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**THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPACT OF TLEMCCEN SPEECH
IN THE COMMUNITY OF AIN EL HOUT**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Candidacy
for the Degree of "Magister" in Sociolinguistics.**

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Abstract

ABSTRACT

The current research work aims at investigating the sociolinguistic impact of Tlemcen speech on the community of *Ain el Hout*; an area located in the North of *Tlemcen*. That is, it will fundamentally be concerned with the mutual influence between urban and rural dialects as a comparative sociolinguistic study between *Tlemcen* speech and its counterpart of *Ain el Hout*. It also attempts to shed some light on the attitudes of *Ain el Hout* individuals towards some of their local dialect features and towards their speech in general. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are opted for to investigate the concrete aspects of the dialectal exchange between both speech communities focusing on a set of phonological, morphological, and lexical linguistic variables.

This work is structurally divided into five main chapters. The first chapter exposes the methodological delimitation of this study and attempts to map their geographical locations, in addition to their topographic characteristics. At last, it provides some definitions for the key-concepts and the operational concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's Structuralist Approach for interpreting this dialectal exchange.

Chapter two tries to restore the history of *Tlemcen* city and reviews the general characteristics of its speech, and also describes the sample population with whom the data have been collected. Similarly, chapter three summarizes the different historical events that happened in *Ain el Hout*. It also endeavours to determine the general dialectal features characterizing its local dialect, and exposes a picture about the informants who were interviewed and recorded.

Finally, chapter four is devoted for the statistical analysis and the interpretation of the results obtained, and consequently, paves the way for unveiling the nature of the dialectal exchange between the urban community of *Tlemcen* and its counterpart rural area of *Ain el Hout* on the light of Bourdieu's and Braudel's views, and the standpoint of Ibn Khaldoun which are adopted in the analysis of varying social phenomena in the last fifth chapter of the present dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONAL SYMBOLS

- AHD: *Ain el Hout* Dialect
- CA: Classical Arabic
- (fem.sing.): Feminine singular
- IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet
- (masc.sing.): Masculine singular
- SA: Standard Arabic
- (sing.) : Singular
- TS: *Tlemcen* Speech
- (pl.): Plural
- / /: Classical Arabic or dialectal articulation and linguistic variables
- []: ‘*Ain el Hout* or *Tlemcen*’ dialectal articulation and variants
- { }: Suffix boundary / morphemes
- # : Word boundary
- C Φ : Labialized consonant

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

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

- **Consonants**

	Symbol	Dialectal Forms	Equivalent in English		Symbol	Dialectal Forms	Equivalent in English
Plosives	[b]	[ba:b]	“A door”	Nasals	[m]	[mli:h]	“Good”
	[ts]	[tsa:dF]	“Crown”		[n]	[nIja]	“Naive”
	[d]	[ddi:n]	“A debt”	Fricatives	[f]	[fawaʔ]	“When?”
	[k]	[kmBl]	“it is over”		[s]	[ssaʔʔA:jA]	“A tap”
	[ɣ]	[ɣ□aʂ]	“he crossed		[z]	[zzBbda]	“Butter”
	[□]	[ɣA□o]	“cakes”		[G]	[Ga:b]	“He greyed”
	[↓]	[↓ rab]	“He hit someone”		[ʒ]	[ʒdi:d]	“New”
	[ʔ]	[ʔWdFi]	“Come!”		[U]	[UrudF]	“He went out”
	[q]	[tsaqafa]	“Culture”		[ɸ]	[ɸurba:l]	“ A sieve”
Flap	[r]	[ra:GI]	“Delicate”		[h]	[hləf]	“He swore”
Late rals	[l]	[lli:m]	“Lemon ”	[ʂ]	[ʂBlIAʔ]	“He hung something”	
Approximants	[w]	[wa:d]	“A river”	[h]	[hbBl]	“He got mad”	
	[j]	[jumWjBn]	“Two days”	[▪]	[▪ba: h]	“Morning”	
				Affricate	[dF]	[zza:dF]	“Glass”

- **Classical Arabic Consonants**

	Symbol	CA	Equivalent in English
CA Consonants	[θ]	[θaLb]	“A dress”
	[ð]	[ða:ba]	“It melted”
	[d]	[daLʔ]	“Light”
	[ð]	[ðahri]	“my back”

- **Vowels**

	Length	Symbol	Dialectal Forms	Equivalent in English
Vowels of Plain Consonants	Short	[ɪ]	[mNda]	“A rounded table”
		[u]	[kursN]	“Chair”
		[a]	[bna]	“He built”
	Long	[i:]	[lʃi:d]	“The feast”
		[u:]	[ʃu:d]	“A cane”
		[a:]	[ba:t]	“He passed the night”
Vowels of Emphatic Consonants	Short	[e]	[kteb]	“He wrote”
		[o]	[no□a]	“Sister-in-law”
		[a]	[♣□ah]	“A terrace”
	Long	[e:]	[♣♣e:f]	“Summer”
		[o:]	[♣♣o:f]	“Wool”
		[a:]	[□a:□]	“He fell down”

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General Introduction

General Introduction

Sociolinguistics has recently made a great progress in investigating the interplay between linguistic varieties and the mutual exchange that occurs between neighbouring speech communities, focusing mainly on sociolinguistic variation in urban contexts and their surroundings. Much sociolinguistic researches have dealt with the development of dialects which is attributed to the social movement of its speakers and to language contact.

The present research work attempts to unveil the nature of the impact of both the urban *dialect of Tlemcen* and its rural counterpart of *Ain el Hout* on each other. In fact, there has always been a tight relationship between the village of *Ain el Hout* and *Tlemcen* town; a relationship which appears at different levels and in distinct domains, but the most primordial connection, and which represents the central core of this study is a dialectal one. The present work endeavours to inquire about the complexities of the dialectal interplay between both varieties which they share particular characteristics on one hand, and show other different specificities on the other. Therefore, the following problematics can be raised:

1. What is the origin of the constituent dialectal elements of *Tlemcen* speech and of those of *Ain el Hout*?
2. What are the underlying linguistic characteristics that distinguish each one from the other?
3. Since the two settings are constantly related to each other, how is this fact manifested in their dialectal interaction or exchange? And what is the type of dialectal exchange that arises from their contact?

In parallel, a set of hypotheses will be adopted, at this level, as temporary responses for the aforementioned research questions, and it is up to the case study that will be conducted during this research work to confirm or reject them, then reaching, at the end, the final answers after the analysis and the interpretation of the data collected. Thus, the hypotheses are listed as follows:

- In relation with the first research question, the hypothesis that is put forward is that the origins of both dialects are diverse; each of them has borrowed some dialectal features related to the set of languages of the distinct ethnic groups which established in both areas under investigation for long periods or just passed with.
- The second proposed hypothesis which corresponds with the dialectal characteristics of the two varieties is that they show, sometimes, similar features, as they have other different particularities, as focus is to be mainly on the most important phonological, morphological and lexical features, for not tackling other linguistic complexities and other more intricate linguistic phenomena happening in daily life interaction.
- As a third hypothesis which concerns the manifestations of language contact between the two dialects and classifying the type of exchange that occurs between them, it is proposed that there is a mutual influence between both dialects and that the degree of influence is increasing in the area of *Ain el Hout* more than in *Tlemcen city*.

This study is structurally divided into five main chapters. The first chapter delimits the methodological current followed in this sociolinguistic work, and tries to restore the histories of both agglomerations under investigation. It also draws a clear picture about their geographical locations. Additionally, it gives many toponymic characteristics of many places in both regions of *Tlemcen city* and *Ain el Hout*. Finally, it offers some definitions for the most important

concepts and the operational concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's Structuralist Approach which are opted for to interpret the type of this dialectal exchange.

Chapter two represents the general characteristics of *Tlemcen* speech and also shows the nature of the sample population with whom the data have been collected. Likewise, chapter three determines the general features characterizing *Ain el Hout* speech and describes the informants who were interviewed and recorded, and with whom the questionnaire has been conducted.

Then, the fourth chapter attempts to quantify and represent all the dialectal characteristics in the form of effectives for the sake of carrying out some statistical tests. At last, the main purpose of chapter five is to interpret the results obtained, and therefore, unveils the nature of the dialectal exchange between the urban community of *Tlemcen* and its counterpart rural area of *Ain el Hout* on the light of the views of the three sociologists Pierre Bourdieu, Ibn Khaldoun and Fernand Braudel which are adopted in the interpretation of varying social phenomena in general, and which proved to be very helpful and fruitful in interpreting linguistic matters as well.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are adopted in this research work. The main linguistic characteristics, be it phonological, morphological, or lexical, of both dialects have been represented in the form of linguistic variable and the different realizations of a single feature in the form of variants following the Labovian paradigm in representing the main items in the structure of the speech of New York City which was carried out in the 1960's. Two research tools were employed for collecting concrete and representative data. First, the

informants in both agglomerations were interviewed and recorded simultaneously and the raised questions were asked in a dialectal form. Another research tool was the questionnaire which was opted for, at a final step in research, to analyze the data quantitatively, to check whether the recorded data are similar or different, and for a more profound understanding for the nature of the dialectal exchange between both dialects.

Chapter One

DELIMITING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS OF RESEARCH

1.1. Introduction

1.2. The Constructive Elements of the Present Research

1.3. *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*: Geo-historical Demarcation

1.3.1. Geographical Delimitation

1.3.1.1. *Tlemcen*: A Geographical Background

1.3.1.2. *Ain el Hout*: A Geographical Description

1.3.1.3. Toponymic Retracement

1.4. The Causes behind the Choice of this Theme

1.4.1. Subjective Causes

1.4.2. Objective Causes

1.5. The Methodological Current Followed in Research

1.5.1. Field Research Instruments

1.6. The Terminological Glossary of the Present Study

1.6.1. Key-concepts

1.6.1.1. The Mutual Influence

1.6.1.1. Dialect

1.6.1.1.1. Urban Dialect

1.6.1.1.2. Rural Dialect

1.6.2. Operational Concepts

1.6.2. 1. Dominant-Dominated Dichotomy

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1.7. Conclusion

1. 1. Introduction

It is logically unavoidable before defining the concept of ‘dialect’ to relate it with the broad term ‘language’ since we generally tend to consider any dialect as one of the microscopic manifestations of language at its macroscopic dimension. First and foremost, it has long been recognized that one of the characteristics that distinguishes a human being from animals is the possession of an articulated or spoken language which permits him to communicate his ideas and impressions.¹ However, it is really of paramount importance to institute a classification for all the different and numerous languages that had been spoken long times ago and the current spoken languages throughout the whole world. In fact, any classification of languages can be either *ethnographic*, *geographical*, or of other types, but the most objective, valid, and reliable classification is the one that classifies various communication systems on the basis of their common *genetic* relationships, in the form of family trees, since it enables linguists and scholars in general to embrace all the past and present linguistic states being witnessed and clarifies, at the same time, through comparison or contrastive studies, the affinities and/or differences between today’s language varieties and the previous ones. Such classification of languages is very significant, universal, and widely adopted nowadays.²

In the course of time, great progress was made in the investigation of the historical development of each of the several thousand recognizably distinct languages. Therefore, many language families are universally known; *the Indo-European family*, the *Hamito-Semitic family*, and the *finno-ougric family*. Indian, Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Italian, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic are all languages of the *Indo-European family*. As far as the *Hamito-Semitic*

¹ Ensemble d’auteurs (1973 :48).

² Encyclopédie « l’évolution humaine : des origines à nos jours » (1951 :314).

Chapter One: Delimiting the Constructive Elements of Research

family, it gathers the language of the empires of Babylon, Ashur, and of Niniveh, Cananeen, involving Phoenician and Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, Arabic, South Ethiopian, Egyptian, which its recent form the Copti, did not survive during the Arab Conquest of the 7th century just as a ritual language, and at last the Berber language which is the native speech of people residing along the area stretching from Tunisia to the Atlantic ocean. Finally, the *Finno-ougric family* essentially comprises the Finnish, Le lapon, non-slavic languages of the Oural, Hungarian, Turkish ...etc³.

Besides, languages, dialects, and patois constantly evolve. They mutually influence one another. They impose themselves on the political or on the cultural field, emerge or disappear⁴. Thus, when taking into account these considerations, one can admit with linguists that any dialect, for various reasons, may become a language and vice versa; any language under different constraints or influences can break up into distinct dialects. Focusing on these observations, it has been opted for the study of these dialects in *Tlemcen* mainly as an attempt to look at their specific characteristics in an empirical and scientific way, making resort to their historical trajectories which are thought to be very helpful in determining the main factors that correlate with the linguistic variations that these varieties have undergone through time. At last, a general survey of the most important concepts which seem to be relevant to this subject of inquiry is offered, in addition to a detailed review of the main research tools which will be used to investigate empirically these dialects.

³ Encyclopédie « l'évolution humaine : des origines à nos jours » (1951:315-316).

⁴ Ensemble d'auteurs, « l'aventure de la terre » (1973 :48).

1.2. The Constructive Elements of the Present Research

One may think, before presenting the details of the present research work and synthesizing a theoretical background entailing all the sociolinguistic key-concepts that are thought to be relevant to its theme, to draw a clear picture about some geographical and historical characteristics of the areas under investigation, on one hand. On the other hand, the present section, which is mainly introductory in form, is also devoted to give an overview about the methodology followed in dealing with our sociolinguistic research field since we cannot reach a profound and satisfactory explanation or understanding of *a social fact*, which is in this work; *the dialect*, without clarifying the dimensions that are already mentioned above.

1.3. Tlemcen and Ain el Hout: Geographical Delimitations

Our study aims at identifying the dialectal characteristics of two human agglomerations which are not so far from each other. The first is *Tlemcen Town* and the second is the village of *Ain el Hout*. However, before reviewing the linguistic traits typical to each dialect and arriving at elucidating the influence that each of them exercises on the other, a geographical description of both places is offered⁵.

1.3.1. Tlemcen: A Geographical Background

Tlemcen, the name of a town located in the North-west of Algeria, is an arabicized Berber name which means *the sources*, labeled in ancient times *Agadir* which finds its roots in the Phoenician language, but its denomination

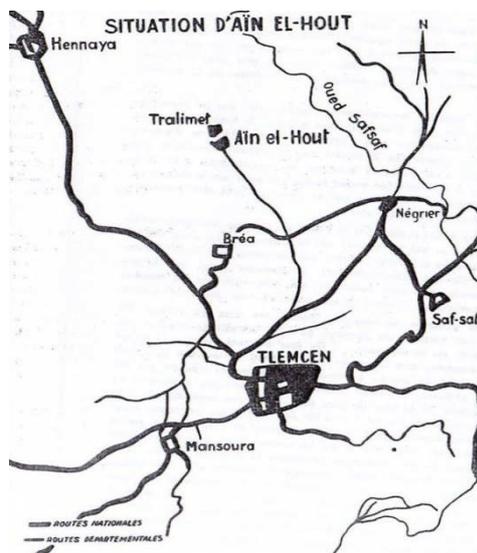
⁵ For further details, see the map in appendix 1

means *a rock or a plain*⁶, revealing a topographic reality about this city, as it occupies a large surface under the plain of *Lella Setti*; 800m of height.

This plain is characterized by a particular geological structure that contributes in conserving large amounts of water in the form of giant underground basins which render the mountains of *Tlemcen* a distributor reservoir of water, making of its suburbs fertile lands. Water abundance and its moderate climate made of *Tlemcen* an attracting place for human stability from pre-historic times till now.

1.3. 2. *Ain el Hout*: A Geographical Description

The small village of *Ain el Hout*, located in the North of *Tlemcen*, at some 8 kilometers far from it, is composed of two human agglomerations; the first one is situated in the eastern part of the village surrounding the tombs of *saint persons*, the second is rather located a little bit in the western part and it is called “*Tralimet*”, an agricultural area that is not currently inhabited by *Ain el Hout*



Ain el Hout vis-à-vis Tlemcen

dwellers. (See the map on the left)

The style of life of *Ain el Hout* inhabitants is pastoral. They mainly practise market gardening, planting fruit trees, cereal agriculture, and livestock as well⁷. It must be pointed out that **Emile Janier** has observed that, in all what concerns food and clothes, *Ain el Hout* inhabitants have adopted the traditions of sedentary life⁸.

⁶ *Dāiret el maārif el islāmiya*, (no date:452).

⁷ An idea mentioned by Emile Janier (1956:67) in « Bulletin de la société des amis du vieux Tlemcen».

⁸ An idea mentioned by Emile Janier (ibid:68).

This fact, indeed, will be considered as an indicator of great importance when the analysis of our data starts in order to see its results in the present study.

1.3.3. Toponymic Retracement

On the title of toponymy, and when taking into consideration the stories that have been witnessed, it is clearly noted that both areas of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout* have taken different denominations that marked their ethnic and socio-political course, and which represent valuable data for the quest about the origins of the dialectal particularities of these two regions. When retracing the toponymic stories concerning the denomination of *Tlemcen*, one can see that the first name, it has taken, was that of *Agadir*, which carries, in fact, a Berbero-Phoenician connotation. Then, after the Roman Conquest, it has received the name of *Pomaria*. However, after it has been conquered by the Muslim Arabs, its name of *Agadir* has been kept in use, and this denomination has lasted till the arrival of the *Almoravides* which, in turn, have built a new agglomeration called: *Tagraret*. *Tlemcen*, in reality, is no more than the integration of these two agglomerations. So, the juxtaposition of many human races is clearly remarked here; a fact that has made of *Tlemcen* a place of dialectal contact. Yet, this remains a hypothesis to be confirmed in the current study.

Similarly, and on the light of what have been retraced as data in the small village of *Ain el Hout* concerning its denominations, the same thing is to be said as about *Tlemcen*. That is, this region received the name of “*Tralimet*” at a first toponym, which is of a striking and clear Berber origin. After the coming of the Arab “*Chorfas*”, descendants of *Solaymane*, brother of *Idris*, it has, consequently, received “*Quariate El Alaouiyyine*” as another denomination. In addition, it should be known that this village has also been named in ancient

times “*Ghiranes er-rih*”⁹, meaning *caves of wind*. Today’s denomination, i.e. *Ain el Hout*, however, is the result of a myth which says that *Sidi Abdellah Ben Mansour* struck the soil with his cane and this gave birth to a stream or “*Ain*” in Arabic. Besides, it is clearly remarkable that the area of *Ain el Hout* has also been a location where many human races met and coexisted with each other. This fact which should be proved in the current research work, indeed, made *Ain el Hout* dialect so particular.

1.4. The Reasons behind the Choice of this Theme

We can divide the causes of choosing the present theme into two main types, which are:

1.4.1. Subjective Causes

Though the inhabitants of *Ain El Hout* are rural, they have a tendency to assimilate their dialect with that of *Tlemcenian* people. The most striking feature appears at the level of pronunciation engendering a ‘deviated’ bizarre dialect. Due to the fact that I lived with the *Houtis*, stayed for a long time between them, and kept speaking a distinct dialect from theirs, I have always been a subject of mockery. This fact really prompted me to know why they do underestimate my way of speaking in attempt to behave as *Hadars* though, in fact, they are not themselves *Hadars*.

1.4.2. Objective Causes

Since the available studies about Algerian dialects are not exhaustive and seem to be not sufficient for a profound understanding of the intricacies of the Algerian linguistic repertoire which is actually characterized by change,

⁹ For a further clarification about the location of “ghiranes errih” and other regions in *Ain el Hout*, see Appendix 1.

development and innovation, it is conceived that it will be very necessary to tackle such kind of research. Though the present dialectal inquiry will cover only a small portion of the Algerian territory, i.e, *Ain el Hout*, it aims at enriching such field of research with few but concrete, accurate, and reliable findings. Moreover, it is very important to identify the characteristics of both *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout* dialects, uncovering their elements' etymologies and the mechanisms which govern their use, and then comparing each dialect with the other one to apprehend the similarities and the differences between them. In doing so, the crucial aim is clarifying such common variety which resembles both dialects and the reasons which were behind the linguistic specificities of each one.

1.6. The Methodological Current Followed in Research

For the sake of accomplishing this work, a scientific current should be adopted to well understand the linguistic interplay between the dialects under investigation and to delimit the social factors which led to it and influenced these dialects' developmental trajectory. Hence, the adoption of the Structuralist Current, focusing on the views of Pierre Bourdieu and those of Fernand Braudel, is relied on in analyzing and interpreting the data of the present research work.

1.6.1. Field Research Instruments

In sociolinguistic inquiries, scholars and researchers should adopt appropriate research tools which help in collecting pure, representative, and reliable data that allow them to arrive at accurate and concrete results, from which we cite the interview. The latter research instrument is adopted in the present study and the data obtained have been recorded, for the sake of

investigating both dialects of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*, and comparing them with previous inquiries dealt with in the same area of research, to arrive at the newly occurring changes and the static linguistic variables in both dialects, in addition to their affinities and differences. Moreover, this research tool is thought to be helpful in recording the exact linguistic characteristics even with their suprasegmental features, and to better transcribe them as well to reach a high degree of validity and objectivity in analysis. But, the interviews which were conducted with Tlemcenians were sometimes in the form of different questions and various discussions unlike the pre-determined questions which were asked with the sample population of *Ain el Hout* (see appendix 3). In doing so, and on the light of the aforementioned Structuralist Approach, the type of language contact and exchange between these two dialects will be clearly identified.

Another research tool which is employed is the questionnaire which is opted for to analyze the collected data quantitatively, to compare them with the obtained results that have been recorded, and to check whether they are similar or different. Accordingly, a profound analysis for this linguistic phenomenon will be achieved.

As far as the sample populations of this research with whom interviews and questionnaires are conducted, the *Hadar* informants have been selected, but the sample of *Ain el Hout* is rather random. A detailed description of the sample population dealt with in this study will be given in the two following chapters.

1.7. The Terminological Glossary of the Present Study

The availability of a terminological glossary is very necessary for any study, so that it determines its research limits and draws its design and elucidates the methodology followed. Therefore, a specific terminological glossary is

offered in the present research and it is divided into two parts: the study's key-concepts, and the operational terms.

1.7.1. Key-concepts

The key-concepts used in this study will be as follows:

1.7.1.1. The Mutual Influence

It is considered to be a collection of linguistic features which result from the interaction that occurs between two dialects or more in a specific geographical area. These dialectal characteristics are themselves the offspring of various social changes ¹⁰ that lead to the appearance of some new dialectal phenomena (at different linguistic levels) and other language attitudes towards them.

1.7.1.2. Dialect

Generally, the concept of *dialect* has been defined as a set of linguistic characteristics that are shared between the residents of a particular area. In fact, the environment where a given dialect is spoken constitutes a parcel of a broad environment involving a number of distinct dialects which have particular characteristics, but they all share a group of linguistic phenomena which contributes in creating mutual intelligibility between their speakers, or a degree of understanding that depends on the relationship that is interwoven between these dialects¹¹ (dialect continuum). Accordingly, these dialects are classified into urban, rural and bedouin dialects. It can be also divided in another way

¹⁰ Henri Boyer (2001:19)

¹¹ Dr. Ibrahim Anis (no date:11)

depending on several dimensions and distinct considerations. There are two types of dialects relating with this study and which are:

1.7.1.2.1. Urban Dialect: The urban dialect refers to the set of linguistic features which generally characterize the dialects spoken in cities, whether on the phonological, morphological or semantic level, and that undergoes to the norms of the context where it is utilized. In this research, *Tlemcen* speech really represents a concrete model of this type of dialects.

1.7.1.2.2. Rural Dialect: It is also a group of features which facilitates the interaction between the individuals of rural areas and it has idiosyncratic phonological, morphological and semantic items as well and different from those of urban speech. *Ain el Hout* is a rural area, but it is located not far from *Tlemcen* city; a fact that leads to a constant language contact between two urban/rural varieties. This interplay, indeed, represents the central core of a comparison that will be made in this investigation.

1.7.2. Operational Concepts

For a scientific analysis and purely sociolinguistic interpretation of our field collected data, it is of paramount importance to make recourse to some relevant Structuralist notions that are thought of as primordial operational concepts, primarily those of Pierre Bourdieu which will be represented as follows:

1.7.2.1. Dominant - Dominated Dichotomy

This dichotomy sheds light on the fact that there is a kind of attraction and competition between dialects which led to some attitudes of language users towards each other. Thus, this fact gives birth to a classification of dialects

within speech communities by which speakers identify themselves, and in such a way, they are arranged in the Dominant-Dominated dichotomy.

1.7.2.2. Dialectal *Habitus*

Bourdieu (1994:9) understands the *Habitus* as follows:

“A philosophy of sciences that we can say it is relational, as it gives priority to relationships” (or structures), as well as “a philosophy of action sometimes referred to as dispositional that notes the potentialities traced on the body of agents and in the situations where they act or, more exactly, in their relationship”.¹²

The *Habitus* (es)¹³, according to Bourdieu, are “structured structures” / «structures structurées» because they come from the incorporation of a social structure which is itself constituted of a set of *Habitus* (es) that function, in turn, as “structuring structures” / «structures structurantes».

1.7.2.3. Symbolic Capital

The *Symbolic Capital* can be considered as a set of linguistic elements or accumulations that a dialect has known, as well as the processes followed with the objective of maintaining its Capital through the application of multiple strategies, such as imitating and emulating the other seeking assimilation. In this case, this Capital, in one way or another, is a context of dispute.

¹² This is the original definition of Pierre Bourdieu as it was mentioned by Jean-Michel (2000:2) : «**Une philosophie des sciences que l’on peut dire relationnelle, en ce qu’elle accorde le primat aux relations » (ou structures), ainsi qu’une « philosophie de l’action désignée parfois comme dispositionnelle qui prend acte des potentialités inscrites dans le corps des agents et dans la structure des situations où ils agissent ou, plus exactement, dans leur relation ».**

¹³ The plural form of *habitus* is written as *habitus* (es) following the French word les habitus (es) as utilized by Pierre Bourdieu.

1.8. Conclusion

The preceding steps and details that have been mentioned in the present chapter, aim at delimiting and clarifying the glances of this field of research for the sake of obtaining concrete and representative data for the study of both dialects in a scientific and sociolinguistic approach to reach objective results as much as possible.

Chapter Two

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF *TLEMCCEN* DIALECT

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. History of *Tlemccen*
- 2.3. Description of the Sample Population
- 2.4. The Origins of Some Lexical Words
- 2.5. Some Characteristics of *Tlemccen* Speech
 - 2.5.1. At the Phonological Level
 - 2.5.1.1. El Qalqala
 - 2.5.1.2. The Absence of Interdentals
 - 2.5.1.3. Semi-absence of dental emphatic sounds / d / and / J /
 - 2.5.1.4. Replacement of /d/ and /J/ by [□]
 - 2.5.1.5. The Maintenance of Classical Arabic /dF/ Sound
 - 2.5.1.6. Devoicing of / Φ /
 - 2.5.1.7. Substitution of 'hamza' by /w/ or /j/
 - 2.5.1.8. Diluting 'el hamza el mahmouza' into 'el mahmoussa'
 - 2.5.1.9. The Disappearance of /h/ in Middle and Final Positions
 - 2.5.1.10. Alternation of /l/ by /n/ and Vice Versa
 - 2.5.1.11. Replacement of /G/ by [s]
 - 2.5.1.12. Voicing of /s/
 - 2.5.1.13. Substitution of / ♣ / by [z]
 - 2.5.1.14. Substitution of / ♣ / by [s]
 - 2.5.2. At the Morphological Level
 - 2.5.2.1. Verbs
 - 2.5.2.2. Nouns
 - 2.5.2.3. Pronouns
 - 2.5.2.4. Adverbs
- 2.6. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

For studying any dialect, it is necessary for researchers to consider matters which have tight relationships with that variety of speech, and which, without any doubt, contribute to interpret and clarify numerous facets related to the dialect. In fact, the primordial matter is represented in collecting data about the area under investigation because a dialect is, in one way or another, considered to be the offspring of social interaction and the various historical accumulations associated with that region or society where it is spoken. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to go through the history of *Tlemcen* city referring primarily to its social history which will be very helpful in understanding *Tlemcen* dialect and in the interpretation of its most particularities, and classifying its nature or origin.

2.2. History of *Tlemcen*

Tlemcen is one of the oldest towns in North Africa. It was established by the Berber *Zenati* “*Banu Yafran*” and they labeled it “*Agadir*”¹, a name which derives from the Phoenician word “*Gadir*” which means an enclosing place.² Then, it was named “*Pomaria*” under the rule of Romans which they made of *Tlemcen* their most important jails and bulwarks³ until the date when they have been defeated by the Vandals. As all the towns of North Africa, *Tlemcen*, under the Vandal reign, witnessed a big regression. However, by the coming of the *Byzantines*, it just knew a slight progress till the arrival of the *Arab fatiḥīns* with whom it traced significant events in its history, in particular, and in the history of North Africa in general.

¹ Yahia Bouaziz (1975:4).

² Madeline Hours (1981:54), and an enclosing place means in Arabic *El makān el mussawwar*.

³ Mohammed Atammar (2007:15).

Chapter Two: The General Characteristics of Tlemcen Dialect

Ibn Errakik, as one of the famous historians who deeply dealt with the history of Muslim *fatiḥins*, has claimed that *Abi el Mouhadjir Dinar* was the first *Emir* of Muslim *fatiḥins* whose feet stepped *Tlemcen* and opened⁴ many towns and villages and arrived at its high mountain where he met *Kossayla*, the Berber Chief of “*Ourba*”, camping with his soldiers. Thus, both armies met together in a battle which ended by the success of Muslims and *Kossayla* has been imprisoned⁵. However, *Abi el Mouhadjir* did not misbehave with him; and consequently *Kossayla* embraced Islam. In fact, during their *futuḥāts* in Northern Africa, the Arab Muslims suffered a lot.

When Islam was widely spread in the Northern African regions, these were under the reign of *Wollāt El Kholaffāa in El Kayraouane*. Yet, their rule was unfair, and as a consequence, the Berbers showed their disobedience and sought independence through establishing small principalities or *emārāts* such as: the *emārah* of *Tlemcen Essofriya* under the leadership of *Abi Qurra el Yafrini* who wade numerous battles against *Wollāt El Kayraouane*. In these bad conditions, the tribes of *Yafran* and *Mghila* were no more capable of resisting, and as a result, their leader *Abi Qurra* lost the good reputation he had and witnessed the unexpected failure of his doctrine⁶. Then, it was ruled by *Mohamed Bnu Khazr*, who belongs to the Berber tribe of *Meghrāoua* at a time when *Idriss Bnu Abdi Allah* entered the *Maghrebi* lands, and who encouraged *Mohamed Bnu Khazr* to convince both tribes of *Meghrāoua* and *Yafran* to obey *Idriss*, and helped him to settle in *Agadir* where he spent many months and built a mosque and a tribune. But, when he left the *Maghreb*, *Agadir* and its

⁴ The verb “to open” is used in this context meaning the Arabic verb /fataḥa/ which refers to the *Muslim Futuḥāt* to avoid the verb “to conquer” which has a negative connotation.

⁵ Mohammed Atammar (2007:19).

⁶ (ibid:27).

surroundings became under the leadership of his brother *Solaymane Bnu Abdi Allah* who came from the Orient⁷.

In the era of *Almoravids*, *Tlemcen* was governed by *Yussuf bnu Abi Tachfin* who appointed *Mohamed Bnu Tinaâmar el Massufi* who has established the village of *Tagraret* where he camped. The name *Tagraret* signifies “the cantonment” which was separated from *Agadir* by a wall or “sour”, which after some time has been removed, and both *Tagraret* and *Agadir* were integrated making the town of *Tlemcen*.

After the era of *Almoravids*, *Tlemcen* was ruled by *Almohads / El Mowahhidin* who made great developments in building high defending walls and tremendous buildings and palaces where people resided and made ceremonies, and the houses they established were of wide plans⁸, especially after the appearance of the rebel *El Mayourki Yahia bnu Ghānnia* who invaded the Middle Maghreb starting from *Bedjaia*, and threatened *Tlemcen* many times and caused many devastations with the help of the Arabs of *Banu Hilal*. Accordingly, *Abu El Hassan bnu Abi Hafs bnu Abdi El Moumin* was interested in the fortification of this town to the extent that it became as *Ibn Khaldoun* said one “of the greatest jails in the Maghreb and of the most fortified towns”⁹, and it attracted many new comers seeking its protection and enjoying the historical development and the high style of life it has, particularly after *Ibn Ghānnia*’s devastation of *Tahert* town and of the coastal town of *Arachkoul*, and this fact has paved the way for *Bani Abdi el Ouad* to make of *Tlemcen* their capital and a residence for their king in the mid of the 13th century¹⁰.

⁷ Yahia Bouaziz (1975:5).

⁸ Yahia Bouaziz (ibid:6-7)

⁹ This is a translation of *Ibn Khaldoun*’s quotation in Arabic: “من أعزّ معاقل المغرب، وأحصن أمصاره”.

¹⁰ Yahia Bouaziz (ibid:7)

Chapter Two: The General Characteristics of Tlemcen Dialect

In the era of *Bani Abdi el Ouad*, it became a very powerful principality. Its frontiers stretched till the town of *Azaffoun* in the East and that was under the rule of *Abi Qammou Bnu Othman*, who was in a constant dispute with its neighbours, *Eddawla el Qafsiya* in the East, and *Eddawla el Mariniya* in the west about the lands of North Africa and as *Tlemcen* was located between the two, it no more endured their clash, and was defeated by *El Marinid*.

Later, this principality was re-established under the rule of *Abi Qammou Ethāni* who named it *Eddawla Ezzianiya*, which witnessed under his rule and his following Caliphates (*Kholafāa* in Arabic) a very high style of sedentary and civilized life. Yet, by the coming of the 16th century, its conditions of life decreased and knew a great depression due to the appearance of some disputes between the ruling family members about the crown. Instead of working on governing their citizens and contributing in the management of their political affairs, its rulers were engaged in making intrigues, setting traps and conspiracies, a fact that created a wide gap between the central government and the distant regions. Consequently, many semi-independent principalities were raised sometimes in mountains and sometimes in plains¹¹. The Spanish seized this opportunity, after getting rid of the existence of Islam in *Andalousia*, to occupy the coastal towns of North Africa.

When the *Omarāa of Beni Zianes* felt themselves not able to face the Spanish, they adopted a policy of being obedient to their rule, and that led the town dwellers, after suffering from the unfair Spanish authority, to ask for the interference of the Turkish brothers *Kheir Eddine* and *Baba Arroudj* to defend them as an attempt to protect their religion, possessions, and honours. As a result, the Turkish have defeated *Banu Zianes* after many events that cannot be detailed here.

¹¹ Mouley Belhamissi (1975: 31)

When the *Turkish* came to *Tlemcen*, they brought with them a number of displaced *Andalousians*, and later some *Mourisquians* or *Moors* who were descendants of *Fatihi el Andalus*, coming from the different Arabic tribes, such as the *Adnan*; *Hashemites* and *Amayyauds*, and other *Yamenis* such as the tribe of *Kahlān* and *El Azd*, in addition to those who joined them in *El fatā*; *Egyptians*, *Shami*, and *Iraki*, and a great number of Berbers who integrated all with some *Tlemcen* dwellers who were *Goths* and *Spanish*¹². Then, the existence of the *Ottomans* in *Tlemcen* lasted around five centuries before the coming of the French in 1845 when it fell under their colonization until independence in 1962.

After the exposition of *Tlemcen* history, one may remark that this town has been settled by many races; *Berbers*, *Phoenicians*, *Romans*, *Vandals*, *Byzantines*, *Arabs*, *Turkish*, *Andalusi*, and even *French*. The historical succession of these races and their civilizations has been reflected in the Arabic dialect of *Tlemcen*, embodied in many phonetic sounds, morphological structures, and mainly in its lexical repertoire which still perpetuates some linguistic features of particular languages. This fact leads us to deduce that *Tlemcen* speech is a mixture of different linguistic varieties, an aim that this research work endeavours to prove.

2.3. Description of the Sample Population

The sample population of *Tlemcen* community has been selected depending on the original names of Tlemcenian families, and in the following table, it has been described in terms of names of informants, age, and the date and place where the interviews were conducted:

¹² Ahmed Amine (no date : 1)

Name of Informants	Age	Date and time	Place of Conducting the Interview
Mrs. Kaleche S.	93	04/01/2012 (10:00-10:30)	Kiffane
Mrs. Briksi F.	47	04/01/2012 (15:00-15:30)	Chetouane
Mrs. Klouche Z.	50	05/01/2012 (10:45-11:30)	Chetouane
Mrs. Tabet Aouel H.	50	19/01/2012 (16:10-16:52)	Ouzidane
Mr. Masmoudi A.	66	25/01/2012 (15:20-16:10)	Ain Karadja
Miss. Masmoudi S.	21	25/01/2012 (16:15-16:45)	Ain Karadja
Mrs. Azzouni M.	61		
Mrs. Chaabane Sari F.	32	25/01/2012 (17:06-17:33)	Tlemcen
Mrs. Ben Delhom S.	25		
Mrs. Ali Chaouech N.	33	28/01/2012 (10:20-10:40)	Tlemcen
Mrs. Mami N.	26	28/01/2012 (12:00-12:20)	Ouzidane
Mrs. Ben kelfat A.	36	28/01/2012 (12:20-13:00)	Ouzidane
Mrs. Hadj Kacem R.	48	01/02/2012 (09:30-10:45)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Lamdani N.	48	19-03-2012 (12:30-12:45)	Chetouane
Mr. Dali Ahmed I.	20	19-03-2012 (12:50-13:05)	
Mr. Far dhab Dj.	78	22/03/2012 (11:20-11:45)	Tlemcen
Mrs. Khedim F.	68	24/03/2012 (14:20-14:35)	Sidi Said
Mrs. Benosman Y.	80	26/03/2012 (11:00-12:00)	Faddan Sbaâ
Mr. Ben kelfat T.	59		
Mrs. Bouabdellah S.	73	26/03/2012 (14:10-15:05)	Koudia
Mrs. Benhabib A.	49		

Table 2.1. Informants of *Tlemcen* Dialect**2.4. The Origins of Some Tlemcenian Lexical Words**

It is worth to note that *Tlemcen* speech possesses a rich vocabulary bulk involving outnumbered amounts of words, grammatical constructions, and morphological structures. This is undoubtedly attributed to the social accumulations that the area has witnessed through time. In the following sections, much more details about these social realities will be exposed in a way that permits us to restore the maximum successive social facts which have contributed in the making and development of this dialect. But, in doing so, the analysis of these events will not be profoundly studied in this modest sociolinguistic investigation, as it is carried out in sociolinguistic inquiries of highly scientific scope.

It has earlier been mentioned that *Tlemcen* was settled by a set of various human races speaking different languages. Therefore, one may not deny that *Tlemcen* speech still preserves some of these languages' traces at varying degrees of influence. Hence, for the sake of confirming what had already been claimed, it is really of paramount importance, at this level of analysis, to check the origins of some of the widely used words in this dialect. For this reason, a considerable set of lexical words has been selected as it is obviously shown in the following table:

Word	Origin	Reference	Equivalent in English
1. [Blli:l]	Arabic /BlleNlu/	Ibn Mandhour (1994:607)	“ Night”
2. [nnhA:r]	Arabic /BnnahA:ru/	Ibn Mandhour (1994:328)	“ Day”
3. [lfArG]	Arabic /BlfNra:Gu /	Ibn Mandhour (1994:326)	“ Bedding”
4. [s}A:wAl]	Arabic /sNrwa:l (un) /	Ibn Mandhour (1994:334)	“ A pair of trousers ”
6. [fakro:n]	Berber /ifkraouen/ (pl.)	S. CID KAOU (1907:234)	“ A turtole ”

7. [rNwA:r]	French “trottoir”	Robert & Collins (1998:1062)	“ a sidewalk”
8. [bBrwe:]	French “ brouette”	Robert & Collins (1998:114)	“ Wheelbarrow”
9. [bu?ra:dF]	Berber /Blmuqra:F/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:43 or 46)	“ A kettle”
10. [karmo:s]	Tachelhit /akku:rmNs/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:109)	“ Figs”
11. [magazẽ]	Arabic /maUzNn(un)/	Le Robert (1993:1322)	“A store room”
12. [zBndFA:r]	Persian /zanyA:r/	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :46)	“green-grey colour”
13. [A:IA]	Italian / A:IA /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :55)	“ Living room ”
14. [A:mA]	Turkish / A:msA /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :55)	“A kind of fried and sweet cakes”
15. [ | A:IA]	French “ une dalle”	Robert & Collins (1998:227)	“ A slab”
16. [bBkku:G]	Persian / [bBkku:G /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :22)	“Dump”
17. [bura:k]	Turkish / bura:k /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922:25)	“A kind of food prepared with meat and paste”
18. [bu:?a:l]	Turkish / buqa:l/	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :25)	“ A pot for putting spices”
19. [tBrbja]	Turkish / tBrbja /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :30)	“The first preparation of a soup ”
20. [bBlIA:r]	Persian / bBllo:r /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :22)	“ A kind of glass ; Cristal ”
21. [ni:γru]	French « nègre »	Robert & Collins (1998: 595)	“Negro”
22. [bBGluk]	Turkish / bBGlek /	M. Ben Cheneb (1922 :21)	“The least of something”
23. [ba?Gi:G]	Persian / baEGi:G/	M. Ben Cheneb (1922:22)	“A tip”

24. [bBzza:f]	Arabic / bNldFuza:f /	Marçais (1902:29)	“A lot of ”
25. [ddi:b]	Arabic [BJJN?bu]	El Imam El Djaouhari (2008:367)	“A wolf ”
26. [dFna:n]	Arabic [FNna:n(un)]	Ibn Mandhour (1994:100)	“A garden ”
27. [sa:ʔja]	Arabic [sa:qNja]	Ibn Mandhour (1994:391)	“A stream”
28. [GaGNja]	Persian	Antouane Niama (2001:904)	“ A hat ”
29. [raw| A]	Andalusi	Marçais (1902:308)	“A part of a cemetery that is reserved for a given family”

Table 2.2. Origins of Some Tlemcenian Lexical Words

One may not deny finding other origins for other words in *Tlemcen* speech, especially those related to toponyms (names of places) such as *Agadir* which carries a *Berberized Phoenician* denomination, *Pomaria* as a Roman name, *Tagraret* whose denomination is of a *Sanhadji Almoravid* origin, in addition to today's *Zenati Berber* name; *Tlemcen*. Moreover, some Tlemcenian family names and first names of many individuals (anthroponyms) indicate the origin of these persons like the name *Amghar* which has a Berber connotation; the chief of a tribe¹³, and others of *Arabic*, *Andalusi*, or *Turkish* connotations and are still available and used in *Tlemcen* dialect, and even proper names of Hebrew origins such as *Meriem*, *Yahia*, and the name *Moussa* which is said to be taken from the *Copte* “*Moushi*” which denotes “ the thing found between water and grass”¹⁴.

2.5. Some Characteristics of *Tlemcen* Speech

¹³ Ghouti Cherif (1993:43)

¹⁴ Abdelwahab Ennadjar (1987:98)

Tlemcen speech is characterized by a set of linguistic features that cannot be detailed in this research work. For this reason, only some of which seem to be of great importance, whether at the phonological or the morphological level, and which are thought to be relevant to this sociolinguistic study will be mentioned in this section.

2.5.1. At the Phonological Level

Most of its phonological features are mentioned as follows:

2.5.1.1. *El qalqala:* *el ?al?ala* is a salient phonetic feature which Tlemcenians or ‘*el hadar*’ call it *El aāla*, a phonetic characteristic in which the /q/ sound is mainly substituted by [ʔ]. In this respect, William Marçais (1902:17) wrote: “At last, it must be noted that a number of Tlemcenians seem to have an impossibility of pronouncing the q, in their mouths, it sounds as that of Cairo and Damascus, as a loud *hamza*...”¹⁵.

The following examples illustrate more this point:

SA	TS
/qalb(un) /	→ [ʔalb]: “heart”
/qN□□(un) /	→ [ʔa□□]: “cat”
/qabr (un)/	→ [ʔbo:r]: “tomb”
/qNma:G(un)/	→ [ʔma:G]: “cloth”

However, the /q/ sound is not always pronounced [ʔ], it is also substituted by a [ɣ] variant as in the following examples:

¹⁵ The above English quotation is our translation. The original one is: «... Enfin il faut noter que nombre de Tlemceniens semblent atteints de l'impossibilité de prononcer le ق q ; dans leur bouche, il se traduit comme dans celle des Cairotes et des Damasquins, par un fort *hamza*...».

[jayʕud]: “he sits down”, [jay□Aʕ]: “he crosses the street”, [nyi:l]: “the noon”, [bayrA]: “a cow”, [sslu:γN]: “a dog for hunting”, [nBγγa]: “a feeling of hatred between two persons” , [Bl γamra]: “ the moon”, [γBrnu:ʕ]: “artichoke” [jyaʕmBz]: “he crouches down”.

2.5.1.2. The Absence of Interdentals: Interdentals constitute a set of speech sounds that are normally produced by pressing the tip of the tongue to the upper teeth. Yet, in *Tlemcen* dialect, these sounds have disappeared and are substituted by others, that is, the dental /J/, (*eJjal el moʕdjama*: الدال المعجمة), is replaced by the alveolar [d], (*eddal el mokhaffafa*: الدال المخففة), and the dental /T/ by the alveolar [t]. This phenomenon has been referred to by William Marçais (1902:13) who claimed that,

The t - T; d- Δ- in the group of dentals, it is remarkable that, since the Tunisian dialect distinguishes carefully the t from T, the d from Δ like the Arabic dialects, Tlemcen speech like the Tripoli, the majority of Moroccan dialects and, (...) also the Egyptian and the Syrian, confuse between them. (...) the T and t are confused in Tlemcen speech pronounced as a unique sound ts; the ts is not a pure dental; it is in a way, a double letter identical to ts pronounced in a single emission of voice.¹⁶

These are examples where the disappearance of /J/ and /T/ is clearly noticeable, and the frequent use of [ts] is remarked in the last two examples below:

SA

TS

¹⁶ This is a meaning translation for the following original quotation: « Le ت - ث ; د - ذ - Dans le groupe des dentales, il est remarquable que, tandis que le tunisien distingue soigneusement le ت du ث, le د du ذ à l'instar des dialectes arabiques, le tlemcenien comme le tripolitain, la plupart des dialectes marocains (...), aussi l'égyptien et le syrien, les confondent. (...) le ث et ت se sont confondus en tlemcenien en un son unique ts; le ts n'est plus une dentale pure; c'est en quelque sorte une lettre double équivalente à ts prononcé en une seule émission de voix ».

/Jabala / → [dba:l]: “it faded”

/JNra:ʕ (un) / → [dra:ʕ]: “arm”

/BTTaldF/ → [tsaldF]: “snow”

/BTTuluT/ → [tsalts]: “a third”.

2.5.1.3. Semi-absence of Dental Emphatic Sounds /d/ and /J/

In *Tlemcen* speech, both emphatic / d / and /J/ are substituted by [ð] in some words such as: /BJJAhr/ is pronounced as [ðhAr]: “the back”, /Bl aJA:firu/ as [ðfAr]: “nails”, /maYdeʕ(un)/ as [mo:ðAʕ]: “place”, /BddaY?u/ as [ðo:]: “light”. These instances and others have been obtained from the interviews conducted with some Tlemcenians.

2.5.1.4. Replacement of /d/ and /J/ by [ð]:

Tlemcenian dialect is characterized by the articulation of /d/ and /J/ as [ð] as in the examples / ðafi:d(un)/ pronounced as [ðfe:ð] meaning “grandson” and /faɛNJ (un) / as [fɛAð] which means “thigh”.

Indeed, W. Marçais (1902:14-15) has referred to this characteristic through the aforementioned examples, and it has also been witnessed in the recorded conversations being conducted with the sample population of *Tlemcen* city.

2.5.1.5. The Maintenance of CA /dF/ Sound:

In this research work, the data collected show that Tlemcenians keep the sound /dF/ as in Classical Arabic. Additionally, W. Marçais (1902:15) also

noticed this feature and wrote: **“the pronunciation of ζ in Tlemcenian speech is j (English j); it is not a pure fricative, but an affricate comprising an initial dental element, and both make the dj pronounced as one letter”**¹⁷.

Here are examples where the /dF/ sound is kept in *Tlemcen* dialect:

CA	TS
/Bl ha:dFu/	→ [lha:dF]: “an old man”
/Bl dFaLzu/	→ [ldFaLzz]: “nuts”
/Bl dFa:mIʃu/	→ [ldFa:maʃ]: “mosque”
/Bl dFi:ra:nu/	→ [ldFi:ra:n]: “neighbours”.

However, the pronunciation of the variant [dF] is not the same as in Classical Arabic, but rather a mid consonant between /dF/ and /tG/ with a stress on the syllable in which the sound [dF] is part of.

2.5.1.6. Devoicing of / Φ /

The sound / Φ / loses its voicing when followed by a voiceless fricative /s/ resulting in [ɛ] as in / Φ sBl/ which is pronounced [ɛsBl]: “he washed”, the only example that has been observed during the conversations of this study. In this respect, William Marçais (1902:18) says: **“The substitution of / Φ / by /ɛ/ is found in other Arabic dialects. It also exists in Berber”**¹⁸.

¹⁷ Note that this quotation is not a word by word translation. We have attempted to translate the meaning as much as it was possible. The original one is: **“La prononciation courante du ζ en tlemcenien est j (j anglais) ; ce n’est pas une sifflante pure, mais une lettre double comportant un element dental initial, et équivalente au groupe dj prononcé en une seule emission de voix”**.

¹⁸ This is a translation. The original quotation is: **“La substitution de « ζ » au « ξ » se rencontre dans d’autres dialectes Arabes. Elle existe aussi en Berbère”**.

2.5.1.7. Substitution of ‘*hamza*’ by /w/ or /j/:

The following words show how the *hamza* of Standard Arabic is lost in Algerian Arabic dialects in general and in *Tlemcen* speech in particular and replaced by either /w/ or /j/:

SA TS

/ʔakkala/ → [wakkal]: “he fed someone”

/ʔallafa/ → [wallaf]: “he made someone accustomed to do something”

/ʔNbra/ → [jabra]: “needle”.

Yet, the last example has another meaning of “he relieves” once pronounced as [jabʔA].

2.5.1.8. Diluting ‘*el hamza el mahmouza*’ into ‘*el mahmoussa*’

In *Tlemcen* dialect as in all urban dialects, the *hamza* in middle position is dropped and the auricular *hamza* (or *el hamza el mahmoussa*) takes its place in words such as:

SA TS

/faʔs/ → [fa:s]: “an ax”

/rAʔs/ → [rA:s]: “a head”

/bNʔr/ → [bi:r]: “a well”.

/muʔmNn/ → [mu:man]: “a believer”.

In fact, the phenomenon of *imāla* that occurs in the dialects under investigation can be attributed to its existence in the Arabic tribes of *Tamim* and

Assad as it has been referred to by Ibrahim Anis (no date:8) in his book “*ellahadjāt el ârabiya*”.

2.5.1.9. The Disappearance of /h/ in Middle and Final Positions

The / h / sound is elided in *Tlemcen* speech in words where it takes either a middle or a final position, except in the word [fʔi:h]: “(religious) jurist” as W.

Marçais (1902:19) noticed that “**the final /h/ is well maintained in *fʔi:h, jurist***”¹⁹. The following words illustrate this phenomenon:

SA TS

/wadFh(un)/ → [wudF]²⁰: “face”.

/nahAda/ → [nA:d]: “he stood up”.

2.5.1.10. Alternation of /l/ by /n/ and Vice Versa

The first two examples²¹ cited below clarify how the /l/ is sometimes replaced by /n/ and, sometimes, the reverse occurs in particular words characterizing *Tlemcen* dialect as in the third and fourth examples :

SA TS

/sNlsNla/ → [sansla]: “chain”.

/zNlza:l/ → [zanzla]: “earthquake”.

/fNnFa:n/ → [fandFa:l]: “a cup of coffee”.

/ba:JNnFa:n / → [bdanFa:l]: “aubergine”.

¹⁹ This is our translation. The original quotation is: “**le • final s’est très bien maintenu dans *fʔi:h, jurisconsulte***” (1902:19).

²⁰ The pronunciation of [dF] is geminated at the end of the word.

²¹ Examples quoted from William Marçais (1902:18).

2.5.1.11. Replacement of /G/ by [s]: as in \rightarrow GadFara / [sadFra]: “a tree” and \rightarrow Gams/ [samG]²²: “sun” and these are the only examples that could be recorded during this research.

2.5.1.12. Voicing of /s/

In *Tlemcen* speech, the fricative voiceless /s/ becomes a voiced [z] as in [fa:zBd] instead of /fa:sNd/: “rotten”.

2.5.1.13. Substitution of /ʕ/ by [z]

The emphatic sound /ʕ/ is replaced by the [z] as in /qNʕdi:r/ which is pronounced as [ʔazdi:r] referring to “pewter”.

2.5.1.14. Substitution of /ʕ/ by [s]

The emphatic sound /ʕ/ is altered by the [s] as in /ʕAʕtar/ which is pronounced as [saʕtar]: “origan”.

What is striking in the phenomenon of sounds substituting one another in different words is that they are accompanied with various changes at the inflectional system, what is called in Arabic *el ʕarakāt el iêrābiya* (الحركات الإعرابية), where the short vowel /a/, which represents *el fatḥa*, is dropped and the syllable becomes a cluster of two consonants, its initial is *sākin* ساكن. Then, the word also tends to lose its final (*-un*) which is a mark of *tanwin* letting its place for a *sākin* consonant as a word ending as well. The short vowel /I/ is

²² This example is also a case of metathesis.

sometimes altered by the short vowel [a], in addition to other possible modifications that may undergo a given linguistic unit. To clarify this point, examples of these changes are: /faʔsun/ (فَأْسُ) which becomes [fa:s] (فَأَسْ) and /ʔafi:dun/ (حَفِيدٌ) pronounced as [ʔfe:ʔ] (حَفِيْطٌ) , and /maLdeʔun/ (مَوْضِعٌ) changes into [mo:ʔAʔ] (مَوْطِعٌ)²³. The most remarkable characteristic of *Tlemcen* speech is the omission of *nounation* or *ettanwin* and the prevalence of *sākin* consonants which they mainly occur in a cluster of many neighbouring *sākin* consonants, a phenomenon that never occurs in Standard Arabic and which seems to be impossible to combine between two *sākin* consonants in any environment. In fact, this linguistic phenomenon is seen as a borrowed feature from the different Berber dialects²⁴.

2.5.2. At the Morphological Level

Tlemcen speech is characterized by some morphological characteristics that are summarized in this section as follows:

2.5.2.1. Verbs

In *Tlemcen* speech, the inflectional system is characterized with a considerable set of characteristics observed when conjugating verbs. Some of them are:

❖ The feminine mark {-i}, (حركة ياء التانيث), of third person singular is omitted in verbs when addressing to a female speaker, and no gender distinction

²³ The words /faʔsun/, /ʔafi:dun/, and /maLdeʔun/ mean “an ax”, “a grandson”, and “a place” respectively.

²⁴ This idea is taken from a dialogue with Dr. Dib Saâd eddine in a discussion about Algerian Arabic dialects.

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is made between masculine and feminine addressees. The addresser may say: [kli:t]: “did you eat?”, [Gri:t]: “did you buy...?”, [sBlɪaft]: “did you borrow ...?” for both genders.

❖ In Standard Arabic, verbs which are constructed in /ʔNftaʕNI/ pattern are used to make requests. However, in *Tlemcen* dialect, requests are usually made in /faʕʕal/pattern. This characteristic is more clarified through these examples:

SA	TS
/ʔNstalnɪ /	→ [sBlɪaf]: “borrow!”
/ʔNqtarNb /	→ [ʔarrab]: “come closer!”

❖ The absence of the feminine mark {-i:} with imperative verbs: the imperative verb /kul/ meaning “eat!” of Standard Arabic is replaced with the dialectal form [ku:l] in *Tlemcen* when addressing to both males and females in opposition with the other Algerian Arabic varieties, mainly of a rural type, where their speakers utilize [ku:l] for a man and [ku:lN] for a woman.

❖ When conjugating verbs in *Tlemcen* dialect, no distinction in masculine and feminine plurals is made. For instance, *Tlemcen* speakers tend to talk about some children who are playing by saying: [ra:hom # jallaʕbu]: “they are playing” referring to both boys and girls without making any distinction in gender.

2.5.2.2. Nouns

a/ Duality in *Tlemcen* speech is made by the addition of the final morpheme {-WjBn} to the singular as in: [jumWjBn]: “two days”, [GahrWjBn]: “two

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months”, [ʕamWjBn]: “two years”, [martWjBn]: “twice”, and [li:ltWjBn]: “two nights”.

b/ In TS, dual forms are also made by adding the numeral “zaLdF” which means “two” to the plural nouns as in the following dual nouns:

SA Dual Forms	TS Dual Forms	English Gloss
/bNnta:nN/	[zaLdF # bna:t]	“two girls”
/GadFarata:nN/	[zaLdF # sBdFra:t]	“two trees”
/daradFa:nN/	[zaLdF # dardFa:t]	“two stairs”

Table 2.3. Dual Forms in *Tlemcen* Speech

2.5.2.3. Pronouns

The dual pronoun [hu:man], meaning “they”, is used to refer to both dual and plural forms, i.e. it refers to both masculine and feminine dual forms and to masculine and feminine plural forms as well. That is, [hu:man], in TS, may represent /huma:/ of both masculine and feminine dual pronouns, and /hum/, the masculine plural pronoun, and /hunna/, the feminine plural pronoun. The same characteristic is noticed with the pronoun /antuma:/ “you” which is realized as [ntu:man] with both dual and plural forms with both genders.

Then, in what concerns the singular pronoun, its final morpheme {-hu} is changed by {-u} as it is illustrated in the following examples:

/qa:la # lahu / → [ʔa:llu]: « he told him ».

/ bNʕtuhu / → [baʕtu]: “I sold it”.

The final pronouns, which they represent the inflectional morphemes, {-hu}, {-ha:}, and {-hum} sometimes disappear in *Tlemcen* dialect when conjugated with the verb /ʔara:/ meaning “I see him, I see her, I see them” pronounced as [ra:], [ri:] or [ri:ha], [rom] or [rohom] respectively, instead of [ra:h], [ra:ha], [ra:hum] which are widespread in rural communities.

2.5.2.4. Adverbs

Adverbs are compound words which are morphologically composed of two or more constituents. They are also characterized with a type of elision known in Arabic grammar as “*hadjf et taqrir*”. These examples clarify more this point:

➤ [ki:fa:G]: is composed of /keNfa/ and /BGGeNʔ/ meaning “how” and “the thing” respectively. The initial and final syllables of the word /BGGeNʔ/, (/Bl/ *eshamsiya*) and (/ʔ/), are dropped and the geminated /G/ is slightly diluted, then, added to the first part /keNfa/, which, in turn, becomes [ki:f] after the substitution of the diphthong /eN/ by the long vowel [i:] to form at last the adverb [ki:fa:G] which means in TS “how?”. The process of elision which occurred in the word /BGGeNʔ/ letting only few phonetic traces from the original sounds which signify the word /GeNʔ/ to be understood as “a thing” is called: *hadjf taqrir* (حذف تقرير). The same interpretation could be done

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with the adverbs /wa?ta:G/, /ʔla:G/ and /fu:?a:G/ which they mean “at what time?”, “why?” and “on what place?, or simply “where?” respectively.

➤ [ki:ra:k]: it is composed of two words /keNfa/ and /?ara:ka/ where the syllables /fa/, /?a/, and the final vowel /a/ representing *el fat*□*a* are elided and the /eN/ has been altered by [i:], and consequently, the remaining elements of both words are combined together to form the adverb [ki:ra:k] which means “how are you?”. This combination is used when addressing to males whereas females are addressed to by the use of the adverb [kNri:k].

➤ [maka:nG]: is composed of / ma: # ka:na # GeN? /. Its meaning is “there is nothing”, and the omitted sounds are interpreted in the same way as the aforementioned adverbs have been dealt with.

During the data collection phase, whether through reading many references or through listening to the recorded speeches of the sample population of *Tlemcen* City, it has been deduced that its speakers utilize some lexical items to convey distinct meanings such as: [zanzla] which generally refers to “an earthquake” and to “a person who walks like a turtle” when saying: /tmBGGa # B # zanzla/!. The word /jabra/ is also used to refer to a needle, and to the verb “he relieves” once pronounced as [jab}a].

2.6. Conclusion

Tlemcen speech is characterized by a set of features. The most important ones which can be summarized, at this level, are the different realizations of its

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linguistic variables mainly of its phonetic system. The /q/ sound is realized as [ʔ], the /dF/ is maintained in different environments, in addition to the other features which were detailed in this chapter. Like all the Algerian Arabic dialects, *Tlemcen* dialect has a considerable range of grammatical and syntactic constructions. Its vocabulary bulk is also rich and involves a great repertoire of urban lexical items which they fit the necessities of its speakers in their urban community.

Chapter Three

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF *AIN EL HOUT* DIALECT

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3.1. Introduction

Through the interviews which were recorded with a sample population in the area under investigation, a set of characteristics which are related to the dialect spoken in the village of *Ain el Hout* are deduced. But, before reviewing these features, a general historical background about the region is offered in this chapter and the description of the informants is necessary at this level of analysis.

3.2. The History of *Ain el Hout*

Ain El Hout is an agricultural village¹ which is located not far from *Tlemcen* city. It was first inhabited by the Berbers and their existence is obviously proved through some toponyms, names of places, which they are still used by the inhabitants of this area. It was also inhabited by the Romans who exploited its agricultural lands in planting different fruit trees, mainly olives which *Ain el Hout* dwellers still name it “*ghars erroumi*”, due to the fact that wheat agriculture in Africa knew a great deterioration by the end of the second century because of the successive waves of dry weather the region has witnessed. For this reason, the Roman authority encouraged the agriculture of olives more than wheat agriculture in vast fields which were previously exclusive for the production of wheat². Yet, there were no publications or detailed references about this fact at that time or the following eras.

Later, *Ain el Hout* has witnessed the coming of the *Muslim Fatiḥins*, then it knew many other successive invasions until it fell under the rule of *Mohamed*

¹ Chafika Maarouf (1984: 363-366) defined *El hawz* as a word that is derived from the Arabic word /ḥa:za/ which implies the surrounding areas of big cities such as villages, that are mostly rural, and this characteristic is widely spread in North Africa. Each town has its *hawz* as *Tlemcen* city. The notion of *hawz* is originally the result of a political conception which goes back in time to the middle ages.

² Mohamed El Bachir Chniti (1984:91).

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bnu Khazr at a time when *Idriss bnu Abdi Allah* entered Morocco who succeeded in attracting the attention of *bnu Khazr*, and consequently, it became under his authority as it has been previously mentioned. However, when this latter moved to Morocco, he handed his brother *Solaymane* the rule of *Tlemcen* and its surroundings who established *Ain el Hout* as a cradle for his own *emārah*³ and his descendants are still living in *Ain el Hout* till present time. After the *Idrissi* rule, the region witnessed many settlements such as the *Almoravides*, the *Almohad* dynasty, the *Zianids*, and the *Turkish Ottomans*. But, no reference has talked about *Ain el Hout* in these eras with details. Therefore, restoring the history of this village, in different domains, is of a paramount importance. Nowadays, it occupies a considerable part of the Wilaya of *Tlemcen*.

3.3. Description of the Sample Population

The sample population of this study is a random one, and in the following table it has been described in terms of names of informants, age, and the date and place where the interviews were conducted.

Name of Informants	Age	Date and Time	Place of Conducting the Interview
Mrs. Saddiki Ch.	63	13/07/2011 (10:30-11:05)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Ben Mansour B. A.	73	13/07/2011 (11:25-12:10)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Belarbi A.	74	14/07/2011 (15:00-16:00)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Berkat B. A.	74	15/07/2011 (09:50-10:20)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Snoussaoui F.	76	15/07/2011 (10:20-10:45)	Ain el Hout

³ Abderrahim Benmansour (2011:10).

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Mr. Bel Ayyachi A.	56	15/07/2011 (10:50-11:15)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Ben Gana A.	55	15/10/2011 (11:20- 11:50)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Ghitri M.	70		
Mr. Khaled A.	62	15/10/2011 (11:50-12:15)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Taâ Allah R.	58	15/10/2011 (12:15-12:40)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Azzouzi F.	62	16/10/2011 (14:05-14:35)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Bouabdallah M.	79	26/11/2011 (11:16-12:20)	Tlemcen
Mr. Belarbi M.	85	09/12/2011 (14:42-15:15)	El Kiffane
Mrs. Belarbi Ch.	65	09/12/2011 (15:15-15:46)	
Mr. Bou Ali A.	93	03/01/2012 (10:09-11:28)	Chetouane
Miss. Djelti F.	23	28/01/2012 (15:02-15:30)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Benmansour Y.	40	09/02/2012 (11:30-11:55)	Ain el Hout
Her mother-in-law	90		
Mrs. Bou Ali S.	76	09/02/2012 (12:00-12:55)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Benmansour A.	50		
Mrs. Bennassar R.	80	09/02/2012 (13:30-14:00)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Balghi Ch.	44	09/02/2012 (14:00-14:40)	Ain el Hout

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Mrs. Elkasri Z.	48	09/02/2012 (15:10-15:38)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Mokhtar F.	65	09/02/2012 (15:40-16:16)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Benguedih R.	60	09/02/2012 (16:20-16:36)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Berkat R.	29	12/02/2012 (17:10-17:50)	Ouzidane
Mrs. Belfatmi L.	54	18/02/2012 (13:30-13:50)	Ain el Hout
Miss. Ettouhami A.	25	18/02/2012 (13:50-14:10)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Gnaou S.	53	18/02/2012 (15:00-15:30)	Ain el Hout
Mrs. Krim M.	93	22/02/2012 (12:50-13:20)	Ain el Hout
Mr. Belarbi M.	81	23/02/2012 (10:20-11:10)	Ain el Hout

Table 3.1. Description of *Ain el Hout* informants

3.4. Origins of Some Lexical Words

In fact, after the listening phase of the data that have been recorded, it has been deduced that *Ain el Hout* dialectal system which carries items and words of various origins, it also shares many characteristics with its counterpart, the *Tlemcenian* dialect. Therefore, to show this fact, the following table is intended to unveil the origins of *Ain el Hout* lexical items.

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Word	Origin	Reference	Equivalent in English
1. [mʔa□□fa]	Aramaic /qa□A:ʔNf /	Antouane Niama (2001:1172)	“slices of paste added at the final step of the preparation of soup”
2. [ʔandi:l]	Arabic [qNndi:l(un)]	Ibn Mandhour (1994:570)	“An oil-lamp”
3. [Uerro:ba]	Arabic	Eindenschenk & Cohen-Solal (1897:123)	“ a metal container of 10 kg of grain”
4. [ʔazA:n]	Turkish /qazA:n/	Ben Cheneb (1922:66)	“A metal container for cooking in weddings”
5. [ɣurya:ʕ]	Berber /Blyeryaʕ/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:166)	“Walnuts”
6. [maʕdnu:s]	Turkish /mNʕdNnwez/	Ben Cheneb (1922:81)	“Persil”
7. [sBrbNta]	French “serviette”	Robert (1993:2082)	“A towel ”
8. [kNko□A]	French “cocotte”	Hary Campbell (2005:191)	“Pressure cooker”
9. [dBnFa:l]	Persian /dBnFa:l/	Marçais (1902:308)	“Aubergine”
10. [ʔArf□A:n]	Turkish /qafta:n/	Ben Cheneb (1922:70)	“A kind of traditional Tlemcenian clothes that brides wear”
11. [bB□mA]	Aramaic /bu□ma/	Ibn Mandhour (1997:51)	“A kind of tree”

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12. [ʃabru:ʔ]	Arabic [ʃabru:q]	Eindenschenk & Cohen-Solal (1897:58)	“A band of thread that is put on behind the neck of a bride”
13. [fer□A□□o]	Berber /θfer□A□□o/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:174)	“ Butterfly”
14. [fBrrA:n]	Latin	Antouane Niama (2001:1089-1090)	“An oven / a baker”
15. [sBhri:F]	Persian /♣ehri:F/	Antouane Niama (2001:858)	“A reservoir”
16. [GA:l]	Arabic [GA:l (un)]	Antouane Niama (2001:809)	“Scarf”
17. [mBrfAʃ]	Arabic [mNrfaʃ(un)]	Eindenschenk & Cohen-Solal (1897:14)	“kitchen shelves”
18. [bA□e:ʃ]	Aramaic /bN□□e:ʃ/	Antouane Niama (2001:98)	“Melon”
19. [□Abja]	Arabic /□AbNja /	Eindenschenk & Cohen-Solal (1897:14)	“Cement”
20. [tBbrellu]	Berber /θttebru:rN/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:121)	“Hail”
21. [zBlli:f]	Berber /θzelli:f /	Marçais (1902:303)	“Head of a sheep”
22. [dNnef]	French “des nèfles”	Robert (1993:1477)	“Medlar”

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23. [bBrra:radF]	Tachelhit /bBlla:raF/	S. CID KAOUI (1907:53)	“A kind of white birds with long legs”
24. [kafBti:ra ⁴]	French “Cafetière”	Le Robert (1993:283)	“a kettle”
25. [bBGma:ʔ]	Turkish /bBGma:q/	Ben Cheneb (1922:21)	“A pair of slipper”
26. [mBskBn]	Arabic /maskan(un)/	Eindenschenk & Cohen-Solal (1897: 15)	“A chamber / room”
27. [γΩni:na]	Berber /taqni:net /	S. CID KAOUI (1907:145)	“A rabbit”
28. [□Az| A:m]	Turkish /dFuzda:n/	Ben Cheneb (1922:30)	“A wallet”
29. [lAmbA]	Latin /lampas/	Le Robert (1993:1255)	“A lamp”

Table 3.2. Origins of Some of *Ain el Hout* Lexical Words

3.5. *Ain el Hout* Dialectal Features

Ain el Hout speech has a considerable set of characteristics that will be detailed below.

⁴ The word “Cafetière” is normally a coffee pot, a coffee maker or machine, but in *Ain el Hout* speech, it refers to “a kettle” which is in French “un bouilloire”; a container for boiling water.

3.5.1. Phonological Characteristics

The most phonological features which characterize *Ain el Hout* speech are summarized as follows:

3.5.1.1. The Distinct Variants of /q/: the phoneme /q/ has two different variants in addition to its maintenance as in the CA.

A/- The first variant is the alternation of the plosive sound /q/ by the glottal stop [ʔ] which is a feature that appears in the speech of both men and women, and it is commonly altered by women who have a tendency to its use. Examples of this phenomenon are: [nʔullek] instead of [nqullek]: “I tell you”, [♣♣u:ʔ] instead of [ssu:q]: “market”, [ʔdi:m] in place of [qdi:m]: “old”...etc. This phenomenon is attributed to that fact that *Ain El Hout* speakers have inherited it from the speech of their ancestors who are known as “*Dar el ârsa*” دار العرصة which is a toponym for an area in *Ain el Hout*. Yet, the new comers who reside in *Ain el Hout*, especially women speakers, tend to pronounce the /q/ as [ʔ] to talk in a soft voice in speech which reflects their femininity and seeking more prestige and to imitate the *Hadars* in their way of speaking.

B/- The second variant is the substitution of /q/ by [ɣ], a feature that commonly characterizes the speech of both males and females as in: [rɣi:ɣ] instead of [rqi:q]: “thin”, [ɣa:l] instead of [qa:l]: “he told”, [fu:ɣ] in place of [fu:q]: “above”, [ɣri:b] instead of [qri:b]: “near”, [ɣAb|o:h] in place of [qab|o:h]: “they arrested him”.

C/- The maintenance of /q/ in many words and expressions as they are pronounced in CA and it is seen as one feature of masculine speech in *Ain el*

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Hout like in: [ri:q]: “street”, [taqa:fa]: “culture”, and [lqahwA]: “coffee”...etc.

D/- The dual use of [ɣ] and [ʔ] is highly observable as one particularity of feminine speech. One example of this use is: / ... ɣult # luUtN # kN # Fa:t # Nla # mahad # lfarG # Btta # waBd # majstΦBllah # n♣Addʔah # ra # kajBn # lamsa:kan # ana # manʔaddG # tta # nanfA / meaning: “I told my sister when she came if no one uses this bedding I will give it for poors? I can’t even tidy (my house)”.

E/- The use of [q], [ʔ], and [ɣ] is considered as one particularity of masculine speech. Yet, it is used with different extents as in: /ɣallu # madabi:k # taS□e:na # hadNk # lwArʔa (...) S□ahalu # w # raʔSu # tri:q / which means “ he told him: it is preferable to give us that paper (...) he gave it to him and they repaired the street”.

3.5.1.2. The Disappearance of the Interdentals

The phonetic system of *Ain el Hout* dialect seems to lack the CA interdentals /l/ and /j/, and are substituted by the dentals [t] and [d] respectively as in:

SA AHD

/ Jaba□a / → [dba□]: “he slaughtered (a sheep)”.

/ JurrNja / → [dBrrNja]: “children”.

/ ʔaJJana / → [waddan]: “he called for prayer”.

/ lamanu:na / → [tmani:n]: “eighty”.

/ lNqa / → [tN?a]: “confidence”.

/ lawra / → [tawra]: “revolution”.

3.5.1.3. The Substitution of Dental Emphatics / d / and / J / by [□]

In AHD, the dental emphatics /d/ and /J/ are altered by [□] as in [□ro:s] instead of [dro:s]: “molars”, [ʔ□Am] instead [ʔJAm]: “a bone”, [□AhrN] instead of [JAhrN]: “my back” ...etc, and are also replaced by [ʔ] as in: [ʔ ja:f] instead of [dja:f]: “guests”, [ʔ rAb] instead of [drAb]: “he hit”.

3.5.1.4. The Alternation of / d / by [□]

It is a rare feature in dialects, and only two examples were found in *Ain el Hout* dialect where its speakers pronounce [□fi:d] as [□fe:□]: “grandson”, and [fʔad] as [fʔa□]: “moiety”, which is generally pronounced in Algerian dialects with (Bdda:l Blmuhmala) [d] instead of (Bdda:l BlmuʔdFama) [J] of CA.

3.5.1.5. The Dual Use of / dF /

It is often pronounced as [F] as a sound which resembles /G/, and in other words, it is pronounced as [dF] as the way *Tlemcen* speakers pronounce it.

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Some examples of the first sound are: [FbBl]: “mountain”, [□Far]: “stone”, [?Far]: “a drawer”, and the following are instances of its articulation as [dF]: [ldFnana:t]: “fields”, [rBdFli]: “my leg”, [lB□dFar]: “stone”, and [naʕdFan]: “I knead (bread)”, and both of them can be heard in the same conversation by the same speaker.

3.5.1.6. Devoicing of /Φ/

In this dialect, the /Φ/ sound is substituted by [Ξ] and this characteristic is rarely found and only one example have been found: /jaΦsBl/ is articulated as [jaʕsBl]: “he washes”.

3.5.1.7. Diluting the *hamza* in Nouns and Verbs

a. In nouns:

The collected data in *Ain el Hout* has shown that its speakers pronounce the word / faʔr / as [fa:r]: “a mouse”, / faʔl / as [fa:l]: “ a good omen”, and /kaʔs / as [ka:s]: “a glass”.

b. In verbs:

The characteristic of diluting the *hamza* in verbs are clearly noticed in these examples: [jasta:hBl] instead of / jastaʔhNlu /: “he deserves”, [jsa:l # ʕli:k] instead of / jasʔalu # ʕaleNka /: “he asks about you”, and in this respect, the quotation of *Chawki Dhaif* (no date:41) in his book “*Taʕrifāt el âmmiya lilfos□a fi elkawāid walbinyāt wal□orouf wal□arakāt*”: “**The □idjasis speakers facilitate (dilute) the *hamza* in verbs, and they pronounce / saʔala / as**

[sa:la], [jasa:lu] ...etc”⁵. This feature has probably been due to the *Islamic futuḥāt* in *Hidjaz*.

3.5.1.8. The Disappearance of /h/

The /h/ sound is lost in *Ain el Hout* speech as it illustrated in the following two examples:

/wajh(un) / → [waFF] or [wadF]: “face”.

/Bl hNkA:r/ → [lokA:r]: “a hecтар”.

3.5.1.9. The Realization of /ʔ/ as [j]

In this dialect, the substitution of /ʔ/ by [j] occurs mostly in verbs such as /tawaddAʔtu/ is articulated as [twa|e:t]: “to wash for prayer”, and /ʔabbaʔtuhu / as [ʔabbi:tah]: “I hid it”.

3.5.1.10. Replacement of /ʔ/ by [w]

The initial /ʔ/ is dropped and replaced by [w] as in these examples:

SA **AHD**

/ʔanNsa / → [wannBs]: “he was accompanied”.

/ʔalNfa / → [wa:laf]: “he got accustomed to”

⁵ The original quotation is : « يكتر الحجازيون من تسهيل (تخفيف) الهمزة في الأفعال، فيقولون في سأل- سأل، يسأل... إلخ »

/ʔaJJana / → [waddan]: “he called for prayer”.

3.5.1.11. The Substitution of /l/ by [n] and /n/ by [l]

The only examples of the first alternation are [sBnsla] instead of /sBlsla/ meaning “a chain” or “a necklace”, [Uur□A:n] in place of [Uur□A:l] which denotes “oats”. The second substitution is common among *Ain el Hout* speakers in the pronunciation of [fBndFa:l], and the toponym [tΦalNmBt] instead of /fBndFa:n/ : “a cup of coffee”, and /tΦanNmBt/⁶ which is the original name of an agricultural place respectively.

3.5.1.12. The Realization of /G/ as [s]

/G/ is substituted by [s] as in /GBdFra/ which is pronounced ad [sBFra]: “a tree”, and /GBms/ as [sBmG]⁷: “sun”. These are the only examples which were found in *Ain el Hout* speech.

3.5.1.13. The Alternation of /♣/ by [s]

/♣/ is altered by [s] when they say [γBsℵa] instead of /γα♣ℵa/: “a bowl”, [si:nNja] instead of /♣ejnNjja/: “tray”, [s□Bn] instead of /♣□an/: “a kind of plates”.

3.5.1.14. The Replacement of /s/ by [♣]

⁶ This toponym is a Berber name which means “reed”. (S. CID KAOUI (1907:212)

⁷ However, this is also a case of metathesis.

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The /s/ is replaced by the emphatic [ʕ] in many examples: /ssaʕo:r/ which uttered as [ʕʕʕo:r]: “a meal before sunrise in the fasting month *Ramadan*”, and /sstAʕ/ as [ʕʕʕAʕ]: “terrace”.

3.5.1.15. The Voicing of /s/

The substitution of /s/ by [z] is a rarely found in this dialect, and only these two examples which were recorded represent this phonological process in which the voiceless fricative /s/ becomes a voiced [z]: /jasqi:/ pronounced as [jazyi]: “he waters (plants)” and /fsBd/ as [fzBd]: “it became rotten”.

3.5.2. Morphological Characteristics

The rural dialect of *Ain el Hout* is characterized by a set of morphological features which will be reviewed briefly in this section.

3.5.2.1. Verbs

At the level of verbs, *Ain el Hout* speakers make a distinction in gender, between both masculine and feminine, through the maintenance of the CA feminine mark {-i} at the end of verbs, but the *ʕaraka* of *ياء التانيث*, or this short vowel {-i} is slightly weakened when talking to feminine addressees. A male is addressed to by [kli:t], for instance, in the past meaning “did you(masc.sing.) eat?”. A woman, however, is addressed to by [kli:ti], and in the present tense, we may hear [tʕa:kul]: “do you eat (masc. sing.)?” and [tʕa:kli] for a female. In the imperative, they say [ku:l] and [ku:li] for singular masculine and feminine respectively. Some verbs which indicate requests that are originally constructed

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in /NftaʕʕNI / pattern, they take the pattern / fBʕʕʕal / as in: /NqtarNb/ of CA is articulated in *Ain el Hout* [ɣBrrab] or [ʔBrrab] meaning “come closer, please!”

3.5.2.2. Nouns

When dealing with the morphological structures which characterize the nouns of *Ain el Hout* dialectal system, the most striking feature is the ways its speakers refer to a pair of things or two persons or two things. In Standard Arabic, dual forms are formed through the addition of the dual mark {-a:ni} in *ʔālat errafʕ*, or {-eNni} in *ʔālat nasb* or *eljar*, but in Algerian Arabic dialectal forms in general, and in *Ain el Hout* in particular, this rule is changed by other constructions such as:

3.5.2.2.1. The use of the numeral /zauḍ/ + the plural form of a noun:

The following examples illustrate more this point:

/zauḍ # lbasa:t/: “two dresses”

/zauḍ # ʔjAʔAr/: “two planes”

/zauḍ # fraʔAʔ/: “two butterflies”

3.5.2.2.2 The Addition of {-ʔjBn} to Singular Nouns

Another way of forming dual form is the addition of the morpheme {-ʔjBn} to a singular noun as in these examples:

SA

AHD

/lajlateNni/ → [li:ltθjBn]: “two nights”

/marratejni/ → [marrtθjBn]: “twice”.

3.5.2.3. Pronouns

The most significant feature among *Ain el Hout* speech is that its pronouns have some characteristics which are briefly reviewed.

3.5.2.3.1. Gender Distinction in the Use of Pronouns

Unlike the urban speakers who utilize the pronoun /ntNna/ to refer to both masculine and feminine addressees, *Ain el Hout* speech involves the pronouns /nta/ and /nta:ja/ to address to a male, and /ntN/ or /ntNja/ to address to a female. Concerning the dual and plural pronouns, the pronoun /ntu:ma/ is used to refer to both and with both genders.

3.5.2.3.2. The Use of the Pronoun {-hu}

As far as the pronoun {-hu} which is a bound morpheme added at the end of verbs and nouns is generally kept as in CA but in the form {-ah} in *Ain el Hout* dialect in opposition with the urban *Tlemcen* speakers who pronounce it as {-u}. Therefore, in the region of *Ain el Hout*, one may hear these verbs: [N□e:tah]: “I gave him (something)”, [□sabtah]: “I thought it...”, [Gri:tah]: “I bought it”, and in nouns [?asmah]: “his name”, [mra:tah]: “his wife”, and [s}Awlah]: “his trousers”.

3.5.2.4. Adverbs

Adverbs are compound words which are structurally composed of two or more elements. It is characterized by a kind of elision, called in Arabic *hadf taqrir* where one may notice the existence of some remaining parts of the elided words. What is characterizing *Ain el Hout* dialect as far as the structure of adverbs is diluting *el hamza* or eliding it in the adverb /ʔajna/ meaning “where?”, then it is preceded by / f / and pronounced as [fajBn # ra:h], or [farra:h]: “where is he?” in which /ʔajna/ is omitted and both [f] and [rah], which is taken from the verb /ʔara:hu/: “I see him”, are kept. Both expressions are used for asking about the place of someone. To ask about time, the word [fa:waʔ] is frequently used among women. The expression [fajwaʔ], however, is rarely heard and both of them are derived from the standard form / fi: # ʔajji # waqt /ʔ meaning: “at what time?”, in which the two /j/ sounds are dropped in /fi:/ and in /ʔajji/ with diluting the *hamza* of this latter, in addition to the omission of /t/ in the word /waqt/ and substituting its sound /q/ by [ʔ]. Similarly, the expression [fajwaʔ] knew all the aforementioned changes but the /j/ sound is preserved in /ʔajji/. But, men frequently use [fajwak] and sometimes [fawak] with a lesser degree.

The second adverb is represented in [darwak] which is taken from the standard Arabic expression / fi: # haJa # lwaqt /: “at this time” which knew the omission of *ʔarf el Far* /fi:/ and the /ha/ of /haJa/ which became [da] by the substitution of the dental fricative /J/ by the alveolar [d]. in the word /Bl waqt/ the /Bl/ and the /q/ are altered by [r] and [k] respectively with the elision of the final /t/. This adverb is commonly pronounced with /k/ by men. Women, however, pronounce it as [darwaʔ].

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In *Ain el Hout*, the expression [kNra:k] (with a male addressee) and [kNra:ki] is used with a woman to ask someone about how is he doing, and both of them are derived from the standard Arabic expression / keNfa # ?araka /? which undergo the already mentioned changes. Also, / kNfaGra:k /? and /kNfaGra:ki /? are used by exceptionally when asking about the health of someone ill, and it is also composed of many elements.

The adverb /G□a:l / is used to inquire about the price of something and it means “how much (does something cost)”?.

Generally, the old inhabitants of *Ain el Hout* have a remarkable tendency to imitate the urban Tlemcenians in their way of speaking. This imitation is mainly witnessed with varying degrees with both males and females, yet it is highly remarkable in feminine speech. This phenomenon will be deeply interpreted through the adoption of Pierre Bourdieu’s view of interpreting all types of social phenomena including linguistic matters as well.

3.6. Conclusion

From what have been detailed in the preceding chapters, one may explicitly notice that both dialects under investigation share many phonological, morphological, and lexical characteristics, but each of them involve some features peculiar to it, and that are different of those of its counterpart. These distinctive features can only be attributed to the impact of the social environment and its norms has on the structure of each regional dialect. In fact, the environment where these varieties are spoken, with all their norms, economic institutions, psychological and behaviourist models, influence the

Chapter Three: The General Characteristics of *Ain el Hout* Dialect

structure of each dialect, and this leads us to deduce that the study of the two dialects requires a more profound investigation at other levels of analysis to arrive at a more satisfactory and total understanding of these dialects, and that a dialect is such an intricate phenomenon which cannot only be studied in a descriptive way.

Chapter Four

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4.2.5. Conclusion

4.1. Introduction

Basing on the data collected in the two communities under investigation which have been obtained through the use of various research tools, these data have been treated by the use of the excel software for the sake of representing them in the form of effectives that are highlighted in tables and illustrated in graphs and charts. In fact, the results of this descriptive and statistical study have brought considerable information about the dialectal characteristics of *Tlemcen* speech on one hand, and those of *Ain el Hout* on the other. Indeed, it provides a clear picture about the divergence between the two dialects.

4.2. Statistical Results

In the current statistical study, two tests of inference, called the Chi-squared test (noted Chi-2) and Fisher have been carried out to compare the two sample populations under study. It was realized through the use of the R-2.12.1 software, which was so fruitful in drawing a significant and global comparison between the two dialects and in deducing the distinguishing characteristics which are thought to be helpful in profounding the analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's framework in this research work.

4.2.1. The Statistical Description of the Sample Population

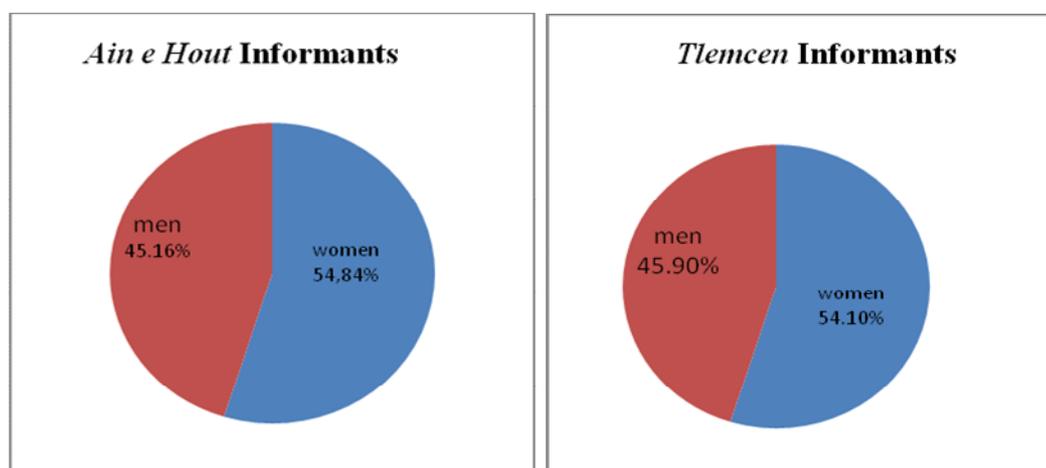
The present statistical study is interested in the two sample populations of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*. 62 informants are from this latter and 61 were selected from different Tlemcenian families.

4.2.1.1. Age of Informants

The age in both samples has been divided into four age groups: [0-20[, [20-40[, [40-60[, and [60-90[for both genders.

4.2.1.2. Gender of Informants

The sample populations have been divided in relationship with gender into 28 men from 62, with a percentage of 45.16 per cent, and 34 women, i.e. 54.84 per cent in *Ain el Hout*, then, 28 males from 61, i.e. 45.90% and 33 females, i.e. 54.10% in *Tlemcen*.



Pie-chart 4.1. Scores of the Gender Informants

In this investigation, the number of women is higher than with men. In fact, some male informants have refused to be questioned or to welcome the researcher as an observer.

The scores below (cf. section 4.2.2 and 4.2.3) reflect this fact and shed light on the use of some linguistic variables, both phonological and morphological, which are thought to be helpful in drawing a comparison between the dialects of both agglomerations.

4.2.2. The Studied Variables

In both sample populations, much importance has been given to the study of the use of the phonological variable /q/ which has the [] and [] as two variants in correspondence with the morphological {-u} and {-ah} just to check the tendency of imitating the use of the variant [], and the use of the feminine mark {-i} vs {V} to know the number of informants who make a distinction in gender when addressing to women. Additionally, this statistical study sheds light on the use of dual forms and of personal pronouns as well (See appendix 7).

Section 4.2.2 summarizes the scores of the use of particular and selected linguistic characteristics of *Tlemcen* speech which are already described in chapter two. A sample of *Tlemcen* informants has been chosen for making a statistical comparison with another sample from *Ain el Hout*. Section 4.2.3, on the other hand, shows the scores of the use of *Ain el Hout* dialectal characteristics.

4.2.2.1. Scores of the Use of Some Characteristics in TS

Though the dialectal characteristics of *Tlemcen* speech have been clearly shown in the second chapter, the scores of the use of particular features are to be focused on for the sake of drawing a comparison between the two dialects under investigation.

4.2.2.1.1. The Use of [] vs. [] in Relation with the Variable {-u} or {-ah} in Correlation with Gender

As it is known that the Tlemcenian community uses the glottal [], but for checking its use by the first few informants who were recorded, the following question was asked to 61 individuals (both genders):

Can you pronounce /qa:la # lahu/ (meaning “he told him”) in your dialect?

All answers have been grouped in tables (4.1) and (4.2) in correspondence with gender in the following section:

4.2.2.1.1.1. Scores of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Men

Table 4.1. describes the use of [] vs. [] combined to the variable {-u} or {-ah} by some Tlemcenian men:

The Use of	Age				Σ
	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[
[?]+{-u}	5	8	8	5	26
[?]+{-ah}	1	1	0	0	2
[]+{-u}	0	0	0	0	0
[]+{-ah}	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

Table 4.1. Scores of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Men

All men of the *Tlemcenian* sample population pronounce the /q/ as [], and they rarely combine it with the suffix {-ah}; only 2 from 28 combine them in saying [allah]: “he told him”.

4.2.2.1.1.2. Scores of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Women

Table 4.2. describes the use of [] vs. [] combined with the variable {-u} or {-ah} by some Tlemcenian women:

The Use of	Age				Σ
	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[
[]+{-u}	7	10	8	7	32
[]+{-ah}	0	0	0	1	1
[]+{-u}	0	0	0	0	0
[]+{-ah}	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

Table 4.2. Scores of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Women

All Tlemcenian women, as it is clearly shown in table 4.2., articulate the plosive /q/ as a glottal [ʔ], and they all say [allu] with the final morpheme {-u} and only one informant has articulated the word [allah] meaning “he told him”, a fact that can be attributed to her contact with rural speakers.

4.2.2.1.2. The Use of {-i:} in Correlation with Gender

To examine the use or the non-use of the feminine mark {-i:} which distinguishes a female from a male in *Tlemcen* speech, informants were asked to choose the widely used verb (with or without {-i:}) when addressing to a woman. (See appendix 5).

4.2.2.1.2.1. The Use of {-i:} among Male Informants

The following table summarizes the use of {-i:} vs. {-V} by some Tlemcenian men:

Variant \ Age	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{-i}	2	4	2	1	9
{-V}	4	5	6	4	19
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

Table 4.3. Scores of the Use of the Feminine Mark {-i:} among Men

Table 4.3. shows that 33.33% of teenagers aged less than 20 years old use the feminine mark {-i}, 4 men (aged [20-40[) from a total of 9 utilize it with a percentage of 44.45%, as well as other 2 men (aged [40-60[) from 8, i.e. 25% in addition to 80% of the old category aged more than 60 do not use it.

4.2.2.1.2.2. The Use of {-i:} among Female Informants

The following table summarizes the use of {-i:} vs. {-V} by some Tlemcenian women:

Variant \ Age	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{-i}	0	1	0	0	1
{-V}	7	9	8	8	32
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

Table 4.4. Scores of the Use of the Feminine Mark {-i:} among Women

Almost all women of *Tlemcen* informants do not articulate this morphological variable at the end of verbs. Only one young woman aged 26 does use it. She explained this use and attributed it to her interaction with her family in law in Beni Saf.

4.2.2.1.3. Dual Forms

For the sake of checking the use of the morphological variant {- jBn} vs. {-i:n} as a dual morphemes at the end of dual nouns in *Tlemcen*, all informants were asked to tick the suitable dual form (see appendix 5) and their responses have been put in tables 4.5. and 4.6. in correspondence with gender.

4.2.2.1.3.1. The Use of Dual Forms by Men

In the following table, all men's responses concerning the use of the final mark of dual forms are presented.

Variant \ Age	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{- jBn}	5	9	8	5	27
{-i:n}	1	0	0	0	1
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

Table 4.5. Scores of the Use of Dual Forms among Men

In table 4.5, only one teenage informant uses {-i:n} in the word [jumi:n]: “two days”.

4.2.2.1.3.2. The Use of Dual Forms by Women

In the following table, all women’s responses concerning the use of the final mark of dual forms are grouped.

Age \ Variant	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{- jBn}	7	10	8	8	33
{-i:n}	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

Table 4.6. Scores of the Use of Dual Forms among Women

All women of *Tlemcen* sample population utilize the morphological variant {- jBn}.

4.2.2.2. Scores of the Use of Some Characteristics in AHD

In this section, the same steps will be followed in dealing with the sample of AHD as it has been done in the preceding statistical study of TS.

4.2.2.2.1 The Use of [] or [] with the Variables {-u} and {-ah} in Correlation with Gender

For checking the use of the glottal [] in *Ain el Hout* dialect, the same question raised for *Tlemcen* informants was asked to 62 individuals (both genders): Can you pronounce /qa:la # lahu/ in your dialect?

All answers have been grouped in tables (4.7) and (4.8) in correspondence with gender in the next section:

4.2.2.2.1.1. Percentages of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Men

The following table regroups the data which concerns the use of the variants [] vs. [] in relation with the use of the morphemes {-u} vs. {-ah}.

The Use of	Age				Σ
	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[
[?]+{-u}	1	1	0	0	2
[?]+{-ah}	1	1	0	0	2
[]+{-u}	0	1	2	2	5
[]+{-ah}	5	6	5	3	19
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

Table 4.7. Scores of the Use of [] vs. [] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Men

Once reading the results of table 4.7, one may notice that:

- ❖ The only four informants who pronounce the /q/ as [], all their mums are Tlemcenians.
- ❖ Among the 71.43% of children who use the [] but none of them use the morpheme {-u}.
- ❖ Among the 77.78% of young individuals, aged between 20 and less than 40 years, who pronounce the [], only one person does followed by an {-u}.
- ❖ All men who are more than 40 years old use the [] but only 4 informants (with a percentage of 33.33%) pronounce it with {-u}, and the other 66.66% of this age group use the [] with the morphological variant {-ah}.

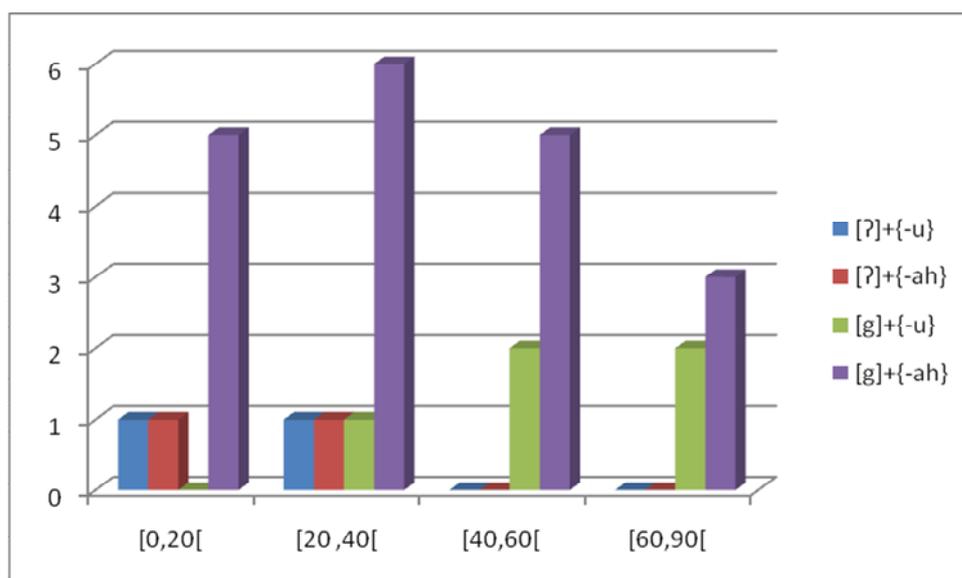


Chart 4.2. Scores of Males' Use of the Variants [ʔ] or [g] with {-u} and {-ah}

It is clearly noticed in Chart 4.2. that men in *Ain el Hout*, without taking into consideration their ages, rarely use the [ʔ] sound. Their speech is mostly characterized by the pronunciation of /q/ as [ʔ] with the variant {-ah}. They consider that their use of [ʔ] contradict with their masculinity and their rural environment.

4.2.2.2.1.2. Percentages of the Use of [ʔ] vs. [g] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Women

Table 4.8. summarizes the data which concern the use of [ʔ] vs. [g] in parallel with the use of {-u} vs. {-ah} among the *Houti* women.

Age	[0,20[	[20 ,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
The Use of [ʔ]+{-u}	1	2	1	2	6
[ʔ]+{-ah}	1	4	5	3	13
[g]+{-u}	0	0	0	0	0
[g]+{-ah}	7	4	2	2	15
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

Table 4.8. Scores of the Use of [ʔ] vs. [g] and {-u} vs. {-ah} by Women

A look at table 4.8. reveals that:

- ❖ Among the 44.12% of women, whatever age they have, who use the [ʔ], none of them pronounce it accompanied by the morpheme {-u}.
- ❖ Among the other 55.88% of females of different ages, who utilize the sound [g], 68.42% of them use it with the variant {-ah} in opposition with 31.58% who pronounce it with the {-u} variant.

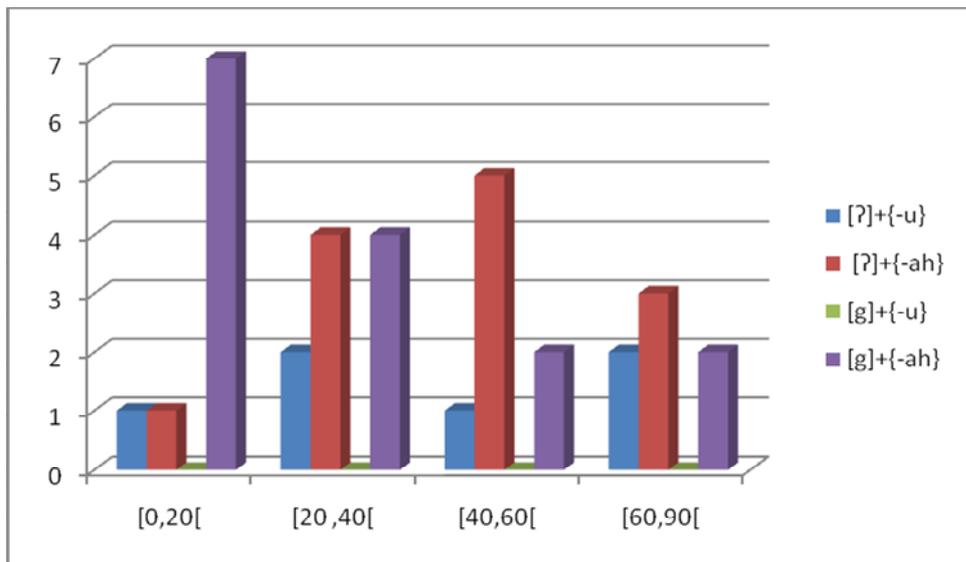


Chart 4.3. Scores of Females' Use of the Variants [ʔ] or [g] with {-u} and {-ah}

The majority of women prefer the use of the [ʔ] sound in /qa:la # lahu/ meaning: “he told him” like Tlemcenians. This fact indicates that the use of [ʔ] is just an imitation since 63.16 % of women combine the variant {-ah} with the [ʔ] in [allah]: “he told him”, a feature that never occurs in *Tlemcen* female speech.

4.2.2.2.2. The Use of the Variable {-i:} vs. {Ø} in Correlation with Gender

To check whether *Ain el Hout* speakers make a distinction in gender in their local speech, all informants were asked to choose the widely used verb (with or without {-i}) when addressing to a woman. (See appendix 5).

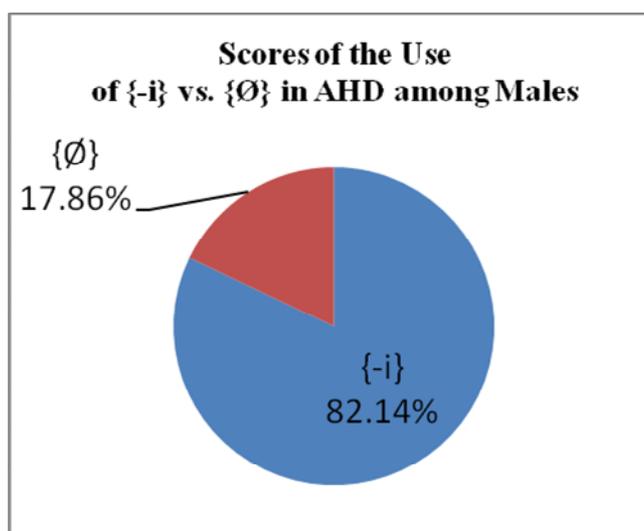
4.2.2.2.2.1. Gender Distinction among Males

Table 4.9 gathers the scores of the use of the feminine mark {-i} by men in *Ain el Hout*.

Age Variant	[0,20[	[20 ,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
{-i}	7	8	5	3	23
{Ø}	0	1	2	2	5
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

Table 4.9. Scores of the Use of the Feminine Mark by Men

In this table, 23 male informants from 28 with a percentage of 82.14 % use the {-i}.



Pie-chart 4.4: Gender Distinction in AHD among Males

What is observable in table 4.9 is the fact that men in *Ain el Hout* distinguish between males and females when using the imperative and the interrogative forms.

4.2.2.2.2. Gender Distinction among Females

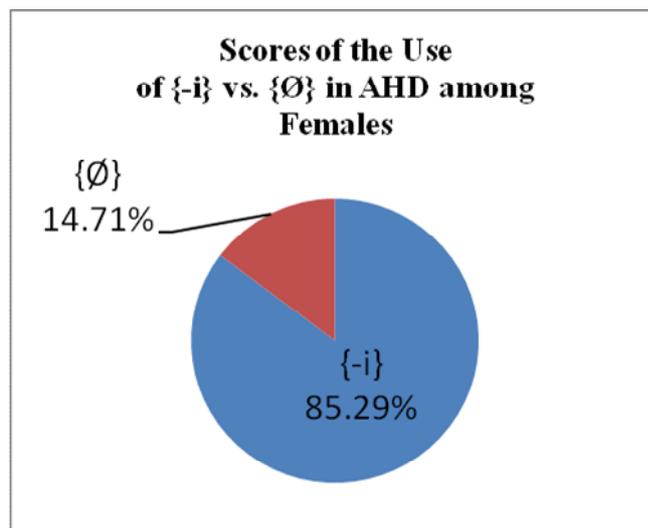
Table 4.10 shows the scores of the use of the feminine mark {-i} by women in *Ain el Hout*.

Age Variant	[0,20[	[20 ,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
{-i}	9	10	6	4	29
{∅}	0	0	2	3	5
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

Table 4.10: Scores of the Use of the Feminine Mark {-i} among Women

In glance vision of this table, one may remark that:

- ❖ All young female less than 40 years use the feminine mark {-i}.
- ❖ 75% of females aged between [40-60[use the {-i}.
- ❖ Three women among seven aged 60 or more than 60 (with a percentage of 42.86%) do not use this feminine mark.



Pie-chart 4.5: Gender Distinction in AHD among Females

The data collected show that 29 female informants from 34, (namely 85.29 %) use the feminine mark {-i}.

Like men, the *Houti* women distinguish between a male and a female when using the imperative and interrogative forms.

4.2.2.2.3. Constructing Dual Forms in AHD

For the sake of knowing the way how *Ain el Hout* individuals construct their dual forms, many proposals were given. The given dual forms end either in the suffix {- jBn} or with {-i:n}. (See appendix 5)

The results obtained have been represented according to gender in tables 4.11 and 4.12 as it will be shown in the following section:

4.2.2.2.3.1. Dual Forms in Males' Speech

Table 4.11 clearly shows the scores of both morphemes employed in the construction of dual forms by men in the area of *Ain el Hout*.

Age Variant	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{- jBn}	3	7	5	5	20
{-i:n}	4	2	2	0	8
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

Table 4.11: The Scores of Men's Dual Forms

Once reading the scores of this table, one may notice that 71.43% of men in *Ain el Hout* form dual nouns by adding the morphological variant {- jBn} to singular forms. The other 28.57%, however, make use of the variant {-i:n}.

4.2.2.2.3.2. Dual Forms in Females' Speech

The following table reveals the scores of the use of dual forms as pronounced by the *Houti* women:

Age Variant	[0, 20[	[20, 40[	[40, 60[	[60, 90[	Σ
{- jBn}	8	10	8	6	32
{-i:n}	1	0	0	1	2
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

Table 4.12: The Scores of Women's Dual Forms

In the sample population of *Ain el Hout*, females utilize the morpheme {- jBn} with a percentage of 94.12%.

4.2.3. Comparison between AHD and TS

The present statistical study focuses on the use of the variant [], the morphemes {-u} and {-ah}, the feminine mark {-i}, and the morpheme employed in constructing dual forms {- jBn} and {-i:n}. It is structurally divided into three main parts. In the first part, the use of the aforementioned features is studied and compared between both men of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout* sample populations. The second part is devoted for comparing between Tlemcenian female speech and its counterpart of *Ain el Hout* in the use of these features. At last, a global comparison is offered in the last part of this study.

4.2.3.1. A Statistical Test among Men

As it has already been mentioned, this part of the test provides a significant interpretation of the quantification of some linguistic features among men in the two communities under study.

4.2.3.1.1 The Use of the Glottal Stop

To better check whether the use of the glottal sound [] among males of *Tlemcen* differs from its use among those of *Ain el Hout*, a statistical test has been opted for called: **the Chi-2 test** set up by **the software R-2.12.1**.

```
> chisq.test(loca,gst)
```

Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction

data: loca and gst

X-squared = 38.5729, df = 1, p-value = 5.275e-10

There is no warning, i .e. the **Chi-2 test** is valid. With a small probability of 5.275e-10, one would conclude that there is a link between the variables (loca, gst). A careful look at the table's effectives is thought to be helpful in determining the nature of this link which can be read as:

```
> table (loca,gst)
```

	gst	
loca	0	1
Ain el Hout	24	4
Tlemcen	0	28

Where

loca = location (*Tlemcen*, *Ain el Hout*),

gst = the use of []

and

1:= [],

0:= []

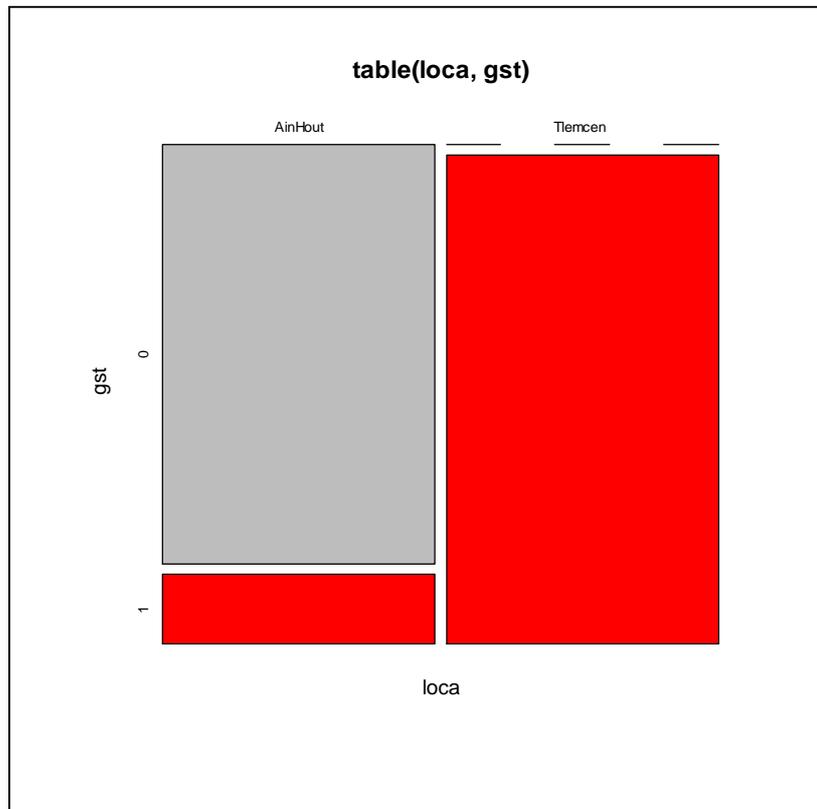


Chart 4.6. [] vs. [] among Men in TS and AHD

The test clearly proved that there is a link between the location and the fact of using the glottal sound which is much used by *Tlemcenians* in comparison with *Ain el Hout* speakers.

4.2.3.1.2 The Use of Morphological Variant {-u} or {-ah}

To examine the differences in the use of the variant {-u} and {-ah} among males of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*, the **Chi-2** test has been carried out.

In the following test, “him” has been used as a pronoun to facilitate the insertion of symbols for the software used, but it refers to the use of the morphological variant {-u} or the use of variant {-ah}:

```
> chisq.test(loca,him)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and him
```

```
X-squared = 23.9051, df = 1, p-value = 1.012e-06
```

No warning has been mentioned, i.e. the Chi-2 test is valid. With a small probability of 1.012e-06, one may conclude that there is a relationship between the variables (loca, him). A brief examination of the table's effectives gives the meaning of this relationship which is read as follows:

```
> table (loca,him)
```

```
      him
loca   0  1
Ain el Hout 21  7
Tlemcen   2 26
```

Where

him: = The use of {-u} or {-ah},

loca: = location

and

1:= the use of {-u}

0:= the use of {-ah}

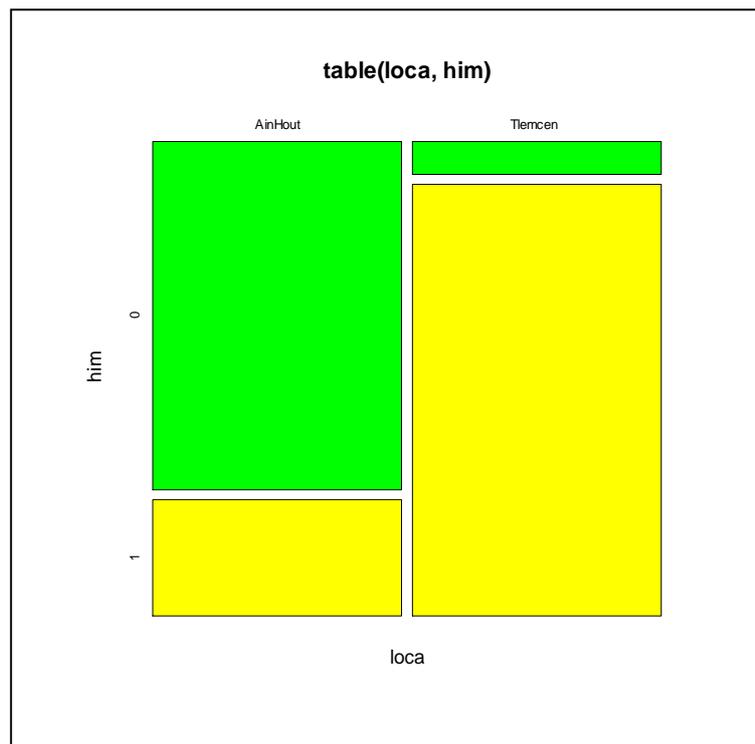


Chart 4.7. {-u} vs. {-ah} among Men in TS and AHD

The test proved that there is a relationship between the location and the use of the final pronouns {-u} or {-ah}. Tlemcenians do not utilize the {-ah}, but *Ain el Hout* men frequently use it.

4.2.3.1.3 The Use of the Feminine Mark {-i}

In this section, the main focus is on comparing the effectiveness of the use of the feminine mark {-i}, between the males of the two communities, which is used when addressing to a woman through the application of the following test:

```
> chisq.test(loca,fema)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and fema
```

```
X-squared = 12.3229, df = 1, p-value = 0.0004474
```

No warning has been signaled, that is, the test is valid, showing a small probability of 0.0004474 resulting in a link between the variables (*loca*, *fema*). The effectives of the table determine the nature of this link which is read as:

```
> table(loca,fema)
```

```
      fema
loca    0  1
Ain el Hout  5 23
Tlemcen    19 9
```

where

fema :=the use of feminine mark,

1:= {-i}

and

0:= {∅}

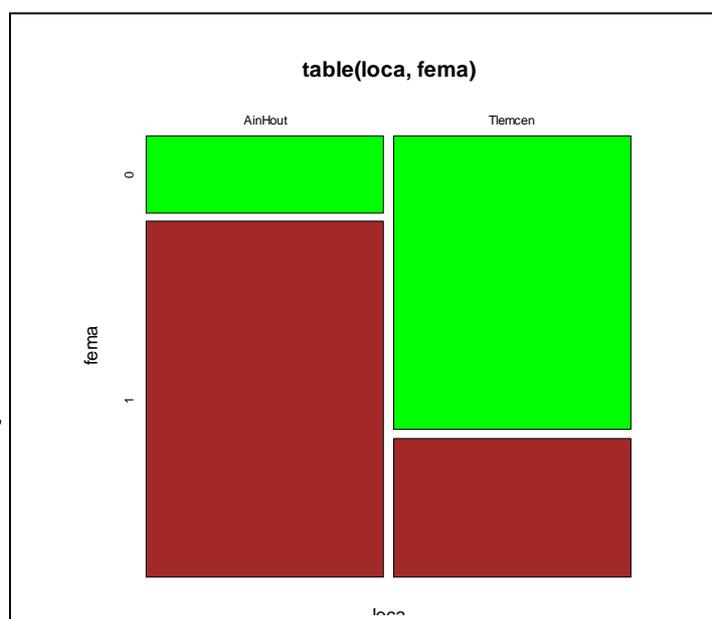


Chart 4.8. {-i} vs. {∅} among Men in TS and AHD

From the preceding effectives, it is remarkable that *Tlemcen* males do not much use the feminine mark {-i} in comparison with those of *Ain el Hout* who frequently do.

4.2.3.1.4 Comparing the Use of {- jBn} vs. {-i:n} in Dual Forms

Finally, in the following test, the effectives of the use of the suffix {- jBn} have been compared in the masculine speech of *Tlemcen* and that of *Ain el Hout*.

```
> chisq.test(loca,two)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and two
```

X-squared = 5.9652, df = 1, p-value = 0.01459

The probability is very small 0.01459. There is a relationship between the two variables (loca, two). Dual forms in TS are different from those of AHD, and this difference can be explained in the following table:

> table (loca,two)

```

loca      0  1
Ain el Hout 19 9
Tlemcen   27 1
    
```

where

Two: = dual form

loca :=location

1: = {-i:n}

and

0: = {- jBn}

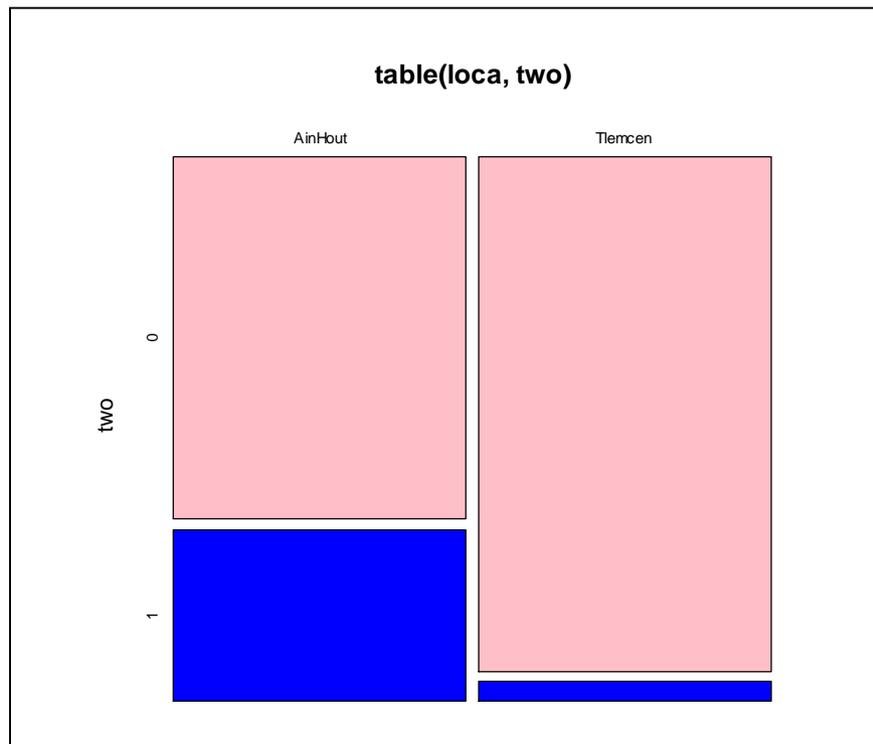


Chart 4.9. {- jBn} vs. {-i:n} among Men in TS and AHD

Tlemcen males form their dual forms through the addition of the suffix {- jBn}. *Ain el Hout* males, however, use the variant {-i:n}.

4.2.3.2. A Statistical Test among Women

This second part of the statistical test demonstrates how women of the two sample populations pronounce and use the following dialectal characteristics:

4.2.3.2.1. The Use of the Glottal Stop

Differences in the use of the [] have been checked among women in the sample population of *Tlemcen* in comparison with its use among females of *Ain el Hout* through the application of this test:

```
> chisq.test(loca,gst)
```

Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction

data: loca and gst

X-squared = 16.3054, df = 1, p-value = 5.391e-05

No warning has been signaled, a fact that proves the validity of the Chi-2 test with a small probability of 5.391e-05, i.e. there is a link between the variables (loca,gst) which can be deduced from the following table of effectives:

```
> table(loca,gst)
```

```
      gst
loca   0  1
Ain el Hout 15 19
Tlemcen   0  33
```

where

gst:= the use of the glottal

stop,

loca:=location,

and

1:= [], 0:= []

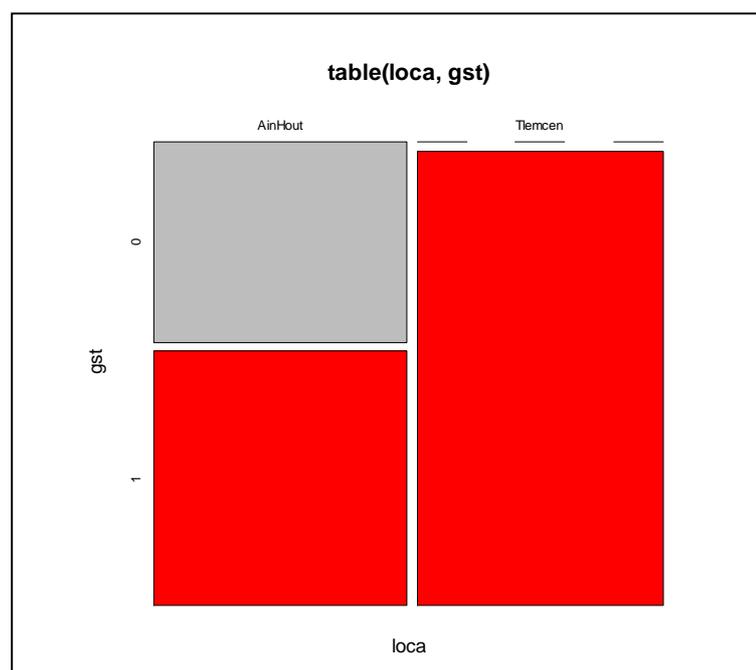


Chart 4.10. [] vs. [] among Women in TS and AHD

One may admit that there is a tight relationship between the location and the fact of using the sound [].

4.2.3.2.2 The Use of Morphological Variant {-u} or {-ah}

To better check the use of the final pronoun {-u} or {-ah} in both TS and AHD, a comparison has been drawn among both females through the next Chi-2 test:

```
chisq.test(loca,him)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and him
```

```
X-squared = 39.7516, df = 1, p-value = 2.884e-10
```

No warning. The test is valid with a small probability of 2.884e-10. A brief examination of the table's effectives will be read as:

```
> table(loca,him)
```

```
      him
loca  0  1
Ain el Hout 28 6
Tlemcen    1 32
```

where

loca:=location

him:=the use of {-u} or {-ah}

and

1:={-u}

0:={-ah}

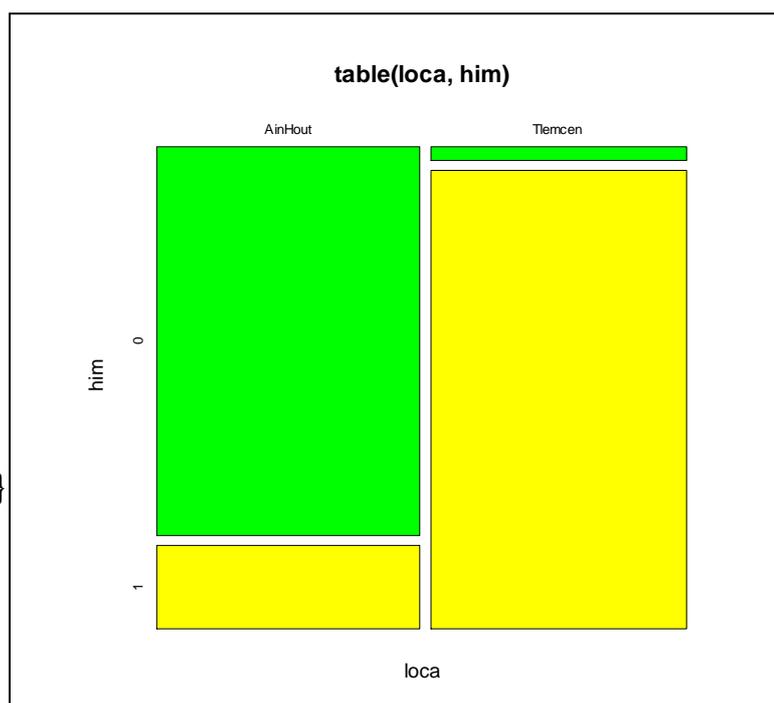


Chart 4.11. {-u} vs. {-ah} among Women in TS and AHD

One may conclude that there is a connection between the location and the use of the aforementioned variants, i.e. *Tlemcen* women do not use the variant {-ah} in contrary with those of *Ain el Hout* who frequently utilize it.

4.2.3.2.3 The Use of the Feminine Mark {-i}

In this section, a comparison has been drawn between women of the two agglomerations in terms of the use or the non-use of the feminine mark {-i} which is added at the end of verbs when addressing to a woman. The following applied test proves that there is a link between the location and the use of the variants {-i} or {∅}:

```
chisq.test(loca,fema)
```

Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction

data: loca and fema

X-squared = 42.5648, df = 1, p-value = 6.838e-11

No warning has been signaled. The test is valid with a small probability of 6.838e-11, and the effectives of the table can be read as follows:

```
> table(loca,fema)
```

```
      fema
loca    0  1
Ain el Hout 5 29
Tlemcen   32 1
```

where

loca:=location

fema:=the use of {-u} or {-ah}

and

1:={-i}

0:={-∅}

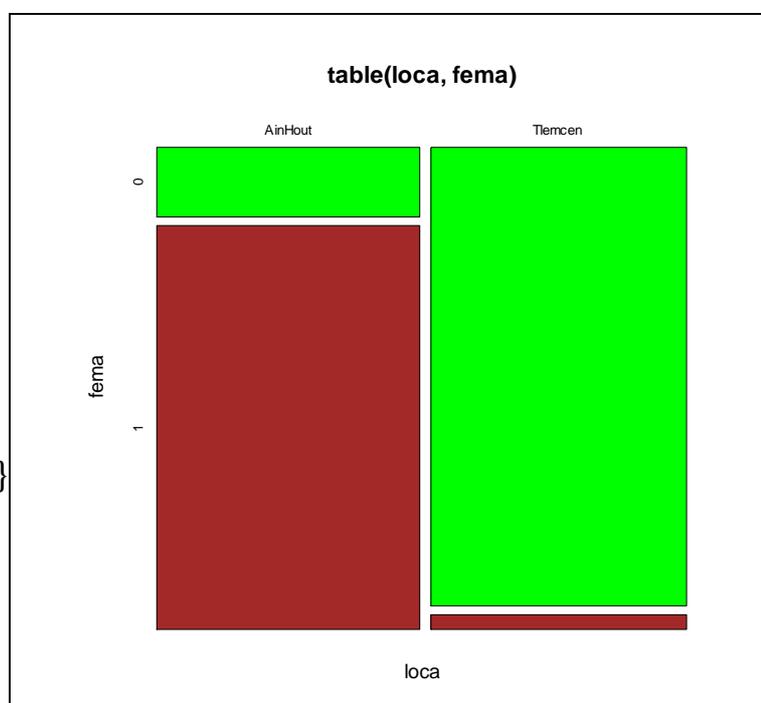


Chart 4.12. {-i} vs. {-∅} among Women in TS and AHD

To sum up, it is proved that *Tlemcen* females do not make any distinction in gender in opposition with those of *Ain el Hout* who add the variant {-i} at the end of verbs when speaking with a woman.

4.2.3.2.4 The Use of {- jBn} vs. {-i:n} in Dual Forms among Women

At a final part of the comparison between both female speeches of the present study, the use of the dual marks {- jBn} and {-i:n} is to be checked, and the results are to be shown in the following interpretation of the applied tests.

```
chisq.test(loca,two)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and two
```

```
X-squared = 0.4852, df = 1, p-value = 0.4861
```

```
Message d'avis :
```

```
In chisq.test (loca, two):
```

```
L'approximation du Chi-2 est peut-être incorrecte
```

A warning has been signaled, a fact that indicates that the Chi-2 test is not valid because, in this test, there are some values to be calculated, called the expected effectives (les effectifs attendus), which must not be inferior than five otherwise the Chi-2 test does not work and we need to apply the fisher test.

Due to the preceding reason, another more exact test has been applied called: Fisher, in which the insertion of data is syntactically the same as in the Chi-2 test.

```
> fisher.test(loca,two)
```

```
Fisher's Exact Test for Count Data
```

data: loca and two

p-value = 0.4925

alternative hypothesis: true odds ratio is not equal to 1

95 percent confidence interval:

0.000000 5.461807

sample estimates:

odds ratio

0

The test is valid with a small probability of 0.4925 that leads to the following conclusion:

There is no link between (loca, two) which means the location and the dual mark {- jBn} or {-i:n} .

0:= {- jBn}

1:= {-i:n}

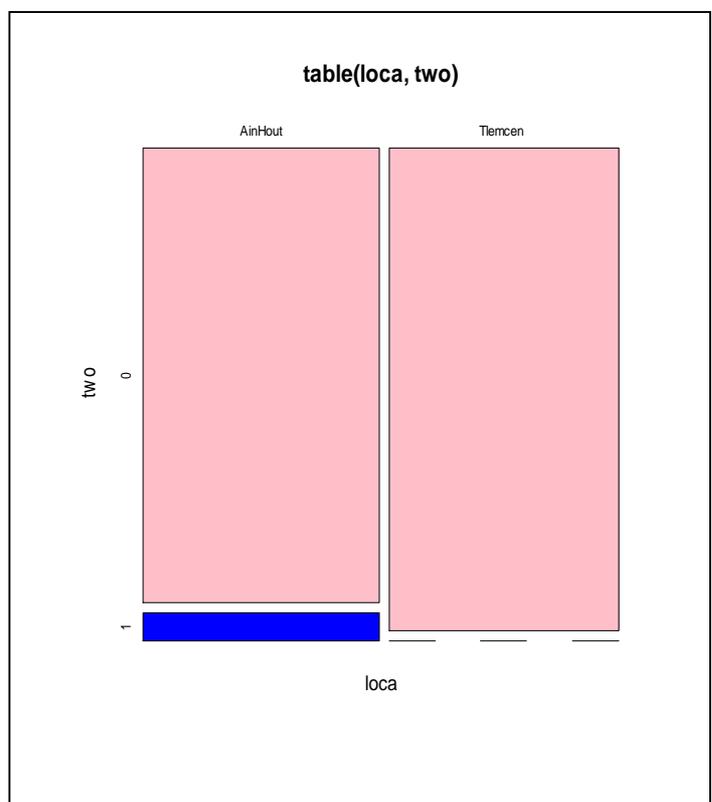


Chart 4.13. {- jBn} vs. {-i:n} among Women in TS and AHD

In fact, all women of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout* use the variant {- jBn} to construct dual forms.

4.2.4. A Global Comparison

The third and final part of the test is global. It aims at comparing all the studied variables of the two dialects without taking into consideration the gender of informants.

4.2.4.1. The Use of the [] Sound

The Chi-2 test has been carried out to compare between the use of the glottal stop [] or the velar plosive [] among the informants of TS and AHD.

```
chisq.test(loca,gst)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and gst
```

```
X-squared = 53.3187, df = 1, p-value = 2.836e-13
```

According to the test, a small probability of 2.836e-13 has been obtained which clearly shows that the degree of the use of the [] sound in TS differs from that of AHD, that is, it less pronounced among *Ain el Hout* speakers as it is shown in the following table:

```
> table(loca,gst)
```

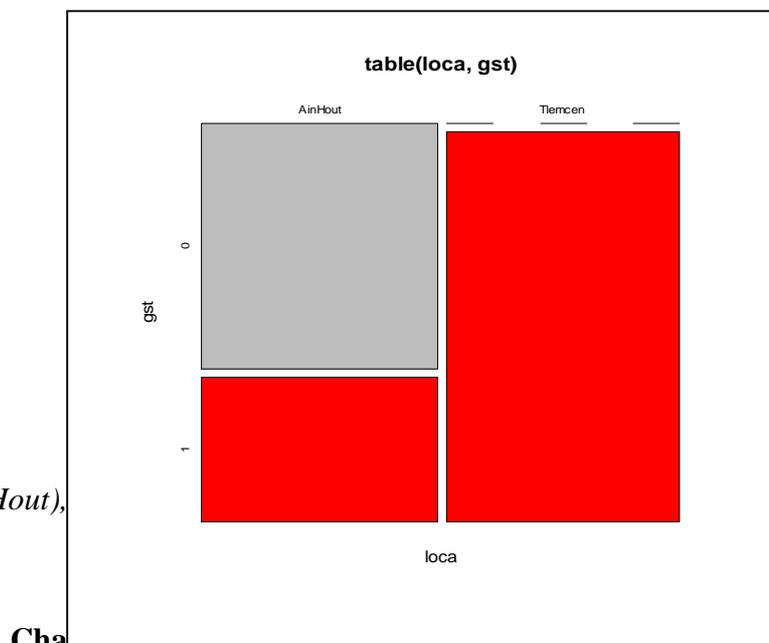
```
      gst
loca  0  1
Ain el Hout 39 23
Tlemcen    0 61
```

Where

`loca` = location (*Tlemcen, Ain el Hout*),

`gst` = the use of []

1:= [], 0:= [].



4.2.4.2. The Use of {-u} and {-ah}

Through the application of the Chi-2 test, the use of both {-u} and {-ah} is to be checked whether it is the same in TS and AHD, or each of them has a specific variant.

```
> chisq.test(loca,him)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test
```

```
data: loca and him
```

```
X-squared = 69.9312, df = 2, p-value = 6.526e-16
```

```
Message d'avis :
```

```
In chisq.test(loca, him) :
```

```
l'approximation du Chi-2 est peut-être incorrecte
```

Because the Chi-2 test did not work in this case, Fisher test has been carried out:

```
fisher.test(loca,him)
```

```
Fisher's Exact Test for Count Data
```

```
data: loca and him
```

```
p-value < 2.2e-16
```

```
alternative hypothesis: two.sided
```

where

```
1:= {-u}
```

```
0:= {-ah}
```

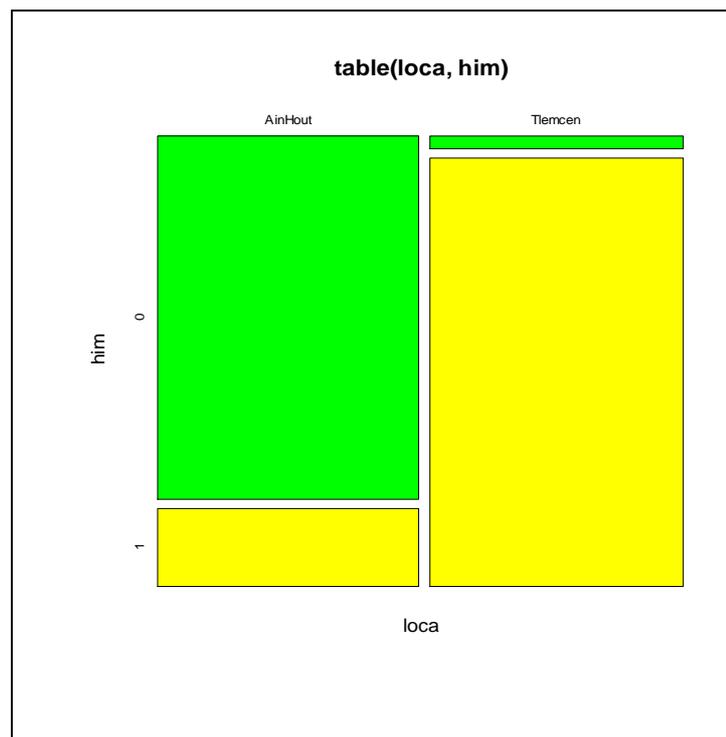


Chart 4.15. Comparing the Use of {-u} and {-ah} in TS and AHD

4.2.4.3. The Use of {-i}

As usual with carrying out the Chi-2 test, gender distinction, through the addition of the feminine mark {-i}, is examined in the two sample populations.

```
> chisq.test(loca,fema)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and fema
```

```
X-squared = 53.3378, df = 1, p-value = 2.808e-13
```

And as the value of its probability is very small $2.808e-13$, one may assure the existence of a relationship between the location (*Tlemcen*, *Ain el Hout*) and gender distinction in speech. The following table which is read as:

```
> table(loca,fema)
```

```
      fema
loca    0  1
Ain el Hout 10 52
Tlemcen    51 10
```

Where

loca:=location

fema:=the use of {-i} or {V}

and

1:={-i}

0:={∅}

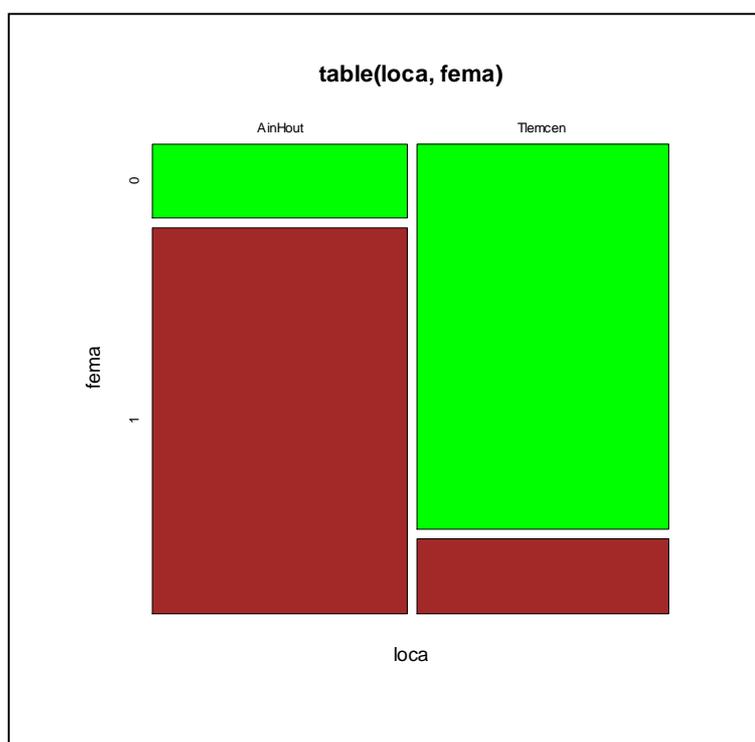


Chart 4.16. Comparing the Use of {-i} in TS and AHD

confirms that unlike Tlemcenians, the *Houti* speakers tend to distinguish between a man and a woman in their speech when addressing to a woman.

4.2.4.4. The Use of {- jBn} vs. {-i:n}

In this section, the two dialects are compared in terms of the way their speakers form their dual forms through the application of the Chi^2 test.

```
> chisq.test(loca,two)
```

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
```

```
data: loca and two
```

```
X-squared = 7.3189, df = 1, p-value = 0.006823
```

The value of probability was very small 0.006823, a fact that leads us to deduce that the difference in the use of dual forms in the two dialects is significant. This difference can be touched once reading the following table:

```
> table (loca,two)
```

```

      two
loca  0  1
Ain el Hout 51 11
Tlemcen    60  1

```

where

Two: = dual form

Loca:=location

1: = {-i:n}

and

0: = {- jBn}

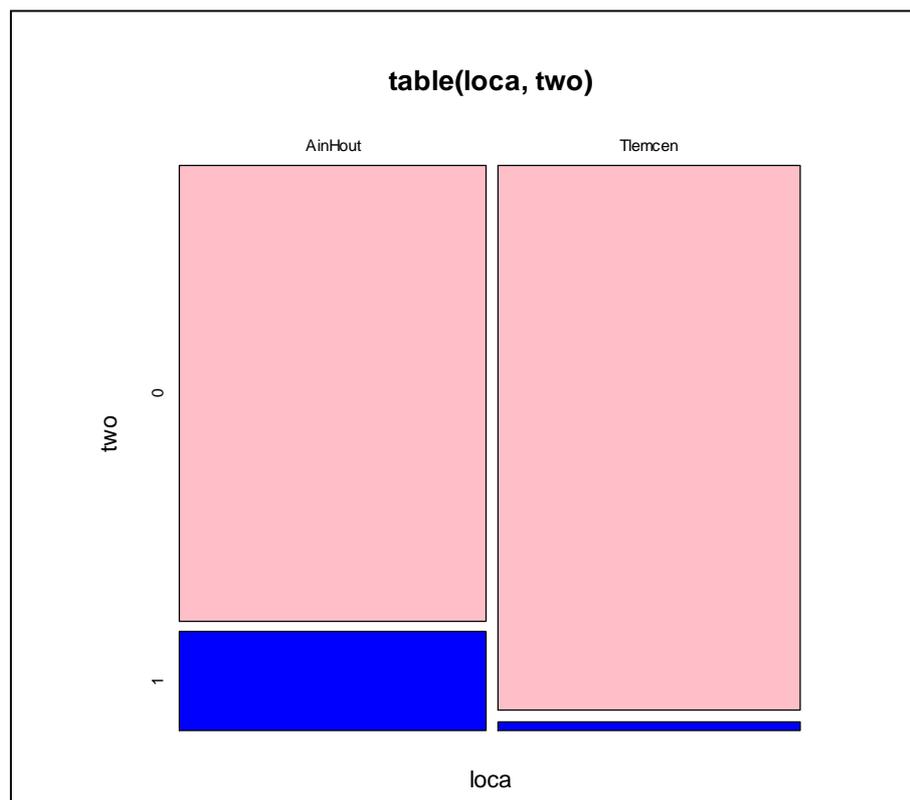


Chart 4.17. Comparing the Use of {- jBn} and {-i:n} in TS and AHD

There is a significant difference as the sample population dealt with is not so large, and if it will be enlarged, the difference between the use of $\{-jBn\}$ and $\{-i:n\}$ will be more remarkable and even in this limited and restricted sample, the difference is so observable.

4.2.5. Conclusion

This chapter, which is statistical in form, has confirmed the validity of the data collected through interviews, recordings and questionnaires. However, these statistical results necessitate some analyses and interpretations, and as the topic treated requires a sociolinguistic analysis, the two analytical frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu and Fernand Braudel are opted for in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

A GLOBAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

5.2. The Process of Human Development in the Khaldounian Thought

5.3. The Terminological Concepts of Pierre Bourdieu

5.3.1. Projecting the Bourdian Thought on the Field's Reality

5.3.2. The Linguistic Market Paradigm

5.3.3. The Symbolic Capital and Linguistic Construction: Influencing-
Influenced

5.4. Fernand Braudel and the Dimension of Time

5.5. Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

When studying both dialects of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*, the central core of this comparative work was not only knowing and examining the origins and characteristics of each variety, but also diagnosing the type of linguistic interaction as it is displayed between the speakers of both dialects. To do so, this chapter endeavours to examine the nature of this dialectal interaction through a sociolinguistic scope of analysis, exposing the principal elements or factors which are thought to contribute in making such a dynamic dialectal interaction between the interlocutors of the two areas under investigation, namely *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*. Therefore, the conceptual paradigm of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is adopted and applied in the analysis and interpretation of the data of the present study seeking a profound understanding of this paradigm's connotations and constituents.

5.2. The Process of Human Development in the Khaldounian Thought

Once returning back to the history of both regions, it is obviously recognized that *Tlemcen* city has remarkably occupied a tremendous position as one of the great civilizations in the Middle Maghreb. The region of *Ain El Hout*, however, has not occupied such a position. But, it has always been conceived as “*Hawz*”, a term implying dependency/subordination *التبعية* in all domains; political, economic, religious, and so forth. In this line of thought, one may think of it as more influenced rather than influencing due to the fact that Ibn Khaldoun claims that emulation is the result of the admiration of the dominant not because of his force or power but rather for his conceptions and habits. Therefore, one may notice that the dominated is constantly imitating the dominant in all his matters, in his clothes, his weapons...etc. If a nation, he adds, is a neighbour of

another dominant one, the assimilation and emulation occurs with a great degree¹.

Thus, this rule² can be successfully applicable in linguistic matters as language, be it written or spoken, with all its distinct varieties and various styles is regarded as one of the general aspects of linguistic and interactional behaviour. Therefore, the whole laws of sociology which were already cited by Ibn Khaldoun in his *Introduction / Mukaddimah* certainly fit in analyzing linguistic phenomena. Furthermore, the application of (the influencing-influenced) rule, with all its psychological mechanisms, i.e. the imitation and emulation mechanism, in addition to the relational or social mechanisms, is thought to be fruitful in the present field of study as it serves to well compare both linguistic behaviours as displayed by *Tlemcen* speakers to those of *Ain el Hout* speech community. In fact, a more profound and thoughtful explanation of the linguistic interplay between the two communities is required. In doing so, the collected data are to be deeply analyzed on the light of the Critical Structuralist Approach as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu, as it has already been mentioned, relying on the terminological concepts which he has adopted in interpreting various social phenomena.

5.3. The Terminological Concepts of Pierre Bourdieu

According to his distinct field studies and his analytical insights, be it epistemological or methodological, Pierre Bourdieu has developed many key-concepts aiming at a better understanding of the social world in general and the partial social worlds in particular³.

¹ The original quotation is put in (Appendix 2).

² Abderrahmane Ibn Khaldoun (2004:161)

³ Thierry Watine (1999:127).

Through this conceptual framework, he sought to deal with this world as a set of contiguous worlds which are characterized by independence in the forms of what are called “*fields*”, or “*champs*” in French, in which each *individual* or *agent* is equipped with the *Habitus* that controls his perceptions and his behaviours at the same time. In this way, one may explicitly observe the Critical Structuralism of Pierre Bourdieu which is highly characterized by dualism. To well understand both terms of Bourdieu, they can be compared to two wheels which are inter-related with each other and they turn under the pressure of social facts. In this respect, the field, thus, represents society, human gatherings, classes... etc, and the *Habitus* represents the individual and the personality in conflict between freedom and determinism. In fact, these individuals and their social groups are neither toys for these structures nor a master on them. They are rather inter-related where both elements (i.e. *field* and *Habitus*) are structuring tools and structured entities at the same time, and they continuously produce society which, in turn, impacts on them and draws their features as well⁴.

The turning of the aforementioned imaginary wheels leads to what Bourdieu labeled “reproduction”; a process that gives birth to a “symbolic capital” which is conceived as the result of the frequency and accumulation of facts. This symbolic capital will eventually become an area of competition, and, therefore, it is the fuel which guarantees the continuous turning of those wheels and assures the ever continuance of reproduction as well.

To sum up, this is a simplified picture for the conceptual and theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, and the question that can be raised here is how could it be projected on the phenomenon of this study?

⁴ Thierry Watine, (ibid:139).

5.3.1 Projecting the Bourdian Thought on the Field's Reality

According to what has already been elucidated, both the urban Tlemcenian society and its rural counterpart of *Ain el Hout* represent two *fields* and the individuals who belong to both of them are considered as reduced *habitus* (es). The whole set of *habitus* (es) makes the *habitus* (es) of both societies, and the inter-relation between each society's *field* with its particular *habitus* (es) produces a *Symbolic Capital*. This latter constitutes many forms. The dialectal Symbolic Capital is seen as one form of paramount importance of the whole *Symbolic Capital*, and its *reproduction* is guaranteed as a heritage and as a Symbolic Capital by its individuals.

5.3.2 The Linguistic Market Paradigm

In fact, the spontaneous interaction between the field and the *habitus* in both societies creates a "linguistic market". Indeed, whenever the symbolic capital, on which a linguistic market depends on, is huge, this market almost dominates the other existing linguistic markets. In this respect, according to Pierre Bourdieu (1982:59-95):

the linguistic exchanges in a community is related to a specific economy, an economy that gives rise to a dominant "market" whose prices are fixed (tacitly) well heard by those who possess the cultural and linguistic "capital" required for imposing its domination and to obtain "profits". The linguistic market as official is, therefore, a place for power relations, where those who possess the legitimate competence are recognized, lay down the law. This does not exclude the existence of other linguistic markets inside the same community, in the margin of the official market, at its outskirts, where the "values", the rules of game are others (and sometimes even reversed).⁵

⁵ The original quotation is mentioned by Henri Boyer (2001:34) : « les échanges linguistiques en communauté relèvent d'une économie spécifique, économie qui donne lieu à un « marché »

As the village of *Ain el Hout* is located not so far from *Tlemcen*, a constant contact, without any doubt, exists between both regions in different domains, and consequently, they cannot escape the inevitable dialectal contact. Hence, on the light of Bourdieu's perceptions, how can this dialectal contact and interaction between their interlocutors be described?

5.3.3 The Symbolic Capital and Linguistic Construction: Influencing-Influenced

Like all the other sociologists, Pierre Bourdieu considers that all human societies go through a set of steps or stages in their developmental trajectory. In fact, he followed the same path of Ibn Khaldoun in dividing the development of societies into stages. In this respect, the first stage is known as bedouin, followed by the stability stage which is characterized by living in rural areas which are almost surrounding towns and big cities, *el amssāru el kobrā*, and their development eventually ends with urbanization and stability of life in towns. In this sense, Ibn Khaldoun says, **“the bedouin are older than *el hadar*, and the countryside is the origin of urbanism, and cities are extensions for it”⁶.**

dominant dont les « prix » sont fixés (tacitement bien entendu) par ceux qui possèdent le « capital » culturel et linguistique requis pour imposer leur domination et en obtenir des « profits ». Le marché linguistique que *officiel* est donc le lieu d'un rapport de forces où ceux qui détiennent la *compétence légitime*, donc reconnue, font la loi. Ce qui n'exclut pas l'existence au sein de la même communauté d'autres marchés linguistiques, en marge du marché officiel, à sa périphérie, où les « valeurs », les règles du jeu sont autres (et parfois même inversées) ».

⁶ This is a translation for the original quotation of Ibn Khaldoun (2004:137): (البدو أقدم من الحضرة وسابق عليه وأن البادية أصل العمران والأمصار مدد لها).

Since urbanization has always been considered as the final point in the development of societies, the dialect was permanently used as a channel to achieve it. For this, the dichotomy of (dominant vs. dominated) which was adopted by Pierre Bourdieu in the interpretation of the development and the social changes that societies may undergo in their historical trajectories apparently proved to fit our context of investigation, as the inhabitants of *Ain el Hout* who are rural in their mode of life tend to imitate the urban tlemcenian inhabitants in all what concern their habits especially their dialectal habits. This tendency of imitation is clearly witnessed in the use of similar linguistic features at different levels as it has been demonstrated in the previous chapters.

This phenomenon is only attributed to the fact that *Tlemcen* speech possesses a bigger symbolic capital in opposition with that of *Ain El Hout* dialect, and as speakers of this latter went through the stages of human development to arrive at the final point of urbanization, they displayed positive attitudes towards *Tlemcen* speech and, consequently, got accustomed to the habit of imitating Tlemcenians in their way of speaking seeking to some extent their degree of urbanization. Indeed, this phenomenon has been clearly noticed during the data collection phase. For example, the informant Mrs. Bouchikhi Kh. who has been met in the bus asserted in this respect: / ana # n□Bbb # nahdar # kNma # tlemsenNji:n # taSdFebni # hadrathum # n?Nja # mat□a|ri:n # la□wa:ta # jBhhadru # bBl?ala # Φir # laSrajsa:t # Blli # dFaL # menna # w # menna # Fabu # Blya # wB # jBhhadru # bBlya / which means in English : “I like to talk like Tlemcenians, I like their speech, it is pure, they are urbanized, the *Houtis* talk with *el āala* and only their daughters-in-law brought the [γ], they pronounce the [γ]”. In this respect, the informant Mrs. Bouali S. also says: / ji:h # □na # kB # tlemsen # Slein # Bl □u:t # wB # tlemsen # Φi:l # ki:f # ki:f # hadrathum # taSFebna # bazzef # wB #

n□Bbbuhum # wB # j□abbu:na # n□Bbb # nahdar # ki:fhum / meaning “yes, we are like *Tlemcen*, *Ain el Hout* and *Tlemcen* are alike, we like their speech too much, we love them and they love us, I like to speak like them”. When we have asked another girl about her point of view towards *Tlemcen* dialect, she answered: / taʕdFebni # hadrathum # tlemseniji:n # jaʕdFbuni # f # kul # GN # madabNja # kNmma # n?ulu # manhadro:G # bBlʔa /, i. e. “I like their speech, I like Tlemcenians, I like everything they have or they do, I prefer that we wouldn’t pronounce the /ʔ/”. These attitudes indicate the tendency of imitation and emulation which is the result of *Ain el Hout* speakers’ admiration for *Tlemcen* dialect. The interpretation of these attitudes falls in the speciality of Social Psychology of Language more than in the field of Sociolinguistics, but when considering the current of Bourdieu, this fact is attributed to the existence of two symbolic capitals and one of them is older than the other. Hence, one may deduce that *Tlemcen* speech is deeply influencing its counterpart of *Ain el Hout*. This impact is easily practised through many channels. One of these could be the matrimonial exchanges because

kinship relationships of original Tlemcenian families with the Arabs living in the surroundings or *ahwaz* of *Tlemcen* are really rare in comparison with the other *ahwaz* who are Berber in origin, and that are themselves few in comparison with their kinship relationships with *Nedroma* and *Ain el Hout* which they remain as two regions for the external exchanges of *Hadars*”⁷.

Through the analysis of the characteristics of both *Tlemcen* dialect and *Ain el Hout* in the preceding chapters, one may notice the existence of some

⁷ Dali Ahmed Ch. (2012: 63)

similarities and other remarkable differences. Among the dialectal affinities, we may notice that *Ain el Hout* dwellers, both males and females, realize the /q/ as [ʔ] in some words. Yet, the difference between these dialects lies in the prevalence of the variant [ʔ] in *Tlemcen* speech, and the use of the three variants [q], [ɣ] and [ʔ] for the variable /q/ by the same individual in the same conversation in *Ain el Hout*. In fact, their imitation for *el Hadars* had led them to commit many mistakes of pronunciation in some words which are originally pronounced with [ɣ], the *Houtis* utter it with [ʔ] because they think that the general rule in *Tlemcen* speech is the substitution of /q/ by [ʔ] in all environments.

Furthermore, many similar phonological substitutions are equally used in both dialects, as in the alternations of /d/ by [ð], /d/ and /J/ by [d] as it has been detailed in the two chapters. At the phonological level, the differences between both varieties are represented, on one hand, in the articulation of the affricate /dF/ in all its occurrences, except in some few environments. The *Houtis* tend to pronounce it as the fricative [F] and the affricate urban [dF] in a single word as one may hear the word /ðadFar/: “stone” as both [ðFar] and [ðdFar]. On the other hand, the differences between their morphological features are rather striking due to the distinct rules that are followed in constructing their verbs, with all types of pronouns, and nouns which can be attributed to the distinction made in terms of gender.

In fact, it has been proved that the inhabitants of *Ain el Hout* mainly the ancient families tend to imitate the urban Tlemcenian speech and this tendency is remarked with different degrees with all individuals, but it is highly witnessed

with women. This fact can be attributed to various reasons which have been interpreted through the adoption of Pierre Bourdieu's view.

Yet, it is illogical that *Ain el Hout* dialect is solely influenced by *Tlemcen* speech. In any objective theorizing, it is said that in any linguistic exchange, both varieties are influencing each other, but the degree of influence can differ from one another. Therefore, *Tlemcen* speech is also influenced, but with a lesser extent, by its counterpart dialect of *Ain el Hout*, especially at the phonological and lexical levels for *Tlemcen* speakers pronounce some words with a [y] sound in addition to whole words, which are rural in origin, mainly those related to agriculture, and that are themselves borrowed from the Bedouin dialects spoken in bedouin environments. Thus, these linguistic facts support Bourdieu's current which insists on the phenomenon of deglutition which means that the older symbolic capital is constantly erasing some of the constituents of the other symbolic capitals which are not so old. It does so just to keep and perpetuate the continuance of the Dominant-Dominated Dichotomy. However, this fact is not always witnessed because some individuals do not exhibit the trait of imitation for the dialect of *hadars*. Those speakers consider this trait as a threatening behaviour for their own identities. As an example, we found that the informant Mrs. Benguedih R. asserts, when she was asked whether she likes imitating *Tlemcen* speech or not, /ana # nahdar # haddarti # kNmma # mdda:ri # ta:ʂ # bba # wa # mma # wa # Fdu:di /, i.e. "I speak on my way, as I used to, the speech of my father, my mother and my grandparents". Then, the informant Mrs. Mokhtar F. who was asked about how they consider the speech of *Tlemcen*, replied : / tFNna # mli:□a /, then asked whether they like to speak as they do, she said: / na♣♣ # hadrat # la□wa:ta # tlemsenNja /, and when she has been asked / madabi:kum # t?aldduhum /, i.e. do you prefer imitating

them?, she objected by saying: / lla # ma # n?allduhum # ma # walu # □na # nBhhadro # hadratna # □na # nBffahmu:hum # w # huma # jBffahmuna / meaning “No, we don’t imitate them. We speak the way we used to do. We understand them, and they understand us”. In addition, another example about the same attitude was of a girl whom we asked the following question:

/ lhadra # nta\$ # tlemsenNjNn # t\$Bfbek /, do you like *Tlemcen* dialect?

She answered: / lla /, “no”.

We told her: / t□ebbi # tBhhadri # hBddartak/, do you like your way of speaking?

She said: / i:h /, “yes”.

Then, she was asked: / \$la:G # matB\$NaFbakG /, “why don’t you like it?”

But, she did not reply.

This last attitude which exhibits an objection to imitating *Tlemcen* speech is interpreted on the light of Bourdieu’s Approach when he referred to “linguistic hypercorrection” where he considers that the attempt of getting rid of the conceptions which classify an individual in the category of being dominated leads to the adoption of other different attitudes and habits from those of the dominant individuals. This domination is of a cultural kind. It prompts the individuals of both groups, the dominant and the dominated, to control all what has a relationship with their identities, and as speech is one constituent of the

identity of individuals, it undergoes both personal and social control for the sake of avoiding imitation or assimilation to the speech of the other group.

Generally, this sociological interpretation for the linguistic phenomenon dealt with in the present research and which some of its aspects have been treated is still in need of more profound analysis because its accurate scientific treatment requires too much time and deeper analysis. Yet, this modest analysis draws a clear picture about the relationship between both dialects where *Tlemcen* dialect is somehow dominating the linguistic behaviours of the members of *Ain el Hout* community. This domination is attributed to some historical, ethnic and cultural justifications which are in need of more details, but it has undeniably been influenced by its counterpart dialect. Furthermore, the reasons behind this impact constitute another topic of research which requires the investigation of the successive ethnicities which *Tlemcen* has known through too many long centuries. Anyway, no profound understanding for both dialects could be reached without studying their general and linguistic histories accurately, because all **“nations are the result of a long past, and not of one minute, and it is the offspring of the influence of environments of distinct impacts. Therefore, its present is interpreted through restoring its past”**.⁸

5.4. Fernand Braudel and the Dimension of Time

For a more profound understanding for the nature of the interaction between the two dialects, and to complement the preceding analysis on the light

⁸ This is a meaning translation of the quotation of Gustave Le Bon (no date: 23): (الأمم نتيجة: ماض طويل، وليست نبت ساعة واحدة، وهي محصول ما خضعت له من البيئات المختلفة التأثير، لذا يفسر حاضرها بماضيها)

of Bourdieu's concepts, the perspective of the French sociologist Fernand Braudel will be adopted. In social and historical disciplines, Braudel proposes a very significant illustration for socio-historical events or facts which focuses on the dimension of time. In his conception, for the analysis of these phenomena, time is conceived to be divided into three main periods: the *short period* in which the progress of a given phenomenon can be followed in a period that takes from one year to twenty years or more, the *middle period* lasts from fifty years to one century, and finally, the long period begins from one century and lasts till one thousand years. It is not necessary that when studying a social phenomenon during one of those periods, the results obtained will not be the same if it is studied along another one⁹.

A question to be raised, at this level of analysis, is: what are the results that can be obtained of Braudel's approach if it will be applied in the present dialectal phenomenon?

Earlier in this research work, it has been proved that both Tlemcenian speech and *Ain el Hout* dialect share many origins and various characteristics particularly those of a Bedouin origin. On the light of Braudel's view, the bedouin dialect develops through time into a rural dialect which, in turn, becomes after long times relatively into an urban dialect. Indeed, this fact provides researchers with appropriate tools to understand its developmental trajectory and vice versa, i.e. the urban dialect is the climax that the bedouin dialects reach in their course of development, whereas the rural dialects occupy a transitional stage between both urban and bedouin dialects. Furthermore, many urban dialects, through long eras, become rural (the middle period), or even bedouin (the long period), and diagram 5.1. illustrates more clearly the development of dialects in the course of time:

⁹ Mohamed Arkoun (1995:53).

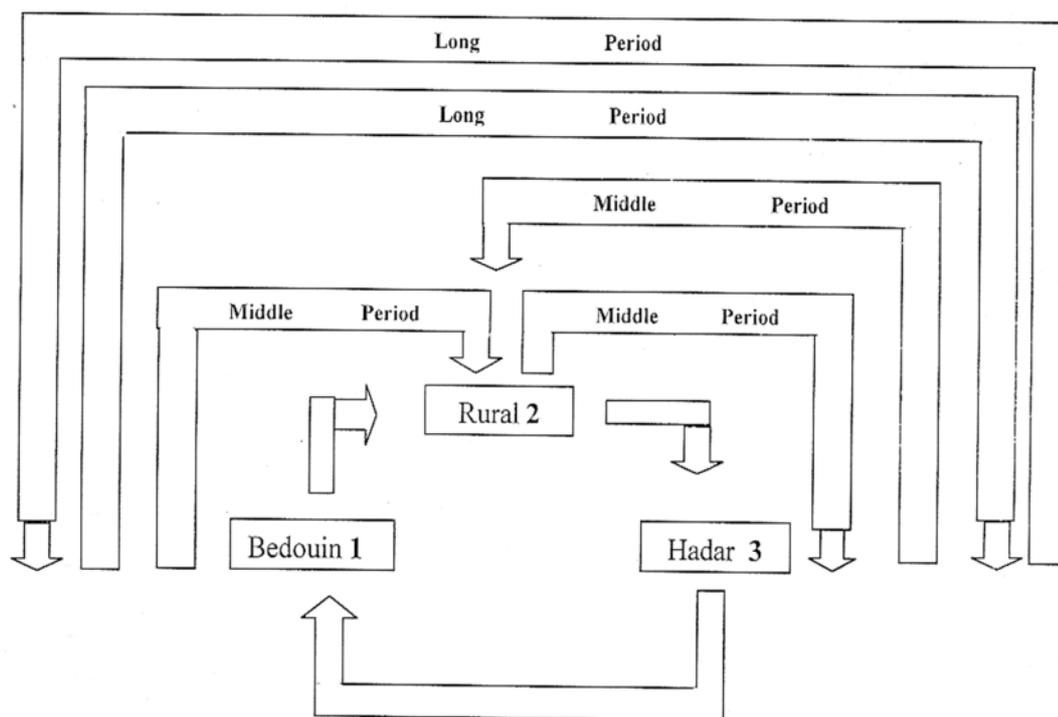


Diagram 5.1. The Process of Dialect Development

5.5. Conclusion

From what have been detailed in this chapter, it is clearly demonstrated that the two analytical and sociological approaches of Pierre Bourdieu and Fernand Braudel have proved the existence of many similar origins between the characteristics of the urban Tlemcenian dialect and its rural counterpart of *Ain el Hout*. Furthermore, the data analysis, on the light of both approaches, attributes the occurring differences to the nature of the environments, which they were constantly evolving through time; i.e. the difference in the two environments have led to various distinct dialectal features.

General Conclusion

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this modest research work, it has been attempted, through the problematics which have been raised, to understand the nature of the dialectal exchanges between two dialects of different types, the first is of an urban kind, and the second is rural. To arrive at a profound understanding for this sociolinguistic phenomenon, the origins of particular lexical words were sought, and various morphological constructions of both dialects were reviewed, a fact that was helpful to prove that these two varieties are 'mixed' dialects which share the same origins, but they had undergone through history some developments so that each had a different trajectory that is different from the other's.

Starting from this conception, the central core of this study has been to first determine the type of relationship between the two dialects, and sought to analyze it in a purely scientific and sociolinguistic analysis through the adoption of the Structuralist approach pioneered by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and utilizing his conceptual framework: symbolic capital, dialectal habitus, dominant-dominated dichotomy...etc which unveiled the tight relationships that characterize their mutual dialectal exchange and proved that *Ain el Hout* speech is heavily influenced by that of *Tlemcen* city, and more deeply in women's speech more than in masculine speech, and among the old generation more than among the young one.

Yet, this influence is also exercised on *Tlemcen* urban dialect by its counterpart rural dialect of *Ain el Hout*, even if it is noticed at a lesser degree in comparison with the influence on the other dialect. This reciprocal impact is due to many historical, political, economic factors, and heavily practised through the matrimonial exchanges between the two regions.

At the end, it should be remarked that essentially based on what socio-anthropologists consider as the building stone of a pure scientific research: the observation participante, in addition data of different disciplines were included for a better understanding of this phenomenon. However, this claim does not mean that this research is perfectly achieved, and it needs further profound analysis and investigation, and for this reason our further post-graduate studies are intended to come up with convincing answers for the questions raised in this modest work as this field of study should be more exploited, and without exaggerating, it is really a field of paramount importance that will be of a scientific and sociolinguistic profitability for *the Tlemcenian* society in particular and for the sociolinguistic situation of the Algerian repertoire in general.

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Appendices

Appendix -2-

- ابن خلدون (عبد الرحمن)، " المقدمة "، دار الفكر للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع: بيروت- لبنان، الطبعة الأولى، 2004 م، ص 161.

(لأنّ النفس أبدا تعتقد الكمال فيمن غلبها وانقادت إليه: إمّا لنظره بالكمال بما وقر عندها من تعظيمه، أو لما تغالط به من أنّ انقيادها ليس لغلب طبيعيّ إنّما هو لكمال الغالب، فإذا غالطت بذلك واتّصل لها حصل اعتقادا فانتحلت جميع مذاهب الغالب وتشبّهت به، وذلك هو الاقتداء، أو لما تراه، والله أعلم، من أنّ غلب الغالب لها ليس بعصبيّة ولا قوّة بأس، وإنّما بما انتحلته من العوائد والمذاهب تغالط أيضا بذلك عن الغلب، وهذا راجع للأوّل، ولذلك ترى المغلوب يتشبّه بالغالب في ملبسه ومركبه وسلاحه في اتّخاذها وأشكالها، وبل في سائر أحواله،...، وانظر إلى كلّ قطر من الأقطار كيف يغلب على أهله زيّ الحاميّة وجند السّلطان في الأكثر لأنّهم الغالبون لهم، حتّى إنّه إذا كانت أمة تجاور أخرى، ولها الغلب عليها، فيسري إليهم من هذا التشبّه والاقتداء حظّ كبير).

Appendix 3 -a-

Interviews with *Ain el Hout* Informants

First Name: Family Name:
Age: Sex:
Date of conducting the interview:
Place of conducting the interview:

The following questions were asked in a dialectal form and sometimes in Standard Arabic (See Appendix 3 -b- and Appendix 3 -c-):

1. What does *Ain el Hout* mean for you?
2. Who are the oldest families that you know in *Ain el Hout*?
3. What are the relationships which link *Ain el Hout* with *Tlemcen*?
4. Is the dialect considered as one of these relationships?
5. Does *Ain el Hout* speech totally resemble *Tlemcen* dialect, or does it display some characteristics that differentiate it from *Tlemcen* dialect?
6. What are the dialectal features which characterize *Ain el Hout* dialect in comparison with its counterpart of *Tlemcen*?
7. Would you mind give us some proverbs (or *tahwaf* for women) which are commonly said in *Ain el Hout*?
8. What are the names of the utensils used in agriculture (in kitchen for women)?
9. What are the names of traditional clothes worn by brides?
10. Can you narrate for us how *Ain el Hout* people lived during your infancy and your youth? (a question that was asked to old informants)
11. Why do you imitate *Tlemcen* dialect? Do you like it or what?
12. Why do you like this dialect?
13. What are the changes that *Ain el Hout* dialect has known?
14. What are the reasons behind such differences? (Do you see any difference between the dialect of your generation and the current one?)
15. (For the current generation), do you like imitating *Tlemcen* dialect? and why?
16. According to you, what are the differences that distinguish *Ain el Hout* dialect from its counterpart of *Tlemcen* city?

Appendix 3 -b-

Interviews in Dialectal Form with *Ain el Hout* Informants

- 1- واسم تعنيك عين الحوت؟
- 2- ما هو ما Les familles لفامي لأدام هنا؟
- 3- ما هو ما اصّوالح اللي يجمعوا بين عين الحوت وتلمسان؟
- 4- آس كو (Est-ce que) لهدر(ة) م بين هاد اصّوالح؟
- 5- آس كو Est-ce que لهدر (ة) نتاع لحوات (ة) تشبه لهدر(ة) نتاع التلمسانيين ف كل شي واللاّ
غيل ف شي اصّوالح؟
- 6- ما هو ما اصّوالح اللي تميّز بيهم لهدر(ة) الحوتية بارابور (par rapport) لهدر(ة) نتاع
تلمسان؟
- 7- آس كو Est-ce que تنجم تمدّنا شويّا نتاع لمثال (التّحواف بالنسبة للنسا) اللي تعرفها؟
- 8- ما هو ما اصّوالح اللي تخدمو بيهم ف فلاح(ة) (ف لكوزيند(ة) اللي بالنسبة للنساء)؟
- 9- كي تحبّوا توافو لعروس(ة) واسم تلبّسو لها؟
- 10- تنجم تحكيّا كيفاش كانت عين الحوت وواسم تتفكر عليها كي كنت صغير؟
- 11- علاش تحبّوا تهدروا كي لحضر، تعجبكم هدرتهم ولاّ واسم؟
- 12- علاش تعجبكم؟
- 13- ما هو ما لشونجمو (les changements) اللي عرفتهم لهدر(ة) ف عين الحوت؟
- 14- ما هو ما لكوز (Les causes) نتاع داك اثّي؟
- 15- (بالنسبة للجيل الحالي) آس كو (Est-ce que) تحب تهدر كي التلمسانيين؟
- 16- ما هو ما لديفيرونس (les differences) بين لهدر(ة) نتاع عين الحوت ونتاع تلمسان
على حسابك؟

Appendix 3 -c-

Interviews in Standard Form with *Ain el Hout* Informants

الاسم:.....اللقب:.....
السّن:.....الجنس:.....
تاريخ إجراء المقابلة:.....مكان إجراء المقابلة:.....

- 1- ماذا تعني " عين الحوت " بالنسبة لك ؟
- 2- ما هي أقدم العائلات التي تعرفها بعين الحوت ؟
- 3- ما هي الروابط التي تجمع بين عين الحوت وتلمسان ؟
- 4- هل تعتبر اللهجة إحدى هذه الروابط ؟
- 5- هل اللهجة الحوتية تماثل اللهجة التلمسانية في كل شيء ، أم لها بعض الخصائص التي تميّزها عن اللهجة التلمسانية ؟
- 6- ما هي الخصائص المميزة للهجة الحوتية مقارنة بنظيرتها التلمسانية ؟
- 7- هل لك أن تعطينا بعض الأمثال (التحواف بالنسبة للنساء) الشائعة بعين الحوت .
- 8- ما هي أسماء الأدوات التي تستعملونها في الفلاحة (في المطبخ بالنسبة للنساء) ؟
- 9- ما هي الثياب التي ترتديها العروس ليلة زفافها ؟
- 10- هل بإمكانك أن تقصّ / تقصّي علينا كيف كانت طريقة عيش الحوتيين في عهد طفولتك وشبيبتهك (بالنسبة للكبار) ؟
- 11- لماذا تعمدون إلى تقليد اللهجة التلمسانية ، هل تعجبكم أم ماذا ؟
- 12- لماذا تعجبكم هذه اللهجة ؟
- 13- ما هي التغيرات التي طرأت على اللهجة الحوتية وما أسبابها ؟
- 14- هل ترى فرقا بين لهجة جيلك والجيل الحالي ؟
- 15- (بالنسبة للجيل الحالي) هل تحبّ تقليد اللهجة التلمسانية ؟ لماذا ؟
- 16- ما هي الفوارق بين اللهجة الحوتية ونظيرتها التلمسانية الحضرية في رأيك ؟

Appendix 4 -a-

First Name: Family Name:
Age: Sex:
Date of conducting the interview:
Place of conducting the interview:

The following questions were asked in a dialectal form and sometimes in Standard Arabic (See Appendix 4 -b- and Appendix 4 -c-):

1. Would you mind narrate for us how did Tlemcenians live in the past?
2. Where did they generally live?
3. According to you, who are the oldest Tlemcenian families?
4. What are the features that differentiate you from the others?
5. Does anyone who uses the /?/ is Tlemcenian?
6. Do you use the /?/ just at home or even outside?
7. Would you tell me about the dishes which you cook at home?
8. Would you call some utensils used at home?
9. Would you give us some colours that are typical to *Tlemcen* speech?
10. Can you give us some of *Tlemcen* proverbs or *tahwaf*?
11. Would you describe for us how weddings have been organized in the past, and how do they look nowadays?
12. What are the expressions used to welcome someone (guests)?
13. How do you consider the people of *Ain el Hout*?
14. How do you find their speech?
15. Do you favour kinship relationships with *Ain el Hout*, or no?

Appendix 4 -b-

Interviews in Dialectal Form with

Tlemcen Informants

- 1- حكي لي على تلمسان كيش كانت بكري ؟
- 2- جينيرالمو (généralement) فاين كانو يسكنو بكري؟
- 3- شكون هما بالنسبة ليكم التلمسانيين لأدام ؟
- 4- ما هي لحاج (ة) اللي تميزكم على غيركم؟
- 5- آس كو (est ce que) كامل اللي يهدر بالـ " أ " تلمساني ؟
- 6- آس كو (est ce que) الآلة تهدرو بيها غيل ف اذار ولا حتى بزا ؟
- 7- سميو لي لبلا (les plats) اللي طيبوهم ف دياركم ؟
- 8- سميو لي اصوالح نتاع اذار ؟
- 9- سميو لي لكولور (les couleurs) اللي تهدرو بيها ف تلمسان ؟
- 10- تنجمو تعطيويني شويّا تحواف نتاع التلمسانيين و لا لمعاني ؟
- 11- كيفاش كانو يفوتو عراسكم ؟ وكيفاش راهم ليوم ؟
- 12- ما هو ما لزيكسبريسيون (les expressions) اللي تستعملوهم كي ترحبو بكاش واحد ؟
- 13- كيش نظرتكم للحوات (ة) ؟
- 14- كيش تبانلكم هدرتهم ؟
- 15- آس كو (est ce que) تناسبو لحوات (ة) ولا لا ؟

Appendix 4 -c-

Interviews in Standard Arabic with

Tlemcen Informants

- 1- قَصّ /قَصِي عَلِي كَيْف كَانَتْ تَلْمَسَان قَدِيمَا؟
- 2- عَمُومَا أَيْنَ كَانَ يَقْطُنُ التَّلْمَسَانِيُونَ الْقَدَامَى بِهَذِهِ الْمَدِينَةِ؟
- 3- مِنْ هُمْ بِالنَّسْبَةِ لَكُمْ التَّلْمَسَانِيُونَ الْأَقْدَمُ؟
- 4- مَا هُوَ الْأَمْرُ الَّذِي تَمَيِّزُونَ بِهِ عَنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟
- 5- هَلْ كُلُّ مَنْ يَتَكَلَّمُ بِالْأَلْفِ بَدَلَ الْقَافِ يُعْتَبَرُ تَلْمَسَانِيَا؟
- 6- هَلْ تَسْتَعْمَلُونَ الْأَلْفَ بَدَلَ الْقَافِ فِي الْمَنْزِلِ فَقَطْ أَمْ حَتَّى خَارِجَ الْمَنْزِلِ؟
- 7- سَمَّ لِي الْأَطْبَاقَ الَّتِي تَطْبَخُونَهَا؟
- 8- سَمَّ لِي مَقْتَنِيَاتِ الْمَنْزِلِ عِنْدَكُمْ؟
- 9- مَا هِيَ الْأَلْوَانُ الَّتِي تَتَدَاوَلُونَ اسْتِعْمَالَهَا فِي تَلْمَسَانِ؟
- 10- هَلْ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَعْطُونِي بَعْضًا مِنْ تَحَوَّافٍ أَوْ أَمْثَالِ التَّلْمَسَانِيِينَ؟
- 11- كَيْفَ كَانَتْ تَتَمَّ أَعْرَاسُكُمْ؟ وَكَيْفَ هِيَ الْيَوْمَ؟
- 12- مَا هِيَ الْعِبَارَاتُ الَّتِي تَسْتَعْمَلُونَهَا لِلتَّرْحِيبِ بِشَخْصٍ مَا؟
- 13- كَيْفَ تَنْظُرُونَ لِسُكَّانِ مَنطِقَةِ عَيْنِ الْحَوْتِ؟
- 14- كَيْفَ تَبْدُو لَكُمْ لَهْجَتُهُمْ؟
- 15- هَلْ تَصَاحِرُونَ سُكَّانَ عَيْنِ الْحَوْتِ أَمْ لَا؟

Appendix 5 -A-

استبيان

.....: الاسم واللقب
.....: السن
.....: الجنس
.....: مكان وتاريخ إجراء الاستبيان

ضع العلامة (x) أمام الكلمة التي تستعملها غالباً:

المتغير { ي }:

كُلِّي (أمر) : كُولُ **كُول**

أَكَلْتُ (ماضي) : كَلَيْتُ **كَلَيْتُ**

تَأْكِلِينَ (مضارع) : تَاكَلُ **تَاكَلُ**

المتغيرين { و } و { هـ }:

لا تَأْكَلْهُ : ما تَاكَلُوْش **ما تَاكَلُوْش**

اسمه : أَسْمُو **أَسْمُو**

امراته : مَرَاتُو **مَرَاتُو** **مَرَاتُو** **مَرَاتُو** **مَرَاتُو**

اشتريته : شَرَيْتُو **شَرَيْتُو** **شَرَيْتُو**

المثنى : المتغيرين { لـ } و { يـ }

يومين : يَوْمَانِ **يَوْمَانِ** **يَوْمَانِ**

شهرين : شَهْرَيْنِ **شَهْرَيْنِ** **شَهْرَيْنِ**

مرتين : مَرَّتَيْنِ **مَرَّتَيْنِ** **مَرَّتَيْنِ**

الضَّمائر:

أنا: أنا	أناي		
أنت: نُنَيْتَا	نُنَيْتَايَ	نُتَ	نُنَيْن
أنت: نُنَيْتَا	نُنَيْتَايَ	نُتَ	
أنتما/ أتم/ أنتن: نتوما	نتومان	نتوم	
هما/ هم/ هن: هوما	هومان		

الضَّمائر في تَغْيِراتِ تصرِيفِها مع الفعل:

قال له: **أَلُو** **قَالُو** **أَلَّهُ** **قَالَه**

قل له: **أَوَلُو** **قُولُو** **قَوْلَهُ** **أَوَلَهُ**

قولي له: **أَوَلُو** **قُولُو** **قَوْلِيلَهُ** **أَوَلِيلَهُ**

قل لها: **أَوَلَّهَا** **قَوَّلَّهَا** **أَوَلَّلَهَا**

قولي لها: **أَوَلَّهَا** **قَوَّلَّلَهَا** **أَوَلَّلَّلَهَا**

الضَّمائر المتَّصلة:

إِنَّه: راه ريه را

إِنَّها: راها ريهي ري ريهي

إِنَّهم: راهم روم روهم رهم

إِنَّكم: راكم ريكم روكم

إِنَّك: راك ريك (للرجل والمرأة)

أسماء الأواني:

فنجان: فنجال فن (د)جان

صحن: صُحْنٌ طبسي

MARMITE: سوْبِيرَ مرميطة بنت عمارة

قلال: ألال كسكاس

قزار: أزان أزار أزال قزار

ملعقة: معيلاً مغيرف

قصعة: صحف قصع

طاجين: طادجين طاجين

فرن: فران فور كوش قاز نتاع الخبر

PLAT: صيني سيني

مرجل: كفتير بأراج بفراج

أسماء الخضر والفواكه:

قرنون: أرنيع قرنيق قرنوع أرنوع

جوز: لدجوز قرقاع

بادنجان: براني دنجال بدنجال

إجاص: لنجاص لندجاس بعويد بعويد

عناب: عينب لعناب

رَمَان: رَمَان رَمَان

مواد غذائية عامة:

سُكَّر: سُكُورُ سُكُّرُ

بِيض: وَلَا جَدَاذُ بِيضُ بِيضُ لِيِيدُ

الملح: لُمْلُحُ لُمْلُحُ

القمح: أُمُحُ قَمَحُ

ألبسة و أفرشة:

فِرَاش: لُفْرَاشُ لُفْرَاشُ

حَزَام: لُحَزَامُ لُحَزَامُ

الحايك: لُحَايِكُ لُكْسُ

قَفْطَان: أَفْطَانُ أَزْفَاطَانُ

FOULARD: فُولَارَ فُورَانَ فُونَارَ فُورَار(ة)

سُرَوَال: سُرَاوُلُ سُرَوَالُ

وَسَادَة: مُخَدَّ وَسَادَ

جَوَارِب: أُشَارَثُ أَشَايِرُ ثَقَاشِيرُ تَآشِيرُ

كلمات مختلفة:

أَعْطِنِي: عَطِينِ مَدْلِي أَرَّ

أَنْزَل: نَهْؤُدُ نَهْبُطُ نَنْزَلُ

يَفْعَلُ (شَيْئًا): يَعْمَلُ يُوَاسِي يَدِيرُ

أحبّ: نُحِبُّ نُبِغَ
 ماذا: اسْمٌ واسْمٌ واشْتَأَ
 تعال: آذِجْ آج رَوَّاحٌ
 أمسك: أَبْطَأْ قَبِدْ
 إرم: رَمِ سَيْبٌ قيس إِسْ
 انتظر: سَنَّ سَنَّ سَنَّ زَيْدٌ رَحِ
 مابك؟: آشِيكُ؟ وآشِيكُ؟ مَالِكُ؟
 سكب (شيئاً): عَرَأْ هَرَأْ دَفَقْ
 الآن: ذُرُوا ذُرُوا ذُرِكْ
 متى؟: فَاوَأْ؟ فَايُوا؟ فَاوَكْ؟
 الكل: كَامَلْ قَاع لُكُلْ
 نعم: يَّيِّهْ إِيهْ وَاهْ
 أخي: خَاي خَوِي
 يأخذ: يَّعِبْ يَدْ
 ابتعد: بَعُدْ زُولْ كَحُرْ وَخُرْ

حرف / ق / :

يقعد: يَنْقَعُدْ يَأْعُدْ

يقطع (الطريق): يَنْقَطِعْ يَأْطَعْ

يرقد: يَرْقُدْ يَرْقُدْ

الطَّرِيقُ: طَرِيقًا طريق طريق

يَزْلِقُ: يَزَلُّ يَزَلُّ يَزَلُّ

قَلْبٌ: أَلْبٌ قَلْبٌ قَلْبٌ

Appendix 5-B-

First Name: Family Name:

Age: Sex:

Date and Place of conducting the interview:

Put a (x) next to the word that is frequently used:

The Variable {-i:}

/kuli:/: “eat!” (imperative): [ku:l] [ku:li]

/ʔakalti/: “you ate” (past): [kli:t] [kli:ti]

/taʔkuli:na/: “you eat” (present): [taʔkul] [taʔkli]

The Variable {-u} and {-ah}

/la: taʔkulhu/: “don’t eat it”: [ma tʔBklu:G] [ma tʔBklahG]

/ʔNsmuhu/: “his name”: [ʔBsmu] [ʔBsmah]

/ʔNmraʔatuhu/: “his wife”: [mratu] [martu] [mratah] [martah]

/ʔNGtarajtuhu/: “I bought it”: [GrNtu] [GrNtah]

Dual forms: The Variable {-ʔjBn} and {-i:n}

/jawmajni/: “two days”: [jumʔjBn] [jumi:n]

/Gahrajni/: “two months”: [GahrʔjBn] [Gahri:n]

/marratajni/: “twice”: [mB}}tʔjBn] [mB}}ti:n]

Pronouns

/ana/: “I”: [ana] [anaja]

/anta/: “you(masc.)”: [ntNna] [nta:ja] [nta] [nti:n]

/anti/: “you (fem.)”: [ntNna] [ntNja] [ntN]

/antuma:/, /antum/, /antunna/: “you (dual / plural)”: [ntuma] [ntuman] [ntum]

/huma:/, /hum /; /hunna/: “they”(dual / plural): [huma] [human]

Pronouns as changed when conjugated with verbs:

/qa:la lahu/: “he told him”: [ʔallu] [ɣallu] [ʔallah] [ɣallah]

/qul lahu/: “you (masc.) tell him”: [ʔullu] [ɣullu] [ʔullah] [ɣullah]

/qu:li lahu/: “you (fem.) tell him ”: [ʔullu] [ɣullu] [ʔuli:lah] [ɣuli:lah]

/ qul laha: /: “you (masc.) tell her”: [ʔulha] [ɣullha] [ʔulaha]
/ qu:li laha: /: “you (fem.) tell her”: [ʔulha] [ɣulNlha] [ʔulNlha]

Pronouns / الضمائر المتصلة

/ ʔNnnahu /: “he is”: [rah] [ri:h] [ra]
/ ʔNnnaha: /: “she is”: [raha] [ri:hi] [rN] [ri:ha]
/ ʔNnnahum /: “they are”: [rahum] [ro:m] [ro:hum] [ri:hum]
/ ʔNnnakum /: “you (pl.) are”: [rakum] [rNkum] [rokum]
/ ʔNnnaka /: “you (sing.masc.) are”: [rak] [rNk]

Names of Dishes:

/ fNndFa:n(un) /: “a cup of coffee”: [fBnFa:l] [fBndFa:n]
/ ♣A□n(un) /: “plate”: [♣□An] [□AbsN]
“Marmite”: “a large pot”: [subi:ra] [marmN□A] [bBnt ʔmA:ra]
/ qalla:l /: “sieve”: [ʔalla:l] [kAskA:s]
/ qazA:r /: “a big pot”: [ʔazA:n] [ʔazA:r] [ʔazA:l] [qazA:r]
/ mNlʔaqat(un) /: “a spoon”: [mʔNlʔa] [mΦi:rfa]
/ qa♣ʔat(un) /: “bowl”: [♣♣A□fa] [ya♣ʔA]
/ □A:Fi:n /: “a big metal pan for preparing bread”: [□AdFi:n] [□AFi:n]
/ forn(un) /: “oven”: [fBrra:n] [fu:r] [ku:Ga] [ɣA:z ntaʔ lUubz]
“Plat”: “tray”: [♣e:nNja] [si:nNja]
/ mNrdFal(un) /: “kettle”: [kafBtNra] [buʔra:F] [buqra:F]

Vegetables and Fruits:

/ qarnu:n(un) /: “artichoke”: [ʔurni:ʔ] [ɣurni:ʔ] [ɣBrnu:ʔ] [ʔarnu:ʔ]
/ FaLz(un) /: “walnuts”: [ldFu:z] [ɣurya:ʔ]
/ badNnFa:n(un) /: “aubergine”: [bra:nNja] [dBnFa:l] [bdBnFa:l]
/ ʔNFFCa:♣(un) /: “pear”: [lBnFa:♣] [lBndFa:s] [baʔwNda]
[bu:ʔwNda]
/ ʔNnab(un) /: “grapes”: [ʔi:nab] [lBʔnab]
/ rumma:n(un) /: “pomegranate”: [rBmma:n] [rumma:n]

Food:

/ sukkar(un) /: “sugar”: [sBkko:r] [sukkor]
 / baNj(un) /: “eggs”: [wla Fda:d] [be:|] [baN|] [lbe:|]
 / Bl mNl□u /: “salt”: [lBmla□] [lmBl□]
 / qam□(un) /: “wheat”: [ʔma□] [ɣam□]

Clothes and Bedding:

/ fNra:G(un) /: “bedding”: [lfa:G] [lBfra:G]
 / □Bzzama /: “belt”: [l□uzzama] [l□Bzzama]
 / □a:jBk /: “a kind of white clothes worn outside home”: [l□a:jBk] [lBksa]
 / qaf□A:n /: “a Tlemcenian traditional dress”: [ʔaf□A:n] [ʔarf□A:n]
 “Foulard”: “a scarf”: [fulAra] [furAna] [funAra] [furArA]
 / sNrwa:l(un) /: “a pair of trousers”: [s}A:wAl] [sarwa:l]
 / wNsa:da /: “a pillow”: [mUBdda] [wsa:da]
 / Fawa:rNb(un) /: “a pair of socks”: [ʔGBra:t] [ʔGa:jBr] [tqaGi:r] [tʔaGi:r]

Different Lexical Items:

/ ʔaʂ□eni /: “give me”: [ʂ□eni] [mBddli] [ʔara]
 / ʔanzNlu /: “”: [nhawwBd] [nahbA□] [nBnzal]
 / jafʂalu /: “he does (something)”: [jaʂmBl] [jwa:sN] [jdi:r]
 / ʔu□Nbbu /: “I love”: [n□Bbb] [nabΦN]
 / ma:Ja: /: “what?”: [wasBm] [waGta]
 / taʂa:la /: “come!”: [ʔadFi] [ʔaFi] [rwa:□]
 / ʔamsNk /: “take!”: [ʔbA□] [ɣbA|]
 / ʔNrmi /: “throw!”: [rmi] [sNjjBb] [qi:s] [ʔNs]
 / ʔNntaJer /: “wait!”: [ssBna] [stBna] [ttBna] [rNjjA|] [rFa]
 / ma: bNka /: “what’s up?”: [ʔaGbi:k] [waGbi:k] [malBk]
 / sakaba /: “he poured (something)”: [ΦBrrAʔ] [hBrrAʔ] [dBffay]
 / Bl ʔa:n /: “now”: [darwaʔ] [darwak] [dork]
 / mata: /: “when?”: [fawAʔ] [feNwBʔ] [fa:wBk]
 / Bl kull /: “all”: [kamBl] [ɣa:ʂ] [lkull]
 / naʂam /: “yes”: [jji:h] [ʔi:h] [wa:h]
 / ʔaUi: /: “my brother”: [UA:j] [Uuja]
 / jaʔUudu /: “he takes”: [jʂBbbi] [jBddi]
 / ʔNbtaʂNd /: “move!”: [baʂʂBd] [zu:l] [k□uz] [waUUAr]

The Sound /q/:

/jaqʁudu /: “he sits down”: [juɣʁud] [juʔʁud]

/jaqʁAʁu /: “he crosses (the street)”: [jaɣʁAʁ] [jaʔʁAʁ]

/jarqudu/: “he sleeps”: [jurʔud] [jurɣud]

/BʁʁAri:q /: “road”: [ʁre:ʔ] [ʁre:ɣ] [ʁre:q]

/jazlNqu/: “it slips”: [jazlAʔ] [jazlAɣ] [jazlaq]

/qalb(un)/: “heart”: [ʔalb] [ɣAlb] [qalb]

Appendix -6-

This table attempts to compare between the two dialects of *Tlemcen* City and the region of *Ain el Hout* shedding light on the available differences between them, to support what have been said in the dissertation through a comparison between their proverbs:

الأمثال الحوتية	الأمثال التلمسانية
1- لفم لمبّع ما ادخلهش ادبان (ة).	1- لفم اساكْت ما يدخلو ادبان.
2- انهار اللي كان حي اشتاق تمر (ة) ما كلهاش، وانهار اللي مات علقوله عرجون.	2- كان حي اشتاق تمر (ة)، مات علاولو عرجون
3- كل فرد يجرت مع أرينه	3- كل فرد يجرت مع أرينو
4- خلا لبوعناني ف لأسبور	4- عزى بوعناني ف لأصبور
5- يد وحد (ة) ما تصقق	5- يد وحد (ة) ما تكفف
6- حمأ وقالولها ولول	6- حمأ وألولها ولول
7- حفد الميم تحفدك	7- سبأ الميم ترتاح
8- اللي يخالط انخال (ة) ياكله اجداد	8- اللي يخالط انخال (ة) يتأبو اجداد
9- أنا نجريله ب الخبز ل فمه وهو يجريلي بلعود ل عيني	9- أنا نجريلو ب لأم (ة) ل فمو وهو يجريلي بالفرشيط (ة) ل عيني.
10- بدخل (ة) بتقطع اراس	10- بدخل (ة) بأطيع اراس

<i>Tlemcen Proverbs</i>	<i>Ain el Hout Proverbs</i>
1-/ Ifumm ssa:kBt majBddBU <u>u</u> ddBbba:n/	1-/ Ifumm lBmballB <u>š</u> mB BdduU <u>ah</u> G ddBbba:n
2-/ ka:n □ajj Gta:? <u>u</u> tamra ma:t Šal? <u>u</u> : <u>u</u> ŠarFu:n /	2-/ <u>nnhA:r</u> <u>BIIN</u> ka:n □ajj Gta:γ tamra <u>maklaha:G</u> wB <u>nnhA:r</u> <u>BIIN</u> ma:t Šalyo:l <u>Ah</u> ŠarFu:n /
3- / kul fard ja□rat mŠa ?ri: <u>nu</u> /	3-/ kul fard ja□rat mŠa ?ri: <u>nah</u> /
4- / <u>ŠBrra</u> bu:Šna:nN fBl l?a♣bo:r /	4-/ <u>Ula</u> lbu:Šna:nN fBl l?asbo:r /
5- / jBdd wa□da ma <u>tkaffBf</u> /	5-/ jBdd wa□da ma <u>t♣AffBy</u> /
6- / □am?a w ?alu:lha wBlwBl /	6-/ □am?a w γalu:lha wBlwBl /
7- / <u>sBbba?</u> lmi:m <u>tarta:□</u> /	7- / □fA| lmi:m <u>tB□□af</u> Ak /
8- / BIIN jUa:IA□ nnuUa:la <u>jna?bu</u> Fda:d /	8- / BIIN jUa:IA□ nnuUa:la <u>jakΩlah</u> Fda:d /
9- / ana naFri: <u>u</u> <u>bBlu?ma</u> lfumm <u>u</u> w huwa jaFri:li <u>bBlfarGi:□A</u> lŠajni /	9- / ana naFri: <u>lah</u> <u>bBlUubz</u> lfumm <u>ah</u> w huwa jaFri:li <u>bBlŠu:d</u> lŠeNnNja /
10-/ bBddeUla bB? <u>□e:Š</u> BrrA:s /	10-/ bBddeUla bBγ <u>□e:Š</u> BrrA:s /

- A difference in structure and an affinity in meaning.
- Differences in phonetic sounds
- A difference in number (sing., pl. ...etc)
- A difference in the realization of one sound
- Addition in structure and not in meaning
- Difference in pronouns/ morphemes (3rd person sing.)
- Affinity in the realization of one sound or one word

These verses from *Tlemcen hawfi* and that of *Ain el Hout*, which is one type of women songs, have been recorded for drawing a comparison between the two dialects to check the similarities and differences they display and which are shown by the use of the following colours:

- Difference in structure and meaning in poetic verses with a unity of the topic.
- Difference in tense
- Difference in structure and affinity in meaning.
- Addition in structure and not in meaning.
- Addition.
- Difference in structure and meaning with a difference in the topic and a unity in the first verse.
- Difference in one sound

الحوفي التلمساني

تلمسان يا لعاليا ويا محلاك لسكنان
فيك لحمام وليمام واتتالت القرآن
فيك قرآن عربي يارأوه اشبّان
شبّان هاد ازمان لا راي لا تدبير
يصرفو بلكذب وبدراهم لأزدير

مشيت لوريط لوريط ومشيت نندر فيه
صبت لكرراكر م لحدجر ولما يهدّر فيه
وربع م اشابات يعركو اصوابن فيه
لولى ي أمر واژاوج بلاّر
واتالت(ة) يالخوا شعلت ف ألبي انّار
واژابع(ة) يالخوا كي(ة) بلا مسمار

من عند **داك** لكركور وانا **غيل** نزور
زرت سيدي عبد اللاّ (ه) وسيدي بمّنصور
وزرت سيدي محمّد بن علي **حفيط** ارّسول
سيدي محمّد بن علي دجاني ف منام الله
مول لخلو (ة)، ياسامعين زرت واعطاني الله
سيدي دجيت آصداتو **تنفعني** براكّتو
تنفعني براكّتو بجاه رسول الله
سيدي محمّد بن علي دجاني ف منام الله
اعطاني كاس د حليب شربتو أنا وايتّاه

سأيت باب لدجيات ف اصيف محلاها
رگبتك أولد ما على سردج تخلخل عؤول لبنات منين تؤول أها
بنتي ف دجليل(ة) أفطانها عكري عيطو لولد عمها يدجي بكري
ويدفع ميات مليون ولدجوهر حلبي ويدفع ميات ميا ولمرا اللي تربّي
سأيت باب لدجيات حومتي وعين اربط حدي

سلامي على لالا ستي اراقب(ة) على لوطان
لمشفعة(ة) لرجال سلطنة اتسوان
سكنانها فلدجبل مرسة بلحجران
يا اطلال(ة) ف لجبل وتلاط لقوج(ة)
هبو رياح لخريف آلو خليلي دجا
واسفين(ة) دي دجابتو بلمال نغنيها
بلمسك لغالي(ة) نطلي سواريهها

دجيلد(ة) يامند(ة) وشعرها مطلق
وزقيو لولد لعموم يدج يعبيها
يرفد اذهب ويدجي عند والديها

الحوفي الحوتي

تلمسان يا لعاليا وعاليا بسواريتها
هي بلاد لملوك و اسلطنه (ة) غيل خير يجي ليها
هيا بلاد اصحاب (ة) وبلاد اسيد علي اوصل ليها

مشيت لوريط لوريط وانا نندر فيه
وانا نشوف دك لما يسيل فيه
لما يجري ويهدر فيه

من عند لكركور وانا دجاي ونزور
نزور سيدي عبد اللا (ه) وسيدي بن منصور
ونزيد سيدي محمد بن علي سلاك لحصول
وسيدي م بوعبد اللا (ه) حفيط ارسل
سيدي محمد بن علي ودجاني ف منام الله
مول لخلو (ة) يا سامعين زرتو واعطاني الله
وزيارة عين لحوت وزيارة عين لحوت
ومين دخلها بن علي عمرها بلياوت
لو كان يطير مع اطيور نوصلو فايراه
سيدي يعطينا بزكثو وينجنا م دعوتو
وياوي حرم اباه عطاني كاس ت لحليب
شربتو وانا وياه
وعطاني خبز (ة) صافيه (ة) اسمتها وانا وياه
لو كان يطير مع اطيور نوصلو فايراه
وزيارة لقب (ة) وزيارة لقب (ة)

ومين دخلها بن علي عمرها ب اطلب(ة)
سيدي مول اشان لكبير ف عين لحوت بلاعشير
ياوي حرم اباه
لو كان يطير مع اطيور نوصلو فايـراه

سأيت باب لدجيات ف اصيف ماحلاها
وكي يخردجو لبنيات لملاح يعمررو ماها
تمنينك أخوي لعزيز ف اسرج ماعلاها
وألوب لبنات ترخم مينين ولد اما يؤول آها.

لالا(ة) ستي او يا اراقب(ة) على لجبال ما شتليش خاي لغزال اراكب على لبغال
شاشي(ة) تونسسي(ة) ولخد بنعمان اما وقالو لي بنت ولبنت ماشي غول(ة)
تأدي صوالح اماها منين تكون مشغول(ة)
طلع للدجبل وطلعت للبوج(ة) صاط عليه لعصيف وعل بويادجا
اريح اللي دجابتو نبي سواريهها بلمسك لغالي(ة) نطلع حواشيهها

دجغليل(ة) يامن(ة) يا الله نرتاحو
وفي جنان خويا لحبيب نشموتقأحو
تقأحو دا وبنين وما هزاتو لرياح
نطلب م ربي وانبي لتمر ما تجياح
وحلوة بلعاليا وساط وراء اتوت
ادالي(ة) بلعنب واسبائ(ة) بالحوت

Tlemcen Hawfi

tlemsen ja lṢa:lja

wja ma□la:k lBssukna:n

fi:k la□ma:m w li:ma:m

wB tta:lat lqor?a:n

fi:k qor?a:n ṢarbN

ja?ra:wah GGubba:n

GGubba:n had zzma:n

la ra:j la tadbi:r

jB♣♣Arfu bBlkdab

w bBdraham l?azdi:r

mGi:t lAwre:□ lAwre:□

wB mGi:t nan| Ar fi:h

♣Abt lakra:kar mIB □dFar

wBlma jhaddar fi:h

wB rabṢa mB GGa:ba:t

jṢarrku ♣♣wA:ban fi:h

llawla ja ?mar

wB zza:wFa bBlIA:r

wB ttalta ja lUu

GaṢlat fN ?albi nnA:r

wB rA:bṢa ja lUu

kNjja bla masma:r

mBn Ṣand da:k lkarko:r

wana Φi:l nzo:r

zort sNdN Ṣabdella

wB sNdN

bBmman♣o:r

w zort sNdN mu□ammed bBn ṢIN □fe:□ rrasu:l

sNdN mu□ammed bBn ṢIN

dFa:ni fB mna:m Bllah

mu:l lUBlwa ja sa:mṢi:n

zortu wa Ṣ□A:ni Bllah

sNdN dFi:t ?A:♣da:tu

tanfaṢni bara:ktu

tanfaṢni bara:ktu

bFa:h rasu:l

Bllah

sNdN muḥammed bBn ḤIN

dFa:ni fB mna:m Bllah

ḤA:ni kas dBI ḥli:b

Grabtu ana wNjjah

sB??A:jat bab ladFja:d

fB

♣♣e:f maḥla:ha

rakkBbtBk B wBld Bmma Ḥla ssBrdF

tUBIUBI Ḥ?u:l

labna:t mni:n t?u:l aha

banti fB dFuḥli:la ?afḥA:nha ?BkrN

Ḥajḥo lwBld

ḤBmmha jdFi bakrN

w jBdfaḤ mja:t mBIju:n wa ldfuhar ḥelbN

w jBdfaḤ mja:t mja wB

lamra BIIN trabbN

sB??A:jat ba:b ladFjad ḥu:mti

wB ḤeNn

rrbAḥ ḥeddi

sla:mi

Ḥla

IBlla

settN

rra:yba Ḥla lawḥA:n

ImGBffḤa

IBrrFa:l

sulḥA:nat nnBswa :n

sukna:nha

fBldFbal

mrBssma bBIḥuFra:n

jB

ḥḥA:lḤa

fBldFbal

wB tla??aḥ lyu:Fa

hBbbu rja:□ IBUri:f
?a:lu Uli:li dFa
wB ssfi:na ddi dFa:btu
bBI ma:l nBΦni:ha
bBI mesk IΦa:lja
na□li swari:ha

dFuΦli:la ja:mna
wB GŒarha ma□lo:?
wB zayyi:w lwBld laŒmu:m jdFi jŒabbi:ha
jarfed ddhab
wB jdFi ŒBnd wa:ldNha

Ain el Hout Hawfi

tlemsen ja IŒa:lja wŒa:lja bBswari:ha
hNja bla:d lmulu:k wB sal□□nA Φi:l lUi:r jFi lNha
hNja bla:d ♣♣o□aba wB bla:d ssejjed ŒalN w♣Al
lNha

mGi:t lAwre:□ lAwre:□

wana nan| Ar fi:h

wana nuG:f da:k

lma jsi:l fi:h

lma jaFri

wB jhaddar fi:h

mBn Ṣand lkarko:r

wana dFa:ja wa nzo:r

nzo:r sNdN Ṣabdella

wB sNdN

bBnman♣o:r

wB nzi:d sNdN mu□ammed bBn ṢIN

sBlla:k □u♣o:l

wB sNdN mbu ṢBbdella

□fe:□ rrasu:l

sNdN mu□ammed bBn ṢIN

wB dFa:ni fB

mna:m Bllah

mu:l lUBlwa ja sa:mṢi:n

zartu wa Ṣ□A:ni Bllah

wB zja:rat ṢeNn Bl hu:t

wB zja:rat ṢeNn Bl hu:t

w mi:n dUalha bnB ṢIN

Ṣammarha bBl ja?u:t

luka:n j□e:r mṢa □□ ju:r

nBw♣Allu fajBrra:h

sNdN jaṢ□e:na bBrktu

wB jnBFFNna m dBṢṢawtu

wB j?A:wi □orm bb♠a:h

Ṣ□A:ni kas tBl □li:b

Grabtu wana wNjjah

Wa Ṣ□A:ni Uubza ♣A:fja

?samtha wana wNjjah

luka:n j□e:r mṢa □□ ju:r

nBw♣Allu fajBrra:h

wB zja:rat lyubba

wB zja:rat lyubba

w mi:n dUalha bnB ṢIN

Ṣammarha bB□□olba

sNdN mu:l GGa:n lBkbi :r

f ṢeNn Bl hu:t

bla ṢGi:r

j?A:wi □orm bb♠a:h

wB fN Fna:n Uuja la□bi:b

nGBmmu

tBffa:□u

tBffa:□u da?? wB bni:n

w mBhazza:tu

lBrja:□

na□lab mB rrabbN w nbnN

latmar ma: taFja:□

w halwBt bBIṣa:lja

wa s?A:□

wra:? ttu:t

dda:lja bBIṣnBb

wB

ssa:?ja bBI □u:t.

Appendix -7-

1/- The following tables represent the scores of the use of different pronouns by *Tlemcen* men:

a) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “I” by *Tlemcen* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ana]	4	9	6	5	24
[anaja]	2	0	2	0	4
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

♣ 85.71% of Tlemcenian men use [ana]: “I”.

b) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[nta]	4	2	4	1	11
[ntaja]	1	0	1	0	2
[ntNna]	1	7	3	4	15
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

♣ The percentage of the use of the pronoun [ntNna]: “you” (masc.sing.) is 53.57 %.

♣ 39.29% of men use [nta] and only 7.14% utilize [ntaja].

c) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntN]	1	1	0	0	2
[ntNja]	2	1	1	0	3
[ntNna]	3	7	7	5	23
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

- ♣ The scores of the use of [ntNna]: “you” (fem.sing.) among men is 82.14%
- ♣ The scores of the use of [ntNja] is 10.71%
- ♣ Only 7.15% of them use [ntN].

d) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Men

In this table, the pronoun “you” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntuma]	4	6	2	1	13
[ntuman]	2	3	6	4	15
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

- ♣ The scores of the use of [ntuma] is 46.42%
- ♣ The percentage of the using the pronoun [ntuman] is 53.57% .

e) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “they” by *Tlemcen* Men

In this table, the pronoun “they” refers to both dual and plural.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[huma]	4	6	3	2	15
[human]	2	3	5	3	13
Σ	6	9	8	5	28

- ♣ 53.57% of *Tlemcen* males use the pronoun [huma]
- ♣ 46.42% of them use the pronoun [human]

2/- The following tables represent the scores of the use of different pronouns by *Tlemcen* women:

a) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “I” by *Tlemcen* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ana]	7	10	8	8	33
[anaja]	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

- ♣ All women of the sample population utilize [ana].

b) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[nta]	3	1	0	3	7
[ntaja]	0	0	0	0	0
[ntNna]	4	9	8	5	26
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

- ♣ The score of the use of [ntNna]: “you” (masc.sing.) among women is 78.79%
- ♣ The score of the use of [nta] is 21.21%
- ♣ None of them use [ntaja].

c) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntN]	0	0	0	0	0
[ntNja]	1	0	0	0	1
[ntNna]	6	10	8	8	32
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

- ♣ All women of Tlemcen sample population use [ntNna] (fem.sing.) and only a small proportion of 3% use [ntNja].

d) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Tlemcen* Women

In this table, the pronoun “you” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntuma]	4	6	0	2	12
[ntuman]	3	4	8	6	21
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

♣ 63.64% of women use [ntuman]

♣ 36.36% of them use [ntuma]

e) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “they” by *Tlemcen* Women

In this table, the pronoun “they” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[huma]	5	6	0	3	14
[human]	2	4	8	5	19
Σ	7	10	8	8	33

♣ 57.58% of women use [human]

♣ The other 42.42% use [huma].

3/- The following tables represent the scores of the use of different pronouns by *Ain el Hout* men:

a) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun ‘I’ by *Ain el Hout* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ana]	4	7	6	5	22
[anaja]	3	2	1	0	6
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

- ♣ 78.57% of *Ain el Hout* men utilize [ana]
- ♣ 21.43% utilize [anaja]

b) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun ‘you’ by *Ain el Hout* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[nta]	3	3	5	5	16
[ntaja]	4	5	2	0	11
[ntNna]	0	1	0	0	1
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

- ♣ The scores of the use of [nta](masc.sing) is 57.14 %
- ♣ The scores of [ntaja] is 39.29 %

- ♣ Only 3.57% of them utilize [ntNna].

c) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Ain el Hout* Men

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntN]	1	5	2	0	8
[ntNja]	6	3	5	4	18
[ntNna]	0	1	0	1	2
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

- ♣ The scores of the use of [ntNna](fem.sing.) is 7.14 %
- ♣ The scores of [ntN] is 28.57%
- ♣ 64.23% of them utilize [ntNja].

d) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Ain el Hout* Men

In this table, the pronoun “you” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntuma]	6	6	6	3	20
[ntuman]	1	3	1	2	8
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

- ♣ The use of [ntuma] exceeds the use of [ntuman] among *Ain el Hout* men.

e) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “they” by *Ain el Hout* Men

In this table, the pronoun “they” refers to both dual and plural.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[huma]	6	6	6	3	21
[human]	1	3	1	2	7
Σ	7	9	7	5	28

- ♣ The use of [huma] exceeds the use of [human] among *Ain el Hout* men.

4/- The following tables represent the scores of the use of different pronouns by *Ain el Hout* women:

a) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “I” by *Ain el Hout* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ana]	4	5	7	4	20
[anaja]	5	5	1	3	14
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

- ♣ 58.82% utilize the pronoun [ana].
- ♣ 41.18% of them use the pronoun [anaja].

b) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Ain el Hout* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[nta]	3	4	6	4	17
[ntaja]	6	5	1	1	13
[ntNna]	0	1	1	2	4
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

- ♣ There are few women (11.76%) who use [ntNna](masc.sing)
- ♣ Their use varies between [ntaja](38.24%) and [nta] (50%).

c) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Ain el Hout* Women

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntN]	2	1	1	1	5
[ntNja]	7	9	5	3	24
[ntNna]	0	0	2	3	5

Σ	9	10	8	7	34
----------	---	----	---	---	----

- ♣ The uses of both Tlemcenian [ntNna] and the rural [ntN] (fem.sing) are the same with a percentage of 14.71% for each.
- ♣ 70.59% of women in *Ain el Hout* use the pronoun [ntNja].

d) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “you” by *Ain el Hout* Women

In this table, the pronoun “you” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[ntuma]	8	10	5	1	24
[ntuman]	1	0	3	6	10
Σ	9	10	8	7	34

- ♣ They utilize [ntuma] with a percentage of 70.59% more than [ntuman] which is 29.41%.

e) Scores of the Use of the Pronoun “they” by *Ain el Hout* Women

In this table, the pronoun “they” refers to both dual and plural of both gender.

	[0,20[	[20,40[	[40,60[	[60,90[	Σ
[huma]	7	9	5	0	21
[human]	2	1	3	7	13

Σ	9	10	8	7	34
----------	---	----	---	---	----

- ♣ 61.76% of women use [huma]
- ♣ 38.24% of them use [human]

ملخص:

هذا العمل يهدف إلى دراسة واقع التفاعلات اللّهجويّة بين لهجة الوسط الحضريّ التلمسانيّ من جهة، ولهجة الوسط الرّيفيّ ممثّلة في اللهجة الحوتيّة من جهة أخرى، بغية معرفة مدى تأثير وتأثر كلّ منهما بالأخرى، ومنه استخلاص طبيعة خصائص كلّ منهما، وكلّ ذلك بالاعتماد على التحليل السوسiolغوي والتاريخ الألسني لكلّ منهما تحت إيجاء المقاربة البنيويّة لدى " بيير بورديو " بكل ما تتضمّنه من معجم مصطلحيّ.

الكلمات المفتاحيّة: اللهجة الحضريّة، اللهجة الرّيفيّة، التّبادل اللّهجيّ، المجال، العوائديّة، الرّاسمال الرّمزيّ، السّوق اللّغويّة، الثّنائيّة: مهيم - مهيم عليه.

Résumé :

Ce travail tente d'étudier les inter-échanges dialectaux entre le dialecte du milieu citadin de *Tlemcen* d'un coté, et celui du milieu rural représenté par la localité d'*Ain el Hout* de l'autre, dans le but de savoir le degré d'influence et d'influencabilité de l'un vis-à-vis l'autre, et par là, tirer la nature de leurs caractéristiques. Tout cela en se basant sur l'analyse sociolinguistique et l'Histoire linguistique de chacun sous l'orientation de l'approche structuraliste de « Pierre Bourdieu », avec tout ce qu'elle contient comme dictionnaire terminologique.

Mot clés : dialecte citadin, dialecte rural, l'échange dialectale, champ, *Habitus*, capital symbolique, marché linguistique, dichotomie : dominant- dominé.

Abstract:

This research work attempts to study the mutual dialectal exchanges between the urban dialect of *Tlemcen* on one hand, and the rural dialect of *Ain el Hout* on the other, aiming at determining the degree of influence of both dialects on each other. In doing so, it also tries to deduce the characteristics of both of them. Based on a sociolinguistic analysis and on the linguistic history of each variety, this study also relies on the Structuralist Approach of Pierre Bourdieu, with all its terminological concepts for the interpretation of the results obtained.

Key words: Urban dialect, Rural dialect, dialectal exchange, field, *Habitus*, symbolic capital, linguistic market, dominant-dominated dichotomy.

Summary:

A Comparative linguistic study is the best way for coming up with the affinities and differences between different dialects which are constantly in contact, and for this reason, we have tackled this topic with an aim to study through comparison the two dialects of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*.

Indeed, the present research work attempts to unveil the nature of the impact of both the urban *dialect of Tlemcen* and its rural counterpart of *Ain el Hout* on each other. In fact, there has always been a tight relationship between the village of *Ain el Hout* and *Tlemcen* town; a relationship which appears at different levels and in distinct domains, but the most primordial connection, and which represents the central core of this study is a dialectal one. The present work endeavours to inquire about the complexities of the dialectal interplay between both varieties which they share particular characteristics on one hand, and show other different specificities on the other. Therefore, the following problematics can be raised:

1. What is the origin of the constituent dialectal elements of *Tlemcen* speech and of those of *Ain el Hout*?
2. What are the underlying linguistic characteristics that distinguish each one from the other?
3. Since the two settings are constantly related to each other, how is this fact manifested in their dialectal interaction or exchange? And what is the type of dialectal exchange that arises from their contact?

In sociolinguistic inquiries, scholars and researchers should adopt appropriate research tools which help in collecting pure, representative, and reliable data that allow them to arrive at accurate and concrete results, from which we cite the interview. The latter research instrument has been adopted in the present study and the data obtained have been recorded, for the sake of investigating both dialects of *Tlemcen* and *Ain el Hout*, and comparing them with previous inquiries dealt with in the same area of research, to arrive at the newly occurring changes and the static linguistic variables in both dialects, in addition to their affinities and differences. Moreover, this research tool was thought to be helpful in recording the exact linguistic characteristics even with their suprasegmental features, and to better transcribe them as well to reach a high degree of validity and objectivity in analysis. But, the interviews which were conducted with Tlemcenians were sometimes in the form of different questions and various discussions unlike the pre-determined questions which were asked with the sample population of *Ain el Hout*. And on the light of the Structuralist Approach of Pierre Bourdieu, the type of language contact and exchange between these two dialects has been clearly identified.

Another research tool which was employed is the questionnaire which is opted for to analyze the collected data quantitatively, to compare them with the obtained results that have been recorded, and to check whether they are similar or different. Accordingly, a profound analysis for this linguistic phenomenon will be achieved.

As far as the sample populations of this research with whom interviews and questionnaires are conducted, the *Hadar* informants have been selected, but

the sample of *Ain el Hout* is rather random. A detailed description of the sample population dealt with in this study will be given in the two following chapters.

This research work has been structured into five chapters; each one has a specific purpose. The first chapter aimed at delimiting the constructive elements of the present research work shedding light on the research tools opted for and on the reasons behind the choice of this theme and was also devoted for defining the most important key concepts of the Bourdian approach such as the habitus, the symbolic capital, the field and the dichotomy of dominant-dominated in addition to brief definition of the dialect with its two main types urban and rural in correspondence with Tlemcen and ain el hout as they represent the core of this research work. The second chapter, however, detailed the general characteristics of Tlemcen dialect after analyzing the data collected in the form of drawing many tables summarizing the vocabulary items of Tlemcen speech and showing their origins in addition to reviewing the most important phonological features characterizing this speech shedding light on the occurring phonological phenomena such as assimilation, substitutions, metathesis, elision and others. This chapter also reviewed some morphological structures of this dialects at the level of verbs, nouns, adverbs and pronouns. The other general characteristics of Ain el Hout dialect were also described in chapter three at the level of phonology, morphology and lexis. To better interpret the data obtained, we have devoted a fourth chapter which was statistical in form and attempted to compare particular characteristics of the two dialects under investigation such as the use of the glottal stop and the velar plosive [g], some morphological variants of the third person singular {-ah} and {-u} in addition to the feminine mark {-i} and the morphemes added to construct dual forms in the two dialects. Then, the fifth chapter tried to interpret these findings in a global sociolinguistic way depending on the components of the Bourdian approach and those of Ibn

Khaldoun and Fernand Braudel for a better understanding of the type of exchange between the two varieties of language .

At the end of this work, *Tlemcen* speech has been proved to be characterized by a set of features. The most important ones which can be summarized, at this level, are the different realizations of its linguistic variables mainly of its phonetic system. The /q/ sound is realized as [], the /dF/ is maintained in different environments, in addition to the other features which were detailed in the second chapter. Like all the Algerian Arabic dialects, *Tlemcen* dialect has a considerable range of grammatical and syntactic constructions. Its vocabulary bulk is also rich and involves a great repertoire of urban lexical items which they fit the necessities of its speakers in their urban community.

From what have been detailed in the first three chapters, one may explicitly notice that both dialects under investigation share many phonological, morphological, and lexical characteristics, but each of them involve some features peculiar to it, and that are different of those of its counterpart. These distinctive features can only be attributed to the impact of the social environment and its norms has on the structure of each regional dialect. In fact, the environment where these varieties are spoken, with all their norms, economic institutions, psychological and behaviourist models, influence the structure of each dialect, and this leads us to deduce that the study of the two dialects requires a more profound investigation at other levels of analysis to arrive at a more satisfactory and total understanding of

these dialects, and that a dialect is such an intricate phenomenon which cannot only be studied in a descriptive way.

In fact, it was observable that the inhabitants of *Ain el Hout* mainly the ancient families tend to imitate the urban Tlemcenian speech and this tendency is remarked with different degrees with all individuals, but it is highly witnessed with women. Yet, it is illogical that *Ain el Hout* dialect is solely influenced by *Tlemcen* speech. In any objective theorizing, it is said that in any linguistic exchange, both varieties are influencing each other, but the degree of influence can differ from one another. Therefore, *Tlemcen* speech is also influenced, but with a lesser extent, by its counterpart dialect of *Ain el Hout*, especially at the phonological and lexical levels for *Tlemcen* speakers pronounce some words with a [] sound in addition to whole words, which are rural in origin, mainly those related to agriculture, and that are themselves borrowed from the Bedouin dialects spoken in bedouin environments. Thus, these linguistic facts support Bourdieu's current which insists on the phenomenon of deglutition which means that the older symbolic capital is constantly erasing some of the constituents of the other symbolic capitals which are not so old. It does so just to keep and perpetuate the continuance of the Dominant-Dominated Dichotomy, i.e. *Tlemcen* as a dominant community and *Ain el Hout* as rather dominated.

This domination is attributed to some historical, ethnic and cultural justifications which are in need of more details, but it has undeniably been influenced by its counterpart dialect. Furthermore, the reasons behind this impact constitute another topic of research which requires the investigation of the successive ethnicities which *Tlemcen* has known through too many long centuries. Anyway, no profound understanding for both dialects could be reached without studying their general and linguistic histories accurately,

because all “nations are the result of a long past, and not of one minute, and it is the offspring of the influence of environments of distinct impacts. Therefore, its present is interpreted through restoring its past”.

At the end, it should be remarked that essentially based on what socio-anthropologists consider as the building stone of a pure scientific research: the observation participante, in addition data of different disciplines were included for a better understanding of this phenomenon. However, this claim does not mean that this research is perfectly achieved, and it needs further profound analysis and investigation, and for this reason our further post-graduate studies are intended to come up with convincing answers for the questions raised in this modest work as this field of study should be more exploited, and without exaggerating, it is really a field of paramount importance that will be of a scientific and sociolinguistic profitability for *the Tlemcenian* society in particular and for the sociolinguistic situation of the Algerian repertoire in general.