

DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
UNIVERSITY OF ABOU-BAKR BELKAID-TLEMCEM  
FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES



***ASPECTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION  
IN BENI SNOUS:  
THE CASE OF BENI HAMMOU SPEECH COMMUNITY***

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and Foreign Languages in  
Candidacy for the Requirement of the Degree of MAGISTER in Sociolinguistics*

**Presented by**

Mrs. Fatma KHERBACHE

**Under the Supervision of**

Prof. Smail BENMOUSSAT

**Board of Examiners:**

President	Dr. Fewzia BEDJAOU	MC (University of S. Belabbes)
Supervisor	Prof. Smail BENMOUSSAT	Pr (University of Tlemcen)
External Examiner	Dr. Abbes OUERRAD	MC (University of S. Belabbes)
Internal Examiner	Dr. Ali BAICHE	MC (University of Tlemcen)
Internal Examiner	Dr. Ghouti. HADJOU	MC (University of Tlemcen)

***Academic Year: 2009-2010***



### المخلص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة السوسيو لغوية إلى تحليل البعض من جوانب التغير السوسيو لغوي، خاصة الفونولوجي، المورفولوجي و المعجمي منه، بقرية بني حمو الواقعة بمنطقة بني سنوس-تلمسان. غرضنا الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو ربط و إظهار العلاقة المتبادلة بين التركيبتين اللغوية والاجتماعية في هذه المنطقة، معتمدين في ذلك على عينات وصفية و كمية مأخوذة من منطوق بعض السكان المحليين كنموذج للدراسة.

### كلمات مفتاحية :

التغير السوسيو لغوي- المتغير اللغوي- المتغير الاجتماعي - الارتباط- الخصائص الفونولوجية، المورفولوجية ، و المعجمية- الوصف و الكم .

### RESUME :

Cette étude sociolinguistique a pour objectif d'analyser certains aspects de la variation sociolinguistique particulièrement phonologique, morphologique, et lexical, dans le village de Beni Hammou situé dans la région de Beni Snous-Tlemcen. Notre principal objectif est de corréliser les deux structures linguistique et sociale de cette région 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- variable linguistique- variable sociale- corrélation- caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques, et lexicales- qualitatif et quantitatif.

### ABSTRACT

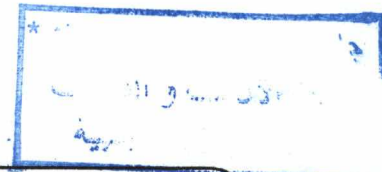
This sociolinguistic study aims to analyze some aspects of sociolinguistic variation (mainly: phonological, morphological, and lexical) from the village of Beni Hammou situated in the region of Beni Snous-Tlemcen. It seeks to correlate the linguistic and the social structures relying on the qualitative and quantitative samples taken from the native speakers' every day speech.

### Key Words:

Sociolinguistic variation- linguistic variable – social variable- correlation – phonological, morphological, and lexical features-qualitative and quantitative.



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## DEDICATIONS

*To the memory of my mother.....*

*Though you are no longer with us....*

*You still are.....*

*In my heart.....*

*To my dear husband Mohammed for his patience,*

*understanding and support*

*To my lovely son Oussama*

*To my sister Khalida*

*To all my family*

*To the kind informants of Beni Hammou*



## ABSTRACT

This research work is an attempt to reflect upon the sociolinguistic situation of an area called "Beni Hammou", a village among the thirteen villages that compose the whole area of Beni Snous. Geographically speaking, the village under investigation is situated 35 km South West of Tlemcen. Throughout this research work, we try to describe and shed light on the most salient linguistic features characterizing the speech of this area and to point out to some of the crucial linguistic variations at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels of analysis.

The present research work consists of four interrelated chapters. The first chapter opens with a review of literature which is closely related to the field of sociolinguistics in general and to the variationist approach in particular. The key concepts underlying the field have been, at times, dealt with thoroughly. The second chapter provides an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Aspects of geography and socio-history of Beni Snous in general and Beni Hamou in particular have been touched on. The third chapter provides a description of the linguistic characteristics of the area in question. Finally, chapter four attempts to correlate the linguistic aspects with the significant social variables: age and gender.

This present research work tries to come up with the fact that the social change that affected Beni Hammou has led to linguistic consequences. Clear and consistent differences exist in the phonology, morphology and lexicon of this variety. Also, the speakers of this area seem by large to be influenced by the neighbouring dialects. Arguably, this is due to the dialect-contact process the area has witnessed in addition to the great population mobility.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTIONAL CONVENTIONS

- ❖ **AA** : Algerian Arabic
- ❖ **BHA** : Beni Hammou Arabic
- ❖ **MSA** : Modern Standard Arabic
- ❖ **CA** : Classical Arabic
- ❖ **BAA** : Beni Achir Arabic
- ❖ **KA** : Khémis Arabic
- ❖ **TA** : Tlemcen Arabic
- ❖ **MA** : Mazzer Arabic
- ❖ **AAVE**: African-American Vernacular English
- ❖ **#** : weak word boundary
- ❖ **# #** : strong word boundary
- ❖ **+** : affix boundary
- ❖ **{ }** : suffix boundary
- ❖ **( )** : are used to represent the linguistic variable
- ❖ **/ /** : are used for CA articulation
- ❖ **[ ]** : are used for dialectal articulation
- ❖ **C<sup>w</sup>** : labialized consonant

## LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

### Consonants:

<u>Plosives</u>	<u>Fricatives</u>	
[b] as in [ba:b] "door"	[f] as in [fəllaħ] "farmer"	
[t] as in [təffa:ħ] "apples"	[s] as in [jsarsəb] "he rolls"	
[d] as in [du:da] "worm"	[z] as in [zi:d] "add"	
[k] as in [kullʃ] "all"	[ʃ] as in [ʃarwəd] "tear"	
[g] as in [garn] "a loaf"	[χ] as in [χawi] "empty"	
[ʔ] as in [ʔæra:ħ] "no"	[ʁ] as in [ʁis] "mud"	
[t̪] as in [t̪ɑ:b] "to be cooked"	[ħ] as in [ħʃe:ra] "carpet"	
[d̪] as in [jad̪rab] "he hits"	[ʕ] as in [ʕallam] "he thought"	
[q] as in [qa:l] "he said"	[h] as in [harras] "he broke"	
<u>Lateral</u>		
[l] as in [llħam] "meat"	[ʒ] as in [ʒuʁlaɪlu] "swing"	
<u>Flap</u>		
[ɾ] as in [ɾɑ:ʃ] "head"	[ʂ] as in [ʂbaʕ] "finger"	
<u>Classical Arabic Consonants</u>		
[θ] as in [θalʒ] "snow"	[z] as in [zawəʃ] "bird"	
[ð] as in [ðɑ:b] "it melted"	<u>Approximants</u>	
[ð̣] as in [ð̣ɑla:m] "dark"	[w] as in [wʒah] "face"	
[ḍ] as in [ḍija:ʔ] "light"	[j] as in [ja:bəs] "dried"	
<u>Nasals</u>		
	[m] as in [mʃəkkal] "tight"	
	[n] as in [nʕas] "he slept"	

### Vowels of Plain Consonants:

<u>Short Vowels</u>	<u>Long Vowels</u>
[i] as in [mida] "table"	[i:] as in [ʃi:b] "whiteness of the hair"
[u] as in [kursi] "chair"	[u:] as in [ku:l] "eat"
[a] as in [bʁa] "he loved"	[a:] as in [fa:q] "he woke up"



### Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

<u>Short Vowels</u>	<u>Long Vowels</u>
[e] as in [ʒemmaʃ] "sit down"	[e:] as in [tɛ:r] "a bird"
[o] as in [ʃoʈa] "hit"	[o:] as in [ʃo:m] "fast"
[ɑ] as in [ʃɑd] "he went"	[ɑ:] as in [tɑ:b] "be cooked"

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

-[ɛ] [ɛspadɛij] "trainers"

-[ø] [ʔøddami] "near to me"

-[ə] [fajən] "where?"

-[æ] [ʔæʒəl] "deadline"

-[œ] [tħœb ] "you like"

-[ɪ]-[i]: since these two vowels are said to be in free variation and do not affect the meaning of a word, we use them in our research work interchangeably, without any distinction between them. To say [klɪt] or [kɪt] is the same since two phonemes are substituted for one another without affecting the meaning of the word. The same remark is done for [æ]-[a]-[e].

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# **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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Language is by far the most powerful and versatile medium of communication in any speech community. It is so obvious that the most formal and abstract work on linguistic structure is coloured by the awareness that language is a uniquely human phenomenon characterizing a social interaction. Even within the monolingual speech communities, one may have a variety of linguistic ways to express the same thing. This fact is explained by specialists as language variation and it has been for a long time neglected in the linguistic theory whose main concern is to study language as an abstract system far from any relationship between language and society.

For this reason, a number of linguists have urged the inclusion of the linguistic studies in social context, and so a new hybrid discipline called sociolinguistics emerges into being. Arguably, Hudson (1996) notes that sociolinguistics, which is rooted in traditional dialectology, is the study of language in relation to society.

Likewise, the focus on the interaction between the social structure and the linguistic structure has been termed variationist sociolinguistics, an approach within sociolinguistics pioneered by the American linguist William Labov (1966). Here, the interplay of social variables such as the speaker's age, gender, ethnicity, and the social class as well as the linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological, and lexical are analyzed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods.

By applying such method in an Arabic sociolinguistic context in general and in an Algerian sociolinguistic context in particular, the present research work aims firstly at exploring some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in one of

the numerous Algerian colloquial dialects; that is Beni Hammou Arabic (henceforth BHA). Secondly, it describes a correlation between linguistic diversities and the social factors of this variety. And for an explicit account, the study also puts forward some clarifications on the interaction occurring at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels with the constraints of age and gender.

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

- What are the factors behind such linguistic variation among BHA speakers?
- To what extent is BHA influenced by Modern Standard Arabic, French and the linguistic features of neighbouring varieties?
- Do Beni Hammou speakers still retain these linguistic features?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions, three hypotheses are sprung, as follows:

- Age and gender of the speaker are the ultimate social variables stimulating variation among speakers.
- For political and social reasons, a record of a mass population rush into this region is observed. For this reason, Beni Hammou speakers tend to be influenced by the neighbouring dialects of the new comers.



- Extra-linguistic factors can shape the causes of speech differences among the speakers of this variety, such as the educational background and the standard of living.

Therefore, the present research work displays an outline of four chapters in which the first starts with the literature review characterizing a spotlight on the field of sociolinguistics in general and the variationist approach in particular, as it is the methodology applied in this research work. It also attempts to define some basic concepts relevant to this research work: the quantitative and qualitative approaches used to analyze and interpret the data-collected, the linguistic variables, some social variables, and the notion of speech community which constitute the basic material for any sociolinguistic investigation. At the same level, we shed some light on the field of Arabic sociolinguistics in general and the classification of the several Arabic colloquial dialects from a geographical and linguistic perspective.

The second chapter is divided into three parts; the first part begins with language contact phenomenon that characterizes all languages in the world. On a worthier side, it provides a historical overview on the Algerian linguistic composition, and indicates the co-existing of three languages (Arabic-Berber-French) in the same speech community in a conflicting situation giving birth to bilingual and diglossic situations. Respectively, the second part relates a geographical and socio-historical account on the area of Beni Snous with a particular focal point on Beni Hammou. The nature of the field of sociolinguistics made it crucial to have an idea about the basic approaches undertaken by the researchers, such as stating the procedures of selecting



informants and data collection. These are dealt with in the last part of this chapter.

Chapter three describes mainly the linguistic features of the speech community of Beni Hammou given in the data collection; it draws a classification outlined by the French sociologists and anthropologists that sets apart the Algerian dialects into bedouin and sedentary. Some phonological, morphological aspects of the variety spoken in Beni Hammou are described. At the lexical level, some linguistic Berber traces are mentioned in this variety since the whole area of Beni Snous is of Berber origin. It also shows the use of some borrowed Turkish, Spanish and French loan words because of the manifold invasions that this region knew. At last, it aims at making a comparison between BHA and the neighbouring dialects in order to see the degree of the mutual influence, at the aforementioned levels.

The fourth chapter shows the interplay between the phonological-morphological-lexical aspects and the two salient social variables: age and gender. It analyzes and interprets, in the light of these two variables and other social-political-economic variables, the obtained results. Finally, the interviews reveal the speakers' attitudes towards the extent of use of the mother tongue and the French language in daily communication.

# Chapter One: Theoretical and Methodological Issues

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## **1.1 Introduction**

## **1.2 Field of Sociolinguistics**

## **1.3 Variationist Sociolinguistics**

### 1.3.1 Quantitative vs. Qualitative Methods

### 1.3.2 Linguistic Variable

### 1.3.3 Social Variable

#### 1.3.3.1 Social Class as a Social Variable

#### 1.3.3.2 Gender as a Social Variable

#### 1.3.3.3 Age as a Social Variable

#### 1.3.3.4 Ethnicity as a Social Variable

## **1.4 Notion of Speech Community**

## **1.5 A Glance at Arabic Sociolinguistics**

## **1.6 Arabic and its dialects**

## **1.7 Conclusion**

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Language variation has been the subject of much research in the last four decades. Though linguists and sociolinguists, in their description, have long been aware of the fact that language is not a homogeneous phenomenon, linguistic variation has remained a problem in the field of linguistics and singled out as the hallmark of sociolinguistics.

The advent of sociolinguistics, which is rooted in dialect geography, has allowed many interested researchers in the field to describe language variation in its social context which had been neglected completely in linguistic theory. This new field has also provided them with new perspectives on language structure and social structure of speech communities. Labov pointed out the interplay between social and linguistic structures when he carried out a study of English in New York City (1966), making a shift from rural dialectology to urban dialectology. This study has been considered as the pillar of what has come to be known as variationist sociolinguistics, a discipline that has put the basic methodological and theoretical issues to approach language variation and change which cannot be explained only by integrating social and linguistic aspects together, using two main complementary methods which are the quantitative and qualitative methods.

Researches that have been completed in this newly-born discipline account for the linguistic variability of language that may exist in a particular speech community. This variability, be it phonological, morphological, syntactic, and/or semantic, is only existing because of a number of various social constraints such as age grading, gender's speech, ethnic group, socio-economic status of speakers, and their level of education. Hence, in this chapter we found it



important to introduce some sociolinguistic key concepts which are regarded as the central tools in any sociolinguistic research. These are the linguistic variables, some social variables, and the concept of speech community.

In fact, the advancements in Western sociolinguistics have prompted us to throw a quick look at the Arabic sociolinguistics which is till nowadays a relatively growing field, though early Arabic grammarians paved the way for subsequent investigations in the miraculous Arabic language and its colloquial varieties which constitute the subject interest for current studies by almost many Arabic and European sociolinguists (Owens, 2001). In so far, as our research work deals with an Arabic variety, we tried within this chapter to say a word about the Arabic language and its relationship with the various Arabic dialects.

The Arabic dialects differ more and more significantly from each other, the further a speaker goes from his place of origin to another. Hence, based on a geographical division, these dialects are classified as Eastern and Western dialects. Another classification considers linguistic features between these dialects and divides them into sedentary (divided into urban and rural dialects) and bedouin dialects.

## 1.2 FIELD OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The earliest attempts to explore language variation came in the form of traditional investigations where regional dialects studies have been included within the discipline called '*dialectology*': the study of dialects. These studies began in the second half of the nineteenth century and were known as regional dialectology, or linguistic geography. The core of the study in this discipline was in how the same language shows variation from region to region. It began in 1876, by Georg Wenker, who sent postal questionnaires out over Northern Germany. Many studies proceeded from this, and over the next century dialect studies were carried out all over the world.

Regional dialectology studies variations in language based mainly on geographical distribution of different linguistic features which most of the time were presented in the form of words that signify the same thing. These traditional studies aimed generally at producing dialect maps, by which imaginary lines (called isoglosses) were drawn over a map to indicate the limits of these linguistic features and to show different dialect boundaries. The sample of population was mainly based on a few elder rural speakers for the aim of documenting forms that were on the process of disappearance from the language. Even though dialectologists were interested in variation, their methods were increasingly seen inadequate and their analysis was in the form of a long description and a short explanation, what made linguists move away from these traditional methods of language study and become more concerned with the study of urban speech.

As linguists turned their focus on the language of cities, this shift was known as social or urban dialectology where intensive studies were held from the late 1960s to early 1970s with Hymes, Gumperz, Ferguson, and Labov who was



the first to introduce a systematic study of dialects in a social context. This kind of research has been called sociolinguistics which is considered as an empirical and a theoretical field of study of language in relation to society (Hudson, 1996). Linguistic variation within this field helps to understand synchronic variation of a particular language or dialect at a single point of time and diachronic variation over time, i.e. language change. What made this field to become so popularized are the subsequent empirical findings that were held in very systematic investigations (Hudson: *ibid*). In fact, the study of language in its social context has attracted the attention of some researchers earlier such as Weinreich (1953), Haugen (1953), Ferguson (1959) and Joos (1962) who wrote about different intricate phenomena like diglossia and language contact effects.

Since the advent of sociolinguistics which has made the study of language in its social context a central object of investigation, the result has been a revolution in linguistics and a solution to the Saussurean paradox (generally named as such by Labov). For a long time linguistic theory made emphasis on abstracting language away from every day contexts. In this respect, Spolsky in his entitled book *Sociolinguistics* notes that Chomsky:

***Aimed to find a basic universal grammatical structure<sup>(1)</sup> that could account for the similarities in the organization of languages, without needing to appeal to the social context in which language is used. For Chomsky, the existence of variation in language simply confuses, diverting the linguist's attention from the wonderful abstract system that separates human language from the communication systems. (Spolsky 1998:4)***



Additionally, the Saussurean paradox stems from the fact that any language is a well structured system composed of ordered sounds, words, grammatical and sentence forms; since any language is subject to change through time, it is obvious that these linguistic forms cannot continue to be structured because changes are currently in progress at any given time (Trask, 1999). Therefore, the study of language variation has been the key issue for such paradox.

Sociolinguistics has bridged the gap between the claims of many scholars in different fields, generally the perspectives of linguists who have always seen language as an asocial phenomenon, and sociologists who have always accessed to the study of society without paying attention to language. Accordingly, this new field examines the relationship between language and society by bringing viewpoints of linguistics and sociology. It has close connections with many other fields such as sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and education.

The investigation in this new field has required the development of new techniques different from the former ones used in dialect geography. As it is a wide field of inquiry which includes a range of disciplines such as social dialects, multilingualism, language planning, language change, conversation analysis, attitudes to language, and many other-language oriented disciplines, different approaches have been put for the sake of setting methodologies for every area of investigation. For example, we can state Hymes' ethnography of speaking, Gumperz' interactionist conversation analysis, and Labov's variationist sociolinguistics which is our concern in this research work as we will see in the following section.

Since sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and society, it has been subdivided into two

subfields: sociolinguistics and sociology of language. The former is labeled micro-sociolinguistics and the latter macro-sociolinguistics. At a micro-level of sociolinguistic investigation, the emphasis is on language and how society influences the individual's language. At a macro-level the emphasis is on society as a whole where the use of a language or the language varieties is examined. Romaine describes these two domains as follows:

**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 languages.** (Romaine 1994: x)

In a brief and simple definition, Hudson (1996:4) describes sociolinguistics as "**the study of language in relation to society**" whereas the sociology of language as "**the study of society in relation to language**". In macro-sociolinguistic studies the focus is wide and centered on different groupings. The studied domains, for example, are: bilingualism, multilingualism, language contact, language planning, language shift and maintenance, language and nation and so many more. In micro-sociolinguistic studies the focus is narrowed to the linguistic behaviour of the individual where variation at all linguistic levels is investigated with the individual speaker's social characteristics such as the economic class, educational level, age, and gender. A recent definition is given by Coulmas in the form of distinction:

**A distinction is sometimes made between micro-sociolinguistics, or variation sociolinguistics, and macro-sociolinguistics, or sociology of language. The former is concerned with lower-level choices of phonetic, morphological and syntactic variants, whereas the latter deals with the choice of styles and languages and their functional allocation in society.** (Coulmas 2005:109)



A general agreement between linguists, dialectologists interested in sociolinguistics, and sociologists, social psychologists interested in sociology of language, is on both perspectives which state that though differences between them, macro and micro-sociolinguistics complement each other and have great importance for a full understanding of language as a social phenomenon.

### 1.3 VARIATIONIST SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Although there are scholars who tend to make no difference between sociolinguistics and variationist sociolinguistics<sup>(2)</sup>, the latter has emerged as an important field trying to explain the paradox between structured language and language change. The point is that language change can be clearly explained in terms of synchronic variation. We shall thus consider, in this research work, variationist sociolinguistics as an approach within the huge field of sociolinguistics to examine language variation leading to change.

Variationist sociolinguistics as a new approach within the broad field of sociolinguistics emerged in the late sixties. It is originated in labov's study of the speech of New York City (1966) which stimulated many other researchers in the field to carry many studies across different language communities in the world. Tagliamonte describes this approach and says:

***Variationist sociolinguistics is most aptly described as the branch of linguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other - linguistic structure and social structure; grammatical meaning and social meaning - those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systemic) factors in their explanation.***

(Tagliamonte 2006:4)



A recent definition was set by Johnstone in which she describes the aim of the variationist linguists within the scope of language variation and change. She posits that:

**Variationist linguists' work is aimed at understanding why and how language changes by studying why people in a community don't all talk alike and why individuals may use different words, sounds, or patterns of grammar in different situations.** (Johnstone 2007:57)

From its start in the 1960s, Variationist's sociolinguistics main task has been to fill the gaps inherited from traditional studies of variability which were primarily concerned with regional variation. By the advent of structural linguistics<sup>(3)</sup> in the twentieth century, two fundamental principles were developed to be considered later on as the most important reasons for the emergence of variationist sociolinguistics. These principles are: cultural relativism and orderly linguistic heterogeneity<sup>(4)</sup>. Hornberger and Corson define the first principle as follows:

**Cultural relativism is an anthropological tradition inherited by Linguistics, according to which no culture or language of a speech community is classified as inferior or underdeveloped irrespective of the level of western technology that the speech community has achieved.** (Hornberger and Corson: 1997:59)

Cultural relativism was first applied to compare languages, and when variationist sociolinguistics accepted and put forward orderly linguistic heterogeneity, it took a step to compare different varieties or styles of the same language (Hornberger and Corson: *ibid*). Consequently, there has been necessity to make equality between varieties of any language and no variety would be considered superior to the others concerning its structure (Trudgill: 1995). Variation that may be found in any sociolinguistic research is not

random, but rather well structured. Bayley confirms this fact stating that:

***The central ideas of this approach are that an understanding of language requires an understanding of variable as well as categorical processes and that the variation that we witness at all levels of language is not random. Rather, linguistic variation is characterized by orderly or "structured heterogeneity". (Bayley 2004:1)***

Headed by Labov (1966), the first generation of variationists such as Wolfram (1969), Fasold (1972), Trudgill (1974), and Macaulay (1977) is principally responsible for introducing serious considerations and issues of reliability and validity to the study of language. These linguists developed empirical studies of language samples recorded in natural settings and started to correlate linguistic structure with social factors. The key to this approach is the introduction of statistics: the gathered statistical data on the occurrence of certain linguistic variables used by different speakers are analyzed in terms of quantitative treatment, and then looked for correlations with non-linguistic variables. Yet, this treatment could not be possible without the comprehension of the notion of 'variable' which is added to be the basic instrument in the investigation.

Labov (2001) and Wardhaugh (2006) distinguish between two types of variables in the field of sociolinguistics: dependent and independent variables. The dependent variable is a linguistic variable, whereas the independent variables are other characteristics that are assumed to be related to or to influence the dependent variable. These are the social factors such as gender and age of the speaker, social class, regional background, ethnicity, and other related factors. The dependent variable is called so because it is attributed to the independent variable. The correlation of linguistic



and social variables has been one of the main areas of study within the field of sociolinguistics.

### 1.3.1 Quantitative Vs Qualitative Methods

To examine language use among people from either the broad or the narrow view, many approaches have been put forward to analyze the different functions that language serves in a social context. So far as the field of language variation and change is our concern, variationist sociolinguists in their investigation usually involve quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze, interpret the data and to formulate principles for variation.

Qualitative research also known as contextualized research is a method of inquiry in many different academic disciplines, particularly in social sciences whose aim is to reach an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and factors governing such behaviour. It is an explanatory and descriptive method of language variation. Trask claims that this method has been adopted in the field of sociology since the 1920s and in sociolinguistics since the 1980s. In the following quotation, he puts the focus of this method in studying language variation:

***A qualitative approach typically focuses on the study of small numbers of speakers or texts, since an abundance of data and statistical studies are seen as less important than revealing the social meanings which speakers and writers attach to their linguistic activities.*** (Trask 1999:170)

This non-numerical method is opposed to the quantitative research which is a technique used to gather statistical, measurable, and numerical data used in investigating language variation. It has been regarded as a key to variationist sociolinguistics where data are gathered and statistically tested on the number of occurrences of linguistic forms that



are subject to variation and then correlated with social factors. Statistics, tables, and graphs are often used to present clearly this method.

According to Trask (ibid) both researches use observation of speakers but, in qualitative research, observing the linguistic behaviour of informants is essential to state the factors that underlie language use. In quantitative research, observation is employed only in the early stages of the study. These two different approaches are seen by most scholars as complementing each other rather than opposing each other; if one of them observes the other tests and if one of them describes the other counts.

### 1.3.2 Linguistic variable

Linguistic variation had been observed in the past as a phenomenon having unpredictable occurrences of some linguistic feature which has two or more possible realizations in speech, and it had been referred to as '*free variation*'. However, the study of speech in urban areas that is urban dialectology showed that this type of variation is not usually "*free*" but is forced and controlled by social and /or linguistic factors. This understanding was achieved as a result of the development of the notion of the '*linguistic variable*'.

Labov developed the concept of '*linguistic variable*' in connection with his work on Martha's Vineyard (1963) and described it as "**a linguistic feature with...[a]range of variation**" (Labov:1972a:7). Any linguistic variable has at least two realizations and often more. These realizations have come to be termed '*variants*'.

This concept has also been described by Wardhaugh (2006:143) as "**a linguistic item which has identifiable variants**". He further explains that the linguistic variable

is a structural unit that includes alternate realizations, as one speaker realizes it one way and another in a different way or the same speaker may realize it differently in different occasions.

Another definition of the notion of linguistic variable is given by Bell in formal terms emphasizing the necessity to look at the terms 'variables' and 'variants' before any consideration for possible models for the description of language variation. In this context, Bell notes that:

**Variables may be distinguished from variants. A variable is an inconsistency or disagreement that a particular form of language may exhibit from an abstract standard, while a variant is a specific value of a variable.** (Bell: 1976:32)

Looking at the social side where the linguistic variable is used, Chambers and Trudgill define this latter as follows:

**A linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in co variation with other social and/or linguistic variables. Linguistic variables can often be regarded as socially different but linguistically equivalent ways of doing or saying the same thing, and occur at all levels of linguistic analysis.** (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:50)

The linguistic variable is a basic linguistic element which can be found at all linguistic levels and has *alternatives* or *variants* which can be substituted for one another without changing the meaning of the word: at a phonological level, where the linguistic variable is the most common one, we can state for example the variable(r) with its two possible realizations: [r] or Ø; morphological as in the realization of the past tense form of the verb 'to dive' either as 'dived' or as 'dove'; syntactic as in the realization of the negation of the auxiliary *to be*: *is not*, *ain't*, *isn't*, *'s not*; or lexical as in the use of the use of



either *hero* or *grinder* (meaning a particular kind of sandwich).

It has been found that linguistic variables behave in different ways in relation to social variables, and hence, they can have social values correlated with them in addition to their formal values (Bell, 1976) because they are considered by variationist sociolinguistics as the basic tool for the study of speech communities. Labov (1972) has distinguished between different linguistic variables carrying different social values: an **indicator** may be associated with socio-economic, ethnic, or age groups and may carry with it a little or no social value. For example, in North America some speakers make a distinction between the vowels in 'cot' and 'caught', while others do not. A **marker** is associated with a social and stylistic differentiation. For instance, the variable (r) in Labov's New York City study (1966) was shown to indicate social stratification of people pronouncing this variable as high-class and people who do not as lower-class. Indicators may become popular among speakers and hence called **stereotypes**. This kind of linguistic variables is a conscious characterization of the speech of a particular group. For example, New York speakers use 'boid' for the word 'bird' consciously.

Accordingly, our research work is related to the speech community of Beni Hammou; it is based on the investigation of some linguistic variables that are dependent to social constraints which are mainly age and gender. A native speaker of BHA may possibly say [qutlək] in a given situation with particular group of speakers and chooses to switch to [gutlək] in another situation with another group of speakers. So, under external factors we find two different realizations of the phoneme /q/: [q] and [g]. Lexical variables are



frequently attested in BHA, since they reveal interesting characteristics of this community and at the same time show variation among its speakers and neighbouring varieties.

### **1.3.3 Social Variable**

The social variable is fundamentally any non-linguistic feature that has a correlation with the use of a particular linguistic variable. It is, therefore, a social factor that determines variation in language. For example, if the sex factor of a speaker locates a correlation with the choice of a particular variant of a linguistic variable, we can, therefore, say that sex is a social variable. Possible social factors that have already been investigated are: social class membership, regional background, sex of speaker, age of speaker, style which refers to the context of utterance, and group identity of speaker.

In fact, there has been a predominance of studies which are concerned with social class, gender and regional background. To a lesser extent the focus has been on age, ethnicity and social networks, but this does not mean that there is no interest in these fields. In the next step, we are going to see some of the many social variables that have been studied intensively by many researchers.

#### **1.3.3.1 Social Class as a Social Variable**

Theories of class in the history of humanity date back to the politico-economist Karl Marx<sup>(5)</sup> (1818-1883) who divides the world into two classes according to the individuals' means of production. And so, those who possess means of production such as factories are called capitalists, and those who do not are called proletariat. This view grew in Britain during the industrialisation revolution and led to the emergence of class differences in speech at the level of dialect and accent. From the time when the Western society

knew some changes, new classes appeared (middle class), and class divisions had the cultural criterion instead that of Marx. Individuals are ranked in a social hierarchy according to components which vary across nations and cultures. Among these components we can state level of education, occupation, housing, manner of speech and way of dressing. Since the emergence of sociolinguistics, social class has been the most important social variable to determine variation in the English language. Stockwell states:

***Most language communities, however, have a hierarchy of wealth and power defined in relation to economics and prestige that can be covered by the term class.*** (Stockwell (2002:11))

After Labov's work in New York City (1966), social class has become the central social variable in sociolinguistic research in order to stratify speech communities (Coulmas, 1998). He calculated social class according to the criteria of education, occupation and income. These criteria resulted in the emergence of categories of lower class, working class, lower middle class and upper middle class. In New York City Labov wanted to find out whether the presence or absence of the sound /r/ in words such as *mother, bird and sugar* was determined by the speaker's social class. As he carried out this investigation in three New York City department stores, he came to find out that the higher social class of the speaker, the more occurrences of [r] and the closer his linguistic variety is to prestige norms.

In Algeria, social class stratification is mainly based on the level of education, because language variation according to this criterion is swinging between the uses of MSA, AA and French though many Algerian speakers master this latter without need to be educated. As we shall see in the following chapter Algeria, as is the case of all Arabic



speaking communities, is characterized by a diglossic situation in the use of these two related varieties, where we can find Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) in formal situations (such as education, mass media and for official purposes) and Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) in informal settings (for example at home, at work place, the market, and among friends and common acquaintances). The use of these two varieties among speakers can be investigated on the basis of the level of education.

### 1.3.3.2 Gender as a Social Variable

Variation according to gender seems to be universal. Prior works of some sociolinguists who investigated the relationship between gender and linguistic variation have proved that men and women differ in their speech mainly in style and that women's speech contains more prestige forms than men's. On a continuum from careful to casual speech, it has also been proved that women tend toward the careful end while men towards the casual end (Milroy and Milroy in Coulmas, 1998).

Another issue is involved within language variation and change is that men tend to use more localized forms specific to their speech community than women who favour supra-local forms in speech. This factor has relation with identity because men show their identity and belongingness to their speech community through the use of local variants. These differences are not obvious when you see a man and a woman speaking. Milroy and Milroy give the reason stating that:

***It should be noted that gender variation in speech is not necessarily evident to the casual observer. Normally, both sexes use the same variants, but in different quantities, and the differences are fine-grained; therefore, they can normally be demonstrated only by quantitative means.***

(Milroy and Milroy in Coulmas: 1998:55)



Studies which were carried out by Labov in New York City (1966) showed that women, as opposed to men, from all social classes and ages are likely to use variants of the Standard English [ing] rather than the non-standard [in] in all styles of speech. He made conclusion that women use prestigious forms to gain a remarkable position in society. Trudgill's study of Norwich (1972) confirmed that men from working-class tend to use non-standard forms showing low-prestige. He further explains that the use of non-standard structures serves as a marker of masculinity and a way of indicating membership in a particular speech community.

These findings are summarized by Labov (1990) into two general principles: the first is that men have higher frequency of non-standard forms than women, and the second is that women are generally the innovators in linguistic change.

A number of studies in which gender, age and class were included together, have demonstrated that gender may be prior in driving language to variation and change. Subsequently, many perspectives have been proposed to approach language and gender. Llamas et al (2007) mention four main approaches which we are going to state their views briefly, each from an angle different from the other. The first of these approaches is called the *deficit approach* which favours the establishment of 'women's language' by using linguistic forms different from that of men. This approach was harshly criticized and defied in that women's language is described as weak and deficient. Within the second approach, labeled *the dominance approach*, differences in speech between men and women are understood from one angle that is men's speech refers to their dominance over women, and that this latter is subordinate to the former. *The difference approach* thinks of one idea which is men and women are viewed to be from

different subcultures. The immediate result of this approach is that women's resistance to their treatment as a dependent group to men grew intensively. Differences between men and women in speech began to be seen outside the circle of weakness. The most recent approach is named *the social constructionist approach* where women identity must be looked as a social construct rather than a social category. The deficit approach has been rejected by researchers while the remaining approaches show their efficiency in giving important realities in the domain of language and gender.

### 1.3.3.3 Age as a Social Variable

Among the social variables used to investigate language variation, age is the less examined variable. Early studies in sociolinguistics tended to include this variable within other variables. Llamas et al (ibid) has attracted the sights to the importance of age in social life as a significant determiner that dominates the individuals' activities. These activities may be allowed in a certain age and prohibited in another age (when to go to school, when to vote, when to marry, etc). Present-day studies, increasingly, consider the language of a particular age group in isolation from the other social variables.

The study of linguistic variation and age has tended to focus chiefly on language change which can be observed in progress, i.e. apparent time<sup>(6)</sup>. Thus, investigation is held by examining linguistic differences across different generations of speakers. Variationist studies use chronological age in their methodology of research: to group speakers, measure and analyze variation between age groups.

As we have already seen in the previous section, Labov's work in New York City shows that some variables are correlated to social class. In fact, this work has shown

correlation even more to age. The occurrence of [eɪ] has been found in the speech of speakers over sixty years old and has become stigmatized and therefore not realized at all in the speech of younger speakers.

#### **1.3.3.4 Ethnicity as a Social Variable**

Ethnicity refers to a group of people who identify themselves through a common heritage. This common heritage is generally exemplified in a shared ancestry, history, religion, cultural traditions and language. This ethnic identity marks any group in question as distinct from other groups. In the United States of America, for example, the relationship between language and ethnicity is symbolised in the African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) where intensive studies have been made on the African-American ethnic group.

Studies on this variety (AAVE) have shown variation among the African-American speakers at a phonological and a grammatical level (Hinkel, 2005). At a phonological level, the final consonant cluster within the word is simplified and there is a stress on the first syllable rather than the second. Copula deletion "is" and "are" and the absence of the person singular present tense "s" are detected at a grammatical level. For example, the linking verb "is" is deleted in "she ugly" and in the present tense the "s" is absent such as in "he work". Such features are related to gender and age where younger males seem to use them frequently. African-American studies have served a lot to study language variation and ethnicity, in addition to the investigations held in anthropology and sociology.

As Muslims in an Arabic-speaking community, we are differentiated from any other ethnic group in being an ideological ethnic group characterised by our strong faith in



our religion Islam and our language that is an important defining characteristic of ethnic group membership. As Algerians, though there are Berber and Arab origin of the population, the ethnic group that marks this country is an Islamic ethnic group because Berber are not enumerated by the government as a separate ethnic group. These two groups: Arabs and Berbers are rather grouped under the banner of Islam. Similarly, in any part of Algeria every individual identifies his belongingness as a Muslim sharing with his group cultural values presented in customs and traditions specific to this group.

#### 1.4 NOTION OF SPEECH COMMUNITY

Sociolinguistics has emerged as an academic field which attempts to study language in its social context. So, the very existence of language importantly depends on the availability of a group of people who uses it and shows differences in phonology, grammar, and lexis from another language's group. Such group is drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes: social, religious, political, cultural, familial, etc, and lives in a social space where linguistic systems are acquired, exercised by speakers to convey expressive or communicative purposes. This group may be called a '*speech community*'.

The study of speech community has long been a field of interest of many linguists and there have been different views towards its definition. In fact, through our readings we found that this term has been seriously treated by different scholars but with no positive resolutions and there were divergent views among many scholars about what a speech community exactly means. Chomsky (1965:3-4) and his followers assumed the existence of a '**completely homogeneous speech community**'. But, such a theory is concerned only with an asocial linguistics rather than sociolinguistics for the sake

of achieving theoretical findings. In this respect, Wardhaugh admits that:

***Such a speech community cannot be our concern: it is a theoretical construct employed for a narrow purpose. Our speech communities, whatever they are, exist in a 'real' world.*** (Wardhaugh: 2006:120)

Therefore, various alternative definitions were put forward in an attempt to define this term in relation with language as it is used in society. The simplest definition being: "***all the people who use a given language (or dialect)***" (Lyons: 1970:326). A rather complex definition is supplied by Hockett as he adds the criterion of communication:

***Each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language.*** (Hockett 1958, in Hudson, 1996: 24)

Thus, if two communities use the same language but do not interact with each other then they would constitute two different speech communities. The act of communicating according to Hockett is a necessity to make communities being as a single speech community.

Two influential definitions of speech community are given by Labov and Gumperz. For Gumperz a speech community requires that there should be some linguistic differences in the individuals' speech of that community and those from outside:

***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, 1968, in Hudson, 1996: 25)

According to Gumperz' definition, speakers of a given speech community may use more than one language, but, there



should be norms that make variation among sub-groups and social settings. Labov's definition gives importance to shared social attitudes and common knowledge towards language rather than on shared linguistic behaviour. In effect, he states:

*The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation 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.*

(Labov: 1972:120)

For Labov, it is not necessary for speakers to agree about the language they speak, but they have to agree about the norms they share together. Similarly, Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972) see the definition of the speech community from Labov's angle<sup>(7)</sup>.

Le Page and Tabouret (1985) have adapted another approach indicating '**groups in society**' and rejected the term speech community. These groups may be united and associated with certain shared speech and social characteristics. Le Page and Tabouret (ibid) see individuals '**locate themselves in a multi-dimensional space**'. They are interested in understanding how individuals can be considered as members of linguistic communities. Their definition came as an opposition to that of Gumperz (1968) and Labov (1972).

In fact, the shared norms in Labov's definition are speech norms which allow him to discuss his very specific conception of social class by reference to his concept of speech community. Within this definition the dimensions of differentiation which must be taken into consideration are those of age, gender, ethnicity and social class.

Labov's framework (variationist sociolinguistics) has the advantage to be empirically testable in contrast to the other

definitions which do not share its quantitative method. His definition is based on empirical issues and observations rather than on theoretical definitions and assumptions.

Romaine views the speech community as the availability of a social group on which languages depend and can be used. She states:

*The very existence of languages critically depends on the availability of a social group who claims a variety as their own and maintains its distinctiveness from the varieties spoken by its neighbours. Such a group can be called a 'speech community'.* (Romaine 1994: 23)

Given the difficulties encountered in the definition of the notion of speech community in the field of sociolinguistics and faced with a range of different definitions, Hudson says:

*How do we evaluate these different definitions? One answer, of course, is that they 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.* (Hudson: 1996:27)

Based on what Hudson has stated above, we may combine many definitions to get a suitable definition for our speech community under investigation. We see the speech community of Beni Hammou as a type of human social group which displays regular patterns in social interaction, cultural interest, and linguistic behaviour. These characteristics define the community of Beni Hammou as a distinct social group from the others.

## **1.5 A GLANCE AT ARABIC SOCIOLINGUISTICS**

The field of Arabic linguistics has proved its existence earlier when Arabic grammarians and philosophers investigated



the Arabic language and established the necessary rules for its structure. Sibawayh, Abul'Aswad Addu'ali, Al-Khalil Ibn Ahmed El Farahidi, Al-Zamakhshari, Ibn Jinni, etc left a relatively large quantity of early material for the study of the Arabic language structure which actually many Arabic and foreign investigators are trying to link the early linguistic corpus of Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) with the colloquial varieties to reveal their secrets.

It is well known that dialect geography is a typical invention of the European nineteenth century linguistics. Concerning this point, the Arabs had an earlier awareness of linguistic variation in their speech. Owens (2001) states that prior grammarians accepted variation in early pre-Islamic dialects. In fact, the interest in linguistic variation during that era was restricted to Arab historians, geographers and travelers who have mentioned in their books pronunciations and lexical variation in the regions they visited, in addition to their description of bedouin and sedentary dialects (Versteegh, 2001). Recent interest in Arabic dialect studies began after the Second World War in the form of American dialectal studies in the Middle East and French dialectal studies in North Africa. Though these works are of valuable esteem, they remain insufficient because language is an evolving phenomenon through time.

By the advent of sociolinguistics, a considerable number of language studies in its social context were carried out. However, investigations in the colloquial forms of Arabic compared with those of the Western world on various languages in general and on the English language in particular, have remained relatively fair. Nevertheless, several western researchers, who were eager to explore very deeply this mysterious language and its varieties, found themselves puzzled just as the preceding Arabic founders and researchers Owens (2006). In a challenge to develop a coherent

interpretation of Arabic linguistic history, Owens confirms that:

***It is a source of endless fascination, however, that many issues which press on us today were equally addressed by the founders and early practitioners of Arabic grammar as well.***

(Owens *ibid*:1)

According to Suleiman (1994), research into Arabic sociolinguistics has recently gathered pace and had its source of inspiration from Ferguson's pioneering work on diglossia in the late fifties (Ferguson, 1959) and later from the methodological progresses originated from Labov's work on the English language (Labov, 1966). The early researches on the Arabic language in its social context concentrated on the varieties and variation. An evidence for this interest in Arabic varieties and variation is that many Arab linguists have applied their expertise to their own dialects, since so many doctoral theses were presented to the Western universities center on this very specific subject (Suleiman, 1994) and the best dialect monographs that were written were those of the Arab linguists (Versteegh, 2001). This development has also grown from a new tendency in language teaching.

As we have just stated, the crucial step that marked the beginning of Arabic sociolinguistics as an academic entity in its own right (Owens, 2001) was Ferguson's work on diglossia, the first linguistic phenomenon that had been tackled in the Arabic-speaking world and which has been defined as two varieties of the same language existing side by side with two different functions in the same speech community.

Many European and even Arab scholars have harshly criticized Arabic sociolinguistics which has made just one area of research as a central issue rather than another, in addition to its dependency on Western sociolinguistics. Owens notes that:



***It would be a mistake for Arabic sociolinguistics to stop at diglossia, however, as diglossia is not the only concept distinctive of Arabic sociolinguistics.... Clearly, a truly general Arabic sociolinguistics will ultimately have to deal with Arabic in all its guises, linking what till today have been regional biases, if necessary developing models of sociolinguistic interaction for contexts which are unusual or even non-existent in the West.*** (Owens: 2001:463)

Just like many scholars, we wonder whether the methodologies and theories of the Western Academy, founded fundamentally on the Western languages, can be applicable to the Arabic language and its dialects. In reality scholars, be them Europeans or Arabs; have approached Arabic and its varieties from Western methodologies and theories. This criticism was made by Owens as he says:

***...is the reality that scholars approach Arabic from the perspective of methodologies and theories developed in western academia, based largely on languages of the West. One may regret this reality though reality it is.***

(Owens, 1998b quoted in Owens: *ibid*: 462)

But in response, one cannot deny the invaluable contribution of the prior scholars who laid the foundation of early Arabic linguistics and whose grammatical studies gave a clear acknowledgement of linguistic variation in Arabic, and prepared the background for current studies on Arabic and its dialects. If we take, for example, Sibawayh, we find that he described linguistic variation at two levels: internal and external<sup>(8)</sup>. Even more, the existence of the seven readings of the holy book Qur'an reflect variation in Arabic in early Islamic society, but this variation was, in a sense, accepted by the political and social institution. In this context, Owens states:

***It is thus clear that the Arabic grammatical tradition itself gave explicit recognition to***

**the existence of linguistic variation in the language, a variation which was tolerated, legitimized or proscribed according to social and political institutions with which the variation was associated.** (Owens: *ibid*: 422)

Nowadays, Arabic sociolinguistics has relatively reached some of the progress where all the interested in the field became more aware about the study of dialects to better their understanding about the relationship between Arabic dialects use and societies. Additionally, the availability of many researchers in the field of sociolinguistics encouraged so many (if not all) university students all over the Arab world to plan their studies, works and doctoral theses by research on topics in Arabic linguistics and Arabic sociolinguistics.

## **1.6 ARABIC AND ITS DIALECTS**

The Arabic language is among the oldest living languages in the world. It has a vast literary heritage dating back to the pre-Islamic era. It is a member of the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages. It is the language of daily communication of about two hundred million Arabic speakers, and many hundreds of millions of Muslims use it as the language of worship. It is the original language of Qur'an due to which its written form is completely identical through the Arabic-speaking world and its various dialects have been preserved from being as far apart from each other as the dialects of Latin are.

Most of the literature shows that Arabic was first founded in the Arabic peninsula and then spread along with Islam to the Middle East, to the West and to the North of Africa due to the Islamic conquests in the mid 7<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, Arabic (also known as Classical Arabic in the Western world) evolved from the standardization of the language of the Qur'an and poetry in the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries for the sake of ensuring a good pronunciation of



the Qur'an. Cuvalay-Haak (1997) reports that Hinds and Badawi (1986) refer to CA as "*Fuṣḥa: ttura:t*" the *fuṣḥa* of the heritage, and MSA as "*Fuṣḥa: lfaṣr*" the *fuṣḥa* of the age. This language spread caused the birth of several colloquial varieties.

The emergence of Arab nationalism<sup>(9)</sup> and the proclamation of Arabic as the official language in the Arab world led to the emergence of what we call MSA in the nineteenth century (Suleiman, 2003). According to Fergusson, MSA is the modernised version of CA. This unified and codified variety of Arabic is syntactically, morphologically and phonologically based on CA. Lexically, however, it is much more modern. It is not a native language of any Arabs, but is the language of education across the Arabic-speaking world. It is used in Arabic written texts and publications, formal speeches, sermons, news broadcasts, and most crucially in education in every Arab country. It is the universal language of all Arabic-speaking communities which is well understood by all Arabic speakers.

The Arabic dialects, in contrast, are the varieties of the Arabic language that all Arabic native speakers acquire as their mother tongue before they begin formal education at schools. They are generally restricted in use to informal daily communication between family and friends. They are not taught in schools or even standardized, although there is a rich popular dialect culture of folktales, songs, movies, and TV shows. Worth noting is that these Arabic dialects are primarily spoken, not written throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

The relationship between MSA and its numerous colloquial dialects is so intricate. This kind of situation is what linguists term diglossia, a term made popular for Arabic by W. Marçais in 1930, though K. Krumbacher already used it in

1902. Ferguson used this term in English in 1959<sup>(10)</sup> and discussed Arabic diglossia in addition to other languages. He defines this phenomenon as a special case: **"Where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play"**. (Ferguson: 1972: 232).

In the light of this definition, the co-existence of MSA alongside with one of its dialects in any Arabic-speaking country is referred to as diglossic situation with each performing different functions. One of the two varieties is said to be called 'High' used in certain purposes different from the other which is called 'Low'. MSA is the High variety used in formal purposes. Its colloquial varieties are the Low varieties used in informal gatherings and daily communications. Although the two varieties have clear domains of prevalence: formal written (MSA) versus informal spoken (dialect), speakers often tend to mix the two forms. But, Arabic diglossia remains as a sociolinguistic fact which unites the Arabic-speaking world.

On the basis of certain linguistic features, The Arabic dialects can be divided into two major geographical groups: Eastern and Western<sup>(11)</sup>, or as Bouamrane (1989) calls them: Oriental dialects and Maghreban dialects. Countries that speak an Eastern form of Arabic include the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen) along with Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Sudan. Western dialects include Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania.

Differences between these two types of dialects are recognised at all linguistic levels. We shall briefly state some of the many differences existing between these two Arabic poles by stating one example at least for each linguistic level. Phonetically, speakers of Western dialects



tend to drop short vowels and reduce the length of long vowels as opposed to speakers of Eastern Arabic dialects who retain all Arabic vowels: *a*, *u*, *i*, *a:*, *u:*, *i:*. This change is typical of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco as a result of Berber substratum. The main morphological distinction is the use of the imperfect prefix {*n-*} for both first person singular and plural in Western dialects e.g. (*nəktəb-nəktbu*. 'I/we write respectively'), while the Eastern dialects use this prefix only with plural form (*ʔaktib-niktib*. 'I write/we write respectively'). Western dialects plural verbs (1<sup>st</sup> person plural) end with '-*u*' which does not exist in the Eastern's: *nəktbu* in Western dialects vs. *niktib* in Eastern dialects. Syntactic differences are related to lexical items used in certain syntactic roles e.g. *ʔiza*, *ʔiða* vs. *ʔila*. 'if' in the East and the West respectively.

But, one may wonder; *how close and mutually intelligible are Arabic dialects?* In fact, dialects can be similar and different at the same time (Al-Jundi, 1965). Though they have roots in common they are widely divergent and not necessarily mutually intelligible because of the great distance that exists between these Arabic nations. In this context, Watson posits that:

***Dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible.***

(Watson 2002:8)

According to Watson, the Arabic-speaking countries are ethnically and socially diverse and cannot be divided in purely geographical terms. In this respect, Cadora notes that:

***Arabic speech communities exist in several distinct social units, ranging from tribal and subtribal bedouin***

**groups traditionally associated with desert life to urban families in various socioeconomic classes.** (Cadora 1992: XI)

Therefore, based on the speaker's nomadic or sedentary background, Arabic dialects are differentiated as bedouin and sedentary. Cuvalay-Haak (1997) states that the generally conventional classification of Arabic dialects as sedentary and bedouin is associated with a number of discriminating linguistic features. Sedentary dialects evolved from a mixture of CA and a foreign substratum, while bedouin dialects are more isolated from foreign influence and hence are of less mixed origin. They retain features of CA and are considered as conservative. Cadora (1992) argues that the bedouin dialects were more innovative than sedentary ones in the pre-Islamic period. By the end of this period, non-Arab settlers who began speaking Arabic caused these sedentary dialects to change. Though these changes did not affect the bedouin dialects they continued their development also, as a consequence of changes in the way of living and contact with neighbouring sedentary communities.

Hetzron (1997) summarizes the most prominent features of bedouin dialects as opposed to the sedentary dialects: the realization of the uvular stop *Qaaf* (q) in bedouin dialects is "q, g, j, dʒ". Another characteristic of bedouin dialects is that gender is usually kept more intact in plural pronouns than in sedentary dialects. Lexical variation between these two types of dialects is considerable; many bedouin lexemes such as *husaam* (sword) originate from CA, and which are not used in sedentary dialects. Identical lexemes may have entirely different meanings between bedouin and sedentary dialects, such as "*dahraj*" which means "see" in the Galilean bedouin dialects but "to roll something" in Palestinian sedentary dialects. The preservation of the classical interdentalals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̣/ in the bedouin dialects shows



the merger of CA in these dialects while the sedentary dialects show a tendency towards /t/, /d/ and /d̪/ instead, avoiding the interdental articulation.

The sedentary dialects can be further subdivided into urban (city) and rural (village or farmer) dialects. According to Fisher and Jastrow (1980)<sup>(12)</sup>, linguistic differences between these two sub-groups are clearly prominent in the Western area as we will see in chapter three, section 3.2. They further explain that like the bedouin-sedentary opposition is made on the speakers' social status, urban-rural distinctions should be regarded as a genetic classification. Cadora (1992) states that the development of one of these dialects into another is due to contact situation possibilities where a number of bedouins migrate and settle near or in rural or urban areas, or rural groups stay near or in urban centres. Cadora designed a scheme to represent the movement of these tribal people from one area to another: Bedouin → Bedouin-Rural → Rural → Rural-Urban → Urban

## 1.7 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has allowed us to give a broad and general view about the field of sociolinguistics and its scope of research which is the relationship between language and society. The necessity to challenge the linguistic theory that abstracted language for a long time and the close interest at the same time in studying language in its social context, has constructed the basic elements and tools to fulfill this task. Also, within this theoretical chapter we tried to review some basic concepts relevant to the field of investigation.

Hence, a general conclusion can be drawn from this chapter is that without a satisfactory sociolinguistic theory that accounts for the relationship between social and

linguistic spheres, sociolinguistics is bound to end up abandoned and invalid. Variationist sociolinguistics has provided fresh insights into the process of language variation and change. This method offers a paradigm for uncovering the complex patterning associated with the social and linguistic structures.

After drawing a brief view on sociolinguistics in general and Arabic sociolinguistics in particular and under the findings of Western sociolinguists we found Arabic sociolinguistics dependent methodologically and theoretically to these findings. This does not mean that Arabic sociolinguistics has achieved nothing, but rather, a great interest is growing among its scholars to go further in the examination of Arabic and its dialects in the Arabic-speaking world. A geographical classification of Arabic dialects with another classification based on linguistic features and social circumstances revealed that the Arabic dialects in all the Arabic-speaking communities show a great deal of variation at all linguistic levels.

We came to some important assertions in that the Arabic language is the key to understanding over two hundred million Arabic speakers over twenty-two Arabic nations. What is more, the glory of this language is that the holy Qur'an has been revealed in Arabic. One of the most distinctive features of these nations is that CA co-exists with its varieties: the first is the language of writing, education, and administration, whereas these latter are reserved for daily communication, poetry, and plays. This situation is labeled diglossia where great studies are held in Arabic-speech communities earlier.



**NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE**

- (1) Universal grammatical structure, often called Universal Grammar, refers to the set of innate principles and adjustable parameters that are common to all human languages.
- (2) This term has come to be known by various names: For instance, Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics, variation theory. Labovian sociolinguistics, Labovian paradigm ect. The term that will be used in this research work is variationist sociolinguistics.
- (3) Structural linguistics first appeared in the mid-twentieth century during the study of Indo-European languages by the anthropologist Franz Boas, who was studying Native American cultures, when he noticed that it was difficult to describe the various languages because of the different forms of language structure that were used, and that the traditional Latin-based grammar which is used in English and other Indo-European languages was not useful in analyzing this new class of languages. Therefore, structural linguistics was established to focus on language structures, primarily those which are different from those in typical Indo-European languages.
- (4) In theoretical linguistics language is assumed to be homogeneous, but in sociolinguistics it has been proved through variation studies that there is heterogeneity in speech and this heterogeneity is highly structured and systematically patterned.
- (5) Karl Marx is the most influential politico-economist to emerge in the 19th century. His social, economic and political ideas gained rapid acceptance in the socialist movement after his death in 1883.
- (6) Apparent time is a synchronic approach pioneered by Labov in the 1960s that examines language change in progress among different age categories of speakers.
- (7) Quoted in Hudson (1996: 25, 26).

- (8) In Sibawayh's "Kitab", internal variation operates at the level of language and external variation is associated with various groups of people that Sibawayh categorized them with different linguistic characteristics. (Quoted in Owens: 2001).
- (9) The term "nationalism" often refers to the strong feeling people have for their own country, but it may also refer to the desire of oppressed people to throw off foreign rule and create their own nation. This desire has long been carried by Arab nations seeking to get their independence from European colonialism. For more details about Arab nationalism, see Suleiman (2003).
- (10) Ferguson coined this term from the French word 'diglossie', which had been used by the French linguist Marçais in his early studies. In addition to the Arabic-speaking world, Ferguson described this phenomenon in three other speech communities: Greece, Swiss Germany and Haiti.
- (11) Cowan: 1960, quoted in Owens: 2006:27.
- (12) Quoted in Milroy and Gordon (2003).



# Chapter Two: Sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria

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## **2.1 Introduction**

## **2.2 Language Contact**

## **2.3 Algeria: A Historical Background**

## **2.4 Linguistic Composition of Algeria**

2.4.1 Modern Standard Arabic

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## **2.5 Beni Snous from a Geographical and Socio-Historical Perspective**

2.5.1 Geography and Population

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## **2.6 Research Methodology**

2.6.1 Basic Approaches to Data Collection

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2.6.4 Data Collection in Beni Hammou

2.6.5 Field Work Difficulties

## **2.7 Conclusion**

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Having set some of the main sociolinguistic concepts that fit the fieldwork of sociolinguistics in the previous chapter and also throwing a glance at the Arabic language and its dialects classification in general, we found it necessary to shed light on one of the Western Arabic dialects which is an Algerian dialect among the many existing ones: that is BHA. Since this dialect is going to be studied in an Algerian context, a sociolinguistic profile of Algeria is introduced in this chapter.

The Algerian speech community is characterized by three main periods in its linguistic history. Through these periods a number of languages have been in contact and rendered the linguistic situation so complex: the existence of the Berber language from early pre-Islamic era, the Arab conquests during the mid 7<sup>th</sup> century to introduce the Arabic language and Islam, then later, the French colonialism which imposed the French language and continued to be so even after independence. The reasons or causes for such wide use of French will be dealt with throughout this chapter.

It may seem for us that language contact in Algeria is not different from language contact situations elsewhere in the world, but the languages that have been brought into contact are in a conflicting state where the three main competing languages co-exist in this country in a bilingual and diglossic relationship. In fact, though Algeria has engaged since independence in an extensive and strict process of Arabisation to restore the national identity and the role and place of Arabic as well, French continues to have a prominent position in society as it competes with Arabic in a number of domains such as education, commerce, finance, science, and technology.



Additionally, to stay within the aim of our research work and after drawing a historical sketch on the above three mentioned periods that Algeria is characterized of, a glance was made on the three languages accompanying these periods including the widely used AA which remains the vehicle of communication in our country. A geographical view and a socio-historical perspective were spot on the area of Beni Snous with its thirteen villages as a whole and Beni Hammou as a part from this whole. This part which cannot be removed from the whole and attention cannot be drawn to it solely at the same time unless that whole which constitutes an entire history is first introduced. These villages, descending from the same Berber origin, altogether share the same historical events, but linguistically broken down into urban and rural dialects.

Last and not the least, we have reviewed some important methods used to collect data in sociolinguistics in general, then we have introduced the methodology of our research work by describing the sample population exploited to investigate the variety spoken by Beni Hammou inhabitants and how data collection takes place.

## **2.2 LANGUAGE CONTACT**

Since time immemorial, languages have often been in contact as a result of humans' natural tendency for the sake of social ties, to communicate with others, including people speaking different languages. This contact has always been a normal part of the development of languages, from those of ancient empires, those of colonial expansion, and to those of globalisation today. When two different languages are spoken in neighbouring areas, speakers on both parts of the boundary will be exposed to the other language, and may increase their fluency in the other language.

Since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the contact between different languages, cultures and individuals continue to grow enormously as a result of the increasing population movements (due to immigration), spread of education and globalisation. Communication between speakers of different languages results in psychological changes in individuals as well as changes in the languages themselves. Speakers of one language may, deliberately or unconsciously, introduce into their language features of another language to which they have been exposed. This process is called *borrowing*, and the words borrowed are called *loan words* in the language that introduced them. Contact can also affect the grammar and pronunciation of language. Though some languages seem to be isolated to avoid contact, almost every language shows evidence of ancient or modern contact with other languages.

Conquest and migration make speakers of different languages mixed together in a single speech community. Others travel across countries with their language and become exposed to different languages. This may be clearly seen in many parts of the world where conquest or colonization swept many countries and in which an occupying force imposed its language onto the colonised community such is the case of Algeria which had been under the French colonial rule for more than a century (1832-1962). Heavy outcome of such long colonisation is that the French language has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society.

### **2.3 ALGERIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

According to some historians, the original population of the Maghreb (North Africa) consisted of Berbers whose origin is not certain. Some believe they may have come from Europe. Those Berber people known as *Imazighen* have lived in that area for more than 4000 years and amazingly have managed to



preserve their culture, tradition heritage as well as the various dialects spoken within a number of North African regions.

By the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, these indigenous Berber tribes were to be invaded by different invaders, among which we can cite the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, and the Arabs. Then the role of the Spanish, the Turkish and the French came. As a result of these successive invasions of the Maghreb the linguistic situation has become so complex, particularly with Arabic and French as we shall see throughout this work.

As a matter of fact, the first Arab military expedition into North Africa in the mid 7<sup>th</sup> century led by the Arab rulers with the primary mission of Islamisation of this area, transformed the social and ethnic identity of the land, and resulted in the spread of Islam along with Arabic, the language in which the new religion came. Indeed, most of the Berbers soon converted to Islam and started learning Arabic in order to be able to perform prayers and read the Holy Book 'Qur'an'.

Consequently, Arabic, or *al 'Arabiyya l Fuṣḥā*, emerged as the new language and became the most frequently used variety at that time. It was subject to codification during the Abbasid era in the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries for the sake of ensuring a good pronunciation of the Qur'an because non-Arabs who converted to Islam made pronunciation and grammatical mistakes when reading it. Among the well-known Arab grammarians who contributed to the standardisation process of Arabic were Abul 'Aswad Addu'ali, Al- Khalil Ibn Ahmed El Farahidi, Sibawayh, Ibn Jinni and so many others who established the necessary rules of grammar and lexis. It is important to mention at this stage that Arabic, the grammarians defended, was to become the Standard prestigious

form used for formal purposes in all Arabic-speaking countries along with the various colloquial varieties of each region. Such situation has been characterized in terms of diglossic relation, particularly by Ferguson (see: 1.6). As for the case of Algeria, the varieties in question are: MSA, the H variety which is never acquired as a mother tongue by any portion of the community and is only learned through the process of schooling or in mosques, is the official language used in public, official, formal and written circumstances. AA, the L variety, is acquired as a mother tongue and used in informal contexts by the majority of the population.

Yet, Fishman (1971) extended the concept of diglossia to linguistic situation in which the H variety and the L variety are genetically unrelated. These two unrelated languages in the case of Algeria are: French and AA. The Algerian speaker, for instance, may use French as H for educational and more prestigious domains and the AA as L for daily spoken speech among family or friends.

Though the introduction of Islam and Arabic had had a profound impact on North Africa, some Berbers, particularly in some mountainous areas, maintained their vernaculars and resisted the process of Islamisation and Arabisation. This can be clearly seen in the case of Algeria where some Berber varieties continue to be used today: the Kabyle variety is used in Greater Kabylia and Algiers; the Shawiya is also a Berber variety spoken in the Aures Mountains, south of Constantine, while the tribes called the Touareg also speak a Berber variety in the far south of Algeria (Ennaji, 1991). It has been estimated that about 20% of the Algerian population speak Berber as their 1<sup>st</sup> language and many of them do not use Arabic at all, preferring French as their 2<sup>nd</sup> language generally for political reasons (Oakes, 2008).



But in contrast with these spoken Berber varieties, AA stands as the most spread variety in the country and the most ever used one in daily conversation. This Arabic variety has long been the target of much linguistic interference which has made the linguistic situation so complex. This was due to linguistic contacts with other languages during the successive invasions of Algeria: the Spanish presence in the West, mainly in Oran and on the coastal areas resulted in a fertile process of lexical borrowings that was introduced into Algerian Arabic. Turkish too, during the Ottoman Empire, left some of its traces on this Algerian dialect. To a lesser extent, the Italian impact can be clearly attested in the East of the country.

However, the most striking event that left the greatest impact on the Algerian community was the French colonisation of the land for more than 130 years. The French rulers were aiming at the eradication of the Arab-Islamic identity, though they were immediately encountered by a strong rebellion from the Algerian fighters. Up to now, and despite the Arabisation policy which was undertaken right after independence, the value of the French language as an important international language has continued to be recognized alongside Arabic. If you encounter speakers from the older generation, you will see that they speak French better than Arabic. This is because this generation was educated under the French masters during colonisation.

In fact, the French colonial policy was explicitly designed to civilize the country through the imposition of the French language and culture on it to the suppression of the Arabic identity; Arabic and the Islamic religion. During the colonial period, the French controlled education, government, business, and most intellectual life for more than a century. It was difficult for Algerians to receive any other education than in French, education in literary Arabic

declined extremely and it was only taught in the Koranic schools known as *Zawiat* and the *Medaris* while Algerian Arabic remained the variety of every day discourse among the vast majority of the population. After independence (July, 5<sup>th</sup> 1962), the French language was still deeply rooted in all public and economic sectors.

The government has engaged in an extensive and strict Arabisation programme for the sake of eradicating the French influence and promoting Arabic as the national and official language of the country. Arabisation was slowly introduced in schools, starting with the primary schools and in social science and humanities' subjects. In the 1980s Arabic began to regain its status as the language of instruction in some grades and at secondary schools. In Higher Education, Arabic was gradually introduced but just in social and economic streams as opposed to medical and scientific ones which continued to be taught in French. The difficulty with Arabisation was that MSA which is used in education and government had effectively marginalised AA which exists in different forms along the Algerian territory and stands as the major element of identity from region to region.

## **2.4 LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF ALGERIA**

As we have reviewed formerly, the ultimate outcome of languages that have long been in contact is bilingualism, code-switching and borrowing. Algeria is the salient example of a multilingual society, where three languages: Arabic, French, and Berber have been in contact for centuries and have influenced each other at all linguistic levels. In large cities the feature of monolingualism does not exist: people speak their mother tongues: a dialect of Berber, AA, in addition to French and MSA, though the use of this latter is only for certain purposes. A word of caution is in order here: bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous, i.e. not



all Algerians are bilingual. In many regions, specially the rural ones there are monolinguals. Yet, in other regions there are bilinguals and even trilinguals.

Although the Algerian constitution rejects multilingualism stating that Arabic is the sole official and national language of the country, what is concrete and one cannot escape from is that at least three languages exist and compete: Arabic, Berber, and French. And so Algeria would be under the category of multilingual communities in spite of the Arabisation policy which was undertaken to promote Arabic and undermine both French and Berber.

As it has been referred to earlier, the relationship between these challenging codes is a diglossic relationship. Additionally, Bilingualism which has been defined by Weinreich (1953:1) as "**the practice of alternately using two languages**" is found in the Algerian society, and the relationship between the three languages is bilingual. Benali (2007) states five diglossic and bilingual<sup>(1)</sup> relations between these competing languages:

- \* AA/ French (diglossia)
- \* AA/ Berber (bilingualism)
- \* Berber/ French (diglossia)
- \* Berber/ CA (diglossia)
- \* French/ CA (bilingualism)

#### 2.4.1 Modern Standard Arabic

From early 1962, the term language in Algeria has been strongly considered as a unifying force to achieve national identity by restoring Arabic as the official language of the country (Benmoussat, 2003). Through the long policy of Arabisation, which was implemented as a reaction against the cultural and linguistic dominance of the French language, this language has regained its status as the national and

official language of the country, but, with the exclusion of the other co-existing varieties: AA, French, and Berber.

Since then, the only formal language that is officially recognised by the state is Arabic<sup>(2)</sup> "al 'Arabiyya l Fuṣḥā" in its modern and simplified form known as MSA compared with CA. It is used in news broadcasts, education, law, the media, the government, most publications as well as being the preferred language in formal contexts. MSA is also used for religious purposes and literary recitations.

MSA is the 2<sup>nd</sup> language of all Algerian people in Algeria. It is learned in schools. Educated speakers, though they do understand and write MSA; they do not use it in daily communication except involving some words or expressions in their speech. Young children and adults who have not been at school are unable to speak or write MSA.

#### **2.4.2 Algerian Arabic**

AA often called 'Darija' or 'Ammiyya' is considered as a dialect among the various colloquial dialects of the Arabic language. It includes various regional varieties spoken in most parts of the Algerian territory<sup>(3)</sup> which are more of different accents than different dialects (Benali, 2007). It belongs to the group of Western (Maghreb) dialects.

Since the majority of the population is Arabophone and speaks AA, this variety remains the dominant one that is widely used among Algerian speakers. In this respect, Taleb El Ibrahimy states that:

**These Arabic dialects constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people (at least for those who are originally Arabic-speakers), the language of the first socialisation, of the basic community. It is through it that the imaginary and the affective universe of the individual is built up<sup>(4)</sup>. (Taleb El Ibrahimy 1995:33) quoted in Benali, ibid).**



This Arabic variety has long been the target of much linguistic interference which has made the linguistic situation so complex (see page: 7). Because of the heterogeneity of AA, Middle East Arabic dialects speakers cannot understand Algerian speakers and consider their speech as a non Arabic language. This variety is spoken rather than written. However, there are cases where we can find it written. For example, we may find it in folk poetry plays, in the media and among people writing informal letters.

As it has been already mentioned, AA is the native language of the majority of the Algerians. More than 80% speak it as their mother tongue, while the remaining 20% speak it as their second language after Berber. AA largely differs from formal Arabic (MSA) because it is not standardised<sup>(5)</sup>. For the most part, its words are of Arabic and Berber origins. It has also many words that are of Turkish, Spanish and largely of French origin (see 3.5.2). Most Algerians can speak and understand formal MSA, because it is the language used in the media, at school, and in some administrations. But, their spoken variety remains the *Algerian Darija* and those who did not study and learn Arabic (formal and darija) or French cannot get access to communication with the Algerian speakers.

According to Benali (2007), three main dialects are recognised in Algeria: the Eastern one which is similar to Tunisian Arabic, the Western one similar to Moroccan Arabic and the central one. These varieties are thought to be as one large colloquial variety which covers the territory from the east end of the country to its west end and from the north to the south.

### 2.4.3 French

Without any doubt, one can say that French is Algeria's linguistic inheritance from the French colonial period. The French language has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society before and after independence (1962) though the so many attempts undertaken by the Algerian government to limit the domains of its use. These attempts, as we have previously stated, came in the form of Arabisation policy. In the 1990s, it has been in competition with Arabic and English which is regarded as the language of access to science, technology, international trade and business. But, it soon regained its status as the main foreign language when the 2004 reform of the educational system re-established French as the first foreign language to be taught as a compulsory subject from the second year of the primary education cycle, after a political debate about whether to replace it with English in the educational system. Politically speaking, French is viewed as the 1<sup>st</sup> foreign language and English is taught as a 2<sup>nd</sup> foreign language in Middle and Secondary schools.

Nowadays, the advantages given to French make it continues competing with Arabic in a number of domains such as commerce, finance, medicine, science and technology. At a societal level, its use is widely attested in urban cities such as Algiers, Oran, Constantine, and Tlemcen where a number of Francophones and educated speakers who master this language read daily newspapers in French, speak it in formal and in informal situations, and write it when necessary. Elders who had been taught French during colonialism speak it well, while the new generation does not. Rural areas, as opposed to urban areas are frequently characterized by the use of AA much more than French. As an instance, is Beni Hammou as we will see in the following chapter, is typical in its use of its spoken variety loaded with much Berber words and French loan words.



In fact, a number of factors reinforce the presence of French in the Algerian society. Given that the Algerian society is torn into two main poles: the Arabophones who favour Arabic and the Francophones who favour French over Arabic (Benmoussat, 2003). Also, the great number of immigrants living in France comes frequently to Algeria to see their families and friends. Moreover, if we make a census among Algerians using the satellite dishes which television channels are the most preferable to them, we may find more than the half who favour French television channels. Added to this, almost the Algerian travelers make France their most favoured destination for tourism.

#### **2.4.4 Berber**

Berber is the language of the first inhabitants of North Africa. It is a spoken variety with virtually no written history (Ennaji, 1991). Similar to AA, this variety is the mother tongue of approximately 20% of the population in Algeria, scattered in many parts, mainly in Greater Kabylia, Aures, and in the South. Since independence (1962), along with Arabisation policy, the Algerian authorities focused on the restoration of Arabic as a national and official language of the Algerian society to the exclusion of the other varieties that might impede this primary goal. Hence, the first constitution (1963) and principal constitution (1976) omitted all reference to French and Berber. They have even at times rejected the use of the very word "Berber" (Benmoussat, 2003). It was considered as a channel for the promotion of internal ethnic divisions.

Yet, Arabic is rarely heard in Berber areas showing a great hostility towards it. Only Berber and French are spoken there, especially in Kabylia which constitute the most important subdivision of Berber and the centre of many riots and upheavals as a reaction to the harsh repression of the

Algerian authorities towards Berber. Tensions continue till nowadays between the Algerian government and the Berber citizens' group "Coordination of the Aarouch"<sup>(6)</sup>. Some attempts have been made recently to standardise this language and to recognise it as a national language. This came generally as a challenge to the lack of its significance as a written language for centuries. The numerous Berber varieties today referred to in general as *Tamazight*, make the process of standardisation difficult in choosing one variety from the many existing. Some level of official recognition has been achieved by introducing it in the educational system. It expanded to the broadcast of a news summary on national television and the opening of undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Tamazight linguistics, literature, and culture at the universities of Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaia. In 2002 Berber gained some benefits and was recognised as Algeria's second national language. Nevertheless, the Berberophones still maintain loudly and clearly that the Berber language must be, sooner or later, an official language in Algeria and it must enjoy the same rights as the Arabic language.

Above all, the measures taken in favour of Berber remain marginal and without a real effect on the linguistic and cultural policies. But, in the Berber speaking-areas, there is a strong social demand for the Berber language and culture, asserting their existence as a distinct ethnic group with a distinct language and culture. The affirmation of this existence is translated in recent literary production by which this language has moved from spoken form to written form.



## **2.5 BENI SNOUS FROM A GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Before launching into a systematic sketch of the village of Beni Hammou, it seems necessary to provide a general outline of the geographical and socio-historical background of the whole area of Beni Snous. This isolated region cuddles a set of adjacent villages which constitute one body for this region sharing altogether the same heritage embodied in one origin and a sole history of the population of this valley.

### **2.5.1 Geography and population**

In an area situated on the Algerian-Moroccan confines, at 35 km far from the South-West of Tlemcen and on a surface of 37,000 hectars, spread the small Berber villages of Beni Snous which embraces the mountainous chain of Tifouser (khémis) and Tafna (Oued Lekbir) valleys. These mountains are about 1,200 to 1,500 metres high. It borders Beni Boussaid from the West, Sidi Mdjahed from the North, Beni Bahdel from the North-East, El Azails from the East and Sidi Djillali from the South.

According to the French sociologist Edmond Destaing (1907) the region of Beni Snous was a confederation of three tribes which are: El Kef, Khémis and Azails. The inhabitants of these tribes were scattered along the borders of the valley of Tafna in groups called "douars". The following table points out these tribes with their douars:

<b>Tribes</b>	<b>Douars</b>
<b>El Kef</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ouled Ali ou Moussa El Achach</li> <li>- El Achach</li> <li>- Ouled Ali ou Moussa</li> <li>- Ouled Atia</li> <li>- Ouled Mehdi</li> <li>- Deradera</li> <li>- Ouled Anem</li> <li>- Ouled Yahia</li> </ul>
<b>Khémis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ouled Farès</li> <li>- Ouled Mezian</li> <li>- Beni Achir</li> <li>- Ouled Moussa</li> <li>- Ouled Arbi</li> <li>- Beni Hammou</li> <li>- Mazzer</li> <li>- Ouled Abdelaziz</li> <li>- Ouled Amara</li> </ul>
<b>Azails</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tafessera</li> <li>- Tlata</li> <li>- Zahra</li> <li>- Beni Bahdel</li> </ul>

**Table 2.1: The Three Tribes of Beni Snous. Destaing (1907)**

Yet, administrative decisions had been taken to make El Kef an independent division of Beni Snous and hence, remained Azails and Khémis under the name of Beni Snous. Thirteen villages compose this region; by going down the valley of Khémis upwards, we come across Tafessera, Tlata (also called Mghanine), Zahra, Beni Bahdel and Keddara. These first five villages are called Azails. Beni Hammou (the village under investigation), Khémis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir, Beni Zidaz, Ajdir Sidi Larbi and Mazzer are called khémis. By the early twentieth century, the population of this valley was estimated at about more than fifty thousands of inhabitants, but if we add the Diaspora that is divided between the neighbouring towns such as Sebdou, Maghnia, Tlemcen and many other towns in the West of Algeria (Ain Temouchent, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbes, Mostaghanem, Béchar, and some other cities. Adding other cities of foreign countries as Oujda, Paris (Barbès), Pas-de Calais in Northern France

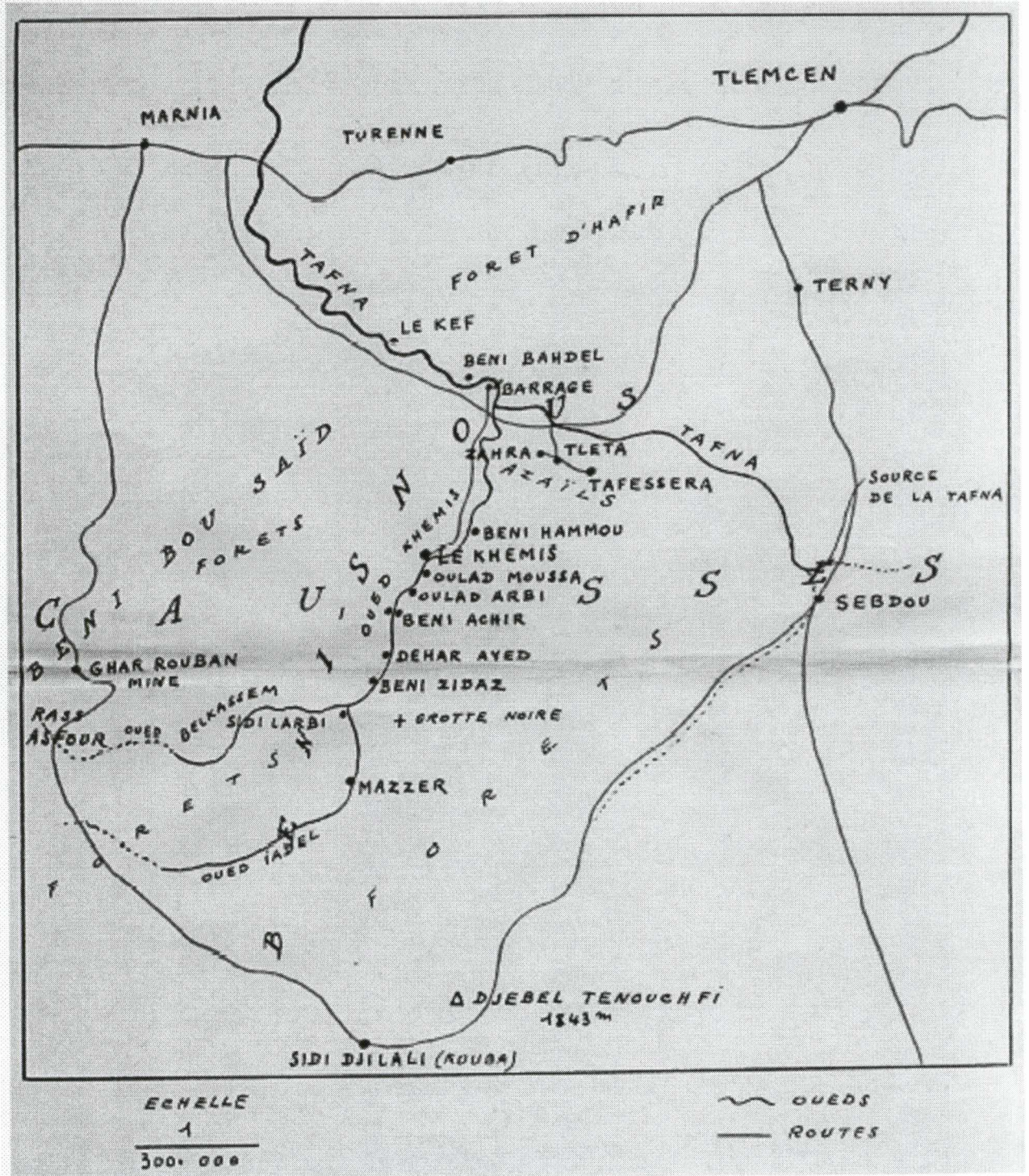


and Forbach in Alsace, we obtain a number of population of about more than a half million of inhabitants (Lemkami,2004).

During the French colonialism and for purely colonial reasons, this tribe was divided into two parts: the higher part of the valley, which consists of Mezzar going till Beni Hammou respectively were joined administratively to the "*Arabic Bureau of Maghnia*". The lower part of the valley of Khémis consists of the remaining former mentioned villages (Keddara, Beni Bahdel, Zahra, Tlata and Tafessera) were related to the "*Arabic Bureau of Sebdou*". After Algeria got its independence, some of these villages were erected as municipalities. The municipality of Azails (7,537 inhabitants) contains Tafessera, Tlata, and Zahra. The municipality of Beni Bahdel (3,000 inhabitants) contains keddara only. The remaining villages (Beni Hammou, Khemis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir, Beni Zidaz, Ajdir Sidi Larbi and Mazzer) form the third municipality known as Beni Snous (11,284 inhabitants)<sup>(7)</sup>.

Thus, the total population of the three municipalities is about 21,821 inhabitants. Beni Snous with all the previous mentioned thirteen villages stands as a Daira comprising the three municipalities: Beni Snous, Azails, Beni Bahdel.





Map 2.1: The Geographical Location of Beni Snous  
 Source: Bellissant, R. (1941:24)



### 2.5.2 History and Origin

Though Beni Snous is an ancient region, little was written about it and its history. The archaic mosques and the constructions and monuments that the Romans had left behind them during their presence in this area are as an important evidence for its existence from early times. In Tafessera there are traces of the Roman Empire embodied by the remains of the chapel of Fortin '*Koudiet Errom*' which dates from the time of St. Augustine. This chapel has now become the main mosque of Tafessera. There are also some incredible houses (many dating back to centuries) dug in underground rocks in this region. Not far from ouled Arbi still exists '*Ennasrani wall*' known in Arabic as '*hit nssara*' of the Roman period.

In addition to the Roman occupation, the area of Beni Snous witnessed two Moroccan invasions. The first was in 1650 J.C led by Mouley Mohammed Ech Chérif, chief of the second dynasty of Chorfa of Morocco. The second invasion took place in 1678 J.C and was headed by Mouley Ismail. The Turkish administration left bad souvenirs in this region too.

In his book "*Algéria Romana*", Mac Carthy spoke briefly about Beni Snous and Ibn Khaldoun referred to it in his book "*El Ibar*" when he talked about the history of Berbers in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In recent time, Léon L'African XVI spoke about Tafessera as an important active mining centre. The colonial anthropologist J. Canal left some of his pages devoted to the study of "*Monography of Tlemcen*" to talk about Beni Snous.

Also the sociologist Edmond Destaing conducted anthropological study series between 1900 and 1907 in El Kef and Khémis villages and published some tests on local cultural rites as well as a Berber-French dictionary of the Beni Snous variety. Alfred bell carried out an anthropological study on the mosques in this region by early twentieth century. In "*La Revue Africaine*" many articles were written about AA over

most regions in Algeria. In some series of this review we found works about traditions and customs in the region of Beni Snous, in addition to the description of the Berber speech in this area.

Various myths have been put about the origin of these people living in this mountainous area. One of them hypothesizes the possibility of being the descendents of the Banu Habib tribe converted into Islam by Idriss the first, then excluded to Morocco. In this context Destaing says that:

**This region, formerly occupied by the Dryites (men of oaks), was also inhabited, in the VIII<sup>th</sup> century of our epoch, by the Berber tribe of Beni H'abib. The prints of their stay in the tribe are not scarce, and the legend kept their memory<sup>(8)</sup>.**  
(Destaing (1907: xxii)

Another is confined to that in early times families from a region called "Figuig" located in East Morocco came to live in this area. In view of the fact that there has been no evidence for these sayings, we cannot confirm them and we tend to believe what the historian Ibn Khaldoun said. In one of his books he cited that the tribes of Beni Snous belong to a Zenati tribe called *Banu Koumia*, the group to which Abdul Mumin Ben Ali Al Koumi the founder of the Almohads dynasty<sup>(9)</sup> belongs. They were tied to a Berber tribe called Beni-gomi. In the twelfth century Bani gomi left for Morocco and Beni Snous became allied to Banu Yaghmorassen later on (13<sup>th</sup> century). On this event, Destaing reports what Ibn Khaldoun stated in his writings:

**The tribe of Beni Snous, branch of Koumia, established friendship with the Beni-gomi by good offices and through the habit of living together. When these emigrated to the Maghreb El Aqsa, Beni Snous instead of following them became attached to the Yaghmoracen family<sup>(10)</sup>.** (Destaing (1907: xxiv)



Once attached to Tlemcen, Beni Snous played a significant role in the history of Tlemcen in the period of Banu Ziane reign. Henceforth, they became assimilated to Tlemcen politically, socially and economically. The general agreed idea is that the Senoussian Berber people then Berbers arabised where a mixture of Berbers and Arabs whose bloods were blended together through ages. Cantineau refers to these people and says:

**Of the three Algerian departments, it is the one which holds the smallest place. The only noticeable Berber mark is that of Beni Snous and of Beni Boussaid in the southwest of Tlemcen<sup>(11)</sup>.**

(Cantineau 1940:221)

According to Alfred Bell, the area of Beni Snous witnessed the very old presence of the Jewish population in the area of Ouled Moussa. Down the valley, in Tlata a considerable number of this race were peasants and handicrafts men living with Muslims as separated groups. This population left the region just before the 1954 Algerian Revolution. He also stated that it was often considered as an area of great battles during the existence of the Roman Empire there. Making use of the legend that in 950 B.C, the Berber king Chachnaq who lived in these Berber mountains (i.e, Beni Snous) pushed the pharaoh Ramsees III infantry and defeated them. More recent than this, during the French conquest to Algeria in 1832 and after they occupied Tlemcen in 1842, they found it difficult to overcome the Senoussian resistance untill 1846. During the Algerian Revolution this area paid a heavy price as all the remaining areas in Algeria to be independent from the French colonialism. It has been called since the region of 1000 Martyrs.

Powered by ancient beliefs which were the subject of research and anthropological studies, this border region celebrates every 12 January a carnavalisque spirit called "Ayred" (meaning the lion). The Direction of culture of Tlemcen, to further highlight the importance of this rite to the native people of this area, organizes cultural activities

and conferences to explain "Yennayer", "Ayred" and mainly to remove dust from memories to better preserve it. This region is also famous for its carpet handicraft and "tabikates" (baskets) made of colourful halfa.

The economic situation of this region is fairly average. Activities are essentially based on agriculture and animal husbandry. It provides Tlemcen with many citrus fruits. There are also a few mining operations and production of electricity in the Dam of Beni Bahdel which has provided Oran with water for fifty years.

### **2.5.3 Beni Hammou: An Overview**

The locality of Beni Hammou, also, called Ouled Hammou is a population of Berber origin. It is mainly divided into six major tribes: Aghraouene, Zneyna, Eddouabna, Ouled Chaaib, El-Haddara and Ouled Mekki. As we have previously referred to, little was said about Beni Snous as a whole and its history and no village from the thirteen mentioned previously had a space in anthropological or sociological books except for Tafessera. All what has been said was just a brief overview on the origin of Beni Snous as one unified village. But, we come back again to say that at least there were some who paid attention to these villages and described their way of life, traditions and customs. In fact, in reviewing the history of this area and since no documentation was available at hand, we relied on popular legacy personified in traditions, conventionally recognized and transmitted orally.

With a total population of about 21,800 of the whole area of Beni Snous, the village of Beni Hammou is estimated with a population of about 4,800 inhabitants (Municipality of Beni Snous, 2009). It is a mountainous region near the picturesque Khémis valley, bordered from the West by Beni Boussaid, to the East by El Azails. To the North by Sidi



Mjahed, Beni Bahdel in the North-East, and Khémis in the South.

No official and accurate information is available about the original inhabitants of Beni Hammou except for what has been already referred to in section (1.4.2) concerning the origin and history of Beni Snous, where all scholars who wrote about these thirteen villages referred to them in the whole as Berbers. Hence, Beni Hammou is derived from the Zenati tribe belonging to Berbers. Asserting this, we relied on popular legacy too; to say Beni Hammou spoke Zenatia earlier.

## **2.6 Research Methodology**

Language is the most remarkable characteristic that human beings possess. This very language has in turn characteristics in view of fact that speakers of one locality differ in some features from the speech of a neighbouring locality. Such variation is known as geographical variation. Within the same place, not all people speak the same way. Differences in speech are correlated with one or many social factors (age, gender, race, education and so many other factors) which apply to the speaker. Such variation is called social variation. The former kind of variation has for a long time been the subject matter of dialect geographers in their field of investigation known as regional dialectology in the second half of the nineteenth century. The latter is included within the field of sociolinguistics which has emerged in the late 1960s after Labov's work on English in New York City (1966). This work has typically been regarded as the basic pattern for quantitative studies of linguistic variation. It has emerged partly as a result of inadequate methods in earlier approaches to the study of dialects, and partly as a reaction to Chomsky's linguistic theory. Labov pioneered ways

of investigating speech variation within speech communities using for that systematic techniques in urban cities mainly.

In this section, our main focus is to shed light on some of the procedures employed to obtain and analyse data and results which form the core of the study, and since this latter is a sociolinguistic research work, we follow the methodological conventions characterising the field. Hudson (1996) includes a comprehensive description of the established methodological principles which represent the most important stages that must be followed in a sociolinguistic text study:

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.

The methodology involved in this research work is the Labovian method. Selecting speakers, linguistic variables and data collection are explained in the following two sections.

### **2.6.1 Basic Approaches to Data collection**

Over the years, different methods have been employed to gather data in any sociolinguistic research. Different ways of collecting data have been tried out each with varying degrees of success. Since the basis for this chapter is the issue of methodological concerns, it is worth looking into how some sociolinguistic methods for data collection were pioneered and carried out. In this section we relied extensively on what Milroy and Gordon (2003) stated about methods of data collection, trying to discuss only some of them.



Written questionnaires in sociolinguistic research were first recognised in dialect geography. Dialectologists typically employed this method following Georg Wenker who was the first who sent postal questionnaires over Northern German dialects in 1876 (see 1.2). Subsequently, this method developed in 1896 by Gilliéron into fieldworker-administered surveys whereby he charged Edmond Edmont as a trained fieldworker to apply his designed questionnaire in France.

Actual use of written questionnaires by sociolinguists does not differ so much from that of dialect geographers in terms of instruments. The difference lies in how they are applied (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Similar questions may be asked by both researchers, but current research centres on different types of people while earlier researches tended to focus on a few older male speakers assuming that this category had the purest and the real forms of regional dialects they were interested in and whose social characteristics have been summed up to the acronym NORMs, i.e. non-mobile, older, rural males (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004).

Many scholars agree on that the major advantage of using written questionnaires is their efficiency. Researchers gather data from a great number of speakers in a short time. However, this method has often been a point of disagreement between dialect geographers and sociolinguists as the question of reliability raised. In response to these concerns, Chambers (1998)<sup>(12)</sup> suggests that a useful questionnaire data is more reliable when gathered through postal surveys rather than directly by a fieldworker, because this latter may show tendency when recording responses and his presence in the fieldwork among the respondents inevitably create what Labov called the observer's paradox.

Though written questionnaires are considered as efficient tools to elicit data from a large number of speakers, they remain limited. One of their deficiencies is that they generally give categorical responses rather than making an in-depth examination of language use for any particular speaker or community (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

Collecting data through fieldworkers permits a direct language use observation particularly when eliciting pronunciation variants. This method is said to be time-consuming. The best example for this inefficiency is that of Milroy and Gordon (ibid) claiming that the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada data gathering began in 1930 and is still incomplete in coverage. Fieldworkers, in reality, gather respondents' self-report rather than actual language use. In this respect, Milroy and Gordon note that:

**..., fieldworker-administered surveys often gather respondents' self reports about their usage. They are fundamentally metalinguistic tasks in that they rely on the respondents' ability to consider their own linguistic behavior. (Milroy and Gordon:ibid: 54)**

It is also worth noting that when using this method, respondents often claim not to use forms that may be considered stigmatized while in actual usage they do use them.

Rapid and anonymous survey is a special type of fieldworker-administered survey which is a short survey investigating one linguistic feature from many people in a short space of time. The first of its kind of research is Labov's work on English in New York City department stores (1966) when he described urban speech by examining the pronunciation of /r/ in the words 'fourth' and 'floor' among employees in these stores<sup>(13)</sup>. He carried out a similar work in Philadelphia investigating the alternation of the initial



word clusters [str] and [ʃtr]. Unawareness of informants is the main efficiency of this approach, but it is clearly understood that it needs a lot of inventiveness from the investigator in designing rapid and anonymous survey questions. The observer's paradox in this method is not a problem given that the speakers are not neither recorded nor aware of being observed. However, carrying this method is to investigate the distribution of only a single variant. To get useful data in this method, the investigator should have pre-planned goals in his mind.

The cornerstone of data collection methods and the basic tool for recording conversation sociolinguistic variation is referred to as the sociolinguistic interview. Unlike fieldworker-administered survey which is the preferred method of traditional dialectologists, this method is the most common among sociolinguists. Labov (1984:32) defines it as a "**well developed strategy**". In his early formulation of the sociolinguistic interview he defined it as a series of hierarchically sets of structured questions; structured interview is introduced by a predetermined list of questions. In semi-structured interview some questions are prepared in advance while others arise during the interview itself. Unstructured interview makes the result of the investigation guided by the answers of the interviewee rather than by the pre-planned questions. Responses are open-ended as the informants engage in free conversations such as discussing their lives and interests. But, the question of the interview length is always raised here. Milroy and Gordon state:

**The question of interview length can therefore, like so many methodological questions, be answered primarily in terms of the goal of the research.**  
(Milroy and Gordon: 2003:58)

Thus, eliciting for example phonological data can be obtained in less than half an hour. Conversational networks

are also included in this approach (Labov, 1984). A sociolinguistic interview, in which the interviewer may or may not take place in the conversation, allows for the elicitation of a range of speech styles in a single interaction where the interviewer systematically manipulates the speech situation so the interviewee will produce more vernacular-like or more standard-like speech. The sociolinguistic interview differs from the survey questions in being less structured. However, the survey questions are structured, predetermined and direct questions. The sociolinguistic interview is used in language attitude research, qualitative and quantitative sociolinguistics as well (14).

Another approach used to gather data for researchers, who are not members of the community under investigation and usually encounter the observer's paradox in their field work, is participant observation. Using this approach requires living in the community under investigation and participating in its daily activities to pursue local cultural knowledge. The most important gains of this approach are the large amount and good quality of the data and familiarity with community which gives easy access to the investigator with its speakers. The practical difficulties of this method are the insufficient qualitative data for each speaker, in addition to its very-time and effort consuming.

To sum up, using one method or another, anyone who attempts to do serious work in sociolinguistics must ask himself or herself (one question among many stated in this reference) how reliable are the methods used for collecting the data? (Wardhaugh, 2006) with regard to that speech is primarily a social action.



### **2.6.2 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. Therefore, the principal impetus for this research work is to attempt to help enriching the colloquial Arabic studies which have been for a long time and even currently a concern of the foreign researchers. Our aim, also, is trying 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.

I had worked in this village called Beni Hammou for nine years, and then I left to settle in Tlemcen. Nearly, after ten years, and since I have become interested in sociolinguistics, I wanted to spot light on the variety spoken in this area and to explore the main linguistic features characterizing it and how these vary among speakers according to many extra-linguistic factors. It is commonly said that rural speakers preserve their speech more than urban speakers do. So, I wonder if those speakers whom I lived with for nine years still maintain and show distinctiveness in their speech.

### **2.6.3 Selecting Informants and Age Sampling**

The frequent raised question in the field of data collection is: how much data will you collect? To study independent variables which correlate with linguistic behaviour such as age, gender, ethnic group, Labov estimates that a larger sample of about 80 speakers is required. Sankoff (1972) requires that a sample of 50 to 150 speakers

can represent the whole range of variation existing within a complex speech community. Le Page (1975), however, argues that such numbers are not sufficient.

As Hudson (1996) has stated, determining an appropriate subset of the population selecting linguistic variables provide decisions that might be seen of vital importance. These decisions must be carried according to the objective of the research. Following Labov's hypothesis that language varies according to age and gender, the informants chosen for this research work are of different sexes: males and females of different ages. The sample is made up of 120 informants: 60 males and 60 females between the age of 5 and 85 years old. They are divided into four age groups of 15 male informants and 15 female informants in each group. The explanation for such division of age groups is inspired from the life span of the person which is commonly divided into four stages: infancy/childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. These age groups are as follows:

- 1-From 5- 15 years old: 15males and 15 females.
- 2-From 16-29 years old: 15 males and 15 females.
- 3-From 30- 59 years old: 15 males and 15 females.
- 4-From 60-85 years old: 15 males and 15 females.

We selected informants of different social backgrounds; students at Primary, Middle, and Secondary schools. Others of the same age as these students but some are illiterate and some others left school early. Some educated speakers who are workers in different offices, a few university students are also included. Elders of both sexes make the central point of this investigation.



#### 2.6.4 Data collection in BHA

The crucial goal of sociolinguistic research is to resolve questions of linguistic importance, but none of these questions can be accomplished without first entering a community to collect data as a basis that help researchers answer such questions. The common central problem in collecting sociolinguistic data has been described by Labov as the Observer's Paradox: "**our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed**" (Labov: 1972: 61). Therefore, Sociolinguistic fieldwork of all kinds must be well conducted in order to overcome this problem.

As far as my research work is concerned and to get the primary source of data, I first used the participant observation technique whereby I managed to write down some of the data needed from communication hold between female speakers. Then, using the Dictaphone for recording ordinary conversations between males of different ages, I succeeded also to gather initial data for my research work.

A faster technique, first described by Labov (1966, 1972), I used also in this research work is rapid and anonymous survey which is a short survey investigating one linguistic feature from many people in a short space of time. I used this method because any variable under study can be fixed in the answer to a question directed to the selected sample of population. Labov's work on language use in New York City is typical as he asked sales clerks in department stores, "**Where can I find Women's shoes?**" The respondents replied, "**The fourth floor.**" What Labov was interested in was the pronunciation of (r) in the words fourth and floor.

So, following Labov's method in seeking the needed sounds and words for this research work and avoiding, as I have previously stated, the observer's paradox, I collected data through interviews. I also made some recording without

being observed in the marabout, two cyber-café, the clinic, and also in my sister's home with her husband's relatives and neighbours that are native speakers of the variety under investigation, in addition to my previous colleagues at work. The themes of discussions were centered generally on daily activities: cooking, schooling, and farming. Also, data gathering took place at the Primary School of El-Fahs, at Ali Settaouti Middle School and at Mohammed Nehhali Secondary School. Questionnaires which constitute the primary document based in any sociolinguistic research are also used to pick up the right articulation of some sounds and the right words used in this speech community.

### **2.6.5 Field Work Difficulties**

As far as all the process of data collection is concerned, I myself conducted the interviews; the process of interviewing male and female students of Primary, Middle and Secondary schools, in addition to middle-aged and aged women took its perfect way. However, interviewing and distributing questionnaires for middle aged and aged men was a little bit difficult for me. The social norms in this speech community do not allow a woman to speak at men outside home, even inside the social institutions such as the clinic, the post office. But the necessity to achieve my task blinded my eyes concerning this issue. Trying to bring informants who are the relatives of my sister's husband at home enabled me to gather half of the data. The rest were gathered in two cyber cafés, in farms and at the marabout.

Numerous speakers were kind enough to answer my questions about their dialect use, while some others showed negative reactions. They even mocked at my work, seeing it as a waste of time. But, for the sake of fulfilling my work I had to be patient for such actions. Another difficulty lied in the filling of the questionnaire, because illiteracy in



this community is widely spread not only among elders but among young too. Because of this fact, I could not introduce French sentences for translation in the questionnaire. I hardly got answers for the fourth part in the questionnaire which centers on the translation of some French words into Arabic. I felt obliged to elicit data orally from those illiterate informants.

Finally, I should say a word: may God forgive me for the recordings I made without asking the permission of those recorded speakers. Though those recordings helped me finish my task, I feel guilty for such deed.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

It is worth mentioning that the period of French colonial rule in Algeria has played an important role in defining and characterizing language contact. The Algerian speech community is linguistically and culturally hybrid in that it has one foot in Arabic and the other in French culture, due to the long contact with the French. Moreover, despite of the colonial attempt to undermine Arabic and promote French, Arabic was restored as a national and official language and remained very important after independence, while French continues to be used in several domains in the country. Added to this, Berber and AA play their role in complicating the linguistic situation more and more. Each of the four varieties is prestigious in its own domain of use with its designed group who speak it. Therefore, Algeria is no more a monolingual speech community, but is rather multilingual; regardless of the apparent aim of the Arabisation policy right after independence (1962) to create a monolingual nation through the restoration of Arabic as a national and official language, Algeria remains a complex multilingual country.

This exposed linguistic situation in Algeria on the whole is reflected on all the Algerian dialects where great variation is observed among Algerian speakers be them men or women, young or adults, using these varieties alternatively either in a diglossic or in a bilingual situation. The process of borrowing, a phenomenon that resulted from language contact, is widely observed among Algerian speakers. This variation among the users of a particular variety is the core of any sociolinguistic research and the subject matter of ours as well.

Beni Hammou variety is one of the various dialects of Algeria which shows linguistic aspects characteristic to it, noticeably phonological, morphological and lexical. These linguistic aspects may be varied among its speakers. Some variation in BHA is detailed and analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively in the subsequent chapters.



### Notes to Chapter Two

(1) Benali states that some linguists would talk of bidialectalism when the matter concerns two dialects rather than two languages as in the case of AA and Berber.

(2) The term Arabic is used in this research work to refer to MSA, CA and AA.

(3) In other parts of the Algerian territory, various Berber varieties are spoken.

(4) My translation of the original text:

**Ces dialects arabes constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité du peuple algérien (du moins pour les arabophones d'origine), la langue de la première socialisation, de la communauté de base. C'est à travers elle que se construit l'imaginaire de l'individu, son univers affectif.**

(Taleb El Ibrahimy 1995:33. quoted in Benali: 2007:30)

(5) Trudgill defines the term standardization as:

*"as consisting of the process of language determination, codification and stabilisation. Language determination 'refers to decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of particular languages or varieties of language for particular purposes in the society or nation in question. Codification is the process whereby a language variety' acquires a publicly recognised and fixed form'. The results of codification 'are usually enshrined in dictionaries and grammar books. Stabilisation is a process whereby a formerly diffuse variety... 'undergoes focussing and takes on a more fixed and stable form'".*

(Trudgill: 2002:159)

(6) The word 'Aarouch' is the plural of the noun 'Aarch' which means tribe. 'Aarouch' are village communities federated together ethnically by tribe.

(7) Population statistics were extracted from the Daira of Beni Snous, 2010.

(8) My translation of the original text:

**Cette région, occupée autrefois par les Dryites (hommes des chênes), l'était, au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, par la tribu berbère des Beni H'abib. Les traces du séjour de ces derniers dans la tribu n'y sont pas rares, et la légende a gardé leur souvenir. (Destaing 1907: xxii)**

(9) This idea is taken from Hamdaoui, M.M. who translated the Alfred's book (ibid) into Arabic in 2001. Dar El-Gharb, Oran (2001/03).

(10) My translation of the original text:

**La tribu des Beni Snous, branche des Koumia, s'était liée d'amitié avec les Beni-gommi par de bons offices et par l'habitude de vivre ensemble. Quand ceux-ci, s'attachèrent à la famille Yaghmoracen émigrèrent dans le Maghreb El Aqsa, les Beni Snous au lieu de les suivre:**

Destaing 1907xxiv)

(11) My translation of the original text:

**Des trois départements algériens, c'est celui où le berber tient la place la plus petite. Il n'existe qu'une seule tache berbérophone notable, celle de Beni Snous et des Beni Boussaid au sud-ouest de Tlemcen.**

(Cantineau 1940:221)

(12) Quoted in Milroy and Gordon :2003.

(13) For more details see labov (2006) second edition. "The Social Stratification of English in New York City". First published in 1966.

(14) For more details see Milroy and Gordon: 2003.



# Chapter Three: BHA Linguistic Features

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## **3.1 Introduction**

## **3.2 Dialect Classification**

## **3.3 Some Consonantal Aspects in BHA**

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3.3.2 The Uvular Plosive /q/

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## **3.4 Morphological Aspects in BHA**

3.4.1 The Markers {i} and {u}

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3.5.3.5 Classical Arabic Influence in BHA

## **3.6 Conclusion**

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Linguistic variation is not specific to some languages rather than others. It is a universal characteristic to all languages. Thus, when talking about language variation, there is no doubt that we are referring to the ways language differs among individuals in a given speech community under a number of circumstances. This is of course the overall aim of sociolinguistics and the task of sociolinguists to explain and analyze this linguistic diversity in relation to social factors.

All languages across the world have their own varieties; Arabic, a language among many, has several colloquial dialects spoken throughout the Arabic-speaking world. They diverge widely from one another, from country to country, and even within a single country such as Algeria where we can discover within AA itself significant local varieties. Algerian Arabic changes from place to place and from town to town. Even two towns or two villages near one another may not speak the same dialect or accent<sup>(1)</sup>.

Linguistically speaking, though these dialects are not written, they are well structured and very complex systems which conform to the requirements of their native speakers. Therefore, each dialect possesses a range of linguistic characteristics that makes it distinct from the other dialects.

Algerian dialects are classified into two main groups: sedentary dialects and the much more conservative bedouin dialects with each having its own characteristics different from the other. BHA shares sometimes some linguistic features with the neighbouring local varieties and sometimes diverges from them. These differences can be phonological, morphological, and most significantly lexical. For example,



the sound /q/ in BHA is indistinguishable in Khémis Arabic (henceforth KA), whereas in Beni Achir Arabic (henceforth BAA) the difference is prominent, for this variety substitutes this sound with [g]. Lexical variation is much noticeable in BHA: some Spanish and Turkish words are attested, in addition to many Berber and French ones. BHA shows a uniqueness of lexicon. For instance, the word [grəst] originally descended from /qaristu/ in CA and which means "I felt cold" in BHA, is referred to [bradt] in almost neighbouring varieties. Therefore, a general linguistic description of BHA is provided in this chapter, focusing on the main important features that characterize this variety and comparing them with the adjacent ones.

### 3.2 DIALECT CLASSIFICATION

As we have seen in chapter 2 (see 2.3), the successive invasions that Algeria witnessed were a remarkable point in its history in general, for it knew fundamental conversion at religious, social and cultural levels, not least linguistic. The first period of the Arabs' conquer in the mid 7<sup>th</sup> century to introduce Islam and the Arabic language to the indigenous inhabitants called Berbers in North Africa was known as the Pre-Hilalian period. Those Arabs brought a sedentary type of Arabic. Later on, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century another wave of Arabs conquered Algeria. They were the Banu Hilal tribe consisted of bedouin (nomadic) groups who introduced the bedouin dialects. Traditionally, these Bedouins, also called desert dwellers, avoid farming or any kind of settled life. But, many of them as they had come from the Middle East to North Africa melted with the Berbers.

Linguistically speaking, these two waves of Arabisation in Algeria resulted in the emergence of two types of Arabic dialects: sedentary and bedouin. We have previously

introduced them as existing dialects in the Arabic-speaking world in chapter 1 (see 1.6). In this section we will deal with them as they exist in many parts of Algeria.

Based on the French dialectal studies that were conducted in North Africa by many French sociologists and anthropologists (Bell, Cantineau, Destaing, and Marçais), and based on phonetic, phonological, morphological, and lexical considerations, we state briefly the basic differences between sedentary and bedouin dialects put forward by Marçais, P. (1960):

- The uvular plosive /q/ is realized as [g] in bedouin dialects whereas in sedentary dialects it is kept the same. For example, it is realized [q] in the region of Tlemcen (such as Nedroma, Beni Snous), Algiers and many other places. It is also realized as glottal [ʔ] in Tlemcen city. In other regions such as Djildjelli and Ghazaouet, it is articulated as velar [k].

- Sedentary dialects lost the interdentalals /θ, ð, ð̣/ and became dentals [d], [t] and [ḍ], while in Bedouin dialects they are still preserved. For instance, words like /θala:θa/, /ðɪʔb/, /ð̣olm/ are realized in sedentary dialects as: [tlata], [di:b], [ḍolm] to mean "three", "wolf", and "oppression" respectively. There are cases where the sound /ð̣/ is realized as /ṭ/: /barḍa/ "egg" becomes [beṭa] in some sedentary dialects such as Tlemcen.

- Gender is differentiated in Bedouin dialects by adding the suffix {i} to verbs when addressing women, whereas in sedentary dialects the masculine form is used for the feminine. For example, [kuli] in bedouin dialects is used to address a woman and [kul] to address a man. However, in sedentary dialects only the form [kul] exists to address both sexes.



- Diminutive forms are linguistic characteristics of the sedentary dialects such as [tʷijjər] which is a diminutive form of the word /ṭe:r/ "bird".

- The diphthongs /aɪ, aʊ/ are kept in bedouin dialects. In sedentary ones, they are substituted by [i:, u:] in the environment of plain consonants and [e:, o:] in the environment of emphatics /ṭ, ʃ, ʒ, ḍ, ʁ, ʁ/ respectively. For examples, /maʊʒa/ → [mu:ʒa]: "wave": /aʊ/ becomes [u:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /m/.

/ʃaɪb/ → [ʃi:b]: "whiteness of the hair": /aɪ/ becomes [i:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /ʃ/.  
/ʒaʊm/ → [so:m]: "fast": /aʊ/ becomes [o:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /ʒ/.

/ḍaɪf/ → [ḍe:f]: "guest": /aɪ/ becomes [e:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /ḍ/.

It seems that the Arabic variety of Beni Hammou, which is our concern in this research work has the characteristics of sedentary dialects and hence is classified according to Destaing (1907) in his book "*Etude sur le Dialecte Berbère des Beni Snous*" as a sedentary dialect. In the following sections we will expose some of the linguistic features of this variety and see whether they are sedentary or Bedouin.

### 3.3 SOME CONSONANTAL ASPECTS IN BHA

Every language is considered as a norm and the dialects of this language have long been seen by linguists as a deviation from that norm. However, the study of these dialects in their social context have shown the contrary, and that these dialects are well structured systems with rules of construction. Every dialect possesses features specific to it and differs from other dialects in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary.

### 3.3.1 The Phonetic Feature of Emphasis

The term 'emphasis' in Arabic is known as 'tafkhim'. It occurs in a group of Arabic consonants where the root of the tongue is elevated towards the palate so that the tongue bulge makes a constriction in this area. The Arabic emphatic sounds are /q, ḡ, ṭ, ḍ, ʁ, ṣ, ʕ/. Phonetic variation of emphasis in the speech community of Beni Hammou is much noticeable than any other variation among men and women and also in different age groups. Speakers of this speech community vary the pronunciation of these emphatic sounds /q, ḍ, ṭ, ḡ, ʁ, ṣ, ʕ/ between a degree of strength and weakness. Hetzron (1997) calls these emphatics primary emphatics and there are secondary emphatics composed of plain consonants where in many Arabic dialects they are articulated as the primary emphatics.

In Beni Hammou, many speakers tend to make all speech sounds emphatic. For example, the sounds /m, b/ in the words /mma/, /bba/ "my mother" and "my father" respectively are articulated with strong emphasis i.e. 'tafkhim'. However, in neighbouring varieties such as BAA, these two sounds are labialized rather than velarized and remain plain consonants: [mm<sup>w</sup>a], [bb<sup>w</sup>a].

Generally speaking, emphasis in this variety occurs with emphatic and even non-emphatic consonants. This emphasis is strong and spreads to contiguous segments within a whole syllable and even extends over a whole word. For instance, the words [qutlək], [d<sup>w</sup>χul] and [nta] are perceived to be strong as they are realised: [qutlak], [d<sup>w</sup>χol] and [nta]. The hearer tends to receive these entire segments as if they are emphatics, though there is no emphatic sound in these words.



### 3.3.2 The Uvular Plosive /q/

The /q/ sound is considered as the most salient phonetic feature opposing rural dialects in Arabic. Like many Algerian sedentary dialects, BHA is characterized by the retention of the uvular plosive /q/ opposing many other neighbouring dialects which substitute the /q/ sound by [g]. In the following example we compare this sound in BHA with other adjacent varieties such as Tlemcen Arabic (henceforth TA), BAA with reference to CA. But, here we consider the pronunciation of /q/ only from native speakers because if we take for example, TA, this sound is realized, besides [ʔ], as [q] and [g] as a result of dialect contact situations due to large-scale rural exodus towards Tlemcen. (Dendane, 1993).

CA	BHA	BAA	TA	Gloss
/qul/	[qu:l]	[gu:l]	[ʔu:l]	'say'
/qɪf/	[wqaf]	[wgəf]	[wʔəf]	'stand up'

Though the speakers of Beni Hammou do use /q/ in their speech, we find some words in this variety in which they articulate the sound [g] instead of /q/. These words may be Arabic words of rural type, French loan words or Berber words. We can consider the following words as illustrating examples:

CA	BHA	Gloss
/raʔe:f/	[garn]	"loaf of bread"
/ʔərnab/	[g <sup>w</sup> nina]	"rabbit"
/χum/	[gənnairu]	"chicken coop"
/χaɪma/	[geʔo:n]	"tent"
/qimma/	[gunʔa:s]	"top"
/jatbaʔ/	[jəlħag]	"he follows"
/ʔəʃʃams/	[l+geɪla]	"the sun"

### 3.3.3 Absence of Interdentals /θ, ð, ð̣/ in BHA

The collected data demonstrate that the interdentals /θ/, /ð/, /ð̣/ are totally absent in BHA. They are, then, substituted by [d], [t], [ḍ]: /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by [d] and [t]. /ð̣/ is replaced by [ḍ]. The next examples show this articulation:

/θ/ - /ð/	→	[d]-[t]	
/jahruθu/	→	[jahrət]	"he ploughs"
/θama:nɪjat+un/	→	[tmənja]	"eight"
/ðabula/	→	[dba:l]	"it faded"
/ðakar+un/	→	[dkar]	"a male"
/ð̣/- /ḍ/	→	[ḍ]-[ṭ]	
/ð̣ahara/	→	[ḍhar]	"he appeared"
/ð̣ann+un /	→	[ḍann]	"doubt"
/maʊḍeɪ/	→	[muḍaɪ]-[muṭaɪ]	"place"
/ɪað̣m+un/	→	[ɪḍam]-[ɪṭam]	"a bone"

From the above cited examples, we found that even the sound /ḍ/ in some words is articulated [ṭ]. The phonetic realization of /ð̣/ and /ḍ/ as [ṭ] is not attested in all words carrying this sound, but just in a few. For example /maṭta:rijja/ "umbrella" is realized [ḍalla:la] but not [ṭalla:la].

### 3.3.4 Metathesis in BHA

In certain languages and under certain conditions, some sounds appear to exchange position with one another. This reordering of segments within the phonological string is



known as Metathesis. This linguistic phenomenon is frequently found in Arabic dialects. Our variety under investigation is subject to this process too. For example, the CA word /jaltaħıfu/, is realized in BHA [jətlaħħaf] where the sounds /l/, /t/ have exchanged their position within this word to make it easier to pronounce. The most prevalent instances of Metathesis process in BHA are the following:

CA	BHA	Gloss
/jaltaħıfu/	[jətlaħħaf]	"to wrap oneself"
/jaltawi:/	[jətləwwa]	"to be twisted"
/jaltaqi:/	[jətlaga]	"to meet someone"
/jaltaşıqu/	[jətlasaq]	"to stick"
/jaʒðıbu/	[jəʒbad]	"to pull"
/ʒawa:b/	[wʒa:b]	"answer"

In BHA, it is also worth to mention another process whereby some sounds in some words are deleted and substituted by other sounds. This process is well illustrated in the following examples:

\*/ʃaʒara/ "tree" is pronounced in BHA [səʒra]. The fricative/ʃ/ is elided and substituted by [s].

\*/ʒaɪʃ/ "army" is realised [zi:ʃ] in BHA, where /ʒ/ is altered by [z].

\*/ʒaħʃ/ "young donkey" is articulated [zeħʃ].

\*/ʔaʒa:ʒ/ "dust" is pronounced [ʔza:ʒ] where /ʒ/ in this case is replaced by [z]. It is pronounced [ʔʒa:ʒ] as well.

\*/zabbuʒa/ "sterile olive tree" is pronounced [ʒəbbuʒa].

Benrabah (1989) provided his article "A Cross-Dialectal Phonetic Description of Algerian Arabic" with a phonemic chart showing the consonantal system of AA. We also used this chart with the consonantal system of BHA.

		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	N.E	/p/ /b/		/t/ /d/				/k/ /g/			/ʔ/
	E				/d̥/ /t̥/				/q/		
Affricate	N.E										
	E										
Fricative	N.E		/f/ /v/		/s/ /z/	/ʃ/ /ʒ/				/ħ/ /ʕ/	/h/
	E				/s̥/ /z̥/			/χ/ /ʁ/			
Nasal	N.E	/m/			/n/						
	E										
Lateral	N.E				/l/						
	E				ɭ						
Flap	N.E				/r/						
	E				/ɾ/						
Approximant	N.E	/w/					/j/				
	E										

Table: 3.1: BHA Consonants

**E: Emphatic Consonants**

**N.E: Non-Emphatic Consonants**



### 3.4 MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN BHA

Morphological variation in the speech community of Beni Hammou is as important as the preceding phonological phenomena, for it shows a distinct use of some variables that are typical to this community.

#### 3.4.1 The markers {i} and {u}

Sedentary dialects are characterised by the drop of the feminine marker {i} in the second person feminine singular. BHA also has this distinctive feature whereby both male and female speakers are addressed the same way. For example, to invite a man or a woman to drink a cup of coffee, a native BHA speaker may say [ʃrab] "drink" for both of them. In neighbouring varieties such as Khémis speakers, have the same feature, but in BAA and Mazzer Arabic (henceforth MA) they have gender distinction in verb-forms: [ʃrab] when addressing masculine and [ʃorbi] when addressing feminine.

The suffix {u} is a sedentary dialect feature as well. It is used with the third person singular masculine, to show possession of something. For example, [haqqu] "his right" as opposed to [haqqah] in bedouin dialects. It is also used with the same personal pronoun "he" in verb-forms in the past tense. For instance, [ʃarbu] "he drank". BHA is also characterized by the use of this feature.

#### 3.4.2 Plural Noun forms

French loan words are a prominent characteristic in AA in general. During our investigation in the area of Beni Hammou, we noticed that most of the French loan words in this variety have a plural form different from the usual used in other varieties. In addition, some Arabic and Berber words

also have this distinct plural form of nouns. The speakers of BHA were observed using French loan words in the plural form with the suffixes {-ən} and {a:t} as the next table shows:

French Word	Plural Form in BHA	Gloss
"Les tricots"	[ttrɪkujən]-[ttrɪkuja:t]	"sweaters"
"Espadrilles"	[ssbɔrdajən]-[ssbɔrdɪna:t]	"trainers "
"Les chapeaux"	[ʃʃapujən]-[ʃʃapuja:t]	"hats"
"Les maçons"	[lmaʃojən]-[lmaʃoja:t]	"builders"
"Les camions"	[lɔkmajən][lkamɪjuna:t]	"trucks"
"Les boulons"	[lbbalən]-[lbuluna:t]	"screws"

Table 3.2: Plural Form of French Loan Words in BHA.

In addition to these French loan words, Some Arabic words for instance, [qatʔanija] "basket", [kəttana]"piece of cloth", have the plural forms [qatəən], [ktatən] respectively. Berber words such as [tɪla]"sieve" [ʔəsəlwa:n] have the plural form [tɪlawən]and [ʔəslawən].

### 3.4.3 Affixed {ha} in Initial and Final Positions

In BHA the fricative sound /h/ is inserted before imperative verbs. This sound is usually associated with the vowel /a/, and so the morpheme {ha} is inserted in initial position with verbs conjugated in the imperative tense. Examples are so many: [ha # ɾa] "give", [ha # ku:l]"eat", [ha # rwaħ]"come", [ha # q<sup>w</sup>ɪud]"sit down".

In final position this morpheme is associated with locatives which are used to denote places such as "here" or "there":



CA	BHA	Glos
/huna:/	[hna+ha]-[hna]	"here"
/huna:ka/	[tɔmma+ha]-[hna:k]	"there"

### 3.5 LEXICAL ASPECTS IN BHA

It has been proved that actually, lexis constitutes the core of language. The term lexis refers to the total words and phrases of a particular language. These words, which carry along meaning or function grammatical features, are the tools we use to access our background knowledge, express ideas, and learn about new concepts.

The North African dialects<sup>(2)</sup> known as Maghreban or Western dialects are distinguished from the Eastern or Oriental dialects at all linguistic levels, mainly lexical. Marçais (1958) states that these differences in vocabulary are due to:

*To the Berber influences; languages of the black races...; Roman languages: Latin (transmitted mainly through the Andalusian language); Spanish and Italian; Turkish mainly in Algeria and in Tunisia; finally French of which the influence is still vivid nowadays*<sup>(3)</sup>. (Marçais, P. 1958, quoted in Bouamrane: 1989:11).

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

#### 3.5.1 The Berber Vocabulary in BHA

As we have already mentioned, the area of Beni Snous, comprising the thirteen tribes, was inhabited by the Berber tribe called "Zenati". The only variety spoken at that time

was Berber. After the Arabisation policy that all North of Africa was subject to, Arabic spread over the region of Beni Snous. Nevertheless, the variety under investigation has retained a considerable number of words of Berber origin for a long time. Perhaps this act of maintenance of some words was due to the fact that these arabised people at that time did not know their equivalents in Arabic. These Berber words, still surviving, generally refer to places, illnesses, kinds of flowers, herbs, tools of handicrafts and utensils. Among these words we cite: [æmliləs] which is the name of a plant used to filter impure human being's liver. [æjni] refers to mud covered stones (usually three stones) used around the fire to put on bottomed pots for cooking. While doing so, the black product which appears on the bottom of the pot is called [æsəlwa:n]. The word [æɣaz] are fruits of a wild eatable plant. [æqəlla:l] is a kitchen utensil with holes made of halfa and used to make Kuskus. [æjdu:d] a disease associated with stomach ache, head ache and vomit. [timərsət] is a plant growing on the borders of the valley used to cure diseases. There is also a number of Berber names for places in BHA such as [aɣrawən], [qiriɣja], [zajna], [maɣrawa].

During our investigation we found that some of these Berber words are adapted linguistically and some others are not. As an instance to what has been just said we give the subsequent Berber words which are used in BHA without linguistic adaptation:



Berber Word	CA	Gloss
[qərrad]	/qarfiʃ/	"squat"
[nanna]	/ʒaddati:/	"grand mother"
[dadda]	/ʒaddi:/	"grand father"
[zamm]	/ʔuʃsor/	"press"
[lfaχət]	/hama:m/	"pigeon"
[lmoglaʃ]	/miqla:ʃ/	"slingshot"
[lmʃagəl]	/ʔærʒul/	"back of the knee"
[æzwar]	/tawbi:χ/	"swearing"
[æsreʃ]	/ʃæl+faɖla/	"what remains in the plate after eating".

However, the following Berber words are used in the speech of Beni Hammou, but they have been adapted to the rules of the local system phonetically and morphologically to conform to the linguistic rules of the variety:

Berber Word	BHA Articulation	English Gloss
[æʁla:l]	[luʁla:l]	"snails"
[æzəkruun]	[zzukrəm]	"a lock"
[æsəqqən]	[səqqan]	"metatarsal"
[θazaʃbult]	[zzaʃbula]	"bag"
[dzubjaiθ]	[zzubja]	"rubbish"
[əalwast]	[lu:sa]	"kinship"

In our first tentative of data collection we observed some purely Arabic words which have been adapted to the rules of the Berber variety. For example, by adding the prefixes [ta],[ti] and the suffix [mt]. The Berber final sequence -mθ # # is articulated as -mt # # in BHA, because the /θ/ sound does not exist in this variety. We selected some of these Arabic words having a grammatical Berber form:

Arabic Gloss	BHA	English Gloss
-/jahu:diʒa/	[tajhudi:t]	"act of behaving in a particular Jewish manner"
-/taqaddum/	[taqədumt]	"development"
-/takabbur/	[takəbburt]	"arrogance"
-/ʔæl+χubθ/	[taħramiʒjat]	"tendency to hurt"
-/fahm/	[tæfhəmit]	"tendency to show that you know more than others".

### 3.5.2 The Loan vocabulary of BHA

AA is known for its rich use of loanwords. It has adopted a number of words from different languages throughout its history. These words are called loanwords. A loanword is a word that is directly taken into one language from another with a phonological, morphological adaptation. Hudson (1996) confirms that loanwords can also be called "borrowings". Following this view the two terms are used in this research work interchangeably.

The great foreign linguistic influence onto AA is French which has been the result of the long French colonial period in Algeria. Therefore, a huge number of French borrowed words may be noticed in BHA. These loan words may be to a greater or lesser extent assimilated. There may be a change in the form of word so that the word follows the AA form rather than the French form. In addition to the French words, a few others have been taken over from Spanish and Turkish and assimilated into the local system. Almost the speakers in Beni Hammou include so many French loan words in their everyday speech. The following words are only an example:



BHA Articulation	French Word	English Gloss
[ʃʃifo:r]	"chauffeur"	"driver"
[lliget]	"les gants"	"gloves"
[la fu:t]	"une faute"	"fault"
[ʒʒarna:n]	"le journal"	"newspapers"
[jserbi]	"il serve"	"he serves"
[lfarʃiʔɑ]	"fourchette"	"a fork"
[karʔɑb]	"cartable"	"schoolbag"
[ʃangu]	"sans gout"	"without taste" <sup>(4)</sup>
[ʃʃifloʁ]	"chou- fleur"	"cauliflower"
[ssarbita]	"serviette"	"towel"
[lmIti]	"le metier"	"the profession"

Table 3.3: French Loan Words in BHA

The Arabic language phonic medium does not contain the phonemes /v/ and /p/. But, they are attested in many Algerian dialects. The existence of these sounds is the result of the long French-Arabic contact. In this respect, Benrabah states:

**These two sounds occur exclusively within French loanwords which have not undergone total assimilation into the Arabic vocal system. The use of /p/ and /v/ by even illiterate people shows how resistant these two sounds are to a complete assimilation. (Benrabah 1989:27)**

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

<b>BHA Gloss</b>	<b>French Gloss</b>	<b>English Gloss</b>
[kuvɪrta]	"couverture"	"blanket "
[lvana]	"vane"	"sluice gate"
[vis]	"vis"	"screw"
[pumpa]	"pompe"	"pump"
[plastik]	"plastique"	"plastic"
[plaʦo]	"plateau"	"plate"

The next examples show the substitution of these words by [b] and [f]. They are generally, as Berrabah mentions uttered by illiterate and old people:

<b>BHA Gloss</b>	<b>French Gloss</b>	<b>English Gloss</b>
[f <sup>w</sup> ajaʒ]	"voyage"	"transportation"
[fista]	"veste"	"jacket"
[fizita]	"visite"	"to visit the doctor"
[bærditu]	"je l'ai perdu"	" I have lost it"
[bulisi]	"policier"	"policeman"
[ləbla:n]	"le plan"	"the plan"

It is important to note in this context other foreign loanwords that are implanted in BHA. Besides the French loanwords, this variety has permitted some borrowed items from Turkish as a consequence of the Ottoman period in Algeria which had left considerable linguistic traces behind over the Algerian territory. Some words were selected during our data collection to be the sample of Turkish borrowed words in BHA: we have often heard some people uttering the Turkish word "beylək" in their talk: [had#l+ʔard# ntaʔ# l+bejlək] meaning "this land is a possession of the government". The word "gewri" is also Turkish where Beni Hammou speakers often refer to foreign people as "gwer" meaning "Europeans".



Spanish loanwords are frequently attested in the Algerian speech, mainly in the coastal towns such as Algiers, Oran, Béjaia, Ghazaouet, Mostaganem and many other coastal areas. During our investigation we found some Spanish words used by the speakers of Beni Hammou variety, though these invaders did not reach this area. But, the use of these Spanish words in the speech community under investigation remains relatively little compared with the other previous mentioned coastal areas. Among these words we can list:

Spanish Word	BHA Realisation	English Gloss
"Falta"	[falʦa]	"fault"
"Barato"	[baraʦo]	"cheap"
"Fabrica"	[fabrika]	"factory"
"bogado"	[bogaɖo]	"lawyer"
"Raça"	[raʒa]	"race"
"Armario"	[merjo]	"cupboard"
"Zapatos"	[ʒəbba:t]	"shoes"
"Cabeza"	[qabɪsa]	"head"

### 3.5.3 The Local Vocabulary of Beni Hammou

If we come to speak about Arabic as a written standard form and AA as spoken form, we shall say that a diglossic relationship links these two varieties; the first being the High variety and the second being the Low variety.

Dendane (1993), states that the lexicon of the Algerian dialects is composed of a great number of 'doublets'-synonymous pairs-. He further explains that one of these doublets is used in an urban variety whereas the corresponding doublet is used in a rural variety. In the following table we made a comparison between BHA, urban and rural vocabulary. In fact, Beni Hammou vocabulary is taken from our corpus, while some of the urban and rural vocabulary is obtained from Dendane's work (1993).

CA Gloss	Urban Vocabulary	Rural Vocabulary	BHA Vocabulary	English Gloss
/ʔæjna/	[fajən]	[wi:n]	[fajən]	"where"
/jaʔχuðu/	[jʔæbbi]	[jeddi]	[jeddi]	"he takes"
/jaʔmalu/	[jaʔməl]	[jdi:r]	[jdi:r]	"he does"
/χa:ʂʂatuhu /	[tæʔu]	[ntaʔah]	[diʔælu]	"his"
/ʔiʒlis/	[ʔəʒʔud]	[ʒemmaʔ]	[qʔʔud]	"sit down"
/naʔam/	[je:h]	[wa:h]	[wa:h]	"yes"
/kull/	[kæməl]	[ga:ʔ]	[kæməl][kulləʃ]	"all"
/ma:ða:/	[ʔəsəm]	[wa:ʃta]	[wa:səm]	"What?"

**Table 3.4: Urban- Rural- BHA Vocabulary**

From the above cited table, we discover variation in BHA lexis in relation with urban and rural speech. The comparison of these dialects leads us to say that sometimes, BHA has the same words as the urban dialects like [fajən]"where" and sometimes it has rural words as in [jdi:r]"he does", [jeddi]"he takes". We found also, words in BHA that are totally different from the urban and rural varieties such as [wa:səm]"what". In the next chapter we will deal with these urban and rural words quantitatively to show the degree of their use among speakers.

So, in addition to phonological phenomena that characterise the speech community of Beni Hammou, lexis represents a hallmark in this variety, since its speakers use items that are different from the neighbouring varieties. The following table includes words from BHA as opposed to TA. They show completely different items used in both regions:



CA	BHA	TA	English Gloss
/qumf/	[lmuhgən]	[llambu:t]	"funnel"
/muballal/	[mʏemmaS]	[mSemmaχ]	"wet"
/tanaħħa/	[k <sup>w</sup> ħuz]	[Zu:l]-[k <sup>w</sup> ħuz]	"move up"
/qudda:ma/	[twelɪja]	[ʔøddamɪ]	"in front of me"
/nam/	[nʏæs]	[rʔed]	"he slept"
/na:di+hi/	[lʏɔlu]	[ʔajjaɫlu]	"call him"
/mala:bɪs/	[ləħwalæ]	[lʔæʃʃ]	"clothes"
/ʔɪnzaʔ/	[slæχ]	[nehħɪ]	"take off"
/tuħɪb/	[tebʏi]	[tħæb]	"you like"
/ʔæl+maɫɔr/	[nnaw]	[ʃʃt <sup>s</sup> æ]	"rain"
/ʔæl+wahaɫ/	[lʏɪs]	[ləʏraʔ]	"mud"
/jaʃe:h/	[jzaggɪ]	[jt <sup>s</sup> əwweʏ]	"he screams"
/wɪsa:da/	[wsæda]	[mχədda]	"pillow"

Table 3.5: TA vs. BHA Vocabulary

Some lexical items are shared between BHA and TA and constitute a linguistic convergence between these two varieties whose speakers share also some historical events altogether. There are some lexical items that may be considered as strong markers of the TA variety as they cannot be heard elsewhere, Dendane (ibid). Although this lexical distinctiveness in TA, we found in our corpus a considerable number of words similar to that of Tlemcen. As an instance, we have captured the word [χa:j] "my brother" which is used by both Tlemcen and Beni Hammou speakers. Opposing some other neighbouring varieties such as BAA in uttering the word [χu:h], BHA joins TA to say [χa:h]. The feminine form of this word in TA is [χ<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i:] whereas in BHA is realized [χ<sup>w</sup>te:] replacing the close vowel [i:] with an open vowel [e:]. The /t/ sound in this word is more or like the emphatic [t].

It is essential at this stage to list some words that are regarded as the most typical ones used in this variety. For example, [ɛlmanʒo:r] "street" is known as [tre:q], [tre:g] in neighbouring KA and BAA respectively. "bradtt" meaning "I felt cold" is presented in this variety [grəst]. The Turkish word "tabşe" meaning 'plate' that is frequently used in approximately all Algerian dialects is known as [χ<sup>w</sup>ʂeʂa] among Beni Hammou speakers, mainly elders.

The word [ɛlla:] "no" is rarely used in BHA by the speakers. The most expected words are: [mɛʔah], [maħɛʔʔah] and [ʔarah]. However, among children you may hear a distinctive word [mannu]. We attempted to find an explanation to this word among the old generation and why it is used by children only. We have been informed that the origin of this word is French "mais non" which has been transformed through some phonological processes into [mannu]. We even asked boys and girls aged between 11 to 15 years old why they gave up uttering this word, and surprisingly their answer was related to psychological matters where these young feel a kind of stigmatization when uttering this word claiming that at Middle school, the pupils of neighbouring villages will mock at them if they use this word.

### 3.5.3.1 Gender-Mixed System in Beni Hammou

In general, personal pronouns in CA show differences in gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular, dual, and plural) and person (first, second, and third). The second personal pronouns "anta" "anti" are used to indicate masculine and feminine gender respectively. In AA, most of the dialects make difference in gender using the personal



pronouns "nta", "ntaya", "ntiya", "ntin", and "ntina". In the area of Beni Hammou the second singular personal pronoun masculine [nta] "you" is used to address both sexes: [nta # qutli] "you said to me" to address both a man and a woman. Whereas in some other varieties: Beni Achir, Beni Bahdel and Khémis for instance they use:

Beni Achir: [ntaja # gutli] for a man and [ntija # gutli] for a woman.

Beni Bahdel: [nt<sup>s</sup>a # qut<sup>s</sup>li] for a man and [nt<sup>s</sup>ija # qut<sup>s</sup>ijli] for a woman.

Khémis: [nta # qutli] for a man and [ntina # qutli] for a woman.

### 3.5.3.2 Gender of Unmarked Feminine Nouns in BHA

All languages refer to gender as feminine and masculine. In Arabic feminine words have the ending "-a" to be different from masculine words which carry no suffix and thus are unmarked for gender: [haʒr-a] "stone", and [ward-a] "rose" are examples of feminine nouns having "-a" in the end, while [tabʒe] "plate" and [kursi] "chair" are masculine nouns without being marked. However, there are cases where the feminine nouns are unmarked and the decision about whether a noun is feminine or masculine is hard.

During the process of data gathering in the speech community of Beni Hammou, we came across some nouns that are grammatically unmarked and hence treated differently in terms of gender. Even at a regional level, some of these nouns are said to be feminine in BHA, whereas in other neighbouring varieties they are considered masculine. Sometimes we find the opposite. In the following chapter we deal with these

unmarked nouns quantitatively and qualitatively. A comparison is made between CA and BHA concerning these nouns in the following examples:

- [rəʒli # rah # jəwdʒaʔni] in BHA vs. [rəʒli # raha # t<sup>s</sup>əwʒaʔni] in TA. "My foot aches me".
- [dɑhri # raha # təwʒaʔni] in BHA vs. [dɑhri # rah # jəwdʒaʔni] in TA. "My back aches me".
- [dʒat # ddo:] in BHA. vs. [ʒa # ddo:] in TA "light has come".
- [fajən # [aha # lχudmi] in BHA vs. [faj # [e:h # lχudmi] in TA. "Where is the knife?"
- [l+melh # maʃi # mliha # bəzzaf # fə l # makla] in BHA vs. [lmelh # maʃi # mliħ # bəzzaf # fə # l # makla].

Similarly, the word [χubz] is feminine in BHA but masculine in TA. As we were discussing some feminine matters with some women in Beni Hammou, we frequently heard this utterance [l+χubz # l+maʔʒuna # b+smi:d # madʒI+ʃ # kɪma # l+maʔʒuna # bə # l+farina]" the bread baked with semolina is not as good as that baked with flour".

### 3.5.3.3 Baby Talk in BHA

The phenomenon of baby talk is considered by linguists as a marginal system within a language which is seen primarily appropriate to talk to young children using specific words and it is characterized by the shortening and simplifying of words consisted of two similar syllables, usually by using bilabials, plosives and nasals. According to Eckert, this phenomenon is not confined to children only, but it is widely used among adults themselves even when children are absent. In this view he says:



Features of baby talk are not only part of a register for speaking with small children; they are also used among speakers of all ages, including adults, when no children are present. Many adults use baby talk, for example, when teasing about fear or low pain tolerance, expressing sympathy, talking to animals, or in intimate talk to a lover.

(Eckert, 2000:10-11)

During our data collection we devoted some of our time to interview a number of adults, including mothers, about their way of addressing their toddlers. They found this way of talking with their babies efficient and that the more they listen and respond to their children, the better they will communicate with them. Baby talk words in BHA generally are for food, drink and sleep. Here we will look at some specific words used by parents to address their infants:

Baby Talk	English Gloss
[mammi]	"eat"
[nInni]	"sleep"
[fuffu]	"don't touch. It is hot"
[titti]	"hit"
[bappa]	"bread"
[bèhhu]	"milk"
[mummu]	"baby"
[mahha]	"kiss"
[b <sup>w</sup> uwa]	"water"

Table: 3.6 Baby Talk in BHA

Ingram (1989) argues that baby talk may vary from speaker to speaker and language to language. Hence, every language has its particular baby talk items. Within the listed words above variation exists since we found adults speak foreign words to their children instead of a baby version of their traditional variety, or simply, they use the two variants. Newly married and educated women show this variation by introducing new words to the bulk of Beni Hammou

baby talk. For example, they introduce new baby talk words which are typical to other foreign languages:

New Word	Traditional Word	Gloss
[pɪpi]	[bəʃʃa]	"urinate"
[tʃatʃa]	[qaʃfa]	"sit down"
[dɔdɔ] <sup>(5)</sup>	[nɪnni]	"sleep"

**Table 3.7: Variation in Baby Talk in Beni Hammou**

#### 3.5.3.4 Diminutives in BHA

Diminutives are commonly located in nouns and adjectives to represent a small example of something. In the case of nouns, generally, Beni Hammou speakers demonstrate diminutives to denote the small tools from the identical big ones, which are used in their daily activities such as farming or kitchen utensils:

The Word	Diminutive Form	Gloss
[fa:s]	[fʷjsa]	"pickaxe"
[qadu:m]	[qwidma]	"axe"
[manʒal]	[mnɪʒla]	"sickle"
[bɛrra:d]	[brɪrɛd]	"small container used for tea"
[ɣɛllaja]	[ɣlɪlɪja]	"small container used for coffee"

**Table 3.8: Diminutives for Objects in BHA**

These diminutives stated in table 3.8 above show neither intimacy and modesty nor affections and emotions, but rather to fulfill a purely linguistic meaning of the object referred to. In the case of adjectives, adults and specially women use diminutives to show modesty and intimacy in joking contexts. They generally express the speaker's affection and emotions in a conversation:



BHA Diminutive	Gloss
[ɣʷzɪjja]	"beautiful"
[ʔwɪqəl]	"calm"
[ʔzɪjba]	"single"
[mlɪwħa ]	"beautiful"

**Table 3.9: Diminutives for Adjectives in BHA**

Other cases of diminutives in nouns include animals such as [kʷlɪjəb] for [kalb] "dog", [tʷɪjər] for [tɛ:r] "bird", persons such as [rwɪzəl] for [razəl] "man", [wɪjəd] for [wəld] "boy".

### 3.5.3.5 Classical Arabic Influence in BHA

AA is a collection of spoken dialects with important phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic differences along with a standard written language; MSA. Many studies have pointed out that though these dialectal varieties diverge from the standardized variety, they still retain some lexical items that are purely classical. This practice is known as classicism where we find a word or expression that is borrowed from CA into the colloquial dialects.

As far as the community under investigation is concerned, a considerable number of CA words into BHA were used while recording anonymously the informants. These are cases of classicism in this variety where some lexical items are maintained as the source language, CA. As an example we state:

[dɔdama] "guarantee", [baʃe:ra] "insight", [bɪdʃa] "innovation in religion", [ðɪkr] "remembrance of god", [ddɪjja] "fine for unintentional murder", [nnaʃe:ħa] "advice",

[§§arīfa]“the eternal, ethical, and moral code based on the Qur’an and sunnah”.

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

The Arabic language is a set of colloquial dialects with each having important phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic differences that characterize it as a distinct variety. Therefore, this chapter was an attempt to describe and highlight the salient linguistic features characterizing the speech of Beni Hammou. In fact, we found that this variety shares so many linguistic characteristics along with many Algerian neighbouring dialects, most importantly at a phonological, morphological, and lexical level.

The classification of this variety within either the sedentary dialects or the bedouin dialects, exposes a contradictory situation, because BHA possesses both sedentary and bedouin words. From a linguistic point of view, Destaing classified this variety as being a sedentary dialect basing this classification on linguistic norms. However, what is evident is that Algerian dialects, as is the case with all varieties over the continent did and still do undergo linguistic changes. Hence, this reality should lead to rethink about these vernaculars and their amazing development through time.



**NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE**

(1) A dialect is a variety of a language characterized by systematic differences in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary from other varieties of the same language. An accent contains, in addition to these features, features of pronunciation and prominence that may reveal the social and regional background of speakers.

(2) North African dialects are spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

(3) My translation of the original text:

**Aux influences du Berbere; des langues des races noires... ; des langues Romanes: le Latin (transmis surtout à travers l'andalou) ; l'espagnol et l'italien ; le turc surtout en Algerie et en Tunisie ; enfin le français dont l'influence s'exerce encore aujourd 'hui.**

(Marçais, 1958, quoted in Bouamrane: 1989:11)

(4) "Sans gout" means "without taste" but in BHA it refers to cooking oil.

(5) Metcalf, Allan. A: (2000), in his book "How we talk: American Regional English today" says "to go to sleep is go dodo (from French baby talk, faire dodo from dormir, to sleep". (Metcalf, 2000:35).

# Chapter Four:

## Sociolinguistic Variation in Beni Hammou

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### **4.1 Introduction**

### **4.2 Phonological Variation in BHA**

4.2.1 The /q/Variable

4.2.2 The (d) Variable

### **4.3 Morphological Variation in BHA**

4.3.1 Variation in Plural Noun Forms

4.3.2 The (ha) Variable

### **4.4 Lexical Variation in BHA**

4.4.1 The Use of the Pronoun [nta]

4.4.2 Variation in Gender of Unmarked Feminine Nouns

4.4.3 Urban vs. Rural Vocabulary

4.4.4 Arabic vs. French Vocabulary in BHA

### **4.5 Factors Promoting Linguistic Variation in BHA**

4.5.1 Population Mobility and Dialect Contact

4.5.2 Political and Socio-Economic Conditions

4.5.3 Sex and Age Differences in Beni Hammou

4.5.4 Education in BHA

### **4.6 Language Attitudes Among BHA Speakers**

### **4.7 Conclusion**



## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistics focuses upon language in use within a given speech community and that any sociolinguistic data should be drawn from language as it is used by native speakers communicating with one another. It has been proved that investigations on language use have shown that speech is variable in situational contexts, and that all dialects are orderly heterogeneous systems with each having its own particularities. In the previous chapter, we exposed some salient linguistic features characterizing BHA. In the present chapter, we seek to investigate linguistic variation at a phonological, morphological and for the great majority lexical level. Variationists study how languages vary along geographical or social lines or along lines of age and gender where individuals of the same speech community may display linguistic differences in different social contexts.

To approach and analyze these linguistic differences and correlate them mainly with the two major aforementioned social factors age and gender, we have relied mostly on a method of evaluation which is the quantitative-oriented method with a sample of data analyzed statistically. Using also the qualitative method has enabled us to seek an in-depth understanding of human behaviour in Beni Hammou and the reasons for such behaviour. For example, in BHA the same speaker may use the rural sound [g] in a situation with certain speakers when talking about a certain topic, while he may use his native sedentary [q] in another situation with different speakers and a different topic of conversation.

We intended from the description of BHA provided in Chapter three to show the main phonological, morphological, and lexical features characterizing it. In this chapter we will try to investigate the sociolinguistic variation that occurs at these levels.

## 4.2 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN BHA

As far as the phonological variation is concerned, we shall examine two linguistic variables which are the (q) variable and the (d) variable. These two salient linguistic characteristics, which may be found not only in the area of Beni Hammou, but in many other Algerian dialects, are examined among speakers showing their interplay according to age, sex and other social factors.

### 4.2.1 The (q) Variable

The /q/ sound is articulated in the speech community of Beni Hammou among its speakers and it is considered as a linguistic feature that characterizes its speakers. The gathered data show the use of this variable through the examination of some words containing this sound: [qalli] "he said to me", [qtɑf] "he crossed", [qarrab] "to get near to", and [qadra] "pot". The obtained results have shown that all the informants use the sound /q/ among native speakers of the variety in daily life. The percentage of the 120 examined male and female speakers was 100% which shows the degree to which these speakers maintain the use of this sound as they communicate with one other.

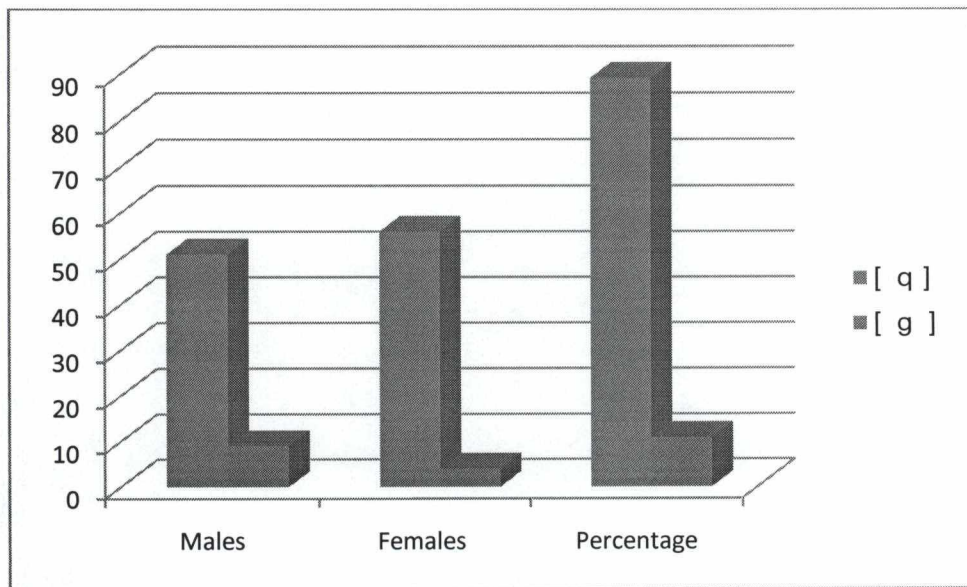
However, we asked the following question to the informants: "Do you use the sound [g] when you talk to non-native speakers of your dialect?" The speakers' answers for this question show variation in this situation as it is illustrated in the following table:



	Males	Females	Percentage
[q]	51	56	89.16%
[g]	09	04	10.83%

**Table 4.1: Shifting Scores from /q/ → [g]:  
Males and Females with non-BHA Speakers.**

The scored results in this table demonstrate that a high percentage of Beni Hammou speakers tend to maintain the use of the uvular [q] with non-native speakers, whereas a small number of these speakers switch to the variant [g]. According to the figure 4.1, the switching of males to [g] is to some extent higher than the females'. This means that men are more exposed to such shift than women. Shifting situations are more available to them because of their daily contact with Beni Achir and Mazzer new settlers in Beni Hammou and their commuting to neighbouring cities such as Tlemcen, Maghnia and Sebdou where, according to them, they feel obliged to use [g].



**Figure 4.1: Shifting Scores from /q/ → [g]:  
Males and Females with non-BHA Speakers.**

In the following table, we quantified our data according to age sampling to show how linguistic variation is reflected in different age categories in this speech community:

	Age 05-15	Age 16-29	Age 30-59	Age 60-85
[q]	30	21	26	30
[g]	00	09	04	00

**Table 4.2: Shifting Scores From /q/→[g]  
With non-BHA Speakers in Correlation with Age.**

The results demonstrate clearly the degree to which the very young and the old generations of Beni Hammou speakers (age from 5-15 and from 60-89) preserve the [q] sound feature and never use [g]. The question that imposes itself here is: Why do these male speakers maintain the variant [q] even with those pronouncing [g]? The answer to this question lies in the social environment these speakers have grown in since they were born in Beni Hammou and grew up among their parents articulating this sound. As we interviewed some of the youngsters about any possibility of being outside their village during their life, most of them gave a negative answer asserting that they usually spend their time either in farming or at school. As for girls, they stay at home. Elders too, who are in the majority farmers or retired persons declare that they have never left their village. These 'non-mobile' speakers, as Chambers and Trudgill (2004) call them, generally spend their time in gardens with their sheep, in shops with shopkeepers, or in the mosque, rarely leaving their village.

Though their peers from neighbouring dialects such as Mazzer and Beni Achir do articulate [g] in their speech, these young speakers and elders do not shift to [g], but



conserve [q] when communicating with them at school, outside it, and on different occasions and circumstances. In contrast, Scores of the variant [g] as the figure 4.2 indicates increase in the two following generations (age from 16-29 and from 30-59) which includes secondary school students, the young who left school earlier, workers, and a few university students. These speakers switch from the voiceless uvular [q] to the voiced velar [g] with people who are not from Beni Hammou. But, this switch only occurs in rare situations, when they encounter people not only from outside Beni Hammou, but also from outside Beni Snous. They said that they switch for the sake of being understood by those pronouncing [g] mainly from Tlemcen and Oran. University students use the [g] sound but in very few situations when they are in Tlemcen at university justifying this linguistic behaviour as compulsory for contact with others and by virtue of necessity to integrate the social milieu once they are in Tlemcen.

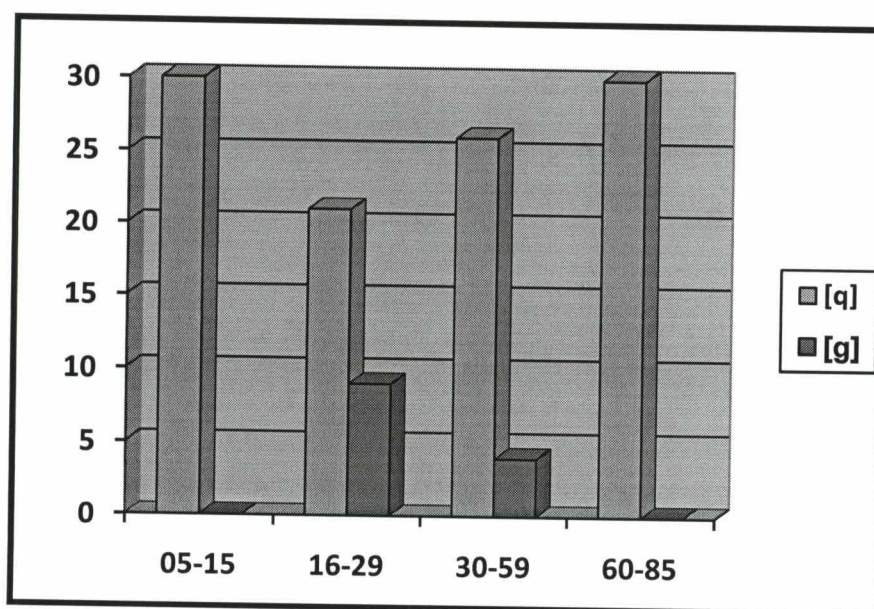


Figure 4.2: Shifting scores from /q/→[g] With non-BHA Speakers in Correlation with Age.

In general, the very young and the old age categories from both sexes show a strong tendency to the preservation of the sound [q] by scoring high rates, while the remaining two categories present a slight participation in the variation of this sound. Nevertheless, they show the existence of some social and socio-psychological<sup>(1)</sup> constraints that are responsible for linguistic variation in the use of this sound: some of them said that their shift occurs for the sake of being understood from those pronouncing [g] mainly from Tlemcen and Oran, and a few others feel ashamed when pronouncing the [q] sound, believing that this sound reveals their rural origin. Evidence for this, is their assertion of the non-switch with Beni Achir and Mazzer speakers though these latter do use the sound [g] like Oran speakers. When asking them about this confusion, their response was simply because they do not feel any shame when articulating [q] with Beni Achir and Mazzer speakers. However, some others, who are mainly Secondary school students and some employees and shopkeepers, confirm their shift to [g] with those speakers, claiming that they feel obliged to accommodate their speech with speakers of adjacent areas and also when they are in big towns such as Tlemcen and Oran. A point should be raised here: though people in Tlemcen use [ʔ], [q] and [g], Beni Hammou speakers who travel to Tlemcen for work, study or other needs, use [g] even with those Tlemcenians articulating the glottal stop [ʔ]. The explanation for this is that the majority of Tlemcen male speakers (about 90%) switch to [g] and [q] with rural speakers coming from neighbouring villages who use these two sounds (Dendane, 1993).



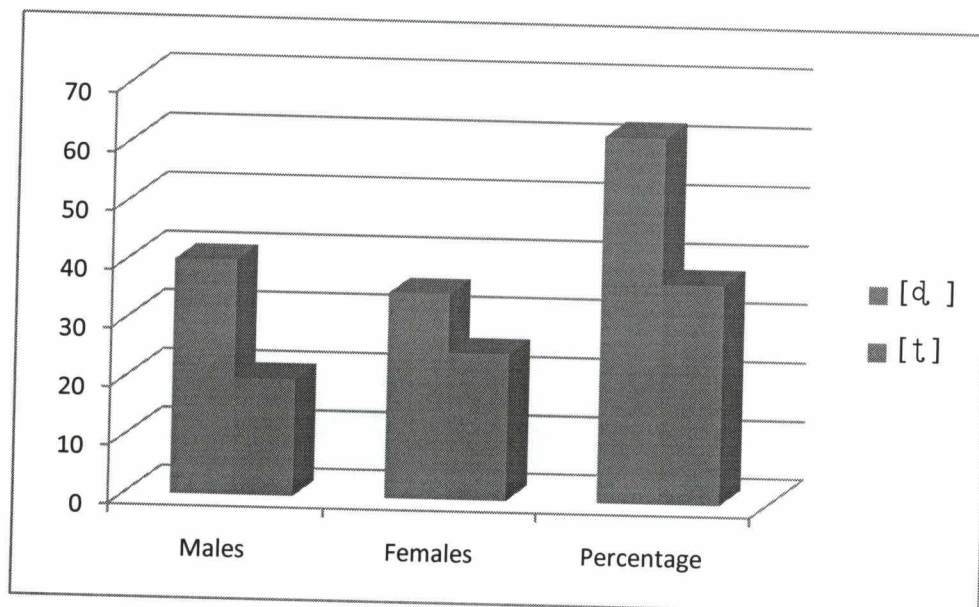
### 4.2.2 The (d) Variable

As we have previously said in Chapter three (see 3.3.3), the classical Arabic interdentalals /θ/, /ð/, /ð̣/ are substituted by [d], [t] and [ḍ] respectively in BHA. Words like /ð̣ahr/ "back" or /jʃɑdd/ "he bites" may be realized as [thar] and [jʃɑtt]. This means that: [ḍ] is realized as [t] in these words. We have investigated the use of this variable among speakers and obtained the following results:

	Males	Females	Percentage
[ḍ]	40	35	62.5%
[t]	20	25	37.5%

**Table 4.3: Scores of the Variants [ḍ]-[t] In Correlation with Gender.**

From the speakers' articulation for the variants [ḍ] and [t] in some given words, through observing their linguistic behaviour, and asking them some questions, we noticed that gender plays a vital role in varying the use of [ḍ] and [t] among speakers as the following figure indicates:



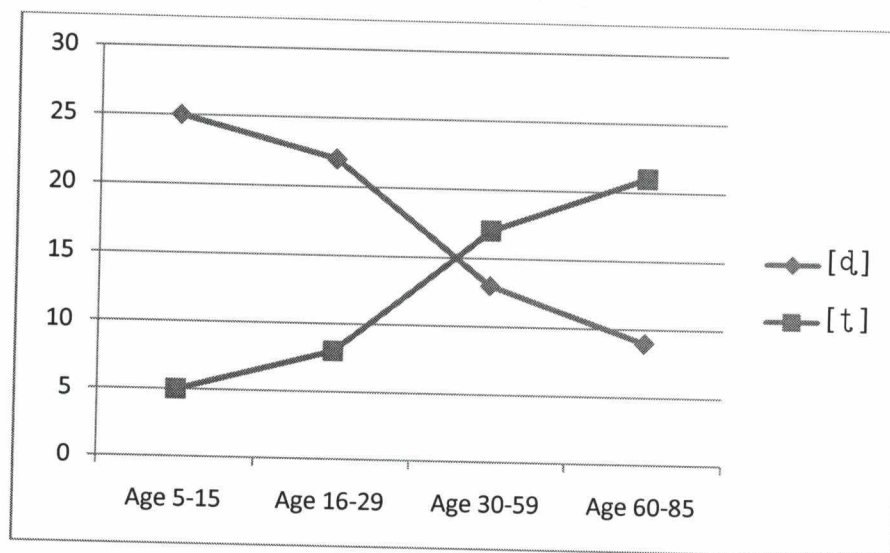
**Figure 4.3: Scores of the Variants [ḍ]-[t] In Correlation With Gender.**

Males' scores in the articulation of [t], as the figure 4.3 indicates, have fewer rates compared with those of females. However, for the articulation of [d] males' rates are higher than females'. This leads us to say that [t] is more likely to be used by women than men. In trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speaker's age, we have come up with the following scores:

	Age 5-15	Age 16-29	Age 30-59	Age 60-85
[d]	25	22	13	09
[t]	05	08	17	21

**Table 4.4: Scores of the Variants [d]-[t] in Correlation With Age.**

We notice that age plays a significant role in distributing the use of [d] and [t] among speakers as the figure 4.4 below shows. And so, we realize that the use of the variant [t] is highly scored between speakers of the last two categories of age compared with the first two ones, while the use of the variant [d] is highly scored between speakers of the first two categories and decreased in the last two categories.



**Figure 4.4: Scores of the Variants [d]-[t] in Correlation with Age.**



Some little girls and even little boys articulate this sound. This fact reveals that they have acquired this linguistic feature from their family environment, especially their mothers. As we went back to the questionnaires, we observed that uneducated middle-aged women and elders staying at home are the most likely to use this sound. Among educated speakers this sound completely disappears and they choose to use [d] instead. Thanks to education, probably, these speakers realize the misuse of the variant [t] and tend to correct it. Having a short historical discussion with some elder men and women, who displayed higher scores for [t] in this investigation, enabled us to draw a conclusion: the use of [t] in past times gained its widespread use among all speakers. Figure 4.4 gives us the summary of what has been said: tendency to use [d] is growing, while tendency to use [t] is on decline among speakers.

### 4.3 MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION IN BHA

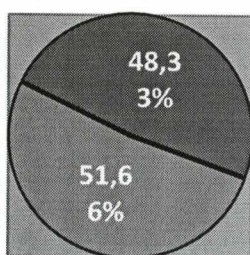
At the morphological level of the investigation we are interested in the variants {-ən}-{-a:t} in plural noun forms as realized by the speakers of Beni Hammou and the feature of {ha} affixation in initial position usually with imperative verb forms, and in final position when indicating locatives. The aim from these morphological investigations is to see whether the speakers are influenced by the morpheme {-:at} or {-ən}, or they use the original French word "espadrilles" "sneakers". The salient morpheme {-ha} represents a hallmark in the speech of Beni Hammou speakers. Hence, we want to see to what extent these speakers maintain this linguistic feature. A tentative investigation is also made concerning the nature and origins of these two variants.

### 4.3.1 Variation in Plural Noun Forms

To examine variation in the use of [-ən] - [-a:t] we have chosen three words from each language: Arabic [kəttana] "piece of cloth", Berber [tila] "sieve" and the French loan word [ssbərɔdina] "sneakers". The results show swinging scores between the use of [-ən] and [-a:t] as it is indicated in table 4.5 and the pie charts 4.1- 4.2-4.3. The original French word in the plural form [espadʁij] "les espadrilles" "sneakers" was completely absent among speakers.

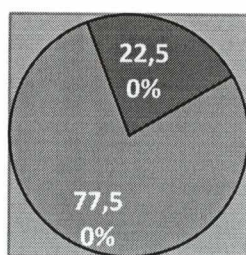
	Realisation	Percentage: Males + Males
1-[ssberdina] "sneakers"	A. [ssbərɔdajən]	51.66%
	B. [ssbərɔdina:t]	48.33%
	C. [espadʁij]	00%
2-[tila]"sieve"	A. [tilawən]	77.5%
	B. [tila:t]	22.5%
3-[kəttana] "piece of cloth"	A. [ktatən]	62.5%
	B. [kəttana:t]	37.5%

Table 4.5: Scores of the Use of Plural Noun Forms By Beni Hammou Speakers.



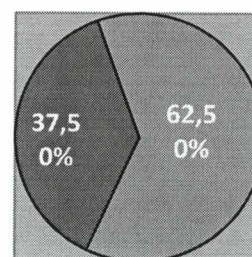
■ A ■ B □ C

Pie Chart 4.1:  
% of Plural  
Forms  
in [ssberdina]



■ A ■ B

Pie Chart 4.2:  
% of Plural  
Forms  
in [tila]



■ A ■ B

Pie Chart 4.3:  
% of Plural  
Forms  
in [kəttana]

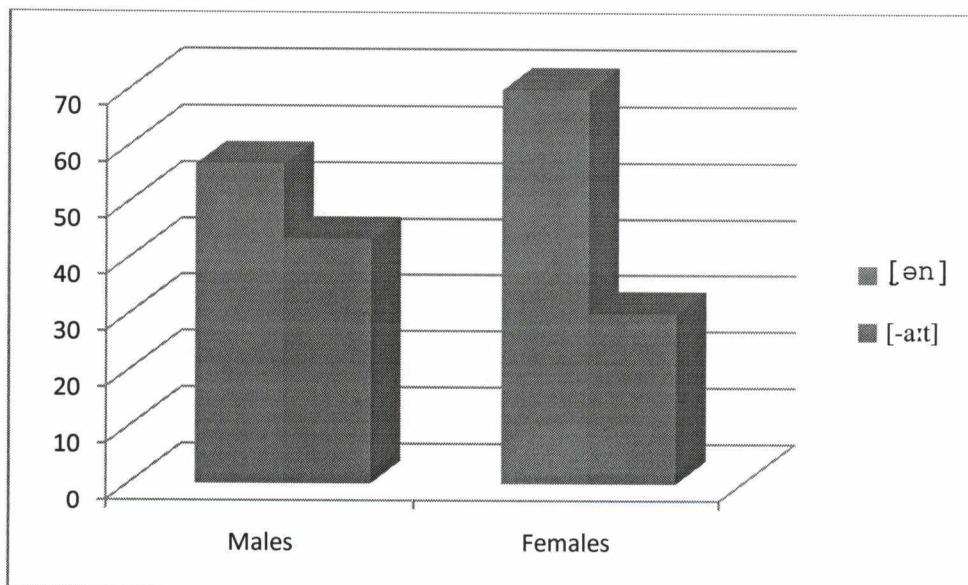


The three pie charts on the use of plural noun forms in the aforementioned words show clearly the wide use of [-ən] among speakers in comparison with [-a:t]. We have summarized the overall scores of the three words in percentage with the variants [-ən] and [-a:t] in the following table:

	Males	Females
[-ən]	56.66%	69.88%
[-a:t]	43.34%	30.12%

**Table 4.6 Scores in % of [-ən] vs. [-a:t]  
In Correlation With Gender**

From table 4.6 and figure 4.5 below, it is clearly shown that the use of the suffix {-ən} is common among male and female speakers in comparison with the suffix {-a:t}. However, among the 120 informants, no one has used the correct French Plural form "les espadrilles" for the word [ssberdina]"sneakers". This leads to the assertion that the French lexical items exist among speakers as loan words.



**Figure 4.5: Scores in % of [-ən] vs. [-a:t]  
In Correlation with Gender.**

The following explanations are provided as an attempt to show the origin of these plural noun forms: are they Arabic forms or Berber forms? In Arabic, there are two types of noun and adjective plural forms: regular plurals, and broken irregular plurals. In regular plurals, masculine plural nouns end in [-u:n] or [-i:n]. For example, the plural form of the word /muʔallim/"teacher" is either [muʔallim+u:n] in the nominative case or [muʔallim+i:n] in the accusative and genitive cases. Feminine regular plural nouns end in [-a:t] such as [muʔallim+a:t].

In BHA and in all Algerian dialects, the realization of [-a:t] is the same as that of Arabic mentioned above, as the speakers use for example, [muʔəllim+a:t] in their speech. For [-u:n] and [-i:n], the situation becomes different: [-u:n] is never articulated, whereas for [-i:n], it is used in both cases: nominative and accusative with so many Arabic nouns and adjectives. In CA, for example:

/ʔəl + muʔallim+u:n # judarris+u:n/" the teachers teach" in the nominative case vs. /raʔajtu # ʔəl+muʔallimi:na/ " I saw the teachers" in the accusative case, /farɪh+tu# bɪ#l+muʔallim+i:na/ in the genitive case. In AA and in BHA, the rule is different for the plural noun form:

[l + muʔəllim+i:n # rahum # jqarriw]-[ʃəft # l + muʔəllim+i:n]  
-[fraɪt#b#l+muʔəllim+i:n] in nominative, accusative, and genitive cases. Thus, [l+ muʔallim+u:n] in AA and BHA is never used. If we hypothesize the possibility of reducing the



form [-i:n] to [-ən], we cannot say \* [muʃəllim+ən] "teachers" or \* [msafɾ+ən]<sup>(2)</sup> "travellers".

For the irregular plural noun forms, suffixes are so many, we take just the ones we are interested in: {-a:n} and {i:n} are suffixes of irregular plurals. For example words as /ʃabj+a:n/ "children", /ʃuʒɪ+a:n/ "courageous" /saka:k+i:n/ "knives", /malaj+i:n/ "millions". In a dialectal form, the realization of these suffixes is possible with these words. Applying the form [-ən] on these words cannot be possible, because we cannot say \* [ʃabj+ən] or \* [ʃuʒɪ+ən]. But, it is possible for the two last words [saka:k+i:n] and [malaj+i:n] as they are realized as [ska:k+ən], [mlaj+ən] in BHA. Thus, the plural form [-ən] may be applied to words ending in 'n': [səkki:n], [məlju:n]. As a conclusion [-ən] as a dialectal plural form occurs only with words ending in 'n'. But, our data show the use of this form not only with nouns ending in "n": what about the realization of the Berber word [tila]?

In the Berber language, one of the various plural forms they use for nouns is the suffix {-n}. An instance of this is the Berber word [argaz] "man" which takes the plural form [irgazn]. In BHA, the realization of this suffix {-n} is usually associated with a weak vowel [ə] to obtain [-ən]. This suffix is attested in a number of Berber instances and the results have shown high scores for this suffix compared with [-a:t].

Hence, [-ən] can be an Arabic dialectal form of nouns ending in 'n' and also in some surviving Berber words. But, how

can we justify its use in French loan words? The French words cited in Chapter three (see 3.4.2) have different endings. So, BHA speakers tend to use this reduced form for plural nouns [-ən] whenever it is possible, because it is the easiest form to articulate.

The use of these two suffixes: [-a:t] and [-ən] shows the influence of the Berber and Arabic languages onto this community; since this latter has Berber roots and was subject to Islamisation from early mid 7<sup>th</sup> century. The use of the Arabic morpheme [-a:t] is relatively less used compared with [-ən], a fact that draws us to be likely inclined to the confirmation that this latter is originated from Berber.

#### 4.3.2 The (ha) Variable

In BHA, the insertion of the affix {ha} in initial position is usually associated with verbs in the imperative form such as when asking someone to eat one may say [ha+kul]. This suffix is also used in final positions with locatives to indicate places, for instance:

1-/huna:/"here" may be realised as [hna+ha] or [hna].

2-/huna:ka/"there" may be realised as [təmma+ha]-[hna:k] or [təmma].

Initial [ha] in the word [ha+kul] "eat" seems not to have lost its wide spread use among speakers, while final [ha] such as in the above mentioned words exist in daily speech with other words : [hna:k] "there", [hna] "here". This means that Beni Hammou speakers maintain this linguistic feature that characterizes their speech.



It has been proved that in all languages and under certain circumstances, some sounds may disappear totally because of human beings' tendency to easier forms of speech. In CA, the 'measure' (i.e., 'al-wazn') of the imperative tense is /ʔiffal/ and so, the verb /ʔækala/ is conjugated in the imperative tense as /ʔuʔkul/ following the measure. The first glottal stop[ʔ] is elided so as to get: [ʔkul]. Being too heavy for its pronunciation, the second glottal stop[ʔ] is elided too, and the verb becomes simply in Arabic [kul].

In BHA, [ha] is added to [kul] and the form became: [ha+kul]. We draw some facts between the sounds [h], [ʔ] which have the same place of articulation and the same voicing feature; both sounds are voiceless and glottal. [ʔ] is a voiceless glottal stop and [h] is also a voiceless glottal but fricative. The difference between them lies only in that during the production of [ʔ], there is an obstruction to the air flow, while for [h] there is no real obstruction but continues to escape through a narrow passage which makes this sound easier to articulate than [ʔ] and therefore, substitutes this latter.

The use of [ha] in initial position with verbs in the imperative form remains inexplicable. But, we will give plausible explanations that may be exposed as hypotheses for further researches. Among which is the above explained relationship between [h] and [ʔ] where the tendency to make speech easier, speakers substitute [ʔ] by [h] for instance, [ha+hqar] "speak". Another linguistic justification that may be correlated with social meaning of the word is stated here:

arguably, [ha] is originated from the CA word /hajja:/ "come on", a verbal noun (i.e., 'ism fiʃl'):/hajja: # kul/in CA. /hajja:/ has undergone through time some phonological processes especially the process of deletion and has been reduced to [ha:j], then to [ha] simply in BHA as in [ha+kul]. In our investigation about this prefix, we listed some choices to the informants about the aim from asking someone

to eat for example. The results of the questionnaire (see part 2-b- 2) show that most BHA speakers agreed on answer "c": "ask him to eat quickly". Therefore, the use of the grammatical structure [ha+kul] in BHA usually depends on the intention of the speaker: which meaning he wants to convey to the addressee, and so the two variants are used in different situations depending on the speaker himself.

The realization of the variable (ha) in final position as [ha] and as  $\emptyset$  depends on the context in which this variable is used. The original word [tamma+ha] is /θamma/or /θammata/ from CA meaning "there". The word [hna+ha] is originally /huna:/ meaning "here". These two words are known as demonstratives in CA: /huna:/ indicates a near place. If preceded by 'ha' which is called in Arabic "ha ttanbi:h" it will be /ha:+huna:/ "here", and if followed by "ka" it will be /huna:ka/"there". Changes of these words through time and space result in new forms different from that of Arabic as is the case with these two words.

[hna] and [hna:k] are originally from /huna:/, /huna:ka/"here" and "there" respectively. The vowel /u/ has been elided and the first word became in most Maghreb dialects articulated as [hna]. Also, /u/ and final /a/ in the second word have been elided and so, it has become



[hna:k] which is much used in Maghreb dialects too. BHA speakers have got the habit of using these locatives interchangeably to denote nearby places or distant places. From a long observation of the speakers, we have come to realize that the use of [hna+ha] and [təmma+ha] is generally accompanied with an emphasis on, for example, that place and not another. From our recordings, we extracted a sentence uttered by a woman in the 'marabout' asking twice her child to not follow her: [riaħ#wəldi#hna#ra+ni#ʒajja#fissaʔ]"stay here son, I am coming quickly" but the child followed her, and then she uttered nervously: [qutl+ək#rijjaħ#təmmaha]. This means that she emphasized on her child to stay in that place where she left him not in the place where he followed her.

#### 4.4 LEXICAL VARIATION IN BHA

We know that there exists an important variation between the Arabic dialects in Chapter 3 (see 1.6). We also know that within the same dialect such as AA there exists variation between its various colloquial dialects. Therefore, the speech under investigation comprises variation at all linguistic levels. At the lexical level, as is the case of most Algerian dialects, BHA varies widely from the neighbouring dialects in the use of some words that are sometimes specific to it and sometimes not as we will see.

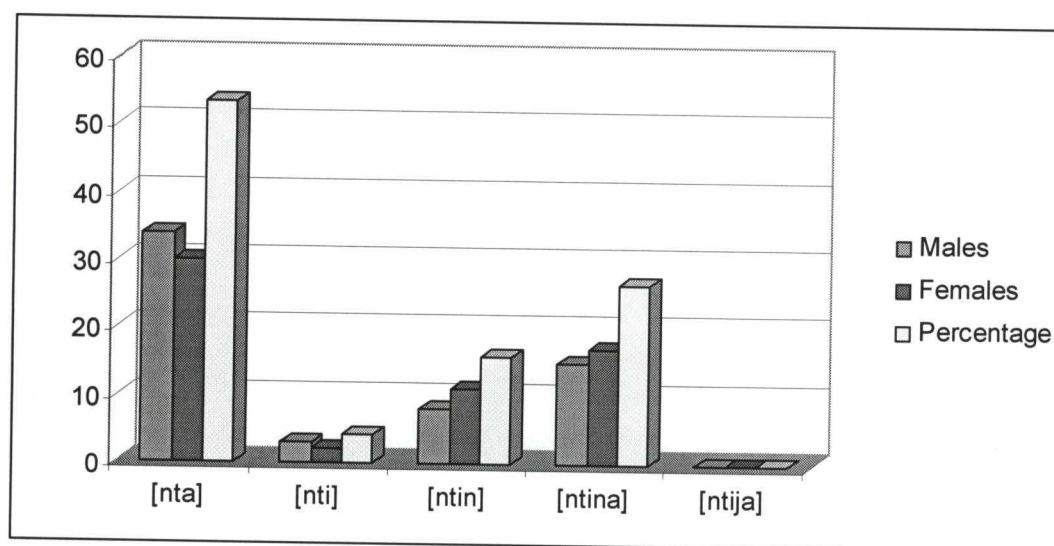
##### 4.4.1 The Use of the Pronoun [nta]

In our investigation, we have inquired about the use of the salient feature characterizing BHA: the second personal pronoun [nta] /ʔænta/ "you" and the possibility of the use of the other pronouns cited in Chapter 3 (see 3.5.3.1). We have presented the results of this inquiry in the following table:

	[nta]	[nti]	[ntin]	[ntina]	[ntija]
<b>Males</b>	34	03	08	15	00
<b>Females</b>	30	02	11	17	00
<b>Percentage</b>	53.33%	04.16%	15.83%	26.66%	00%

**Table 4.7: Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Gender.**

From the above table we may quickly realize that the personal pronoun [nta] remains the most used pronoun among male and female speakers with a percentage of 53.33%. In the second position comes the pronoun [ntina] followed by [ntin]. In final position the pronoun [nti] is used with a very low score (04.16%), and the pronoun [ntija] scored 0. This draws us to say that both male and female speakers shift mainly from the use of [nta] to [ntina] and [ntin]. These results are put in the following figure where we explain the use of these pronouns in relation with the sex of the speaker:



**Figure 4.6: Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Gender.**

According to this figure, BHA is characterized by the use of the pronoun [nta] "you" to address both sexes. However,



the obtained results show also that there are other pronouns which are used among speakers. In fact, to explain the use of the pronoun [nta] to address both sexes in this speech community we relied on the information of elders who constitute the wiser category in this area. They claim that their ancestors were used to address both sexes only with this pronoun, and that the remaining pronouns are of foreign origin. Arguably, [ntina] has its roots from the neighbouring town of Tlemcen which is seen among Tlemcen speakers as a stigmatized feature, the reason for which they usually switch to [nti] in dialect-contact situations<sup>(3)</sup>. Concerning this pronoun, Dendane, states that:

**Another typically TSN lexical item that should deserve attention is [nt<sup>s</sup>ina]'you', a unique singular personal pronoun to address both sexes.**  
(Dendane: 1993:40)

Historically speaking, those who preceded us in investigating the varieties spoken along the valley of Beni Snous claim that they were influenced by the adjacent dialects mainly that of Tlemcen where the two communities shared in ancient times historical events which made them in a permanent contact (see 2.5.2). In this respect, Destaing (1907) posits that:

**All the inhabitants of the tribe know how to speak Arabic, and the dialect they speak is intensively influenced by the urban dialect of Tlemcen** <sup>(4)</sup>. (Destaing, 1907)

Therefore, we can justify the presence of the pronoun [ntina] in BHA (and even in KA) by the influence of Tlemcen speech over these dialects earlier when the whole area of Beni Snous became allied to Banu Yaghmorassen during "the Zianide Dynasty" in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The pronoun [nti] is

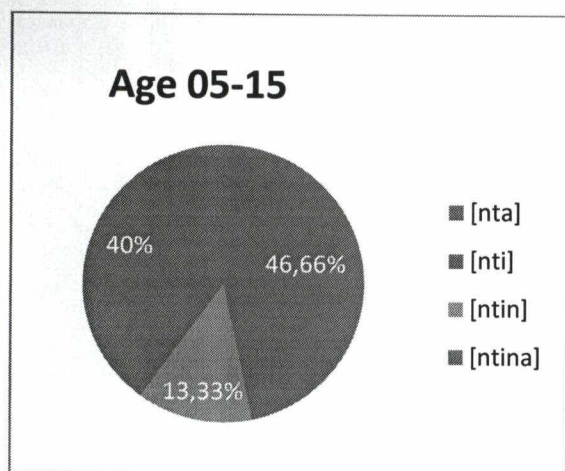
specific to the adjacent village Seb dou; from the obtained scores, this pronoun is not much favoured among BH speakers and the achieved scores can be justified by the daily contact with the variety spoken in Seb dou by some inhabitants of Beni Hammou. The pronoun [ntin] is widely used in the adjacent variety of Khémis whose speakers tend to use it with the Tlemcenian pronoun [ntina]. Beni Achir and Mazzer speakers typically use the pronoun [ntija], but strikingly, this pronoun scored 0% in the speech of Beni Hammou. Again, we come to realise that BHA does not rely on the linguistic system of Beni Achir and Mazzer varieties, but rather there is a process of shift to some linguistic aspects of these varieties.

Variation in the use of these personal pronouns cannot be explained only in relation with age, where the young and middle aged speakers contribute so much in shifting from the personal pronoun [nta] to the other pronouns. The following table and figure show this correlation between age of the speaker and the use of these linguistic variables:

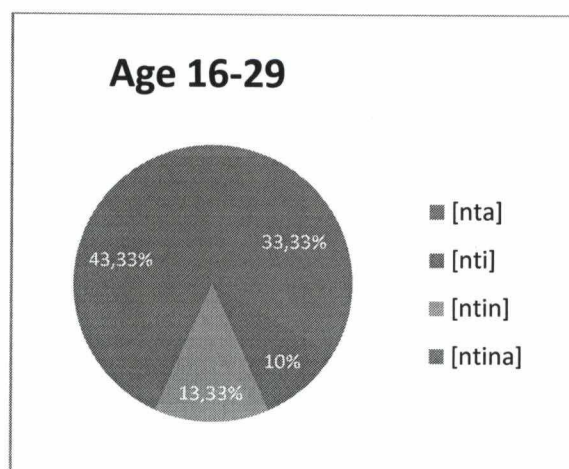
	[nta]	[nti]	[ntin]	[ntina]	[ntija]
<b>Age 05-15</b>	14	00	04	12	00
<b>Age 16-29</b>	10	03	04	13	00
<b>Age 30-59</b>	18	02	06	04	00
<b>Age 60-85</b>	22	00	05	03	00

**Table 4.8: Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age.**

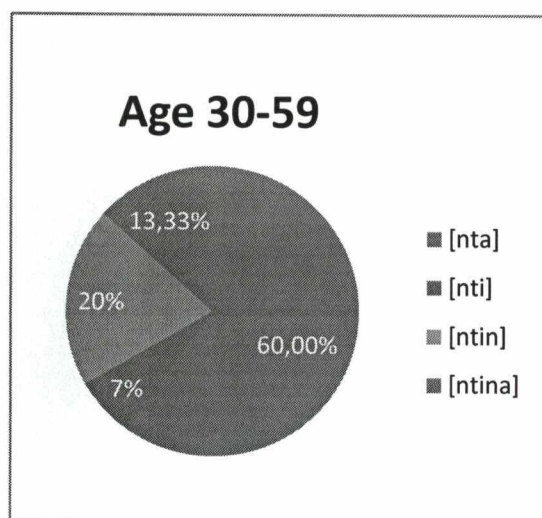




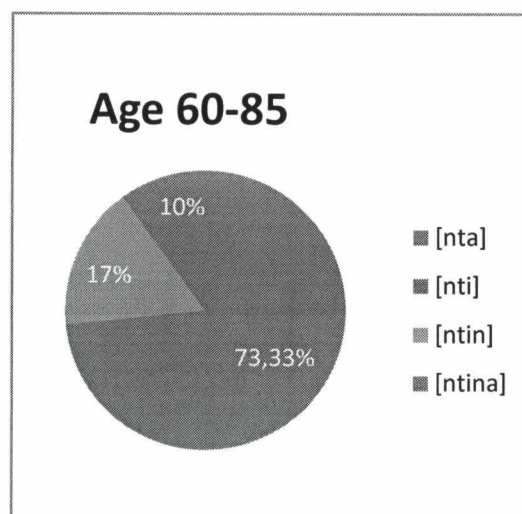
**Pie Chart 4.4: % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age (05-15)**



**Pie Chart 4.5: % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age (16-29)**



**Pie Chart 4.6: % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age (30-59)**



**Pie Chart 4.7: % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age (60-85)**

The pie charts above explain clearly how the uses of the different personal pronouns are distributed according to the age of speaker. For instance, the pronoun [nta] is largely used among speakers of the two last categories, where a slight shift is attested in the two first categories towards the use of [ntina] and [ntin]. Students from Primary, Middle, and Secondary schools have shown tendency to use these pronouns more than any other speakers. Despite of the fact that [ntina] and [ntin] have existed a long time ago in BHA, elders have been all time considering them as foreign terms to their variety. This explains for us the preservation of

the category of elders to their traditional forms of their variety.

#### 4.4.2 Variation in Gender of Unmarked Feminine Nouns

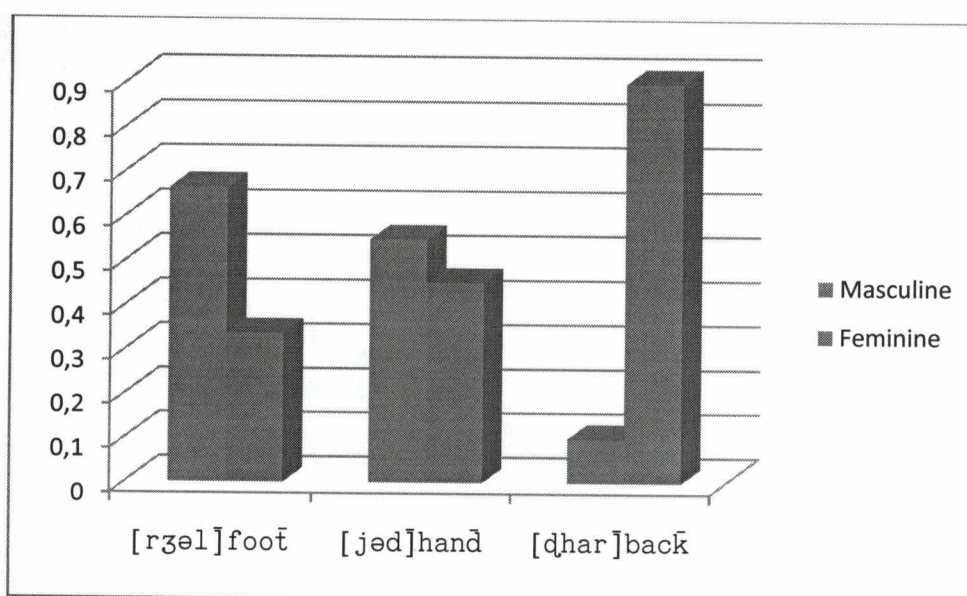
During our investigation in this speech community, we observed that the speakers refer to many Arabic nouns sometimes as feminine and sometimes as masculine. For this reason, we selected a number of words which we found subject to variation among the speakers of Beni Hammou and even in comparison with CA and some neighbouring varieties. These words are body parts which are frequently used in Beni Hammou speech community, in addition to some other nouns: [rʒəɫ] "foot", [jəd] "hand", [d̪har] "back", [l+χudmi] "knife", [l+meɫh] "salt", [l+χubz] "bread", [bi:t] "room", and [d̪do] "light". As we examined the gender of these nouns we found that variation exist only in body parts. However for the remaining nouns all the speakers consider them as masculine. The next results show variation in the first three mentioned body parts:

	Masculine	Feminine
[rʒəɫ] "foot"	66.33%	33.67%
[jəd] "hand"	54.83%	45.17%
[d̪har] "back"	10%	90%

**Table 4.9: Gender variation of unmarked Feminine Nouns in % Among Beni Hammou Speakers.**

In fact, most of those speakers tend to treat [jəd] "hand" and [rʒəɫ] "foot" as masculine, whereas for [d̪har] "back" as feminine. This affirmation is clearly shown in figure 4.8. Variation in these words can be attributed to the fact that many neighbouring dialects such as TA treat the gender of these nouns differently (see 3.5.3.2).





**Figure 4.7: Gender variation of unmarked Feminine Nouns in % Among Beni Hammou Speakers.**

For the following nouns: [l+χudmi]“knife”, [l+bi:t]“room” [l+malħ]“salt”, [l+χubz]“bread”, and [d̄d̄o]“light”, the results showed that all the informants tend to consider them as feminine.

To explain this gender mixing in nouns in BHA, we have to come back to the source which is CA where parts of the body are seen as feminine nouns, but dialectological studies have proved the opposite Procházka (2004). The majority of paired parts of the body in many Arabic dialects are referred to as masculine and some single body parts are feminine. Based on information given by Procházka (ibid), [jəd]and [rʒəl] are feminine in most Arabic dialects. But, in some urban dialects of the Maghreb; mainly, in Djidjelli and several dialects of Northern and South-Eastern Morocco the former is masculine. The latter is also masculine in some parts in Morocco. However, we tried to find the gender of the remaining words in other dialectological studies but unfortunately, it seems that gender of unmarked nouns study has not been accomplished yet.

In gross, we may say that though the slight variation which has been attested among speakers, the words [rʒəl] and [jəd] are from the majority of Beni Hammou speakers treated as masculine nouns while [d̪har] is seen as feminine. In Tlemcen, [d̪har] is said to be treated as masculine. Because of the insufficient data in dialectological studies concerning gender of nouns in Arabic dialects, we compared our data with gender of these nouns in CA:

Words	Classical Form and Gender	Gender in BHA
[rʒəl] "foot"	/riʒl/ → feminine	Masculine
[jəd] "hand"	/had/ → feminine	Masculine
[d̪har] "back"	/ðahr/ → masculine	Masculine
[l+χudmi] "knife"	/sɪkki:n/ → masculine	Feminine
[l+bi:t] "room"	/yurfa/ → feminine	Feminine
[l+malħ] "salt"	/əl+ milħ/ → masculine	Feminine
[l+χubz] "bread"	/əl+χubz/ → masculine	Feminine
[d̪do] "light"	/d̪aw?/ → masculine	Feminine

Table 4.10: Gender of Unmarked Feminine Nouns in CA.

#### 4.4.3 Urban vs. Rural Vocabulary

In an attempt to see whether the speakers of Beni Hammou use rural or urban vocabulary and also, in order to agree or disagree with what the French sociologist Destaing had stated earlier that the variety spoken in Beni Hammou is of a sedentary type, we selected some rural and urban<sup>(5)</sup> words already mentioned in Chapter three (see 3.5.3) to see which words of the two types are used in Beni Hammou.

These urban and rural words are found in all Algerian dialect as a dichotomy 'Urban Vs. rural'. We listed some urban words with their rural equivalents, we tested their use among speakers, and we obtained the results in the following table:

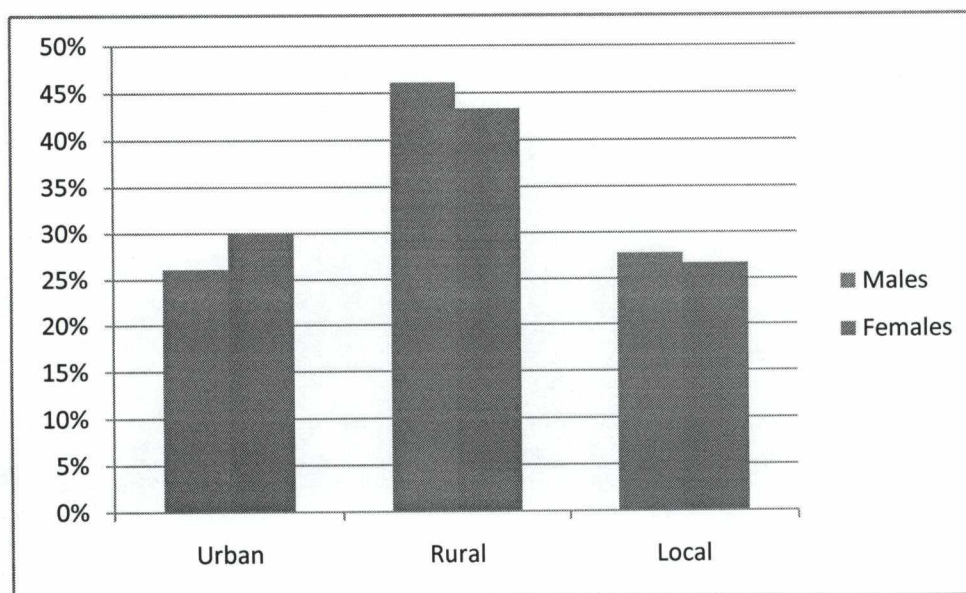


**Urban vs. Rural Dichotomy**

- [fajən]vs.[wi:n]→ "where"
- [kæmə]vs.[ga:f]vs.[kullej]→ "all"
- [je:h]vs.[wa:h] → "yes"
- [jʃæbbi]vs.[jeddi] → "take"
- [jaʃmə]vs.[jdi:r] → "he does"
- [ʔəsəm]vs.[wa:ʃta]vs.[wəsəm]→ "what"

	Males	Females
Urban	26.11%	30%
Rural	46.11%	43.33%
Local	27.77%	26.66%

**Table 4.11: Scores in %: Urban/ Rural/ Local Words in BHA: Males and Females.**



**Figure 4.8: Scores in %: Urban/ Rural/ Local Words in BHA: Males and Females.**

The results demonstrate that in BHA there is a mixture of rural and urban vocabulary, though in a number of instances it shows its own linguistic items rather than the urban or the rural ones. Among these items that were examined we list: [q<sup>w</sup>ʔud]"sit down", [wa:səm]"what", [djælu] and [ntaʔu]"one's". The figure above clearly shows the tendency of Beni Hammou speakers to use rural words rather than urban words.

These results reveal the use of both urban and rural words in addition to their local words, from which we can draw a conclusion that BHA is lexically a composition of rural and urban items. These similarities and differences concerning lexis in BHA in comparison with urban dialects such as that of Tlemcen and rural dialects confirm what Destaing states:

**We find sometimes in the same douar sedentaries and a nomad [...] the same native of Khémis, of Ait Achir, of Beni Zeddaz is, in turn, sedentary and nomad. When works leave him some respite, he leaves his house and the valley, and, followed by his family he leads his herds to the pastures of the plate; there, he lives under the tent<sup>(6)</sup>.**

(Destaing 1907: xxII)

#### **4.4.4 MSA vs. French Vocabulary in BHA**

The first question in part 4 of the questionnaire is divided into two parts: part 'a' was devoted to the translation of some new words from French to MSA that have entered the linguistic repertoire of AA recently due to technology and science. Part 'b' was devoted to the translation of some common words used in daily life, also from French to MSA. Table 4.11 demonstrate the results of this questionnaire:



Speakers who translated the words in part 'a' .			Speakers who translated the words in part 'b' .		
French words	Number	Percentage	French words	Number	Percentage
Kiosk	54	45%	congé	71	59.16%
cyber café	49	40.83%	La mairie	94	78.33%
portable	65	54.16%	lycée	81	67.5%
micro-ordinateur	80	66.66%	stade	68	56.66%
la puce	11	9.16%	marché	100	100%
clavier	57	47.5%	crédit	110	91.66%
Reseau	18	15%	station	34	28.33%
Unité centrale	59	49.16%	bureau	71	59.16%
parabole	22	18.33%	pompiers	90	75%
la souris	68	56.66%	mandat	20	16.66%

**Table 4.12: Scores of words translation from French to MSA**

Throughout this table, some BHA speakers show an inability to translate the words above, whereas for some others it was not. The scores show that some recent French technical terms that have entered the bulk of BHA remain without Arabic equivalents in the linguistic repertoire of these speakers. For example, for the word "puce" meaning "chip", only few speakers could find the Arabic equivalent term /ʃari:ħa # ʔiliktru:nɪja/. For the following words: "clavier", "souris", "micro-ordinateur", "unité centrale" meaning "keyboard", "mouse", "computer", and "central processing unit" respectively, thanks to the educational system which has introduced the world of informatics to Middle and Secondary schools. Students, though their low marks in French, they have shown ability to translate some of these French words into Arabic. The explanation for this fact is that these students have got the habit to use these terms as loan words in their speech. Additionally, they learn also the Arabic equivalents to these terms at school, and so they could not find any difficulty in translating most of these words. In fact, apart from the young and middle aged

generations, elders were unable to translate any of the words. Both male and female elders are illiterate and the examined words constitute for them extremely a far world from theirs: computing does not mean anything for them.

On the contrary, in part 'b' of the questionnaire, elders have shown familiarity with those presented words to them; though they do know the Arabic equivalents, they do not use them. This reveals the long French colonisation of Algeria for which these old persons still retain French loan words. Many speakers claim to alternate between some words, for instance, saying: La mairie or /baladijah/"town hall", Lycée or /θa:nawijah/ "secondary school", Marché or /su:q/ "market "is the same. But, they cannot say Polyclinic /ʕija:dah/ "clinic", "Stade" /malʕab/ "stadium".

As for the second question within the same part of the questionnaire which was assigned to test the attitudes of Beni Hammou speakers towards BHA and French, we obtained the following results: 93.75% for BHA and and 06.25% for French. A short discussion with some informants has revealed, in addition to the results, the wider tendency of these speakers to their native variety, their weakness in handling French because the majority of the speakers are illiterate. However, educated people in this community attest that though they do love Arabic because it is the language of the holy Qur'an, they do not speak it.

#### **4.5 FACTORS PROMOTING LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN BHA**

The linguistic variation proved in the area of Beni Hammou is not random, but it is conditioned by some external pressures that have prompted it. These can be political, social and economic and see how significant they are in promoting synchronic language variation and in the long run language change.



#### **4.5.1 Population Mobility and Dialect Contact**

The area of Beni Hammou is considerably larger than any other neighbouring area. It has witnessed a great population movement over the last few decades, attracting people from all adjacent areas for its flat and large geographical surface. The lands of Khémis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir and Mazzer are slopes where villages are built on areas of land that are parts of mountains and hills and do not support high population density. The growth of population due to births, marriages, and some other reasons in each of these villages caused many people to think of moving to Beni Hammou, especially in a time when most of the land owners started to expose pieces of land for sale with relatively symbolic prices. The rush upon these lands doubled the price of the land in Beni Hammou. Hence, for four decades population movements to this area has continued massively.

Many scholars argue that contact between dialects drives to linguistic variation and change in these dialects. For a long time the geographical barriers<sup>(7)</sup> isolated regions and hampered contact between them. Nowadays, these barriers disappeared because of technology and science developments which provided comfortable social conditions for a better living. Means of transports are now available to people who tend to move to other regions for several reasons such as working, learning, or travelling. Due to this social development, the inhabitants of Beni Snous could move freely from village to village, especially to Beni Hammou which has become the destination of people seeking benefit from the social and administrative institutions available there.

#### **4.5.2 Political and Socio-Economic Conditions**

From a political angle, Algeria knew several disturbances because of terrorism that characterized it since the 1990s. The political leaders tried to restore public

security by fighting any act of terrorism. The area of Beni Snous has witnessed these disturbances too, because fear spread throughout the population and created a climate of insecurity which hampered their freedom, safety in their lives and properties. For approximately twenty years, Beni Hammou has become the sole refuge of many people living on the borders. They left their villages and settled in this area.

If we come back a little bit to Beni Snous during the French colonialism, we would see that the whole area was agricultural. Most if not all the inhabitants relied on farming. Just after independence, conditions of living had been relatively enhanced and population increased. But soon, the question of unemployment appeared on the surface as a mass of adults found their selves jobless. Therefore, smuggling was the only way to improve their economic situation. By the 1980s, threatened by insecurity; the Algerian government privileged the area of Beni Snous by creating the vital sectors and institutions. As we have previously stated, the only large area in Beni Snous is Beni Hammou which impelled the political leaders to choose this area as a suitable centre for these institutions: the administration of the Daira, police station, gendarmerie, fireman station, the post office, the house of culture, the centre of vocation, middle and secondary schools, centre of medicine (clinic), and the stadium. The research for security, employment and better living conditions are also a recently significant factor to promote more movements to the area of Beni Hammou which has become socially and economically outstanding.

The recent socio-economic evolution in the area of Beni Snous in general and in Beni Hammou in particular was accompanied by a linguistic evolution too such as the introduction of new terms such as: cyber café, kiosk and



which during data collection we asked some people about the Arabic equivalent for these terms. But, most of the speakers did not find the Arabic equivalent. In fact; all these important changes in the social environment are reflected in language use since an important range of phonological and lexical variation is attested among the residents of Beni Hammou.

#### **4.5.3 Gender and Age Differences in Beni Hammou**

Gender and age have been included as significant social variables that have impact on linguistic variation and change. It has been proved by many sociolinguistic investigations that these two variables make language differ by men and women, young and elders. For example women are likely to use more standard forms than men do. Young speakers tend to innovate in their speech as opposed to adults who are inclined to stick to traditional forms of their language.

In Algeria, some men are accustomed to use swear words and slang which have relation with religion and sex. But, women are not habituated to use such words. They are likely to gossip more than men. The explanations that can be given for the linguistic variation between women and men in Beni Hammou are mainly connected with the social role each gender fulfills in his society and to the social inequality between them: women spend most of the time in the domain of family raising children and looking after its members, while men are engaged in public life living in a world outside home. In addition to this, women do not have opportunities to have a paid work and the minority of working women in this community tends to use standard forms more than working men who generally prefer to speak their own dialect more than standard Arabic.

In all languages, not all generations speak alike. In Beni Hammou, the generation of elders is characterized in

general by its stability in language use, at the same time the young generation is distinguished from the other generations by the higher rates in varying its speech and its tendency to avoid traditional forms such as the (t) sound by using instead (d). Moreover, we observed that the young use some words and expressions that really reveal their distinctiveness from elders and their susceptibility to be easily influenced.

Though this generation (young) does not have equal social opportunities (because of poverty) as is the case of their peers in neighbouring villages, it has an impact on linguistic variation in Beni Hammou.

#### **4.5.4 Education in BHA**

During the French colonization in Algeria, the inhabitants of Beni Hammou did not receive French and Arabic teaching at that time<sup>(8)</sup>. After independence, Arabic was declared as the national and official language of the country. The introduction of the Arabization policy since the early 1970s was the only means to overcome the widespread use of French at that time by creating schools and educational institutions over the Algerian territory.

Though a primary school was founded in the area of Khémis to gather all the tribes of Beni Snous there, Beni Hammou inhabitants did not send their children to schooling. Farming was the main activity of this area before and after independence. Previous statistics revealed that the high rates of pupils who left schools early in the three stages (primary, middle and secondary) are scored in Beni Hammou. In spite of the fact that recent statistics show that these scores have shrunk in primary schools, they are still increased in the other stages; boys usually go farming or



smuggling and girls are forced to leave their studies to be married as soon as they reach the age of puberty.

Education has begun to be important just in the last decades in Beni Hammou due to population exodus, to the social development in the area, mass media, and most importantly, awareness that has begun to grow among this population about the importance of education in the modern world. Apart from the category of elders who have always forced their children to leave school to go farming or working, the educated minority and even the uneducated focus on creating all the conditions for their children to get a good education.

#### **4.6 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG BHA SPEAKERS**

Though the study of language attitudes<sup>(9)</sup> falls within the sphere of social psychology, it has recently become a topic in sociolinguistic studies. Sociolinguists have adopted this term "*language attitudes*" (Fishman, 1975) and define it as the evaluative reactions or feelings towards language. In other words, language attitudes are the feelings people have about their own language variety or the languages or language varieties of others. From this definition we want to know the general opinion of the speakers of Beni Hammou variety and their feelings towards their local variety: BHA and French.

The first category to which we addressed some questions concerning their attitudes towards the previous mentioned varieties were the middle and secondary schools students. Therefore, when asking them which varieties among the ones available to them in their speech community are frequently used, positive attitudes are shared mostly between the local variety and MSA. The totality of our informants declares that they generally speak their local variety everywhere: at home

with relatives and outside with friends. MSA, they say, is used only at school with Arabic language teachers and most of the time, even at school; they switch to their dialectal form. Nevertheless, during our conversation, these school students introduced some standard words unconsciously:

[Istiʕma:l # zzaman] "time table", [maɣbar # l+ʕulu:m# ttabi:ʕijja] "laboratory of natural sciences". [ʒadwəl # l + ixtibara:t] "exams table", [fard] "test". [l + kura # l + ʔærdijja] "the globe". [fard] "test". [ɣari:tət # l + ʕa:lam] "the world map".

We seized the opportunity and asked them why they did not use the French loan words counterparts for these standard Arabic words. They could not give explanation for this act. Our explanation in turn, is that education and Arabization begin to have their impact on these young students who utter Arabic terms unconsciously. They attest: "we think BHA is the best variety to use when communicating since we master it well, and MSA is the "best of the best"<sup>(10)</sup>. They also claim that though they love speaking standard Arabic, they cannot use it always and everywhere. For them the use of the standard variety is a question of habit, and they have never been exposed to speak it only inside school. Their attitudes towards French were totally negative, though they use much French loan words in their speech, some Arabic words are also introduced: [blama # nfiq # nʕe:bu # ɕuħna # mdaxli:n#kəlma:t # bəl+ʕarbijja # w # kəlma:t# bəl+ franʕe:ʕ] "unconsciously, we find ourselves involving words from Arabic and words from French". Sometimes they do not find the Arabic equivalent for some French loan words. They further say: [ʕlama # nəbɣiw # l+ʕarbijja # w # ddariʕa # dijana # ma+ʕlabalna:ʕ # ʕla:ʕ # ndaxlu # l+franʕe:ʕ # fi # kla:mna] "though we love standard Arabic and our local variety, we do



*not know why we involve French words in our speech*". [franʒa # qalʕat # hədi # zma:n # wə # ħna # bqi+na # tebʕil+ha] "France left for a long time and we remained dependent on her". This is from one hand.

On the other hand, workers in this speech community who are also educated and constitute a minority have shown positive attitudes towards French when we interviewed them. Some of them are teachers, male and female nurses, and employees. They interpret their choices of linguistic codes according to the situation they are communicating in chiefly. They asserted, as native inhabitants of Beni Hammou, that the use of French in this speech community is too limited and it is confined to them only for their ability to communicate in it among each other. However, with the rest of the community they use BHA. MSA for them is heavy to communicate with and state that it is the speciality of Arabic teachers or Imams who use it specifically.

Our interview includes elderly persons from both sexes too. With great difficulties, we elicited that this category of speakers has nothing to do with French. In their minds French equals colonialism. More strikingly, their attitude towards MSA shows strangeness claiming in their own words: [maqrɪna # franʒe:ʒ # ma # ʕallmuna # ʕarbɪjja] "we did not learn French and they did not teach us Arabic". During the interview these speakers uttered interesting Arabic words unconsciously when they said [ʕahd # l+ɪstɪqla:l] "time of independence", [ʕarɪʕa] "the ethical code based on the Qur'an and sunnah".

This category of very old men and women did not learn French during colonialism and they attested that they did not learn even Arabic in Qur'anic schools. They learned the

sacred book by heart; they have communicated with Arabic all their life span. Unfortunately, we could not find any one who still retains Berber, because this area is among the first villages which are arabised earlier comparing with Beni Achir and Mazzer where we can find some thirty people who have knowledge of Berber.

#### **4.7 CONCLUSION**

The study of language in its social context has revealed that all languages are affected by variation across speech communities. This linguistic variation is not haphazard, but rather conditioned by social factors that dominate it. So, language use in this new field known as sociolinguistics interacts with those social variables (such as a speaker's gender, ethnicity, age and so many others). Many variationist sociolinguists have proved that the interaction of the linguistic structure along with the social structure inevitably leads in the long run to language change.

In the speech community of Beni Hammou, we have tried to correlate some of the linguistic variables that are subject to variation among the speakers of this community with primarily the two salient social variables: age and sex, two factors that play a significant role in making language vary among speakers of different sexes and different ages.

Examining linguistic variation at phonological, morphological, and lexical levels, of course in relation with age and sex, has permitted us to conclude that this variety is slowly undergoing change since the obtained results prove that BHA is on the road to lose some of its salient linguistic characteristics. Many factors have contributed in this variation among its speakers: population movement from neighbouring regions, the socio-economic development in this area.



### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(1) Social psychology is the scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another. It is the study of the relations between people and groups.

(2) The small star used refers to impossible (incorrect) realizations.

(3) "According to Chambers and Trudgill (1980), in dialect-contact situations, it is the minority members-'the newcomers'- who generally accommodate their speech to that of the urban majority by altering their accent and lexis".

(Dendane: 1993:36)

(4) My translation of the original text: **Tous les habitants de la tribu savent parler l'arabe, et le dialecte qu'ils parlent est fortement influencé par le dialecte citadin de Tlemcen.** Destaing (1907). No indicated page for this quotation.

(5) Some of the urban vocabulary used in this investigation is taken from Dendane (1993), which constitute the urban vocabulary of Tlemcen. For the remaining words we asked TA native speakers.

(6) My translation of the original text:

**On trouve parfois dans un même douar des sédentaires et des nomades [...] de même l'indigène du Khémis, des Ait Achir, des Beni Zeddaz est, tour à tour, sédentaire et nomade. Quand les travaux lui laissent quelque répit, il quitte sa maison et la vallée, et, suivi de sa famille, il conduit ses troupeaux aux paturages du plateau ; là, il vit sous la tente.**

(Destaing 1907: xxII)

(7) A river, mountain, ocean, or any other geographical feature that separates two regions from being in contact.

(8) This information is taken from elders of Beni Hammou who were combatants during the French colonization

(9) Labov was one of the first to pay attention to language attitudes in his New York City study (1966).

(10) The use of this expression "the best of the best" shows the impact of Arabic broadcasting programmes on these speakers.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

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The study of linguistic variation has always been an important aspect of linguistic research. It provides insights into historical, social and geographical factors of language use in society. There is no doubt that the importance and role of traditional dialectology are noted in linguistic studies, since this discipline has offered a good deal to the development of linguistics in general and sociolinguistics in particular. It is evident that no development in linguistics would be achieved without the contribution of previous dialectological studies.

Admittedly, all dialects are both regional and social. Hence, dialect geography, since the second half of the nineteenth century, has dealt completely with regional variation. By the 1960s, the focus has shifted radically from regional to social variation giving birth to a new discipline called sociolinguistics whose main concern is urban dialectology rather than regional dialectology. Labov's work in 1966 in New York City has been considered as the basic approach to study language variation providing a clear mechanism of the interaction of social and linguistic variables. Dealing with language variation reveals how the social patterns of a given speech community may be reflected in the use of its language. This variation is not limited, but it operates at all linguistic levels.

Putting the most basic theoretical issues having relation with language variation in a practical mould, we tried to apply these to an Arabic-speaking sociolinguistic context by approaching an Algerian dialect among the many existing ones. Our attempt to describe BHA by shedding light on some of its most linguistic aspects characterizing it has allowed us to examine linguistic variation at the same time. Therefore, both description and examination have yielded some interesting remarks concerning this speech community. The following points represent a summary of our research work

findings: first, by drawing some remarks on Arabic sociolinguistics in general, and second by drawing some conclusions on BHA in particular:

It has been proved by many European researchers that approaching Arabic from the perspective of Western methodologies and theories is a regret, and so we come to answer our question stated earlier (see 1.5) that effectively Western findings do not fit our Arabic sociolinguistics. Each language has its own structure different from any other language though there are similarities between them. The lack of basic rules for Arabic dialects may impede the interest of many researchers in the field.

Shortcomings of the relatively growing field of Arabic sociolinguistics and its self limitation to only some subjects rather than others, are reflected in our study: Arabic dialectological studies have neglected the investigation of so many subjects: unmarked feminine nouns lacking the normal ending '-a' which we came across in our investigation is mistreated and did not gain much attention of many dialectologists. What is more is that the major Arabic dictionaries and glossaries on Arabic dialects do not specify the gender of nouns. These differences in gender existed in old Arabic dialects and even classical grammarians had conflicting views about this subject claiming that in pre-Islamic dialects of Arabic, the treatment of the gender of unmarked feminine nouns was not homogeneous. Till today the question of gender of some nouns is heterogeneous in Arabic dialects over the Arabic-speaking nations and should be treated properly.

The investigation of the dialect of Beni Hammou has led us to make some conclusions about this spoken variety and validating the research hypotheses stated earlier in this research work: Examining linguistic variation in BHA has



demonstrated that the majority of speakers conserve their dialect despite of the slight changes attested among some of them.

The impact of age on the linguistic structure of BHA lies in the young and old generations, since our examination of some linguistic variables at a phonological, morphological, and lexical level in accordance with the age of speakers has drawn us to conclude that very young speakers and elders tend to preserve the linguistic features of their variety. The adolescents and middle-aged speakers tend to accommodate their speech in different situations.

Gender differentiation in Beni Hammou has also a great role in shaping the way men and women talk. The scores of the many examined linguistic variables demonstrate that women are more likely to preserve their speech than men. From this investigation we have come to realize that there are factors which underlie gender-related variation in Beni Hammou. The social inequality between women and men is that women spend most of the time in the private domain of family while men are engaged in public life living in a world outside the home. This makes them more exposed to contact situations and variation than women.

Though the majority of the speakers are illiterate, so many CA words were found in daily speech of these speakers: their stick to religion is reflected in their language since many attested words are related to religion.

Beni Hammou speakers rely on BHA more than any other variety. Their dialect is characterized by much borrowing, gradual use of standard forms, mainly among young speakers.

The educated speakers are obliged to store their bilingual characteristic and to communicate just with one linguistic code which is BHA. Contact between the neighbouring villages and Beni Hammou has become easier than in the past due to social mobility. This contact between different dialects has yielded a slight shift in BHA towards some linguistic features of these neighbouring varieties.

From the aforementioned conclusions, we may say that BHA is, phonologically and morphologically said to be a sedentary dialect. But, lexically it is a merging variety between rural and urban vocabulary. Destaing (1907) asserts that this variety has taken much from TA where these two varieties were tightly closed together during the Zianide era.

Language use in the area of Beni Hammou is mainly reflected into two major social variables: gender and age, showing a significant interplay between each other. Additionally, many socio-economic and political factors have played their role in leading this variety to variation and change. Recent developments that the area has witnessed and population exodus to this area make Beni Hammou a heterogeneous speech community.

After this investigation, the question that is raised then is: Can we expect a dialect merge between these adjacent dialects at all linguistic levels?



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# APPENDICES

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**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Family Name:

First Name:

Date and Place of Birth:

Occupation:

Level of Education:

Gender: male  female

**Part 1: Phonological Variables**

**A-Variable (q) Realization of /q/ as [q] or [g]**

1-Choose the word that you use frequently with BHA speakers and then circle it:

- /qala#li:/ "he said to me" → [qalli] [gelli]
- /qaʔaʔa/ "to cross" → [qʔaʔ] [gʔaʔ]
- /ʔiqtaraba/ "to get near to" → [qarrab] [garrab]
- /qɪdr/ "pot" → [qadra] [gedra]

2-Do you use the sound (q) when talking to non-native speakers of your dialect? Why? Why not?

**b- Variable (d) Realization of /d/ as [d] or [t]**

1- How do you say? Put a circle on 1- or 2-

- /ʔæðallu/ "I remain" 1-[ndʌll] 2-[ntʌll]
- /ðahr/ "back" 1-[dhar] 2-[thar]
- /jʃadɔ/ "he bites" 1-[jʃad] 2-[jʃatt]

2- In case you choose answer number 1 or 2 can you say why?

**Part 2: Morphological Variables**

**A-Variants [-ən] - [-a:t]**

Give the plural form of these words in your own dialect?

Singular	Plural
/ħɪða:ʔ#rɪja:ɔi:/ "sneakers"[sbərdɪna]	
/ʔɪrba:l/ "sieve" [tɪla]	
/qɪʔʃat # quma:ʃ/ "piece of cloth"[kəttana]	

**B- The Variable (ha):** circle your answer

1- What do you say when asking someone to eat?

[kul] or [ha+kul]

2- What is your intention from saying to someone [ha+kul]?

a- Invite him to eat      b- insist on him to eat

c- ask him to eat quickly      d- wondering why he is not eating.

3- Do you expect any answer when saying [ha+kul]?

4- Which word do you use frequently in your speech?

-/huna:/      "here": [hna+ha] - [hna]

-/huna:ka/      "there": [təmma+ha] - [hna:k]

**Part 3: Lexical Variables:** put an x in the box

**A.** To address a woman, how do you say?

[nta]    [nti]    [ntin]    [ntina]    [ntija]

**b.** What do you say in your own dialect?

-[rəʒli # rah # jəwdʒaʔni]

-[rəʒli # raha # təwʒaʔni] "My foot aches me".

-[dʒahri # rah # jəwdʒaʔni]

-[dʒahri # raha # təwʒaʔni] "My back aches me".

-[jəddi # rah # jəwʒaʔni]

-[jəddi # raha # təwʒaʔni]. "my hand aches me".

-[l+ bi:t # sʃʒe:r]

-[l+ bi:t # sʃʒe:ra] "the small room".

-[l+malh # rrgi:g]

-[l+malh # rrgiga] "thin salt"

-[l+χubz # l+ maʃrija]

-[l+χubz # l+ maʃri] "bought bread"

-[ddo # mʃa]

-[ddo # mʃa:t] "light has gone"





<b>French word</b>	<b>MSA</b>	<b>English Gloss</b>
Kiosque	/kufk/	"kiosk"
Cyber café	/maqha:#l+?ænternet/	"cybercafe "
Portable	/?ælhɑ:tif#?æ+nnaqqa:l/	"cellphone "
Reseau	/ʃabakah/	"network"
Micro-ordinateur	/kumpjutar/	"computer"
Puce	/ʃari:ħa # ?iliktru:nIja/	"chip"
Clavier	/laʊħat#?ælmafa:ti:ħ/	"key board"
Champs magnétique	/ħæql#marɲate:ʃe:/	"magnetic field"
Unité centrale	/wiħda#markazija/	"central processing unit"
Parabole	/?ælhawa:ʔi:/	"parabola"
Souris	/faʔrah /	"mouse"
Congé	/ʔuħlah/	"vacation"
La mairie	/baladijah/	"municipality"
Lycée	/θa:nawijah/	"secondary school"
Polyclinic	/ʔija:dah/	"clinic"
Stade	/malʃab/	"stadium"
Marché	/su:q/	"market "
Credit	/daɪn/	"credit"



# استفسار

الاسم واللقب:

تاريخ ومكان الميلاد:

المهنة:

المستوى الدراسي:

الجنس: ذكر  أنثى

**الجزء 01: المتغيرات الفونولوجية:**

أ- المتغير (ق):

1- اختر الكلمة التي تستعملها دائما مع أفراد منطقتك:

- قال لي: قالى - قالى

- قطع: قطع - قطع.

- اقترب: قرب - قرب .

- قدر: قدرة - قدرة.

2- هل تستعمل حرف (ق) عندما تتكلم مع أشخاص ليسوا من منطقة بني حمو؟ ولماذا؟

ب- المتغير (ض):

1- كيف تقول؟

أظل: نضل - نطل.

ظهر: ضهر - طهر.

يعض: يعض - يعط.

2- قل لماذا؟

**الجزء 02: المتغيرات المورفولوجية:**

أ- المتغيران (أن) و (آت).

كيف تقول الكلمات الآتية في صيغة الجمع؟

المفرد	الجمع
"حذاء رياضي" [سبردينة]	
"غربال" [تيلة]	
"قطعة قماش" [كتانة]	

ب- المتغير (ها)

1- ماذا تقول عندما تطلب من أحد مثلا أن يأكل ؟

[كول] - [ها كول]

2- ما هو مقصودك من قولك [ها كول] ؟ أ- استدعاؤه ليأكل ب- التأكيد عليه ليأكل ج- تأمره أن يأكل سريعا د- تتسائل لم هو لا يأكل .

3- هل تتوقع أي اجابة منه عندما تقول [ها كول]؟

4- ماهي الكمة التي تستعملها غالبا في كلامك؟

هنا: [هناها] - [هنا]

هناك: [تما ها ] - [هناك]

الجزء 03: المتغيرات المعجمية:

ضع علامة X في المربع :

أ- عندما تخاطب امرأة كيف تقول؟

[نت] □ [نت] □ [نتن] □ [نتن] □ [نتي] □

ب- ماذا تقول بلهجتك المحلية؟

رجلي : راه يوجعني - راها توجعني

ضهري: راه يوجعني - راها توجعني

يدي: راه يوجعني - راها توجعني

البيت: صغير - صغيرة.

الملح: رقيق - رقيقة.

الخبز: المشري - المشرية

الضو: مشا - مشات.

الخدمي: الماضي - ماضية.

ج- كيف تقول الكلمات التالية بلهجتك المحلية:

1- أين ... 2- يأخذ ... 3- يعمل ... 4- خاصته ... 5- نعم... 6- الكل ... 7- ماذا...



**الجزء 04:**

أ - ترجم الكلمات التالية إلى العربية

- 1-Kiosque:.....  
3-portable:.....  
5-micro-ordinateur:.....  
7-clavier:.....  
9-champs magnétique:.....  
11-parabole.....

- 2- cyber café:.....  
4-réseau:.....  
6- puce:.....  
8-carte mémoire:.....  
10-unité centrale.....  
12- souris.....

ب- نفس الشيء مع الكلمات التالية.

- 1-congé:.....  
3-lycée:.....  
5-stade:.....  
7-credit:.....

- 2-la mairie:.....  
4-Polyclinic:.....  
6-marché:.....

ج- ما هي اللغة أو اللهجة التي تفضل التكلم بها؟

- 1- لهجة بني حمو  
2- اللغة الفرنسية

**CONVERSATION**

At the Marabout, where most of the data had been gathered, women have the habit to meet in this place every Friday afternoon. I came across a short conversation held between three women. I took part in it and conducted the conversation in order to illicit some data. I began the conversation by saying:

Me: [sabhā+t#ḍahr+i#wazʿiat+ni#l+ju:m#maʿraf+tʃ#ʿila:ʃ]

"I had a back ache this morning and i did not know the reason".

A: [bələk#berd#ʿiʔa:+k#llegwajəm#ki#duwwaʃt]

"May be you got a cold as you were having a bath".

B: [jawddi#blama#dduwweʃ#had#llijama:t#b+ruḥḥum#raham#berdi:n#bezajaf]

"Even if you didn't have a bath, these very days are cold".

C: [had#llijama:t#jəbrəd#fiḥ+um#l+ḥallouf#w#bnadəm##ja#ḥetta#jana#wija:k#ra#ʿandi#wəḥ#rjəl#ʿwəz#w#ʿjji:t#ntabbab#w#ma#fa:d#walu#fiḥ]

"It is said that who feel cold in these days are the man and the pig. Mee too I am suffering from an illness in my leg and I tried to cure it, but I could not".

Me: [jaʿja#jwazʿia+k#w#ma#jzi:ʃ#ki#ḍahri]

"Your ache can not be to the degree of mine"

C: [rak#ʿwilʔa#wka:n#ja#l+wzaʿi#ʿi#wzaʿi#ki#ḥar#ki#rjəl#ki#ḥaja#χ  
 "ra##lli#ʿiʔahu+nna#sidi#rabbi#ma#qəddinalu]



"You are mistaken dear, ache is only ache. Like back or like leg or anything else, we always complain on all what God gives us".

B: [qallək#rabbi#i#a#l+abd#lxnafer#s<sup>w</sup>ya:r##l+abd#ma#hmed#rabb  
i#w#qallu#ja#rabbi#zi:d#wessa#li#fihum]

"It is commonly said that God gave small nose to the man. The man did not praise God and asked him to widen it".