the Berber language has numerous dialects which are more or less unlike but comprehensible by the totality of Berber speakers. Then, he also claims that there are about thirty dialects, the most important ones being:

1. The Kabylia in the North of Algeria and the most central tribe speaks in this variety is ‘Zouaoua’².

2. The ‘Chaouia’² is in the South of Constantine in the ‘Aures Mountains’ (Djbel El-Aures).

3. The ‘Mozabites’ in the South of Algiers. Then, the ‘Zenetia’ in the Saharian oasis (see section 2.4) and in the deepest South, the ‘Tamachek or Tamahak’ of the Touareg.

4. The ‘Chleuh’ or ‘Chelha’ (/ʃelħæ/) (or ‘Shilha’ in other documents); which is spoken from the Algerian Grand Atlas till the Atlantic.

Nowadays, the Berber seed has not flourished since the researcher notices that this variety which is ‘Chelha’ is used solely by the elders, and in order to discuss personal and social matters, yet it is almost not used among the new generation.

Thus, the most perceptible features in the Ksr variety are the use of Chelha as well as its impact on the dialectal Arabic. In fact, the contextual use of the Berber dialects and their influence on the AA (Algerian Arabic) is another subject of research standing by its own; however, the researcher in this work points out some

¹ The researcher’s own translation is “Berber language is divided into many dialects which are more or less different but understandable to one another with no such difficulty, and each of them has a particular area of use.”

² The dialect is named after its indigenous tribe.

of those features in the Ksr variety:

1/ The pattern /tæ:fʃu:li:t/: this pattern refers to the noun of doing an action, for instance the word /tæ:bgu:ri:t/ is derived from the noun: /bəgræ/ (/baqara/ in MSA, i.e. ‘a cow’); yet in this form, it means ‘idiocy’. Though, this noun has an autonomous term in Chelha: /tæ:fu:ne:st/, the Berber pattern is applied on the dialectal Arabic lexis, as the case of /tæ: fto:ni:t/ derived from /ʃi:tæ:n/ i.e. ‘devil’, to mean the action of behaving in a bad and evil way).

2/ The loss of vocalic content: Ksr variety is marked by this feature which is the decay of the short vowels: /a/, /u/ and /i/ to be pronounced with the neutral short vowel [ə]. This phenomenon is clarified through the table 2.2:

The vowels	MSA	Ksr variety	English gloss
/a/ → [ə]	/warda/	[wərdæ]	A flower
	/farħa/	[fərhæ]	Happiness
	/jadʒri/	[jəʒri]	He runs
/u/ → [ə]	/ʃurs/	[ʃərs]	Wedding
	/ʔuskut/	[skət]	Keep silent
/i/ → [ə]	/dʒirs/	[dʒərs]	A tooth
	/biðra/	[bədræ]	A seed
	/jaqbiq/	[jəgbəq] ¹	He catches

Table 2.2: The Decay of Short Vowels

¹ The voiceless /q/ is alternated as the voiced plosive [g] in this variety as well as the others in Ain Sefra.

This feature makes the Ksour variety very known and distinct even by the non-linguists, especially among the inhabitants of Ain Sefra.

This aspect drives to the change in the number of syllables, especially in the forms of the verb in all tenses. Consider the following verb: < $\chi r d \zeta$ > ‘the idea of going out’:

- The imperative as in /uxruʒ/ → [xrəʒ]¹ (from two syllables in MSA to one syllable in Ksr) (Go out!)
- The present as in /jaxruʒu/ → [jəxrəʒ] (from three syllables to two syllables) (He goes out)
- The past as in /xaraʒa/ → [xrəʒ]² (from three syllables to just one syllable) (He went out)

3/ The alternation of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/: in Ksr variety, the glides /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ are substituted by [i:] and [œ] respectively as it is illustrated in the table 2.3:

Diphthongs	MSA	Ksr	Gloss
/aʊ/ → [œ]	/faʊq/	[f œq]	On
	/laʊn/	[lœn]	Colour
/aɪ/ → [i:]	/baɪt/	[bi:t]	A room
	/zaɪt/	[zi:t]	oil

Table 2.3: The Alternation of the Glides /aɪ/ and /aʊ/.

¹ The same form [f ʕəl] for both: the past and imperative; in MSA, /faʕala/ and /uf ʕul/ respectively.

Exceptionally, after the emphatic consonants as /d/ and /ʒ/, the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ are replaced by [e:] and [o:] respectively as it is evident in the following table:

The glides	MSA	Ksr variety	Gloss
/aɪ/ → [e:]	/ʒ aɪd/	[ʒe:d]	Hunting
	/ d aɪf/	[d e:f]	A guest
/aʊ/ → [o:]	/ d aʊʔ/	[d d o:]	Light
	/ʒ aʊt/	[ʒ o:t]	voice

Table 2.4: The Alternation of Diphthongs after Emphatic Consonants.

4/ Lexical items: as the case of any linguistic behaviour, the Ksr variety has a common range of lexis used also by the neighbouring varieties as:

-/wæ: ʃ/ i.e. ‘what?’

-/w æ:h/ i.e. ‘yes’

-/ ʃk œ n/ i.e. ‘who?’

-/wi:n/ i.e. ‘where?’

In addition, it has its specific instances of vocabulary dominated by the Berber print, either lexically or morphologically, as:

-/ɣ t^h æ: r/ means ‘a big plate of couscous.’

-/ʔ æɣənʒæ/ means ‘a big spoon.’

-/lmənʒ œ ræ/ means ‘the straight road.’

c/ Beni Boutkhal variety: obviously, this variety is known by its emphatic accent, for instance the voiceless plosive /t/ is substituted by the voiceless emphatic dental plosive [t̤] as in [x æ:t̤ t̤ aɪ] (i.e. ‘my aunt’) which is transcribed as /xa:lti/ in many other Algerian dialects; and even in the borrowed word: [ʂ æn t̤ o:ræ] (‘ the belt’) which is pronounced as /sæntu:r æ/ by others within Ain Sefra. Additionally, it has a heavy syllabic rhythm resulted throughout the gemination which seems to be articulated by no precised linguistic environment as in:

- [lbænni]: a noun which is transcribed in MSA as /ʔalbina:ʔu/, i.e. the construction. The nasal /n/ is geminated.

- [lʒærrɪ]: a noun transcribed as /ʔaldʒarju/ in MSA meaning the hurry. The approximate /r/ is doubled.

d/ El-Boubakriji:n dialect (Ouled sid El-Majdoub and Sid Tadj): their dialect resembles to the one of El-Amour, yet they have a distinguishable nasalised pronunciation without a convenient sound position which result the secondary articulation. As they use more epenthesis which augments the number of syllables as in the verb in past /mædærtəʃ/ from the dialectal root < drt > ‘the idea of doing’; the insert of the weak short vowel [ə] in the final consonant cluster of negation /tʃ/ without affecting the meaning which is: ‘I did not do’ makes the utterance including three (3) syllables instead of only two (2) syllables. Concerning the vocabulary specificities, there are many items, for example:

- /nuzha/: i.e. ‘too much’.

- /lbu: ʃ/: i.e. ‘a bottle where they put butter’.

- /nakkab/: i.e. ‘put aside.’

However; the researcher insists on collecting the data that serve the aim of her research work, she tends to give a trial for describing the general linguistic picture about the region. Thereof, all the features mentioned above are only few

instances of a linguistic set of differences within a wide range of sociolinguistic differences and variation existing in Ain Sefra.

2.6. Conclusion

Obviously, this chapter has testified to the cultural and the linguistic diversity in the region of Ain Sefra, as it has shown the social groups and branches coexisting in that district from both historical and linguistic perspectives.

Despite the range of information presented in this chapter, the researcher did not go deeply into important details, otherwise, it would be undoubtedly another important sociolinguistic subject to discuss. Thus, the investigator tends to restrict the study to serve the goal of this work which is highly clarified in the title of the whole research so as to show the similarities and the differences between El-Amour and El-Ksour varieties, and that will be the concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

BETWEEN KSR AND AMR

VARIETIES

Chapter Three:

A Comparative Analysis between Ksr and Amr Varieties.

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Population Sampling and Distribution.

3.3. Research Instruments.

3.3.1. Recording

3.3.2. Word-List

3.3.3. Interviews

3.4. Data Collection and Analysis

3.4.1. Lexical Variation

3.4.2. Distinctive Units of Analysis

3.4.2.1. Phonological Aspects

3.4.2.2. Morphological features

3.5. Data Interpretation

3.6. Linguistic Stereotypes

3.7. Stigma and Prestige

3.8. Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

Comparative studies in dialectological descriptions and sociolinguistic investigations are somehow quite difficult and not exhaustive; However, this difficulty might be decreased when only two linguistic entities are subjected to a detailed analysis on specific linguistic levels. Since the empirical work will be divided into three branches in the same stream of research. On the one hand, the investigator tends to have a general view on each variety of the two small speech communities separately; On the other hand, she will demonstrate the aim of the whole work which is the lexical comparison through analyzing certain similarities and dissimilarities quantitatively and qualitatively.

Broadly speaking, the present chapter is considered as a purely empirical phase vis-à-vis the other parts of the whole work. Moreover, from the linguistic perspective, Ain Sefra is a collection of different varieties coming from the vicinity of the town as the Bedouin areas and the villages which display the old-world history through its ancient monuments, specifically Sfisifa (uttered ‘/ʃwiʃe:fa/’ by the natives).

Hence, through the next pages in this chapter, we present the sample of population under study, and then we introduce the instruments of research handled to collect the needed data. By the end, we interpret the analysed data through certain theories and paradigms.

3.2. Population Sampling and Distribution

The sample of informants introduced in the current study includes 120 persons between the age of 10 and 98 years old. The following table summarises the categories in which the informants are stratified and distributed:

Age gender	Ksr variety		Amr variety	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
10 – 25	10	10	10	10
26 – 50	10	10	10	10
51 – 90	10	10	10	10
Total	30	30	30	30

Table 3.1: The Distribution of Informants in correlation
with Age and Gender.

Accordingly, this sample is divided into two (2) types of population: the speakers of Ksr Vs Amr variety, each type is subdivided in proportion to age into three (3) classes, and according to gender into two (2) groups.

3.3. Research Instruments

The research methodology has been conducted in a triangular series of data-collecting methods, so as to gather reliable information serving the various requirements of the work. Such instruments of investigation are: recordings, word-list and interviews.

3.3.1. Recordings

As a first step, the investigator records ordinary conversations on an electronic device perfectly hidden, these conversations are assembled within different contexts at home, in schools, shops and others, stored as WAV¹ files, then transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). (Appendix I)

¹ Short for Waveform Audio File Format.

This method provides the researcher with a general view over the two varieties through pooling raw material upon all the linguistic levels: phonological, morphological and importantly the lexical one. This method translates a natural chaotic speech into supportive data that permit the investigator to compare within an account for social conditions and linguistic contexts. Hence, the ranges of information found are so helpful in preparing the word list.

3.3.2. Word-list

In order to interpret the data quantitatively and qualitatively as well, a list of words has been given to the same sample of informants. The purpose is to gather the similar and the different lexical items and so that to assume the extent of using the lexicon as well as to discover on what ground the linguistic change plays.

The word list comprises of five pages, it begins with questions about personal information: (age and gender). The next part is entirely devoted to lexical instances. Those instances are subdivided in an unremarkable way for the informants into three categories; the first one indicates the phonological aspects stating the variables subject to analysis. The second one tends to find out the morphological peculiarities of each variety as: the noun plural and the compound pronoun /hum/. Finally, the third category is totally concerned with lexical variations between the Amr and Ksr varieties. (See appendix II)

3.3.3. Interviews

Generally speaking, the formal interview contains two essential parts, one for the personal information (age, gender and level of education), and the other for the research questions trying to interpret the results collected from the recording and the questionnaire data. (See appendix III).

There are ten (10) questions asked in the dialectal Arabic (AA) by the researcher herself or sometimes she applies the friend of friend method addressing the same sample of informants with which the above research methods were carried out. The scope of the interview is conducted as it follows:

- In the first question, the interviewer tries to drive the interviewee's attention towards his/her dialect (variety) to note the status in which this variety is classified from its speaker's point of view. This question sheds light on the speaker's attitudes towards his/her variety in order to assume why the differences between the two varieties still (or may not) occur.

- The second, the third, the fourth and the fifth question seek for the speakers' tendencies for dialectal change through time and place, i.e. age and geographical context respectively.

- The sixth and seventh question aim at knowing the features and the specificities which make the Amr variety different from Ksr one and vice versa in order to deduce the speaker's awareness.

- The eighth question finds out the speaker's inclination to switch to the other variety and the reasons behind.

- The ninth and tenth questions attempt at asserting the answers about the loyalty to the variety.

3.4. Data Collection and Analysis

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

3.4.1. Lexical Variation:

Through analysing the recorded ordinary conversations and the questionnaires, the investigator found out some instances of lexical specific to each variety as it is shown in the table 3. 2:

Functional lexis	Ksr	Amr	English gloss
	[səbbæ t ^h]	[gorg]	Shoe
	[sərwæ:l]	[hæffæð]	Trousers
	[məʃwæ:r]	[zeɪf]	Handcraft
	[təqʃ i:ræ]	[tæ rʃ i:ræ]	A sock
N	[mən g æʃ]	[xurʃ]	An earring
O	[ləʃsæ]	[lmætræq]	Stick
U	[lbərn æ s]	[lxaidu:s]/[lbærnu: s] ¹	Gown
N	[xəbz]	[kæsrae]	Bread
S	[t ^h ʃæ:m]	[lʔaɪf]	Couscous
	[æ tæ:j]	[tæ:j]	Tea
	[æ zæ: ʒ]	[zæ: ʒ]	Glass
	[lmæ:klæ]	[lmælʒu:ʒæ]	Food
	[tœm]	[θaum]	Garlic
	[bœræ:bəh]	[ʃærmæ:t æ]	Blanket of wool
	[moʃʃ]	[gætt]	Cat
	[di:b]	[ðei b]	Wolf
	[rʒə l]	[kræ:ʔ]	Foot
	[d e: f]	[ðai f]	Guest
	[mært]	[ʔjæ:l]	Wife
	[d ærræ]	[rfeigæ] / [ðærræ]	Second wife
	[wəld]	[t ful]	Boy

¹ In Amr, the former is for the black and the latter is for the white one.

[bənt]	[t o flæ]	Girl
[ʁəfijjæ]	[tæ:græ]	Bowl
[məʁrəf]	[mæqræf]	Spoon
[ʁt ^h æ:r]	[mætræd]	Big plate
[gədræ]	[mmu:læʃjæ:l]	Big casserole
[bəqræ:ʒ]	[muʁræ:ʒ]/[muqræ:ʒ]	Cattle
[bunbu:næ]	[bæ:wnæ]	Water barrel
[t ^h æ:blæ] ¹ [mi:dæ]	[mæ:jdæ]	Table
[gæmi:læ] ¹	[t[æ:wæ]	Casserole
[lbərd]	[ʃʃærd]	Cold
[təbrœli]	[ʃʃhæ:b]	Hailstone
[rəmlæ]	[næbkæ]	Sand
[lərd]	[lwætjæ]	The ground
[ssəmʃ]	[lgæ:jlæ]	Sun
[nnəw]	[læmtær]/ [lqaiθ] ³	Rain
[nnæ:jər]	[lailtælʔæ:m]	New year
[nzæggi]	[nælkæ]	Call
[rwæ:h]	[tʔæ:læ]	Come here
[bəʃʃədni]	[nhækk ʔlijjæ]	Let me
[nœd]	[tgæʔʔæd]	Stand up!
[jqi:s] ²	[jlu:h]	Throw away
[mʃæ]	[mærr]	He went
[smaʃ]	[t ʃæmmæk]	Listen!

¹ A borrowed word, since before the colonisation the Amazighian lexis was used.

² It is uttered in [q] since when it is uttered with [g], it means 'to try clothes'

³ In MSA / ʔal ʁaIθ/, it is [lqaiθ] in Amr, since /ʁ/ is substituted by /q/.

V E R B S	[jdəbbær]	[jræ:ʔi]	He searches
	[nəqɔəʃ]	[ʃæwwæl]	Decrease
	[jləɔqəm]	[jʃæmmær]	He tucks up
	[zæ: ni]	[wʔædni]	Come towards me
	[mfæ]	[xɬæ]	He went
	[ʕərrəm] ¹	[kæəəær]	Overconsume
	[jdərræg]	[jæqbær]	To hide
	[jxəlli]	[jæhdæ]	To leave
	[jʃe:fət ^h]	[jændæh]	To send
	[hməl]	[tæ:h]/ [ɬ æ:ʔ]	Be lost
	[jxəllət ^h]	[jhæwwær]	Mix up
	[təgləʕ ləʕfæ]	[thætɬ ləʕfæ]	Serve dinner
	[dəffæg]	[kæffæh]	To water
	[nəffæx]/ [bəll]	[mæhhæt]	To wet
	[yʃərrəfəlmæ]	[jwænni]	Move away water
	[gət ^h t ^h æʕ]	[ʃəllæx]	To cut
	[trə ɬɬ əʕ]	[tnækkæʔ]	To suckle
[mfæ]	[ʃədd]	He went	
[jəbqæ]	[jæbr æ]	Still	
[jəb r i]	[jəbqi]	love	

¹ A Berber term adopted in the dialectal Arabic in Ksr variety.

A D J E C T I V E S	[mə ddæ: bə z] ¹	[mætfæ:tən]	Disagreed
	[mə ɾləb]	[mæqlub]	Defeated(singular)
	[mə ɾləb i:n]	[m qæ:leɪb]	Defeated (plural)
	[mri:d]	[maɪzu:ʔ]	Ill
	[mwəs wəs]	[mæhbuk]	Doubted
	[ʃæ:qəl]	[wæ:ʔi]	Aware
	[ʃæ:qəl] ²	[mhæððæb]	Polite
	[mə ʃr u: d]	[mæʔru:ɖ]	Invited (singular)
	[mə ʃr u: d i: n]	[mʔæ:reɪɖ]	Invited(plural)
	[zi:ʃa:n]	[zeɪʔa:n]	Hungry (sing)
[zi:ʃa:n i:n]	[zja:ʔ]	Hungry (pl)	
[fi:ba:ni]	[ʃaɪba:ni]	Old man	
[ʃwæ:bi:n]	[mæʃbæn]	Old men	
G R A M M A T I C A L	[mʃæ]	[ʔmæ]	With
	[ʃk œ n]	[næ:hu] ³	Who
	[wi:n]	[wan]	Where?
	[ʃlæ:ʃ]	[læjjæh]	Why?
	[fi:wek]	[mmæjnta]	When
	[kəmmæhæ:k]	[kɖæ:k]	Like
	[kiʃvəl]	[kisuq]	As if
	[təmmæ]	[fæmmæ] / [əæmmæ]	There!
	[mæɾæ:hʃəhnæ]	[mæhu:ʃəhnæ]	He is not here
	[bəʃʃæ h]	[bælhæg]	Really!

¹ ↔ /mæt dæ: bəz/, /t/ → [d] - [+ voice] regressive assimilation of voicing.

² The same term is used and the meaning is understood from the context.

³ It is used to address male; whereas for female [næ:hi] is used.

	[ɣi]	[qæ]	Only
W	[wæ:f]	[ʔaɪh]	Yes
O	[mæ:ʃiʔæ:næ]	[mæni:ʃæ:næ]	Not me
R	[jæ:ləmɾæ]	[jæɪʔæ:gæ]	Madam!
	[jærræ:ʒəl]	[jæɪʔæ:g]	Sir!
D	[æjæwəxdi]/[æhæwzi]	[jæɪɪʔi]	Oh!
S	[ɾədɰwæ]	[qdæ]	Tomorrow
	[mənɾəd]	[bæʔdæqdæ]	After tomorrow

Table 3.2: Lexical Comparison between Ksr and Amr.

According to the data collected in the table above, the distinction between the two varieties lies on different lexical categories such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Concerning the definite article /ʔal/ in MSA, if it is followed by a consonant which is articulated in the same/or approximate area of articulation of /l/ (called ‘Ash-Shamsi’ letters), the latter is elided and the consonant is geminated as in: /ʔaʃʃams/; when the preceded letter is not Shamsi (called ‘Qamari’ letter), /l/ is pronounced as in /ʔalqamar/. Thereby, in both varieties the same rules are applied, but the ‘Hamza’ /ʔ/ is omitted with the two cases of consonants as in [ssəmʃ] (geminated /s/), and [lqæmɾæ] (pronounced /l/) correspondingly.

Depending on the word list which contains a set of vocabulary used in daily life, the researcher can summarise the lexical differentiation upon one hundred (100) vocabulary in three levels as it is displayed in the following chart 3.1:

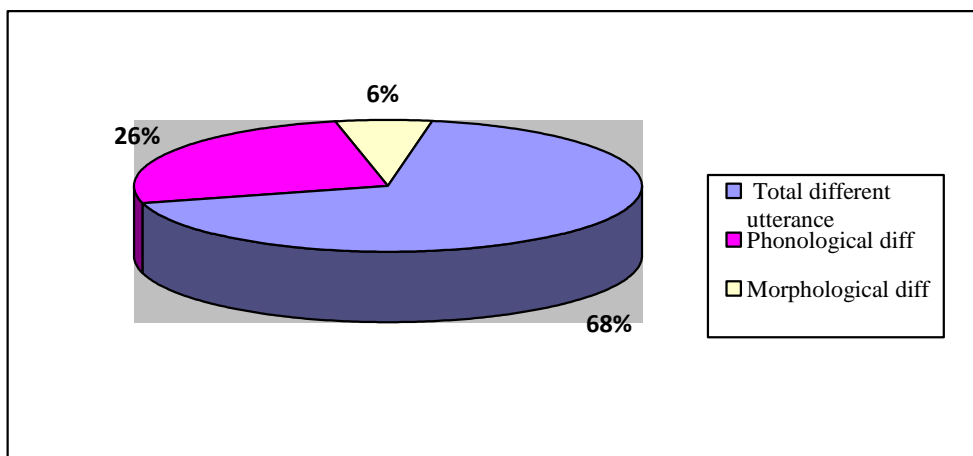


Chart 3.1: The Differences in the Lexical Relationship between Ksr and Amr

Apart from similarities which gather both dialects in one side of lexis, the other side of differences comprises categories of lexicon which are entirely different i.e. a ksr notion is expressed in totally different item within Amr variety, other lexicon are phonologically or morphologically distinct or both.

In order to identify the difference on the phonological level, one can consider the feature of *duality*¹ within both varieties with the same lexical item. Bearing in mind that this feature must be analysed on the phonological level and not on graphological one; otherwise, in comparison with MSA, the varieties might be a match.

3.4.2. Distinctive Units of Analysis

Through the analysis of the data collected, the researcher could figure out, in addition to the lexical differences, a clear distinction between the Amr and Ksr varieties on the phonological and morphological level.

¹ For more discussion refer to Widdowson (1996) *Linguistics*, pp. 6-8.

3.4.2.1. Phonological Aspects

The lexical relationship between the target dialects of the analysis reveals other linguistic levels of differences. Thus, the variables which are under discussion, either vowels or consonants, are classified in the following tables:

Vowels	MSA // ¹	Ksr [] ¹	Amr [] ¹	English gloss
Long vowels	/u:/	[œ]	[u:]	Prophet
	/rasu:l/	[ræsœl]	[ræsu:l]	
	/bærqu:q/	[bærqœq]	[bærqu:q]	Plum
Glides	/aʊ/	[œ]/ [o:] ²	[aʊ]	Peach
	/ xauʊx/	[xœx]	[xauʊx]	
	/laʊn/	[ʃo:t]	[ʃaʊt]	voice
	/aɪ/	[i:]	[aɪ]	Good/hello
	/ xair/	[xi:r]	[xair]	
	/ʃam/	[ʃi:n]	[ʃam]	

Table 3. 3: Vowels in Ksr Vs Amr Variety.

These distinctions of vowel use give each variety its unique accent. Similarly, the articulation of the consonants in the Amr and Ksr varieties are compared with that in MSA within the table in the next page.

¹ // used for transcribing the phoneme (variable), [] for the allophone (variant) in comparison with MSA.

² [o:] after emphatic consonants. (see chapter 2, table 2.4)

	MSA	Ksr Variety	Amr Variety	English Gloss	
Plosive	/t/	[t ^h]	[t]		
	/taɪbuxu/	[t ^h əjjəb]	[tæjjæb]	She cooks	
	/jubɪlu/	[jbət ^h t ^h əl]	[jbættæɪ]	He cancels	
	/jufriɪu/	[jfærrət ^h]	[jfærræt]	He aborts	
	/q/	[q] ¹	[ɣ]		
	/ʔalqifa:r/	[lqifæ:r]	[lɪɪfæ:r]	The desert	
	/qɪntæ:r/	[qən ^h tæ:r]	[ɣæntæ:r]	100 kg	
	/jæbruqu/	[jəbrəq]	[jæbræɣ]	It shines	
	S	/ʔ/	[ʔ]	[ʕ]	
		/ʔal ʔintæ:dʒ/	[lʔintæ:ʒ]	[lʕintæ:ʒ]	Production
/suʔæ:l/		[suʔæ:l]	[suʕæ:l]	Question	
/qurʔæ:n/		[qurʔæ:n]	[qur ʕæ:n]	Koran	
/d/		[d]	[ð]		
/fiɪdɪæ/		[fəɪdɪæ]	[fæðɪæ]	Silver	
/ɪfai:ra/		[ɪfi:ræ]	[ðfairæ]	Plait	
/tafəɪdɪal/		[tfeɪdɪəl]	[tʃæðɪəl]	Welcome	
/ɪbæʕ/		[ɪbæʕ]	[ðbæʔ]	Hyena	
		/θ/	[t]	[θ]	
	/θari:d/	[tri:d]	[θreɪd]	Kind of bread	
	/θaurə/	[to:ræ]	[θauræ]	Revolution	
	/θaldʒ/	[təlʒ]	[θælʒ]	snow	
	/ð/	[d]	[ð]		
	/ðira:ʕ/	[dræ:ʕ]	[ðræ:ʕ]	Arm	
	/ðahab/	[dhæb]	[ðhæb]	Gold	
	/jaðu:bu/	[jdœb]	[jðu:b]	It melts	

¹ /q/ appears in certain instances of vocabulary in Ksr variety since the region knows the dominant rural feature [g]

fricatives	/ð /	[d]	[ð]	A nail Shade/shadow Cute
	/ðufr/	[d fər]	[ðfær]	
	/ʔaððil/	[dðəɪ]	[ððæ ɪ]	
	/ðari:f/	[d ri:f]	[ðraɪf]	Far A year Proper name 'Adel'
	/ʕ/	[ʕ]	[ʔ]	
	/baʕi:d/	[bʕi:d]	[bʔeid]	
	/ʔal ʕa:m/	[lʕæ:m]	[lʔæ:m]	
	/ʕa:dil/	[ʕæ:dəl]	[ʔæ:dæl]	Dust Lunch To pour
	/ʕ/	[ɣ]	[q]	
	/ʔalɣuba:r/	[lɣəbræ]	[lqəbræ]	
/ʔalɣada:ʔ/	[ləɣdæ]	[læqdæ]		
/jufrɣu/	[jfərrəɣ]	[jfərræq]		

Table 3.4: Consonantal Distinction between Amr and Ksr Varieties.

This table contains the distinctive phonological variables of one variety in comparison with the other which are taken from the ordinary people's conversations. Apparently, in Amr variety, the plosives /ʔ, d, q/ are substituted by the fricatives [ʕ, ð , ɣ] respectively and vice versa, since those fricatives are alternatively replaced with the former plosives; whereas, there is no such alternation in Ksr variety. This fact is known in many Arabic dialects by / ʔalqalb¹. It should be also noted that the voiceless emphatic dental stop /t/ in Ksr is pronounced with a little puff of air wherever it occurs (its phonological value is [t^h]). This is approximately like the aspiration in English, but the difference is that the aspiration which is related to the plosives /p, t, k/ is restricted by their distribution and positions, and [p^h, t^h, k^h] are allophones of the former phonemes.

¹ For further readings about this feature in the Eastern countries refer to Astittia, S.S (2008)

Indeed, the occurrence of those variants is not governed by any phonetic environment according to the data available in this research since they are phonemes (variables) consisting the own linguistic system of the variety.

In addition, Amr variety is known by keeping the interdental /θ, ð, ð / in its system as opposed to the Ksr in which they are substituted by [t, d, d] correspondingly. The rest of the MSA consonants are the same in both of the varieties such as /b, t, h, w, z, h, k, l, m, n, t/ except the affricate /dʒ/ and the voiceless plosive /q/ which are articulated as the palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ and the voiced velar stop /g/ correspondingly in both varieties.

It is worth noting that these data are collected from highly ordinary speech. Accordingly, The consonants differences within Amr and Ksr varieties vis-à-vis MSA can be drawn into the following chart:

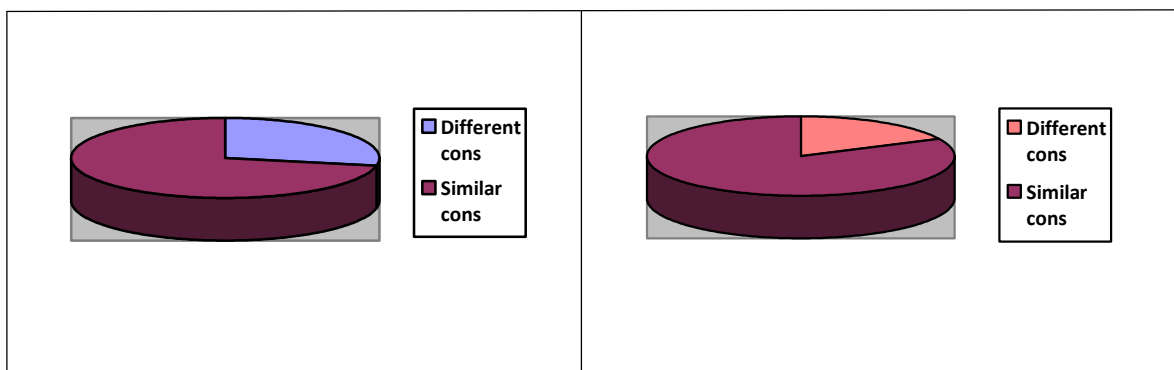


Chart 3.2:Amr Consonants Vs MSA

Chart 3.3:Ksr Consonants Vs MSA

The charts below include consonantal comparison of Amr and Ksr vis-à-vis MSA. The analyser can remark that Amr linguistic system consists of a great amount of different articulated consonants because of the operation of uttering a consonant instead of the other though the graphemes are alike i.e. their written forms are the same but their articulations are different.

Again, by comparing the articulation of consonants between the two varieties, the following chart is drawn:

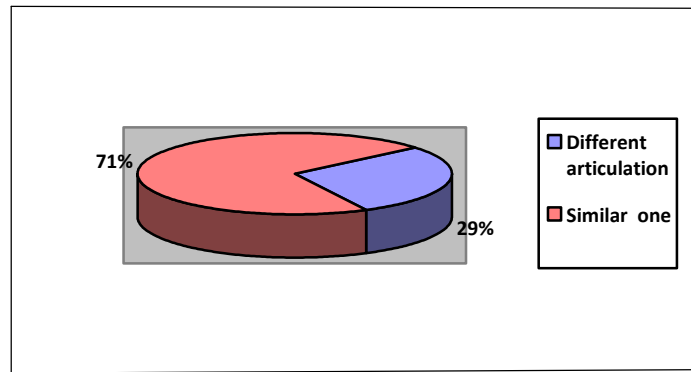


Chart 3.4: Amr Consonants Vs Ksr Ones

The researcher has taken Ksr consonants as a background to comparison. Obviously, 29% from the totality of consonants are articulated differently by Amr sample of population.

Actually, this systematic consonant differences concludes in a way or another an outstanding difference in the lexemes of the two varieties apart from the graphological value in MSA.

Remarkably, from the examples cited in table 3.3, the reader can notice that there is no occurrence for the long vowels [i:] or [e:] in Amr variety, they are substituted by the diphthongs [aɪ] and [eɪ] respectively. , as it is illustrated in this table:

MSA	Amr Variety	Ksr Variety	English Gloss
/i:/ or /e:/	[aɪ] or [eɪ]	[i:] or [e:]	
/ʔaldzi:l/	[ʔɜaɪl]	[ʔɜi:l]	Generation
/baʃi:r/	[bæʃaɪr]	[bæʃi:r]	Proper name 'bashir'
/dʒi:ra:n/	[ʒaɪræ:n]	[ʒi:ræ:n]	Neighbours
/ʔalhəʃe:r/	[læhʃaɪræ]	[ləhʃe:ræ]	Carpet

Table 3.5: Moving from a Long Vowel to a Diphthong in Amr Variety.

On another facet, one can realize that there is almost no great occurrence of the short vowels /a/, /u/ and /i/ in Ksr variety since they are weakened to the lax vowel [ə] in comparison with the Amr, as it is clear in table 3.6:

MSA	Ksr Variety	Amr Variety	English Gloss	
/jadxulu/	[jədxəl]	[judxul]	He enters	V
/jubaddilu/	[jbəddəl]	[jbæddæl]	He changes	
/dʒabha/	[zəbhæ]	[zæbhæ]	The front	N
/maqbara/	[məqqəbræ]	[mærræbræ]	Cemetery	
/mudʒarrib/	[mʒərrəb]	[mʒærrab]	Tested	Adj
/abjad/	[bjəd]	[b jæɖ]	White	

Table 3.6: The Decay of Short Vowels in Ksr Vs Amr.

This feature of decaying the short vowels gives the Ksr the peculiarity of decreasing the number of syllables. In comparison with Amr, Ksr variety is characterised by its unique distinct accent. Those tables are a means to evaluate similarities and differences between Amr, Ksr and even MSA lexemes.

3.4.2.2. Morphological Features

Perceptibly, from the recorded data, each variety has its own peculiarities at the morphological side characterizing the speakers of each variety. Some variational specificities are stated below:

a/ Reduplication: Ksr variety in contrast to Amr one is characterised by the huge occurrence of the reduplicated verbs which refer to the action frequently repeated or which take a long time when it is happening, some instances are collected in the following table 3.7:

Ksr variety	English Gloss
[j +dəq dəq]	He is knocking or making a noise as knocks
[j+qəṁ qəṁ]	He humiliates or insults someone
[j+kəḥ kəḥ]	He is coughing without interruption
[j+ ʒər ʒər]	He is pulling
[j+ rəf rəf]	He is moving quickly
[j+ qəf qəf]	He is shaking because of cold

Table 3.7: Reduplication Verbs in Ksr variety

As it is transcribed above, the reduplication verbs are formed by doubling the form (CVC) of the syllable in order to have (CVC CVC). The initial /j/ in the form (j+the stem) is used to demonstrate the present or the future tense of the verb. This feature is not found within the Amr speaker's collection of lexemes since it is a pure Ksr characteristic known among the population in Ain Sefra.

b/ The plural: a salient morphological distinction between the dialects under analysis is the noun plural. The plural patterns in MSA are divided into two types: the irregular /dʒamʕ ʔattaksi:r/ and the regular /dʒamʕ ʔassalim/. The Amr is characterised by the irregular “broken” plural considering different patterns as it is illustrated in the following table:

	word root	Ksr Plural	Amr Plural	English Gloss
N	<tjr>	[tɑjjær+æ:t]	[tjæje:r]	Planes
O	<xjm>	[lxi:m+æ:t]	[læxjæ:m]	Tents
U	<ʒrw>	[ʒræw+i:n]	[ʒræ]	Dogs
N	<ʕjn>	[ʕi:n+i:n]	[ʕ'ju:n]	Eyes
S	<flh>	[l fəllæ :h+i:n]	[l fællæ : hæ] ¹	Farmers
	<tlb>	[təllæb+i:n]	[tællæbæ]	Vagabonds
	<ðbh>	[mædbœ h+i:n]	[m ðæ:beɪh]	Slaughtered
A	<xlʕ>	[mæxlœʕ+i:n]	[mxæ:leɪʕ]	Astonished
D	<ʃbʕ>	[ʃəbʕæn+i:n]	[ʃbæ:ʕ]	Full up
J	<ʃfr>	[ʃofr+i:n]	[ʃof ar]	Yellow
	<hmr>	[homr+i:n]	[homar]	Red
	<bjd>	[bojd+e :n]	[bojd] [be: d]	White

Table 3.8: The Plural in Krs and Amr Varieties.

Subsequently, The plural in Amr take many patterns such as: [fʕæ: ʕi:l], [fʕæ:l], [fæ ʕ ʕæ:læ] (for nouns), [mfæ: ʕi:l], [fʕæ:l] and [foʕæl] (for adjectives) (knowing that /ʕ/ is /ʔ/ as a part of its linguistic system) ; Whilst, in Ksr variety, the common type of plural is comprised of the suffix /i:n/² to masculine whatever is the case, and /æ:t/ to feminine as in the following patterns: [mæfʕu: li:n]/ [mæfʕu: læ:t], [fæʕʕæ: li:n] / [fæʕʕæ:læ:t] and [fuʕli:n] for both gender.

¹ The pattern [fæ ʕʕæ:læ] is used for both of masculine and feminine

² In MSA, the noun takes /u:n/ in nominative, /a:n/ in accusative and /i:n/ in genitive case.

This fact can be probably explained by the reference to the origin of the variety. The use of the irregular plural needs a great knowledge about the grammatical rules of the Classical Arabic (or MSA) since it is represented through a number of patterns; Whereas, the regular type is an inflectional feature obtained through adding a suffix to the item in singular. Thus, the word is made up of free morpheme (lexical form) and bound morpheme (the suffix) which is regarded as a simple rule for speakers who are originally Berber. (see chapter 2, section 4) . Bearing in mind that the inflectional morphology is not an operation of newly coined lexical items but rather a syntactical adjustment, this case can be applied on nouns and adjectives.

c/ Femininization: some nouns which are masculine in MSA are treated as feminine ones in Ksr as it is observed in the examples below which are taken from the recorded conversations:

1- /lbæ:b # məhlœl+æ ... wi:n ræhæ lmæftæ:h/ (i.e. the door is opened... where is the key?). The suffix /æ/ shows the feminine feature in AA as the case of the article /ræhæ/ i.e. it is considered as feminine.

2- /ræ:si# ræhæ # tœzœŋni/ (i.e I have headache), in the verb / tœzœŋni/ the prefix /t/ is used with the third person singular feminine in the present simple as in the pattern /tæ+ fœalu/ in MSA.

It is worth mentioning that the above words in addition to others as: /so:f/, /rœl/ and /hœ:t^h/ (wool, foot and wall correspondingly) are kept treated as masculine in the Amr variety. This phenomenon might be referred to the fact that the synonymous words in the Berber language are feminine; hence, one may consider this linguistic behaviour as an impact of bilingualism on Ksr variety. (see chapter 2, section 2.1)

d/ Asking simple questions: Amr people use the morpheme /wæh/ at the end of the interrogative form in the yes/no question, such as inviting someone by saying: /tæʃforbi# tæ:j# wæh/?; Whereas, in Ksr variety the intonation plays a great role in asking simple question knowing that there is absolutely no use of /wæh/ as in:

/tʃarbi # ætæ:j#/?

3.5. Data Interpretation

Depending on the tables of the data collected, the researcher can state some remarks which may essentially be associated with the results of the interviews:

1/ The lexica of Amr variety seem to be quite rich in synonymous items since every notion has a vocabulary, and this aspect can be explained due to the nature of its Arabic origin, while this peculiarity is not found in Ksr variety, for instance:

➤ The verb ‘to go’ is expressed through:

1- [xɖæ] to mean: ‘he went in hurry without direction’

2- [ʃɑɖɖ] to mean ‘he went without returning for the moment’

3- [mɑrr] to mean ‘he went for the moment’

4- [ddæ ʃæ] to mean ‘he went in slow walk’; Whereas in Ksr only the verb [mfæ] is used whatever the situation means, in addition to an adverb for the sake of a presized description.

➤ The verb ‘to be lost’ is expressed through:

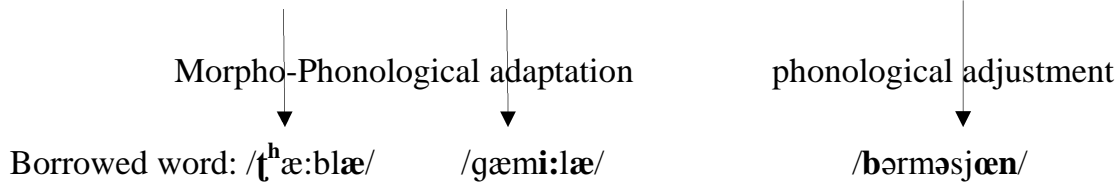
1- [tæ:h] to mean: ‘he is lost without returning in the wrong turn’

2- [ɖæ:ʃ] to mean: ‘it is lost for the moment’; Meanwhile, only the form [hməl] is used in Ksr, and the right meaning is understood from the context.

2/ There are many borrowed words from French in Ksr variety as opposed to Amr one. The only explanation which might be given at this level is the confrontation of Ksr people with the French in the colonisation period because of

their lifestyle (commerce, agriculture and building). As many interviewees (especially between 65-92 years old) have claimed that The French settlement at that time was precisely in the Ksours and not in the countryside. For instance:

French word: Table (i.e. table). Gamelle (a cooking utensil). Permission (permission)



3/ Some items which occur in Ksr variety are sometimes articulated with the voiced velar [g] and other times with the uvular [q] to mean different things, this feature describes what Jakobson (1972) refers to as 'phonologization', as in:

[g]/[q] contrast	English gloss
[jqi:s]	To throw away
[jgi:s]	To try on clothes
[rəqbæ]	One person
[rəgbæ]	A neck
[jdəqdəq]	To knock
[jdəgdəg]	To hit/ to break
[məqro:d]	A kind of cake
[məgro:d]	Broken
[jəqli]	To fright in pen
[jəgli]	To dry on fire
[jqərqəb]	To make noise by hitting things
[jgərgəb]	To drink quickly

Table 3.9: The Contrastive Use of [q] and [g] In Ksr Variety

Thus, the uvular [q] is a contextual variant of the velar /g/ since it occurs in the same structural environment and different contexts. This fact is not found in Amr variety.

4/ The Amr variety witnesses a kind of an ecolinguistic change described under a phonological adjustment within the same form or replacing by a Ksr form. As an illustration: [ʕmæ] rather than [ʔmæ] (adapting the phoneme /ʕ/ in the indigenous item) and the utterance [sæbbæʔ] rather than [gorg] (adapting the whole lexeme, since their own lexeme seems to be an old-fashioned used to describe 'shoes' of specific kind which is no longer in use).

5/ The preservation of the linguistic form till nowadays refers to the preservation of the tribal tradition, since the majority of the interviewees consider the language (precisely the dialect) as a tribal pride, stamp and personality. In addition, Amr interviewees (aged between 10 and 25 years old) have considered their articulation as a contextual one, by claiming that Chelha among Ksr also is restricted to some context as the family subjects. Recently, the intertribal contacts facilitate the interpretation of the linguistic change (or alternation at this level) within both varieties, but someone wonders what is the variety which is influenced and under what conditions.

Concerning the linguistic accommodation which is labelled in the use of Ksr lexis by the Amr speakers and vice versa, the field-researcher tries to display the average of the lexical appearance in tables. In order to assess the difference between the use of Ksr and Amr lexis within Amr and Ksr varieties respectively, the scores of the following table are taken in relation to gender and age in both of Ksr and Amr realisations:

Items		Ksr informants						Amr informants					
		Female			Male			Female			Male		
		10-25	26-50	51-99	10-25	26-50	51-98	10-25	26-50	51-86	10-25	26-50	51-90
Shoe	[səbbæ ^h]							8	8	4	7	4	1
	[gɔrg]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Trousers	[sərwæ:l]							7	6	1	6	4	0
	[hæffæd]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Handcraft	[məʃwæ:r]							2	2	1	1	1	0
	[zeɪf]	0	0	0	0	0	1						
A sock	[təqʃi:ræ]							6	5	0	5	3	0
	[tæɾʃeɪræ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
An earring	[mən g æʃ]							6	3	1	2	2	0
	[xurʃ]	0	1	3	0	0	2						
Stick	[lɔʃsæ]							10	8	3	7	4	4
	[lmætræg]	5	2	3	7	2	3						
Gown	[lbərnɔes]							10	10	9	10	8	9
	[lxɑɪdu:s]	0	0	4	1	2	10						
Bread	[xəbz]							2	2	1	1	3	0
	[kæsɾæ]	2	1	0	1	3	1						
Couscous	[t ^h ʃæ:m]							10	6	1	9	5	1
	[lʔaɪ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Tea	[ætæ:j]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[tæ:j]	1	0	0	0	0	0						
Glass	[æzzæ:ʒ]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[zæ:ʒ]	7	3	1	3	1	0						
Food	[lmæ:klæ]							10	9	2	10	4	1
	[lmælʒu:ʒæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Garlic	[tɔem]							1	1	0	0	0	0
	[θaʊm]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Blanket of wool	[bɔeræ:bəh]							3	2	1	4	3	0
	[ʃærmæ:t æ]	4	3	1	3	3	2						
Cat	[moʃ]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[gæʃt]	1	2	0	1	1	1						
Wolf	[di:b]							1	0	0	0	0	0
	[ðeɪb]	0	0	0	1	0	0						
Foot	[rʒə l]							1	2	0	0	0	0
	[kræ:ʃ]	1	2	3	1	0	0						
Guest	[dɑɪ f]							1	1	0	0	0	0
	[d e: f]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Wife	[mært]							8	6	1	4	2	2
	[ʔjæ:l]	1	0	0	0	0	0						
Second wife	[d ɛrræ]							1	2	0	1	1	0
	[rfeɪgæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						

Boy	[wɔld]							1	2	0	0	4	2
	[tful]	3	1	0	1	0	0						
Girl	[bɔnt]							1	2	0	0	4	2
	[toflæ]	1	1	0	1	0	0						
Bowl	[xɔrfijjæ]							1	3	1	2	3	1
	[tæ:græ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Big plate	[xt ^h æ:r]							1	1	0	1	1	0
	[mætræd]	8	2	2	5	3	1						
Cattle	[bɔqræ:ʒ]							0	1	0	0	0	1
	[mɔxræ:ʒ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Big casserole	[gɔdræ]							10	8	5	9	4	4
	[mu:læʃjæ:l]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Water barrel	[bæ:wnæ]							10	10	8	9	9	6
	[bunbœnæ]	0	8	2	1	3	3						
Cold	[lbɔrd]							8	5	2	9	3	0
	[ʃsærd]	2	2	0	1	1	1						
Hailstone	[tɔbrœ li]							5	5	1	4	2	2
	[ʃʃhæ:b]	1	0	0	1	0	0						
Sand	[rœmlæ]							10	4	1	4	1	0
	[næbkæ]	1	2	0	3	2	1						
The ground	[lɔrd]							9	3	2	1	3	1
	[lwætjæ]	0	0	0	1	2	4						
Sun	[sœmj]							3	3	1	9	3	2
	[gæ:jlæ]	8	2	4	1	4	3						
Rain	[nnɔw]							1	1	1	1	1	1
	[læmjær]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
New year	[nnæ:jør]							7	1	0	3	0	0
	[lailtælʔæ:m]	1	0	0	1	1	0						
Call	[nzæggi]							4	3	0	1	1	0
	[næljæ]	5	4	1	6	2	3						
Come here	[rwæ:h]							4	3	1	3	2	0
	[tʔæ:læ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Let me	[bœʃœdni]							1	2	1	2	3	2
	[nhækk]	0	0	1	0	0	1						
Stand up!	[nœd]							10	9	3	10	6	5
	[tgæʃœd]	2	2	1	3	6	1						
Throw away	[jqi:s]							10	8	4	10	9	2
	[jlu:h]	1	1	0	1	2	0						
He went	[mjæ]							4	1	1	3	1	0
	[mærr]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Listen!	[smæʃ]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[tʃæmmæk]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
He searches	[jdœbbær]							9	8	2	8	2	1
	[jræ:ʃi]	1	0	0	0	0	0						
Decrease	[nœqqœʃ]							10	9	2	10	8	8
	[jæwwæl]	1	2	0	1	0	0						

Tuck up	[jləqqəm]							2	1	0	1	1	0
	[jʃæmmær]	1	0	0	2	0	0						
Come towardsme	[ʒæ: ni]							10	8	5	8	6	5
	[wʃædni]	10	9	7	10	8	3						
He went	[mʃæ]							5	3	1	3	3	1
	[xɔæ]	3	2	1	1	1	0						
overstock	[ʃərrəm]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[kæθəær]	9	8	9	5	6	8						
To hide	[jdərrəg]							1	1	4	4	4	2
	[jæqɔbær]	2	2	1	2	2	0						
To left	[jxəlli]							1	2	0	0	0	0
	[jæhdæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
To send	[jʃe:fət ^h]							4	1	1	3	3	0
	[jændæh]	2	2	0	3	2	0						
Be lost	[hməl]							3	3	2	4	2	1
	[tæ:h]/[ɔæ:ʃ]	1	1	0	1	2	0						
Mix up	[jxəllət ^h]							10	7	1	9	7	3
	[jhæwwær]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Serve dinner	[təgləʃləʃfæ]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[thæt[læʃfæ]	1	2	0	1	0	0						
To water	[dæffəg]							2	1	0	1	0	0
	[kæffæh]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
To wet	[næffæx]							2	1	0	1	2	0
	[mæhhæt]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Move wateraway	[yʃərrəfəlmæ]							10	6	3	10	4	3
	[jwænni]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
To cut	[gət ^h hæʃ]							10	7	3	9	3	3
	[ʃællæx]	5	2	0	3	2	0						
To suckle	[trə dɔ əʃ]							3	3	1	2	0	0
	[tnækkæʃ]	2	0	1	1	0	0						
Doubted	[mwəswəs]							9	7	3	5	6	1
	[mæhbu:k]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Aware	[ʃæ:qəl]							2	2	1	2	1	2
	[wæ:ʃi]	4	4	1	2	2	1						
Polite	[ʃæ:qəl]							2	2	1	2	2	0
	[mhæððæb]	3	2	1	2	2	3						
With	[mʃæ]							2	1	0	2	0	0
	[ʔmæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Who	[ʃk æ n]							3	2	1	2	1	0
	[næ:hu]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Where?	[wi:n]							0	0	0	0	0	0
	[wan]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Like	[kæmmæhæ:k]							1	1	0	1	0	0
	[kɔæ:k]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
As if	[kiʃvəl]							2	1	0	1	1	0
	[kisuq]	0	0	0	0	0	0						

There!	[tømmæ]							1	0	0	0	0	0
	[fæmmæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
He is not	[mæ:ræ:hʃ]							9	9	1	4	2	1
	[mæhu:ʃ]	2	1	0	1	0	0						
Really!	[bæʃsæ h]							2	3	0	2	1	0
	[bælhæg]	0	0	0	1	0	0						
Only	[ʁi]							2	1	0	3	1	0
	[qæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Yes	[wæ:h]							2	1	0	3	2	1
	[ʔaɦ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Not me	[mæ:ʃiʔæ:næ]							10	5	2	10	7	1
	[mæni:ʃæ:næ]	9	8	2	3	4	2						
Madam!	[jæ:læmræ]							4	2	1	3	4	2
	[jæʃæ:gæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Sir!	[jæ:ræ:ʒəl]							8	6	1	3	2	0
	[jæʃæ:g]	0	0	0	0	0	1						
Oh!	[æjæwəxdɪ]							3	2	1	0	0	0
	[jæʃæ:ʃi]	1	2	0	0	1	0						
Tomorrow	[ɣædwæ]							3	2	1	2	1	0
	[qdæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
After tomorrow	[mænræd]							2	1	1	1	2	0
	[bæʃdæqdæ]	0	0	0	0	0	0						
why	[ʃlæ:ʃ]							2	3	1	3	1	0
	[læjjæh]	1	2	1	2	2	1						
He went	[mʃæ]							1	2	1	1	2	1
	[ʃɑqd]	0	0	3	1	1	2						
The average %		10,5	10	7	10,12	10,5	7	40,5	33,6	11	35,2	20,5	10

Table 3.10: Scores of the Lexical Relationship between ksr and Amr Varieties

The table which is mentioned above interpretes the lexical differences into numbers, categories and scores. According to this table, the average of the linguistic behaviour differs depending on age and sex. It is worth noting that there is no occurrence of Amr items in Ksr speech; Whereas, Amr speakers use both of their indigenous forms and Ksr ones. Thus, the results are structuralized in the following bar-graphs:

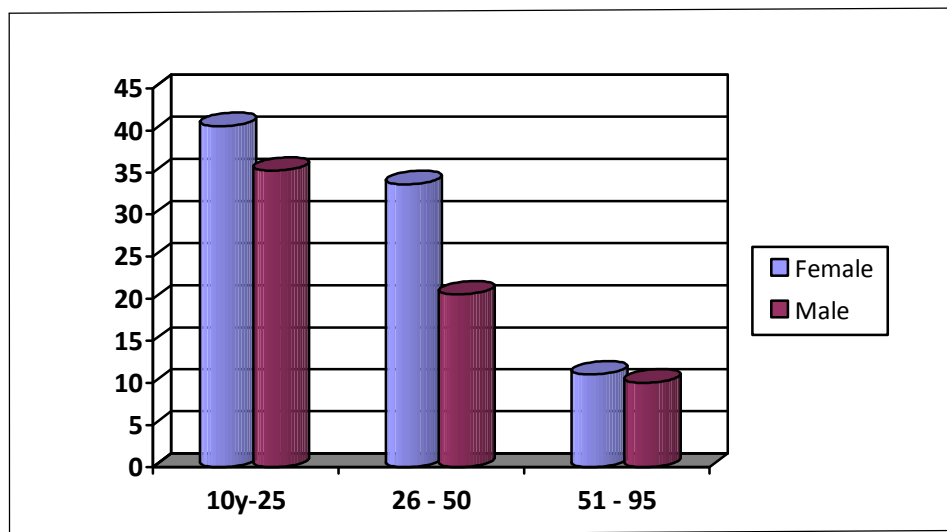


Chart 3.5: The Use of Ksr Lexis by Amr Speakers

In correlation with the information elicited from the interviews, the analysis of the claims that Amr female tend to use more Ksr lexis due to the availability of both dialectal items within their linguistic repertoire. In addition, the remarkable reluctance of using some Amr utterances among the youngest generation, especially female category since women are the advancers to using the new lexemes as a first step towards the linguistic change (Labov, 1990).

Indeed, the rate of the Ksr lexis in use is higher because many reasons. Although bedouin speech is known to be conservative, as a result of the ecological process of the ruralization and the intertribal relations, Amr dialect knows some linguistic switch particularly on the lexical level which is the use of Ksr vocabulary and adapt them to the indigenous variety.

On the other hand, the Ksr use of Amr vocabulary in correlation with age and gender is drawn in the bar-graphs below:

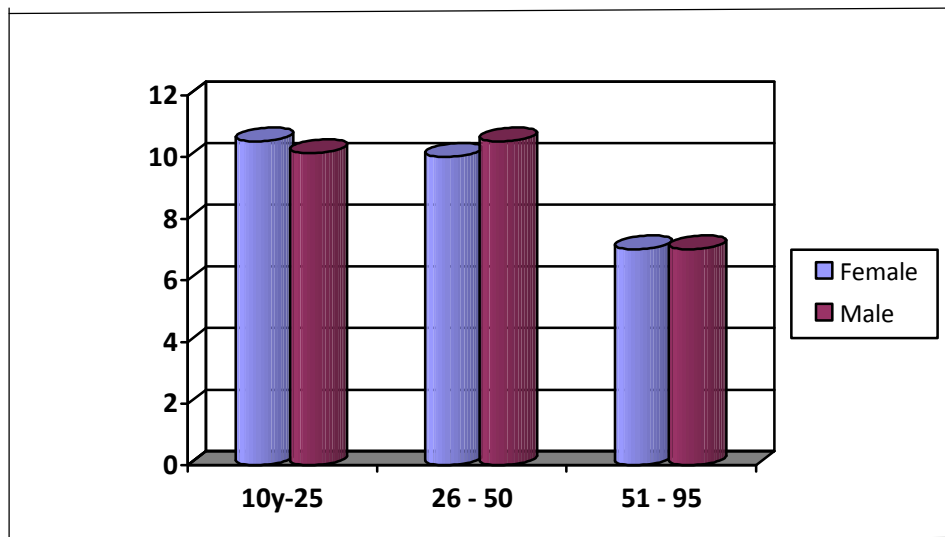


Chart 3.6: The Use of Amr Lexis by Ksr Speakers

As the chart summarises, the rate of female and male use of Amr items is almost limited, alike and decreased in comparison with the Amr use of Ksr vocabulary. The non-use of the Amr items is referred, as many interviewees claim, to the mispronunciation of certain phonemes. Other reasons may be discovered through the next points.

Eventually, the analysis of the data has shown that the total opposition existing in the oldest generation has been replaced by a linguistic option for lexical alternation and accommodation within the youngest generation's linguistic behaviour. The other category (aged between 25 and 50 years old) have asserted that they still use the indigenous items with their families in the countryside.

The researcher in the present work does not include the linguistic change as an absolute phenomenon since it needs a deeper study and more intensive views, but she takes the fact as a feature of the comparative analysis.

As the examples indicate in table 3.9, when the Ksr item is used by Amr speakers is adjusted to their indigenous accent, especially the vowels (æ) and (i:) are replaced by [u:] and [ɛɪ] respectively, as in:

- [təbrœ li] — in Amr → [tæbru: li], ‘hailstone’
- [təqfi:ræ] — in Amr → [tæqfeɪræ], ‘a sock’

In addition, the few Amr lexemes which are used by Ksr people are adapted to their way of articulation either consonants or vowels, such as:

- [næɫqæ]— in Ksr → [næɫræ], ‘i call’, [jlu:h] — in Ksr → [jlœh], ‘he throws’
- [kæθœær]—in Ksr → [kəttær], [mhæððæb]— in Ksr → [mhəddəb], ‘polite’

In contrast, the researcher has found some instances in Ksr adopted from Amr variety which are uttered in Amr articulation. The probable interpretation is that Ksr people has embraced the mechanism of replacing Amr [ɣ] by [q] and [q] by [ɣ] wherever they occur in the Amr linguistic context without being aware of the right meaning. Consider here these representative examples:

- [ɫrævɫæ] —in Ksr → [ɫqœqæ] (i.e, ‘noise’; though in MSA is [ʔalɫrævɫa:ʔ] with /ɫ/)
- [jæqbær] —in Ksr → [jæɫbær] (‘to hide’. This verb in MSA is derived from the noun /qabr/, that is to say, ‘a grave’). The researcher considers these instances as notorious common mistakes which are used spontaneously among Ksr speakers.

Through comparing the answers of the interview with the results in the wordlist, it has been noticed that there is a slight assumption that the education has tailored the realisation of Amr speakers. Thereby, they have even realised that the use of the pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] as misuse of the glottal stop variable /ʔ / and vice versa. At this point, it sounds worthy to discuss the following tables:

Word	Gloss	Articulation	10-25	26-50	51more
1. /qur ? æ:n/	Coran	a.[qurʕæ:n]	20	90	100
		b.[qur?æ:n]	80	10	0
2. / ?ælf/	One thousands	a.[ʕælf]	10	60	100
		b.[?ælf]	90	40	0
3. /su?æ:l /	Question	a.[suʕæ:l]	10	50	100
		b. [su?æ:l]	90	50	0
4. /ʕæ:m/	A year	a.[?æ:m]	20	80	100
		b.[ʕæ:m]	80	20	0
5. /lʕeid/	Feast	a.[l?eid]	20	80	100
		b.[lʕeid]	80	20	0
6. [ʒeiʕa:n]	Hungry	a.[ʒei?a:n]	30	90	100
		b.[ʒeiʕa:n]	70	10	0

Table 3.11 : Scores of the Variant [?, ʕ] by Amr Males in relation to Age

Table 3.11 exposes the scores of the use of the variants [?, ʕ] instead of /ʕ, ? /among Amr males speakers in correlation with age. Obviously, the category of elders (more than 50 years) are still keeping the indigenous realisation (a); However, the other age categories display the difference as it is shown in the following bar-graphs:

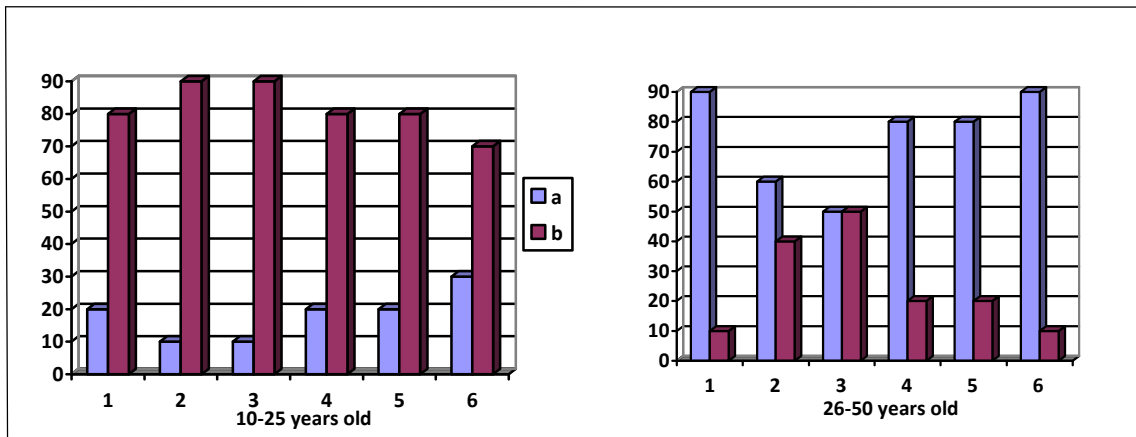


Chart 3.7 : Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Males Speakers in relation to Age

By interpreting the table into bar-graphs the difference seems to become evident, since the use of the indigenous articulation (a) is decreased in youngest male generation’s speech. Through interviewing the informants, the researcher claims that the reason behind this fact is the increase of literacy since they have realised the misuse of /ʔ, ʕ/.

Again, the researcher has tested the articulation of the variants stated above with the female group as follows:

Word	Gloss	Articulation	10-25	26-50	51- more
1. /qur ʔ æ:n/	Koran	a.[qurʕæ:n]	0	80	100
		b.[qurʔæ:n]	100	20	0
2. /ʔælf/	One thousands	a.[ʕælf]	10	50	100
		b.[ʔælf]	90	50	0
3. /suʔæ:l /	Question	a.[suʕæ:l]	10	30	100
		b. [suʔæ:l]	90	70	0

4. /ʕæ:m/	A year	a.[ʔæ:m]	10	80	100
		b.[ʕæ:m]	90	20	0
5./lʕeid/	Feast	a.[lʔeid]	10	80	100
		b.[lʕeid]	90	20	0
6. [ʒeɪʕa:n]	Hungry	a.[ʒeɪʔa:n]	20	60	100
		b.[ʒeɪʕa:n]	80	40	0

Table 3.12 : Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Females in relation to Age

As pointed out before, Amr variety is known by the use of / ʔ, ʕ / as usually inverted (one instead of the other despite of the graphological index). The scores of female performance are interpreted into the coming charts, knowing that the old women still use the variants as they are in their linguistic system:

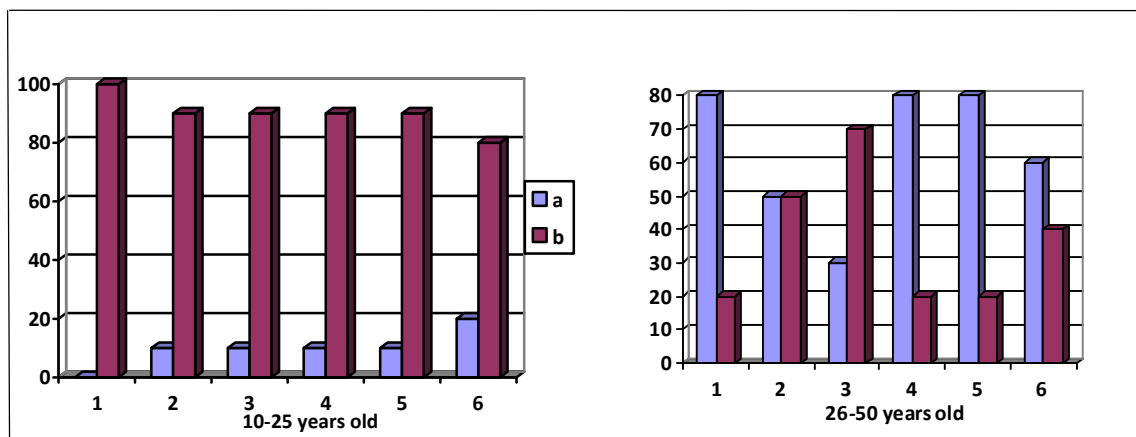


Chart 3.8 : Scores of the Variant [ʔ, ʕ] by Amr Females Speakers

Evidently, female speakers aged between 10 to 25 years old have corrected the misuse of the target variants [ʔ, ʕ] in a very remarkable rate. By comparing the scores of articulation in correlation with gender, females tend to use the correct forms more than males do and the youngsters more than the elders do.

The female interviewees aged between (10-51 years old) have claimed that it is hard to adapt the frequent words which have a great amount of use in daily life as opposed to the items which are associated with life in town, schools and prestige which are considered as newly integrated in the indigenous lexicon.

As the case of the above articulations, another aspect of switch which is the Amr articulation [q] of the variable / χ / is classified according to age and sex in the table stated below:

	Word	Gloss	Articulation	10-25	26-50	51more
M A	1./ χ uræ:b/	Crow	a.[qræ:b]	20	80	100
			b.[χ ræ:b]	80	20	0
L E	2./ ξ axi:r/	little	a.[ξ qair]	10	60	100
			b.[ξ xair]	90	40	0
	3. /jæsbæ χ /	He paints	a.[jæsbæq]	10	70	100
			b. [jæsbæ χ]	90	30	0
F E	1./ χ uræ:b/	Crow	a.[qræ:b]	0	30	100
			b.[χ ræ:b]	100	70	0
M A	2./ ξ axi:r/	Little	a.[ξ qair]	0	70	100
			b.[ξ xair]	90	30	0
L E	3. /jæsbæ χ /	He paints	a.[jæsbæq]	20	30	100
			b.[jæsbæ χ]	80	70	0

Table 3.13 : Scores of the Variant [q]¹ by Amr speakers in relation to Age and Gender

¹[] is used by reference to MSA, since the variant [q] is an allophone for the phoneme / χ / in the same Am utterance.

This table includes the scores of use of the variant [q] as an articulation of the phoneme /ɣ/. For the sake of assessing the rate of switch to Ksr /ɣ/ (b) by association with the results of interviews, the following figures are made:

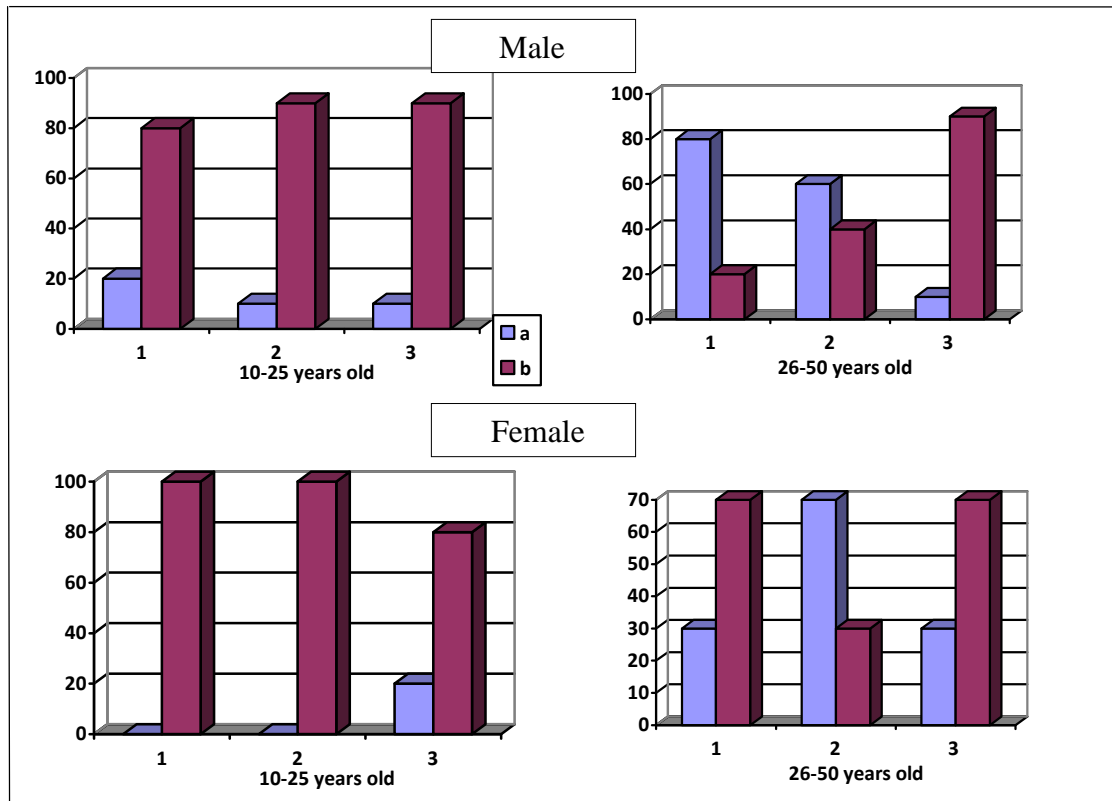


Chart 3.9: Scores of the Variant [q] in correlation with Age and Sex

These figures interpret in a way or another the switch towards the Ksr articulation. The alternation between the correct and the misused phonemes is not governed by any phonemic environment but social context. The female interviewees aged between (10-50 years old) have claimed that it is hard to change the frequent words which have a great amount of use in daily life as opposed to the items which are associated with life in town, schools and prestige.

The realisation of /ɣ/ as [q] and vice versa in Amr has created a considerable amount of homophony. This feature displays a great homophonic ambiguity between Amr and Ksr terms, consider the following representative examples: [qreɪb] (in Amr means ‘stranger’) and [qri:b] (in Ksr means ‘near’); Whereas

[ɤreɪb] (in Amr means ‘near’) and [ɤri:b] (in Ksr means ‘stranger’), the verb [bqæ] in Amr means ‘he loved’; Whereas, in Ksr it means ‘he stayed’ and vice versa. The appropriate meaning is depicted from the context.

Admittedly, the female interviewees (aged between 10 and 30 years old) claim that education has played a great role in correcting their realisation and Amr articulation is no more prestigious since there is no prestige in mistakes. On another hand, the old category does not even recognize the misuse of those variants (not mistakes) because of illiteracy as the main reason. Whereas, though the middle category (between 26 and 50 years old) is aware of the correct realisations they tried to be loyal to their variety and they change the forms according to the context as schools, administrations and reading Koran. In addition, some of them use the ‘correct’ variants when interacting with Ksr people in order not to be marginalized because of the negative picture which Amr articulation has.

Furthermore, although the lexical switch either towards Amr variety or Ksr one is clearly taking place, the recognition of the speaker’s origin could be easier through the indigenous use of vowels. For instance: [sæbbæ t] and [səbbæ t^h] (the decay of the short vowel /æ/ in the latter, Ksr articulation)

Depending on the distinction between the informants on one hand and the linguistic realisation on another hand, the assesment of linguistic change might take place. The linguistic change refers in this case to the ecological change, see (chapter 1, section 4), according to Cadora’s ‘transformational trend’ (1992), as it follows:

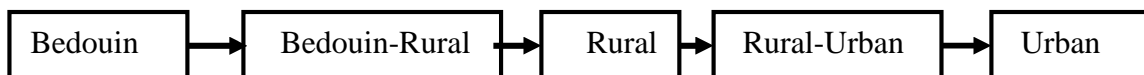


Figure 3.1: The Ecological Change. (Adopted from Cadora, 1992)

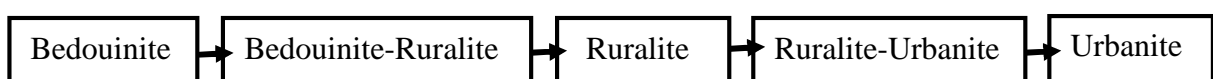


Figure 3.2: The Linguistic Change. (ibid)

But things are not quite simple as it appears, since the facts of the linguistic change analysed in this piece of work are features of lexical alternation, morphological adaptation and/or phonological adjustment towards Ksr variety which is a rural one. Thus, whether or not the transformation towards the urbanite is happening is still not the concern of the work at this level.

At another level of analysis, the researcher notices that some lexical changes might be clarified through stereotyping or stigmatizing the indigenous items, particularly in the Amr variety.

3.6. Linguistic Stereotypes

In Labovian sense, the linguistic behaviour displays a scale of different levels of ‘salience’ among the use of the linguistic variables and their variants. Labov (1972) differentiates between *indicators*, *markers* and *stereotypes*, which are defined in Llamas *et al.* (2007: 06) as:

indicators (variables of which speakers other than linguists are unaware, and which are not subject to style-shifting), **markers** (variables close to speakers’ level of conscious awareness which may have a role in class stratification, and which are subject to style-shifting), and **stereotypes** (forms of which speakers and the wider community are aware, but which, like other stereotyped expectations of social groups, are often archaic, misreported and misperceived).

The difference between the three terms is related to the degree of the speakers’ awareness of their realisation of the linguistic variable. Indicators are variables realised in an unconscious way which indicates the belonging to certain large group since they are not subjected to style shifting¹ whatever the situation is; whilst, markers are connected to the levels of speakers’ consciousness of the circumstances within the conversation (for instance, the addresser, the subject and its purposes), these linguistic variables demonstrate, infact, the social identity (the group or individual’s scale of identities). On another hand, stereotypes are linguistic forms which exhibit social rather than only linguistic significance; they

¹ It is the conscious alternation between the styles or varieties provided to the speaker according to the task they are involved in (Meyerhoff, 2006)

have old-fashioned and misviewed position within the social group as the case of other expectations and beliefs which differ from one population to the other.

In the research at hand, the lexical relationship between Ksr and Amr varieties shows those different levels of variables described above. They have tended to be phonological ones which are considered as indicators because of their occurrences in terms of their phonemic identity as the own linguistic system of each variety (see section 4.2.1). In order to state the markers within the varieties, more attention and many instrumental analysis have to be included which might not be the enquiry of the research at this level. This discussion leads the researcher to pick up the prestigious and the stigmatised features within the varieties under analysis.

3.6.1. Stigma and Prestige

According to the interviews conducted with the sample of population, the interpretation of the data has exhibited that there are some linguistic features within Amr variety which are stigmatised by Ksr speakers, they are mostly phonological ones. In other terms, the researcher could discover through the interviews some Amr features which are popularly judged as being stigmatised from the Ksr point of view. At this level, the researcher insists that this feature is based on popular views apart from linguistic criteria.

Consequently, in this case, some phonemes have been replaced by Ksr ones which are MSA realisations at the first place, for instance the replacement of the Amr [ʔ, ʕ, q] by [ʕ ,ʔ, ɣ] respectively, as in:

[qurʕæ:n] → [qurʔæ:n] (i.e. ‘Koran’)
 [jæɫʔæb] → [jæɫʕæb] (i.e. ‘He plays’)
 [qræ:b] → [ɣ ræ:b] (i.e. ‘Crow’)

The reason behind such replacement is that those sounds of Amr become old-fashioned, stigmatised and it is even acquired a mocking position. In addition, many Amr informants especially in the youngest category claim that

they were feeling the unbelonging to the whole society as in schools and shops. Thus, the level of education has played a supportive role in reforming the phonetic articulation and realising the misuse of some phonemes.

Furthermore, the interviewees (aged between 10-25 years old) have asserted that some utterances are never used in communication with strangers such as [gɔrg], [hæffæɖ] and [jælʁæ:gæ] (i.e. 'shoe, trousers and Madam!' respectively) because of this fact of stigmatisation. As a result, the inclination for using Ksr items might be interpreted due to the highest status and prestige which this variety owns within the society of Ain Sefra.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the analytical phase which depends on the available data of the highly frequent words within the two varieties. The triangular methodology of research has helped the researcher to validate the information as much as the data are valid.

Since language is basically the outcome of culture, the different cultural realities of the two varieties are displayed in the different linguistic realisations between these two varieties. The distinctions on the lexical level are governed by the social factors such as age and gender. The field-researcher has pointed out that the lexical distinction existed between Ksr and Amr varieties is interpreted in totally different lexemes and utterances that show morphological or phonological contrasts (or both).

Seeing that the indigenous items are still in use nowadays, the linguistic difference still exists in Ain Sefra. The preservation of the variety refers to the loyalty to the indigenous tribe and illiteracy which maintains the misuse of some phonemes (especially Amr one) that build up the linguistic system of the variety itself.

In fact, the geographical unrest results the unstability of the variety which is interpreted in phonological and lexical alternation. The Amr switch towards Ksr features (either lexemes or phonemes) has many reasons. Firstly, literacy which plays a great role in realising the misproduction of certain phonemes. Secondly, the fact of stigmatizing some items. Thirdly, the different aspects of lifestyle which require the use of different utterances available in the adjacent linguistic environment.

Though the lexical alternation within Amr and Ksr varieties takes place, the distinctions between the two varieties are still existing and there might be other levels of differences which are not tackled in this research work.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

As a matter of fact, the consequent interpretation of the findings in any sociolinguistic research that investigates a specific variable relies heavily on what the methods of research are, how the sample of subjects is chosen and who is collecting the data (Llamas *et al.*, 2007). Thus, the researcher has tried to validate the results as much as the data are valid.

The aim of the current research work is to find out certain aspects which present the lexical differences between two main social varieties among others of Ain Sefra which are El-Ksours and El-Amour (abbr. Ksr and Amr respectively). The ethnicity is the salient clue for the distinction which is indisputable on the lexical level. Each variety has its own distinctive features on different levels of analysis such as the phonological and morphological one, in addition to the lexical level which denotes different cultural and environmental heritage.

The combination between the linguistic conservatism and linguistic accommodation in the same corpus of research might seem a paradox. Nevertheless, it is considered as a comparative feature between the varieties under study. The researcher, in one of the probabilities, has figured out that young Amr speakers in some circumstances accommodate their speech to Ksr variety which is considered as the most prestigious one among the inhabitants in Ain Sefra.

In spite of the lexical alternation and the phonological adjustment which Amr variety has witnessed in some instances, the indigenous articulation still occurs among the youngest generation as a contextual use in certain particular situation. The Amr youngsters' inclination for the switch towards Ksr variety refers to the fact of stigmatizing the realization of some phonemes and some lexemes which are inevitably related to Bedouin lifestyle. Furthermore, education and massmedia have played a major role in sensitizing Amr people to the misuse of certain phonemes.

As the case of ‘Chelha’ use among Ksr younger speakers, certain Amr realizations have been considered as having a contextual use in accordance with age and gender for both addressee and addresser. Therefore, this research work attempted at clarifying the understanding of age-specificity and gender-peculiarity in variational distinction. The use of Amr lexical items among the youngest generation leads to the assumption that Amr variety undergoes a considerable change which may be another topic of research worthy to discuss in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

List of Books and Articles

- Blommaert, J. (2003) "Commentary: A sociolinguistics of globalization".
Sociolinguistics 7/4, pp. 607-623.
- Cadora, F. J. (1992) *Bedouin, Village and Urban Arabic: An Ecolinguistic Study*.
EJ Brill. The Netherlands.
- Cantineau, J (1938) « Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger ». 3^{ème} Congrès
de la Fédération de sociétés savantes de l'Afrique du Nord N° 81. Revue
Africaine. Rabat, pp 703-711
- Chambers, J. K (1992) "Dialect acquisition", *Language*, 68, pp 673-705.
- Chambers, J. K and Trudgill, P (2004) (2nd edition) *Dialectology*. Cambridge.
- Coulmas, F. (1998) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Blackwell Reference
Online.
- Crystal, D. (2006) *How Language Works*. Penguin books Ltd. London. England.
- Eckert, P and Rickford, J.R. (2001) *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*.
Cambridge University.
- Ferguson, C.A. (1959) *Language Structure and Language Use*. Stanford
University Press.
- Fishman, J. (1967) 'Bilingualism with and without diglossia: Diglossia with and
without bilingualism.' *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 29-38.
- Good, J. (2008) *Linguistic Universals and Language Change*. Oxford University
Press
- Gumperz, J. (1968) "The Speech Community". *International Encyclopedia of the
Social Sciences*. New York: Mcmillan, pp. 6-381
- Haak, M., De Jong, R., and Versteegh, K. (2004) *Approaches to Arabic Dialects:
A Collection of Articles*; Brill. The Netherlands
- Holmes, J., and Meyerhoff, M. (2003) *The Handbook of Language and Gender*.
Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Hudson, R. A. (1996) (2nd edition) *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press.

- Jakobson, R. (1960) "Coccluding statement: linguistics and phonetics". *Styles in Language*. ed. Cambridge: The Technology Press, pp. 350-373
- Jakobson, R. (1972) *A Reader in Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Johnston, B. (2000) *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Jourdan, C and Tuite, K. (2006) *Language, Culture and Society. Key Topics in Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kerswill, P. (1994) *Dialect Converging: Rural Speech in Urban Norway*. Oxford University Press Inc, New York.
- Labov, W. (1990) "The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change". *Language Variation and Change*, Vol. 2 (1990), pp. 205-254. Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1994) *Principle of Language Change*, Vol. 1: *Internal Factors*. Blackwell Publishers Oxford.
- Labov, W. (2010) *Principle of Language Change*, Vol. 3: *Cognitive and Cultural Factors*. Wiley Blackwell. A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Publication.
- Le Page, R. B., and Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985) *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to ethnicity and language*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Llamas, C., Mullany, L and Stockwell, P. (2007) *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*. Routledge . London and New York
- Lyons, J. (1981) *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Marçais, Ph. (1960) 'The Arabic Dialects of Algeria'. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, pp. 374-379.
- Martin, A.G.P. (1920) *Précis De Sociologie Nord Africaine*, Seconde Partie. Editions Ernest Leroux 28, Rue Bonaparte.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2006) *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Taylor and Francis Group e-Library.

- Miller, C., Al-Wer, E., Caubet, D and Watson, J, C, E. (2007) *Arabic in the City, Issues in Dialect Contact and Language Variation*. Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group e-Library.
- O'Reilly, C.C. (2001) *Language, Ethnicity and the State*. Vol 2: *Minority Languages in Eastern Europe post-1989*. Palgrave Publishers Ltd
- Paulston, B.C. (1992) *Sociolinguistic Perspective on Bilingual education, multilingual matters: 84 LTD*, GB. The Longdunn Press. Bristol.
- Romaine, S. (1995) (2nd edition) *Bilingualism*. Oxford University Press.
- Rihoux, B., and Ragin, C.C. (2009) *Configurational Comparative Methods: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Related Techniques* SAGE Publications, Inc
- Sapir, E. (2004) "Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech". *The Project Gutenberg e-Book of Language* produced by Juliet Sutherland, Ben Beasley and PG Distributed Proofreaders.
- Sidnell, J. (2009) *Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (1998) *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press
- Thomason, S.G. (2001) *Language Contact*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (1986) *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford. Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (1995) (4th edition) *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. Penguin Books. Clays LTD. England.
- Waurdhaugh, R. (2006) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Blackwell publishing Ltd.
- Weinreich, U. and Martinet, A. (1954) "Is a structural dialectology possible?". *Word, the Linguistic Circle*. New York. Vol. 10, pp. 338-401
- Widdowson, H.G. (1996) *Linguistics* . Oxford University Press

☛ List of Thesis

- Dendane, Z. (1993) *Sociolinguistic Variation in an Urban Context: The Speech Community of Tlemcen*. Unpublished Magister Thesis in Sociolinguistics. University of Oran.

- Dendane, Z. (2007) Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour: The Case of Tlemcen Arabic. Unpublished Doctorate Thesis. University of Tlemcen.
- Derni, A. (2009) Ecolinguistic Implications in Language Change towards A New Paradigm in the Study of Lexical Variation in Ghazaouet Spoken Arabic. Unpublished Doctorate Thesis. University of Tlemcen.
- Mouhadjer, N. (2002) Algeria An Intricate Bilingual and Diglossic Situation. University of Tlemcen.

List of Arabic Books

- ابن خلدون، ع. (1993). (الطبعة الاولى). المقدمة. دار الكتب العلمية. بيروت. لبنان
أستيتية، س. ش. (2008). اللسانيات، المجال و الوظيفة. الاردن
بن عمارة، خ. (2002). (ج2). السيرة البوبكرية. مكتبة جودي مسعود. الجزائر
الميلي، م. (1989). (ج2). (الطبعة الثالثة). تاريخ الجزائر القديم و الحديث. المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب. دار
المغرب الإسلامي. بيروت. لبنان

APPENDICES

I.

RECORDINGS

Recorded Conversations

Some instances of recorded data are mentioned below. These examples are excerpts from daily conversations collected in correlation with age and gender in different settings such as: schools and home, street and shops.

Amr Informants

- M** { 90 years old: /... ?aih wæxt θθauræ...mækæ:nəf lli bqæ jşodd.. ?mæ:næ ...
kæ:jæn lli xðæ læʒʒbæl ... wkæ:jæn lli bʁæ f xaimtæh ... ?æ?æ:gæ!
mæw?aitəf wæh?/
(well, time of revollution... no one wanted to go with us... there was who
went to mountains...others stayed in their tents... oh man! Did you
remember?)
- 42 years old: /læqlæm ræ:hæ qæ:ljæ ðæ l?æ:m...lmæwwælæ qæ:bu...læmtær
ɾleil... /
(sheeps are expensive this year... shepherds are rare! Rain is few!)
- 15 years old: /...bæşşæh suʃæ:l wæ:ʃær... hællaitæh wæh?... ænæ ɾæ
kæmmælt xræʒt... mærrait næʃrob mmaihææ.../
(but it was a hard question... did you answer it?...when I finished... I went
to drink water.)
- F** { - 55 years old: /æ:ʃtoflæ t?æ:lij ljæ:h...tæ:j wæh... hleib læm?eiz
θæ:ni zam qælwæ:hæd mæjkæθθærʃ /
(oh girl!come here!...tea?... milk of goats also nice... but one has not to
drink it too much)
- 40 Years old: /..kiræ:hum lwæ:qʃæ:t θæmmæ ... θlæ:θi:næləf
wmæʃæwwæleɪʃ...qæ kðæ:k ssaumæ.../
(How are people there?...300DA without reduction... the price is still the
same...)
- 23 years old: /ðæjjæʃthæ fæððlæ:m...hðartha ʃmæ ððarɪfæ:t...mæʃlaihæ
wæ:lu...tʒi ʃlæ kærʃi:hæ /

(I lost her in the dark... I let her with the guests...she is alright she will come on feet.)

Ksr Informants

- M** {
- 93 years old: / æbænti mætqəlqi:f...ddəni:jæ gədd mætətʷæ:l gʃe:ræ... rabbi wəʃʃænæ ʃlæ lwæ:ldi:n.../
(oh daughter!do not be nervous...life is short though it seems to be long... Allah orders us to care about parents)
 - 48 years old: /mæqəddi:tʃ ndəsshæ ʃli:k ...wəllæh ɣi tæddi:hæ ... ræ:ni ʃtʰe:tək lbərməsʃœn.../
(I could not hide it !.. ‘I swear by the name of Allah’ just take it... I have given you the permission)
 - 12 years old: /mmæ xəlli:t kərtʰæbi fli:kœl ... nækəl fi hæd ləʃtʰær .../
(Mom!I let my school bag at the school... Shall I eat in this plate?)
- F** {
- 59 Years old: / mənɾæd jəmʃu l təmmæ ʃəndhum ...rəʒlijjæ mæqəddi:tʃ bi:hum... mægʃædtʃ kəmmæ kənt .../
(Tomorrow they will go there to them.....my feet hurt...I am not as I used to be)
 - 36 years old: /ɣi ggəlʃu ləʃʃæ... zæ:t mjæ:t rəqbæ...ləʃtʰæ:ræ:t w ləmræ:rəf ræ:həm wæ: zdi:n... æwətnæ nətlæ:hgu f ləʃræ:sæ:t /
(Serve dinner...one hundred person had come... plates and spoons have been already prepared... we meet in all weddings)
 - 19 years old: / zæ lʔustæ:d...ttəmri:n məhlœl... ɣ ədwæ ræ:næ məʃrœdi:n ʃəndhum.../
(Did the teacher come?...the exercise is done...we are invited at their home)

II.

WORD-LIST

استقصاء

الاسم:..... أالانتماء: قصوري الجنس: ذكر السن:.....
 اللقب:..... عموري أنثى المستوى التعليمي:..

*ضع (ي) علامة (x) أمام الكلمة المستعملة في لغتك العامية و أضف (ي) إجابات إذا احتجت إلى ذلك:

<input type="checkbox"/>	ثُوم	<input type="checkbox"/>	(ذ): ثوم: ثُوم
<input type="checkbox"/>	ثَمْنِيَة	<input type="checkbox"/>	ثمانية(8): تَمْنِيَة
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَحْرَت	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَحْرُت: يحرث
<input type="checkbox"/>	دِيب	<input type="checkbox"/>	ذئب: ذيب
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَبْدَر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُبذَر: يَبْدَر
<input type="checkbox"/>	ذُهَب	<input type="checkbox"/>	ذهب: دُهَب
<input type="checkbox"/>	طِيَارَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	طائرة: تِيَارَة
<input type="checkbox"/>	بَتِيخ	<input type="checkbox"/>	بطيخ: بَطِيخ
<input type="checkbox"/>	نُطْف	<input type="checkbox"/>	نُطَق: نَتَق
<input type="checkbox"/>	قُرْعَان	<input type="checkbox"/>	المتغير(أ),(ع): قرآن: قرآن
<input type="checkbox"/>	عَلْف	<input type="checkbox"/>	ألف: أَلْف
<input type="checkbox"/>	مأروظ	<input type="checkbox"/>	مأروض
<input type="checkbox"/>	مأروظ	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَعْرُوض
<input type="checkbox"/>	أمانا	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَعا: مَعا
<input type="checkbox"/>	عمانا	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَعا: مَعا
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	المتغير(ق),(غ): صغير: صَغِير
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	الغيم: لَقِيم
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُفْرَغ: يُفْرَغ
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	جوارب: تَغاشير
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	أحْبَبْتُ: بَقِيْتُ
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَبْقَى: يَبْقَى
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	المتغير (ض),(ظ): ظل: ضَل
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	العظم: لَعْظَم
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	ظلام: ظَلَام
<input type="checkbox"/>	لغيام	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَرَض: مَرَض

ضَيْفٌ: ضَيْفٌ ظَيْفٌ
 ضَوْءٌ: ظَوْ ضَوْ

(ب) الضمير المتصل بالفعل (هم):

<input type="checkbox"/>	جبتهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	الماضي: أنا أحضرتهم: جبتهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	جبتناهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	نحن أحضرتناهم: جبتناهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	جبتهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	أنت أحضرتهم: جبتهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	جابهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	هو أحضرهم: جابهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	جبتوهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	أنتم أحضرتوهم: جبتوهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	ندبهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	المضارع: أنا آخذهم: ندبهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	ندوهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	نحن نأخذهم: ندوهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	تدبهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	أنت تأخذهم: تدبهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	يدبهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	هو يأخذهم: يدبهم
<input type="checkbox"/>	يدوهم	<input type="checkbox"/>	هم يأخذونهم: يدوهم

(ج) جمع التكسير و السالم:

<input type="checkbox"/>	شباع	<input type="checkbox"/>	جمع شبعان: شبعانين
<input type="checkbox"/>	جبعانين	<input type="checkbox"/>	جمع جوعان: جبعانين
<input type="checkbox"/>	عجلانين	<input type="checkbox"/>	جمع عجلان: عجلانين
<input type="checkbox"/>	لؤلؤا	<input type="checkbox"/>	جمع أول: لؤلؤين
<input type="checkbox"/>	تالينين	<input type="checkbox"/>	جمع أخير: تالينين

(د) المفردات:

<input type="checkbox"/>	فُرُق	<input type="checkbox"/>	حذاء: صباط
<input type="checkbox"/>	حفاظ	<input type="checkbox"/>	سروال: سروال
<input type="checkbox"/>	لثمشوار	<input type="checkbox"/>	المنديل: الزيف
<input type="checkbox"/>	مايده	<input type="checkbox"/>	الطاولة: طابله
<input type="checkbox"/>	منقوش	<input type="checkbox"/>	قرط: خرص
<input type="checkbox"/>	لثمطرُق	<input type="checkbox"/>	العصا: عصا
<input type="checkbox"/>	لخيدوس	<input type="checkbox"/>	البرنوس: لبرنوس
<input type="checkbox"/>	بورابح	<input type="checkbox"/>	فرش مصنوع يدويا: شرماطة
<input type="checkbox"/>	جرُبي	<input type="checkbox"/>	غطاء صوفي: حايك

<input type="checkbox"/>	دَوْح	<input type="checkbox"/>	سَرِير	<input type="checkbox"/>	مهد: مَهْد
<input type="checkbox"/>	فَمَّا	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَمَّا	<input type="checkbox"/>	هناك: ثَمَّا
<input type="checkbox"/>	كَنْظَاك	<input type="checkbox"/>	هَكَآك	<input type="checkbox"/>	هكذا: كَمَاهَاك
		<input type="checkbox"/>	نَاهُو	<input type="checkbox"/>	من: شَكُون
<input type="checkbox"/>	تَعْتَقَبُّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَعَاود	<input type="checkbox"/>	بعد ذلك: عَاود
		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَاهُوش	<input type="checkbox"/>	ليس هو: مَاشِي هُوَا
		<input type="checkbox"/>	أَنَا مَاشِي أَنَا	<input type="checkbox"/>	ليس أنا: مَا نِيشِي
		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَاهُوش هِنَا	<input type="checkbox"/>	ليس هنا: مَرَاهَش هِنَا
		<input type="checkbox"/>	بَصَحَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	صحيح/أليس كذلك: بَطَحَقُّ
		<input type="checkbox"/>	أَيَّه	<input type="checkbox"/>	نعم: وَاه
		<input type="checkbox"/>	لَبَدَا	<input type="checkbox"/>	دائماً: دَائِمٌ
		<input type="checkbox"/>	كِرِسِقُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	مثل: كِي شَغْلُ
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَا حُوجِي	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَا لَيْعِي	<input type="checkbox"/>	يا للندبة: يَا وَخْدِي
		<input type="checkbox"/>	قَدَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	إلا: غِي
<input type="checkbox"/>	قَدَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	غَدَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	غدا: غَدُوَة
<input type="checkbox"/>	بَعْدَ غَدَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	بَعْدَ قَدَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	بعد غد: مَتَغَدَّ
<input type="checkbox"/>	أَلْعَاقَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	أَيَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	أيتها المرأة: يَا لَمْرَا
<input type="checkbox"/>	أَلْعَاقُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	أَيَّ	<input type="checkbox"/>	أيها الرجل: يَا رَا جِل
		<input type="checkbox"/>	لِنُوطِيَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	الأرض: لِرُضْ
		<input type="checkbox"/>	سَمَش	<input type="checkbox"/>	شمس: قَايِلَه
		<input type="checkbox"/>	رَمَلَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	رمل: نَبَكَه
		<input type="checkbox"/>	الصَّرْد	<input type="checkbox"/>	البرد: لِنَبْرْد
		<input type="checkbox"/>	الصَّحَاب	<input type="checkbox"/>	البرد: تَبْرُولِي
<input type="checkbox"/>	لِنَغِيث	<input type="checkbox"/>	النَّوُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	المطر: لَمَطْرُ
<input type="checkbox"/>	لِنَغِيث	<input type="checkbox"/>	لِقَلَم	<input type="checkbox"/>	الغنم: لِنَغَم
<input type="checkbox"/>	لِنَغَم	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَنَكَّع	<input type="checkbox"/>	ترضع: تَرَضَّع
<input type="checkbox"/>	تَرَضَّع	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَقْطَع	<input type="checkbox"/>	يقطع: يَشْلَخ
		<input type="checkbox"/>	دَفَّقُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	أهرق الماء: كَفَّح
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَبِل	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَمْحَط	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُبطل: يَنْفَخ
		<input type="checkbox"/>	يُونِّي	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُبعد الماء: يَصْرَف لَمَّا

<input type="checkbox"/>	يُظيِع	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَضِيَع	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَتَوَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَهْمَل
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يَنْدَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُرْسَل: يُصَيِّفُ
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَشَى	<input type="checkbox"/>	اتَّجَه: خَظَى
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	واعدني	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَوَجَّه الي: جاني نيشان
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَرَّ ُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	ذَهَبَ: مَشَى
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَهْتَب	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَخْبِطُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَخْبِطُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَضْرَب: يَضْرَب
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يَخْلِطُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُخْط: يَهْوَر
<input type="checkbox"/>	يُحَوِّس	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَنْدَبِر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَنْدَبِر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَبْحَث: يِرَاعِي
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يَدْرِقُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُخْبِئ: يَقْبِر
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يُشَمِّر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يُشَمِّر: يَلْقَم
<input type="checkbox"/>	يَكْتَر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَكْتَر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَكْتَر	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَكْتَر: يَعْرَم
<input type="checkbox"/>	نَحَطُّوا لِعَشَا	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	نَقَدَم العشاء: نَقَلُّوا لِعَشَا
<input type="checkbox"/>	نَوْظُ	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	تَنْقَعِد	<input type="checkbox"/>	انْهَض: نَوْض
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يَهْدَى	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَتْرِك: يَخْطِي
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	تَعَالَى	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَعَال: رَوَّاح
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	نَهَكَ ُ	<input type="checkbox"/>	اتْرَكْنِي: بَعَدْنِي
<input type="checkbox"/>	رُوح	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	تَلَع	<input type="checkbox"/>	اذْهَب: نَسَخَطُ
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	يَلُوح	<input type="checkbox"/>	يَرْمِي: يَقْيِس
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	شَوَّل	<input type="checkbox"/>	أَنْقَص: نَقَّص
<input type="checkbox"/>	نَعِيَّطْه	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	نَزَقَيْلَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	أُنَادِيَه: نَلْقَالَه
<input type="checkbox"/>	تَصَنَّتْ	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	تَصَمَّكَ	<input type="checkbox"/>	اسْمَع: سَمِع
<input type="checkbox"/>	عِيَالِ فِئَان	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	زَوْجَة فِئَان: مَرَّت فِئَان
<input type="checkbox"/>	ظَرَه	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	رَفِيْقَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	الزَوْجَة الثَّانِيَة: ضَرَّة
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	طُفُل	<input type="checkbox"/>	صَبِي: وِلْد
<input type="checkbox"/>	مَتَفَاتِن	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَدَابِز	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَتَشَاجِر: مَتَخَاصِم
<input type="checkbox"/>	واعي	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	عَاقِل	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَتَذَكَّر: مَتَفَكَّر
<input type="checkbox"/>	مُرِيْظُ	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	مِيْجُوع	<input type="checkbox"/>	مَرِيض: مَرِيض
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	مَهْبُوك	<input type="checkbox"/>	شَكَاك: مَوْسُوس
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	عَوِيْنَات	<input type="checkbox"/>	عِيُون: عِيْنِيْن
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	لَمْلُجُوجَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	الأَكْل: المَأكَلَه

<input type="checkbox"/>	رَوَّاي	<input type="checkbox"/>	غُرَّافِ رِوَا	<input type="checkbox"/>	إِنَاءِ تَقْدِيمِ مَرَقِ الْكَسْكَسِ:
<input type="checkbox"/>	مُغْرَاج	<input type="checkbox"/>	تَاقُرَا	<input type="checkbox"/>	إِنَاءِ حَسَاءٍ: غَرْفِيَّه
<input type="checkbox"/>	مُّوَلَعِيَال	<input type="checkbox"/>	غَطَّار	<input type="checkbox"/>	صَحْنِ كَسْكَسٍ: مَتَّرد
<input type="checkbox"/>	بُونبُونَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	لَعِيْش	<input type="checkbox"/>	كَسْكَسٍ: طَعَام
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	خَبَز	<input type="checkbox"/>	خَبَزٍ: كَسْرَه
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	بِقْرَاج	<input type="checkbox"/>	إِنَاءِ تَسْخِينِ الْمَاءِ: بِقْرَاج
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	خَدِيمَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	قَدْرٍ: قَدْرَه
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	طَاوَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	إِنَاءٍ: قَمِيلَه
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	بَاوَنَه	<input type="checkbox"/>	قَارورَه كَبِيرَه لِلْمَاءِ: بَاوَنَه
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	لَيْلَه لِنَعَام	<input type="checkbox"/>	رَأْسِ السَّنَةِ: نَايِر

III.

INTERVIEWS

The Formal Interview

Good morning, thanks for accepting this appointment. This interview will help me to fill gaps in my research which is about the differences between El-Amour and El- Ksour varieties. The interview will be recorded if you wouldn't mind.

Age?

Gender?

A Ethnic group?

Occupation?

Level of education?

B

1- Are you satisfied with your speech (dialect) or do you want to speak in another way? Why?

AA: /tæʃʃæʒbæk lhædʀæ ttæʃæk ræk məqtæ:nəʃ bi:hæ wəllæ wkæ:n tʃe:b
tbəddəlhæ/? /ʃlæ:ʃ/ ?

2- Is there any difference in your speech when compare it with the one of your relatives who are still living in countryside (or Sfissifa)?

AA: /kæ:jən færq bi:n hædʀətək wəttæ:ʃ wlæ:d ʃæmmæk lli ʃædæ rəhom
flæʃræb/ (or /ʃwiʃe:fæ/)

3- Would you please name the following staff: Coran – Crow - 10 DA - 100 year – the day after Holly Ramadan.

AA: /ki:ʃ tsəmmi hæ:du/ / mæʃhæf/ /ʃræ:b/ /mjæ:t snæ// lju:m li jʒi mo:r ramdæ:n/

4- Have you changed your way of speaking from your childhood till now? If yes, examples.

AA: / bəddəlt hædrtək ki kbərt wəllæ bɔæ:t vi:r kəmmæ hijjæ/

5- What about the indigenous terms and phonemes (for Amr)? How do you perceive the Amr consonants [q, ɣ]?

AA: /wæ:f huwæ lklæ:m wəllæ lhorɔ:f li tɒddlu wmæbqi:tu:f tɔ:lu:hum/ ?/ki:f tɔ:l ki tæsmæf ləsmu:ri (q) jɾædqhæ (ɣ) w(ɣ) jɾædqhæ (q) /

6- What are the linguistic features that seem to be different in comparison with a Ksr (Amr) speaker?

AA: /wæ:f huwæ ləklæ:m li mæ:ʃi ki:fki:f mɪæ ləsmu:r/ (or/ ɔʃo:r/)

7- In a given conversation, how can you recognize that the interlocutor is a Ksr (or Amr) speaker? Examples?

AA: / ki tku:nu fi ʒmæfæ ki:f ddi:r(i) tæfɾəf(i) hæ:dæ smu :ri wəllæ ɔʃo:r i/

8- When you are with Ksr (Amr) interlocutor do you switch to his/her variety?why?

AA: /ki tkoun mɪæ ɔʃo:r i tɒddəl hædrtək ki:fæh wəllæ læ/ /ɪlæ: f/?

9- Your speech and your parents' are the same or different? How?

AA: / hædrtək w lhædræ tæ: ʃ wæ:ldi:k ki:fki:f/? /ki:fæ:f/ ?

10-What is the dialect in what you prefer to speak?why?

AA: / wæ:f hijjæ lhædræ li tæfɪæzbæk tæhdær bi:hæ/ ? /ɪlæ: f/ ?

Thank you so much Sir/Miss/Mrs, you were very helpful. Thanks again for your time.

المخلص

هذا العمل عبارة عن مقارنة تحليلية تهدف إلى تحليل بعض الاختلافات بين المفردات الخاصة بلهجتين ضمن التباين السوسiolغوي المتواجد بمنطقة عين الصفراء بولاية النعامة. هاتان اللهجتان تحملان اسمي مجموعتين عرقيتين هما 'القصور' و 'العمور'. يهدف هذا البحث أيضا إلى اكتشاف بعض أسباب الحفاظ اللغوي لكل من اللهجتين. وبيان ذلك يكمن في أن هذه المقارنة تسعى إلى المزوجة بين عوامل اجتماعية وحقائق لسانية (عوامل لغوية)، كالتشابه و الاختلاف، الحفاظ و/أو التناوب فيما بين متغيرات لغوية ضمن المجموعات العرقية (الإثنية).

كلمات مفتاحية: مقارنة تحليلية-المفردات-تباين سوسiolغوي-'القصوروالعمور'-عوامل اجتماعية-عوامل لغوية.

Résumé

Ce travail est une analyse comparative qui vise à analyser quelques différents aspects entre le lexique de deux variations sociolinguistiques qui existent dans la région de Ain Sefra, wilaya de Naama, en l'occurrence 'El- Ksour' et 'El-Amour' qui marquent le parler de ses tribus indigènes. Cette recherche est ainsi consacrée à découvrir certaines causes de la préservation linguistique qui s'agit de marier entre des facteurs sociaux et des faits linguistiques, la similarité et la différence, la préservation et /ou l'alternance de quelques variables linguistiques.

Les mots clés : analyse comparative - lexique - variation sociolinguistique-'El- Ksour et El-Amour' - variables sociaux - variables linguistiques.

Abstract

This research work is a comparative analysis which aims at analysing the differences between the lexicon of two sociolinguistic variations co-existing in Ain Sefra, wilaya of Naama. These varieties are called after their indigenous ethnic groups: 'El- Ksour' and 'El-Amour'. This research endeavours also to discover certain causes behind the linguistic preservation. In other words, it tends to marry between social factors and linguistic realities, as the similarities and the differences, the preservation and/or the alternation between some linguistic variables within the speech of the two ethnic groups.

Key-words: comparative analysis- lexicon- sociolinguistic variation- 'El- Ksour and El-Amour' - social variables- linguistic variables.

MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF TLEMCEN
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTEMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
SECTION OF ENGLISH



Résumé de thèse

**Sociolinguistic Variation in the Speech
Community of Ain Sefra : A Comparative
Lexical Analysis between El-Ksour
and El-Amour Varieties**

Presented by:

Miss. Anissa MBATA

Supervised by:

Dr. Amine BELMEKKI

Academic Year: 2011/2012

Remarkable linguistic achievements in studying language seem to have extensively flourished during the last century raising many questions in several fields of research. These works shed more light on different linguistic behaviours and to their social correlation. This has called for the progress of sociolinguistics.

As far as sociolinguistics is concerned, the investigators in such field relate the occurrence of the variants of the linguistic variable to a number of social factors within the same speech community (Labov's work 1966 in New York City, Trudgill 1974 in Norwich, and others). Thus, they were fundamentally interested in answering some questions such as: what are the factors that affect linguistic behaviour differences? Why and how do neighbouring varieties differ? Such questions open the doors for other important discussions and investigations.

Many sociolinguistic studies on the Arabic-speaking world have been interested in investigating different dialects in comparison with MSA due to the wide typical heterogeneity in the social organizations, national constructions, urban contexts as well as language situations. In this respect, many factors were taken into consideration such as: sedentary and nonsedentary (firstly recognized by Anis (1952) and later by Al-Jundi (1965)) and rural versus urban. The 'tripartite distinction' which is comprised by the stated factors (urban, rural and nomadic Bedouin groups) cannot be defined in purely social, cultural or even geographic items (Cadora, 1992). This fact has been recently discussed in an international workshop on Arabic urban vernaculars which was organized in October 2004 gathering many researchers from different traditions, in addition to the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL) which was published in August 2006 including 14 case-studies in Amman, Cairo, Damascus, and other Arab cities. Yet, it has been claimed that the convergence towards MSA in any dialectological research was merely observed on lexical level, whereas on the other levels MSA/dialects aspects were analysed in terms of stylistic variations or instances of code switching rather than practically implication of language change. (Haak et al., 2004).

However, in recent years, analytic investigations have tackled the description of the dialects in contact within urbanized contexts influenced by non-urban ones which are purely Bedouin (Miller et al., 2007). In this sense, the current dissertation explores the lexical differences between two Algerian social dialects in contact within an intricate linguistic profile. The investigator has chosen Ain Sefra as a speech community in which many social and geographical linguistic varieties have coexisted for about a half century. Though the linguistic image of this speech community is rich, the researcher tends to introduce two distinct varieties which are: El-Ksour and El-Amour varieties (henceforth, Ksr and Amr respectively), for the following reasons: they are two social dialects involved in the rural/ Bedouin context which still display some differences though they coexist in the same speech community. In this way, the conductor of this research insists on the representatives who are living in the town of Ain Sefra. Thus, this study aims at investigating the following research questions:

What does characterize the main linguistic differences between the two varieties (Ksr and Amr) and according to what social factors? In addition, some sub-questions are worthy to be investigated:

- Why are these varieties still different though they coexist within the same geographical area of Ain Sefra?

- Is there any influence of one variety over the other in a given social interaction between interlocutors of both varieties?

In this line of thought, the hypotheses which might be advocated at this level are:

- The main linguistic variations seem to occur at the lexical level, which may be related to differences in age and gender.

- The linguistic differences still co-existing may be due to the preservation of the linguistic behaviour expressing tribe belonging, in addition to the loyalty to the variety which denotes ethnicity.

- It may appear that one speaker may switch his/her way of speaking to the other speaker's variety in the same conversation in order to be understood.

Hence, this research work is framed within three distinctive chapters. The first one is almost devoted to the discussion of the key- concepts that are related to the area of research. This part should be seen as an analytic background for the second and the third chapters rather than only a significant theoretical collection of information. The second chapter is the central body of the whole study, since it is a description of the speech community in question on geographical, social and linguistic dimensions. The third chapter is highly practical as it presents the sample of informants and its categorization into age and gender classes. Then, it introduces the research methods, which the investigator has considered to collect data. The data will be analysed in quantitative and qualitative paradigms, according to age and gender. The interpretation of the data will reveal some results according to the stream of the methodology followed in choosing the representatives, research tools and methods of analysis.

The first chapter is purely the theoretical face of the whole work. It has introduced a number of language aspects, phenomena and fields of study. Furthermore, its aim was to consider the relation between the linguistic behaviour and non-linguistic factors, as well as to demonstrate the reflection of a large scheme of social identities in the individual's language variations. The application of the technical terms stated in this chapter will be clearly seen in the next one. Thus, the reader will take a close look on the scene of language variation, i.e. the speech community under study, which is Ain Sefra. The researcher will describe this community from the social and linguistic perspectives in order to demonstrate the several dialects connected to this geographical space.

Obviously, the second chapter has testified to the cultural and the linguistic diversity in the region of Ain Sefra, as it has shown the social groups and branches coexisted in that district from both historical and linguistic perspectives.

Despite the range of information presented in this chapter, the researcher did not go deeply through important details otherwise it would be undoubtedly another important sociolinguistic subject to discuss. Thus, the investigator tends to restrict the study to serve the goal of this work which is highly clarified in the title of the whole research so that to show the similarities and the differences between El-Amour and El-Ksour varieties, and that will be the concern of the next chapter.

The third chapter highlighted the analytical phase which depends on the available data of the highly frequent words within the two varieties. The triangular methodology of research has helped the researcher to validate the information as much as the data are valid.

Since language is basically the outcome of culture, the different cultural realities of the two varieties are displayed in the different linguistic realisations between these two varieties. The distinctions on the lexical level are governed by the social factors such as age and gender. The field-researcher has pointed out that the lexical distinction existed between Ksr and Amr varieties is interpreted in a totally different lexemes and utterances that show morphological or phonological contrasts (or both).

Seeing that the indigenous items are still in use nowadays, the linguistic difference still exists in Ain Sefra. The preservation of the variety is referred to the loyalty to the indigenous tribe and illiteracy which maintains the misuse of some phonemes (especially Amr one) that consist the linguistic system of the variety itself. In fact, the geographical unrest delivers the instability of the variety which is interpreted in phonological and lexical alternation. The Amr switch towards Ksr features (either lexemes or phonemes) has many reasons. Firstly, literacy which plays a great role in realising the misproduction of certain phonemes. Secondly, the fact of stigmatizing some items. Thirdly, the different aspects of lifestyle which require the use of different utterances available in the adjacent linguistic environment. Though the lexical alternation within Amr and Ksr varieties takes

place, the distinctions between the two varieties are still existed and there might be other levels of differences which are not tackled in this research work.

The research methodology has been conducted in a triangular series of data-collecting methods, so that to gather reliable information serving the various requirements of the work. such instruments of investigation are: the recording, the word-list and the interviews. As a first step, the investigator records ordinary conversations on an electronic device perfectly hidden, these conversations are assembled within different contexts as at home, in schools, shops and others, stored as WAV files, then transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). This method of participant observation provides the researcher with a general view over the two varieties through pooling raw material upon all the linguistic levels: phonological, morphological and importantly the lexical one. This method translates a natural chaotic speech into supportive data that permit the investigator to compare within an account for social conditions and linguistic contexts. Hence, the ranges of information found are so helpful in preparing the word list. Secondly, in order to interpret the data quantitatively and qualitatively as well, a list of words has been given to the same sample of informants. The purpose is to gather the similar and the different lexical items and so that to assume the extent of using the lexicon as well as to discover on what ground the linguistic change plays. The word list comprises of five pages, it begins with questions about personal information: (age and gender). The next part is entirely devoted to lexical instances. Those instances are subdivided in an unremarkable way for the informants into three categories; the first one indicates the phonological aspects stating the variables subject to analysis. The second one tends to find out the morphological peculiarities of each variety as: the noun plural and the compound pronoun /hum/. Finally, the third category is totally concerned with lexical variations between the Amr and Ksr varieties.

Thirdly, the formal interview contains two essential parts, one for the personal information (age, gender and level of education), and the other for the research

questions trying to interpret the results collected from the recording and the questionnaire data.

There are ten (10) questions asked in the dialectal Arabic (AA) by the researcher herself or sometimes she applies the friend of friend method addressing the same sample of informants with which the above research methods were carried out. The scope of the interview is conducted as it follows:

- In the first question, the interviewer tries to drive the interviewee's attention towards his/her dialect (variety) to note the status in which this variety is classified from its speaker's point of view. This question sheds light on the speaker's attitudes towards his/her variety in order to assume why the differences between the two varieties still (or may not) occur.

- The second, the third, the fourth and the fifth question seek for the speakers' tendencies for dialectal change through time and place, i.e. age and geographical context respectively.

- The sixth and seventh question aim at knowing the features and the specificities which make the Amr variety different from Ksr one and vice versa in order to deduce the speaker's awareness.

- The eighth question finds out the speaker's inclination to switch to the other variety and the reasons behind.

- The ninth and tenth questions attempt at asserting the answers about the loyalty to the varieties.

The lexical data collected through the research methods stated above are demonstrated in by means of tables. These data are classified and indexed phonetically and grammatically to help the researcher in making the analysis beneficial and easier. Through analysing the recorded ordinary conversations and the questionnaires, the investigator found out some instances of lexica specific to each variety. According to the data collected, the distinction between the two

varieties lies on different lexical categories such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Concerning the definite article /ʔal/ in MSA, if it is followed by a consonant which is articulated in the same/or approximate area of articulation of /l/ (called ‘Ash-Shamsi’ letters), the latter is elided and the consonant is geminated as in: /ʔaʃʃams/; when the preceded letter is not Shamsi (called ‘Qamari’ letter), /l/ is pronounced as in /ʔalqamar/. Thereby, in both varieties the same rules are applied, but the ‘Hamza’ /ʔ/ is omitted with the two cases of consonants as in [səmʃ] (geminated /s/), and [lqəmɾæ] (pronounced /l/) correspondingly.

Apart from similarities which gather both dialects in one side of lexis, the other side of differences comprises categories of lexicon which are entirely different i.e. a ksr notion is expressed in totally different item within Amr variety, other lexicon are phonologically or morphologically distinct or both. Through the analysis of the data collected, the researcher could figure out, in addition to the lexical differences, a clear distinction between the Amr and Ksr varieties on the phonological and morphological level. In Amr variety, the plosives /ʔ, ɖ, q/ are substituted by the fricatives [ʕ, ɗ, ɣ] respectively and vice versa, since those fricatives are alternatively replaced with the former plosives; whereas, there is no such alternation in Ksr variety. This fact is known in many Arabic dialects by /ʔalqalb/. In addition, Amr variety is known by keeping the interdental /θ, ð, ð/ in its system as opposed to the Ksr in which they are substituted by [t, d, d] correspondingly. The rest of the MSA consonants are the same in both of the varieties such as /b, t, h, w, z, ħ, k, l, m, n, t/ except the affricate /dʒ/ and the voiceless plosive /q/ which are articulated as the palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ and the voiced velar stop /g/ correspondingly in both varieties.

Each variety has its own peculiarities at the morphological side characterizing the speakers of each variety. Some variational specificities are stated below:

- *Reduplication*: Ksr variety in contrast to Amr one is characterised by the huge occurrence of the reduplicated verbs which refer to the action frequently repeated or

which take a long time when it is happening, such as: [j+kəh kəh] and [j+ ʒər ʒər], “He is coughing without interruption” and “He is pulling” respectively.

- *The plural*: a salient morphological distinction between the dialects under analysis is the noun plural. The plural patterns in MSA are divided into two types: the irregular /dʒamʕ ʔattaksi:r/ and the regular /dʒamʕ ʔassalim/. The Amr is characterised by the irregular “broken” plural considering different patterns.

This fact can be probably explained by the reference to the origin of the variety. The use of the irregular plural needs a great knowledge about the grammatical rules of the Classical Arabic (or MSA) since it is represented through a number of patterns; Whereas, the regular type is an inflectional feature obtained through adding a suffix to the item in singular. Thus, the word is made up of free morpheme (lexical form) and bound morpheme (the suffix) which is regarded as a simple rule for speakers who are originally Berber. Bearing in mind that the inflectional morphology is not an operation of newly coined lexical items but rather a syntactical adjustment, this case can be applied on nouns and adjectives.

- *Feminization*: some nouns which are masculine in MSA are treated as feminine ones in Ksr as it is observed in the examples below which are taken from the recorded conversations:

- ◆ /lbæ:b # mæhlœl+æ ... wi:n ræhæ lmæftæ:h/ (i.e. the door is opened... where is the key?). The suffix /æ/ shows the feminine feature in AA as the case of the article /ræhæ/ i.e. it is considered as feminine.

Depending on the tables of the data collected, the researcher can state some remarks which may essentially be associated with the results of the interviews:

1/ The lexica of Amr variety seem to be quite rich in synonymous items since every notion has a vocabulary, and this aspect can be explained due to the nature of its Arabic origin, while this peculiarity is not found in Ksr variety, for instance:

- The verb ‘to go’ is expressed through:

- 1- [xðæ] to mean: 'he went in hurry without direction'
- 2- [ʃɑdð] to mean 'he went without returning for the moment'
- 3- [mɑrr] to mean 'he went for the moment'
- 4- [ddæ ʃæ] to mean 'he went in slow walk'; Whereas in Ksr only the verb [mʃæ] is used whatever the situation means, in addition to an adverb for the sake of a presized description.

➤ The verb 'to be lost' is expressed through:

- 1- [tæ:h] to mean: 'he is lost without returning in the wrong turn'
- 2- [ðæ:ʃ] to mean: 'it is lost for the moment'; Meanwhile, only the form [hməl] is used in Ksr, and the right meaning is understood from the context.

2/ There are many borrowed words from French in Ksr variety as opposed to Amr one. The only explanation which might be given at this level is the confrontation of Ksr people with the French in the colonisation period because of their lifestyle (commerce, agriculture and building). As many interviewees (especially between 65-92 years old) have claimed that The French settlement at that time was precisely in the Ksours and not in the countryside.

3/ The Amr variety witnesses a kind of an ecolinguistic change described under a phonological adjustment within the same form or replacing by a Ksr form. As an illustration: [ʃmæ] rather than [ʔmæ] (adapting the phoneme /ʃ/ in the indigenous item) and the utterance [sæbbæt] rather than [gorg] (adapting the whole lexeme, since their own lexeme seems to be an old-fashioned used to describe 'shoes' of specific kind which is no longer in use).

4/ The preservation of the linguistic form till nowadays refers to the preservation of the tribal tradition, since the majority of the interviewees consider the language (precisely the dialect) as a tribal pride, stamp and personality. In addition, Amr interviewees (aged between 10 and 25 years old) have considered their articulation as a contextual one, by claiming that Chelha among Ksr also is restricted to some context as the family subjects. Recently, the intertribal contacts facilitate the interpretation of the linguistic change (or alternation at this level)

within both varieties, but someone wonders what is the variety which is influenced and under what conditions.

The researcher in the present work does not include the linguistic change as an absolute phenomenon since it needs a deeper study and more intensive views, but she takes the fact as a feature of the comparative analysis.

Furthermore, although the lexical switch either towards Amr variety or Ksr one is clearly taking place, the recognition of the speaker's origin could be easier through the indigenous use of vowels. For instance: [sæbbæ t] and [səbbæ t^h] (the decay of the short vowel /æ/ in the latter, Ksr articulation).

As a matter of fact, the consequent interpretation of the findings in any sociolinguistic research that investigates a specific variable relies heavily on what the methods of research are, how the sample of subjects is chosen and who is collecting the data (Llamas et al., 2007). Thus, the researcher has tried to validate the results as much as the data are valid.

The aim of the current research work is to find out certain aspects which present the lexical differences between two main social varieties among others of Ain Sefra which are El-Ksours and El-Amour (abbr. Ksr and Amr respectively). The ethnicity is the salient clue for the distinction which is indisputable on the lexical level. Each variety has its own distinctive features on different levels of analysis such as the phonological and morphological one, in addition to the lexical level which denotes different cultural and environmental heritage.

The combination between the linguistic conservatism and linguistic accommodation in the same corpus of research might seem a paradox. Nevertheless, it is considered as a comparative feature between the varieties under study. The researcher, in one of the probabilities, has figured out that young Amr speakers in some circumstances accommodate their speech to Ksr variety which is considered as the most prestigious one among the inhabitants in Ain Sefra.

In spite of the lexical alternation and the phonological adjustment which Amr variety has witnessed in some instances, the indigenous articulation still occurs among the youngest generation as a contextual use in certain particular situation. The Amr youngsters' inclination for the switch towards Ksr variety refers to the fact of stigmatizing the realization of some phonemes and some lexemes which are inevitably related to Bedouin lifestyle. Furthermore, education and massmedia have played a major role in sensitizing Amr people to the misuse of certain phonemes.

As the case of 'Chelha' use among Ksr younger speakers, certain Amr realizations have been considered as having a contextual use in accordance with age and gender for both addressee and addresser. Therefore, this research work attempted at clarifying the understanding of age-specificity and gender-peculiarity in variational distinction. The use of Amr lexical items among the youngest generation leads to the assumption that Amr variety undergoes a considerable change which may be another topic of research worthy to discuss in the future.

المخلص

هذا العمل عبارة عن مقارنة تحليلية تهدف إلى تحليل بعض الاختلافات بين المفردات الخاصة بلهجتين ضمن التباين السوسiolغوي المتواجد بمنطقة عين الصفراء بولاية النعامة. هاتان اللهجتان تحملان اسمي مجموعتين عرقيتين هما 'القصور' و 'العمور'. يهدف هذا البحث أيضا إلى اكتشاف بعض أسباب الحفاظ اللغوي لكل من اللهجتين. وبيان ذلك يكمن في أن هذه المقارنة تسعى إلى المزاجية بين عوامل اجتماعية وحقائق لسانية (عوامل لغوية)، كالتشابه و الاختلاف، الحفاظ و/أو التناوب فيما بين متغيرات لغوية ضمن المجموعات العرقية (الإثنية).

كلمات مفتاحية: مقارنة تحليلية-المفردات-تباين سوسiolغوي-'القصور و العمور' -عوامل اجتماعية-عوامل لغوية.

Résumé

Ce travail est une analyse comparative qui vise à analyser quelques différents aspects entre le lexique de deux variations sociolinguistiques qui existent dans la région de Ain Sefra, wilaya de Naama, en l'occurrence 'El- Ksour' et 'El-Amour' qui marquent le parler de ses tribus indigènes. Cette recherche est ainsi consacrée à découvrir certaines causes de la préservation linguistique qui s'agit de marier entre des facteurs sociaux et des faits linguistiques, la similarité et la différence, la préservation et /ou l'alternance de quelques variables linguistiques.

Les mots clés : analyse comparative - lexique - variation sociolinguistique-'El- Ksour et El-Amour' - variables sociaux - variables linguistiques.

Abstract

This research work is a comparative analysis which aims at analysing the differences between the lexicon of two sociolinguistic variations co-existing in Ain Sefra, wilaya of Naama. These varieties are called after their indigenous ethnic groups: 'El- Ksour' and 'El-Amour'. This research endeavours also to discover certain causes behind the linguistic preservation. In other words, it tends to marry between social factors and linguistic realities, as the similarities and the differences, the preservation and/or the alternation between some linguistic variables within the speech of the two ethnic groups.

Key-words: comparative analysis- lexicon- sociolinguistic variation- 'El- Ksour and El-Amour' - social variables- linguistic variables.