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***THE EFFECTS OF TRADE ACTIVITIES ON LANGUAGE VARIATION AT  
THE ALGERIAN/MOROCCAN BORDER:  
MAGHNIA SPEECH COMMUNITY.***

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in  
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**Presented by:**

Mrs. Asmaa BOUCHEKIF

**Under the Supervision of:**

Dr. Ilham SERIR

**Board of Examiners:**

Dr. Ali BAICHE	MC	President	(University of Tlemcen)
Dr. Ilham SERIR	MC	Supervisor	(University of Tlemcen)
Pr. Fewzia BEDJAOUI	PR	External Examiner	(University of Sidi Belabes)
Dr. Zoubir DENDANE	MC	Internal Examiner	(University of Tlemcen)
Dr. Radia BENYELLES	MC	Internal Examiner	(University of Tlemcen)

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## ABSTRACT

Language variation is a linguistic phenomenon which has specified the Algerian society in general and Maghnia speech community in particular for many years. Geographically speaking, Maghnia is only 28 km far from the Algerian/Moroccan border, the fact which gives the opportunity for both Moroccan and Maghnaoui merchants to exchange various types of goods along the frontiers. These trade activities are, in fact, done illegally because of the closure of the borders since 1994. Therefore, the major target of the present research work is to throw some light on the more salient Moroccan linguistic features (i.e. phonological, morphological and most importantly lexical) that characterize the Arabic variety used by Maghnaoui inhabitants. Also, it tries to point out some of the economic, historical, geographical and social aspects which cause the speech variety of Maghnia's residents to vary specifically beside the Algerian/Moroccan border when contacting the Moroccan citizens. Also, it attempts to speak about the speakers' attitudes towards such speech variation.

The present research work essays to illustrate that the two social forces, namely type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people) and place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market) have led to the emergence of clear and consistent distinctions in the phonology, morphology and most crucially the lexicon of Maghnaoui Arabic.

Based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches, it has been inferred that the traders met in the town under survey seem to be more affected by the neighbouring Moroccan vernacular than ordinary people. This is principally related to the dialect-contact process and the population mobility when doing different trade activities along the Algerian/Moroccan border. Additionally, other linguistic consequences which are closely linked with the settlement of some Moroccan people in Maghnia, the exogamous marriages between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui individuals are going to be explained in this dissertation.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ❖ **AA** : Algerian Arabic
- ❖ **MA** : Maghnaoui Arabic
- ❖ **MSA** : Modern Standard Arabic
- ❖ **CA** : Classical Arabic
- ❖ **AAVE**: African-American Vernacular English
- ❖ **PCs**: Pidgins and Creoles
- ❖ **#** : weak word boundary
- ❖ **+** : affix boundary
- ❖ **{ }** : suffix boundary
- ❖ **( )** : are used to represent the linguistic variable
- ❖ **//** : are used for CA articulation
- ❖ **[ ]** : are used for dialectal articulation

## LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

### Consonants:

<u>Plosives</u>	<u>Fricatives</u>
[b] as in [bumba] “bomb”	[f] as in [fum]”mouth”
[t] as in [tmar]”dattes”	[s] as in [ssuma]”price”
[d] as in [da:r]”house”	[z] as in [zifaʔ]”send”
[k] as in [kalb]”dock”	[ʃ] as in [ʃuf]”see”
[g] as in [gæʔ] “all”	[χ] as in [χubz]”bread”
[ʔ] as in [ʔærɔ] “land”	[ʁ] as in [bliʁa]”slippers made of leather”
[t̪] as in [j̪i:r] “it flies”	[ħ] as in [ħanu:t]”shop”
[ɖ] as in [jadɖrab] “he hits”	[ʕ] as in [ʕru:ʂa]”bride”
[q] as in [qerrab]”come here ”	[h] as in [hadi]”this one”
<u>Lateral</u>	[ʒ] as in [ʒemmaʔ]”sit down”
[l] as in [lli:l]”night”	[ʂ] as in [ʂbɔħ]”morning”
<u>Classical Arabic Consonants</u>	[z] as in [zi:t]”oil”
[θ] as in [θu:m]”garlic”	<u>Approximants</u>
[ð] as in [ða:bet]”it melted”	[w] as in [wah]”yes”
[ð̣] as in [nð̣an]”I think”	[j] as in [ʔafja]”fire”
[ɖ] as in [ɖɖaw]”light”	<u>Nasals</u>
	[m] as in [mri:ɖ]”ill”
	[n] as in [nna:s]” people”

### Vowels of Plain Consonants:

<u>Short Vowels</u>	<u>Long Vowels</u>
[i] as in [fin]”where”	[i:] as in [ɖi:f]”guest”
[u] as in [skut]”be silent”	[u:] as in [gu:l] “say”
[a] as in [derwak]”now”	[a:] as in [ma:t]”he died”

## Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

<u>Short Vowels</u>	<u>Long Vowels</u>
[e] as in [rfeɖ] "took"	[o:] as in [ʒabado:r] "cloth made of long dress and trousers"
[o] as in [korɑ] "ball"	[ɑ:] as in [ra:h] "be went"
[ɑ] as in [nqɑɖ] "I am able"	

### **Other vowels used in this research work:**

-[ə] [ʃajən] "hie is fasting?"

-[æ] [wæsəm] "what"

-[æ]-[a]-[e]: these vowels are said to be in free variation and do not affect the meaning of a word. They are used in this research work interchangeably.

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# **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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Recently, sociolinguistics, as an academic field of inquiry, has made great efforts in exploring language variation and language change within distinct speech communities. The social mobility and dialect contact which exist with the neighbouring towns have led speech variation to be regarded as an interesting subject matter that needs to be talked about from various dimensions. As a result, many sociolinguistic works have been devoted to speak about the development, change and spread of the phonological, morphological and lexical features in accordance with the social variables such as: age, gender, ethnicity, social class, level of education, type of occupation and place of residence.

The speech variety which is studied in the present research work is spoken in Maghnia, an area that is only 28 km far from the Algerian/Moroccan border. Indeed, this small distance allows Maghnaoui traders to contact the Moroccan merchants and exchange different types of goods with them. Although, the frontiers have been closed since 1994, the reality is that trade activities have continued unabated. Consequently, the main concern of this sociolinguistic investigation is to answer the following questions:

- 1- Do trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border influence Maghnaoui Arabic (henceforth MA)?
- 2- What are the social constraints which underline language variation in the speech community of Maghnia?
- 3- Is trade the only factor which has an impact on Maghnaoui dialect, or are there any other determinants?

To find reliable replies to the above questions, three hypotheses spring, as follows:

- 1- Trade activities which exist along the Algerian/Moroccan border have a great impact on the vernacular used in Maghnia speech community.
- 2- The most important social constraints that explain speech variation among Maghnaoui inhabitants are their type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people), in addition to their place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market).

- 3- Trade is not the only factor which affects Maghnaoui dialect, but rather, there are other historical, geographical and social determinants that lead Maghnaoui speech variety to vary along the Algerian/Moroccan border.

Therefore, the whole work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter begins with the literature review specifying a spotlight on the importance of studying language as a social fact (which means explaining the correlation between language variation and the social variables: social class, gender, age and ethnicity) rather than an asocial phenomenon (which means abstracting language use from its social context in order to obtain a pure formal linguistic theory) that is the aim of structuralists and generalists. It also attempts to provide some definitions to the essential sociolinguistic concepts which are relevant to the topic under survey, the notion of language, dialect, variety, code, vernacular, register, pidgin and creole in addition to the terms of: speech community, speech repertoire and the linguistic variable that are fundamental materials in any sociolinguistic project. At the same level, light will be shed on the interrelationship between language and economy because trade, as an economic activity, may have a strong effect on Maghnaoui speech variation.

The second chapter is divided into four sections. The first section gives a bird's eye view on the current sociolinguistic profile and explains the various historical, political and social factors which lead each speech variety (Arabic, Berber and French) to be employed in distinct circumstances. Moreover, the second section provides an overall picture of the linguistic phenomena namely (diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, code mixing and borrowing) that characterize the Algerian multilingual speech community. Furthermore, the third section seeks to give a general background about the speech community of Maghnia. That is, some light will be shed on the geographical location of this town, its history, economy, tourism and culture. Finally, the methodology utilized in the present fieldwork, the tools, the participants and the ways of classifying them are going to be exposed within the last section of this chapter.

## General Introduction

The third chapter describes essentially the various linguistic features which characterize Maghnaoui Arabic (MA). Also, it shows the interplay between the phonological, morphological and lexical aspects and the two extra-linguistic variables: type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people) and place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market). In the light of the data collected in Maghnia speech community by means of questionnaires, interviews, tape recordings, rapid and anonymous surveys, participant observation and a friend of a friend procedure, the results reached have been analyzed and interpreted in relation to the aforementioned social constraints. At the end, there is a special focus on the other historical, geographical, social and economic factors which are behind dialectal variation in MA as well as the informants' attitudes towards the Moroccan phonological, morphological and lexical variants inserted in MA along the Algerian/Moroccan border.



# **Chapter One: Literature Review:**

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## 1.1. Introduction

Departing from the sociolinguistic research work's title, our main concern is to test the degree of the effects of trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border on the speech of Maghnia, as well as to look for the most important factors that are behind this dialectal variation. This area is a town in Tlemcen Province that is situated in the Northern Western part of Algeria, near the Algerian/Moroccan frontier.

The first chapter, a theoretical one, tries to offer some brief, clear, and convenient definitions to the major sociolinguistic concepts that have a relationship with the present research work. In addition to that, it attempts to study language as a social fact (; i.e. explaining language variation in terms of the so many extra-linguistic variables such as age, gender, ethnicity and social class) rather than as an asocial phenomenon (; i.e. abstracting language use from its social context). For this reason, it seeks to provide some explanations about the complex connections between linguistic structure and social structure, the point which was for a long time neglected by theoretical linguists because of their pure formal linguistic purposes. Moreover, it tries to explain the correlation between language and economy since trade is principally regarded as an essential economic activity which influences Maghnaoui Arabic.

## 1.2. Theoretical Linguistics and Language Variation

The study of language in its socio-cultural context is not the domain of any field of work. Edward Sapir (1929:166)<sup>1</sup> says in this respect that: “**...Language is primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such**”. Therefore, the advent of sociolinguistics in the late 1960s has helped a lot in explaining the inevitable relationship between language variation and the independent social

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Mandelbaum, (1949: 166).

characteristics, the fact which was ignored by both structuralists such as: Saussure (1916) and Bloomfield (1933), as well as transformationalists like Chomsky (1965).

Saussure (ibid) regards language as the abstract language system (what he calls “langue”) and the speech production of an individual in a specific situation (what he names “parole”). Besides, he considers langue as homogeneous whereas parole as heterogeneous. The American linguist Chomsky defines language in terms of competence ,that is, **“the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of his language”**, and performance, **“the actual use of language in concrete situations” (1965:4)**.

Moreover, the field of linguistic research gave much importance to langue and competence rather than parole and performance. The same opinion is stated by Chambers (2003:26) who asserts that:”**...the proper domain of linguistics should be homogeneous langue rather than heterogeneous parole, [...] or the speaker-hearer’s competence rather than actual performance”**.

Thus, Chomsky wanted to study language without reference to its social-life situations for pure formal linguistic purposes. In this sense, he claims that: **“Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community” (1965:3)**. Chomsky insists on competence to know more about language rather than on performance to know more about the uses of language since variation which is observed in everyday speech will certainly affect the achievement of a pure formal linguistic theory.

However, language is not just abstract knowledge but also actual use in different social settings. Wardhaugh (2010:5) maintains that:

**Meaningful insights into language can be gained only if such matters as use and variation are included as part of the data which must be explained in a comprehensive theory of language; such a theory of language must have something to say about the uses of language.**

Trudgill (2000:20), in turn, believes that:

**Language is very much a social phenomenon. A study of language totally without reference to its social context inevitably leads to the omission of some of the more complex and interesting aspects of language and to the loss of opportunities for further theoretical progress.**

Consequently, scholars should be convinced that in addition to the formalization of language, much more about natural languages can be learned by studying the phenomenon in relation to the social factors. Furthermore, sociolinguistics does not reject all what has been obtained by theoretical linguists since Wolfram (2006) stresses on the idea that if structure is the heart of language, variation then, defines its soul.

### **1.3. Sociolinguistics as a Field of Research**

Until the mid 1960s, formal linguists focused their attention on the system of language and tended to eliminate variation that is viewed in language use. However, anthropologists, dialectologists and even some linguists have started to deal with language variation in its social context, a perspective which has led to the growth of a new discipline named: “sociolinguistics”. Such a new approach is a branch of linguistics which has been established as **“...an attempt to rethink, received categories and assumptions as the bases of linguistic work, and as to the place of language in human life”** (Hymes, 2003: vii).

Additionally, sociolinguistics in the view of Coulmas has been established as a field of investigation in order to study the relationships between linguistic structure and social structure. Also, it tries to form causal links between language and society and to find out explanations to how **“language contributes to making community possible and how communities shape their languages by using them”** (1997: 2). In general, it attempts to gain a better understanding of language as an important condition and

product of social life.

Historically speaking, the term ‘sociolinguistics’ was first used in 1952 by Haver C. Currie<sup>2</sup> who noted that: **“social functions and significations of speech factors offer a prolific field of research”**. This field of research is **“...here designated socio-linguistics”**. But to understand such path of work, it is important to have a quick look at regional dialectology.

### 1.3.1. Regional Dialectology

Before the emergence of sociolinguistics, dialectology forms an early attempt to deal systematically with language variation, particularly regional dialects. This field of inquiry began in the second half of the nineteenth century and was known as regional dialectology or dialect geography. Mesthrie et al (2009:42) define regional dialectology as **“...the systematic study of how language varies from one area to another”**. According to Chambers and Trudgill (1998), the first study of dialect geography was conducted in Germany in 1876 by George Wenker. He sent a list of sentences in standard German to schoolmasters in the North of Germany and asked them to transcribe the list into the local dialect.

Generally speaking, the principal interest of traditional dialectologists was to collect data in rural regions in order to describe regional dialects spoken by non-mobile, older: rural males, termed NORMs<sup>3</sup>, and to map the geographical distribution of its linguistic features (mainly phonological and lexical features) in terms of isoglosses<sup>4</sup>. Milroy and Gordon (2003:12) confirm that:

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Chambers et al (2004:5).

<sup>3</sup> NORMs is an acronym used by Chambers and Trudgill (1998) to refer to the participants who were the most likely to speak the local traditional dialect in a ‘pure’ form, uninfluenced by the standard or any other dialects.

<sup>4</sup> Isoglosses are geographical lines that determine the boundaries between linguistic variants.

**The aim of dialectological work is to produce a geographical account of linguistic differences, the end product often taking the form of a series of maps showing the broad areal limits of the linguistic features (usually lexical or phonological) chosen for study.**

Although regional dialectologists were interested in language variation, their analyses were based on traditional materials. Labov<sup>5</sup> comments on this method and says: **“a long question from the interviewer and a short answer from the subject”**. Hence, a new generation of dialectologists came with the advantage of employing new technological instruments that helped them to analyse various dialects in urban contexts by reference to various social constraints.

### **1.3.2. Social Dialectology**

Unlike regional dialectology whose major concern was to study language variation geographically by collecting data mostly in rural areas, social dialectology or sociolinguistics as it is sometimes labeled, has stressed basically on language variation but in urban settings, taking into consideration the different social factors such as: social class, gender, age and ethnicity. The same viewpoint is stated by Linn (1998:2)<sup>6</sup> who proclaims:

**While regional dialectology is concerned with how language varies regionally, sociolinguistics is primarily concerned with accent or dialect as a marker for an individual membership in a particular social group.**

Chambers and Trudgill, on their side, argue that people generally belong to a specific regional location and have a certain social background, and the different dialects they speak usually classify them **“...not only as natives or inhabitants of a particular place, but also as members of a particular social class, age group,**

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Chambers and Trudgill (1998 :188).

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Balasubramanian (2009: 16).

ethnic background, or other social characteristics” (1998:45).

Besides, regional dialectology adopted a diachronic approach insisting on **“The forms themselves and their cognates rather than on the verbal habits of the speakers that use them”** (Gumperz, 1974:127)<sup>7</sup>. However, social dialectology explains language variation from a synchronic perspective. In other words, it takes a specific language or dialect at a single point of time and tries to link between the choices made by the speakers and the extra-linguistic variables.

Moreover, Francis (1983:150) considers regional or traditional dialectology as an “item centred”, which means that it **“...focused on individual facts of the variable distribution of a single sound, without attempting to relate them to the overall structure of dialects involved”**. Social dialectology, on the other hand, can be qualified as “speaker- centred”, because it stresses on both of the competence and performance of the speaker. Johnstone (2000:1) claims in this respect that: **“...sociolinguistic work is based on observations of people using language and analyses of those observations”**.

Furthermore, regional dialectology may differ from sociolinguistics in the methodologies employed. In an easier way, while regional dialectologists were using traditional instruments specifically long questionnaires addressed to non-mobile, older, rural males only, sociolinguists have brought new technological devices such as tape-recorder and computer that have facilitated the collection and analysis of the data.

However, in spite of all the differences that exist between regional dialectology and sociolinguistics, they are generally regarded as interrelated disciplines. This opinion is affirmed by Chambers and Trudgill who declare that: **“Dialectology without sociolinguistics at its core is a relic”** (1998:188). So, sociolinguistics is a broad field of research which has connections with regional dialectology, in addition to

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Bell, R. (1976:24).



other social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, human sciences and social psychology.

### 1.3.3. Macro/Micro Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics generally explores the correlations that exist between language and society, the fact which makes researchers divide such path of investigation into two subfields: micro-sociolinguistics or sociolinguistics, and macro-sociolinguistics or sociology of language. The former concentrates on a particular language and explains how it can be influenced by society, whereas, the latter throws much light on society and clarifies how it can be affected by language. Romaine (1994: x) comments on these two distinctions in the following way:

**Macro-sociolinguistics takes society as its starting point and deals with language as a pivotal factor in the organization of communities. Micro-sociolinguistics begins with language and treats social forces as essential factors influencing the structure of language.**

In an easier way, Hudson (1996:4) defines sociolinguistics as “**the study of language in relation to society**”, and the sociology of language as “**the study of society in relation to language**”. Furthermore, Macro-sociolinguistics tries to tackle problems related to language contact and choice, language status, language maintenance and shift and many other phenomena. This thought has been expressed by all of Johnstone, Wodak and Kirswill who emphasize that: “**Macro-sociolinguists study issues of language planning, languages in contact, diglossia and bilingualism**” (2011:3). Micro-sociolinguistics, in contrast, looks for the relations between the different linguistic features (phonological, lexical, grammatical) and the distinct social characteristics (gender, age, economic status, level of education). This idea is reported by Coulmas (1997:2) who assumes that: “**Micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and**

age”.

Despite all the various functions of micro and macro-sociolinguistics, there is a common agreement that both perspectives complement each other and contribute in obtaining a fuller and a better understanding of language as a social phenomenon.

### 1.3.4. Language as a Social Phenomenon

It is generally agreed that sociolinguistics is a field of inquiry which examines the connections between language use and social structure. Thus, the relationship between the two causes sociolinguist theorists to describe language as a social phenomenon that is tightly linked with many social factors. Coulmas (2003)<sup>8</sup> points out that: **“Every language is a social product, and every society constitutes itself through language”**.

Although, there were many linguists who had negative attitudes towards the use of language in its social context, a few of them spoke about its social aspect. Whitney is one of them who thought that: **“Speech is not a personal possession, but a social; it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society” (1867:404)**. However, Saussure, the father of modern linguistics, viewed that: **“Speech has both an individual and a social side, and we can not conceive one without the other” (1916:8)**. Yet, Meillet regarded linguistics as a social science and related language variation and change with social changes. He ensured that:

**...but from the fact that language is a social institution, it follows that linguistics is a social science and the only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variations are only consequences. (1921:16-17)<sup>9</sup>.**

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Aronoff and Rees-Miller (2003 : 56).

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Shuy (2003: 5).

However, such opinion had been rejected by other linguists particularly Chomsky (1965) who studied language as an asocial phenomenon. By way of exploration, he wanted to analyse language with no appeal to its social background since he argued that variation and change which are observed in language use would effectively influence the achievement of a pure formal linguistic theory.

In opposition to that, sociolinguist investigators have tried to identify the ways in which language varies and changes through time in accordance with a set of social restrictions. Fasold (2003:223) says that: **“One of the major topics in sociolinguistics is to study language variation and change with its inevitable relationship to social forces”**. In the light of the latter argument, an essential question is to be asked at this stage in relation to the present study: what are the main social variables that govern the variation or change of a specific language? Some of the most important social characteristics are going to be discussed in the following step. But before that, it is a necessary step to stop at the definition of these social features.

#### **1.3.4.1. Social Variables**

The social variables are primarily the non-linguistic traits which have associations with the use of certain linguistic variables. They are, therefore, the social factors that restrict language variation. For instance, if the speaker’s gender constraints his/her own choice of a particular linguistic variant, consequently, gender is said to be a social variable. The other social variables that are going to be treated within this section and which have been studied intensively by many sociolinguists are: social class, age, and ethnicity.

##### **1.3.4.1.1. Social Class**

The social class is typically conceived as an extra-linguistic variable which has an influence on language variation. Milroy and Gordon (2003:40) advocate this opinion when they say: **“Indeed, social class is a variable which plays so prominent a role**

**in language variation”**. Ash<sup>10</sup>, on his side, declares that: **“Social class is a central concept in sociolinguistic research, one of the small numbers of social variables by which speech communities are stratified” (2004:402).**

Many scholars regarded Karl Marx<sup>11</sup> among the first who addressed one of the most influential theories of social class. He divided people of a specific society into two distinct groups depending on the possession of different means of production. That is to say, those who own lands, factories, and machines are classified as capitalists, whereas those who have nothing are qualified as proletariat. This view grew in Great Britain during the industrial revolution, and therefore, led to the emergence of class differences in speech in terms of dialect and accent.

However, according to Coulmas (2003)<sup>12</sup>, the general model of society that is based on Marx’s theory is conflictual. Hence, Weber Max<sup>13</sup> came to rank individuals in a social hierarchy according to a number of indicators. Chambers (2003:7) displays that: **“The sub-elements of social class include education, occupation, income and type of housing, all of which we will have daily contact and more permanent relationships”**

Since Labov’s work in New York City (1966), social class has been handled as the leading social variable in sociolinguistic research that categorizes **“... individuals in a hierarchy of class groupings based on the idea of continuum from highest to lowest” (Milroy and Milroy, 1997:54)<sup>14</sup>.**

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Chambers et al (2004:402).

<sup>11</sup> Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German philosopher, social scientist, historian, political economist and communist revolutionary, whose ideas played an important role in modern communism and socialism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>12</sup> This idea is mentioned in Aronoff and Rees-Miller (2003: 567).

<sup>13</sup> Max Weber (1864-1920) was arguably the foremost social theorist of the 20th century who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Coulmas (1997: 54).

In New York City, Labov (1966) wanted to know whether the pronunciation of the post vocalic /r/ in words like ‘fourth’ and ‘floor’ was affected by social class stratification or not. He carried out this experiment into three department stores representing various social classes namely Saks (upper middle class), Macy’s (lower middle class), and S. Klein (working class). He found out that employees from Saks pronounced /r/ most often, those from Macy’s uttered /r/ less often, and at S. Klein, the majority of informants did not use /r/ at all. Moreover, Labov noticed that all of the stores, but Macy’s in particular re-pronounced /r/, when they were asked to repeat the phrase ‘fourth floor’.

Social class stratification in the Algerian context relies crucially on the level of education, since most of the Algerian members use modern standard Arabic (MSA), Algerian Arabic (AA), or French depending on the situation that they are involving in. In other words, they use MSA or French in formal settings and AA in informal circumstances. In fact, Algeria is characterized by a diglossic situation that is going to be explained with other related phenomena in the second chapter.

#### 1.3.4.1.2. Gender

The impact of gender on language variation was not taken as a serious subject of examination until the 1970s specifically while Lakoff published his book entitled “Language and Woman’s Place” in 1975, in which he argued that women speak differently from men. The distinctions that occur between the speech of women and men are explained by Milroy and Milroy<sup>15</sup> in this way:

**Females tend toward the careful end of the continuum and males toward the casual end. Similarly, it can be said that females favor ‘prestige’ norms and males vernacular norms. [...] males appear to favor more localized variants, which carry some kind of identity-based social meaning**

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<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Coulmas (1997: 54).

**in the local community, whereas females identify more supra-local variants. (1997:54).**

This means that women prefer to use careful, prestigious and supra local forms. On the other hand, men tend to employ casual, non-standard and local norms in order to show their identity and belongingness to their speech community. By referring to the Algerian context, the majority of women use French which is often considered as a superposed and prestigious variety) in different social situations and usually avoid taboo words that are from time to time employed by men when interacting with each other in informal settings.

Labov's work in New York City (1966) and Trudgill's investigation in Norwich (1974) are considered among the famous studies about gender and linguistic variation in Western societies. The study conducted by Labov has proved that women as opposed to men, of different social classes and ages tend to use variables of the Standard English [ing] rather than the non-standard [in] in different styles of speech for the sake to obtain high status in society. Moreover, the results reached by Trudgill have revealed that men from working class prefer to utilize non-standard structures which in turn show low-prestige in order to indicate masculinity and membership to a certain speech community. Labov (1990) summarizes these findings into two main principles: the first is that men have a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women, and the second is that women are usually innovators in linguistic change.

The notion of gender differences has been discussed by many scholars. According to Coates (2004), there are four approaches which help in analysing the relationship between language and gender. The first approach is labeled 'the deficit approach'. It favours the achievement of "women's language" by using linguistic forms distinct from that of men. After this perspective, there was 'the dominance approach' which refers to men's dominance over women. Language was fundamentally considered as a means used by men to indicate power. However, women did not accept

to be subordinate to men. Thus, a new model called the difference approach raised to clarify the differences in language use of men and women in proportion to various subcultures. But the previous three approaches are not widely employed by linguists nowadays. Therefore, the social constructionist approach arises as a new perspective that regard gender as a social construct rather than a social category. Coates (2004:7) reports that: **“What has changed in linguists’ sense that gender is not a static, odd-on characteristic of speaker, but something that is accomplished in talk every time we talk”**. To sum up, it can be said that the social constructionist approach is regarded by many researchers as the most essential model which offers effective realities about language variation and gender.

#### 1.3.4.1.3. Age

Unlike the other social variables such as social class and gender, age is the less examined factor. However, nowadays, there is a growing interest in studying the influence of this characteristic on language variation and change. Llamas professes that: **“The treatment of age in sociolinguistic studies is influenced, to a degree, by primary concern with language change or with language variation” (2007: 69)<sup>16</sup>**. Age stratification of linguistic variables according to Eckert (1997), can reflect change in the speech of the community through time (historical change), as well as change in the speech of the individuals as they move through life (age grading phenomenon).

Sociolinguistic researchers analyse language change in terms of age by applying either “real” or “apparent” time methodologies. The first approach allows investigators to compare their findings with previous studies in order to discover the persistent linguistic changes through time. Labov (1963), for instance, in his Martha’s Vineyard studies, compares his findings with data collected for the linguistic Atlas of New England in 1933. On the other hand, the second approach enables inquisitors to uncover linguistic change in progress according to age at a single point of time. But the

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Llamas et all (2007 : 69).

implementation of the second method without reference to the first one will not give the opportunity to fieldworkers to explore the continuity of speech. Nevertheless, the benefits of the “apparent time” methodology **“is that one can study results immediately rather than waiting 20 years or so to see what happens”** (Trudgill, 1988:34).

Moreover, there are many studies that speak about the correlations between age and language change. The most important ones are those administered by Labov (1966); Wolfram (1969); and Trudgill (1974) which have divulged that adults are more conservative in their speech than young people. Eckert (1997:161) says in this respect that: **“Adults have regularly been shown [...], to be more conservative in their use of variables than younger age groups”**. The investigation carried out by Labov (1966) in New York City, for instance, has displayed that [ei] is used by speakers over sixty years old but not by younger speakers. As a result, age is a very important sociolinguistic variable which indicates language variation and change over time.

#### 1.3.4.1.4. Ethnicity

Ethnicity is also regarded as an interesting independent social factor that has an impact on language variation. Carmen Fought<sup>17</sup> supports this opinion when she asserts that: **“As sociolinguists began to learn more about variation within a language, they discovered, unsurprisingly, that ethnic differences had a significant influence on this micro-level variation as well”** (2010:282). Davies and Bentahila (2006:58) define ethnicity as **“an analytical concept used to describe the bonds which lead certain people to identify themselves as a group”**. These bonds are generally personified in a shared ancestry, religion, history, language and cultural traditions.

In the United States of America, the most investigated relationship between language and ethnicity according to McKay (2005) is that of African-American

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Hickey (2010: 282).



Vernacular English (AAVE). Studies about this variety (AAVE) have shown that there is variation among African-American speakers on the phonological and grammatical levels, McKay (ibid). On the phonological level, the final consonant cluster within the word is simplified and there is a stress on the first syllable rather than the second. On the grammatical level, there is a deletion of the copula “is” and “are”, as well as an absence of the third person singular present tense “s”. For example, the verb ‘is’ is omitted in the sentence “She real beautiful”, and the ‘s’ of the present tense is also eliminated in “He speak”. In effect, these features are much used by African-American younger males. Thus, such differences have caused many sociolinguists, anthropologists, and even sociologists to look at language variation in relation to ethnicity.

Ethnicity in the Arab societies is not a big problem because when asking the Arab individuals about their ethnicities, they undoubtedly qualify themselves as Muslims whose language is Arabic. Similarly, the ethnic group that characterizes Algeria is an Islamic ethnic group. Although, there are Berber and Arab origins in the country, all of the Algerian members identify their belongingness as Muslims sharing with each other some cultural values exemplified in customs and traditions.

## **1.4. Some Sociolinguistic Concepts**

The subsequent part is going to present some brief definitions of a number of sociolinguistic key-concepts that have a relationship with the current research. Terms like: dialect, variety, code, and vernacular will largely be employed in this work to refer to the speech which is spoken in the community of Maghnia. Register, pidgin and creole have also been included within this section in order to refer to the ‘trade language’ or more precisely the ‘trade variety’ that is used by Maghnaoui traders when they travel to distinct Moroccan areas for buying and selling various sorts of goods.

### 1.4.1. Language Vs Dialect

Language and dialect are fundamental sociolinguistic concepts that need to be clarified since there is much confusion in the use of such terms. In fact, these two words are usually seen as non-technical notions because of their ambiguity. However, it is generally assumed by laymen that **“these two terms, which are both popular and scientific in their use, refer to actual entities that are clearly distinguishable and therefore enumerable” (Haugen, 1966: 23)**. In trying to differentiate between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, Hudson (1996: 31) states that: **“It is part of our culture to distinguish between ‘languages’ and ‘dialects’ ”**. This means that people’s views of these terms are inherited in their culture.

Besides, ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ can differ from each other in terms of two separate ways namely: prestige and size. Again, it is Hudson (1996) who argues that languages are often perceived as more prestigious and larger in size than dialects. Standard English, for example, gains a high prestige in comparison with the other dialects (e.g. Yorkshire English, Leeds English, and Indian English) because it was the variety spoken by the Royal Family in London. Then, after its codification, it started to be employed in administrations and governments as a means for literary works and written communication. Ordinarily, many individuals categorize those written forms as languages. Haugen (1966: 417) underlines that: **“it is significant and probably crucial requirement for a standard language that it be written”**. In opposition to that, they rank the unwritten forms as dialects.

As far as Algeria is concerned, CA/MSA is considered as the most prestigious language that is suitable for religious, literary, and educational purposes. Dialectal Arabic, on the contrary, is regarded as a non-prestigious variety used by the Algerian people in daily-life conversations. But professional linguists have insisted on the fact that standard languages are not more important than dialects. Furthermore, any attitudes towards non-standard varieties mirror the social structure of society. In this

sense, Trudgill (2000:8) points out that:

**The scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all languages, and correspondingly all dialects, are equally good as linguistic systems. All varieties of a language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers. It follows that value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social rather than linguistic.**

### 1.4.2. Variety

The ambiguity of ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ and the confusion which may be engendered from the application of such notions has led sociolinguists to adopt another neutral term labeled ‘variety’. Duranti (1997: 71) has informed that: **“The advantage of using the term variety is that it does not carry the usual applications associated with words like “language” and “dialect” and can cover the most diverse situations”**. In multilingual speech communities, sociolinguists prefer to employ the word ‘variety’ to refer to the various kinds of language (e.g. dialect, accent, style, or even register) for varied social grounds. Thus, Holmes defines variety as **“a broad term which includes different dialects and even different languages which contrast with each other for social reasons” (2001: 6)**. At the end, and from a sociolinguistic view point, it is better to use the term ‘variety’ because as Hudson (1996) maintains, it contains a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution.

### 1.4.3. Code

In addition to the aforementioned sociolinguistic concepts, ‘code’ is another label which **“can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication” (Wardhaugh, 2010: 84)**. Similarly, Llamas et al. (2007:208) have defined such notion as **“A neutral term used in a very general sense to cover any form of communication. Its usage avoids the political and social**

evaluations that are reflected in terms such as language, dialect and register”. So, this word is widely utilized by people to denote the choice of a certain linguistic variety instead of another or the mixture of two or more codes in bi/multilingual societies; what is essential here; and so, there are factors that restrict the choice of a particular code rather than another on special occasions. Some of these constraints are: language proficiency, language preference, socio-economic status, age and gender, type of occupation, and level of education of the participants, in addition to the situation as well as the topic that is going to be discussed.

#### 1.4.4. Vernacular

Vernacular is also among the important sociolinguistic terms that has been defined by scholars in detail. In Labov’s view, a ‘vernacular’ has two meanings. Firstly, it may refer to **“The style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1972a: 208)**. Schilling-Estes, on her part, adds that:

**...it is by no means certain that each speaker can be said to have a single ‘genuine’ vernacular style unaffected by situational and speaker-internal factors such as who they’re talking to and how much attention they’re paying to their speech. Instead, people may have quite casual unselfconscious style they use with various people in different circumstances. (2008: 171)<sup>18</sup>.**

According to Labov (1970), it is important to use the ‘observer paradox’ in order to capture the vernacular style. This method enables sociolinguists **“to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed” (Labov, 1972a: 61)**. Thus, sociolinguists can obtain reliable data which help them to analyse the different characteristics of people’s vernacular in informal settings and under no social restrictions.

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Wolfram (2011: 303).

Secondly, vernacular may also mean **“low, uneducated or low prestige speech” (Labov, 2006: 86)**. In this sense, it can be said that Moroccan Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, or Egyptian Arabic, for instance, can be qualified as vernaculars as opposed to Classical or Modern standard Arabic.

### 1.4.5. Register

Register is another technical term that is used by sociolinguists to refer to a variety of language which is **“associated with discrete occupational or social groups” (Wardhaugh, 2010:48)**. In other words, it is a sociolinguistic concept that can be defined, in the view of Stockwell, from two perspectives. In the first one, the narrow definition considers register:

**as an occupational variety of language. So, for example, teachers, computer programmers, mechanics or sociolinguists tend to have characteristic ways of speaking which involve certain particular word choices and grammatical constructions. This is most commonly perceived as jargon, and most people associate it with particular word choices. (2002:6).**

In the second perspective, the wider definition regards register:

**as a sort of social genre of linguistic usage (sometimes specified as sociolect to differentiate it from ‘dialect’). Examples of registers under this definition would include the language of newspaper articles, the language of a conversation about the weather, an academic prose, a recipe in a cookery book, and so on. (ibid: 7).**

The three general dimensions which are proposed by Halliday (1978)<sup>19</sup> for pinpointing registers are: ‘field’, ‘mode’ and ‘tenor’. ‘Field’ is related to the goal and

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<sup>19</sup> Mentioned in Hudson, (1996:46).

the subject matter of the interaction. ‘Mode’ refers to the medium of communication (i.e. written or spoken). ‘Tenor’ concerns the relationships between the participants. At the Algerian/Moroccan frontier, Maghnaoui traders usually employ their own register (or jargon) when they communicate with the Moroccan ones since Splosky (1998:33) asserts that: **“People who work at a particular trade or occupation develop new terms for new concepts”**. So, the field in this context would be the subject matter of the conversation (e.g. discussion about the prices of goods or types of clothes imported). The communication relies principally on the spoken mode. Both Maghnaoui and Moroccan merchants who belong to the same group (because of their kind of occupation) represent the tenor in this case.

The necessary points which distinguish registers from dialects are mentioned in this table:

Dialect (‘dialectal variety’) = variety ‘according to the user’.	Register (‘diatypic variety’) = variety ‘according to the user’.
A dialect is: what you speak (habitually) determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption), and expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy).	A register is: what you are speaking (at the time) determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in), and expressing diversity of social process (social division of labour).
So in principle dialects are: different ways of saying the same thing and tend to differ in: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammer (but not in semantics).	So in principle registers are: ways of saying different things and tend to differ in: semantics (and hence in lexicogrammer, and sometimes phonology, as realization of this).
Extreme cases: antilanguages, mother-in	Extreme cases: restricted languages,

law languages.	languages for special purposes.
Typical instances: subcultural varieties (standard/nonstandard).	Typical instances: occupational varieties (technical, semitechnical).
Principle controlling variables: social class, caste; provenance (rural/urban); generation; age; sex.	Principle controlling variables: field (type of social action); tenor (roles relationships); mode (symbolic organization).
Characterized by:  Strongly – held attitudes towards dialects as symbols of social diversity.	Characterized by:  major distinctions of spoken/written; language in action/language in reflection.

**Table 1.1: The Distinctions between Dialect and Register. (Halliday, 1978:35)**

Therefore, registers and dialects are very important concepts in sociolinguistics that need to be differed from each other because the same individual may implement various language varieties to express more or less the same meaning on various occasions, and the term ‘dialect’ cannot encompass such variation. (Hudson, 1996).

#### 1.4.6. Pidgins and Creoles

Before the 1930’s, pidgins and creoles were extensively neglected by linguists, who described them as ‘marginal languages’ at best. (Hymes, 1971)<sup>20</sup>. However, Holm (2000:1) states that: **“It is comparatively recently that linguists have realized that pidgins and creoles are not wrong versions of other languages but rather new languages”**. So, what do pidgins and creoles really mean?

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Wardhaugh, (2010: 53).

Effectively, it is not an easy task to give exact definitions to the aforementioned concepts because most of the recent books about pidgins and creoles **“begin with statements on how difficult it is to define them”** (Fasold, 1990:180). According to Trudgill, a pidgin is:

**a variety of language without native speakers which arises in a language contact situation of multilingualism, and which operates as a lingua franca. Pidgins are languages which have been derived from a source language through pidginization”** (1992:58).

Pidgins generally have a limited vocabulary, a simple grammatical structure, and a restricted range of functions such as: trade, local commerce, marriage, negotiations, or land disputes. (Stockwell, 2002). Some of the different pidgins that exist in the world are: Nigerian Pidgin English, Papuan Pidgin English, Vietnamese Pidgin French, New Guinea Pidgin German, Keny Pidgin Swahili, and Fanalogo (a pidgin based on Zulu)<sup>21</sup>. Besides, the Juba Arabic is another kind of pidgin that is spoken in Southern Sudan. Such speech form is not

**... the native language of any of its speakers but functions as an auxiliary interlingua for communication between speakers of the many unintelligible languages spoken in that region. It is a new language, only about a hundred years old. It has a small vocabulary, limited to the needs of trade and other interlingual communication, but this restricted vocabulary is supplemented, whenever the needs arises, by using words from the various native languages or from normal Arabic. It has a very simple phonology with few morphophonemic processes. The complicated morphological system of Arabic [...] has been almost entirely eliminated. [...] Yet Juba Arabic is a relatively stable language in its own right, with its own structure. (Wardhaugh, 2010:62).**

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<sup>21</sup> Mentioned in Spolsky, (1998:61).



When pidgins have evolved and acquired native speakers, they are called “creoles” or “creole languages”, and the process whereby pidgins turn into creoles is labeled “creolization”. (Hudson, 1996). Lefebvre (2004: 14) avows that: **“The idea that creole languages are nativized pidgins emerged during the late sixties and developed in the seventies”**. Linguistically speaking, a creole, like any other language variety, has **“a full lexicon and a complex set of grammatical rules, and is not at all restricted in use, having a complete range of informal functions”** (Siegel, 2009:573).

According to Lefebvre (2004), there are two main criteria which can distinguish pidgins from creoles. Firstly, while pidgins have been defined as reduced varieties, creoles have been defined as expanded versions of these reduced varieties. Secondly, while pidgins are regarded as the second language of their speakers, creoles are considered as the primary language of a new generation of speakers (, i.e. parents speaking a specific pidgin make their children learn this expanded pidgin and use it as their mother tongue). However, in more recent literature, many scholars have started to refer to pidgins and creoles as PCs, proposing that they can be grouped into one category.

The divergent pidgins which have been creolized are: Haitian Creole, Jamaican Creole, Hawaiian Creole, Louisiana Creole (which is derived from French and African languages), Tok Pisin (a creolized version of New Guinea Pidgin English), Berbice Creole Dutch, and Palanquero (Colombian Creole Spanish).

It is commonly agreed that pidgins and creoles take their vocabulary from one language and their grammar from another one. The same opinion is stated by Meyerhoff who professes that:

**There is one language that has obviously provided most of the vocabulary in the pidgin/creole. This is known as the lexifier because it provides the building blocks of the lexicon (vocabulary). Although other languages may**

**not dominate the surface structure of the pidgin/creole so much, they may still have profound and subtle effects on the way words are used and how the sentences are structured – that is, on the semantics and syntax. These languages are known as the substrate, and their effects show up in underlying structure. (2006:250).**

To sum up, pidgins and creoles are not considered as incomplete, broken, and corrupt speech forms. They are, in fact, very important language varieties which have started to gain serious attention.

## **1.5. The Speech Community**

As mentioned earlier within this chapter, sociolinguistics is a field of research which has been established in order to explain the relationships between language and society. The label ‘speech community’ emerged as one of the sociolinguistic key-concepts that brings together ‘speech’ and ‘community’. In effect, this term has been differently defined by linguists and sociolinguists depending on the general framework of their theories.

### **1.5.1. Definition of the Concept**

For purely linguistic theory, Chomsky supposed the existence of a **“completely homogeneous speech community” (1965: 3)**. However, Wardhaugh declares that: **“Such speech community can not be our concern: it is a theoretical construct employed for a narrow purpose, Our speech communities, whatever they are, exist in a ‘real’ world” (2010:119)**. As a result, it is obligatory to seek out substitute definitions of the concept.

As a matter of fact, in each time, there has been a change in the views of the speech community. The simplest definition of such notion is the one provided by Lyons (1970:326) who refers by this term to **“all people who use a given language (or dialect)”**. Hockett presents another complex definition: **“Each language defines a**

**speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language” (1958:8).** Hudson (1996) sees that Lyons’ definition does not take into consideration any social or cultural unity and this may lead speech communities to be overlapped. Hockett, in turn, includes the criterion of communication in his definition in which he classifies communities that speak the same language and do not interact with each other as discrete communities.

After that, Gumperz (1972, [1968]:219)<sup>22</sup> has come to define the speech community as:

**Any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use.**

Gumperz admits that there must be some differences in individuals’ speech and those from the outside. However, he adds that in spite of all the linguistic similarities and differences, **“the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms” (1972:220).** Indeed, this definition may be well applied to the community of Maghnia, where despite all the linguistic similarities and differences that exist between the speech of Maghnia and the one of the surrounding Moroccan areas, they have in common some social or cultural norms like ways of dressing; celebrating; and even cooking.

Another influential definition that stresses on shared social attitudes towards language rather than shared speech behaviour is offered by Labov (1972a:120):

**The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.**

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<sup>22</sup> It is printed since 1968 and reprinted in Giglioli 1972.

Labov asserts that people do not obligatorily agree on the use of the same language but they have to share a set of norms and abstract patterns of variation. Likewise, Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972) look at the speech community from Labov's<sup>23</sup> angle.

Le page and Tabouret-Keller (1985)<sup>24</sup> have put forward a new approach which rejects the term “speech community” and uses “groups in society”. Both of them agree on the fact that individual speakers can build their verbal repertoire from the multi-dimensional space in which they are involved, i.e. from the complex correlations that exist between language features and the varied social groups (social class, gender, age, and ethnicity). In general, they try to find out explanations to “**...how individuals [...] can be considered as members of linguistic communities**” (1985:158).

After citing some of the major views of the ‘speech community’ concept, Hudson (1996:27) has confirmed that the above definitions

**...are all ‘correct’, since each of them allows us to define a set of people who have something in common linguistically-a language or dialect, interaction by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range of attitudes to varieties and items.**

However, Labov’s definition has undoubtedly been regarded as the most interesting one as it helps sociolinguistic scholars to study language norms and patterns of variation empirically.

### 1.5.2. Speech Community vs Individual Speech

The previous definitions which are provided to clarify the concept of ‘speech community’ have led to wonder whether language is put in the ‘individual’ or in the ‘community’. As referred earlier, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) set

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<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Hudson (1996: 25-26).

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Hudson (1996: 26).

language in the individual, an idea which has been supported by many linguists. Guy (1980)<sup>25</sup> reinforces that: **“...language, while existing to serve a social function (communication) is nevertheless seated in the minds of the individuals”**. But this conception is opposed by the most influential sociolinguist William Labov who acknowledges that linguistic variation cannot be explained by looking at the individual only. He rather maintains that:

**Individual behaviour can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community. Language is not a property of the individual, but of the community. Any description of a language must take the speech community as its object if it is to do justice to the elegance and regularity of linguistic structure. (1989:52).**

This means that, to get a sound understanding of language variation and change, it is fundamental to have a look at the grammar of the whole speech community rather than at the one of the individuals' speech.

In addition to that, the term 'language-community' as defined by John Lyons refers **“... to any group of people who would normally be said to speak the same language, e.g. English, French or Russian” (1981:24)**. However, is this necessary for all of the members of a specific speech community to speak the same language all the time and in all situations? Wardhaugh (2010:132) replies:

**It is quite apparent that no two individuals are exactly alike in their linguistic capabilities, just as no two social situations are exactly alike. People are separated from one another by fine gradations of social class, regional origin, and occupation; by factors such as religion, gender, nationality, and ethnicity; by psychological differences such as particular kinds of linguistic skills, e. g., verblancy or literacy; and by personality**

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<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Hudson (1996: 30).

**characteristics. These are but some of the more obvious differences that affect individual variation in speech.**

Based on what Wardhaugh has stated above, one may clearly say that there are several reasons which cause individuals to speak in different ways. In other words, each speaker has his/her own individual dialect, or more precisely, each one has his/her own idiolect that differs basically from every other in terms of pronunciation as well as vocabulary, and to a lesser extent grammar<sup>26</sup>. Lyons (1981:274) demonstrates that:

**It is much more useful to think of an individual as having in his linguistic competence the mastery of a set of partly isomorphic dialects, each of which he shares with fellow-members of one social group or another, than it is to think of what are normally called dialects as being sets of overlapping idiolects. Language-variation in the individual and language-variation in the community are two sides of the same coin.**

Therefore, the diversity which is found in people's speech makes sociolinguistic researchers to analyse language in small-scale social groups by taking into consideration a number of social variables such as: age, gender, socio-economic class, ethnicity, regional origin, level of education, and occupation. They adopt this methodology because they notice that each member of a certain community may choose, according to the social context that he/she is included in, a particular variety, style, or a specific way of speaking from the ones available in his/her own 'speech repertoire', a sociolinguistic concept which is going to be explained in the following section.

## **1.6. The Speech Repertoire**

Variation which occurs in monolingual as well as multilingual speech communities has led sociolinguists to coin the concept of 'speech repertoire', a term

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<sup>26</sup> Mentioned in Lyons (1981: 27).

which refers to the total number of languages, dialects, or varieties that an individual may employ in everyday interactions. Platt and Platt (1975:35) describe such notion as **“the range of linguistic varieties which the speaker has at his disposal and which he may appropriately use as a member of his speech community”**.

Generally speaking, the term ‘speech repertoire’, according to Wardhaugh **“may be most useful when applied to individuals rather than to groups”** (2010:132). On this basis, this concept can be used to indicate the communicative competence<sup>27</sup> of individual members. However, both Platts (ibid: 36) distinguish between the speech repertoire of an individual and the one of a specific community in this way:

**We ... suggest the term speech repertoire for the repertoire of linguistic varieties utilized by a speech community which its speakers, as members of the community, may appropriately use, and the verbal repertoire for the linguistic varieties which are at a particular speaker’s disposal.**

According to Platts’ opinion, the verbal repertoire refers to the varieties controlled by each person. The speech repertoire, on the other side, refers to the varieties employed by the groups or the whole community.

The term ‘verbal repertoire’ is also used by Gumperz (1968)<sup>28</sup> to speak about the **“totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community”**. In other words, Gumperz refers by such concept to those dialects, styles, and registers applied by both individuals and groups specifically in monolingual speech communities. In bi/multilingual societies, speakers may choose one code over another from the ones available in their repertoires in order to communicate successfully with

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<sup>27</sup> Communicative competence is a concept coined by Hymes (1971) which refers to the whole range of varieties controlled by speakers, and the extent to which they may use them in different domains like those of work, school, and family.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Giglioli (1972: 25).

their mates. But their choice can be formed either consciously that is, by taking into consideration some factors like: situation, participants and topic, or unconsciously. On the one hand, Bell (1976:105) says that individual speakers may possess: **“a set of codes-**

**each appropriate to a set of role relationship within the context of a set of domains – which constitute his repertoire”**. Duranti, on the other hand, claims that: **“Speaking a language means to be involved in a continuous process of decision-making, although not necessarily a conscious one” (1997:7)**.

Algeria, for example, has a speech repertoire which is intertwined because of the multitude of varieties which are utilized by its natives for communicative purposes. The several language varieties spoken by Algerian people are: MSA/CA; Dialectal Arabic; French; Berber (though this last variety is not used by all of the citizens). This leads this particular country to have intricate diglossic and bilingual situations. The different Algerian varieties and such complex situations are going to be dealt with in the second chapter.

## 1.7. The Linguistic Variable

Linguistic variation that characterizes individuals' speech has been observed since the rise of regional dialectology. However, it was very difficult for dialect geographers to explain such variation because of the traditional tools used at that time. Moreover, variation for them was a free variation, that is, it was not determined by any social factor. Hence, social dialectologists have tried to employ quantitative methods<sup>29</sup> for the sake of simplifying the combinations between language variation and the social categories. In fact, this idea was not realized until the accomplishment of a new sociolinguistic concept called: “linguistic variable”. This term was first introduced by Labov to refer to **“a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing” (1972b:94)**.

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<sup>29</sup> Quantitative methods are techniques employed by the sociolinguistic researcher in order to represent the statistical results attained in tables, graphs and charts.



Similarly, Chambers and Trudgill (1998:50) hold that: **“linguistic variables can often be regarded as socially different but linguistically equivalent ways of doing or saying the same thing”**. This means that, the linguistic variables refer to those where there is a change in the form (specifically because of age, gender, ethnicity and social class) but not in the meaning. The same standpoint is stated by Feagin<sup>30</sup> who constitutes that: **“The linguistic variable, a concept originated with Labov (1963, 1966), is a linguistic entity which varies according to social parameters (age, sex, social class, ethnicity” (2002:23).**

Furthermore, the linguistic variable, in the view of Feagin (ibid), can be found at all linguistic levels. At the phonological level, the variable (r), represented in parentheses following Labov (1994: x) can be pronounced (; i.e. r-full), or not pronounced (; i.e. r-less) in final and preconsonantal positions (; i.e. in words like ‘far’ and ‘farm’). At the morphological level, the variable (ing) in words such as: ‘fishing’ and ‘singing’ may be uttered either as [iŋ] or [in] (; i.e. [fiʃiŋ] and [siŋiŋ] Vs [fiʃin] and [siŋin]). At the syntactic level, one may refer, for instance, to the various negations of ‘to be’ as in: ain’t, isn’t, ‘s not, or is not, and the absence of ‘to be’ in African-American Vernacular English like in: She real nice instead of She is real nice. At the lexical level, there are many words which are used to indicate the same meaning like: hero and grinder that refer to a certain kind of sandwich. Thus,

**A linguistic variable is an item in the structure of a language, an item that has alternative realizations, as one speaker realizes it in one way and another a different way or the same speaker realizes it differently on different occasions. (Wardhaugh, 2010:147).**

The linguistic variable which is chosen to be studied in the present research paper is a lexical variable since the dialect contact that exists at the Algerian/Moroccan

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<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Chambers et al (2002: 25).

border (mainly through trade) has led many individuals from Maghnia to use some Moroccan words in various social situations. Siegel (2010:90) claims in this respect that: **“With regard to lexical variables, Chambers (1992) asserted that lexical replacements (i.e. lexical variants) are acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants”**. In Maghnia speech community, there are for example, some people who say [dæba]: meaning right now, whereas others prefer [derwak]. One may hear someone saying [ʃeffa:r], while another one employs [χawwa:n]. More information about the use of these lexical items and others in relation to the social independent variables will be explained throughout this sociolinguistic survey. What is more, the degree of the influence of trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan frontier on the other linguistic variables (particularly phonological and morphological variables) is going to be examined once the investigation takes place.

## 1.8. Language and Economy

The main objective of this section is to take a closer look at the interrelationship between language and economy because the various economic activities such as trade have always been conceived as essential factors which lead to language variation and change in the community of Maghnia. In this respect, Dergi (2009:358) maintains that: **“While sociolinguists have been for a long time linking variation phenomena in speech to social issues and factors, there is evidence that the dynamics of language change can be explained from an economic approach”**. In fact, the study of the connection between language and economy **“is only about 30 years old, and is covered in little over 100 scientific articles (Grin 1996:18), which means that data-based knowledge about the interaction is restricted” (Webb, 2002:218)**.

Economy in its broadest sense may directly or indirectly have a great effect on

language use. This can be clearly noticed when you hear many Maghnaoui merchants creating a set of economic terms and including them in their speech. Some of these words are presented in table 1.2:

Words	Meaning
[ʔrabando], [tbazni:s]	Doing business.
[ɖrahəm], [ħabba:t], [ɣwalda], [flu :s]	Money.
[warrəqhom],[bzarhom],[ɣbadhom], [ħaʔhom]	Paying through using money.
[nagʔaɕ], [ndu:z], [nfu:t], [namʃi]	Cross the frontier and go to a specific Moroccan region.
[ħallaba]	People who buy and sell fuel and export it to the Moroccan towns illegally.
[natsawwaq], [nasraf], [natqadɖa]	Doing shopping.

**Table: 1.2. The Different Words used by Traders.**

These lexical items and others are employed not only by traders, but also by ordinary people who live in Maghnia since they all participate in the economic life by being either buyers or sellers. Katamba says in this sense that:

**Sometimes the jargon of a specialist group seeps into the common language of the wider community. This is particularly likely to happen where the activities of that sub-group are fashionable or impinge directly on the life of the wider community. (2005:168).**

Trade activities that occur at the Algerian/Moroccan border have opened the

door for more contact and communication between Maghnaoui dealers and the Moroccan ones. The fact which has caused the residents of Maghnia to import a number of expressions, words, names of products and clothes from Moroccan Arabic and incorporate them in their everyday conversations. These words are going to be listed in the third chapter when analyzing the dialect spoken in the area of Maghnia. Therefore, language variation and change that characterize this speech community may be related on the one hand to the economic growth of the region. On the other hand, there are other factors which have led to the replacement of some lexical variables.

## **1.9. Conclusion**

The goal of this introductory chapter has been to give a broad and a general overview about the domain of sociolinguistics and its basic core of research which is clarifying the correlations between language variation and the diverse social parameters. Yet, several definitions and views about some key-concepts in sociolinguistics are reviewed within this section in order to explain the sociolinguistic situation in Maghnia speech community. Furthermore, it has been proved that the economic activities (especially trade) have helped a lot in understanding the variation and change which determine the speech of Maghnia. But before speaking about the vernacular used in this town and investigating to what extent, how, and why it is influenced by the one implemented in the nearby Moroccan towns, it is crucial to shed light on the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general, then, in Maghnia in particular.

# **Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria**

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### 2.6.3. Sampling and Stratification

## **2.7. Conclusion**

## **2.1. Introduction**

The speech variety under investigation in this sociolinguistic fieldwork is “Maghnaoui Arabic” (henceforth MA). It is the vernacular spoken by the inhabitants of Maghnia. Since this town is situated in the extreme North-west of Algeria, it seems necessary to have a look at the Algerian linguistic situation in order to give some linguistic facts about the area of Maghnia. For doing so, it is significant to shed light on the Algerian speech repertoire and identify the historical, the political and the social factors which make each language variety to be implemented in a set of circumstances.

Algeria is generally classified as a multilingual speech community because of the co-existence of the three different languages namely: Arabic, Berber, and French. These languages give birth to an intricate diglossic and bilingual situation. Additionally, the contact between the previously mentioned languages lead to the emergence of other linguistic phenomena called: code switching, code mixing, and borrowing.

Moreover, a general overview about the speech community of Maghnia is provided within this chapter. Last and not the least, we have described the methodology involved in the project, the instruments, the sample population and the ways of classifying them.

## **2.2. The Algerian Linguistic Situation**

The linguistic situation in Algeria is so complex because of the co-existence of four languages that are employed in one way or another. The multitude language varieties spoken in its territories are: first, Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic which is the national and official language of the country. Second, Algerian Arabic that is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people. Third, Berber (or Tamazight) which is used by an important minority of the Algerian population. Fourth, French, the colonial language that is considered as the first foreign language spoken by

a great number of the Algerian members.

In order to explain the current linguistic system in Algeria, it is essential to throw some light on its speech repertoire and explain the historical, political, and social factors which lead each variety to be used by its citizens for various functions.

### 2.2.1. Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic

Algeria always identifies itself as Arabic as well as Muslim country. In other words, it belongs to the Oumma Al'Arabiyya since all of the three Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989) proclaim that: **“Islam is the religion of the state”** and that **Arabic is the national and official language of the state”**<sup>1</sup>. Historically speaking, Classical Arabic (CA) is a term which refers to:

**The type of Arabic that was used in the Arabian Peninsula during the pre-Islamic period in poetry and the Qur'an and that was to remain the standard language throughout the entire Arabo-Islamic history. Versteegh, 2001:1740).**

In effect, Classical Arabic was first used by pre-Islamic poets when they used to meet in Mecca on special occasions in order to read their long poems named “Almuallakat”. Then, with the rise of Islam, the Qur'an was revealed to prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Classical Arabic which, in turn, is said to be derived from the Arabic dialect spoken by the Quraich tribe in Mecca.

Consequently, this language (CA) has become the most frequently used variety since its inception in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The Arabic language, according to Owens (2000) is institutionalized as the language of Islam because of two historical events. First, the Qur'an was revealed in Arabic. A reason for which so many Muslims were obliged to learn Arabic in order to know their Holy Book. Second, in early days of the Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Bouamrane, (1989: 52).



conquests, Arabic established itself as the language of the state and culture, especially from the period of Abbasid rule that began in Baghdad in 750, a huge amount of written literature covering all aspects of the known world of science, culture and literature, was published in Arabic.

Centuries later, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) appeared as a simple version of Classical Arabic in order to meet the needs of modern life. It is the literary language which is employed in education, mass media, administrative institutions, diplomatic relations with the Arab countries, most publications and being the preferred language in formal speeches.

Furthermore, there are some writers who have tried to differentiate between CA and MSA. Versteegh (2001:1740), on one hand, says that MSA is a variety which is “... **distinguished from Classical Arabic mainly by its lexicon and phraseology, as well as minor syntactic adaptations**”. On the other hand, Benrabeh (2007) reaffirms that the differences between the two varieties are relatively small, and MSA takes its rules from CA. He adds that the terms: Standard Arabic, Literary Arabic, and Classical Arabic are used synonymously.

Therefore, MSA is the language implemented by a large portion of the Algerian educated segments in formal situations only. Although literate people can understand and write in CA/MSA; they do not employ it in everyday interactions except some borrowed words and expressions which are included in their colloquial or Algerian Arabic.

### **2.2.2. Algerian Arabic**

The majority of the Algerian residents are Arabophones since they speak a vernacular variety of Arabic that is often known as: dialectal Arabic, ‘Ammia’, or ‘Darija’. It is the spoken dialect which is employed spontaneously by the Algerian individuals in daily-life conversations, between members of the same family, or

between friends out of school halls. Abd al-Rizag al-Durari asserts that: **“Algerian Arabic is used as a significant common link between all Algerians and is their mother tongue” (2004:9).**

This Arabic dialect is, indeed, the first language of 80-85 % of the Algerian population (Benrabah, 2007). It is spoken but not written. Yet, it is distinguishable from CA/MSA **“as a result of a general grammatical simplification in structure with fewer grammatical categories”.** (Benrabah, *ibid*: 47). Besides, it has several words that are borrowed basically from MSA, Berber, French, Turkish, and Spanish. Another important idea which needs to be mentioned here is that, AA includes various regional dialects. However, there is a continuum between these speech varieties.

According to Benrabah (*ibid*), four principal dialects are spoken along the Algerian territory. First, the Western Algerian Arabic used in an area which extends from the Moroccan borders to Tenes<sup>2</sup>. Second, the Central Algerian Arabic spoken in the central zone which extends to Bejaia and includes Algiers as well as its surroundings. Third, the Eastern Algerian Arabic spoken in the High Plateaus around Setif, Constantine, Annaba, and extends to the Tunisian border. Fourth, the Saharan Algerian Arabic spoken by around 100.000 inhabitants in the Sahara Desert. The existence of all these dialects leads Algeria to be described a multi-dialectal country.

### 2.2.3. Berber

In addition to the Arabophones who constitute a great portion of the Algerian population, there are some Berberphones who speak a number of Berber varieties. Actually, it is a pre-Islamic vernacular that was used by the first inhabitants of Algeria who were, in reality Imazighen<sup>3</sup>. Abdel Hamid Ibn Badis, the founding father of the

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<sup>2</sup> Tenes is an Algerian seaside resort that is situated 200 kilometers west of the capital Algiers.

<sup>3</sup> Imazighen is the plural form of Amazigh. It means free men who speak varieties of Tamazight, a semito-Hamitic language that came to be named Berber by the first invaders. Berber is a word that is derived from the Latin one “Barbarus”. This term according to Derni (2009:59) was used in the history of Europe and Africa to

Association of Muslim Algerian Ulema in 1931, states that: **“We are a Berber population who have been Arabised by Islam”**<sup>4</sup>. According to Brahim, Berber is **“... a language spoken natively by between 20-30 % of the population”** (2000:371). She also adds that: **“... since Berber is transmitted orally, the Berbers are forced to use either Arabic or French as a written medium”** (ibid: 372).

The Berber tongue or Tamazight that descends from the Afro-Asiatic family can be divided into four main languages. Benrabah (2007:49) classifies them in the following way:

**“Tamashek” is the language of the Tuaregs of the Sahara (near the Niger border). The Mozabites and Chaouias speak “Mzab” and “Chawia” respectively. Kabylis speak “Kabyle” known locally as “Takbaylit”. [...] But there are other small isolated Berber-speaking communities scattered around the country.**

What is more, these Berber languages have been able to survive in many Berber towns in spite of the widespread Arabization that accompanied the Muslim migration, specifically as a result of Muslim settlements which happened mostly during: the Arab conquest of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as the migration of a great number of the Arab nomads in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. (Mouhadjer, 2002)<sup>5</sup>.

The Arabization policy, which has been followed by the Algerian authorities since independence (1962), has insisted crucially on the restoration of Arabic as the only national and official language of the country. The fact which caused the other languages (French and Berber) to be eliminated from some domains of use. Hence, this

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indicate civilizations that were not Roman and Greek. Today, it indicates the populations of North Africa and the Sahara.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Benmoussset, (2003:112).

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Mouhadjer's article that is available on the following website:<http://webs.uvigo.es/ssl/actas2002/04/12.%20Mouhadjer%20Noureddine.pdf>

language policy opened the window for different internal ethnic divisions and tensions between the Algerian government and the Berbers that sustain till nowadays. As it has been mentioned above, the Berber language has not a written form. So, it is very difficult for grammarians and lexicographers to elaborate, standardize, and codify this Tamazight variety. Roberts(1980:117) writes that:

**As a consequence of their geographical separation from one another and the absence of both any sustained commercial intercourse between them and of a written language, there has been no tendency for their culture to become unified or for their language to become standardized in the course of their history.**

In the constitutional amendment of 2001, the Algerian president 'Bouteflika Abdelaziz' declared that Berber is the second national language in Algeria. In addition to that, he focused on accepting this language in the educational system, and respecting the Amazigh culture. Nonetheless, this was not the goal of the Berberphones who want to make their Berber language as the official language in Algeria.

After all, one may clearly notice that all of the political decisions (especially the constitutional amendment of 2001) undertaken by the Algerian government have no real effect on the socio-cultural situation of the Algerians. However, this was not the case of the Berber communities, where all of the Berber individuals insist on forming their ethnic group with a different culture and language as well.

#### **2.2.4. French**

The existence of the French language in the Algerian sociolinguistic profile dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the French started to occupy the country in 1830. During the pre-independence period, it was compulsory for all of the Algerian people to receive their education in French. However, when Algeria got its independence on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1962, an Arabization policy was undertaken by the Algerian authorities in

order to replace French by Arabic as a reaction against French colonialism. But in spite of this language policy, the French language continues till nowadays to be used in government, media, and administration.

This Romance language is regarded as one of the most significant subjects to be taught in primary, middle, and secondary schools. Also, it is widely employed in different scientific and business university courses. Politically speaking, French is recognized as a first foreign language, but in fact, it is the second language which is used by the majority of the Algerians in their social and cultural life. Benrabah advocates this idea when he discloses that: **“French is officially considered a foreign language in Algeria, a status which is absolutely theoretical and fictitious” (2007:50)**. English is the second foreign language which begins to be taught from the first year of the middle school. Dendane (2006:76) divulges that:

**It is worth mentioning at this point that English is gaining ground in Algeria as a world language associated with advanced technology and scientific research, international economy and trade, and is thus increasingly favoured by the young in secondary schools and at the university.**

Attitudes towards French language can be distinguished in terms of two view points. Gafaitic (2002:22) reports that: **“According to Arabophones, French is the language of the enemy; the language of colonialism; the expression of Western culture; and the negation of the Algerian national identity”**. Indeed, these people have negative attitudes towards French and prefer to use Arabic since they see it as: **“... the language of the Algerian nation, the recuperation of Algerian identity, the expression of the Algerian soul (the language of the Koran and Islam); and the crucide of the Arab-Muslim community to which Algeria belongs” (Gafaitic, 2004:22)**. In opposition to that, Francophones have positive attitudes towards French which is in their view **“... the language of modernity, science, and technology; the**

**expression of nationality and opening to the Western democratic model” (ibid).**

Moreover, the French language can be heard in urban towns such as: Tlemcen, Oran, Algiers, and Constantine. In these large cities, there are a huge number of individuals who read daily newspapers in French, speak this language in both formal and informal contexts, and use it in their writings when necessary. In rural regions, dialectal Arabic is the variety that is mostly employed with some Berber words and French borrowings. As a result, the Algerian speech community may be prescribed as monolingual (, i.e. the use of just Arabic language, an opinion held by some Arabophones), bilingual (, i.e. the use of both Arabic and French languages), and even multilingual (because of the presence of Berber language, which needs according to Berberphones to be an official language of Algeria in addition to Arabic and French).

### **2.3. The Algerian Multilingual Speech Community**

Algeria, the second largest country in Africa, is always conceived as one of the most important areas for sociolinguistic researches because of the three genetically unrelated languages namely: Arabic, Berber, and French, as well as the diglossic and bi/multilingual situations that predominate.

All these reasons cause this specific state to be classified as a multilingual speech community. Morsly (1986) considers Algeria as a multilingual society not only because of the languages which have come into conflictual contact but also because there are several borrowings, constant interference and shifts from one language to another.

#### **2.3.1. Diglossia**

The basic sociolinguistic issue that faces the Arabic speaking world in general, and North Africa in particular, is the coexistence of two distinct varieties, each one being employed in a set of circumstances for certain purposes. Such linguistic phenomenon is known as “diglossia”. This term was first introduced by Karl

Krumbacher, in his book “Das Problem Dr Modernen Griechischen Schriftsprache” (1902), in which he spoke about diglossia and its nature, origin, as well as development with special reference to Greek and Arabic situations<sup>6</sup>. However, what is accepted in the literature review is that the concept of “diglossia” was first coined by the French linguist William Marçais who described in his article the diglossic situation in the Arab world as “**La concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée**” (1930:402)<sup>7</sup>. Later on, in 1959, Ferguson came to describe four linguistic situations which indicate diglossic behaviour: Modern Greek, Swiss German, Haitian Creole, and Arabic. Diglossia in Ferguson’s often-quoted definition is:

**... a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in other speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (ibid: 245).**

The Arabic-speaking countries, as explained by Ferguson (1959), have two divergent varieties of the same language. The high variety (or simply H) is the superposed variety which usually refers to CA/MSA. The low variety (or simply L) is the vernacular that often represents one of the Arabic dialects such as Algerian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Egyptian Arabic. The H, on the one side, is mostly learnt through formal instruction and can be found in mass media, religious preach, political

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<sup>6</sup> Mentioned in the article written by Zoughoul, (1980:201) and that is available on:

<http://www.jstor.org/ppr/30027777>. Accessed on: March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned in Zoughoul, (1980:201).

speech, literature, government and all related formal settings. On the other side, the L is the native language which is acquired innately by all the human beings to be used in daily life communication with members of the same family and between friends, in the streets, markets, cafés, and all corresponding informal contexts. The main situations that display diglossic relationships are summarized in the following table:

Situation	High	Low
Sermon in church or mosque	+	
Instruction to servants, waters, etc		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture		+
Conversation with family, friends or colleagues	+	
News broadcast		+
Radio soap opera	+	
Newspapers editorial, news story		+
Caption on political cartoon	+	
Poetry		+
Folk literature		+

**Table: 2.1. Situations for High and Low Varieties in Diglossia (Ferguson, 1972: 263)<sup>8</sup>**

Besides, the high and low varieties can differ from each other, in the view of Ferguson (1959), in terms of nine features that are presented in the following order:

1- Function: There are specialized functions for H and L.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Wei, (1994: 8).



- 2- Prestige: Speakers regard H as superior to L in some respects.
- 3- Literary heritage: There is a large respected body of written literature in H.
- 4- Acquisition: Adults use L in speaking to children. Children use it in speaking to one another. L is acquired naturally and H is learned usually in school.
- 5- Standardization: There is a strong tradition of grammatical study of H.
- 6- Stability: The situation in which H and L occur persists for several centuries.
- 7- Grammar: H has grammatical categories not present in L.
- 8- Lexicon: The bulk of vocabulary in H and L is shared.
- 9- Phonology: There is a single phonological system of which L is basic, H has phonological distributions that L does not have (e.g. French Vs Haitian Creole) (Jean, 2001: 44).

By referring to the Arabic diglossic communities, the most interesting characteristics that discriminate Modern Standard Arabic (termed as MSA) from colloquial Arabic (termed as C) are mentioned in table 2.2.:

MSA	C
- Learned by school instruction.	- Acquired naturally as a mother tongue.
- Used in formal situations.	-Used for casual, everyday communication
- Almost uniform through the Arab world.	- Great variation across dialects at all levels.
- Prestigious and esteemed by its speakers	- No prestige associated with its use.

- Complex grammar.	- Simple grammar (no cases).
- Official language.	-Language of the common people (not codified).
- Closed to borrowing from other languages.	- Open to loan words.
- A dictionary and grammar are needed in order to learn it.	- Its use requires no dictionary or grammar.

**Table: 2.2: Characteristics of MSA and CA (Alosh, 2005: 9).**

However, the diglossic situations proposed by Ferguson (1959) are perceived as “narrow” or “classic” diglossic situations because he speaks about two different varieties of the same language that are used in complementary distribution. (Wardhaugh, 2010). This fact leads Fishman to incorporate not only bilingual and multilingual nations, but also multidialectal societies **“which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind”**(Fishman, 1972: 92). In 1967, Fishman published his famous article entitled: “Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism”, in which he laid out four situational cells:

- 1- Diglossia with bilingualism.
- 2- Diglossia without bilingualism.
- 3- Bilingualism without diglossia.
- 4- Neither diglossia nor bilingualism.

The first cell refers to the use of two genetically unrelated languages; each one being utilized for particular functions with clearly defined roles. The second cell involves the

use of two varieties of the same language for various purposes. The third cell requires the implementation of two different languages within the same domains. The last cell characterizes very few communities where just one language operates in all the situations.

The Algerian multilingual speech community is intricate because of the divergent languages utilized by its members to perform several functions in society. There are, indeed, two high varieties: CA/MSA and French, and two low varieties: AA and Berber. Dorni (2009) summarizes the related H and L possible distributions in the following way:

- Modern Standard Arabic versus Algerian Arabic (intralingual diglossia).
- French versus Algerian Arabic (interlingual diglossia).
- Modern Standard Arabic versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).
- French versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).

Therefore, the use of more than two language varieties for distinct reasons is generally referred to as: “polyglossia” (Bell, 1976). But what can be said about French is that it is spoken in both formal and informal contexts by educated and even non - educated segments who always employ French borrowed words in their everyday speech. Such situation is, in fact, regarded as an inevitable consequence of the linguistic phenomenon named “bilingualism”.

### **2.3.2. Bilingualism/Multilingualism**

When compared with the other Arabic-speaking communities, Algeria has almost a unique history because it is the only country which lived under the French occupation for 132 years (Benrabah, 2007). This factor makes French to be used with Arabic by most of the Algerians in all social, economic, political, and even cultural spheres. The use of two different languages or more in various situations is referred to

as “bi/multilingualism”. In this sense, Baker (2000:82) says that:

**Bilingualism and multilingualism are frequent phenomena in almost every country. Estimates are that 50 and 70 per cent of the world’s population are bilingual – depending partly on how bilingual is defined and the complex relationship between language and dialect.**

In fact, a bilingual speaker according to Myers-Scotton (2006:3) is someone “**who has acquired or learned to speak or understand [...] some phrases that show internal structural relations in a second language**”.

Moreover, the term bilingualism can be described in terms of two possibilities: societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism. But the former, Ardila hints at “**The state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilinguals**”, while by the latter, he alludes to those “**who have access to more than one linguistic code as a means of societal communication**” (2007:9).

Ann (2001:35) claims that:

**If a society declared itself “bilingual”, this would not mean that every person in the society is bilingual. In fact, it is often the case that such a society has a bilingual language policy although many or most of its speakers are monolingual.**

On the contrary, Sebba (2011:445) says that: “**Societal bilingualism by no means implies that every individual in the society in question is bilingual or even that a majority are**”. One of the most eminent facts about the linguistic situation in Algeria is that individual bilingualism is not just an outcome of societal bilingualism, but also an inevitable consequence of the educational system and the status of teaching French as a first foreign language in schools. (Derni, 2010).

Besides, Baker (2000) distinguishes between simultaneous bilingualism in

which some children acquire both languages from birth, and consecutive bilingualism in which other children learn the second language through formal or informal instruction. Therefore, Algerian bilingualism may be considered as simultaneous bilingualism since there are some children who acquire French with either Arabic or Berber in childhood. Yet, it may be regarded as consecutive bilingualism because there are other children who learn French through formal education.

Edward (2004) makes another distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism. He explains the types in this way:

**Additive bilingualism generally occurs when both languages continues to be useful and valued; a classic example is found in the bilingualism of aristocracies and social elites in systems in which it was considered natural and proper that every educated person know more than one variety. Subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, often implies a society in which one language is valued more than the other, where are dominates the other, where one is on the ascendant and the other is waning. (2004:10-11).**

Algerian bilingualism is, indeed, subtractive because after independence, the “Arabisation policy” established by the Algerian politicians has led Arabic to replace progressively French in several fields such as: administrations, education, and government. The Arabic language for the Algerian Arabophones is viewed as the soul of nationalism and the spirit of religion.

It may be interesting to mention here that bilingualism at the individual level can be either balanced bilingualism or semilingualism. Ardila defines a balanced bilingual member as a person who has “**equal proficiency in two languages across a range of contexts. This term usually describes a native-like competence in two languages**”, whereas, he identified a semilingual individual as somebody who “**lacks full competence in either language**” (2007:9). During the pre-independence period,

the Algerians who were in touch with the French were considered as more balanced bilingual people. However, those who came after are perceived as semilingual speakers since they have less competence in French.

An additional divergence can be made between passive (or receptive) bilingualism and active (or productive) bilingualism. In this respect, Edward (2004:10) says that: **“... the difference here is between those who understand a language – either spoken or written – but can not produce it themselves, and those who can do both”**. For example, there are some pupils in Algeria who are qualified as passive or receptive bilinguals since they are able to understand French but are unable to express themselves using this specific language.

Furthermore, bilingual speakers may be:

**Coordinate bilinguals (who had two separate systems for their two languages), compound bilinguals (who had one integrated system for their two languages), and subordinate bilinguals [...]who filter their second language through first language (e.g. they interpret words in the second language through the first language). (Baker, 2000:83).**

Algerian bilingualism is co-ordinate bilingualism because of the educational strategy obtained by the government. That is to say, the pupils learn both of Arabic and French languages by forming two systems of meaning, one for the words they know in Arabic, and the other for the words they know in French. For instance, the Arabic word /Kurra:s/, and the French word “cahier” are stored and represented separately within the brain.

Consequently, Algerian bilingualism is very special because the majority, if not all of, the Algerian citizens include French borrowed words in their dialects, switches from one code to another spontaneously, and from time to time, mix the two languages that the result would be strange language. In effect, the Algerian

proficiencies in French may range from a native-like mastery to an occasional use of the language.

## 2.4. Languages in Contact

Scholars extensively argue that the study of language contact goes back to the 1950s, particularly when Weinreich published the groundbreaking monograph “languages in contact”. Nowadays, the era of globalization and migration movements have facilitated the communication process between people all over the world. Thus, the main question which may arise at this level is: what happens when two individuals speaking different languages or language varieties interact with each other?

Effectively, two things will occur from this contact. Firstly, they will learn how to say some phrases in the other language. Secondly, they will lend a number of words from each other and integrate them in their speech. (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In this sense, Clyne says that:

**Languages in contact are, after all, the result of people in contact and of communities of people of different language backgrounds in contact. The analysis of language contact data can also throw light on how language is processed as well as on how language changes. (2003:1).**

Indeed, the most common phenomena which result from the contact between languages and that will be discussed within the following two sections are code switching, code mixing, and borrowing.

### 2.4.1. Code Switching and Code Mixing

Code switching and code mixing are the two linguistic phenomena that characterize bilingual as well as multilingual speech communities. Bokamba (1988:24) distinguishes between the two concepts in this way:

Code switching is the embedding or mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two codes within the same speech event and across sentence boundaries, while code mixing is the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units, i.e., affixes, words, phrases, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence and the same speech situation.

Another differentiation is offered by Meyerhoff (2006:287) who defines code switching as “... **the alternation between varieties or codes, across sentences or clause boundaries. Often used as a cover term including code mixing as well**”. Code mixing, in her view, refers to the “... **the alternations between varieties, or codes within a clause or phrase. Often elicits more strongly negative evaluations than alternations or code switching across clauses**”.

Bi/multilingual speakers usually choose a specific code to use while communicating according to a set of non-linguistic and linguistic factors. When the choice of a particular language variety depends on the situations in which the interlocutors are included in, it can be called “situational code switching”. Wardhaugh confirms that people generally “... **speak one language in one situation and another in a different one**” (2010:102). For example, English language teachers in Algeria speak in English when they present their lectures, but when they go outside of the classroom, they automatically switch to their mother tongue.

On the other hand, when code choice is governed by the topic which is going to be discussed, it can be named “metaphorical code switching”. Wardhaugh (ibid) affirms that: “... **the choice of code adds a distinct flavor to what is said about the topic**”. For instance, it is mostly observed that the way people speak about literary subjects differs from the way they speak about scientific themes. Thus, the situational and metaphorical code switching are two various types that were validated by both Bloom and Gumperz in 1972 when they published their article entitled: “Social



Meanings in Linguistic Structures: Code-switching in Northern Norway”.

The third kind of code switching may be labeled “conversational code switching or code mixing”. It generally takes place when fluent bilingual members are interacting with each other and switch to a distinct language without any change in the situation. (Hudson, 1996). Such sort of code switching can be noticed in daily-life conversations where people “... **balance their two languages against each other as a kind of cocktail – a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few or more words and so on**” (Hudson, *ibid*: 53).

What is more, there are a number of researchers who have tried to explain the linguistic structure of code switching and identify the main linguistic constraints that control the switch between codes (Winford, 2003). For this reason, Poplack (1980) has discriminated between three kinds of code switching:

- (1) **extra-sentential code-switching, or the insertion of a tag, e.g. ‘you know’, ‘I mean’, from one language into an utterance which is entirely in another language.**
- (2) **intersentential code-switching, or switch at clause/sentence boundary, one clause being in one language, the other clause in the other, e.g. ‘Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in English y termino en espanol’ (Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish) (Spanish-english bilingual recorded by Poplack (1980) in the Puerto Rican Community of New York City).**
- (3) **intrasentential code-switching, where switches of different types occur within the clause boundary, including within the word boundary (;i.e. loan blend, e.g. check-er (English verb + French infinitive morpheme –er). (Hamers and Blank, 2000:259-260).**

All of the grammatical restrictions that limit code switches can be classified into two groups: general or universal and relativized or probabilistic constraints. (Gluth, 2002). The first constraints determine the acceptable switches. For example; an Algerian bilingual speaker is not allowed to say: je [rani mæʃi], meaning (I'm going). However, the second constraints do depict all of the possible switches, but rather the most frequent ones. For instance, it is common to hear Algerian people saying: / kopijha / meaning 'you copy it', or / bippilhga/, meaning 'you make a bip to her'.

Later on, Myers-Scotton (1993) has put forward a different theoretical model known as: "The Markedness Model" in order to clarify the sociopsychological motivations that restrains the choice or avoidance of a certain linguistic variety relying on the topic, the competency in both languages, the situation (formal Vs informal), the participants (literate Vs illiterate). Wardhaugh (2010:111) alleges that: **"... your choice of code also reflects how you want to appear to others, i.e., how you want to express your identity and/or how you want others to view you"**. Accordingly, Myers-Scotton (1993) has proposed two types of code switching namely: marked and unmarked code switching.

If someone uses the unexpected code to transmit a specific message, then, this phenomenon will be called "code switching as a marked choice". For example, an Algerian employee uses in purpose the French word "tu" instead of "vous" while speaking with his boss for the sake of showing anger or disrespect. But if somebody employs the expected code that is associated with the context, this will be named "code switching as an unmarked choice". For instance, when two Algerian doctors are talking to each other, they usually use French language. However, when they want to explain a disease to an illiterate patient, they switch to colloquial Arabic to be understood.

Therefore, code switching and code mixing are the most outstanding traits that mark not only the speech of bi/multiannual Algerians but monolingual ones as well who tend to switch back and forth between dissimilar dialects, styles, or registers. This can be easily seen in the speech of some Maghnaoui traders who switch to Moroccan

Arabic when they go to Morocco to exchange goods. The other possible switch which is widely utilized by the natives of Maghnia is the alternation between dialectal Arabic and French. This type of code switching is used by young people especially girls for denoting prestige, even if they do not master the French language very well. Benrabah says that: **“French and Arabic are commonly mixed, ranging from code switching to extensive code mixing” (2007:15).**

Here are some examples which are taken from a conversation made between a trade man and a woman.

Commerce man says: [ʔil samħili] madame [ mænqɑdʃ naqqaʒlək fə su:ma ] (I am sorry madame, I cannot decrease the price). This type can be called extra-sentential code switching.

The woman replies: [ləukæn ʔnaqqaʒ ]... je vais l’acheter maintenant. (If you decrease the price, I will buy it right now). This kind can be referred to intersentential code switching.

The woman also says: [zid warrini gaʒ] les modèles [wə] les couleurs [li ʒandak wə mənbaʒd] [n] decider. (Show me all the models and the colours that you have, and after, I will decide). This sort can be named intrasentential code switching that is customarily very difficult to be analysed as it involves switches inside clauses and even within words.

What can be said about the Algerians’ speech is that you just listen to them when they are talking with each other, and you will find numerous kinds of code switching. In fact, there are many people who switch between Algerian Arabic and French (sometimes it is very hard to know whether the base language is Arabic with some French insertions or the opposite). There are some members who use Berber-French switches (this can be viewed specifically in Berber areas). Other individuals may switch between Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic (this can be observed inside classrooms where teachers, from time to time, employ their colloquial

Arabic in order to explain what is not understood in MSA). The last kind of code switching which is found in Algeria concerns the alternation between Modern Standard Arabic and French (that is utilized only by educated segments).

### 2.4.2. Borrowing

Borrowing is another feature that specifies the speech of monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual individuals all over the world. It is, in fact, a process which refers to the incorporation of **“words from one language (the donor language) in another (the recipient language)”** (Myers-Scotton, 2006:211). It has already been claimed that approximately all languages contain foreign words taken from other languages, but a few persons are aware of such phenomenon. English language speakers, for instance, may be surprised to know that 70% of the English words were derived from different languages. (Winford, 2003). Indeed, there are many French words like: court, duke, nation, fruit and joy. In addition to that, there are several Latin borrowed words such as: cheese, plant, pot, table, and pear. Furthermore, the words zero and cotton are extracted from Arabic language.

It is very substantial to say at this stage that there have been many attempts to differentiate between borrowing and code switching or code mixing. Mahootian (2006:512) corroborates that **“... defining bilingualism and distinguishing between two of its related features, code switching and borrowing, has been an ongoing challenge for researchers”**. Hudson, for example, explains this distinction in the following way:

**Whereas code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item borrowed from one language to become part of the other language. Everyday examples abound words for foods, plants, institutions, music and so on, which most people recognize as borrowing (or LOAN-WORDS), and for which they can even name the source language. (1996:55).**

In contrast to that, Eastman (1992:1) views that **“Efforts to distinguish between codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed”**. Likewise, both Hamers and Blanc assure that: **“... Borrowing and code-switching and are phenomena at either end of a continuum” (2000:259)**.

Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) have discriminated between two patterns of borrowing: established and nonce borrowings. The former refers to those lexical elements or (loan-words) that **“show full linguistic integration (i.e. are part of ‘langue’, and used frequently by monolinguals who can not code-switch)” (Hamers and Blanc, *ibid*)**, whereas the latter refers to those **“lexical items borrowed on the spur of the moment which do not have an established status in the borrowing language” (King, 2000:82)**. Nonce borrowing, in effect, can indicate the different single-words code-switches that are used momentarily by bi/multilingual members. Among the well known established borrowed words which have been taken from English and integrated in the French language system, one may mention the following ones: ‘le parking’, ‘le shopping’, ‘le weekend’, ‘le sandwich’. The other famous nonce borrowings that are employed by many Algerians are: Salut (hello), bien sur (of course), oui ou non (yes or no), pardon (sorry), merci (thanks).

Besides, Brahim (2000) has spoken about the most prominent Standard Arabic loanwords which emerge in Algerian Arabic and Berber. Some of these words are provided in this list: [ʔasa:tida] (teachers), [mutʃa] (confort), [htira:m] (respect), [muqaddima] (introduction), [muhhim] (important), [mustaqbal] (future), [zamiʃa] (university).

Myers-Scotton (2006), on her part, has divided the term of borrowing into two categories namely: Cultural and core borrowings. She refers by the first type to the **“words that fill gaps in the recipient language’s store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language’s culture” (ibid: 212)**. The various cultural borrowed words implemented by the Algerian individuals are: telephone, television, radio, fax, computer, internet, connexion, pizza, and paella. The second kind

of borrowing called “core borrowings” stands for **“words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store”** (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*: 215). From the so many core borrowed words which exist in the Algerian speech community, one can list: [kuzina], [frizidær], [faliza], [refei], [mæfina], [mizirija]. These words are taken from the French words: ‘cuisine’, ‘réfrigérateur’, ‘valize’, ‘reveil’, ‘machine’, ‘misère’ respectively, (kitchen, refrigerator, suitcase, alarm clock, machine, misery).

Actually, the above core borrowed words have their counterparts in MSA, but they are not used in AA. So, why do people borrow words? Several factors may lead individuals to adopt words from other languages. First, a group of lexical items may be lent because of an actual need, i.e. expressing concepts or objects which are not found in the base language. Myers-Scotton (1997:288) says in this sense that: **“... elements from one language are inserted into the grammatical frame of another because these elements meet speaker’s expressive needs”**. Second, the contact between two languages or more causes bi/multilingual members to use borrowings in their speech. The same idea is reported by Myers-Scotton when she emphasizes that: **“The borrowing of words is the most common type of structural change that results when people speaking different languages are in contact”** (2006:231).

The third reason which guides the process of borrowing is prestige. Romaine (1995:66) upholds that: **“If one of the languages is of greater prestige than the other, then speakers will use more loanwords as a means of displaying social status”**. The fourth and probably the most essential purpose which prompts members to import foreign words is related to the cultural influence. Mahootian alleges that: **“Borrowing is motivated primarily by cultural contact, whether through trade or war. Along with new ways, styles, foods, religions, forms of government, etc., new words for those items are introduced into the community”** (2006:512-513).

In opposition to that, there are many people (e.g. Arabophones) who have negative attitudes towards the employment of foreign words. Myers-Scotton (*ibid*)

maintains that: “**Not all speakers of recipient languages are “happy borrowers”. At least some influential people in some recipient cultures try to keep out alien words. (e.g. the French Academy)**”. Nonetheless, borrowing is ordinarily considered as a widespread phenomenon among multilingual, bilingual, and even monolingual societies, where the majority of the citizens borrow many content words (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) with the company of some function words (e.g. pronouns, prepositions) and inflections (e.g. affixes).

## **2.5. A General Background about Maghnia**

Maghnia is the speech community which is chosen to be under survey in the present research paper. But before speaking about the dialect used in this village and explain to what extent it is affected by the one spoken in the nearby Moroccan areas, it seems necessary to provide a general background about the town, that is, its geographical location, its history, tourism and culture, in addition to its economy.

### **2.5.1. The Geographical Situation of Maghnia**

Maghnia is a town in Tlemcen Province. It is situated in the extreme North-West of Algeria. Its geographical coordinates are: 34° 50' 50" North and 1° 43' 43" West. This area is located near the Moroccan borders. Oujda is only 28 Km far from it. It is also about 60 Km far from Tlemcen, 48 Km far from Ghazaouet, and 160 Km far from Oran. The boundaries between Algeria and Morocco were established thanks to the Treaty of “Lalla Maghnia” which was signed (March, 18. 1848) between France (that occupied Algeria at that time) and Abdurrahman<sup>9</sup> (Sultan of Morocco). ‘Akid Lotfi’ and ‘Akid Abbas’ are the two borders crossing which enable the visitors to go to Morocco. Besides, there is the National Route 6° that links Maghnia with many Moroccan regions such as: Fes, Mekness, and Casablanca.

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<sup>9</sup> Moulay Sharif Abdurrahmen (1778 – 1859) was Sultan of Morocco who reigned from 1822 till 1859. He was a member of the Alouite dynasty.

Moreover, the area of the city is about 20 Km<sup>2</sup>. It is considered as the second largest zone in the department of Tlemcen, after Tlemcen. It has a population of around 200.000 inhabitants. The majority of them belong to middle of and high classes.





Map: 2.1. The Geographical Location of Maghnia<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Available on:

[http://maps.google.com/maps?hl=fr&q=la%20situation%20geographique%20de%20maghnia&rlz=1R2GPCK\\_fr&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=N&tab=wl](http://maps.google.com/maps?hl=fr&q=la%20situation%20geographique%20de%20maghnia&rlz=1R2GPCK_fr&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=N&tab=wl). Accessed on: April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011

### 2.5.2. The History of Maghnia

Maghnia is generally considered as a prehistoric region. However, little was written about its history. In effect, this town was taken as a castle or military camp for the Romans when they occupied the Algerian islands. What is more, they gave it the name of “Numerous Syrorum”<sup>11</sup> which refers to the auxiliary unit of the Roman army that was stationed in the camp. This unit was recruited initially in Syria. Furthermore, Islam entered to Maghnia during the seventh century by the Nomadic Arab tribes which settled in the area in order to look for stability. In 1836, The French arrived to Maghnia by the General “Bedeau” who resided military barracks in the town. In 1944, he changed the name of the city from “Numerous Syrorum” to “Lalla Maghnia” which, in turn, was replaced by “Maghnia” only after the establishment of the first council of a Jewish majority.

Maghnia or El Hadja Maghnia is, in fact, the name of a wise and learned woman who was known by all the scholars of the time. She has Moroccan origins since she comes from Oujda. She has made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice with convoys of pilgrims, some of whom were walking on their feet, others on camels or horses. On one occasion, the convoy stopped in this area, so that, “El Hadja Maghnia” liked the town, and when she returned from the pilgrimage she decided to stay and live in that place. Actually, she remained there until her death. Therefore, the city was first formed around her house, then, around her grave. Her mausoleum can be seen till nowadays in the form of a green dome that was probably built in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1844, the French built a redoubt, after, the modern town developed around it.

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<sup>11</sup> Numerous Syrorum is a name which has also been given to a Berber village situated in South-East of Morocco, in the Province of Errachidia.

What is more, Maghnia is the birth place of ‘Ahmed Ben Bella’ who was the first president of independent Algeria.



**Figure: 2.2. The Mausoleum of El Hadja Maghnia<sup>12</sup>**

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<sup>12</sup> Available on:

<http://etudiantsetif.3arabiyate.net/t5474-topic>. Accessed on: April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

### 2.5.3. Tourism

Recently, Maghnia has been regarded as a major tourist city since its geographical situation has attracted the attention of many visitors who wish to cross the frontiers and go to Morocco. Indeed, many people appreciate this town because of its comfortable hotels, its shops with a Moroccan style and its residents. In addition to that, whenever the guests visit Maghnia, they go directly to buy different types of goods like: fruits, vegetables, spices, and clothes which are imported from Morocco.

Among the famous places that are widely visited, one may mention the following ones: ‘Hammam Bouhrara’ which has allured the attentiveness of numerous bathers and tourists from various parts of Algeria since its opening in 1974. It is located in the extreme West of Algeria. It is 11 Km far from Maghnia. Its water is very beneficial for the treatment of rheumatic, gastric, gynecological, and dermatological diseases. The traditional baths as well as the modern therapy are the methods which are used to cure these sicknesses. The second local attraction is the mineral spring of ‘Hammam Chiguer’, 5 Km Northwest of Maghnia. The sea of ‘Marsa Ben M’hidi’ is the third and the famous place which is largely visited during summer. It is situated 54 Km Northwest of Maghnia, near the Moroccan town of Saida.

### 2.5.4. Art and Culture

Maghnia is an area which is divided between the Algerian and the Moroccan cultures. This can be easily noticed inside the houses of Maghnaoui people where the Moroccan architecture is present, as well as in their ways of dressing in which most of its natives wear different Moroccan clothes such as: djellaba, teckchita, and elbalgha.

Yet, the Moroccan songs and the use of ‘El Ammaria’<sup>13</sup> for instance are widely employed in the wedding celebrations of the city. “Laalaoui” or “Al Arfa” is a special

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<sup>13</sup> El Ammaria is a rounded table that is imported from Morocco. It is used for holding the bride on her wedding day.

kind of music that is used by both Moroccan and Maghnaoui people on different occasions (e.g. weddings or festivals) Additionally, the majority, if not all of the Maghnia's residents are specialists in making tea like the Moroccan ones.

### **2.5.5. Economy**

The economy of Maghnia is primarily based on agriculture, the production of cereals and wool, trade or commerce especially with Morocco, tourism, and finally, industry. Trade between Maghnia and other Moroccan regions like Oujda, Ahfir, Beni Derar, Fes, and Casablanca has existed till nowadays in spite of the closure of the Moroccan borders since 1994. Moroccan products such as fruits, vegetables, clothes, shoes and many other goods are very popular in Maghnia.

Similarly, the various Algerian products are passing the Moroccan borders secretly without any difficulties. They can be found in Oujda, for example, in a market called "Houari Boumediene" and in "Souk Eljazair" in Beni Derar. Therefore, the contact which exists between Maghnia and the several Moroccan towns through trade or more precisely through illegal trade may lead the citizens of Maghnia to borrow some Moroccan words and expressions and include them in their every day speech, to share with the Moroccan individuals some customs, traditions, ways of dressing, celebrating and even cooking, as well as ways of building, painting and decorating houses and shops.

## **2.6. Research Methodology**

It is generally agreed that variation occurs in any language, and this constitutes an essential part of sociolinguistic researches. Yet, it has long been noticed that each language variety varies from one region to another, and this is often referred to regional variation. It can also vary within the same place or from one person to another according to a number of social constraints (like: age, gender, occupation, level of education, and the list is so long), and this is often referred to social variation or

sociolinguistics. While the former emerged in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the latter has appeared in the 1960s with the pioneering work of William Labov entitled: “English in New York City” (1966) that studied speech variation quantitatively.

The main concern of this part is to speak about the major research tools which are used to collect and analyze the data. Since the present work is a sociolinguistic investigation, it is crucial to follow the basic steps that typify this field of inquiry. The five significant stages which should be involved in a sociolinguistic study are summarized by Hudson (1996) in this way:

- 1- Selecting speakers, circumstances and linguistic variables.
- 2- Collecting the texts.
- 3- Identifying the linguistic variables and their variants in the texts.
- 4- Processing the figures.
- 5- Interpreting the results.

Thus, the methodology obtained in this survey is a “Labovian approach” which arose as a consequence of the inadequate materials employed in traditional dialectology, as well as a reaction against Chomsky’s pure formal linguistic theory. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are adopted for the sake of clarifying the effect of trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border on the speech of Maghnaoui people. The quantitative approaches used will be represented in the form of statistical results drawn in tables, graphs and charts. More details on the instruments, the participants, the sampling and the stratification of the informants are going to be explained within the following sections.

### 2.6.1. The instruments

Since the basic concern of the present section is the issue of methodological concerns, the main question that may rise at this level is: how can a researcher gain reliable data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry? Milroy and Gordon (2003:49) reply to such question in such a way: **“What constitutes “good data” depends on the research objectives, as do the methods for collecting such data”**. Therefore, multiple approaches of gathering data have been trialed each with varying degrees of success in identifying the lexical variables of Maghnia speech. The major techniques employed within this interactive workshop are: questionnaire, interview, participant observation, rapid and anonymous survey, friend of a friend procedure, and the telephone.

#### 2.6.1.1. Questionnaires

Written questionnaire is the first means that is used in this sociolinguistic study. It was the primary technique implemented by traditional dialectologists during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1876, George Wenker sent postal questionnaires to schoolmasters in Germany and asked them to transcribe a list of sentences from Standard German into the local dialect. Then, in 1896, Jules Gilièron developed this method through using a trained fieldworker named “Edmond Edmont” who recorded the questionnaire’s responses in France. (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998).

The advantage of employing questionnaires is their efficiency. They are mostly very easy and cheap to administer. They enable the experimenter to elicit knowledge from a great number of subjects across large speech communities. The most recent form of postal questionnaire is the e-mail survey which helps the research worker to collect data in a simple and very short time.

The questionnaire utilized in this work is divided into two parts. The first part tries to take some information about the informants like: their name, their gender, their

age, their place of birth and of residence, their level of education, and their occupation. The second part is devoted to ask a set of questions in order to know the number of Moroccan words integrated in the dialect of Maghnia. So, both open and closed questions (including yes/no and multiple questions) are asked for obtaining useful data. Other questionnaires may be conducted if more data are needed. Besides, the questionnaire is written in Standard Arabic since the participants are of different ages and various levels of education. Sometimes, the questions are explained through using the mother tongue especially for the illiterate category.

### 2.6.1.2. Interviews

The sociolinguistic interview is the second research tool that has participated in the collection of the data. Over the past-half century, it is the method which has been widely been implemented in sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Labov's work on English in New York City (1966)). Llamas discloses that: **“The primary aim of the interview is likely to be to elicit a sample of speech from the informants which is casual and spontaneous as possible” (2007:15)**. The difference between the sociolinguistic interview and a survey is clarified by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 57-58) who postulate that:

**The sociolinguistic interview typically differs from a survey being relatively less structured. Whereas, survey questions are usually asked in a predetermined order and a prescribed form, interview protocols are more flexible. Surveys seek brief responses to fairly direct questions; interviews attempt to elicit more extended stretches of unscripted conversational speech.**

However, the problem faced while interviewing the interviewees is the observer's paradox<sup>14</sup>. To overcome this issue, the investigator has to discuss topics

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<sup>14</sup> The observer's paradox is a term coined by Labov in the field of sociolinguistics. It is an obstacle which may face the investigator while questioning, interviewing, or recording the speech of the subjects.



about the respondents' childhood, lives, and interests and engaging them as much as possible to speak naturally and to forget any constraint imposed on them (e.g. using good introduction, suitable transition and closing). The interview employed in this project is a structured/formal interview, i.e. preparing a list of predetermined questions at home because Milroy and Gordon claim that: **“Successful interviewing requires careful planning” (2003: 58)**. But there are other questions which arise during the conversation. This is called a semi-structured/focused interview.

It is important to say that the local dialect is used in formulating the questions involved in the interview. Additionally, some subjects (e.g. some shopkeepers and clients) are asked to name items provided in pictures or available in shops for avoiding any influence. The open-ended responses of the informants are generally recorded by a written note taking.

#### **2.6.1.3. Participant Observation**

Participant observation is the third strategy which is implemented for gathering data. It is mostly considered as **“...the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives” (Bernard, 2006: 342)**. The application of this instrument will minimize the observer's paradox since Labov insists on the fact that: **“Our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed” (1972: 61)**. Consequently, this

approach allows the investigator to gain the amount and quality of the data collected, and familiarity with the natives of the community which is under review. (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

#### **2.6.1.4. Rapid and Anonymous Survey**

The rapid and anonymous survey is a technique that is used in this work. It gives researchers the opportunity to collect data without the awareness of the

participants. The investigator should determine his/her general aims in order to ask rapid and anonymous survey questions. This method has already been employed by Labov in his famous study on English in New York City department stores (1966). Within this investigation, Labov explores the pronunciation of /r/ in the words: “Fourth floor” among employees in three distinct stores. He asked them about something that is supposed to be on the fourth floor, then, made them repeat their answers in order to check if they would change their pronunciation or not (see 1.3.4.1.1)<sup>15</sup>.

#### **2.6.1.5. A Friend of a Friend Procedure and the Telephone Survey**

A friend of a friend procedure is another strategy which is utilized in the present research. It gives the occasion to another one (e.g. my friend or my father) to help me in administering questionnaires, doing interviews, and observing facts particularly in places (e.g. cafés ) where it is impossible to go and do the work by myself. The telephone has also been used for the sake of recording without being observed some conversations at home, in shops, in “souk Tlata”<sup>16</sup>, and among friends.

#### **2.6.2. The Informants**

The respondents who participate in the current research work are from Maghnia. In fact, there are some people who have Moroccan origins but live in the area that is under survey and have the Algerian nationality. Most of the data will be gathered in houses, in streets, in shops, in souk Tlata, in cafés (through a friend of a friend procedure), in buses, and along the Algerian/Moroccan frontier with the border guards.

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<sup>15</sup> For more details see *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* by Labov (2006), the second edition. First published in 1966.

<sup>16</sup> Souk Tlata is a market that takes place in Maghnia each Tuesday and Friday.

### 2.6.3. Sampling and Stratification

The varied research instruments that are employed to collect data have been conducted with a sample population of 120 subjects. They are selected on the basis of predetermined social features involving: place of residence (those who live in the two borders crossing: “Akid Lotfi” and “Akid Abbas”, and others from Maghnia who have been met in both of the market centre of Maghnia as well as Souk Tlata market). They are also chosen according to their type of occupation (traders and clients). Moreover, the selected participants are of various age, gender, level of education, and of distinct socio-economic background. The table below explains the classification of the informants.

Place of Residence	Akid Lotfi	Akid Abbas	The market Centre of Maghnia	Souk Tlata Market	Total
Traders	15	15	15	15	60
Ordinary people	15	15	15	15	60
Total	30	30	30	30	120

**Table: 2.3. Sampling and Stratification of Participants.**

### 2.7. Conclusion:

It seems necessary to point out that the very long period of the French colonial rule to the Algerian territories has played an important role in defining and characterizing the linguistic and cultural systems of the country. In a simpler way, Algeria is a nation that is divided between its own and the French cultures. In addition to this, in spite of all of the colonial attempts in limiting the use of Arabic and

advocating the use of French, Arabic reinstated its status as a national and official language and as a means of communication after independence (1962).

Despite the Arabisation policy which was followed by the Algerian authorities just after the independence, French still continues to be used in numerous domains such as education, administration, commerce, media, science, and technology. Indeed, the co-existence of Standard Arabic, Berber, French, and diverse dialects makes the linguistic situation in Algeria so complex. Yet, we need to say at this stage that each speech variety is prestigious at least in its areas of use and with its native speakers.

The brief overview that is provided to speak about the linguistic composition of Algeria, has led this specific country to be classified as an intricate multilingual speech community rather than a monolingual one. This intricacy lies firstly, on the dialect variation which is observed among Algerian individuals, secondly, on the diglossic and bilingual situations which prevail in the state, and thirdly, on the assorted processes of borrowing, code switching and code mixing which result from the conflictual contact between languages.

After drawing a general background about Maghnia and identifying the varied research tools which are implemented to gather data, the third chapter seeks to explain the relationships between the non-linguistic factors and the phonological, morphological and lexical variations that characterize the dialect of Maghnia. Hence, the data collected will be analyzed (qualitatively and quantitatively) and interpreted in the subsequent chapter.

# **Chapter Three: Sociolinguistic Variation in MA**

## **3.1. Introduction**

## **3.2. Linguistic Features of Maghnaoui Arabic (MA)**

3.2.1. Phonological Features

3.2.2. Morphological Features

3.2.3. Lexical Features

## **3.3. Sociolinguistic variation in Maghnia Speech**

3.3.1. Phonological Variation

3.3.1.1. Consonantal Variation

3.3.2. Morphological Variation

3.3.2.1. The Variable (Ka)

3.3.2.4. Gender Differentiation

3.3.3. Lexical Variation

3.3.3.1. The Moroccan Borrowings in MA

## **3.4. Factors Promoting Language Variation in MA**

## **3.5. Attitudes Towards the use of the Moroccan Loanwords in MA**

## **3.6. Conclusion**

### **3.1. Introduction**

Sociolinguistic empirical works usually insist on explaining how a given language is used by its native speakers when interacting with each other. It has also been found among sociolinguists that all speech varieties are not homogeneous, but rather heterogeneous, each one with its own specificities. Therefore, the present chapter is devoted to shed some light on the most salient language characteristics underlying Maghnaoui Arabic (MA) along the Algerian/Moroccan border when contact with Moroccan citizens. Also, it seeks to examine language variation phonologically, morphologically and lexically according to the respondents' type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people) and their place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market).

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed within this research paper in order to investigate to what extent Maghnaoui linguistic features are influenced by Moroccan linguistic characteristics from a sociolinguistic angle. While the first approach has helped in analyzing the collected data statistically, the second one has attempted to provide explanations to the speaker's sociolinguistic variation in Maghnia speech community and the reasons behind such variation. For instance, you may find in Maghnia a trader using the sound [z] as in: [zu:ʒ] with the Maghnaoui customers, and the sound [ʒ] as in: [ʒu:ʒ] with the Moroccan merchants at the Algerian Moroccan frontier. Other details about the remaining linguistic features are studied within this chapter.

## **3.2. Linguistic Features of Maghnaoui Arabic (MA)**

### **3.2.1. Phonological Features**

It is generally agreed by linguists that each language is a norm and the dialects that derive from it are deviations from that norm. However, the study of these vernaculars in their social context has proved the opposite, and that these dialects are well structured systems with rules of construction. In other words, each language has its own features (ex: phonological, morphological, and lexical features) that make it distinct from other dialects.

The phonological level is mainly regarded as a branch of linguistic analysis which deals with how speech sounds structure and function in languages. Trubetzkoy, one of the founders of the Prague school of linguistics defines phonology as follows:

**It is the task of phonology to study which differences in sound are related to differences in meaning in a given language, in which way the discriminative elements [...] are related to each other and the rules according to which they may be combined into words and sentences. (1939:10).**

The following are some of the most common phonological features which are related to the speech community of Maghnia, as they make of its dialect an accent that is in fact distinct from the other Algerian vernaculars.

The alveolar [z] is articulated [ʒ] by a number of Maghnaoui inhabitants (like the Moroccans who are living in Maghnia, or the traders who are in contact with the Moroccan ones). These words are simple examples that show the pronunciation of the /z/ sound as [ʒ]:

CA	MA	Gloss
/lθna:ni/	[zu:ʒ] or [ʒu:ʒ]	“two”
/zawa:ʒ/	[zwæʒ] or [ʒwæʒ]	“marriage”

The next list of words illustrates the contrast between the post alveolar [ʒ] and the velar [g] in MA:

CA	MA	Gloss
-/ʒana:za/	[ʒna:za] or [gna:za]	‘Funeral’
-/ʒazza:r/	[ʒəzza:r] or [gəzza:r]	‘Butcher’
-/ʒins(un)/	[ʒəns] or [gəns]	‘Race’
-/ʒibs(un)/	[ʒəbs] or [gəbs]	‘Plaster’

-/ʒalsat(un)/ [ʒəlsa] or [gəlsa] ‘sitting or session’

-/ʕaʒu:za/ [ʕʒu:za] or [ʕgu:za] ‘Mother-in-law’

### 3.2.2. Morphological Features

Linguistically speaking, morphology is another branch of linguistics which identifies analyses and describes the internal structure of words and the alternation through the addition of prefixes and suffixes.

The Arabic spoken by some Maghnaoui members (e.g. traders) shows a certain peculiarity, when compared with the other Algerian dialects, because of the existence of some morphological features that are absent in the latter. The subsequent examples explain some of these morphological characteristics:

➤ The addition of the prefix (ka) to verbs like:

- [nabʔɪ] vs. [ka + nabʔɪ]: “I like”.

- [nʃu:f] vs. [ka + nʃu:f]: “I see”.

➤ The use of the suffix morpheme {i} when addressing both males and females like:

- [fi:n # kunt] Vs [ fi:n # kunti]: “Where were you” ?

- [ʃrabt] vs. [ ʃrabi ]: “You have drunk”.

### 3.2.3. Lexical Features

In the light of the primary results achieved from the first tentative investigation in the speech community of Maghnia, one may say, at this starting stage of research, that there is remarkable variation in the vocabulary of Maghnaoui Arabic. The following table provides some of the Moroccan borrowings which are likely to be employed by almost all Maghnaoui inhabitants in their daily life interactions:

Moroccan Loanwords	English Gloss
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-[tekfiʔa]	“Traditional cloth in double dresses”.
-[ʕemmərija]	“A rounded table for holding the bride”.
-[neggafa]	“A specialized woman for the bride’s decoration”.
-[ʕafi]	“Enough”
-[b3lla:ti]	“Slowly”
-[kambu]	“A slang word that is said to someone who is stupid”.

Table.3.1: The Moroccan Loanwords in MA.

### 3.3. Sociolinguistic Variation in Maghnia Speech

#### 3.3.1. Phonological Variation

##### 3.3.3.1.1. Consonantal Variation

As far as consonantal variation is concerned, the two phonological variables (z) and (ʒ) are going to be examined among speakers showing their interplay according to type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people) as well as according to place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia, and souk Tlata market).

##### 3.3.1.1.1. The Variable (z)

The /z/ sound is articulated in the different settings: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and souk Tlata market among their inhabitants and is regarded as a linguistic characteristic which characterize their speakers. The data collected show the use of this feature through the examination of some words containing this sound: [zu:ʒ]: “two”, and [zwa:ʒ]: “marriage”. The results achieved reveal that all the informants met in the four previously mentioned contexts use the sound /z/ when speaking to each other. The percentage of 120 examined traders and ordinary people was 100% which displays the degree to which these individuals maintain the use of this sound in their every day speech.

But when asking the same participants if they use the sound /z/ when interacting with the Moroccan members, they reply distinctively. The next tables explain the differentiation in answers.

	Traders	Ordinary People	Percentage
/z/	00	11	36.66%
/ʒ/	15	04	63.33%

**Table 3.2: Shifting Scores from /z//→ [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi when speaking with the Moroccan Individuals.**

	Traders	Ordinary People	Percentage
/z/	05	07	40%
/ʒ/	10	08	60%

**Table 3.3: Shifting Scores from /z/→ [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas when speaking with the Moroccan Individuals.**

	Traders	Ordinary People	Percentage
/z/	00	10	33.33%
/ʒ/	15	05	66.66%

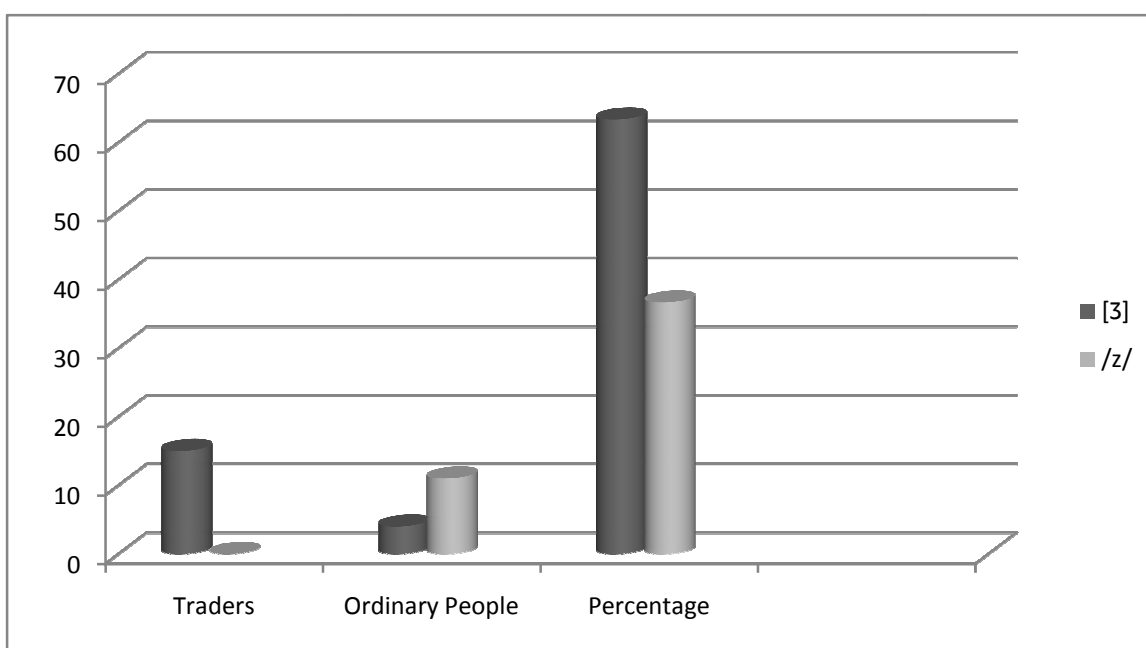
**Table 3.4: Shifting Scores from /z/ / [ʒ] /→ Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market when speaking with the Moroccan Individuals.**

The scored results provided in the tables: 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 demonstrate that a high percentage of traders and ordinary people seen in Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas and souk Tlata market switch to the post alveolar [ʒ] when speaking with the Moroccan citizens. However, a small percentage of the same informants tend to maintain the use of the alveolar [z] even when interacting with the Moroccan people. Table 3.5 presents shifting scores from /z/ to [ʒ] by traders and ordinary people met in the market centre of Maghnia when communicating with the Moroccan Individuals.

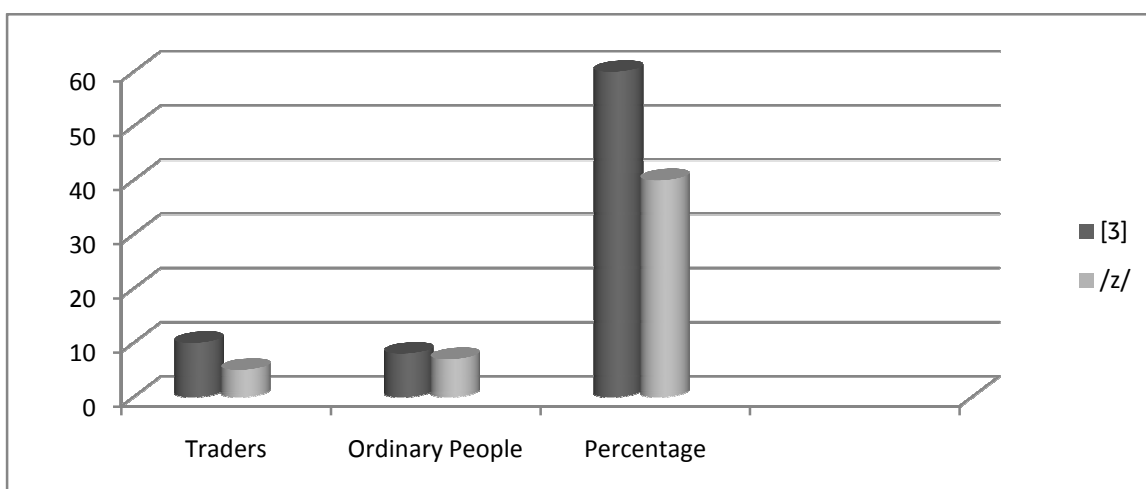
	Traders	Ordinary People	Percentage
/z/	08	10	60%
/ʒ/	07	05	40%

**Table 3.5: Shifting Scores from /z/ → [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia when speaking with the Moroccan Individuals.**

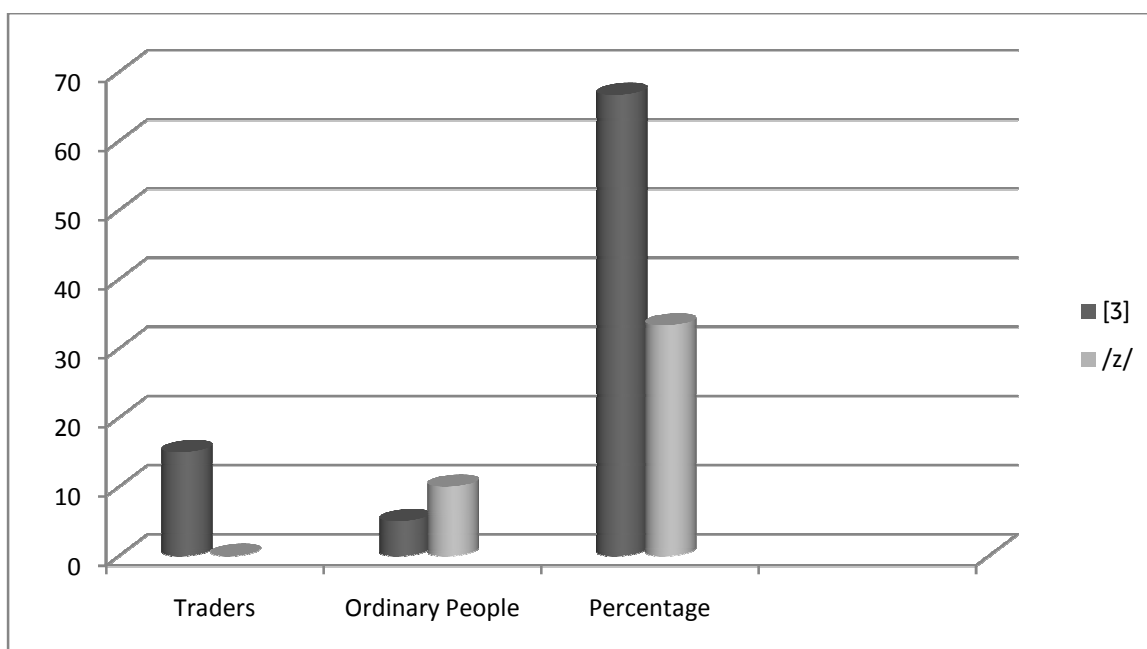
According to table 3.5, there is a high percentage of Maghnaoui traders and ordinary people who keep the use of the alveolar [z] even when communicating with the Moroccan members. On the other hand, a small number of the same interviewees switch to the post alveolar [ʒ]. The next charts expose the shifting scores from /z/ to [ʒ] by traders and ordinary people belonging to the previously mentioned four settings when speaking with the Moroccan inhabitants.



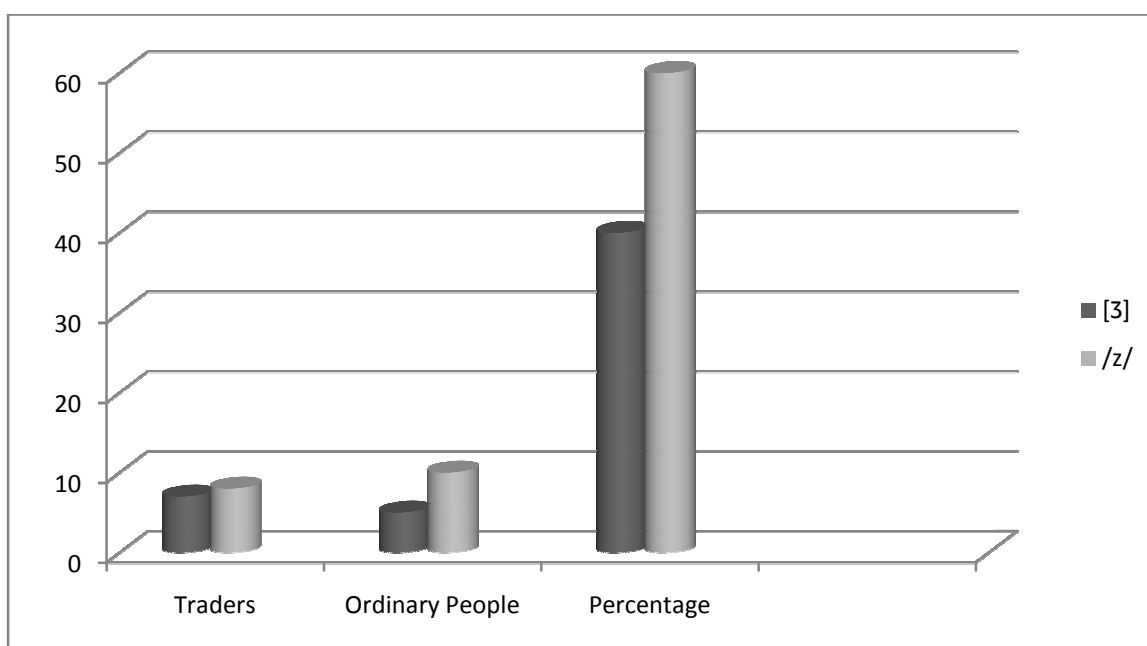
**Chart 3.1: Shifting Scores from /z/ → [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi when interacting with the Moroccan Speakers.**



**Chart 3.2: Shifting Scores from /z/ → [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas when interacting with the Moroccan Speakers.**



**Chart 3.3: Shifting Scores from /z/ → [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People met in souk Tlata Market when interacting with the Moroccan Speakers.**



**Chart 3.4: Shifting Scores from /z/ → [ʒ]: Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia when interacting with the Moroccan Speakers.**

It is clearly noticed from all of the above charts that the switching of traders to the variant [ʒ] is to some extent higher than the one of the ordinary people. This means that traders are more exposed to such shift than ordinary people. These shifting situations are available to traders because of the long and daily contact with

the Moroccan merchants when exchanging various types of goods, as well as their traveling to different Moroccan towns like Oujda, Ahfir, Fes, Meknes, Casa Blanca, where, according to them, they find themselves employing the post alveolar [ʒ] unconsciously.

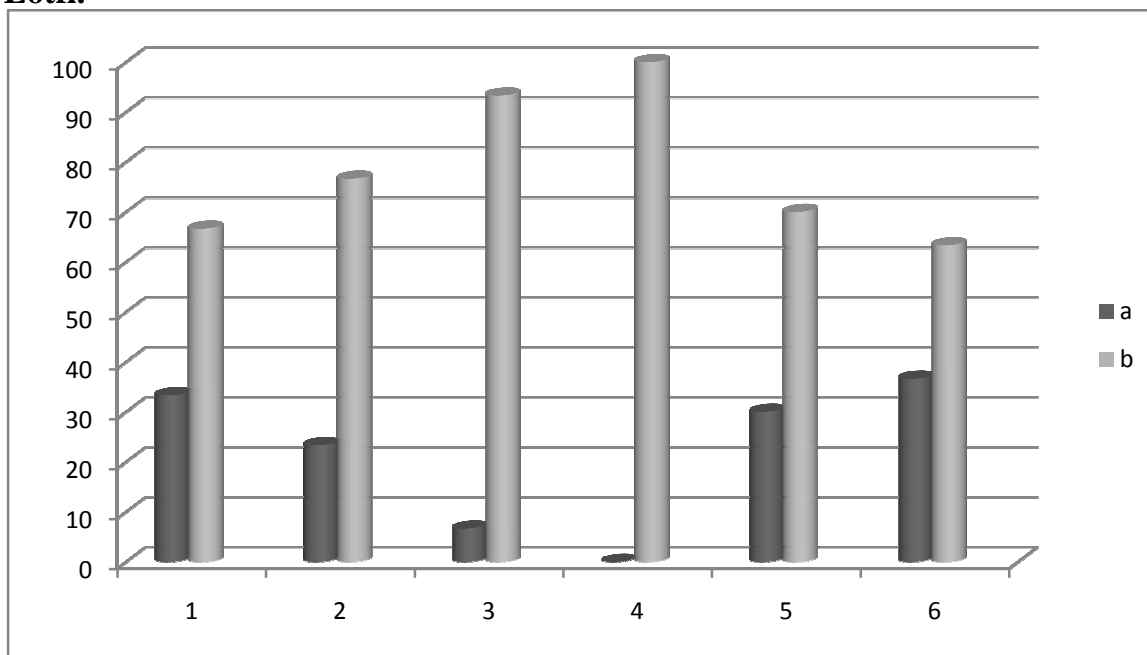
### 3.3.1.1.2. The Variable (ʒ)

The variety spoken in the distinct four environments: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia, and souk Tlata market is particularly characterized by the retention of the post alveolar [ʒ] as in CA/MSA. However, the data gathered show that the phonetic system of the dialect used in the previously mentioned places contains also the velar [g] which is attributed mainly to the effect of the neighbouring Moroccan vernacular. The tables below and the corresponding charts summarize the scores of the variable (ʒ) among traders and ordinary people from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas.

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Traders	Ordinary people	Percentage
1-/ʒana:za/	“funeral”	a-[ʒna:za]	00	10	33.33%
		b-[gna:za]	15	05	66.66%
2-/ʒazza:r/	“butcher”	a-[ʒəzza:r]	00	07	23.33%
		b-[gəzza:r]	15	08	76.66%
3-/ʒins(un)/	“race”	a-[ʒəns]	00	02	6.66%
		b-[gəns]	15	13	93.33%
4-/ʒibs(un)/	“plaster”	a-[ʒəbs]	00	00	00%
		b-[gəbs]	15	15	100%
5-/ʒalsat/	“Sitting or session”	a-[ʒəlsa]	02	07	30%
		b-[gəlsa]	13	08	70%
6-/ʒazu:za/	“mother-in-	a-[ʒzu:za]	02	09	36.66%

law”	b-[ʕgu:za]	13	06	63.33%
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**Table 3.6: Scores of the Variable (3): Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.**

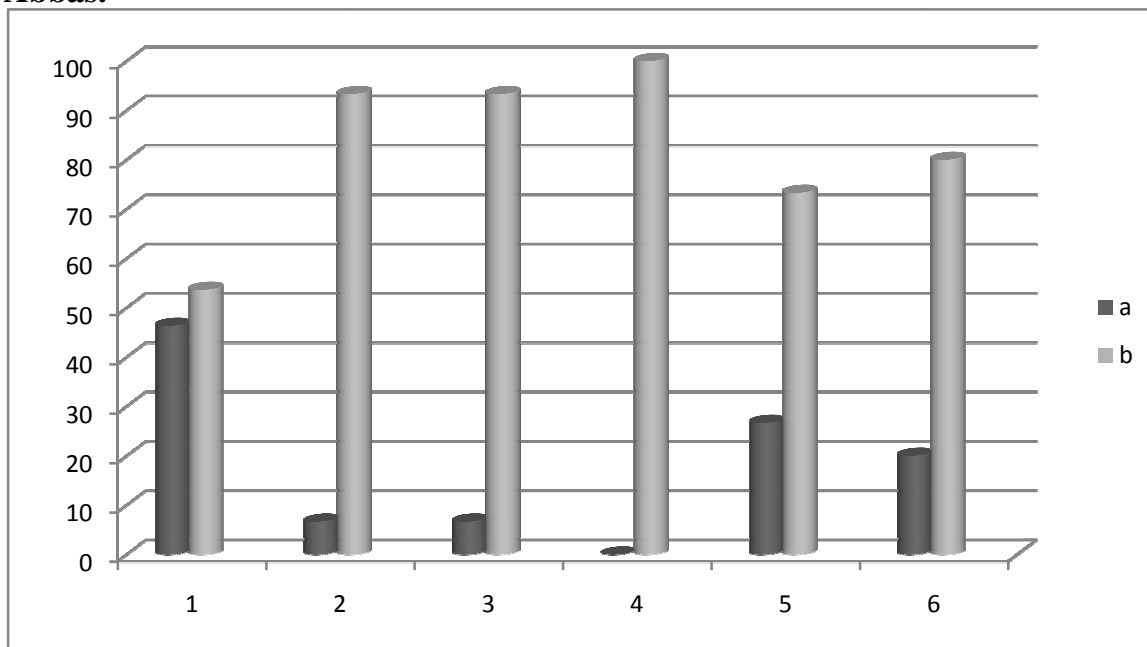


**Chart 3.5: Scores of the Variable (3): Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.**

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Traders	Ordinary people	Percentage
1-/ʒana:za/	“funeral”	a-[ʒna:za]	06	07	46.33%
		b-[gna:za]	09	08	53.66%
2-/ʒazza:r/	“butcher”	a-[ʒəzza:r]	00	02	6.66%
		b-[gəzza:r]	15	13	93.33%
3-/ʒins(un)/	“race”	a-[ʒəns]	00	02	6.66%
		b-[gəns]	15	13	93.33%
4-/ʒibs(un)/	“plaster”	a-[ʒəbs]	00	00	00%
		b-[gəbs]	15	15	100%
5-/ʒalsat/	“Sitting or session”	a-[ʒəlsa]	03	05	26.66%
		b-[gəlsa]	12	10	73.33%

6-/ʕazu:za/	“mother-in-law”	a-[ʕzu:za]	02	04	20%
		b-[ʕgu:za]	13	11	80%

**Table 3.7: Scores of the Variable (ʒ): Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.**



**Chart 3.6: Scores of the Variable (ʒ): Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.**

The results presented in both charts (3.5 and 3.6) reveal that a high percentage of traders and ordinary people (who are living in Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas) articulate the post alveolar [ʒ] as a back velar [g] in words such as: [gəzza:r], [gna:za], [gəns], [gəbs], [ʕgu:za] and [gəlsa]. This may lead to say that the majority of traders and ordinary people are affected by the phonological system of the near-by- Moroccan dialect. On the other hand, a small number of the same participants sustain the post alveolar [ʒ] in the same group of words: [ʒna:za], [ʒəzza:r], [ʒəns], [ʒəlsa], [ʕzu:za]. Therefore, there are some traders and ordinary people from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas who are influenced by CA/MSA and insist on keeping the sound /ʒ/ even when contacting the Moroccan individuals.

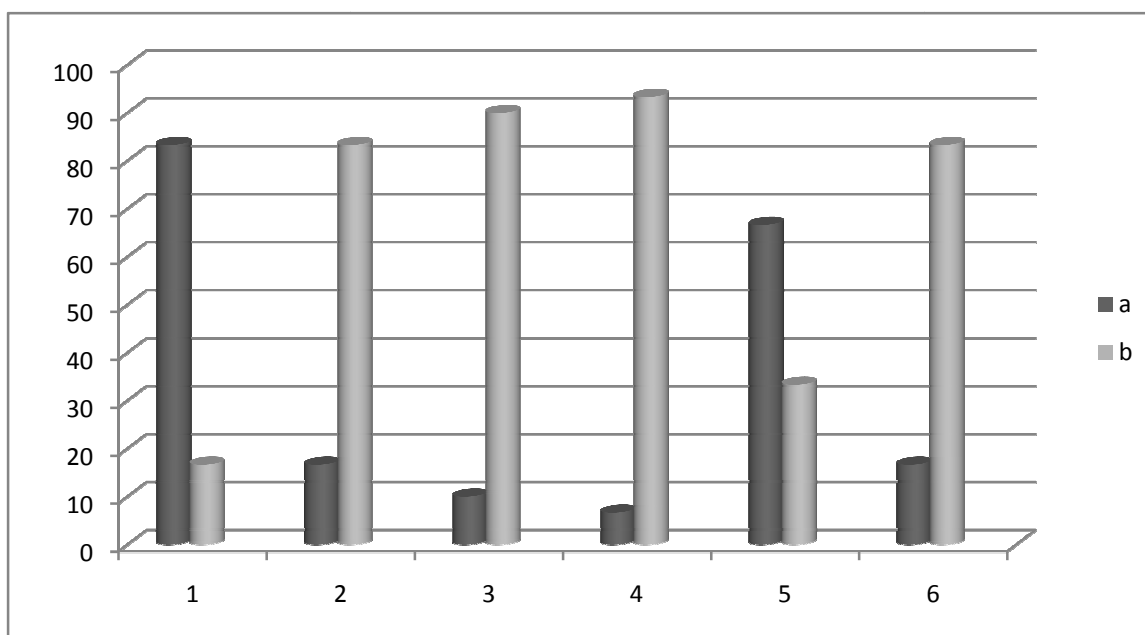
Moreover, it is clearly shown in the tables (3.6 and 3.7) that the number of traders employing the sound /g/ is bigger than the number of ordinary people using the same sound. Thus, trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan frontier have a greater impact on the vernacular of traders than on the one of

ordinary people. The next two tables and the related charts expose the scores of the variable (3) as realized by traders and ordinary people seen in the market centre of Maghnia as well souk Tlata market.

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Traders	Ordinary people	Percentage
1-/zana:za/	“funeral”	a-[zna:za]	10	15	46.33%
		b-[gna:za]	05	00	53.66%
2-/zazza:r/	“butcher”	a-[zəzza:r]	00	05	6.66%
		b-[gəzza:r]	15	10	93.33%
3-/zins(un)/	“race”	a-[zəns]	00	03	6.66%
		b-[gəns]	15	12	93.33%
4-/zibs(un)/	“plaster”	a-[zəbs]	00	02	00%
		b-[gəbs]	15	13	100%
5- /zalsat/		a-[zəlsa]	10	10	26.66%
		b-[gəlsa]	05	05	73.33%
6-/ʕazu:za/	“mother-in-law”	a-[ʕzu:za]	02	03	20%
		b-[ʕgu:za]	13	12	80%

**Table 3.8: Scores of the Variable (3): Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**

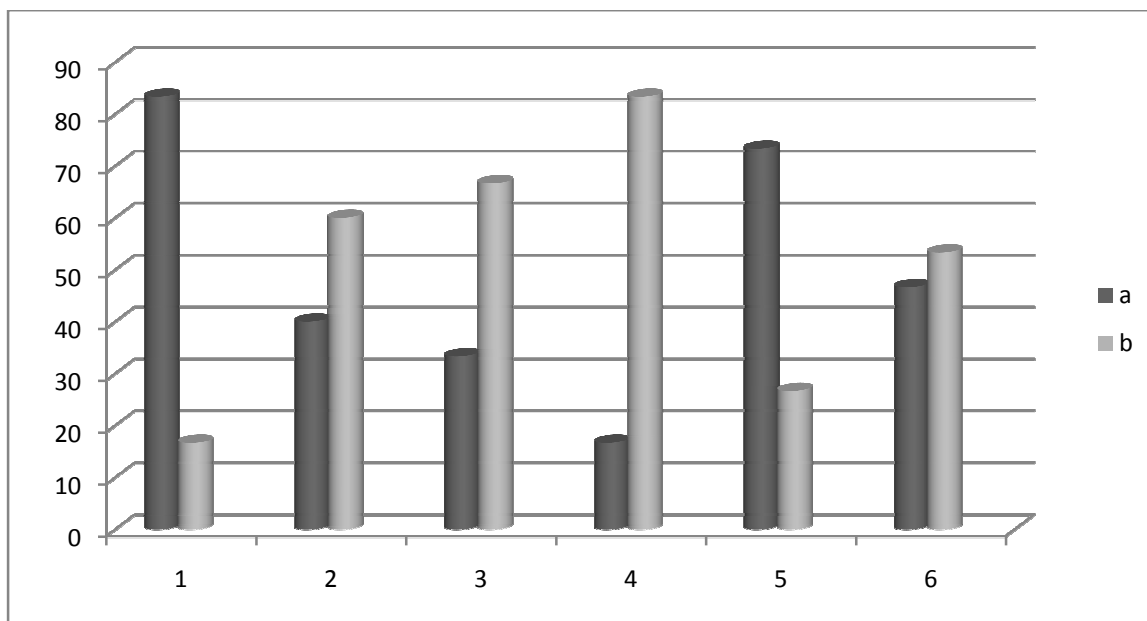




**Chart 3.7: Scores of the Variable (z): Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Magnhia.**

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Traders	Ordinary people	Percentage
1-/zana:za/	“funeral”	a-[zna:za]	15	10	83.33%
		b-[gna:za]	00	05	16.66%
2-/zazza:r/	“butcher”	a-[zəzza:r]	09	03	40%
		b-[gəzza:r]	06	12	60%
3-/zins(un)/	“race”	a-[zəns]	08	02	33.33%
		b-[gəns]	07	13	66.66%
4-/zibs(un)/	“plaster”	a-[zəbs]	03	02	16.66%
		b-[gəbs]	12	13	83.33%
5- /zalsat/		a-[zəlsa]	12	10	73.33%
		b-[gəlsa]	03	05	26.66%
6-/ʕazu:za/	“mother-in-law”	a-[ʕzu:za]	08	06	46.66%
		b-[ʕgu:za]	07	09	53.33%

**Table 3.9: Scores of the Variable (z): Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market .**



**Chart 3.8: Scores of the Variable (ʒ): Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market.**

According to chart 3.7 and chart 3.8, a high percentage of traders and ordinary people who have been seen in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market use the post alveolar [ʒ] but just in the two words: [ʒna:za] and [ʒəlsa]. On the contrary, a small number of the same informants articulate the sound /ʒ/ as a back velar [g] in the same two words: [gna:za] and [gəlsa]. Yet, the collected data show that a big number of traders and ordinary people employ the velar [g] in words such as: [gəzza:r], [gəns], [gəbs] and [ʕgu:za]. At the same time, there is a small number of the same participants who use the post alveolar [ʒ] in the same group of words: [ʒəzza:r], [ʒəns], [ʒəbs] and [ʕʒu:za].

Consequently, the fact of maintaining the use of sound /ʒ/ among traders and ordinary people may be due to the influence of CA/MSA on their speech. In opposition to that, the fact of realizing the sound /ʒ/ as a back velar [g] may be related to the effect of the neighbouring Moroccan dialect on the phonological system of the Arabic used by traders and ordinary people met in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market.

### 3.3.2. Morphological Variation

#### 3.3.2.1. The Variable (ka)

Among the morphological characteristics specifying the variety spoken in the near-by- Moroccan towns, the prefix morpheme [ka] which is used when conjugating verbs such as: [ka + nabvi]: “I like”, [ka+ nʃu:f]: “I see”. In fact, this morpheme is widely employed by the Moroccan people when speaking with each other. The goal of this morphological investigation is : to see whether the individuals living in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market use this linguistic feature, or conjugate verbs without adding any prefix.

During this sociolinguistic investigation, a question (see part two, question (a) page (143)) about the prefix morpheme [ka] was addressed to traders and ordinary people belonging to the four settings mentioned previously. The scores provided in the tables bellow reveal that there is variation among the informants’ answers.

	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Traders Scores</b>	<b>Ordinary People Scores</b>
<b>1-[nabvi]</b>	“I like”	13.33%	80%
<b>2-[ka + nabvi]</b>		86.66%	20%

**Table 3.10: Scores of the Prefix Morpheme [ka]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.**

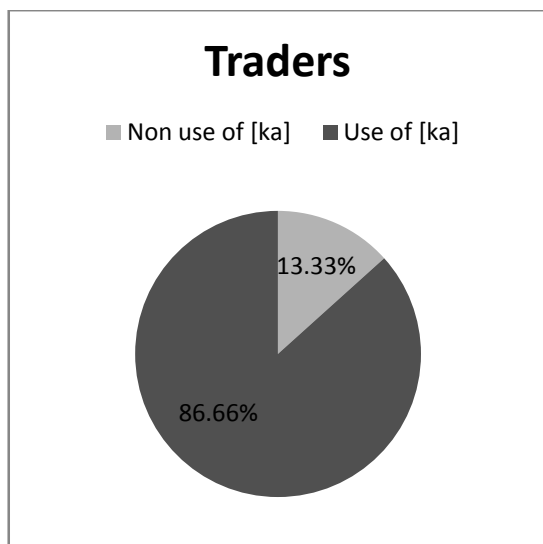


Chart 3.9: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Akid Lotfi.

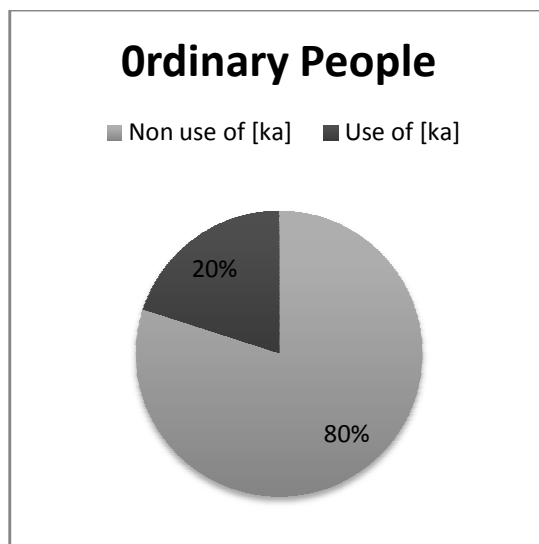


Chart 3.10: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Akid Lotfi.

	Gloss	Traders Scores	Ordinary People Scores
1-[nabvi]	"I like"	40%	66.66%
2-[ka + nabvi]		60%	33.33%

Table 3.11: Scores of the Prefix Morpheme [ka]: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.

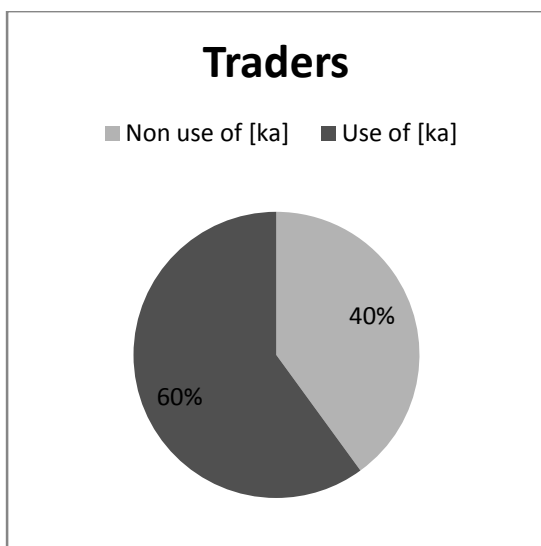


Chart 3.11: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Akid Abbas.

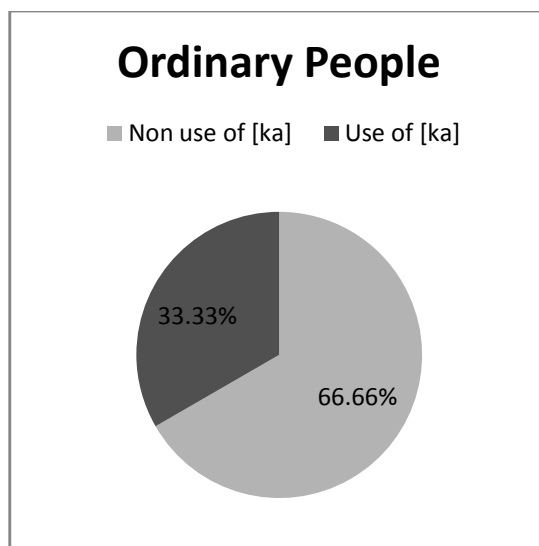


Chart 3.12: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Akid Abbas.

The most salient fact that can be drawn from chart 3.17 and 3.19 is that a high percentage of traders from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas stick on using the morpheme [ka] before the verb [nabvi]. But, according to these respondents, this

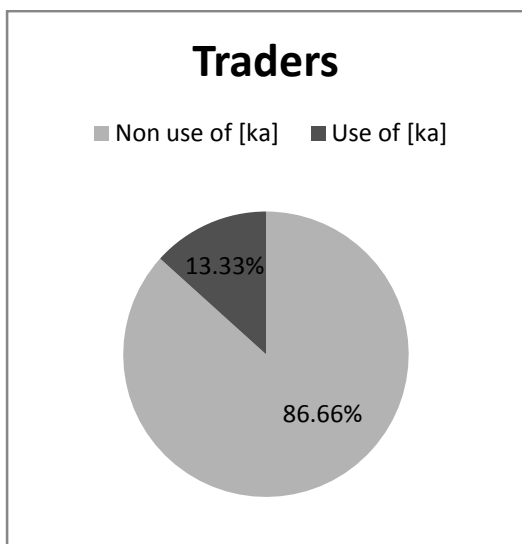
morphological item is maintained just when traveling to the distinct Moroccan towns for exchanging various types of products. On the other hand, a small percentage of the same participants do not add the prefix [ka] and employ the verb [nabʏi] when interacting with both Maghnaoui and Moroccan traders.

Moreover, what is encountered from chart 3.18 and chart 3.20 is that a big number of ordinary people who belong to Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas conjugate the verb [nabʏi] without adding the prefix [ka]. Therefore, the majority of these inhabitants do not borrow the Moroccan morpheme [ka] even when contacting the Moroccan individuals living in Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas. What is more, a small number of the same interviewees precede the verb [nabʏi] by the prefix [ka]. So, the contact between the Moroccan people and the ones living in the two crossing borders: Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas succeed in leading some members from these two areas to use the prefix morpheme [ka] like the Moroccan individuals.

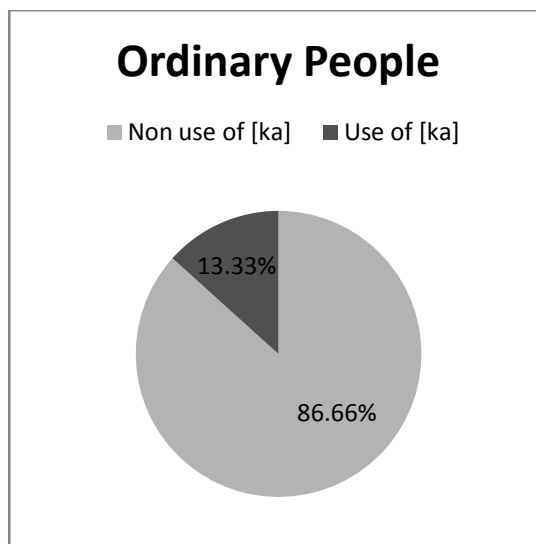
Furthermore, what is noticed from the two tables 3.13 and 3.14 is that the number of traders who borrow the morphological characteristic [ka] is greater than the one of ordinary people. Thus, traders are more influenced by the Moroccan vernacular than ordinary people. This can be explained in terms of the long and daily contact which takes place at the Algerian/Moroccan frontier with the Moroccan merchants. The next tables and the related charts provide the scores of the prefix morpheme [ka] among traders and ordinary people met in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market as well.

	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Traders Scores</b>	<b>Ordinary People Scores</b>
<b>1-[nabʏi]</b>	"I like"	86,66%	86.66%
<b>2-[ka + nabʏi]</b>		13.33%	13.33%

**Table 3.12: Scores of the Prefix Morpheme [ka]: Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia**



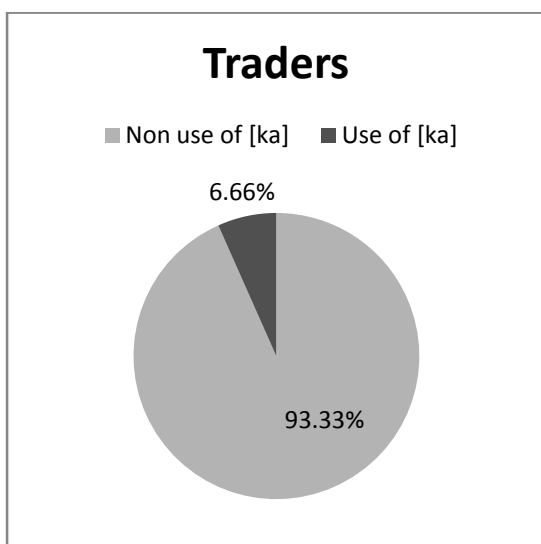
**Chart 3.13: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



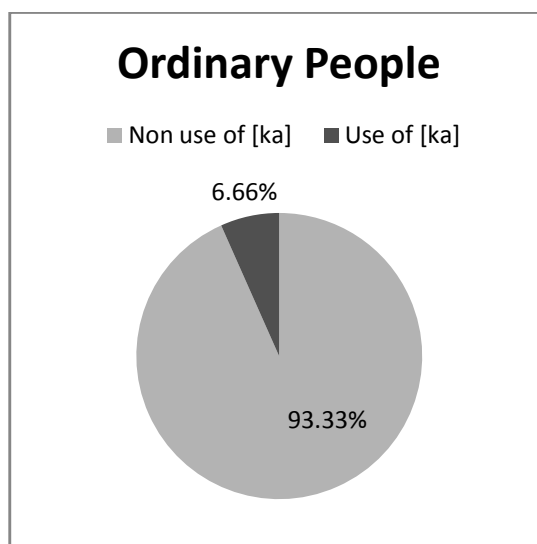
**Chart 3.14: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**

	Gloss	Traders Scores	Ordinary People Scores
1-[nabɣi]	"I like"	93.33%	93.33%
2-[ka + nabɣi]		6.66%	6.66%

**Table 3.13: Scores of the Prefix Morpheme [ka]: Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market.**



**Chart 3.15: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Souk Tlata Market.**



**Chart 3.16: % of the Prefix Morpheme [ka] in Souk Tlata Market.**

The results demonstrate clearly the degree to which traders and ordinary people who have been met in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market conjugate the verb [nabxi] without the prefix [ka]. The question which imposes itself here is: why do these participants eliminate the prefix morpheme [ka] before verbs even when interacting with the Moroccan members? The answer to this question lies in the negative attitudes of these speakers towards the Moroccan individuals and their dialect. This means that most traders and ordinary people seen in the two markets do not like to use the Moroccan morphological feature [ka]. They want to preserve their speech as much as possible and show this to the Moroccans. In contrast, there are some informants who implement the prefix morpheme [ka] as in: [ka + nabxi]. But this phenomenon is generally related to the Moroccans only who are settled the community of Maghnia.

### 3.3.2.2. Gender Differentiation

The suffix morpheme {i} is another salient feature which represents a hallmark in the speech of the Moroccan citizens when speaking with both genders. The main concern of this morphological investigation is: to see to what extent the respondents met in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market sustain the use of this characteristic especially when addressing males (since the suffix morpheme {i} is mainly employed when addressing females). The scores of the morphological feature {i} among traders and ordinary people are presented in the tables below and the corresponding charts.

	Gloss	Traders Scores	Ordinary People Scores
1-[fi:n # kunt]	“Where were you?”	13.33%	73.33%
2-[fi:n # kunti]		86.66%	26.66%

**Table 3.14: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary from Akid Lotfi.**

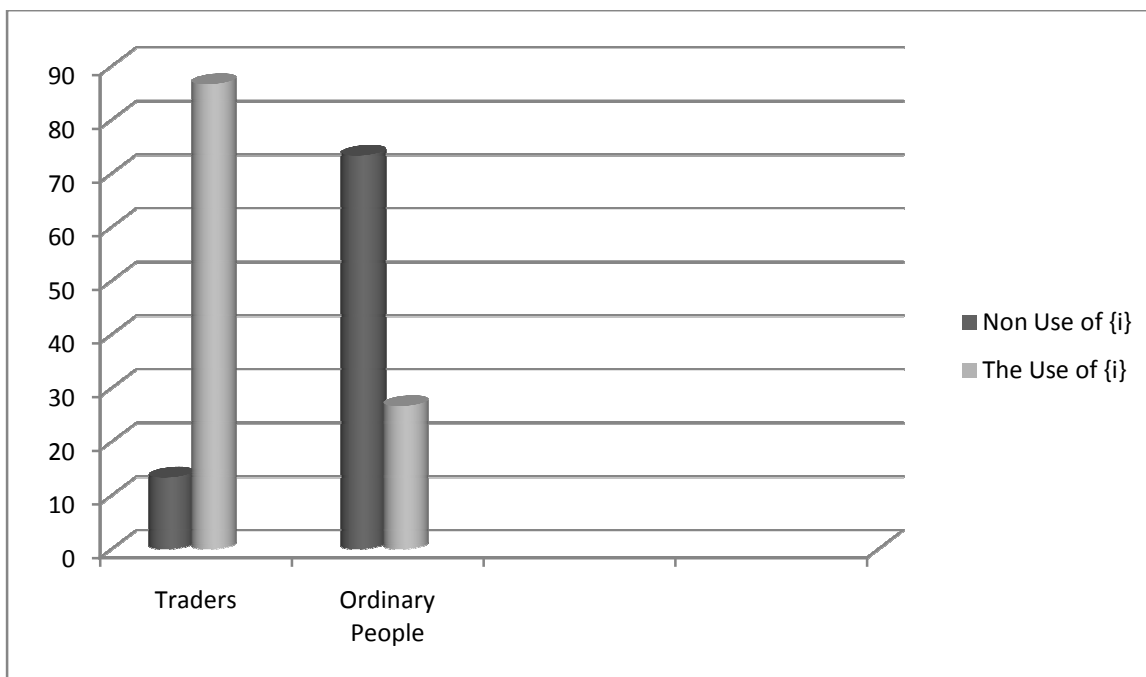


Chart 3.17: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.

	Gloss	Traders Scores	Ordinary People Scores
1-[fi:n # kunt]	“Where were you?”	40%	66.66%
£2-[fi:n # kunti]		60%	33.33%

Table 3.15: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary from Akid Abbas.

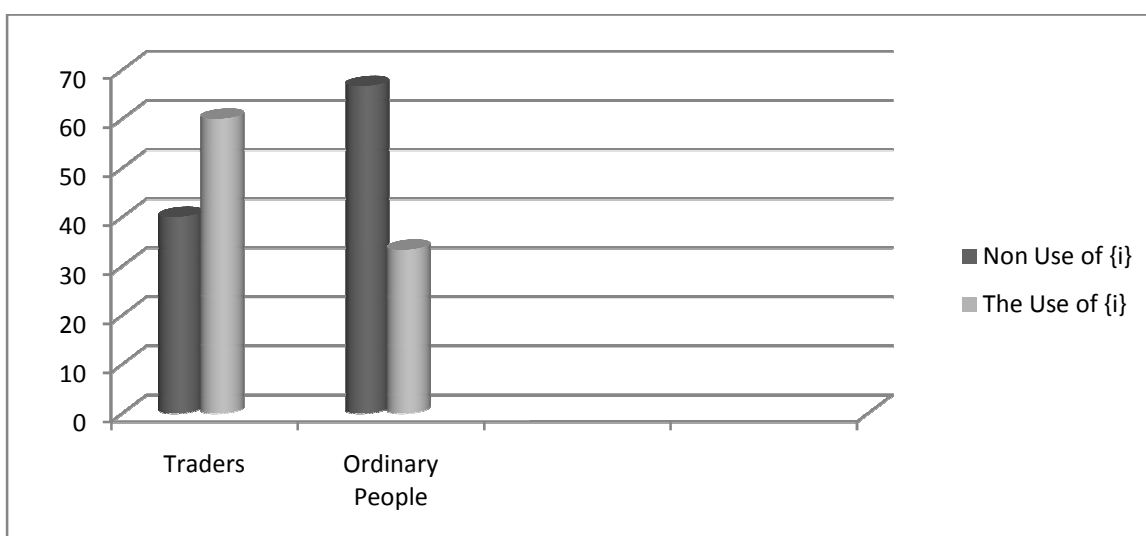


Chart 3.18: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.



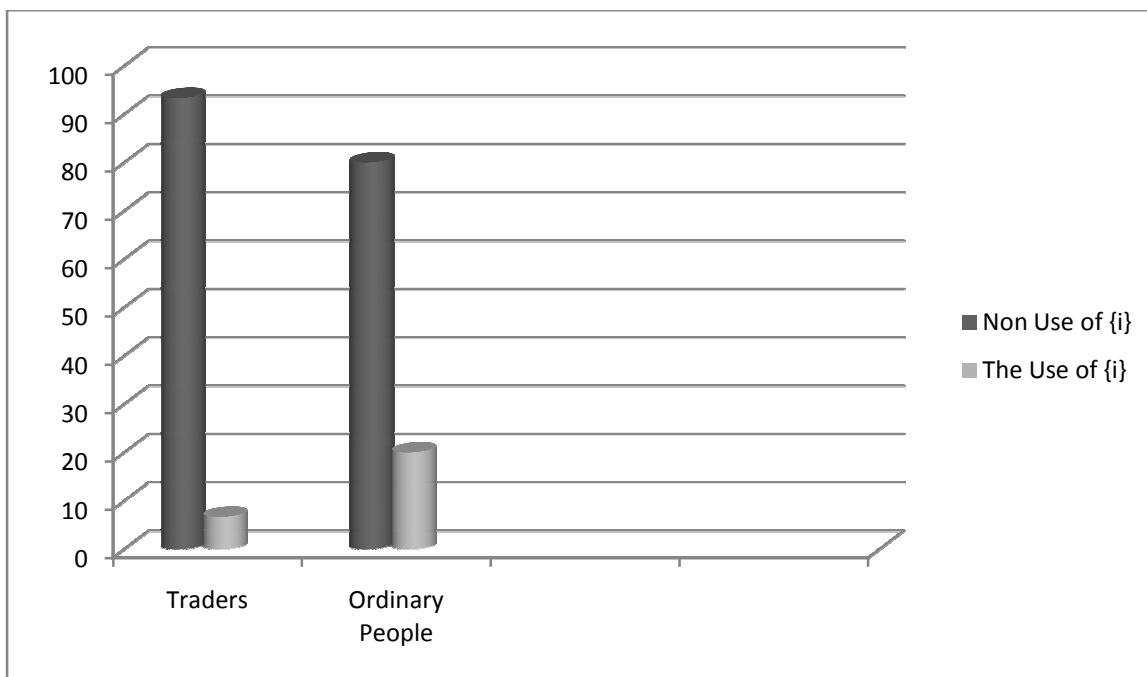
It is worth noticing that traders from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas employ the suffix morpheme {i} when addressing male individuals. But all of these interviewees admit that this feature is undertaken just when interacting with the Moroccan merchants. In other words, they use the morphological item {i} as in: [fi:n # kunti] when speaking with females. And delete it as in: [fi:n # kunt] when talking with males. On the other side, there is a small percentage of the same informants who are not affected by the morphological system of the Moroccan dialect and differentiate between genders all the time.

For the ordinary people living in the two villages, the things are distinct. That is to say, the majority of the participants implement the suffix morpheme {i} when addressing females eliminate it when addressing males. As a result, the Moroccan members found in Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas can not cause most of the inhabitants of these two areas to employ the suffix morpheme {i} when speaking with males.

Additionally, there are some respondents who use the morphological characteristic {i} when speaking with males. But even these people clarify that the variant {i} is maintained just when joking with the male speakers in cafés for instance. The subsequent two tables and the related charts provide the scores of the suffix morpheme {i} among traders and ordinary people seen in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market.

	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Traders Scores %</b>	<b>Ordinary People Scores %</b>
<b>1-[fi:n # kunt]</b>	“Where were you?”	93.33%	80%
<b>2-[fi:n # kunti]</b>		6.66%	20%

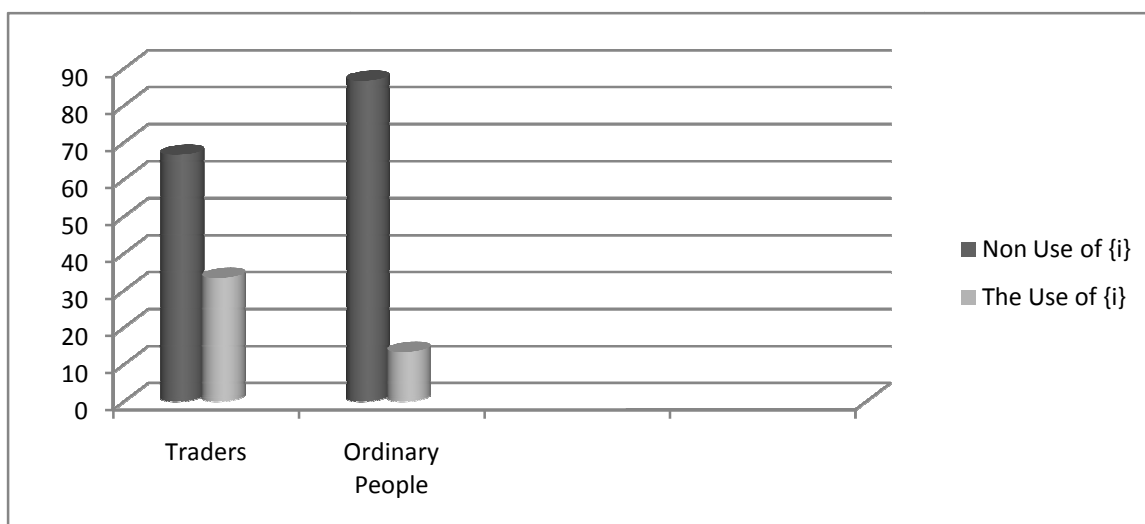
**Table 3.16: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary people met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



**Chart 3.19: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**

	Gloss	Traders Scores	Ordinary People Scores
1-[fi:n # kunt]	“Where were you?”	66.66%	86.66%
2-[fi:n # kunti]		33.33%	13.33%

**Table 3.17: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary people met in Souk Tlata Market.**



**Chart 3.20: Scores of the Suffix Morpheme {i}: Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market.**

Traders and ordinary people who have been seen in the two markets of Maghnia display a strong tendency to the omission of the suffix morpheme {i} when addressing male members, while the remaining informants present participation in the variation of this morphological item. This morphological variation is, in fact, constrained by some socio-psychological reasons. First, some of the participants feel ashamed to use the morpheme {i} when addressing males because they believe that this variant is specific to females. Second, the other respondents think that the suffix morpheme {i} is a feature which is specific to the Moroccans only. This is why they do not want to employ it when speaking with males. In other words, they try to preserve the morphological system of their Arabic as much as possible.

For the minority who use the suffix morpheme {i} when communicating with both males and females, they mostly have Moroccan origins or ancestors. So, sometimes, they find themselves mixing between genders unconsciously. However, the use of the morphological feature {i} when addressing males is also maintained in the adjacent towns such as: Nedroma as well as the Eastern part of Algeria. Thus, a question may rise at this level in order to open the window for further researches: does the suffix morpheme {i} belong to the Algerian morphological system or to the Moroccan one?

**3.3.3. Lexical Variation in MA****3.3.3.1. The Moroccan Borrowings in MA**

A number of Moroccan borrowings have been selected in order to see whether traders and ordinary people met in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market use these words during their daily-life interactions or employ the local equivalents. These lexical items have been divided into three parts. The first part includes some names of various products that are imported from the neighbouring Moroccan towns. The second one contains distinct words that are used especially by the Moroccan people. The third one comprises other words that are employed by both of the Moroccan and Maghnaoui inhabitants.

<b>The Moroccan Loanwords</b>	<b>English Gloss</b>
<b>1-[mɔamma]</b>	“Traditional relt”.
<b>2-[tekfɪta]</b>	“Traditional cloth in double dresses”.
<b>3-[qafɪa:n]</b>	“Traditional cloth in one dress”.
<b>4-[zella:ba]</b>	Traditional female coat.
<b>5-[zabado:r]</b>	“Cloth made of long dress and trousers”.
<b>6-[bli:ɣa]</b>	“Slippers made of leather”.
<b>7-[ɣemmarija]</b>	“Rounded table for holding the bride”.
<b>8-[elbu:q]</b>	“Musical instrument”.
<b>9-[elmkab]</b>	“Rounded plate for biscuits or fruits”.

**Table 3.18: Names of Different Products imported from the Adjacent Moroccan areas.**

The results obtained from this inquiry have revealed that all the interviewees who have been met in the four contexts employ the words mentioned in the above table (3.18) when discussing with each other. The percentage of 120 examined traders and ordinary people was 100% which clarifies the degree to which these participants sustain the use of these Moroccan borrowings that represent the

names of distinct traditional cloths and other goods brought from the near-by Moroccan towns. The following tables provide the second group of words which are generally regarded as part of the Moroccan speech and are employed among traders and ordinary people belonging to Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas.

The Moroccan Borrowings	English Gloss	Traders Scores %		Ordinary People Scores %	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[neggafa]	“A specialized woman for the bride’s decorations”.	73.33%	26.66%	80%	20%
2-[lella laʃru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒultʃa:n]	“Lyric for the bride”.	86.66%	13.33%	80%	20%
3-[mezja:n]	“Beautiful”	86.66%	13.33%	53.33%	46.66%
4-[ʒafi]	“Enough”	100%	00%	100%	00%
5-[bella:ti]	“Slowly”	100%	00%	100%	00%
6-[ndu:z]	“I cross”	100%	00%	26.66%	73.33%
7-[fabu:r]	“Free/no payment”.	100%	00%	46.66%	53.33%
8-[daba]	“Now”	100%	00%	33.33%	66.66%
9-[waχχa]	“Okay”	100%	00%	40%	60%
10-[jeffa:r]	“Thief”	93.33%	6.66%	46.66%	53.33%
11-[nsali]	“I finish”	80%	20%	53.33%	46.66%
12-[mʒatʃi]	“Mad”	86.66%	13.33%	40%	60%
13-[dexja]	“Directly/rapidly”	80%	20%	33.33%	66.66%
14-[kambu]	“A slang word that means stupid”.	86.66%	13.33%	53.33%	46.66%
15-[ʃafæk]	“Please”	80%	20%	53.33%	46.66%

16-[bezzaz]	“Out of your will”.	80%	20%	53.33%	46.66%
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**Table 3.19: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.**

The Moroccan Borrowings	English Gloss	Traders Scores %		Ordinary People Scores %	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[ne'gafa]	“A specialized woman for the bride’s decorations”.	93.33%	6.66%	86.66%	13.33%
2-[le'la laʃru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒultʃa:n]	“Lyric for the bride”.	93.33%	6.66%	73.33%	26.66%
3-[mezja:n]	“Beautiful”	86.66%	13.33%	66.66%	33.33%
4-[ʒafi]	“Enough”	100%	00%	100%	00%
5-[be'la:ti]	“Slowly”	100%	00%	100%	00%
6-[ndu:z]	“I cross”	100%	00%	33.33%	66.66%
7-[fabu:r]	“Free/no payment”.	100%	00%	40%	60%
8-[daba]	“Now”	100%	00%	46.66%	53.33%
9-[wa'χa]	“Okay”	100%	00%	40%	60%
10-[je'fa:r]	“Thief”	93.33%	6.66%	33.33%	66.66%
11-[nsali]	“I finish”	73.33%	26.66%	60%	40%
12-[mʒa'tʃi]	“Mad”	80%	20%	46.66%	53.33%
13-[dexja]	“Directly/rapidly”	73.33%	26.66%	33.33%	66.66%
14-[kambu]	“A slang word that means stupid”.	80%	20%	60%	40%
15-[ʃafæk]	“Please”	80%	20%	66.66%	33.33%

16-[be'zaz]	“Out of your will”.	73.33%	26.66%	60%	40%
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**Table 3.20: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders and Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.**

From the above tables (3.19 and 3.20), one may quickly realize that traders and ordinary people from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas employ so many Moroccan borrowings in their every day speech. The words: [ʒafi], [bella:ti], [ndu:z], [fabu:r], [daba] and [waχχa] remain the most frequently used lexical items among traders from both of Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas with a percentage of 100%. In the second position, 93.33% of traders from Akid Lotfi implement the word: [ʒeffa:r]. Then, this word is followed by: [lella laʒru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒultʃa:n], [mezja:n], [mʒaʃʃi] and [kambu] with a score of 86.66%. After, there are the words: [nsali], [deʒja], [ʒafæk], [bezzaz] with a percentage of 80%. The word [neggafa] comes in the final position, but it is also employed with a very high score that is 73.33%.

When comparing the scores obtained from traders living in Akid Lotfi with the ones achieved from traders living in Akid Abbas, we find slight differences between the two. In the second position, 93.33% of traders from Akid Abbas use the words: [neggafa], [lella laʒru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒultʃa:n] and [ʒeffa:r]. In the third position, there are the words: [mezja:n] and [mʒaʃʃi] with a score of 86.66%. Then, there are the words: [kambu] and [ʒafæk] with a percentage of 80%. At the end, 73.33% of the respondents borrow the Moroccan words: [nsali], [deʒja], [bezzaz] and include them when interacting with each other.

The Moroccan borrowings which are highly used among ordinary people belonging to Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas are: [ʒafi] and [bella:ti] (100%). The words: [neggafa], [lella laʒru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒultʃa:n] are implemented by 80% of traders from Akid Lotfi. Next, there are the words: [mezja:n], [nsali], [kambu], [ʒafæk] and [bezzaz] which are employed among 53.33% of the same participants.

Then, the words: [fabu:r] and [ʃeffa:r] are used with a percentage of 46.66%. After, there are the words: [waχχa] and [mʃaʔʔi] with a score of 40%. These words are followed by: [daba] and [deʋja] (33.33%). Finally, the word [ndu:z] is used but with a very low score: 26.66%.

For the ordinary people met in Akid Abbas, the results are somehow distinct. The Moroccan loanword which comes in the second position is [neggafa] with a score of 86.66%. Third, there is the lexical item: [lella laʃru:ʃa] or [mu:lei ʃultʔa:n] with a percentage of 73.33%. In the fourth position, there are the words: [mezja:n] and [ʃafæk] (66.66%). Then, the Moroccan borrowings: [nsali], [kambu] and [bezzaz] attain a percentage of 60%. Next, the word [daba] is used by 46.66% of the sample population. After, there are the words: [fabu:r] and [waχχa] with a score of 40%. At last, the words which score low rates are: [ndu:z], [ʃeffa:r] and [deʋja] (33.33%). The next two tables expose the scores of the Moroccan borrowings that are employed by traders and ordinary people seen in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata Market.

The Moroccan Borrowings	English Gloss	Traders Scores %		Ordinary People Scores %	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[neggafa]	“A specialized woman for the bride’s decorations”.	66.66%	33.33%	60%	40%
2-[lella laʃru:ʃa] or [mu:lei ʃultʔa:n]	“Lyric for the bride”.	80%	20%	80%	20%
3-[mezja:n]	“Beautiful”	26.66%	73.33%	20%	80%
4-[ʃafi]	“Enough”	93.33%	6.66%	93.33%	6.66%



5-[bella:ti]	“Slowly”	53.33%	46.66%	53.33%	46.66%
6-[ndu:z]	“I cross”	13.33%	86.66%	6.66%	93.33%
7-[fabu:r]	“Free/no payment”.	26.66%	73.33%	6.66%	93.33%
8-[daba]	“Now”	26.66%	73.33%	20%	80%
9-[waχχa]	“Okay”	26.66%	73.33%	6.66%	93.33%
10-[jeffa:r]	“Thief”	26.66%	73.33%	13.33%	86.66%
11-[nsali]	“I finish”	33.33%	66.66%	20%	80%
12-[mʂat̪ti]	“Mad”	6.66%	93.33%	6.66%	93.33%
13-[deɣja]	“Directly/rapidly”	26.66%	73.33%	13.33%	86.66%
14-[kambu]	“A slang word that means stupid”.	60%	40%	33.33%	66.66%
15-[ʃafæk]	“Please”	73.33%	26.66%	60%	40%
16-[bezzaz]	“Out of your will”.	20%	80%	13.33%	86.66%

**Table 3.21: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders and Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**

The Moroccan Borrowings	English Gloss	Traders Scores %		Ordinary People Scores %	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[neggafa]	“A specialized woman for the bride’s decorations”.	80%	20%	73.33%	26.66%
2-[lella laʃru:ʂa] or [mu:lei ʂult̪a:n]	“Lyric for the bride”.	86.66%	13.33%	73.33%	26.66%
3-[mezja:n]	“Beautiful”	20%	80%	13.33%	86.66%
4-[ʂafi]	“Enough”	100%	00%	86.66%	13.33%
5-[bella:ti]	“Slowly”	66.66%	33.33%	60%	40%

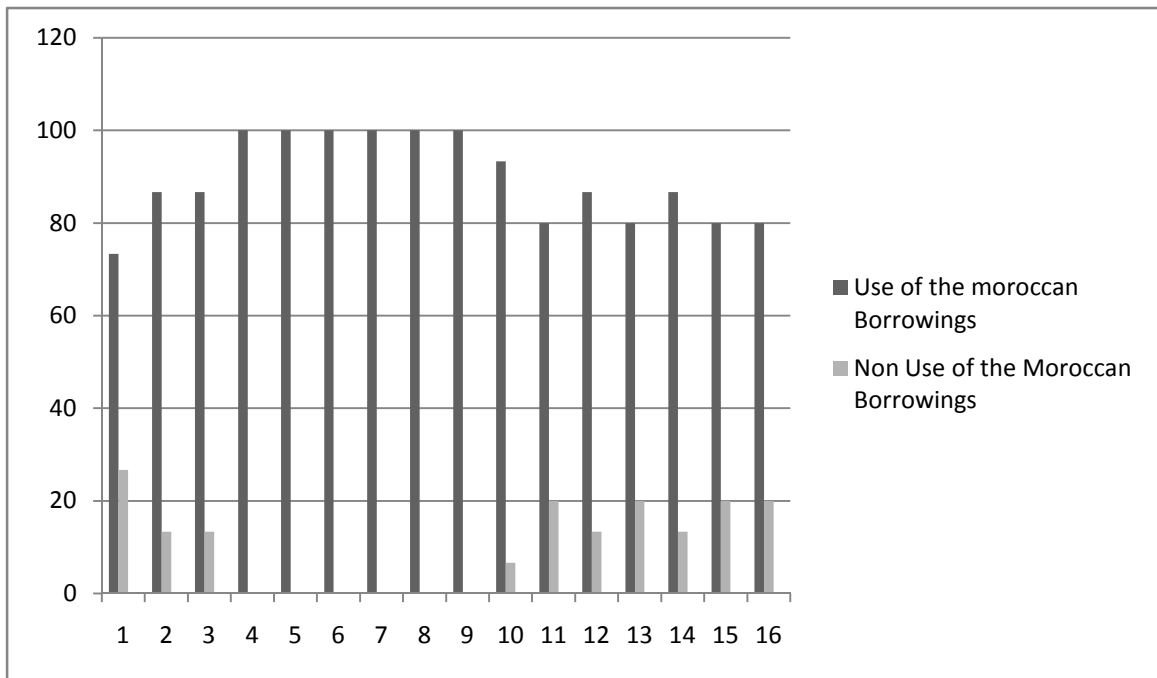
6-[ndu:z]	“I cross”	13.33%	86.66%	6.66 %	93.33%
7-[fabu:r]	“Free/no payment”.	33.33%	66.66%	6.66%	93.33%
8-[daba]	“Now”	33.33%	66.66%	13.33%	86.66%
9-[waχχa]	“Okay”	26.66%	73.33%	6.66%	93.33%
10-[ʃeffa:r]	“Thief”	33.33%	66.66%	13.33%	86.66%
11-[nsali]	“I finish”	40%	60%	13.33%	86.66%
12-[mʂaʦʦi]	“Mad”	13.33%	86.66%	6.66%	93.33%
13-[deχja]	“Directly/rapidly”	26.66%	73.33%	13.33%	86.66%
14-[kambu]	“A slang word that means stupid”.	73.33%	26.66%	26.66%	73.33%
15-[ʃafæk]	“Please”	86.66%	13.33%	60%	40%
16-[bezzaz]	“Out of your will”.	20%	80%	13.33%	86.66%

**Table 3.22: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders and Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market.**

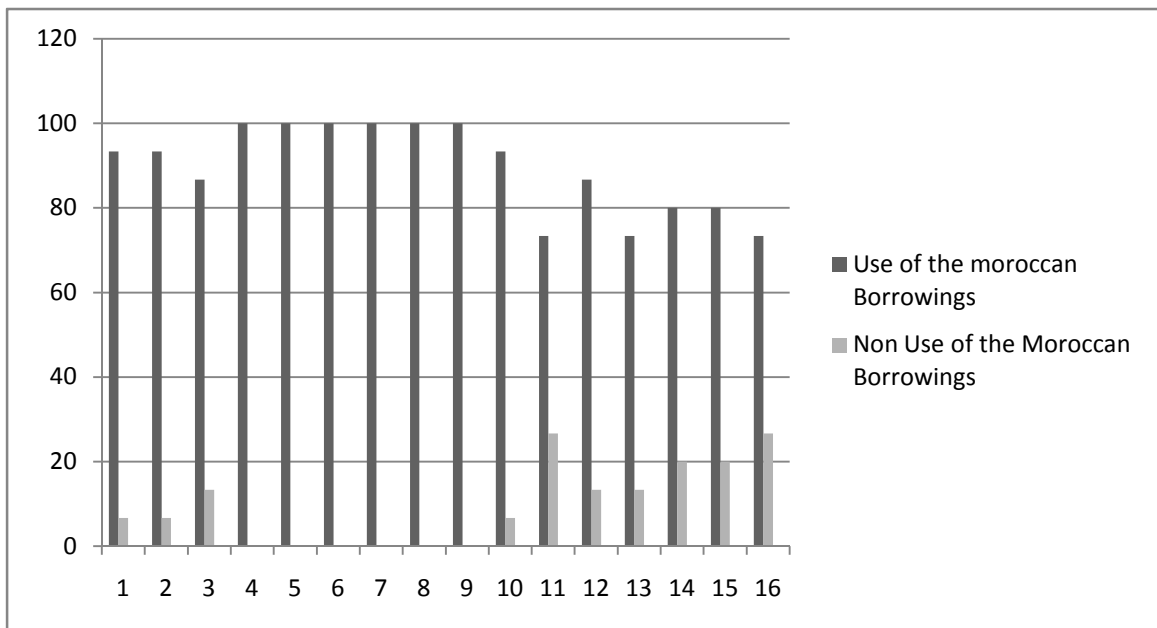
Throughout the last two tables, traders and ordinary people who have been seen in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market borrow just some Moroccan words and include them in their dialect when interacting with each other.

For the lexical items which are borrowed and employed by ordinary people met in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market, one may list the subsequent ones: [ʃafi], [lella laʃru:ʂa] or [mu:lei ʂulʦa:n], [neggafa], [ʃafæk] and [bella:ti]. The other Moroccan loanwords such as: [kambu], [mezja:n], [daba], [nsali], [ʃeffa:r], [deχja], [bezzaz], [ndu:z], [fabu:r], [waχχa] and [mʂaʦʦi] are used by some participants in specific contexts. In fact, the results reached from the

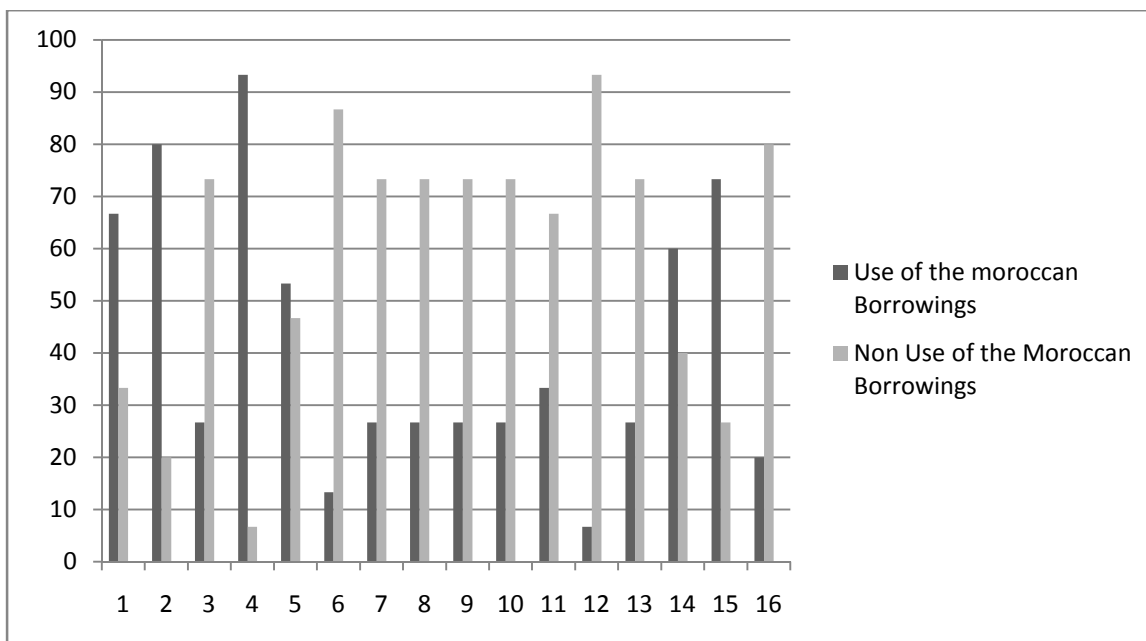
above four tables (3.23, 3.24, 3.25 and 3.26) are interpreted in the next charts.



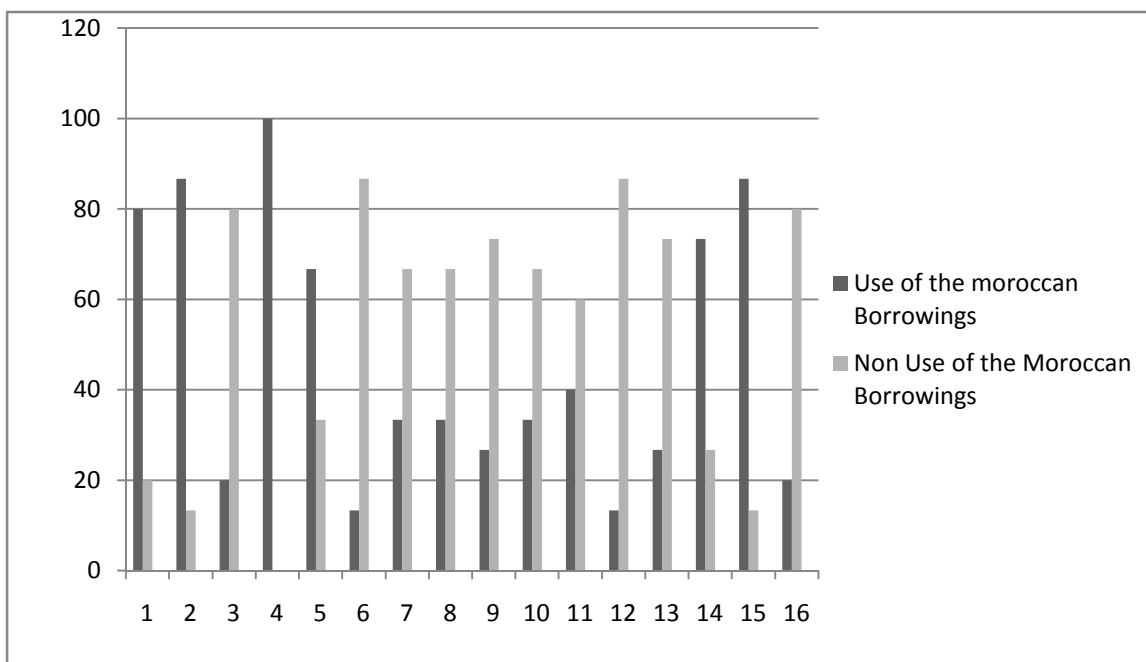
**Chart 3.21: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders from Akid Lotfi.**



**Chart 3.22: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders from Akid Abbas.**



**Chart 3.23: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



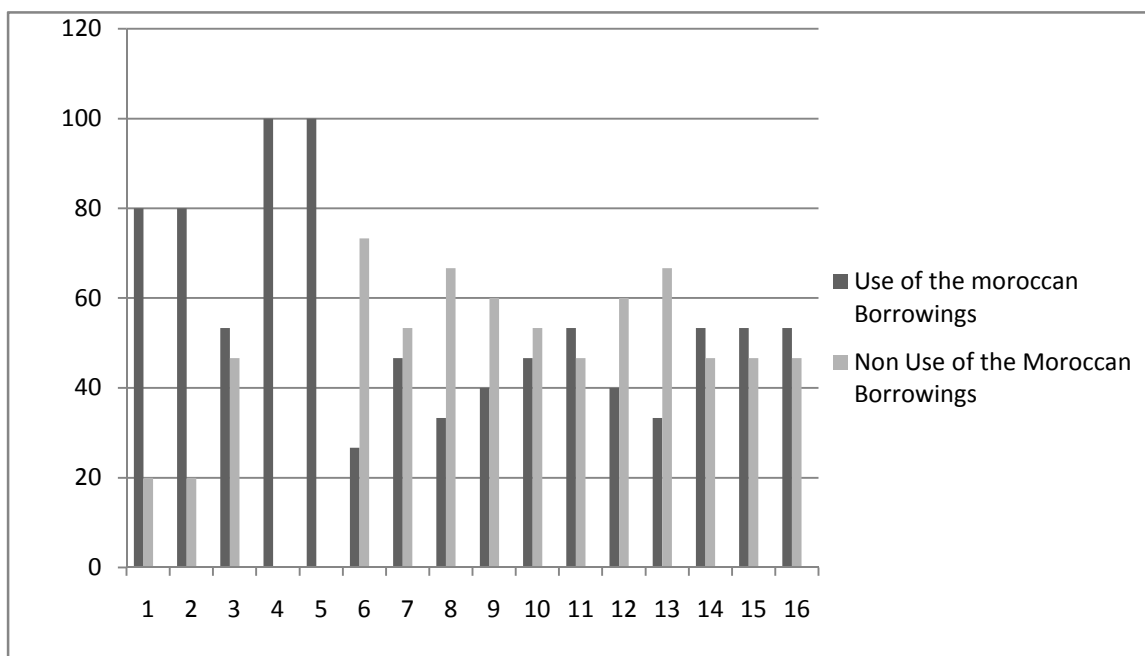
**Chart 3.24: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Traders met in Souk Tlata Market.**

There is auxiliary evidence from the bar-graphs that the number of the Moroccan loanwords employed by traders living in Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas is bigger than the one of the Moroccan borrowings implemented by traders seen in the market centre of Maghnia as well as Souk Tlata market. Indeed, to explain the

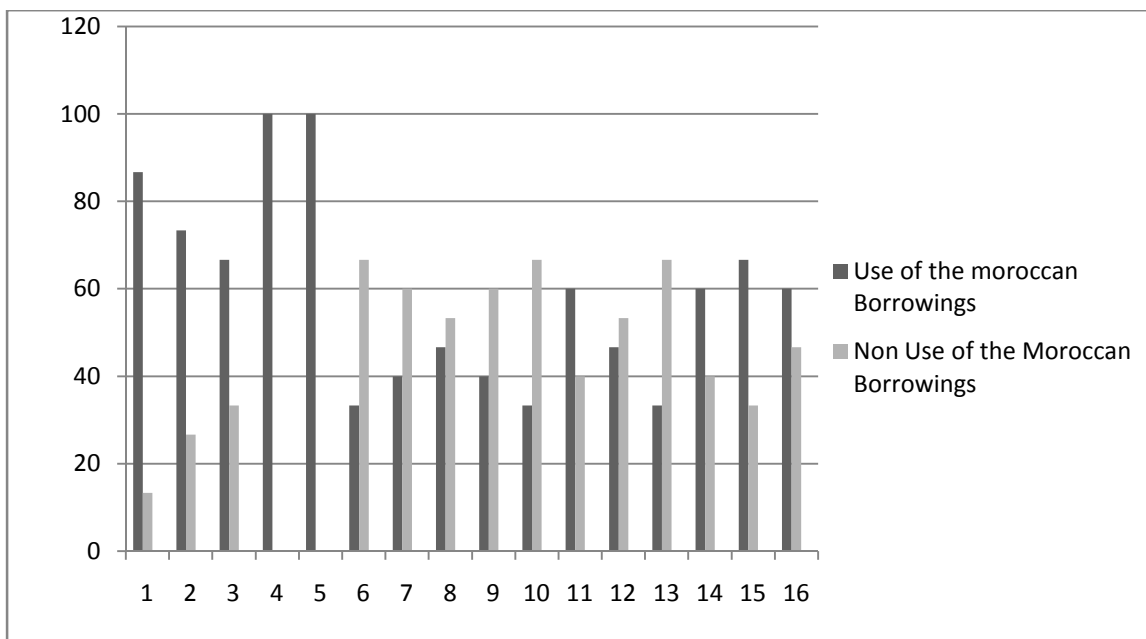
existence of these lexical items in Maghnaoui Arabic, one may rely on the information provided by the respondents themselves. Traders agree on the fact that these borrowings have their roots from the neighbouring Moroccan areas like: oujda, Ahfir and beni derar. Thus, trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan frontier lead the majority of traders from Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas and the minority of traders from the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market to borrow various words from the Moroccan merchants. Chambers and Trudgill (1986) claim in this respect that:

**[..] in dialect-contact situations, it is the minority members ‘the newcomers’-who generally accommodate their speech to that of the urban majority by alternating their accent and lexis. (Dendane, 1993:36)**

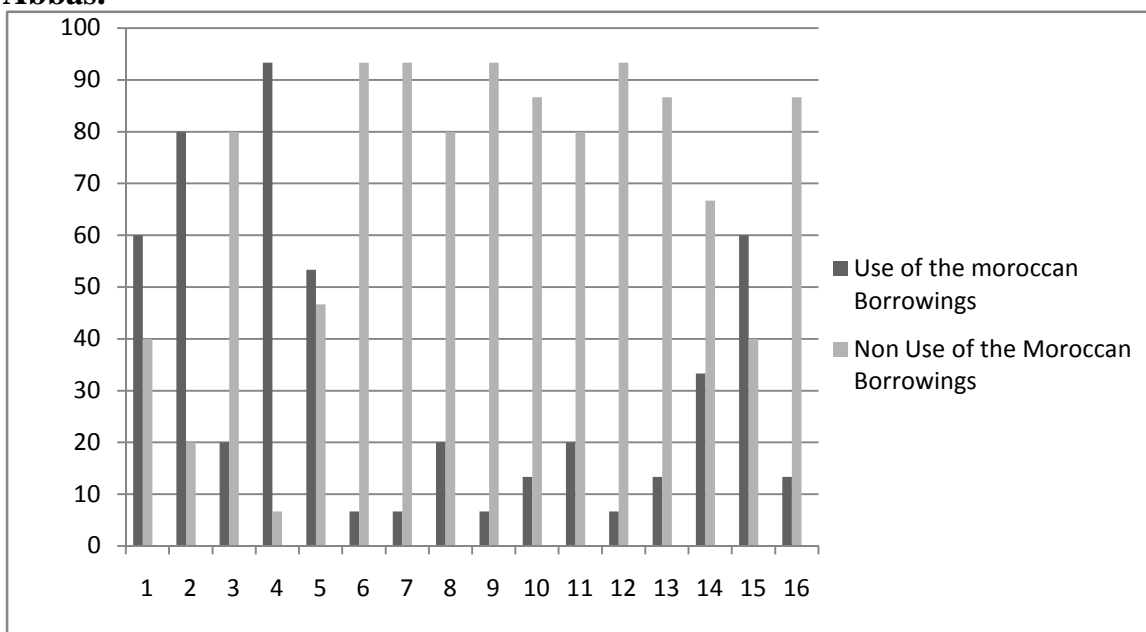
The following four charts illustrate the scores obtained from ordinary people met in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market.



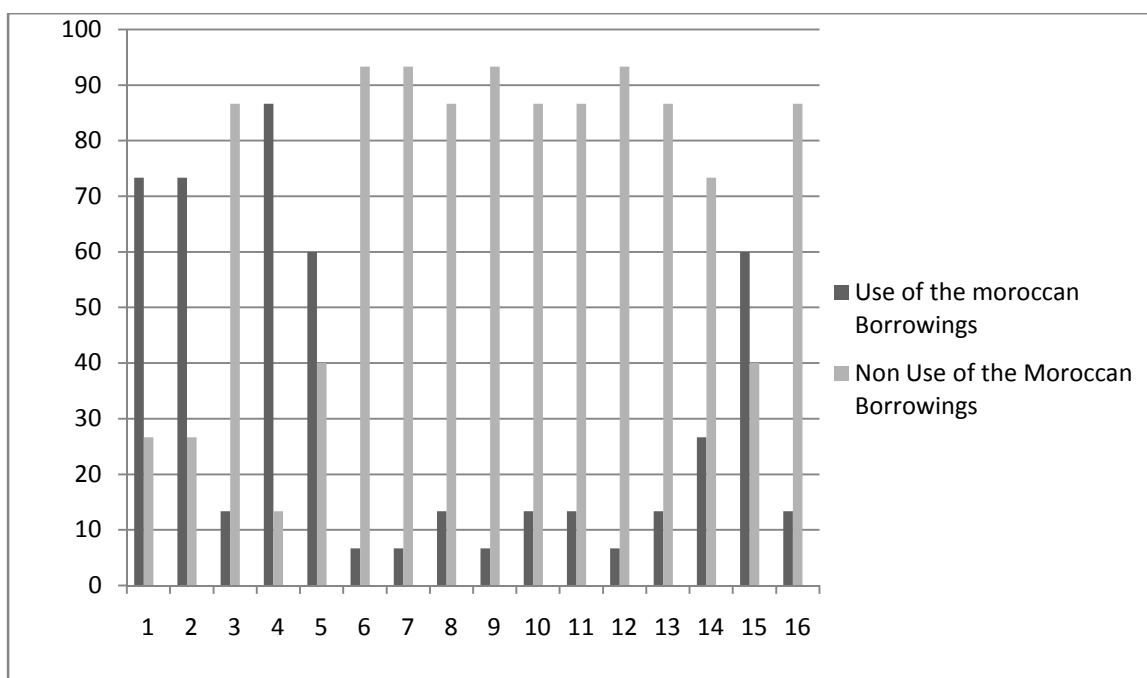
**Chart 3.25: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Ordinary People from Akid Lotfi.**



**Chart 3.26: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Ordinary People from Akid Abbas.**



**Chart 3.27: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Ordinary People met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



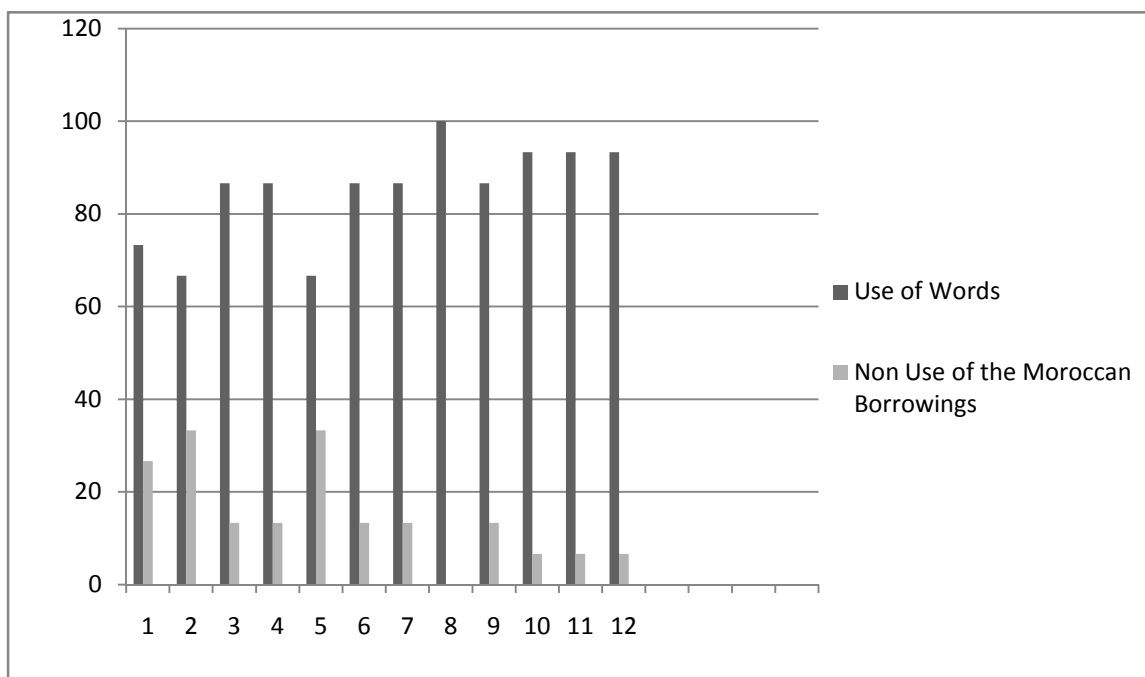
**Chart 3.28: Scores of the Moroccan Borrowings: Ordinary People met in Souk Tlata Market.**

The ordinary people seen in the four settings: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia as well as Souk Tlata market generally relate the presence of some of the Moroccan borrowings in their vernacular to the Moroccan individuals and ancestors who are living in the four areas. In their point of views, these are the main reasons which cause the ordinary people acquiring distinct Moroccan loanwords and including them in their dialect.

Moreover, one may observe from the above four tables that traders scores are higher than ordinary people scores. This means that the number of traders using the Moroccan borrowings is bigger than the number of ordinary people employing the same group of words. So, in dialect-contact situations, traders are more affected by the Moroccan speech than the ordinary people. The tables below and the related charts report the scores of the third category of words which are used by both Moroccan and Maghnaoui traders and ordinary people.

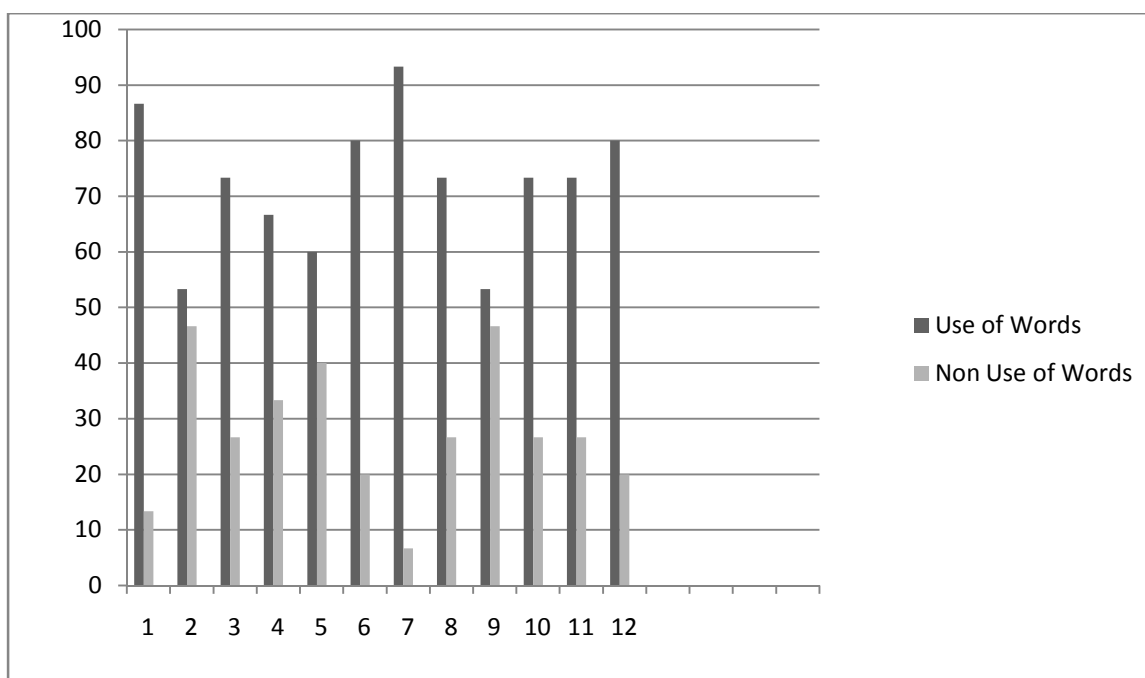
Words	English Gloss	Traders Scores		Ordinary People Scores	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[nsawwal]	“I ask”	73.33%	26.66%	86.66%	13.33%
2-[sarʒam]	“Borders of steps”	66.66%	33.33%	53.33%	46.66%
3-[zrab]	“Hurry up”	86.66%	13.33%	73.33%	26.66%
4-[eddarri]	“Kids”	86.66%	13.33%	66.66%	33.33%
5-[knina]	“Medicine”	66.66%	33.33%	60%	40%
6-[ʃafja]	“Fire”	86.66%	13.33%	80%	20%
7-[zenqa]	“A small avenue”	86.66%	13.33%	93.33%	6.66%
8-[metjaqqan]	“Sure of/certain	100%	00%	73.33%	26.66%
9-[ennabu:ri]	“Early morning”	86.66%	13.33%	53.33%	46.66%
10-[zwina]	“Nice”	93.33%	6.66%	73.33%	26.66%
11-[ʃezizi]	“Dear”	93.33%	6.66%	73.33%	26.66%
12-[labza:r]	“Spices/pepper”	93.33%	6.66%	80%	20%

**Table 3.23: Scores of Words used by both of the Moroccan Traders and Ordinary People as well as the ones from Akid Lotfi.**



**Chart 3.29: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Traders and the ones from Akid Lotfi.**

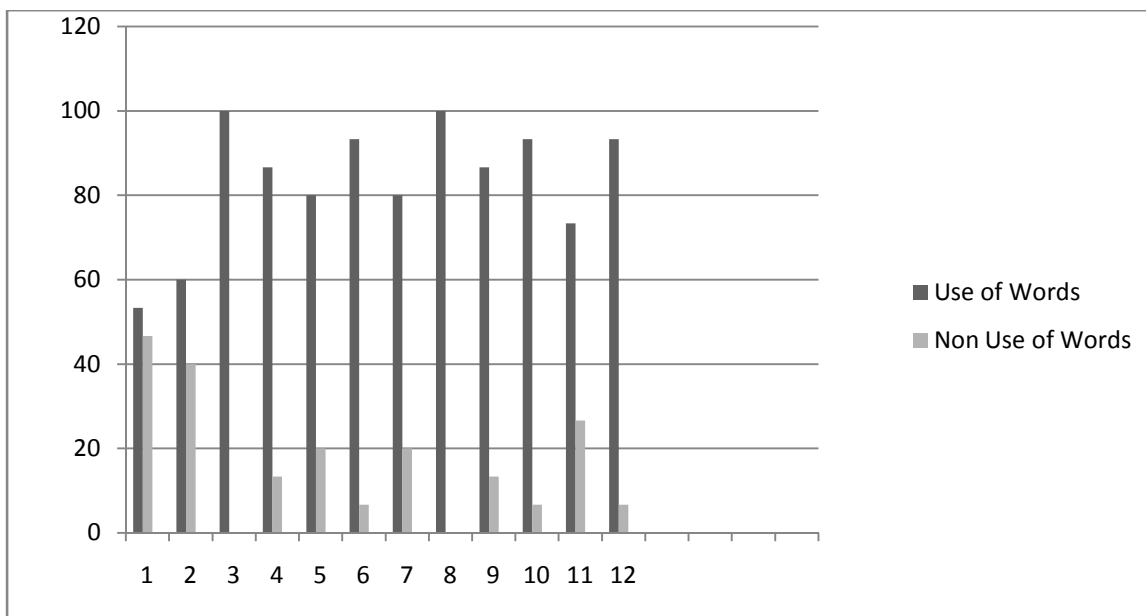




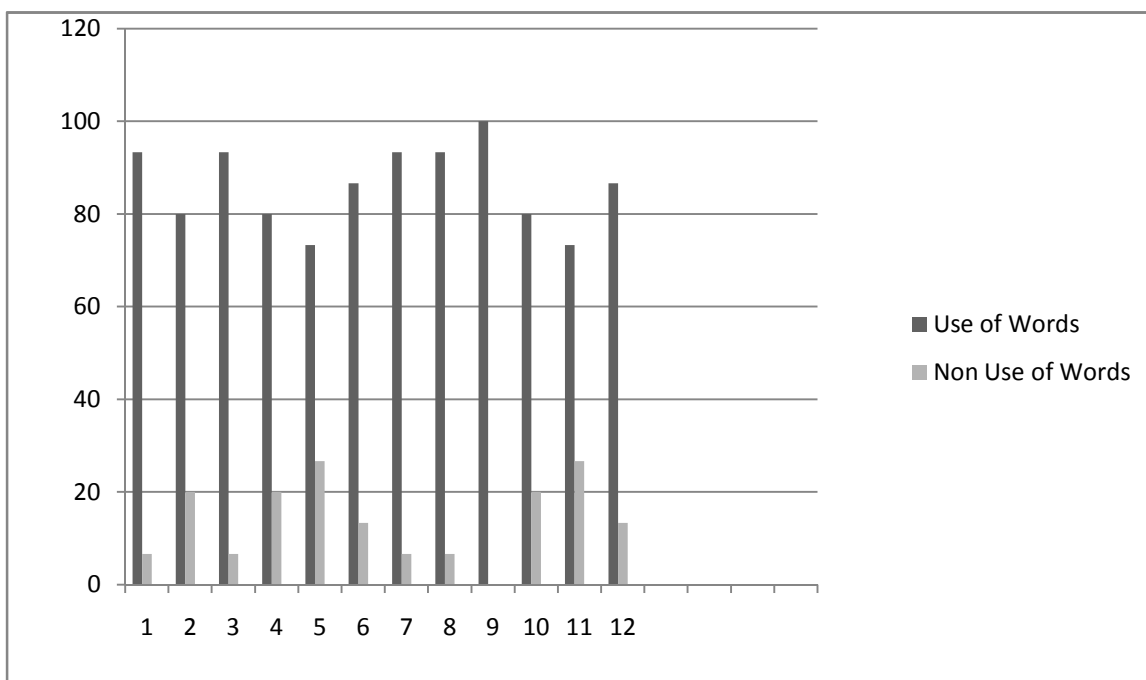
**Chart 3.30: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Ordinary People and the ones from Akid Lotfi.**

Words	English Gloss	Traders Scores		Ordinary People Scores	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[nsawwal]	“I ask”	53.33%	46.66%	93.33%	6.66%
2-[ṣarṣam]	“Borders of steps”	60%	40%	80%	20%
3-[zrab]	“Hurry up”	100%	00%	93.33%	6.66%
4-[eddarri]	“Kids”	86.66%	13.33%	80%	20%
5-[knina]	“Medicine”	80%	20%	73.33%	26.66%
6-[ṣafja]	“Fire”	93.33%	6.66%	86.66%	13.33%
7-[zenqa]	“A small avenue”	80%	20%	93.33%	6.66%
8-[metjaqqan]	“Sure of/certain	100%	00%	93.33%	6.66%
9-[ennabu:ri]	“Early morning”	86.66%	13.33%	100%	00%
10-[zwina]	“Nice”	93.33%	6.66%	80%	20%
11-[ṣezizi]	“Dear”	73.33%	26.66%	73.33%	26.66%
12-[labza:r]	“Spices/pepper”	93.33%	6.66%	86.66%	13.33%

**Table 3.24: Scores of Words used by both of the Moroccan Traders and Ordinary People as well as the ones from Akid Abbas.**



**Chart 3.31: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Traders and the ones from Akid Abbas.**

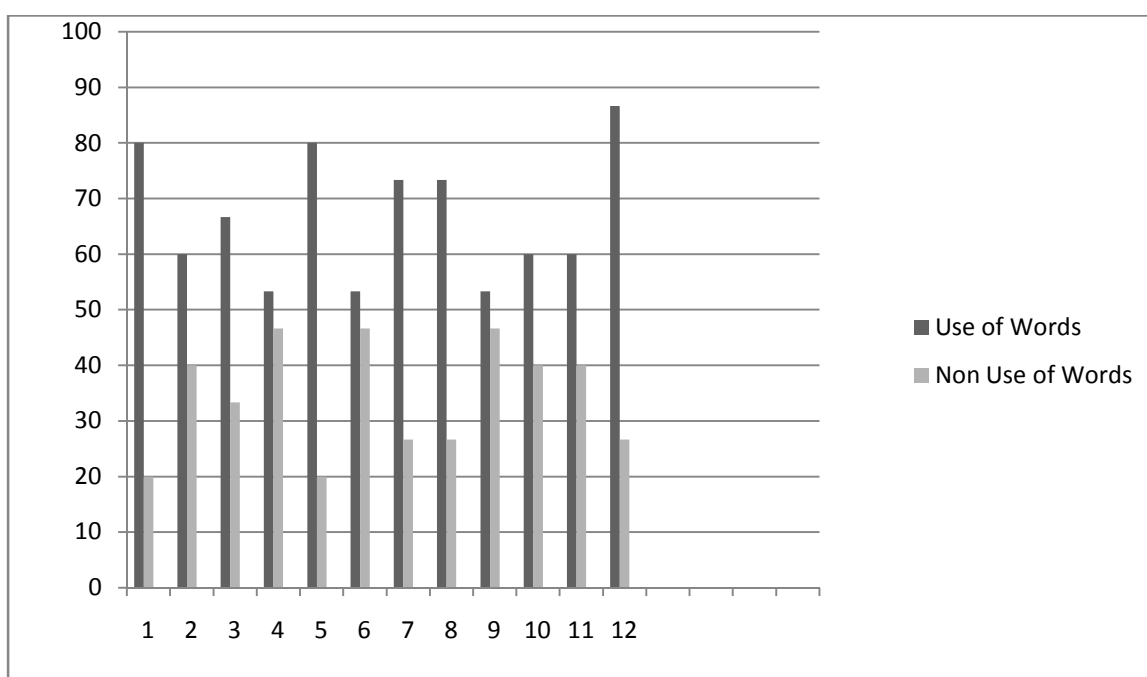


**Chart 3.32: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Ordinary People and the ones from Akid Abbas.**

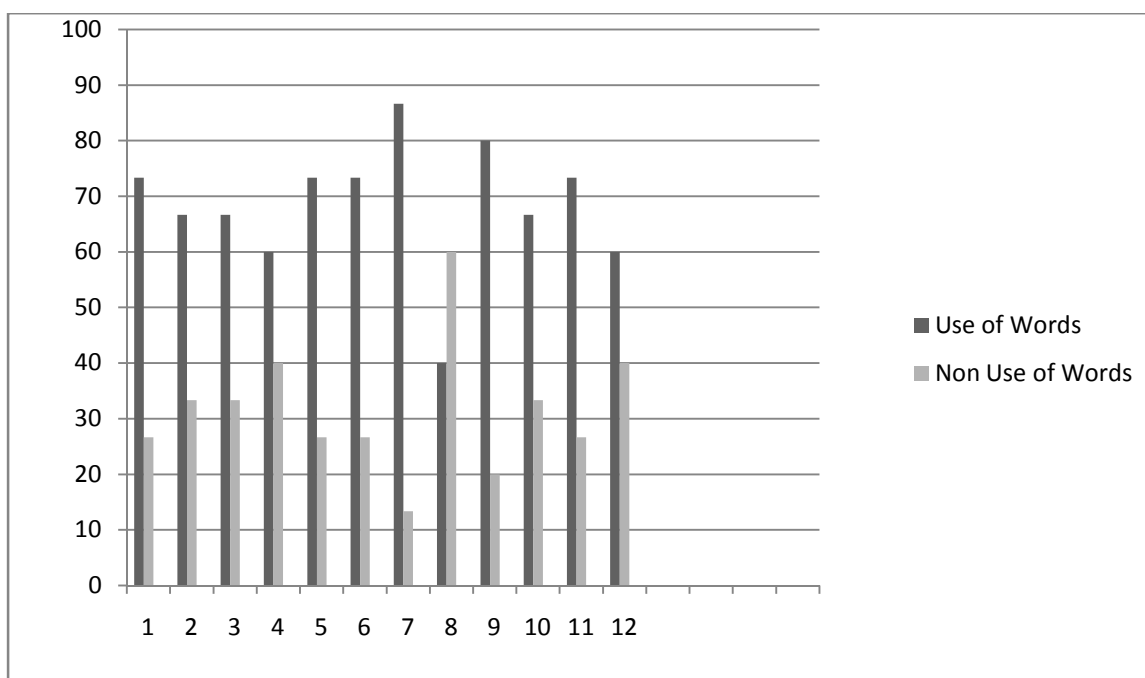
Words	English Gloss	Traders Scores		Ordinary People Scores	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[nsawwal]	“I ask”	80%	20%	73.33%	26.66%
2-[ṣarṣam]	“Borders of steps”	60%	40%	66.66%	33.33%

3-[zrab]	“Hurry up”	66.66%	33.33%	66.66%	33.33%
4-[eddarri]	“Kids”	53.33%	46.66%	60%	40%
5-[knina]	“Medicine”	80%	20%	73.33%	26.66%
6-[ʃafja]	“Fire”	53.33%	46.66%	73.33%	26.66%
7-[zenqa]	“A small avenue”	73.33%	26.66%	86.66%	13.33%
8-[metjaqqan]	“Sure of/certain	73.33%	26.66%	40%	60%
9-[ennabu:ri]	“Early morning”	53.33%	46.66%	80%	20%
10-[zwina]	“Nice”	60%	40%	66.66%	33.33%
11-[ʃezizi]	“Dear”	60%	40%	73.33%	26.66%
12-[labza:r]	“Spices/pepper”	73.33%	26.66%	60%	40%

**Table 3.25: Scores of Words used by both of the Moroccan Traders and Ordinary People as well as the ones met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



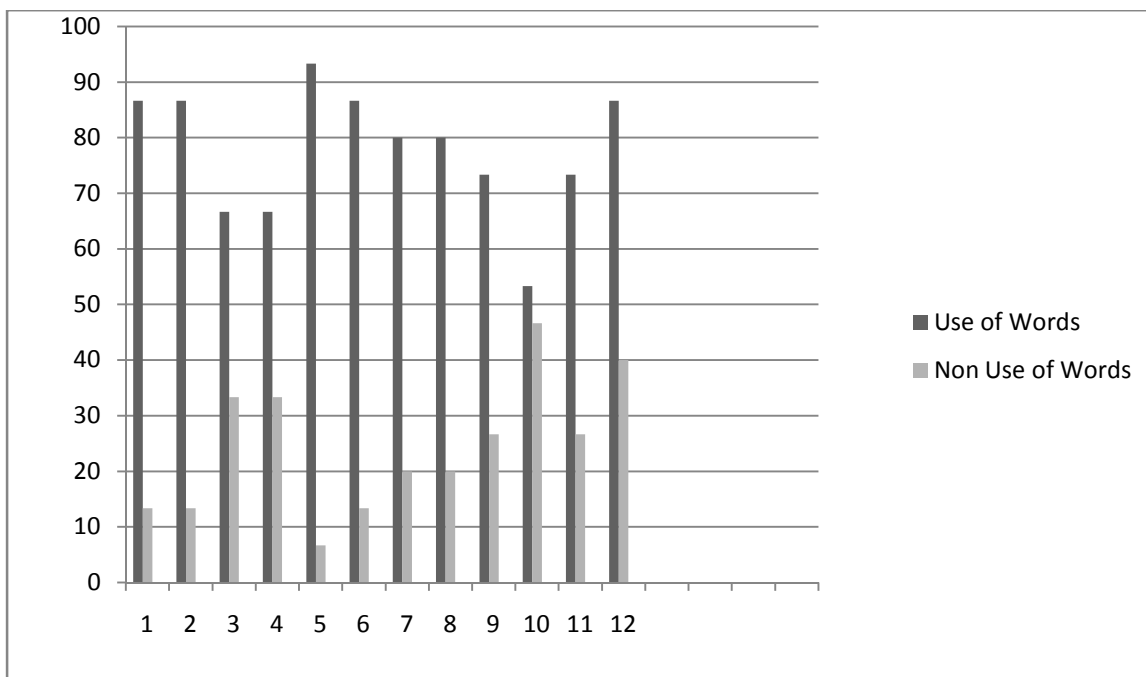
**Chart 3.33: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Traders and the ones met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**



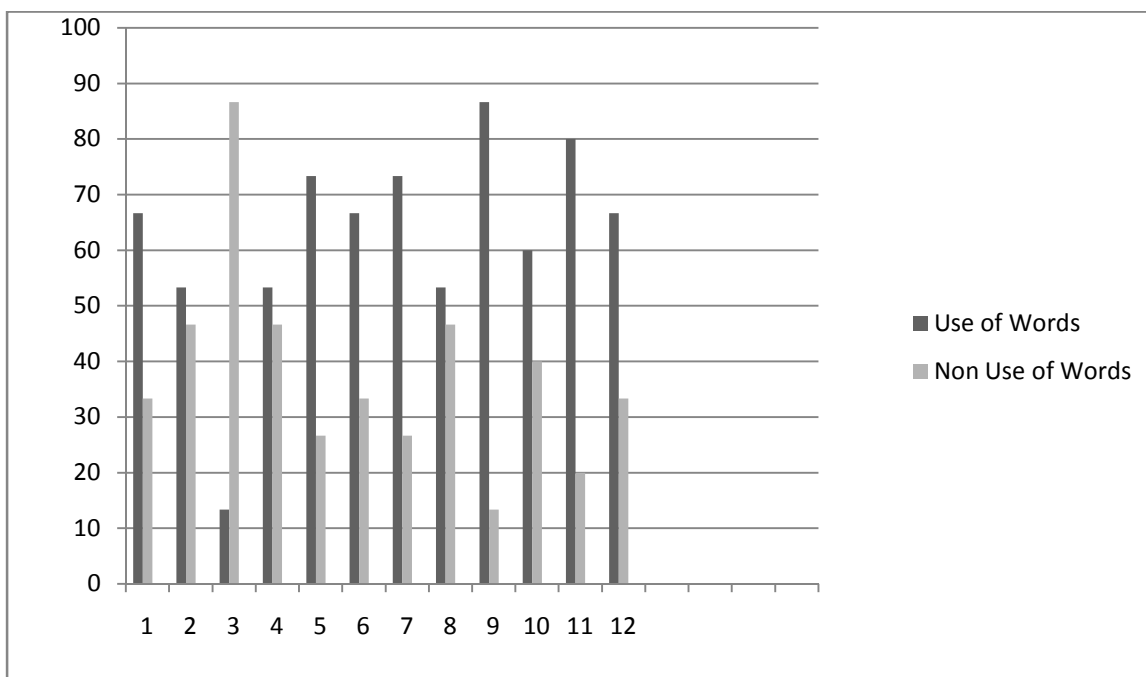
**Chart 3.34: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Ordinary People and the ones met in the Market Centre of Maghnia.**

Words	English Gloss	Traders Scores		Ordinary People Scores	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1-[nsawwal]	“I ask”	86.66%	13.33%	66.66%	33.33%
2-[ṣarṣam]	“Borders of steps”	86.66%	13.33%	53.33%	46.66%
3-[zrab]	“Hurry up”	66.66%	33.33%	13.33%	86.66%
4-[eddarri]	“Kids”	66.66%	33.33%	53.33%	46.66%
5-[knina]	“Medicine”	93.33%	6.66%	73.33%	26.66%
6-[ṣafja]	“Fire”	86.66%	13.33%	66.66%	33.33%
7-[zenqa]	“A small avenue”	80%	20%	73.33%	26.66%
8-[metjaqqan]	“Sure of/certain	80%	20%	53.33%	46.66%
9-[ennabu:ri]	“Early morning”	73.33%	26.66%	86.66%	13.33%
10-[zwina]	“Nice”	53.33%	46.66%	60%	40%
11-[ṣezizi]	“Dear”	73.33%	26.66%	80%	20%
12-[labza:r]	“Spices/pepper”	86.66%	13.33%	66.66%	33.33%

**Table 3.26: Scores of Words used by both of the Moroccan Traders and Ordinary People as well as the ones met in Souk Tlata Market.**



**Chart 3.35: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Traders and the ones met in Souk Tlata Market.**



**Chart 3.36: Scores of Words used by both of Moroccan Ordinary People and the ones met in Souk Tlata Market.**

It is worth pointing that when investigating the speech employed in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market; we observed that the group of words introduced in the above last tables is implemented by a great number of traders and ordinary people from the areas mentioned

previously. But the most important thing that needs to be said here is that: when interviewing the Moroccan members who were met in the four areas or the ones living in the near-by Moroccan towns through the chat, we found them using the same group of words. Thus, the question which may rise at this level is: do these lexical items belong to the Algerian language system or to the Moroccan one? To answer this question, we relied on the information of elders who constitute the wiser category of those communities; they proclaim that before the closure of the borders, which is before 1994, they were living with the Moroccan individuals in one town without any problem. A member from Akid Lotfi claimed that there was one cemetery for the burial of the Moroccan and the native kin. So, we were speaking nearly the same Arabic with slight differences. Consequently, it is very hard to decide who has borrowed the words from the other. The old category also admits that the things have changed and the problems have started since the closure of the frontiers in 1994.

### **3.4. Factors Leading Language Variation in MA:**

The language variation in Maghnia speech community is not random, but it is conditioned by a number of outward factors that have stimulated it. These can be historical, geographical, social as well as economic. The main goal of this section is, in fact, to speak about the importance of these external pressures in leading language variation and language change.

First, during the pre-independence period, there were many people from Maghnia who were forced by the French colonizers to emigrate to the neighbouring Moroccan towns and settle there till independence, the fact which causes them to bring some Moroccan words and expressions and include them in their everyday conversations.

Second, the geographical situation of Maghnia that is located near the Moroccan frontiers leads to the emergence of a dialect continuum<sup>1</sup> along the Algerian/Moroccan border.

Third, before 1994 (, i.e. before the closure of the frontiers), there were exogamous marriages between the residents of Maghnia and those of the near-by Moroccan cities. The reason which prompts its natives to share with the Moroccan people some words, expressions, customs, traditions, ways of dressing, celebrating and even cooking. In addition to the Moroccan architecture which is found inside Maghnaoui houses and shops.

Fourth, all the informants met in the four settings regard trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border as the basic factor which affects the Arabic of Maghnia. Thus, the contact that exists between Maghnaoui traders and the Moroccan ones when exchanging different types of products (such as: cloths, accessories, vegetables, fruits and spices) influences the dialect of Maghnia phonologically, morphologically, and especially lexically.

### **3.5. Attitudes towards Language Variation in MA:**

It is generally known that language attitudes<sup>2</sup> falls within the discipline of social psychology. But recently, it has become an essential topic among sociolinguistic researches. The term “language attitudes” has, indeed, been adopted by many sociolinguists (Fishman, 1975), and has been defined as the feelings (positive vs. negative) some people have towards a certain language or language variety. Therefore, various techniques like structured interviews and participant observation have been undertaken for the sake to speak about traders’ and ordinary people’s reactions towards the Moroccan allophones, morphemes and lexical items inserted in Maghnaoui vernacular.

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<sup>1</sup> A dialect continuum is a sociolinguistic key concept which refers to a chain of varieties that are mutually intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> Labov was among the first ones who pay attention to language attitudes in his New York City Study (1966).

When asking both traders and ordinary people met in: Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market if they prefer to use the Moroccan loanwords or the native equivalents especially when contacting the Moroccan brothers, we found several difficulties because they all have negative attitudes towards the Moroccan members and their dialect as well.

Traders declare that they prefer to employ the local equivalents but in some situations (e.g. when phoning the Moroccan merchants or traveling to the adjacent Moroccan areas), they found themselves obliged to borrow some Moroccan lexical variants (like the names of some Moroccan cloths) just for facilitating and accelerating the process of trade.

Similarly, all of the ordinary people admit that they prefer to use the Algerian words rather than the Moroccan ones. They add that they are proud of their speech variety and they want to show this to the Moroccan members.

However, what happens in reality is the opposite since when opening a debate with the informants and trying to ask them indirect questions, we found them using various Moroccan borrowings in their vernacular unconsciously. These words are mostly related to the Moroccan cloths, accessories such as [tekʃiʔa], [qafta:n], [ʒabado:r], [ʒella:ba], [ʃemmarija], [lemkab] and [lebu:q]. As a result, in spite of the negative attitudes that Maghnaoui inhabitants have towards the Moroccan dialect and even towards its speakers, trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border have an impact on the Arabic of Maghnia.

### **3.6. Conclusion:**

The study of language from a sociolinguistic point of view has demonstrated that all languages across speech communities are affected by variation. Actually, this language variation is not random, but rather determined by some social variables like: the speaker's age, gender, social class, type of occupation and place of residence. Moreover, it has been justified by many



sociolinguists that the relationship between language and social structures will necessarily lead to language change.

The social factors which play an interesting role in making the dialect of Maghnia to be affected by the neighbouring Moroccan vernacular are: the type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people), and their place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market).

Indeed, the results obtained reveal that trade is the main factor which causes the dialect of Maghnia speech community to vary among its speakers. This factor has influenced the Arabic of Maghnia phonologically, morphologically, and to a greater extent lexically.

In addition to trade, there are other subordinate reasons which have contributed in this variation among Maghnaoui individuals. From these factors, one may mention: the emigration of the informants' grandparents to the adjacent Moroccan areas, the exogamous marriages between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui members, the population movement to the near-by Moroccan towns for importing and exporting different kinds of goods.

Also, it has been found that the speech variety of traders is more influenced than the one of ordinary people. This is due to the long and daily contact with Moroccan merchants along the Algerian/Moroccan border in spite of the closure of the frontiers,

Furthermore, the vernacular of traders and ordinary people met in the two crossing borders of Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas is more affected than the one of those seen in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market. This means that the more you get closer to the Algerian/Moroccan frontier, the more you find phonological, morphological and lexical variants that are borrowed from the Moroccan towns.

# **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

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### **General Conclusion:**

It has been agreed among language researches that drawing final conclusions about linguistic matters is impossible because language is not static, but constantly in progress, even though, some interferences could be made on the basis that the main goal of this sociolinguistic research work has been to see to what extent Maghnaoui Arabic is affected by the linguistic features (, i.e. phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics) of the neighbouring Moroccan areas. Besides, it has tried to provide some insights into the economic, historical, geographical and social factors which lead the dialect used in the speech community of Maghnia to vary especially near the Algerian/Moroccan border when contacting the Moroccan brothers.

It is worthwhile noting that the town of Maghnia is situated in the extreme North-West of Algeria, next to the Moroccan frontiers. It is only 28km far from Oujda. In fact, this geographical location has opened the doors for different trade activities between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui traders that have continued until nowadays but illegally. This is particularly related to the closure of the borders which has been declared by the Algerian political authorities since 1994.

Consequently, the results achieved indicate that dialectal variation in Maghnia speech community is an outcome of its individuals' type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people of distinct sorts of jobs) as well as their place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market). Also, it has been demonstrated that trade is the principal economic element which has great effects on the vernacular of Maghnaoui inhabitants. These impacts can be seen in terms of: first, the phonological, morphological and specifically the lexical variants that are imported from the near-by Moroccan cities and are inserted in Maghnaoui speech. Second, the various Moroccan customs, traditions, ways of dressing, celebrating and cooking which are observed in Maghnia. In addition to the Moroccan architecture that is found inside Maghnaoui houses and shops as well.

Moreover, trade, which has been classified as the basic determinant that is behind the aforementioned influences, is not the only one. In other words, there are other historical, geographical and social constraints that cause Maghnia speech

### **General Conclusion:**

community to be affected from distinct sides. The historical factor is related to the emigration of the respondents' grandparents to the adjacent Moroccan regions before the Algerian independence. The geographical parameter is correlated with the small distance existing between Maghnia and some of the Moroccan towns such as Oujda, Ahfir, Berkan and Beni Derar. The social aspect is linked with the exogamous marriages between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui individuals particularly before the closure of the frontiers (1994).

Yet, it has been proved that the number of Moroccan loanwords, phonological and morphological features included in traders' dialect is bigger than the number of the ones inserted in ordinary people's vernacular. This phenomenon is related to the long and daily contacts which exist with the Moroccan merchants when importing and exporting different kinds of products.

Furthermore, it has been found that the speech variety employed by both traders and ordinary people living in the two crossing borders of Akid Lotfi and Akid Abbas is more influenced than the one used by the same participants met in the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market. Therefore, one may admit that the more you get nearer to the Algerian/Moroccan frontier, the more you find similarities between the Moroccan and the local dialects at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

At last, one may ask the following question in order to open the window for further researches: do trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border affect the dialect used in the near-by Moroccan towns? That is to say, are there any Algerian borrowings in the Moroccan speech variety?

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# **APPENDICES**

## Appendices

### Questionnaire

- Place of birth :
- Father's origins :
- Mother's origins:
- Occupation:

#### **Part One: Phonological Variables:**

##### a- Variable (z): Realization of /z/ as [z] or [ʒ]:

1-Choose the word that you use frequently:

/iθna :ni/ : 'Two'

- [zu:ʒ]  [ʒu:ʒ]

- [zawa:ʒ]: 'Marriage'

- [zwæʒ]  [ʒwæʒ]

2- Do you use the sound (z) with the Moroccan people?

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

##### b- Variable (ʒ): Realization of /ʒ/ as [ʒ] or [g]:

1-How do you say in your own dialect?

-/ʒana:za/: 'Funeral'

- [ʒna:za]  -[gna:za]

-/ʒazza:r/: 'Butcher'

- [ʒəzza:r]  -[gəzza:r]

-/ʒins(un)/: 'Race'

- [ʒəns]  -[gəns]

-/ʒibs(un)/ : 'Plaster'

-[ʒəbs]  - [gəbs]

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-/ʒalsat(un)/ : ‘sitting or session’

-[ʒəlsa]

-[gəlsa]

-/ʕaʒu:za/ : ‘Mother-in-law’

-[ʕʒu:za]

-[ʕgu:za]

## **Part Two: Morphological Variables:**

a-Variable (ka):

-What do you say when you like something?

-/nabʕi/ : ‘I want’

- [nabʕi]

-[ka + nabʕi]

b- Gender Differentiation:

-What do you say when addressing a man?

- [fi:n # kunt]

-[ fi:n # kunti]

## **Part Three: Lexical Variables:** Put an (x) in the box:

1-Do you use the following words:

Words	Yes	No
1-[mɔamma]		
2-[tekfɪt̪a]		
3-[qaf̪t̪a:n]		
4-[ʒella:ba]		
5-[ʒabado:r]		
6-[bli:ɣa]		
7-[ʕemmarija]		
8-[ elbu:q]		
9-[ elmkaβ]		
10 -[neggafa]		
11-[lella laʕru:ʒa] or [mu:lei ʒult̪a:n]		
12-[mezja:n]		

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13-[ʃafi]		
14 -[bella:ti]		
15-[ndu:z]		
16-[fabu:r]		
17-[daba]		
18-[waχχa]		
19-[jeffa:r]		
20-[nsali]		
21-[mʃat ʔi]		
22-[deɣja]		
23-[kambu]		
24-[ʃafæk]		
25-[bezzaz]		
26-[nsawwal]		
27-[ʃarʒam]		
28-[zrab]		
29-[eddarri]		
30-[knina]		
31-[ʃafja]		
32-[zenqa]		
33-[metjaqqan]		
34-[ennabu:ri]		
35-[zwina]		
36-[ʃezizi]		
37-[labza:r]		

2- How do you explain the existence of the above Moroccan loanwords in your dialect?

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

### **Part Four:**

-To ask about Maghnaoui attitudes towards the existence of some Moroccan borrowings in their Arabic, we have posed the following question:

## Appendices

- Do you prefer to employ the Moroccan lexical items or the Algerian equivalents?  
and Why?

.....  
.....

## استقصاء

- مكان الميلاد :
- اصل الاب:
- اصل الام :
- المهنة :

### الجزء الأول : المتغيرات الفنولوجية

ا- المتغير (ز) :

1- اختر الكلمة التي تستعملها دائما :

- اثنان : زُوْج  - جُوْج
- زَوَاجٌ : زُوَاجٌ  - جَوَاجٌ

2- هل تغير طريقة كلامك عندما تتكلم مع أشخاص مغاربة . و لماذا؟

.....

.....

.....

ب – المتغير (ج) :

1- كيف تقول بلهجتك المحلية :

- جَنَازَةٌ: جَنَازَةٌ  - قَنَازَةٌ
- جَزَّارٌ: جَزَّارٌ  - قَرَّارٌ
- جِنْسٌ: جِنْسٌ  - قَنَسٌ
- جِبْسٌ: جِبْسٌ  - قَبْسٌ
- جَلْسَةٌ: جَلْسَةٌ  - قَلْسَةٌ



## Appendices

- عَجُوزَةٌ

- عَجُوزَةٌ: عَجُوزَةٌ

### 2- الجزء الثاني : المتغيرات المرفولوجية

1- المتغير (ك) :

1 – ماذا تقول عندما تحب شيء ما؟.

- [ كَنَّبَغِي ]

- [ نَبَّغِي ]

- تأنيث المذكر

1- ماذا تقول عندما تخاطب الرجل

- [ فِين كُنْتُ ]

- [ فِين كُنْتُ ]

### الجزء الثالث : المتغيرات المعجمية

-ضع العلامة (x) في الخانة المناسبة :

1- هل تستعمل الكلمات الآتية :

لا	نعم	الكلمات
		مُصَمَّة
		تَكْشِيطَة
		قَفْطَان
		جَلَابَة (بيضاوية او فاسية)
		جَبَادُور
		بَلِيغَة
		عَمَّارِيَة
		البُوق
		المَكَب
		نَقَافَة
		لالآ لعروسة - مولاي السلطان
		مَرْيَان
		صَافِي
		بِلَاتِي
		نَدُوز
		فَابُور
		دَابَة

## Appendices

		وَآخَةَ
		شَقَّار
		نُسَالِي
		نُسَاطِينِي
		دَعْيَا
		كَامُو
		عَفَاك
		بَرَزَ عَلَيْكَ
		سَوَّلَ
		صَرَجَم
		زَرَبَ
		الدَّرِي
		كُنِينَةَ
		العَافِيَةَ
		الزَّرْنَفَةَ
		مَنِّيَقَ
		نُبُورِي
		زَوِينَةَ
		عَزِيزِي
		لُبَّار

2- كيف تفسر وجود هذه الكلمات المغربية ضمن اللهجة المحلية ؟

.....

.....

.....

### الجزء الرابع:

- لمعرفة مواقف المتكلم اتجاه وجود بعض الكلمات المغربية ضمن اللهجة العامية ، طرحنا السؤال الآتي:

-هل تفضل استعمال الكلمات المغربية أم المفردات الجزائرية ؟ ولماذا ؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

### **الملخص:**

إن الهدف الرئيسي من هذه المذكرة هو تحليل بعض جوانب التغير السوسiolغوي خاصة الفونولوجي المورفولوجي و المعجمي منها بمدينة مغنية الواقعة قرب الحدود المغربية الجزائرية

نظرا لما تزخر به هذه الرقعة الجغرافية من احتكاك مع المناطق المغربية المجاورة خاصة في المجال التجاري نحاول إظهار مدى تأثير اللهجة السائدة بمدينة مغنية باللهجة المغربية معتمدين في ذلك على عينات وصفية و كمية مأخوذة من منطوق بعض السكان المحليين كنموذج للدراسة.

### **كلمات مفتاحية :**

التغير السوسiolغوي - الخصائص الفونولوجية، المورفولوجي و المعجمية - الاحتكاك التجاري - اللهجة المغربية - اللهجة المحلية - الوصف و الكم.

### **RESUME :**

Ce travail de recherche tente d'examiner quelques aspects de variation sociolinguistique particulièrement phonologique, morphologique et lexical, dans une ville nommée 'Maghnia' qui se situe près de la frontière Algéro-marocaine.

Compte tenu de la richesse de cette zone géographique de contact avec les régions voisines du Maroc spécialement dans le domaine commercial, nous essayons de montrer l'étendue affecté par le dominant, en se basant sur des échantillons qualitatifs et quantitatifs pris du parler de quelques habitants natifs de cette région comme modèle d'étude.

### **Mots- Clé :**

Variation sociolinguistique – caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques et lexicales – contact commercial – dialecte marocain – dialecte locale – qualitatifs et quantitatifs.

### **ABSTRACT**

The main object of this research work is to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation particularly phonological, morphological and lexical, in a town named "Maghnia" that is situated near the Algerian/Moroccan border.

Given the wealth of this geographical area out of contact with the neighbouring Moroccan regions especially in the commercial field, we try to show to what extent the dialect used in Maghnia is influenced by the Moroccan vernacular, relying on the qualitative and quantitative samples taken from the native speakers' everyday speech.

### **Key Words:**

Sociolinguistic variation – phonological, morphological and lexical features – trade contact – Moroccan dialect – local dialect – qualitative and quantitative.

**DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**  
**MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH**  
**UNIVERSITY OF TLEMCEEN**  
**FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES**  
**ENGLISH SECTION**

***THE EFFECTS OF TRADE ACTIVITIES ON LANGUAGE VARIATION***  
***AT THE ALGERIAN/MOROCCAN BORDER:***  
***MAGHNIA SPEECH COMMUNITY.***

**SUMMARY**

**Presented by**

Mrs. Asmaa BOUCHEKIF

**Under the Supervision of**

Dr. Ilham SERIR

***Academic Year: 2011-2012***

## 1.1. Introduction:

Recently, sociolinguistics, as an academic field of inquiry, made great efforts in exploring language variation and language change within distinct speech communities. The social mobility and dialect contact which exist with the neighbouring Moroccan towns have led speech variation to be regarded as an interesting subject matter that necessitates to be talked about from various dimensions. As a result, many sociolinguistic works have been devoted to speak about the development, change and spread of the phonological, morphological and lexical features in accordance with the social variables such as: age, gender, ethnicity, social class, level of education, type of occupation and place of residence.

The speech variety which is studied in the present research work is spoken in Maghnia, an area that is only 28 km far from the Algerian/Moroccan border. Indeed, this small distance allows Maghnaoui traders to contact the Moroccan merchants and exchange different types of goods with them. Although, the frontiers have been closed since 1994, the reality is that trade activities have continued unabated. Consequently, the main concern of this sociolinguistic investigation is to answer the following question:

- 1- Do trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border influence Maghnaoui Arabic (henceforth MA)?
- 2- What are the social constraints which underline language variation in the speech community of Maghnia?
- 3- Is trade the only factor which has an impact on Maghnaoui dialect, or are there any other determinants?

To find reliable replies to the above questions, three hypotheses spring, as follows:

- 1- Trade activities which exist along the Algerian/Moroccan border have a great impact on the vernacular used in Maghnia speech community.
- 2- The most important social constraints that explain speech variation among Maghnaoui inhabitants are their type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary

people), in addition to their place of residence (Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market).

- 3- Trade is not the only factor which affects Maghnaoui dialect, but rather, there are other historical, geographical and social determinants that lead Maghnaoui speech variety to vary along the Algerian/Moroccan border.

## **1.2. Rationale of the Work:**

Research in Arabic theoretical linguistics has expanded over the last four decades, but the production of textbooks in colloquial Arabic has remained limited. If we come to make a comparison between Arabic and other languages in terms of the extensive researches we will find that the Arabic language research has been growing very slowly in comparison to other languages. Therefore, the principal goal of this research work is to help in enriching the colloquial Arabic studies which have been for a long time and even currently a concern of the foreign researchers. What is more, it tries to widen the area of the Algerian Arabic studies that are for the most part undertaken by the Algerian researchers in universities and abroad. Since my birthplace has not been given due consideration, I strive to describe and analyze some linguistic aspects of this variety to be as the starting point and a background for our researchers to handle considerable works in this ignored area.

## **1.3. Research Methodology:**

It is generally agreed that variation occurs in any language, and this constitutes an essential part of sociolinguistic researches. Yet, it has long been noticed that each language variety varies from one region to another, and this is often referred to regional variation. It can also vary within the same place or from one person to another according to a number of social constraints (like: age, gender, occupation, level of education, and the list is so long), and this is often referred to social variation or sociolinguistics. While the former has emerged since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the latter has appeared in the 1960s with the pioneering work of William Labov entitled: “English in New York City” (1966) that studied speech variation quantitatively.

The main concern of this part is to speak about the major research tools which are used to collect and analyze the data. Since the present work is a sociolinguistic investigation, it is crucial to follow the basic steps that typify this field of inquiry. The five significant stages which should be involved in a sociolinguistic text study are summarized by Hudson (1996) in this way:

- 1- Selecting speakers, circumstances and linguistic variables.
- 2- Collecting the texts.
- 3- Identifying the linguistic variables and their variants in the texts.
- 4- Processing the figures.
- 5- Interpreting the results.

Thus, the methodology obtained in this survey is a “Labovian approach” which has been arisen as a consequence of the inadequate materials employed in traditional dialectology, as well as a reaction against Chomsky’s pure formal linguistic theory. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are adopted for the sake of clarifying the effect of trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border on the speech of Maghnaoui people. The quantitative approaches implemented will be represented in the form of statistical results drawn in tables, graphs and charts. More details on the instruments, the participants, the sampling and the stratification of the informants are going to be explained within the following sections.

#### **1.4. The instruments:**

Since the basic concern of the present section is the issue of methodological concerns, the main question that may rise at this level is: how can a researcher gain reliable data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry? Milroy and Gordon (2003:49) reply to such question in such a way: **“What constitutes “good data” depends on the research objectives, as do the methods for collecting such data”**. Therefore, multiple approaches of gathering data have been trialed each with varying degrees of success in identifying the lexical variables of Maghna speech. The major techniques employed within this interactive workshop are: questionnaire, interview,

participant observation, rapid and anonymous survey, friend of a friend procedure, and the telephone.

#### **1.4.1. Questionnaires:**

Written questionnaire is the first means that is used in this sociolinguistic study. It was the primary technique implemented by traditional dialectologists during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1876, George Wenker sent postal questionnaires to schoolmasters in Germany and asked them to transcribe a list of sentences from Standard German into the local dialect. Then, in 1896, Jules Gilièron developed this method through using a trained fieldworker named “Edmond Edmont” who recorded the questionnaire’s responses in France. (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998).

The advantage of employing questionnaires is their efficiency. They are mostly very easy and cheap to administer. They enable the experimenter to elicit knowledge from a very number of subjects across large speech communities. The most recent form of postal questionnaire is the e-mail survey which helps the research worker to collect data in a simple and very short time.

The questionnaire utilized in this in this work is divided into two parts. The first part tries to take some information about the informants like: their names, their genders, their ages, their places of birth and of residence, their levels of education, and their occupations. The second part is devoted to ask a set of questions in order to know the number of the Moroccan words integrated in the dialect of Maghnia. So, both open and closed questions (including yes/no and multiple questions) are asked for obtaining useful data. Other questionnaires may be conducted if more data are needed. Besides, the questionnaire is written in Standard Arabic since the participants are of different ages and various levels of education. Sometimes, the questions are explained through using the mother tongue especially for the illiterate category.

#### **1.4.2. Interviews:**

The sociolinguistic interview is the second research tool that has participated in the collection of the data. Over the past-half century, it is the method which has



been widely implemented in sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Labov's work on English in New York City (1966)). Llamas discloses that: **“The primary aim of the interview is likely to be to elicit a sample of speech from the informants which is casual and spontaneous as possible” (2007:15)**. The difference between the sociolinguistic interview and a survey is clarified by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 57-58) who postulate that:

**The sociolinguistic interview typically differs from a survey being relatively less structured. Whereas, survey questions are usually asked in a predetermined order and a prescribed form, interview protocols are more flexible. Surveys seek brief responses to fairly direct questions; interviews attempt to elicit more extended stretches of unscripted conversational speech.**

However, the problem faced while interviewing the interviewees is the observer's paradox. To overcome this issue, the investigator has to discuss topics about the respondents' childhood, lives, and interests and engaging them as much as possible to speak naturally and to forget any constraint imposed on them (e.g. using good introduction, suitable transition and closing). The interview employed in this project is a structured/formal interview, i.e. preparing a list of predetermined questions at home because Milroy and Gordon vindicate that: **“Successful interviewing requires careful planning” (2003: 58)**. But there are other questions which arise during the conversation. This is called a semi-structured/focused interview.

It is important to say that the local dialect is used in formulating the questions involved in the interview. Additionally, some subjects (e.g. some shopkeepers and clients) are asked to name items provided in pictures or available in shops for avoiding any influence. The open-ended responses of the informants are generally recorded by a written note taking.

### **1.4.3. Participant Observation:**

Participant observation is the third strategy which is implemented for gathering data. It is mostly considered as **“...the foundation of cultural**

**anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives” (Bernard, 2006: 342).** The application of this instrument will minimize the observer’s paradox since Labov insists on the fact that: **“Our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed” (1972: 61).** Consequently, this

approach allows the investigator to gain the amount and quality of the data collected, and familiarity with the natives of the community which is under review. (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

#### **1.4.4. Rapid and Anonymous Survey:**

The rapid and anonymous survey is a technique that is used in this work. It gives researchers the opportunity to collect data without the awareness of the participants. The investigator should determine his/her general aims in order to ask rapid and anonymous survey questions. This method has already been employed by Labov in his famous study on English in New York City department stores (1966). Within this investigation, Labov explores the pronunciation of /r/ in the words: “Fourth floor” among employees in three distinct stores. He asked them about something that is supposed to be on the fourth floor, then, made them repeating their answers in order to check if they would change their pronunciation or not (see 1.3.4.1.1).

#### **1.4.5. A Friend of a Friend Procedure and the Telephone Survey:**

A friend of a friend procedure is another strategy which is utilized in the present research. It gives the occasion to another one (e.g. my friend or my father) to help me in administering questionnaires, doing interviews, and observing facts particularly in places (e.g. cafés ) where it is impossible to go and do the work by myself. The telephone has also been used for the sake of recording without being observed some conversations at home, in shops, in “souk Tlata”, and among friends.

### 1.5. The Informants:

The respondents who are going to participate in the current sociolinguistic investigation are from Maghnia. Added to this, there are some people who have Moroccan origins but live in the area that is under survey and have the Algerian nationality. Most of the data will be gathered in houses, in streets, in shops, in souk Tlata, in cafés (through a friend of a friend procedure), in buses, and along the Algerian/Moroccan frontier with the border guards.

### 1.6. Sampling and Stratification:

The varied research instruments that are employed to collect data have been conducted with a sample population of 120 subjects. They are selected on the basis of predetermined social features involving: place of residence (those who live in the two borders crossing: “Akid Lotfi” and “Akid Abbas”, and others from Maghnia who have been met in both of the market centre of Maghnia as well as Souk Tlata market). They are also chosen according to their type of occupation (traders and clients). Moreover, the selected participants are of various ages, genders, levels of education, and of distinct socio-economic backgrounds. The table below explains the classification of the informants.

Place of Residence	Akid Lotfi	Akid Abbas	The market Centre of Maghnia	Souk Tlata Market	Total
Traders	15	15	15	15	60
Ordinary people	15	15	15	15	60
Total	30	30	30	30	120

**Table: 2.3. Sampling and Stratification of Participants.**

### 1.7. Summary of Chapter One:

The whole work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter begins with the literature review specifying a spotlight on the importance of studying language as a

social fact (which means explaining the correlation between language variation and the social variables: social class, gender, age and ethnicity) rather than an asocial phenomenon (which means abstracting language use from its social context in order to obtain a pure formal linguistic theory) that is the aim of structuralists and generalists. It also attempts to provide some definitions to the essential sociolinguistic concepts which are relevant to the topic under survey, the notion of language, dialect, variety, code, vernacular, register, pidgin and creole. In addition to the terms of: speech community, speech repertoire and the linguistic variable that are fundamental materials in any sociolinguistic project. At the same level, light will be shed on the interrelationship between language and economy because trade, as an economic activity, has a strong effect on Maghnaoui speech variation.

### **1.8. Summary of Chapter Two:**

The second chapter is divided into four sections. The first section gives a bird's eye view on the current sociolinguistic profile and explains the various historical, political and social factors which lead each speech variety (Arabic, Berber and French) to be employed in distinct circumstances. Moreover, the second section provides an overall picture of the linguistic phenomena namely (diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, code mixing and borrowing) that characterize the Algerian multilingual speech community. Furthermore, the third section seeks to give a general background about the speech community of Maghnia. That is, some light will be shed on the geographical location of this town, its history, economy, tourism and culture. Finally, the methodology utilized in the present fieldwork, the tools, the participants and the ways of classifying them are going to be exposed within the last section of this chapter.

### **1.9. Summary of Chapter Three:**

The third chapter describes essentially the various linguistic features which characterize Maghnaoui Arabic (MA). Also, it shows the interplay between the phonological, morphological and lexical aspects and the two extra-linguistic variables: type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people) and place of residence (*Akid Lotfi*,

*Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market*). In the light of the data collected in Maghnia speech community by means of questionnaires, interviews, tape recordings, rapid and anonymous surveys, participant observation and a friend of a friend procedure, the results reached have been analyzed and interpreted in relation to the aforementioned social constraints. At the end, there is a special focus on the other historical, geographical, social and economic factors which are behind dialectal variation in MA as well as the informants' attitudes towards the Moroccan phonological, morphological and lexical variants inserted in MA along the Algerian/Moroccan border.

### **1.10. Conclusion:**

It has been agreed among language researches that drawing final conclusions about the linguistic matters is impossible because language is not static, but constantly in progress. Even though, some interferences could be made on the basis that the main goal of this sociolinguistic research work has been to see to what extent Maghnaoui Arabic is affected by the linguistic features (, i.e. phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics) of the neighbouring Moroccan areas. Besides, it has tried to provide some insights into the economic, historical, geographical and social factors which lead the dialect used in the speech community of Maghnia to vary especially near the Algerian/Moroccan border when contacting the Moroccan brothers.

It is worthwhile noting that the town of Maghnia is situated in the extreme North-West of Algeria, next to the Moroccan frontiers. It is only 28km far from Oujda. In fact, this geographical location has opened the doors for different trade activities between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui traders that have continued until nowadays but illegally. This is particularly related to the closure of the borders which has been declared by the Algerian political authorities since 1994.

Consequently, the results achieved indicate that dialectal variation in Maghnia speech community is an outcome of its individuals' type of occupation (traders vs. ordinary people of distinct sorts of jobs) as well as their place of residence (*Akid Lotfi, Akid Abbas, the market centre of Maghnia and Souk Tlata market*). Also, it has been

demonstrated that trade is the principal economic element which has great effects on the vernacular of Maghnaoui inhabitants. These impacts can be seen in terms of: first, the phonological, morphological and specifically the lexical variants that are imported from the near-by Moroccan cities and are inserted in Maghnaoui speech. Second, the various Moroccan customs, traditions, ways of dressing, celebrating and cooking which are observed in Maghnia. In addition to the Moroccan architecture that is found inside Maghnaoui houses and shops as well.

Moreover, trade which has been classified as the basic determinant that is behind the aforementioned influences is not the only one. In other words, there are other historical, geographical and social constraints that cause Maghnia speech community to be affected from distinct sides. The historical factor is related to the emigration of the respondents' grandparents to the adjacent Moroccan regions before the Algerian independence. The geographical parameter is correlated with the small distance existing between Maghnia and some of the Moroccan towns such as: Oujda, Ahfir, Berkan and Beni Derar. The social aspect is linked with the exogamous marriages between the Moroccan and Maghnaoui individuals particularly before the closure of the frontiers (1994).

Yet, it has been proved that the number of the Moroccan loanwords, phonological and morphological features included in traders' dialect is bigger than the number of the ones inserted in ordinary people's vernacular. This phenomenon is related to the long and daily contacts which exist with the Moroccan merchants when importing and exporting different kinds of products.

Furthermore, it has been found that the speech variety employed by both of traders and ordinary people living in the two crossing borders of *Akid Lotfi* and *Akid Abbas* is more influenced than the one implemented by the same participants met in *the market centre of Maghnia* and *Souk Tlata market*. Therefore, one may admit that the more you get nearer to the Algerian/Moroccan frontier, the more you find similarities between the Moroccan and the local dialects at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

At last, one may ask the following question in order to open the window for further researches: do trade activities which take place at the Algerian/Moroccan border affect the dialect used in the near-by Moroccan towns? That is to say, are there any Algerian borrowings in the Moroccan speech variety?

### **الملخص:**

إن الهدف الرئيسي من هذه المذكرة هو تحليل بعض جوانب التغير السوسiolغوي خاصة الفونولوجي المورفولوجي و المعجمي منها بمدينة مغنية الواقعة قرب الحدود المغربية الجزائرية

نظرا لما تزخر به هذه الرقعة الجغرافية من احتكاك مع المناطق المغربية المجاورة خاصة في المجال التجاري نحاول إظهار مدى تأثير اللهجة السائدة بمدينة مغنية باللهجة المغربية معتمدين في ذلك على عينات وصفية و كمية مأخوذة من منطوق بعض السكان المحليين كنموذج للدراسة.

### **كلمات مفتاحية :**

التغير السوسiolغوي - الخصائص الفونولوجية، المورفولوجي و المعجمية - الاحتكاك التجاري - اللهجة المغربية - اللهجة المحلية - الوصف و الكم.

### **RESUME :**

Ce travail de recherche tente d'examiner quelques aspects de variation sociolinguistique particulièrement phonologique, morphologique et lexical, dans une ville nommée 'Maghnia' qui se situe près de la frontière Algéro-marocaine.

Compte tenu de la richesse de cette zone géographique de contact avec les régions voisines du Maroc spécialement dans le domaine commercial, nous essayons de montrer l'étendue affecté par le dominant, en se basant sur des échantillons qualitatifs et quantitatifs pris du parler de quelques habitants natifs de cette région comme modèle d'étude.

### **Mots- Clé :**

Variation sociolinguistique – caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques et lexicales – contact commercial – dialecte marocain – dialecte locale – qualitatifs et quantitatifs.

### **ABSTRACT**

The main object of this research work is to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation particularly phonological, morphological and lexical, in a town named "Maghnia" that is situated near the Algerian/Moroccan border.

Given the wealth of this geographical area out of contact with the neighbouring Moroccan regions especially in the commercial field, we try to show to what extent the dialect used in Maghnia is influenced by the Moroccan vernacular, relying on the qualitative and quantitative samples taken from the native speakers' everyday speech.

### **Key Words:**

Sociolinguistic variation – phonological, morphological and lexical features – trade contact – Moroccan dialect – local dialect – qualitative and quantitative.