

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

*A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY
OF GHAZAOUET SPEECH COMMUNITY
PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL
AND LEXICAL VARIATION*

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

Defended by

Mr. Abdelkader HOCINI

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Zoubir DENDANE

Board of Examiners:

President	Pr. Smail BENMOUSSAT	Pr University of Tlemcen
Supervisor	Dr.Zoubir DENDANE	MC (A) University of Tlemcen
External Examiner	Dr. Samira ABID	MC (A) University of (SBA)
Internal Examiner	Dr. Ilham SERIR	MC (A) University of Tlemcen
Internal Examiner	Dr. Nouredine MOUHADJER	MC (B) University of Tlemcen

Academic Year: 2010-2011

Acknowledgements

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my teacher and supervisor, Dr. Z. DENDANE, for his engaging help, insightful comments and constant support.

I also gratefully acknowledge Prof. S. BENMOUSSAT, Dr. A. BELMEKKI, and Dr. N. MOUHADJER.

I would also like to express my appreciation to A. DERNI, I. SERIR, R. NEDJAR, F. ADDER, F.FATMI, Y. TOUNKOB, F. KHERBECHE and KH. HAMEL, Many other friends and colleagues contributed in various ways to the completion of this research work, and I apologize for not mentioning them all.

I am further indebted to all the scholars and researchers whom I have had the opportunity to profit extensively from their books and articles.

I also wish to thank all the kind informants of Ghazaouet, who provided much-needed feedback and contributed enormously in the empirical study.

DEDICATIONS

*In memory of my defunct mother who urged me a
lot for such a study.*

Though you are no longer with me....

You still are.....

In my heart.....

*To my dear father, wife Mohja for her patience,
understanding and support*

To my lovely daughters Sarah and Souhila

To all my the members of my family

To the informants of Ghazaouet.

ABSTRACT

The present research work consists of three interrelated chapters. The first chapter opens with a review of literature closely relating to the field of sociolinguistics in general and to the variationist approach in particular. The key concepts underlying the fields 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 Ghazaouet in general have been touched on. The third chapter provides an analysis of the linguistic characteristics of the area in question and tries to correlate the linguistic aspects with the salient social variables, namely age and sex.

In gross, the present research work tries to come up with the fact that the social change that affected Ghazaouet 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 NATIONAL SYMBOLS

- ❖ **AA** : Algerian Arabic
- ❖ **GA** : Ghazaouet Arabic
- ❖ **MSA** : Modern Standard Arabic
- ❖ **CA** : Classical Arabic
- ❖ **TA** : Tlemcen 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
- ❖ **k^w** : 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:h] "apples"	[s] as in [sallu:m] "ladder"
[d] as in [du:da] "worm"	[z] as in [zi:t] "oil"
[k] as in [kulləʃ] "all"	[ʃ] as in [ʃra] "he bought"
[g] as in [gato] "cake"	[χ] as in [χawi] "empty"
[ʔ] as in [ʔajəru:dʒ] "sieve"	[ʁ] as in [ʁudwa] "tomorrow"
[t̪] as in [t̪ɑ:b] "to be cooked"	[ħ] as in [ħʒe: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>	[ʒ] as in [ʒuʁlaɪlu] "swing"
[l] as in [llħam] "meat"	[ʒ] as in [ʒbaʔ] "finger"
<u>Flap</u>	[ʒ] as in [ʒawəʃ] "bird"
[ɾ] as in [ɾɑ:ʒ] "head"	<u>Approximants</u>
<u>Classical Arabic Consonants</u>	[w] as in [wʒah] "face"
[θ] as in [θalʒ] "snow"	[j] as in [ja:bəs] "dried"
[ð] as in [ðɑ:b] "it melted"	<u>Nasals</u>
[ð] as in [ðala:m] "dark"	[m] as in [mʃəkkal] "tight"
[d̪] as in [d̪rab] "light"	[n] as in [nʁas] "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 [ʂoʔɑ] "hit"	[o:] as in [ʂo:f] "wool"
[ɑ] as in [rɑmlɑ] "sand"	[ɑ:] as in [tɑ:b] "be cooked"

Other vowels are used in this research work:

-[ø] [ʔøddami] "near to me"

-[ə] [fajən] "where?"

-[æ] [ʔæʒəl] "deadline"

-[œ] [hœt] "fish"(in GA)

-[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 [klit] 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

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, ones 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 incited 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.

Additionally, the focus on the interaction between the social structure and the linguistic structure has been termed variationist sociolinguistics, an approach within sociolinguistics pioneered by Labov (1966). Here, the interplay of social variables such as the speaker's age, sex, 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 Ghazaouet

Arabic (hereafter GA). Secondly, it describes a correlation of 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 age and sex constraints.

Our sociolinguistic study in the speech community of Ghazaouet aims to relate 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 linguistic features that are subject to variation ?
- Considering the conservative character of Ghazaouet people, what is the degree of homogeneity of GA variety?
- What are the results of contact with other contiguous or foreign speech varieties?

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

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

- 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 three chapters in which the first starts with the literature review which gives a general view of the linguistic situation of Algeria in general and Ghazaouet in particular. It also includes some introductory issues that are specific to Algerian dialectology. This is accomplished through the introduction of some important linguistic concepts such as the koiné language, Algerian Arabic varieties, diglossia and bilingualism. It also shed light on the geography, ethnography and history of Ghazaouet, as 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. 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 Ghazaouet are described. At the lexical level, the Berber traces are mentioned in this variety since the whole area 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 as the whole of the Algerian territory witnessed.

The second chapter is a description of Ghazaouet linguistic features. It describes some of the major characteristics of this vernacular at all linguistic levels. The purpose is to highlight the linguistic and the cultural attachment to the local identifying parameters besides the co-existing peculiarities and the inherent variations.

Chapter three describes principally the linguistic features of the speech community of Ghazaouet and the analysis of the data collected; some phonological, morphological aspects of the variety spoken in Ghazaouet are analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. It shows the interplay between the phonological-morphological-lexical aspects and the two salient social variables: age and sex. 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

1.1. Introduction

Arabic is spoken today in more than twenty two Arab countries, ranging from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. In terms of speakers, it is the largest member of the Semitic languages family. It is spoken by more than 280 million people as a first language, most of whom live in the Middle East and North Africa, and by 250 million more as a second language. Arabic has many different, geographically-distributed spoken varieties, some of which are mutually unintelligible, others are not. Moreover, minorities speaking Arabic are found in isolated areas in Africa and Europe. This proves the fact that Arabic has been/is always in contact with other contiguous languages. Taking Algeria as a case in point, Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) is by no means the sole medium of interaction. A number of indigenous varieties from the language of the original population of North Africa, "Berber" or "Tamazight", still exist within minorities who have persisted in mountainous regions, in removed areas in the desert, and especially in Great Kabylia.

What can be easily noticed in the linguistic repertoires forming today's Arab World is the variation among the Arabic speaking countries in their colloquial languages developed for day-to-day interaction. This dialectal difference is due to a number of circumstances, basically the way under which Arabic arrived to different geographical areas. The prevailing and obvious reality is that the existing Arabic varieties are divided into two main dialects, Easterns and Westerns. These vernaculars¹ show differences both in pronunciation and vocabulary. Yet, this distinction, which is

¹ The term vernacular is used particularly to refer to dialects which are not national languages or standard varieties or lingua francas.

more geographical than linguistic is not due to the history of such dialects, but rather to the influences of colonialism, giving the fact that the Arab world as a whole was said to be shared, at a point, between two main powers, British in the East and French in the West. Whenever two or more languages get in contact, the inevitable result is a linguistic hangover within the oppressed variety and this is obvious in the daily linguistic performance of most Arabic speech communities.

1.2. Arabic: A Koiné Language

Arabic is a language of the Hamito-Semitic family. It is thus related to and classified alongside with other Semitic languages such as Hebrew and the Neo-Aramaic languages.

Modern Standard Arabic, or MSA, derives from Classical Arabic and is used basically in education, government and the media.

Classical Arabic is the only surviving language of the Old North Arabian dialect group, attested in Pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions. Unlike, for example, English and French which were standardised on the basis of a prestigious dialect spoken by the powerful and codified by scholars and lexicographers, Arabic undertook its standardisation process from the Qur'an. It has been a literary language and the liturgical language of Islam since its inception. It used to have oral and written traditions well before Islam. Different tribes with different backgrounds used to meet in the holy city of 'Mecca', where they used to expose their poetry and literature. Those tribes coming from both rural and sedentary origins had to make a consensus on a language to be employed in such meetings. The language they agreed on was the Arabic

Koiné. This term, which is of a Greek origin (dialektos), means "common (language)". Wales (1995.p272) defines the term as follows:

The equivalent to standard language /dialect: a variety used as a common Language or lingua franca between speakers from different areas and backgrounds with marked regionalisms.

As already mentioned, Arabic was standardized by the holy book of Muslims, the Qur'an. This religious value inhibits the dialectal varieties from being a literary language used in formal contexts such as education, formal government speeches, mosques, etc..., without excluding the oral tradition of the language which exhibits dialectal literature as far as songs, poems and popular proverbs are concerned.

The existence of a uniform written language in the Arab world is of valuable esteem. It unites the Arab countries linguistically and culturally. In spite of this fact, there exist salient differences and changes in lexis between western and eastern Arabic. The following table shows this variation clearly:

Western words	Eastern words	Gloss
mra	[ħorma]	woman
tomati:ʃa	Bandu:ra	tomato
wladi	ʃijali	My children
ħajən	ħara:mi	A thief
kas	kubbaya	cup

Table 1.1.Differences between Eastern and Western Colloquial Arabic

Such a comparison is about Eastern and Western dialectal versions of Arabic. Let us consider now the Arabic spoken today in Algeria (henceforth AA) and those spoken in other Arabic-speaking States, especially those of the Middle East. Generally speaking, AA differs from the Arabic spoken by the Orientals at all linguistic levels. It differs from MSA too, since this latter is but a descendant from CA. Due to the necessity to go in parallel with the rate of technological advance, AA, like other Arabic varieties, tries to fit this situation by adopting a new terminology², the adaptation of vocabulary to the modern period; the reform of grammar; and the changes in the structure and phraseology of the language.

Historically, the Arab States got in touch with numerous languages (Persian, Berber, Turkish and even Latin languages) the fact whereby resulted a new form of spoken Arabic. In addition, the changes that occurred in the social, the economic and the political life of the Arabs during these periods of contact contributed in the emergence of such a new form. Yet, the most striking feature of this linguistic renovation is the intrusion of English and French loanwords.

1.3. Algerian Arabic

History and society are two significant factors in linguistic research. They identify each speech community with its existing linguistic repertoires. Algeria is a country which witnessed the invasion of many nations. Its lands were conquered by many races, each leaving after it a certain linguistic impact. The most important of these, was the French colonisation which lasted one century and thirty two

² MSA differs principally from CA in terms of such new terminology, and this is an important aspect of *language planning*, which is 'modernization'.

years (1830-1962). This so long contact of AA with French led to a socio-cultural variation which in turn caused changes in language use.

AA is used by almost all the Algerians; even those who have different ethnic origins do have a degree of communicative competence³ in this variety such as the Kabylisians and the Chaouia. This variety (AA) exhibits a great deal of variations that are mainly phonological, morphological and lexical. It is the medium of communication used on a daily basis between all strata (man and women, rich and poor, young and old, the educated and the illiterate) within the Algerian society. However, when heard, by other Arabic speakers, especially the Easterners, the Algerian is thought to be using an unintelligible version of Arabic. This is mostly due to the fact that AA includes a great deal of French vocabulary which has been adapted phonologically and morphologically into its linguistic system.

In fact, AA was and still is a fertile field of research considering the variation it displays in its speech communities regarding their geographical and linguistic peculiarities. The study of Algerian dialects was tackled during the nineteenth century by French linguists when Algeria was under the French rule. These linguists, amongst whom Philippe Marçais, William Marçais, David Cohen, Jean Cantineau, Jacques Auguste Cherbonneau and Joanny Pharaon, left works that are of a paramount esteem. However, in spite of the existence of all the previously mentioned field-researchers and many others, when dealing with AA, one feels a certain shortage in resources and documentation. This fact is due to the variation of language and to the geographical

³ The concept of communicative competence was first introduced by Hymes (1967)...social monster...it was later adopted by Ige teachers (linguistic competence, socioling, strategic.. canale and swane)

extension of Algeria with its regional and linguistic divergences. Let us shed some light on the variation within this speech community.

1.4. Variations within Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic exhibits a great deal of significant local varieties. It changes from place to place and town to town. Even the people of two towns near one another may not speak the same dialect or accent. It gets more extreme as you head towards the Moroccan and Tunisian borders. These are the major local variations of AA:

- Most Western dialects in the exception of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Ghazaouet for instance, are particular in pronouncing, the third singular masculine object-pronoun as {ah}.

Example: /ʃəftah/ (I saw him), but it may also be /ʃəftʊ/ in other dialects.

- Tlemcen speech is characterized by two main realizations for the phoneme /q/: [q] and [ʔ],
- Jijel and Ghazaouet Arabic, in particular, are noteworthy for their pronunciation of the sound /q/ as [k] and also their profusion of Berber loanwords.

Certain coastal dialects show influence from Andalusi Arabic brought by refugees from al-Andalus. Algerian Arabic is part of the Maghrebi Arabic dialect continuum, and fades into Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic along the respective borders.

Regarding vocabulary, the different 'regional' (as no sociolects are said to be existing) dialects scattered throughout the country are very much similar, although the significant differences in terms of accent: the Easterners sound closer to Tunisians, while the Westerners are more or less closer to the Moroccans. One eye-catching feature in terms of pronunciation is the phonetic variation in realizing the sound /q/ ([q], [g], and [ʔ]).

1.4.1. Vowels

1. long vowels:

- /a:/ (as in "man") [a] e.g. /saməħ/ forgave

/a:/ /ʂaħəb/ friend

- /i:/ as in "ski:" eg. /qri:t/ I read, in the past
- /u:/ as in "flu:" eg. /tilifu:n/ , a telephone

2. short vowels, especially in initial position

- /e/ as in "men" eg. /qahwa/ meaning both café and coffee or a shorter version of /a/ as in father [a] e.g., /rabbi/ "my God"
- /i/ as in sit e.g. /hijja/ "she"
- /u/ as in foot e.g. /qubba/ "dome"

plus the schwa which replaces /a/ in some positions e.g.
/ʔenta/ "you"

Arguably one of the most notable features of Maghrebi Arabic dialects, including AA, is the collapse of short

vowels in some positions. The Standard Arabic forms /kita:b/ and /kala:m/, for instance, are realized as [ktæ:b] and [klæ:m](book and speech , respectively).

Such a feature is also present in Levantine Arabic to a lesser extent. Standard Arabic words containing, for example, three syllables are simplified as the following example exposes: /ħaʒarah/ [ħaʒrah] (stone)

Note that AA is particularly rich in uvular, pharyngeal, and pharyngealized (emphatic) sounds. The emphatics are generally considered to be ʕ, ɗ, ɟ and..... . Non-emphatic [r] and emphatic [r] are two allophones that occur in complementary, and not free, distribution, almost never contrasting in related forms of a word.

E.g: /ərrāml/ (sand), as in "arrive"

/jədʒri/ (he runs), like in "free"

Original /q/ splits phonologically into [q]and [g]; for some words, both alternatives exist.

1.4.2. Gender

Algerian Arabic has two genders, masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns and adjectives generally end with a consonant, while the feminine nouns generally end with an {a} (though exceptions do exist such as; Ibtissam and Nawal, which are feminine words with no final {a}).

Examples:

- dʒmel (a camel), dʒemla (a female camel).
- ʔfɔl (a little boy), ʔufla (a little girl).

1.4.3 Pluralization

Similar to Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic uses broken plural for many masculine words:

CA

radʒul(un) → ridʒal(un)

AA

raʒəl (man) → rʒal (men)

Regular plural is used too, but like other Arabic dialects, the suffix {u:n} used for the nominative in Classical Arabic is no longer in use. The suffix {i:n} used in Classical Arabic for the accusative and the genitive is used for all cases.

/mumən/ (a believer) → /mumni:n/ (believers)

/ʃa:qəl/(wise) → /ʃa:qli:n/ (wise "in the plural")

For feminine nouns, the plural is mostly regular i.e, obtained by postfixing {-a:t},

CA

bint (girl)→ bana:t (girls)

AA

bent→ bna:t

The broken plural is used for some borrowings too like in: ʔabla → ʔwabəl (tables)

The definite article {al} is indeclinable and expresses the definite state of a noun of any gender and number. It is

also prefixed to each of that noun's modifying adjectives. It follows the "solar" and "lunar" consonants' rules of Classical Arabic, i.e, if the word starts with one of these consonants, the /l/ of {al} is assimilated and replaced by the following consonant: /t, d, r, z, s, š, ʂ, ɖ, ɗ, l, n/

Examples:

raʒəl → ərraʒəl (man → the man) (assimilation)

qmar → əlqmar (moon) (no assimilation)

1.4.4 Conjugations and Verbs

Conjugation is done by adding affixes (prefixes, postfixes, both or none), these suffixes change according to the tense:

Person	Past		Present	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	- t	- na	N -	n(e) - u
2nd (m)	- t	- tu	T -	t - u
2 nd (f)	- ti	- tu	T - i	t - u
3rd (m)	-	- u	i/y(e) -	i/y(e) - u
3rd (f)	- t	- u	T(e) -	i/y(e) - u

Table 1.2. Verbs affixation

- Example with the verb *ktəb* "To write":

Person	Past		Present	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st (m)	ktəbt	ktəbna	nəktəb	Nəkkətbu
2nd (m)	kətbət	ktəbtu	təktəb	Təkkətbu
2 nd (f)	ktəbti	ktəbtu	təkkətbi	Təkkətbu
3rd (m)	ktəb	kətbu	yəktəb	Yəkkətbu
3rd (f)	kətbət	kətbu	təktəb	Yəkkətbu

1.4.5. Negation

Like all North African Arabic varieties (including Egyptian Arabic) along with some Levantine Arabic varieties, verbal expressions are negated by enclosing the verb with all its affixes, along with any adjacent pronoun-suffixed preposition, within the circumfix "ma.../ʃ/":

- /lʃabt/ (I played) → /**ma** lʃabtʃ/ (I didn't play)
- /ma ttəbbaʃni:ʃ/ (Don't follow me)
- /ma ʃaħħət-li:ʃ pla:ʃa/ (I couldn't get a seat / parking place)

Other negative words (/walu/, etc...) are used in combination with {ma} to express more complex types of negation. /ʃ/ is not used when other negative words are used.

- /ma gult walu/(I didn't say anything)vs. /ma gu:ltʃ/
- /ma ʃəft hətta waħəd/ (I didn't see anyone)

or when two verbs are consecutively in the negative like in:

- /ma ʃəft ma sməʃt/ (I neither saw nor heard)

1.4.6. Verb Derivation

Verb derivation is done by adding suffixes or by doubling consonants; there are two types of derivation forms: Causative, Passive.

- **Causative:** is obtained by doubling consonants:

xrəʒ "to go out" → xərrəʒ "to make to go out"

dxəl "to enter" → dəxxəl "to make to enter, to introduce"

- **Passive:** This derivation is similar to Berber and does not exist in Classical Arabic (the passive voice in classical Arabic uses vowel changes and not verb derivation), it is obtained by prefixing the verb with t- / tt- / tn- / n- :

qtel "to kill" → tneqtel "to be killed"

ʃreb "to drink" → tteʃreb "to be drunk".

1.5. The Linguistic Profile of Algeria

1.5.1. Historical Background

North Africa in general and Algeria in particular witnessed two major invasions by the Arabs. The first took place with Muslim raids in 641 A.D. The second one occurred four centuries later with the settlement of the nomadic tribes (Banu Hilal) in the 11th C.

These two waves of Arab invaders led to a gradual shift of the local language in the region and later to its nearly complete disappearance. That local variety "Berber" or "Tamazight" has maintained its existence in 'Greater Kabylia' and other scattered areas throughout the country (the Aures, Ghardaïa, the Ahaggar Mountains and Beni Boussaïd in the Algero-Moroccan frontiers. In sum, each period left its specific dialect characteristics.

Describing Algeria's linguistic situation makes it a must to consider another language which is French, a language inherited after a long period of the French colonisation (1830-1962). From a linguistic viewpoint, Algeria is a multilingual speech community. From a political standpoint, however, it is a monolingual community.

1.5.2. Arabic

The Algerian charter states that Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic is the language of the country. The largest part of the population speaks Arabic. Arabic is the national and official language of the state and is represented under two forms: Classical Arabic which was known

before as "the koiné language" when Arabs used to meet in the city of 'Mecca', where poets coming from different tribes used to expose their poems. A modern standard form (MSA), say simplified version of CA, is nowadays taught in schools.

The second form of Arabic is its spoken variety which is used by all the Arab populations. This form is a matter of investigation by linguists because it is subject of variation from one person to another and from one region to another. We introduced somehow the notion of language and the spoken form which is widely known by laymen as a "dialect". This will be dealt with in the next subsection.

1.5.3. French

French was widely used during the colonisation of France to Algeria. It has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society before and after independence. Yet three conflicting views exist in analysing the linguistic profile of Algeria. The political standpoint sees Arabic as the national and official language. In other words, politically, Algeria is seen as a monolingual speech community. The linguistic view considers Algeria as a bilingual country. Some other linguists go beyond this asserting that Algeria is a multilingual speech community since 'Berber' still remains vital in some areas.

1.5.4. Berber

Berber is a member of the Afroasiatic language family (formerly called Hamito-semetic), along with such languages as Ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Hebrew, Hausa, and Somali. Berber has been present in the area since the first written accounts. The scripts of the languages, "Tifinagh", are of

Punic origin. But some think that "Tifinagh" might be of Berber origin.

After independence, all the Maghreb countries, to varying degrees, pursued a policy of Arabization, aimed primarily at displacing French from its colonial position as the dominant language of education and literacy. Under this policy, Berber was put aside, if not banned. This state of affairs has been contested by Berbers in Morocco and Algeria – especially in Kabylie – and is now being addressed in both countries by introducing Berber in some schools and by recognizing it as a "national language" in Algeria, though not an official one. No such measures have been taken in the other Maghreb countries. In Mali and Niger, there are a few schools that teach partially in Tamacheq.

In Algeria, Berber is considered an indigenous language which has retained vitality in some mountainous and coastal regions such as the Aures, and Kabylia and some other scattered areas here and there, despite the two previously mentioned waves of Arab invaders.

1.6. Language Varieties

There is wide agreement among linguists that all languages exhibit internal variation, i.e. each language exists in a number of varieties. In sociolinguistics, a variety is a form of language used by speakers of that language. This may include dialects, registers, styles and accents as well as the standard language variety itself. This neutral term is used in order to avoid either positive or negative connotations which many people often associate with the terms 'language' and 'dialect'. Ordinary people often associate language only with the standard, superposed form,

and dialect is usually associated with non-standard varieties, thought of as less prestigious and less correct than the Standard form.

1.6.1. Dialect

O'Grady et al define dialect as, a regional or social variety of a language characterized by its own phonological, syntactic, and lexical properties. According to them, the term dialect is often associated with regional varieties of speech; though, there are dialect varieties which are associated with particular ethnic groups (ethnolects), socioeconomic classes (sociolects) or other social or cultural groups.

Typically, most people refer to linguistic varieties which are not written as 'dialects', whereas the standard form is usually seen as 'prestigious' used in formal settings and regarded as a 'language'. This fact can clearly be noticed with most Algerian speakers who consider MSA as the most prestigious, correct and pure variety, while their colloquial and regional varieties are regarded as general or common varieties used for day-to-day interaction.

1.6.2. Language

Most languages have a standard form, that is some variety selected and promoted either by political decisions or social institutions such as schools or the media. Since the standard variety is given such a status, it is correct and prestigious in the sense that it is highly valued in the society that uses it. In this respect, Fasold (2006:371) reports that:

The standard language may not even be the best possible constellation of linguistic features available. It is general social acceptance that gives us a workable arbitrary standard, not any inherent superiority of the characteristics it specifies.

1.6.3. Multilingualism

The way in which languages affect each other has always evoked the interest of linguistics in multilingual speech communities. Multilingualism is a sociolinguistic situation in which more than one language is used, usually involving also language contact and individual bilingualism. "Many sociolinguists use the term 'bilingualism' to refer to individuals, even if they are trilingual, quadrilingual, etc., and reserve the term multilingualism for nations or societies, even if only two languages are involved" (Trudgill, 1992:13).

This passage offers answers to the questions about the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, which is due to the conflicting linguistic interplay between two or more languages when they get in contact: Bilingualism, code switching, code mixing, and diglossia. This means that Multilingualism in Algeria is studied in relation to the existing linguistic varieties, namely the interplay between Arabic, French and Berber.

1.6.4. Bilingualism

Whenever and wherever two languages get in direct touch with one another, bilingualism is the inevitable result. Weinreich (1953) defines this linguistic situation as "the practice of using alternately two languages". Haugen (1954) sees a bilingual speaker as someone "who knows two

languages". These two definitions have been criticized for being too limited and vague because they do not make any reference to the level of mastery of both languages and also the gradation in bilingual usage depending on the four skills.

We can define bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual with a varying degree of ability. This competence ranges from limited to highly, native-like mastery of the second language. Bell (1976:165) sees bilingualism as "the use by an individual and the use by a group or nation of more than one language".

Bilingualism in Algeria is twofold: societal and individual. The former is the hangover of the French occupation of the Algerian territory which lasted from 1830 to 1962. It is the result of the contact and co-existence of two distinct languages, Arabic and French. The latter relates to the one speaker and depends on several forces, particularly level of education, place of residence and motivation. Yet, the Algerian speakers' bilingual proficiency is not homogeneous. It ranges from the ability to use some French loanwords to a highly native-like mastery.

We can mention two distinctive periods in the history of bilingualism in Algeria, pre-independence and post-independence periods. During the first one, those who were in contact with French extensively were qualified as balanced bilinguals, because they could speak and understand French. Unbalanced bilinguals, however, are those who came after and who are more competent in Arabic than in French.

Another distinction can be made between active and passive bilinguals. An active bilingual is one who has an active ability in receptive and productive skills even if he is illiterate, and this is noticed in the pre-independence generation. Despite the fact that some of them could neither read nor write, they were able to understand and speak French. A passive bilingual has a passive ability in one language or the other, even if he is educated. He understands French but does not speak it.

1.6.5. Borrowing

Borrowing is the process whereby bilingual speakers introduce words from one language into another language, and these loanwords eventually become accepted as an integral part of the host language. They are adapted morphologically and phonologically to the recipient language. The process is enormously present in AA and many examples can be given such as: /kaʃrona/ and /t̪abla/ from French 'casserole' and 'table' respectively (pan and table).

1.6.6. Code switching

This linguistic behaviour is very common in multilingual contexts. It is the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language and another within the same conversation (Trudgill, 1992)

In multilingual speech communities, people are usually required to select a particular code from the varieties they command of any language they speak whenever they interact. Sometimes they may decide to switch from one code to another

or even mix codes within the same speech act resulting in a 'mixed' code.

This phenomenon can explain the Algerian linguistic situation. A mere exposure to a natural conversation between Algerian speakers allows to depict the three grammatical types of code switching identified by Poplack (1980):

- Intersentential switching, which occurs between sentences;
- intrasentential switching, which takes place within a sentence boundary;
- extrasentential switching that refers to the insertion of ready-made expressions or tags from one language into a sentence which is otherwise in another language.

1.6.7. Diglossia

The linguistic situation in Algeria leads to a weird language, because Algerians tend to speak one moment in AA, another in French, and another in Standard Arabic and so on. This mixture of codes swings between a bilingual situation and a diglossic one.

Diglossia in Algeria is of a particular type since the two varieties are clearly separated. This linguistic gap is partly due to illiteracy and colonisation. In order to be clear in our analysis concerning the Algerian context, let us consider first the definition of diglossia given by Ferguson (1959)

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language [...], there is a very divergent, and highly

codified [...] superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

By the definition of such a linguistic situation, Ferguson claims that both the high and the low varieties should be of the same language. Yet, each variety is assigned a different function. Thus, in some situations, only the superposed variety 'H' is appropriate, whereas in others, the 'L' variety is more suitable.

The language used at home for low functions with peers, is a local variety of Arabic. The language recognized publicly in formal situations, for high functions is MSA which takes its normative rules from CA. The high and low varieties differ from each other not only in grammar, phonology and vocabulary but also with respect to a number of social characteristics, namely function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability. Romaine (1994:46) reports that "as far as prestige is concerned, Arabic language speakers regard the high variety as superior to the low one in a number of respects. Sometimes the feeling is so strong that the high variety is regarded as real and the low variety as if it did not exist". In Arabic, people talk about the high variety as being pure Arabic and the dialects as being corrupt forms (Freeman, 1996).

The term diglossia was extended by Fishman (1967) to cover situations where two historically distinct languages

occupy the H and L positions. He applies the term to cover not only multilingual societies which officially recognise several languages and not only societies that use vernacular and classical varieties but also societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.

The Algerian speaker may use French as H for educational and more prestigious domains, and the Arabic vernacular as L for informal spoken interactions. Linguists agree that the H variety comprises grammatical categories and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs that are absent in the L variety. Bouamrane (1990:54), in contracting CA/MSA with AA listed some noticeable differences amongst them:

►The disappearance of case and mood endings in the spoken dialects.

Eg: / daχaltu ila daari / is realized in the dialectal form as: [dχəlt lə ddaar] "I'm back home". The dropping of these complex structures has made the syntax of dialects more analytic.

► The shift in most dialects of the interdental fricatives to the corresponding stops. The CA interdentals /θ,ð/ are replaced by [t,d,] in many dialectal varieties, especially the urban/sedentary ones.

► The diminishing use of the dual in the dialects, which has disappeared in the verb, the adjective, and the pronoun and has become very limited. The dual verb form suffixes {aa} and {aani} are dropped in all dialects.

CA		AA	Gloss
/udχulu:/	→	[əddəχlu]	(get in).

To conclude about the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, we can say that communication in this speech community frequently takes place in two or more codes. AA, French (and even Berber in some areas) are the main codes of interaction in the country. This linguistic variation is not due to historical events only, but policy makers had their role to play. The national charter states that Arabic is the official language of the state. Hence, it is used in education, politics and in administrative affairs.

Another point which is noticeable is the rise of standard forms of Arabic the use of which is determined by the communication model. This phenomenon has led to the emergence of educated spoken Arabic (ESA), an intermediate form, which draws its linguistic system from both MSA and AA. This variety is used in schools and in the mass media for the sake of reducing the problem of intelligibility as far as CA is concerned. This media variety is used in both formal and informal situations (Benali, 1993).

What can be overtly stated is the fact that all forms of speech are subject to variation since one of the main characteristics of language is its creativity. As a consequence, the daily used medium of interaction in Algeria, including Ghazaouet, our site of investigation, has always been affected by two major languages, mainly French and CA. This multilingual and diglossic situation makes us view Ghazaouet Arabic (hereafter GA) an intricate sociolinguistic situation worthy of consideration.

1.7. Ghazaouet: A Historical Background

1.7.1 The Geographical Situation

The historical studies done by Paul Pallari in 1889 prove that Ghazaouet was inhabited by man before pre-historic age. He illustrates his assertion by anthropological discoveries found near "Oued Ghezouana", in the caves approximant to the way bonding Ghazaouet with Nedroma and the two ancient villages, Ouled Ziri and Ouled Abdellah. This town is located in the extreme North West of Algeria. The Romans called it "Ad Fratres" meaning "two brothers" referring to two huge rocks standing in the sea far from dry land some 300 metres in the northern entrance of the port. It was called "Nemours "during the French occupation (from 1844-1962) as an honour to the son of Louis Philippe the king of France at that time who had the same name.

With a population exceeding 75,000 inhabitants and a surface of 30 kilometres square, this town is considered one of the most important towns of western Algeria, especially in recent years by the re-inauguration of its port which enjoys economic and touristic importance.

The distance that separates Ghazaouet from Tlemcen is 80 km, and only 50 km from the Moroccan territory. Ghazaouet belongs to the mountainous area of Trara which transcends the Algerian frontiers to the Moroccan ones where the name of which converts to "RIF massif".

The speech variety we will deal with in this research paper is the Arabic spoken in Ghazaouet and its nearby villages (some 17 villages).

1.7.2 Ethnographic Issues

In the 10th century, Berber tribes coming from Tunisia invaded the region. These tribes were the Leonata, known later in Algeria as the "Trara tribes". Due to the many races who conquered the region, its local inhabitants, the Berbers of Beni Mansour of the Trara tribe, this region witnessed an ethnic, cultural and sociolinguistic impact which is still salient in its inhabitants. Here is a letter from "Montaniac", an officer from the French army to his leader: "The men of the region are well dressed, which is not the case of the Arabs, they are of a white complexion, blue eyes and sharp noses. Women are much caring of themselves and we find in them Spanish and Italian qualities".

What can be said about the origins of this speech community is that the peoples who lived there were so intermingled to the extent that one cannot classify any group to any race. The fusion of Arabs with the Berbers reached the point where neither the ones nor the others could be distinguished, and this is clear in the ethnic groups to which the Trara tribe was divided. The result is a mixture of both races. These people are known by conservatism and linguistically distinct from the rural type of Algerian Arabic used elsewhere.

1.8. The Investigation

1.8.1 Sociolinguistics and Language:

Sociolinguistics is defined as the study of language in relation to society. Most of the works in this field have taken place in the late 1960s. This does not imply that the study of language in relation to society emerged only then,

on the contrary, a long tradition in the study of dialects and in the study of word-meaning and culture took place long before. The new aspect in sociolinguistics is its interest in both the nature of language and the nature of society contrarily to sociology and modern linguistics. This field of research emerged to bring together the two perspectives (linguistic and social variables), as Romaine (2000:9) argues,

to bear on issues concerning the place of language in society, and to address in particular the social context of linguistic diversity.

In fact, it is evident that linguistic structures reflect social structure and in turn social structures shape a given linguistic system. Variation in language use is a basic and striking feature in the course of time and space and in the history of human contacts.

This research represents a humble attempt to the study of this linguistic phenomenon by analysing various aspects of variation in GA. Three main approaches might be taken into consideration in this study. The first one being the ethnographic approach put forward by Gumperz and Hymes who posit that all phenomena associated with linguistic performance, including all paralinguistic and prosodic features of natural speech, are to be considered an integral part of language. The second approach is the rationalist or the Chomskian School (1957) to which language is an abstract system. It is the innate capacity of the native speaker to produce and understand an infinite number of grammatically correct sentences. This school gives priority to the speaker's linguistic competence and neglects performance. The third approach is the function-form which emerged with the 'Prague School of Linguistics'. The proponents of this school

claim that grammar is not of prime importance in communicative instances. They attempt to work out the relationship between function and form in the use of language in different social settings.

Any scientific work must rely on observation, analysis, and objectivity, thus, in the correlative study of language with the social functions it fulfils, and due to the variation both language and society undergo constantly, one should seek explanations about language in variation itself since the speaker's underlying knowledge about language is not static but rather changing. In this research work, though some of the ethnographic school concepts may interfere, the view adopted is that held by the function-form school.

1.8.2. Methodology

Several theories have been proposed to account for language variation, a phenomenon that cannot be ignored. Yet, how does linguistic variation occur?

One cannot easily answer such a question. What can be taken for granted is that in any linguistic evolution, the alteration is not sudden. It is rather a gradual process. The transformation begins by being individual and then includes the whole speech community. The most remarkable work in this field was that done by Labov in (1966) who pioneered the quantification of sociolinguistic findings.

As previously mentioned, ethnolinguistics, the branch of linguistics which studies language in relation to culture, may interfere in our sociolinguistic research. The overlap of the two disciplines is due to the fact that both handle the study of language in its social context. Linguistic variables

are thus studied from the social and cultural points of view. GA speakers are known ethnographically by their conservatism, but to what extent do they remain so? Are there communicative situations where they switch from their variety to another? Why? Even though GA speakers seem to be culturally conservative, there exist situations where they change their way of speaking. Data collection and their analysis prove this shift.

In this research work, the methodology used is of a Labovian type the correlation between phonological, morphological and lexical variables, in relation with social factors are studied quantitatively, analysed and represented under the form of statistical results on charts, tables and graphs.

From his/her linguistic features, a speaker could be classified to pertain to a given speech community or to a given socio-economic class. We can guess whether this speaker is influenced by a foreign linguistic variety or not. Concerning GA speech community, one can raise three main questions:

- ▶ What are the linguistic features that are subject to variation?

- ▶ Considering the conservative character of Ghazaouet people, what is the degree of homogeneity of GA variety?

- ▶ What are the results of contact with other contiguous or foreign speech varieties?

1.8.3. Corpus

The data for this research work are collected by means of questionnaires and interviews directed to a sample population of 160 participants who belong originally to the area under investigation. Taking into account the difference of age, the level of education of each informant, the questionnaire is written in Arabic in order to get ease in obtaining the aimed linguistic items.

The questionnaire is twofold. The first part is intended to give information about the age, the gender, the place of birth and residence, the educational level and the occupations of the participants. The second part is devoted to elicit the occurrences of phonological and morphological aspects of GA. Both open and closed questions are asked in trying to find reliable data.

Since I am a native speaker of the variety under investigation, but no longer living in the speech community, I could get my informants utter the desired linguistic variables without any doubt about my intentions. I collected my corpus at home with my relatives, at the café with friends from different educational backgrounds and different ages, and in some schools (Mohammed Bennacer, Bedaa primary school; Ain Sebaa Ali, Ouled Ziri elementary school and Mouffek Abdelkader secondary school).

Kinship gatherings in two weddings during the summer holidays were very beneficial and fruitful for this research because of the presence of both sexes with different ages and different educational levels. The result was diversity in the data obtained. Focus was not so much on the topics discussed as on the speech form itself as an end. The use of a cell-phone as a recording device in the conduction of the

interviews was one of the helpful elements in the clandestinity of data collection. From time to time, I had to use elicitation devices in order to get some of the linguistic features in GA.

What is generally admitted is that all varieties of languages are variable. Variation is thus a characteristic of "living languages". It involves not only the presence of a speech community sharing the same system of communication, but the instability of this phenomenon too, as varieties of languages tend to move from one state to another. Shift is thus proper to living languages and maintenance is the way towards demise. Linguistic variation sets off creativity.

Whenever speakers of any language are faced with new communicative situations, they tend to manipulate their linguistic repertoires to cope with these situations. Dialects, which basically form the language, are subject to variation too. Yet, this variation does not depend on the variety spoken in a specific region only, but on the contiguous speech communities too. Rural dialects are less affected by change compared with urban ones. The former type is known by conservatism whereas the latter is characteristically inclined to shift.

Naturally, dialects are distributed geographically by this fact; each geographic dialect is characterized by some specific linguistic features that are not found in another dialect especially when taking account of the type of the contiguous dialect (sedentary or Bedouin). The case of Ghazaouet speech community is something of this kind. The language spoken there is characterized by a lot of phonological, morphological and lexical features that

distinguish this area from other adjacent speech communities. Generally speaking, the dialects spoken in Algeria are not homogeneous. They do not exhibit differences in the lexical or grammatical devices only, but the ways of meaning things too, differ from one region to another i.e , a word which has some meaning in one region may exist with another connotation elsewhere in the same speech community. For example, the word /kaʕba/ like in /ɖrabt əlkaʕba/ means, in GA that "I in GA walked too much on feet". The same item, that is /kaʕba/ is used in the eastern part of the country but with the meaning "one item", like in /kaʕba teffa:h/ which means "one apple".

We can then assume that the difference in culture and ethnicity identify speakers and show their linguistic competence in the same way their communicational behaviour indicates their psyche and their personality. Many rural dialect users consider G.A as weird and unintelligible; others see it funny and mock at its users. This variety is spoken in a limited area comprising the town, some surrounding villages and the adjacent communes under administrative rule such as (Abghaouen, Tiant, Tounane, Sidi Amar, Sidi Brahim, Ouled Ziri, Dmine, Chraqua, Bedaa, etc...). The variety of Arabic spoken in Ghazaouet differs in a number of ways from other A.A vernaculars.

This will be our concern in the following steps of this research work; Let us first consider the difference between sedentary and Bedouin dialects.

1.9. Sedentary Vs Bedouin dialects:

A basic dialectal distinction, that cuts across the entire geography of the Arabic-speaking world, is between sedentary and Bedouin varieties. Across the Levant and North Africa (i.e. the areas of post-Islamic settlements), this is mostly reflected as an urban (sedentary) vs. rural (Bedouin) split, but the situation is more complicated in Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula. The distinction stems from the settlement patterns in the wake of the Arab conquests. As regions were conquered, army camps were set up that eventually grew into cities, and settlement of the rural areas by Bedouins gradually followed thereafter. In some areas, sedentary dialects are divided further into urban and rural variants.

The most obvious phonetic difference between the two dialect groups is the pronunciation of the letter /q/, which is voiced in Bedouin dialects (usually /g/, but sometimes a palatalized variation /dʒ/ or /ʒ/), but voiceless in sedentary dialects (/q/ or /ʔ/) (the former realization being mostly associated with the countryside, the latter being considered typically urban); /q/ also surfaces as a velar /k/ in GA.

The other major phonetic difference is that the Bedouin dialects preserve the Classical Arabic interdentalals /θ/ and /ð/, and merge the CA emphatic sounds /ḏ/ and /ḥ/ into /ð/ rather than sedentary /ḏ/.

In general Bedouin dialects are more conservative than sedentary ones, and those within the Arabian Peninsula are even more conservative. Within sedentary dialects, the

western varieties (particularly, Moroccan Arabic) are less conservative than the eastern varieties.

Concerning the Algerian context, the aforementioned situation of the split of sedentary dialects into urban and rural variants exists. Village dialects are tangible in two main groups, namely Ghazaouet in the extreme West and Djidjel in the East. The former extends from Oued Kiss to Oued Tafna comprising the mountainous chain of Msirda and Trara. The latter is found in eastern Kabylia, Jidjel and Mila, whereas sedentary dialects are implanted in the old founded cities of Nedroma, Tlemcen, Algiers and their vicinities respectively.

The most striking features of a sedentary dialect according to Cantineau (1937), Mangion (1937), Millon (1937), and Marçais, Ph (1960) are:

- The sound /q/ from CA is realized in three distinct ways: /q/ as in Algiers, Beni Snous, Djebala, Nedroma and Honain; /ʔ/ as in Tlemcen; or as a velar /k/ like in Ghazaouet (the speech community under investigation) and its vicinity, and Djidjel in eastern Algeria. Therefore, we get the following realizations for the word /qird/ (ape): [qard], [ʔard], and [kard] respectively.
- The CA interdentalals /θ/ , /ð/ and /ð/ are substituted by the sounds [t], [d], [ɗ], [t̪], as in /temma/ (there), /di:b/ (wolf), [ɗɗal] and /t̪t̪all/ both meaning "shadow"
- Village dialects tend to substitute the velar /k / by either a palatalized /k/ as is the case in Souk Tlata, a

commune in Ghazaouet, or as a fricative [ʃ] or an affricate [tʃ] as in Tounane and Ghazaouet depending on the phonetic environment in which the sound occurs. We notice the following realizations for the word /kar/ which is a French word borrowed into Algerian Arabic and which means "bus": [kar], [ʃar] and [tʃar].

- /t/ tends to be realized either as an affricate [tʃ] or as a palatalized [tʃ]. The word [bi:t] (room) is either pronounced [bi:tʃ] or [bi:t].
- The use of the suffix {jən} to mark duality, as in /rəʒla:jən/ and /ʃinajən/ (two feet and two eyes, respectively)
- The use of the prepositions "di" and "djal" to indicate possession as illustrated here: /di ʃaħbi/ and/djal ʃaħbi/ both meaning "my friend's"
- Loss of /h/ in the third-person masculine enclitic pronoun, when attached to a word ending in a consonant as in: (qultu # lah(u) in CA is realised [qult # lu].

In addition to the phonetic and morphological variation, lexical items which distinguish sedentary speech from Bedouin Arabic are considerable. The most attention -grabbing words are those with Berber features especially the ones comprising the vowel [a] in the beginning as in [ʔadidi]: "utensil used for grinding" and [ʔaʃtaʔo]: "sieve".

1.9.1. Bedouin Dialects:

This type of dialects is found in the Algerian speech community as a whole except in some speech communities where sedentary dialects pioneered long before the second wave of Arabisation underwent by North Africa on the hands of Banu Hilal in the 11th C. The major phonetic characteristic of Bedouin dialects is the preservation of the CA interdental /θ/, /ð/ and the combination of the CA emphatic [ḏ] and /ð/ into /ð/ rather than sedentary [ḏ]. This spoken medium is widely used and clearly noticeable in the south of Algeria, in Oran and its vicinities as well as in central and eastern Algeria, with some differences between the Tell and the Sahara. Cantineau (1937-1940-1941) and Marçais (1960) based upon phonological, morphological, and syntactic features and their distribution across the Algerian speech community, drew five types of Bedouin dialects.

According to both linguists, the first type is the one covering (besides some Berber varieties) the whole Sahara in addition to other scattered areas in western, central and eastern Algeria. It is the variety spoken by the Nomads especially the tribes of "Ouled Nail", "Larbaa" and "Chaamba" in Biskra, Laghouat and Touggourt respectively.

-The second type is found in the Tell only. It is used by the nomads who settled there. Basically, it is the original variety of the nomads of the Sahara. This type of Bedouin dialects is spoken in the vicinity of Mostaghanem in the west, in Chlef in central Algeria, and in Setif and Bordj Bouariridj in the east.

-The third type is represented by the varieties spoken in eastern Algeria mainly the north of El-Hodna mountains.

-The fourth type comprises the dialect used in Saida especially by the tribe of "Ouled Brahim". It is spoken in the surroundings of Oran, Mascara, Sidi Belabbes and the vicinity of Tlemcen. This type of dialect is very much similar to the eastern Moroccan Bedouin Arabic to which it is no more than a mere extension.

-The fifth type is the kind of Arabic spoken by the Tunisian nomads. It is used by the speech communities on the Tunisian borders such as Souk Ahras, Oued Souf, Annaba and stretches up to Guelma and eastern Constantine.

Dhina (1938) and Marçais(1960) cite some typical characteristics of Bedouin dialects:

1-The use of the back velar [g], instead of the uvular [q] or the velar voiceless stop [k], or the glottal stop [ʔ] used in sedentary speech. Thus, the word /qanṭara/ (bridge) is realized as /ganṭra/.

2-A salient differentiation in gender in the second person singular, in fact retention of the CA form /anta/ vs. /anti/:

/nta/ "you", used for singular masculine, and /nti/ "you", used for singular feminine.

3-The preservation of the diphthongs [au] and [ai] which are respectively realized in sedentary speech [u] and [i] as in:

[χauf] "fear"

[baɪd] "eggs"

4-The velar voiced [ɣ] is substituted by the uvular voiceless[q] in, for instance Laghouat and Djelfa as in:

[qnem] "sheep"

[qunja] "a song"

5-Verbs are conjugated by adding [i] to the second person feminine singular and [u] to the second plural pronoun (be it feminine or masculine) as in:

[temfi] "you go"(feminine singular)

[temfu] "you go"(plural)

6-The use of the sibilants[ʒ] and [dʒ] as realizations of the phoneme/ʒ/ as in: [ʒmel] and [dʒmel] both meaning "camel".

7-The restricted use of the possessive prepositions [ntaʃ], [djal] and [di] (of) as in:

[ra:s laχrof] which means "the head of the ram"

8-Either suffix {ah} or {u} are used for the third person singular as in: /ʃafah/ and /ʃafu/ (it is noteworthy to mention that the two forms are not used in the same dialect) to mean "he saw him".

1.10. Conclusion

After this brief review on the state of Arabic in the Arab World as a whole and in Algeria in particular, we may conclude that Each spoken variety has its own characteristics which may be phonological, morphological or syntactic, or including all these linguistic levels at a single time. AA has its own peculiarities too. These characteristics are due to historical, geographical, ethnic and social variables. Nevertheless, it remains linked with the other varieties of Arabic. In this chapter, we have tried to give an overview of the linguistic situation in Algeria and the speech forms related to this speech community.

Chapter two

2.1 Introduction

Scholars and lay people together agree on the fact that language is not static, but rather a varying phenomenon. Using empirical methods, sociolinguists have emphasized the fact that language is in a process of constant change under the effect of political, ethnic, cultural and socio-economic influences. They reached the point that language acts as a mirror of society, i.e. variation in language reflects variation in society. Halliday (1978:186) claims that:

Variation in language is the symbolic expression of variation in society: It is created by society: and helps to create society in turn.

This mutual impingement between language and society can apply for Ghazaouet speech community in a clear manner because of the change in the social structure of this community which has led to a change in the language yielding a heterogeneous community in which new speech forms have appeared and are adopted and adapted especially by youngsters as we will see next. The fact of linguistic heterogeneity concerns more the city of Ghazaouet compared with the villages surrounding it which still seem to be maintaining their original speech variety. Socio-cultural factors may be decisive in the rate of linguistic change. They may help it be either slow or rapid. In a geographically isolated community or a remote village, linguistic homogeneity is more likely; whereas heterogeneity is more probable in big cities and thus language change is more distinctive in the second case where different varieties may co-exist (either varieties of the same language or historically distinct languages).

Due to the economic importance of its port, Ghazaouet attracted a huge number of new settlers seeking an opportunity of work and a descent life. Being a frontier zone, military backups coming from all parts of the Algerian territory are numerous in this town, the fact whereby have resulted in dialect contact situations which in turn have led to the development of new speech forms in this speech community.

2.2 Variationist Sociolinguistics

Although there are scholars who tend to make no difference between sociolinguistics and variationist sociolinguistics, the latter has emerged as an important subfield 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.

Such a new approach emerged in the late 1960S. It 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 (2006:4) describes this approach and reports:

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.

A recent definition was set by Johnstone in which she describes the aim of 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 the start of the 1960s, Variationist sociolinguistics' main task has been to fill the gaps inherited from traditional studies of dialectology which were primarily concerned with *regional* variation⁴. By the advent of structural linguistics 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. Hornberger and Corson (1997:59) 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.

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

⁴ While dialectology (also called dialect geography) is centrally concerned with rural communities, sociolinguistics is more concerned with social aspects in urban communities (called sometimes urban dialectology)

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. "The central ideas of this approach are that an understanding of language requires an understanding of variable as well as categorical processes", Bayley (2004:1) adds, "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"".

Headed by Labov (1966)⁵, 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 variation 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.

⁵ W. Labov (1927-) is regarded as the founder of variationist sociolinguistics and this was after the publication of his highly acclaimed work *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966)

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 one, whereas the independent variable refers to other characteristics that are assumed to be related 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.

2.2.1 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 the 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 underline 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.

2.3 The Speech Community of Ghazaouet

Before tackling a description of Ghazaouet speech community, let us first consider some definitions given to the term "speech community" by different scholars. This concept has been interpreted in many ways:

Gumperz (1971:114) defines the *speech community* as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set

off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage".

In his definition, Gumperz emphasizes the criterion of 'frequency of social interaction'. This definition concerns multilingual speech communities where people communicate by using one or two, or more languages or varieties of the same language in everyday interaction and can be distinguished from other communities by lack of mutual intelligibility. Accordingly, Romaine, (2000:23) argues:

A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language.

An example of this situation may be taken from the Berber speakers living in the non-Berber regions of Algeria where speakers communicate using a mixture of linguistic varieties in their daily speech switching from one language to another, or more frequently mixing them in the same conversation according to the context of use. This results from their acquisition of the norms and rules of language use within these communities.

In other terms, Romaine (ibid) adds that "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 neighbors. Such a group can be called a 'speech community'".

This definition may well apply to today's community of Ghazaouet as its speakers still maintain its distinctiveness from the other AA dialects though these varieties are held together through regular day-to-day interaction and socio-economic practices such as commerce, resulting in an unavoidable mutual linguistic interference. What we can

deduce from these definitions is that the concept of speech community is a difficult one to define but one we must try to grasp. The view we shall start with in the conduction of this research work, is that held by Bloomfield (1933:42) in the definition he uses to introduce his chapter on speech communities when he reports that "a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech".

From all what has been said, we can define speech community as a sociolinguistic concept that describes a group of people who use language in a specific and mutually accepted way among themselves.

The present-day linguistic situation in Ghazaouet speech community shows considerable variation at all linguistic levels. Its constant on-going process of change is not due to the inherent variability of its medium of day-to-day interaction in itself, but is related to the coexistence of native speakers with the new comers (because of its strategic and economic importance) from the different parts of the Algerian territory (army, navy, teachers, dockers, etc.). Consequently, in addition to the socio-economic contacts between the natives and the new settlers, linguistic interplays began to emerge producing new speech forms.

Language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties interact. When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. Language contact can occur at language borders, between adstratum languages⁶, or as the result of migration, with an intrusive language acting as either a superstratum or a substratum. It occurs in a variety of phenomena, including language convergence, borrowing, and relexification, i.e the outcomes of language contact can be

⁶ An adstratum or adstrate refers to a language which is equal in prestige to another.

noticeable in all linguistic levels. The first two of these constitute a privileged window of linguistic inter-influence: the phonetic/phonological level and the lexical level. These are the two corridors which constitute the major "gateways" to all of the other aspects of contact-influenced change. When a common second language is learned and used by a group of people- whether immigrants or by virtue of the introduction of a new language to a resident population- they often find themselves introducing second-language lexical items into conversation with fellow bilinguals in their original first language. Such items, referred to by Weinreich (1968) as *nonce borrowings*, seem to constitute the bridge in various types of subsequent linguistic change.

First, nonce borrowings are clearly the route for the later adoption or integration of these lexical items as loan-words in the immigrant or minority language (Poplack & D. Sankoff 1984). Along with numerous lexical borrowings, there usually ensue phonological changes in the recipient language: almost all the previous studies in this realm indicate both alterations in the phonology of the borrowed words, and subsequent adjustments in the phonology of the recipient language. Such alterations may include processes that apply only to the foreign-origin vocabulary, but may also spread to native vocabulary.

Phonological change is also almost universally characteristic of adult speakers, but for social reasons, the "substratum potential" such speakers have is usually very limited. When they do constitute an important segment of the speech community, they may have a very strong influence in bringing about phonological changes that can have far-reaching influences in morphology and syntax as well.

The introduction of foreign lexical material carries not only phonological baggage, but often may carry morphological and syntactic baggage as well. What is attention-grabbing in the speech community of Ghazaouet is the fact that the linguistic influence of the settlers on the natives is rendered back by the natives on the settlers' offspring.

Another line of explanation lies in considering how the transmission of language is mediated by social forces. For one thing, children acquire language based on the input of many speakers, and these speakers may well have different linguistic systems based on their own different linguistic histories. It is well established in phonology that children whose parents have foreign accents acquire the variety of the language spoken by the native-speaker community around them rather than the foreign accent of their parents. This also holds across dialect boundaries: the child growing up in Ghazaouet whose parents come from Annaba will end up speaking like a native of Ghazaouet. The implication of this is that children are formulating their linguistic systems over a period of years, and input from later in childhood (when they hear more from peers than from parents) has an important effect.

2.4 Language Change

Access to previous stages of any language shows us that language is always changing. We can gain this access through written texts or audio recordings, which now give us the possibility of comparing many of today's spoken languages with the way they were spoken many decades ago. Indeed, if language did not change, we would all still be speaking the same original language that first evolved among our ancestors

some 50 millennia (or so) ago. Since language is constantly changing, when the people who have previously spoken one language split up and move apart, the previously united language will also begin to show differences between the new in-born "varieties". After a few hundred years, clear differences can be observed, although communication will still be possible and the new speech varieties are said to be mutually intelligible. After a few millennia, however, they will have evolved into separate languages that are no longer mutually intelligible.

A further aspect of how language change is mediated by social forces and takes us out of the area of primary acquisition altogether: when we observe how language is used, we discover that people do not speak exactly the same way across all the occasions they have to use language. In particular, expressivity, the conveying of formality and informality, and the expression of intimacy and social distance seem to influence how speakers deploy their linguistic resources.

Intimacy, associated with minimizing social distance, seems almost iconically to be associated with minimizing the linguistic signal: rapid speech and the concomitant truncation processes mentioned by Crystal: assimilation, dissimilation, syncope, apocope⁷, (these are only some of the processes of sound change Crystal discusses). Expressivity leads to some vocabulary replacement, often via the constantly renewed slang vocabulary; formality may lead to the borrowing of words from literary language or even from high status foreign languages.

⁷ Apocope refers to the loss of one or more sounds from the end of a word; syncope is the loss of one or more sounds from the interior of a word- both phonological features concern particularly the loss of an unstressed vowel.

Other theories that have been advanced to explain language change include the "least effort" theory (Martinet, 1964) by which sloppy pronunciation in rapid speech causes sound change; the "emulate the upper class" theory according to which the masses copy the upper class, which changes once it has been copied in order to remain socially distinct; and the theory that change is led by the least educated members of society who are the least influenced by the conservative force of the standard language, including the written language.

Work of the past three decades in approximately a dozen cities around the world has shown, however, that ongoing language change in the sound system of language is usually led by people who are neither at the top nor at the bottom of the social ladder; people who can often be best described as "lower middle class". Another fact about language change, clearly established on the basis of approximately 100 studies, is that women are usually a generation ahead of men in sound change. In this respect, female speakers in Ghazaouet Arabic are more conservative than male speakers; they always exhibit retention of some GA characteristics that are no more present in male speech.

2.5 The Linguistic Variable

As the aim of this research paper is to study some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in Ghazaouet speech, its linguistic characteristics will be represented in the form of linguistic variables mostly phonological, morphological and lexical ones. Yet, as a first step in research, let us provide at least a brief definition for this important key concept.

Broadly speaking, a linguistic variable is a basic sociolinguistic concept which has been initially developed by the American linguist William Labov in his work on Martha Vineyard (1963) "to serve as the focus for the study of a speech community" (Labov, 1972a:7-8). It refers to a linguistic element that has alternatives or variants which can be substituted for one another without changing the meaning of the word; it co-varies not only with other linguistic elements but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables like: social class, age, sex, ethnic group, and so on. One of the essential characteristics of a typical sociolinguistic variable is that all of its variants can be recognized, and counted (Hudson 1996:169).

Similarly, this concept has been described by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:60) as "a linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in co-variation with other social and/or linguistic variables".

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 on different occasions.

Variables may be lexical and morphological, but are most often phonological. Emphasizing the study of linguistic variables in any sociolinguistic investigation, Labov (1972a:71) suggests three steps in analyzing them:

- ✓ enumerating the range of contexts in which the variable occurs,

- ✓ distinguishing as many phonetic variants as is reasonably possible,
- ✓ assigning each variant a quantitative index.

The above steps have been followed in the study of Ghazaouet speech seeking the knowledge of the different phonological, morphological and lexical variables and their correlations with extra-linguistic factors.

Linguistic variables have been proved to behave in different ways in relation to social variables for they carry 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) distinguishes 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 proved to indicate social stratification of people. 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, the present research work is based on the investigation of some linguistic variables in GA that are dependent to social constraints which are mainly age and gender. A native speaker of GA may possibly say [kutleʃ] (I

told you) in a given situation with a particular interlocutor and chooses to switch to [qutlek] or [gutlek] in another situation with a different speaker. So, under external factors we find three different realizations of the phoneme /q/: (k), (q) and (g).

2.6 The 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 the speaker, age of the speaker, style which refers to the context of utterance, and group identity of the 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 they are excluded. Now let us consider some of the many social variables that have been studied intensively by many researchers.

2.6.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to a group of people who identify themselves on the basis of 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 go". 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 carried on 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 specificity of ethnic group membership. As Algerians, though there are Berber and Arab origins of the population, the ethnic group that marks this country is an Islamic ethnic group because Berbers 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.

2.6.2 Social Class

Theories of class in the history of humanity date back to the politico-economist Karl Marx (1818-1883) who divides the world into two classes according to the individuals' means of production. And so, those who possess the 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 accent⁸. From the time when the Western society knew some changes, new classes appeared (middle class), and class divisions had the cultural criterion instead of Marx's divisions. 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 variable to determine variation in the English language. Stockwell (2002:11) states that "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".

After Labov's work in New York City, social class has become the central social variable in sociolinguistic research in order to stratify speech communities (Coulmas, 1998). He considered 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,

⁸ One should make the difference between an accent and a dialect : while the first refers to the way in which people pronounce, the second concerns a whole linguistic system (phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics).

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 the 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 a great deal of elder Algerian speakers master spoken French without even having been educated.

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 (MSA) in formal situations (such as education, mass media and for official purposes) and Algerian Arabic (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.

2.6.3 Gender

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 formal forms than men's. On a continuum from careful to casual speech, it has also been proved that women tend towards 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 a 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 a man and a woman interact. 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 (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 briefly their views, each from a different a different angle than 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, labelled *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.

2.6.4 Age

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 (2007) has attracted the attention 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. 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 works shows that some variables are correlated with social class. In fact, this work has shown correlation even more with 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.

2.7 Ghazaouet Arabic Characteristics

It is a variety among many in AA. For those who do not know it, it might be regarded as any other language but Arabic. It exhibits to a certain extent some variation from

the other AA co-existing varieties. This variation can be felt at all linguistic levels.

2.7.1 Phonological Variation

2.7.1.1 Vowel Aspects in GA

Like all AA system of vowels, GA contains three short vowels with their corresponding long forms. /a/, /i/ and /u/. The following table shows the vowel system in GA, or say AA as it is shown below:

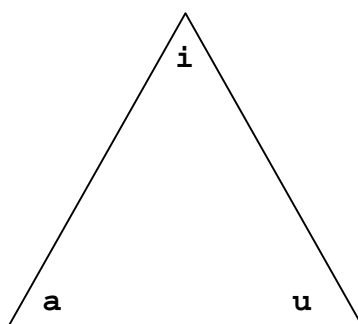


Figure 2.1 Short vowels in Arabic

In his description of Maghreban Arabic dialects, Marçais (1977:12) emphasizes the considerable ruin of the vowel material, a phonological trait which applies to both sedentary and rural Algerian dialects. In sum, it is the drop or the reduction of the short vowel in an open syllable which might be explained by the universal phonological phenomenon called 'the law of least effort' (Martinet, 1964). Marçais (ibid) notes:

On constate que les parlers maghrébins sont caractérisés par une ruine considérable du matériel vocalique.

Accordingly, we notice the reduction in the number of syllables in many words and initial consonant cluster which is an unaccepted pattern in CA. The following examples show clearly what is stated here:

CA	GA	Gloss
/haraba/	/hrob/	"he ran away"
/qaraʔa/	/qra/	"he read"
/laʕiba/	/lʕab/	"he played"
/xaradʒa/	/xradʒ/	"he went out"

What can be clearly noticed is the fact that the short vowels are more affected by this ruin of vocalic content. Long vowels preserve their quality more than short vowels do. The prevalent use of a neutral vowel (ə) is really remarked too. Such alterations lead to syllabic and morphological variations as are represented below:

CA	GA	Gloss
/baqara/	/bəkra/	"cow"
/ʕindaka/	/ʕəndəʃ/	"you have"
/da:rukum/	/da:rʃəm/	"your house"

Concerning long vowels, the only one that is subject to variation is the /u:/. It is most of the time realized as the allophonic variant [ə] of the French words [bœʁ] and [pœʁ] meaning "butter" and "fear" respectively. The following examples show more this substitution:

AA	GA	Gloss
/lu:z/	/ləz/	"almonds"
/blu:za/	/bləza/	"robe"
/ʃu:ka/	/ʃətʃa/	"thorn"

However, the same vowel /u:/ is realized differently when preceded or succeeded by emphatic consonants. In its production, the back of the tongue is more raised and the lips are clearly rounded. As a result, the sound /u:/ is realized [o:] as in the examples below:

The glides [aw] and [ai] are subject to variation too. Concerning CA [aw] which does not undergo any variation in Bedouin speech, and which is substituted by /u:/ in most sedentary dialects, is realized [æ] as is stated previously. However, like all sedentary dialects, CA glide [ai] is substituted in GA by the long vowel [i:] as in the following words:

CA	GA	Gloss
/lail/	/li:l/	"night"
/ʃaif/	/ʃi:f/	"summer"
/ɖaif/	/ɖi:f/	"guest"

2.7.1.2 Consonantal Aspects

Unlike other AA varieties, GA was known by the lack of the [k]-[g] contrast for the simple reason that the velar [k] substitutes the CA uvular [q] which is in turn never realized as the velar voiced [g]. However, the social variables involved in this speech community have led to another reality. Variations, not only concerning this contrast but other variants, either emerged or disappeared from the speech of this community such as: /q/-[k], /k/-[tʃ], /g/-[dʒ] and /ɖ/-[t].

The corpus collected shows this variation clearly with differences according to age and gender. In both sexes, elder uneducated people tend to preserve the majority of the

characteristics of their medium of interaction. Youngsters are more attracted by all what is new; they have a tendency to use /q/, /k/ and even the velar voiced /g/ in their speech in many words. Let us consider this comparison:

Speakers above 50 years	speakers under 35 years	Gloss
/dʒəʃa/	/gəʃa/	hair lock
/dʒərdʒaːf/	/gərgaːf/	walnuts
/dʒaʔo/	/gaʔo/	cake
/dʒən/	/gən/	male rabbit

Table 2.1: Differences in speech with recourse to age

As previously mentioned, the velar voiceless[k] stands for the CA uvular /q/ in GA speech. The phoneme /k/ in return is realized [tʃ] in initial and medial positions or [ʃ] in medial and final positions depending on the phonetic environment it occurs in as demonstrated below:

AA	GA	Gloss
/karmoːs/	/tʃarmoːs/	"figs"
/mkammal/	/mtʃəmmal/	"very ill"
/mælak/	/mæləʃ/	"what's wrong with you?"

Some sounds are foreign to Arabic, but they exist de facto in GA due the contact of AA with other foreign varieties such as French, Spanish, Italian, etc... These are the sounds /P/ and /v/. The former exists in AA and in GA on its own right; the latter undergoes a slight alteration in

voicing and is realized especially by uneducated people as /f/ in many occurrences.

These two sounds appear in many French borrowings such as: [piʒama], [pupija], [vaksɛ] or [faksa], meaning "pyjamas", "doll" and "vaccine" respectively. In this respect, Benrabah (1989:27) 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.

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 the variety under investigation we selected the following examples where these sounds are not assimilated:

GA	French Gloss	English Gloss
/kuvirta/	"couverture"	"blanket"
/lvana/	"vanne"	"sluice gate"
/lvi:s/	"vis"	"screw"
/pumpa/	"pompe"	"pump"
/plastik/	"plastique"	"plastic"
/plato/	"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:

GA	French Gloss	English Gloss
/lf ^w ajaʒ/	"voyage"	"transportation"
/lfi:sta/	"veste"	"jacket"
/fizi:ta/	"visite"	"to visit the doctor"
/bardi:tu/	"je l'ai perdu"	" I have lost it"
/lbuli:si/	"policier"	"policeman"
/ləbla:n/	"le plan"	"the plan"

2.7.2 Morpho-syntactic Variation

Morphological variation in the speech community of Ghazaouet is as important as the preceding phonological phenomena, because it exhibits a distinct use of some variables that are typical to this community. The most striking feature in the morphological structure of GA is the confusion in gender, be it plural or singular- such a feature concerns in fact some other dialects mainly those of Nedroma and Tlemcen. Forms of address to both male and female speakers are as follows:

- /ʔæsmu ra:ʃ taʃmæl/ what do you do? (masculine or feminine singular)
- /ʔæsmu ra:ʃəm tʃəmlu/ what do you do? (masculine or feminine plural)

In CA, duality is marked by the use of the morpheme suffixes {a:n(i)} or {ain(i)} added to the noun. However, this is not the case for colloquial Arabic in which only a few nouns referring to specific pairs apply for this rule. These nouns are those referring especially to parts of the human body such as: [ʃaini:n], [wədni:n], [jəddni:n],

[rəʒli:n] meaning 'eyes', 'ears', 'hands' and 'feet' respectively (Dendane, 2007:165).

In GA, we find that the use of the CA dual marker is not totally excluded. The case of the nominative subject is fixed for some nouns especially those which come in twos such as the nouns referred to previously and which take {a:n} as a case ending as stated in the following examples: [ʕi:næʃ] "your eyes", [rəʒləj] "my feet", [wədnəh] "his ears", [jəddəha] "her hands".

The other way of forming duality in colloquial Arabic within the Algerian speech community, is by adding the cardinal number [zu:ʒ] "two", added to the plural form of the noun. We get for example:

/bent/ /zu:ʒ bna:t/ Two girls

/weld/ /zu:ʒ wla:d/ Two boys

In some words, GA speakers are distinguished by the use of the CA dual marker {ain(i)} with an alteration to {jən}:

[ju:m] [ju:məjən] two days

[li:la] [li:ltəjən] two nights

[ʃhar] [ʃahra:jən] two months

In all AA varieties, the previous words are realized with {ain} or {i:n}. In GA, the "a" in {ain} is lengthened and a kind of a schwa {ə} is inserted after the {i} which is realized [j], and thus [jən] is obtained instead of {ain}.

The CA definite article [al] is used to express the defined state of a noun as in [al+manzil] "the house". This morpho-syntactic connection is still kept in GA with the omission of the initial [a] as in [l+mra] "the woman", [l+kta:b] "the book".

The indefinite form of a noun is formed in CA by the deletion of the definite article [al]. In AA, this form is expressed by the use of the cardinal number "one" [waħəd] rra ħa/ :as in [ħa]contracted in GA to əʒəl/ "a man", /ħa+lkaṭ/ "a cat", / ħa+lmarra/ "once".

Genitive construction (?iḍāfa) in CA is both direct and indirect, whereas in GA only the indirect form exists. It is obtained by the use of the particle [djæl] contracted to [di] or [də]. Let us consider the following examples referring to the idea of belongingness of something to someone.

[l+kta:b di amin]	"the book of Amine"dəħ
[ddwa də rra:ʃ]	"headache medicine"
[l+kta:b djæl+u]	"his book"
[l+kta:b di+djæl+u]	"the book of his"

In the third example, [di] and [djæl] are combined to mean that there is an emphasis on the belongingness of something to someone and not any other else. It is noteworthy to mention that [di] is always followed by a noun, [djæl] and [di+djæl] are followed by an affix and never by a noun in GA.

Another trait of GA morphology is the way of conjugation of weak verbs, either defective or "hamzated" ones with the second and third personal plural pronouns [ntəm(a)] or [ntəman], [ħəm(a)] or [ħəman] respectively. We notice the use of the affixes {aw} and {iw} concerning defective verbs which take {u} in rural speech.

GA	Rural speech	Gloss
/huma jetwaddaw/	/huma jetwaddu/	"they have ablution"

Another feature of the morphological structure of GA is that speakers in this speech community tend to elide the glottal fricative {h} and weaken the vowel {u} in the CA affixes [hum] and [kum] when attached to verbs as illustrated in the following examples:

AA	GA	Gloss
[ʃallama+hu]	[ʃallmu]	"he taught him"
[ʃallama+ha]	[ʃallm+a]	"he taught her"
[ʃallama+hum]	[ʃallm+əm]	"he taught them"
[ʃallama+kum]	[ʃallamʃ+əm]	"he taught you"

2.7.3 Lexical Variation

It has been proved that actually, lexis constitutes the core of language. The term lexis refers to the sum of 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 known as Maghreban or Western Arabic dialects are distinguished from the Eastern or Oriental Arabic dialects at all linguistic levels, mainly lexical. Marçais (1958) states that these differences in vocabulary are due 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.

(In Bouamrane, 1989:11)

GA has a vocabulary rooted mostly in 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.

2.7.3.1 Berber Vocabulary in GA

As already mentioned, the mountains of Trara, comprising Ghazaouet, Msirda Thata, and Msirda Lfouaqa were inhabited by the Berber tribes called "Trara". After the Arabisation policy that all the Maghreb underwent, Arabic spread over the region of the whole Trara Massif. Nevertheless, the variety under investigation has retained a considerable bulk of vocabulary items of Berber origin for a long time. Perhaps this 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: [tæsekra] which is the name of a plant used to filter impure human being's liver. [ʔæjni] 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 [ʔæsəlwan]. The word [ʔæyɛddu] is a wild eatable plant. [ʔæjɛræʒ] is a kitchen utensil with holes used to make couscous. [ʔæjdu:d] a disease associated with stomachache, headache and vomit. [timɛrʂa:t] is a plant growing on the borders of the valley used to cure diseases. There are also a number of Berber names for places in GA such as [ʔazarwanən], [ʔakəbbo:z], [ʔarəbbo:z], etc- there is an almost occurring glottal stop at the beginning of most such words.

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 just been mentioned, we give the subsequent Berber words which are used in GA without linguistic adaptation:

GA	Gloss
[?aɣ̣erra:f],	"a pot used to drink water"
[?aʃṭaɣ̣o]	"a sieve"
[?arnəz]	"heel"
[?adɣ̣əs]	"first milk obtained after birth"
[?aɣ̣ ^w la:l]	"snails"

However, the following Berber words are used in the speech of Ghazaouet, 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	GA realization	Gloss
/?adzubjai/	[zzəbja]	"rubbish"
/?alwast/	[lləsa]	"woman's sister in law"
/?tamlilis/	[amaləs]	"mud"

In our first attempt 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 affixes {ta}, {i:t}, {a:t}, and {umt}. The Berber final sequence -mθ # # is articulated as -mt # # in GA, because the /θ/ sound does not exist in this variety. We selected some of these Arabic words having a grammatical Berber form:

CA	GA	English Gloss
/jahu:dija/	[tajhudi:t]	"act of behaving in a particular Jewish manner"
/taqaddum/	[taqədumt]	"development"
/takabbur/	[takəbbu:rt]	"arrogance"
/tala:ʃub/	[taħramijjat]	"mischief"

Another Berber aspect of the lexis used by the speech community of Ghazaouet is the transference of the gender of some Berber words into Arabic. Some words, even though superseded by Arabic ones, still maintain the Berber gender. The words [ba:b] "door", [ʃsel] "honey", [xa:tem] "ring" and many other words are all masculine words in CA but they are considered feminine in GA as a remnant of the ancient tongue.

2.7.3.2 GA Loan vocabulary

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 GA. These loan words may be assimilated to a greater or lesser extent. There may be a change in the form of a word so that it follows the AA form rather than the French one. In addition to the French words, a few others have been taken over from Spanish and Turkish and assimilated

into the local system. Almost all Ghazaouet speakers include so many French loan words in their everyday speech. The following words make up only a sample to exemplify this high rate of borrowing from French:

GA realization	French Word	English Gloss
ʃifo:r	"chauffeur"	"driver"
la fu:t	"une faute"	"fault"
ʒʒarna:n	"le journal"	"newspapers"
Jserbi	"il sert"	"he serves"
Saŋgu	"sans gout"	"without taste"

Table 2.2: Some French loanwords in GA/AA

It is important to note in this context other foreign loanwords that are implanted in GA. 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 quite important linguistic traces behind over the Algerian territory. Some words were selected during our data collection to be the sample of Turkish borrowed words in GA: we often hear some people uttering the Turkish word "beylek" realized in GA as [bæjlətʃ] in their talk: /had#l+ʔard#dɛ#l+bæjlətʃ/ meaning "this land is under the authority of the "bey" who represents the government, meaning "this land is a possession of the government". The word "dʒewri" by which Ghazaouet speakers often refer to a foreign person especially a "European" one is also Turkish.

Spanish and Italian loanwords are frequently attested in the Algerian speech: while eastern coasts use some Italian borrowings, western coastal ports mainly Oran, Mostaghanem, Beni Saf and Ghazaouet employ Spanish loanwords. During our

investigation we found some Spanish words used by the speakers of GA. Among such words we can list what follows:

Spanish Word	GA Realization	Gloss
"Falta"	[falʦa]	"fault"
"Barato"	[baraʦo]	"cheap"
"Fabrica"	[fabrika]	"factory"
"Abogado"	[bogado]	"lawyer"
"Raça"	[raʦa]	"race"
"Armario"	[merjo]	"cupboard"
"Zapatos"	[ʦəbba:ʦ]	"shoes"
"Cabeza"	[kappiʦa]	"head"
"Falso"	[falso]	"false"

2.7.3.3 The Local Vocabulary of Ghazaouet

If we come to speak about Arabic as a written standard form and AA as a 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 item is used in a rural variety. In the following table we made a comparison between GA, urban and rural vocabulary. In fact, Ghazaouet 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	GA Vocabulary	English Gloss
/ajna/	/fæjən/	/wi:n/	/fæjən/	"where"
/jaʔxuðu/	/j ʃəbbi/	/jeddi/	/j ʃəbbi/	"he takes"
/jaʃmalu/	/jaʃməl/	/jdi:r/	/jaʃməl/	" he does"
/χa:ʃʃatuhu/	/djælu/	/ntaʃah/	/djælu/	"his"
/qaʃada/	/gʷʃud/	/ʒemmaʃ/	/kʷʃud/	"sit down"
/aða:n/	/ada:n/	/aða:n/	/wədda:n/	"Muezzin call"
/kull/	/kæməl/	/ga:ʃ/	/ka:ʃ/	"all"
/ma:ða:/	/ʔæsəm/	/wa:ʃta/	/wa:səm/	"What?"

Table 2.3: Urban- Rural GA Vocabulary

From the above cited table, we discover variation in GA lexis in relation with urban and rural speech. The comparison of these dialects leads us to say that sometimes, GA has the same words as the urban dialects like /djælu/ "his" and sometimes it has rural words as in /ka:ʃ/ "all". We found also, words in GA that are totally different from the urban and rural varieties such as /wa:səm/ and /wədda:n/. 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 Ghazaouet, 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 GA as opposed to TA. They show completely different items used in both regions:

/ʕaɖɖa/	/ʕaɖɖ/	/hʒəm/	"to bite"
/aħɖara/	/ʒa:b/	/sæk/	"to bring"
/ɖʒami:l/	/ʃbæb/	/ʃbi:h/	"good, beautiful, handsome"
/jasi:ro/	/jatmeʃʃa/	/jayli/	"to walk"
/akbar/	/kbar/	/ʕta/	"bigger, elder"
/aftara/	/tqahwa/	/tʕuwwaf/	"he had breakfast"
/aʃlaħa/	/ʕaddel/	/tbaʃ/	"to mend"
/anna:r/	/nna:r/	/lʕafja/	"fire"

Table 2.4: Tlemcen Arabic vs GA Vocabulary

Some lexical items are shared between GA and Tlemcen Arabic (TA) and constitute a linguistic convergence between these two varieties whose speakers share also some historical events together. There are some lexical items that may be considered as strong markers of the TA variety as they cannot be heard elsewhere (Dendane, 1993). In spite of this lexical distinctiveness in TA, we found in our corpus a considerable number of words similar to those of Tlemcen. As an instance, we have captured the word [xa:j] "my brother" which is used both by Tlemcen and Ghazaouet speakers. Opposing some other neighbouring varieties such as Souani or Maghnia in uttering the word [xu:ja], GA joins TA to say [xa:j] and [xa:h] "my" and "his brother". The feminine form of this word in TA is

[x^wt^si] where the /t/ undergoes a friction, whereas in GA, it is realized [x^wti] without any friction of the /t/.

2.7.3.4 Diminutives in GA

Generally speaking, diminutives are used for nouns and adjectives to represent a small representation of something. In the case of nouns, generally, GA speakers make use of diminutives to distinguish the small nouns from their bigger counterparts, which are used in their daily life:

The Word	Diminutive Form	Gloss
wald	Wlijjed	"a little boy"
bent	Bni:ta	"a little girl"
da:r	dwijra	"a small house"
ʃaʒra	ʃʒi:ra	"small tree"
Kta:b	k ^w tijjeb	"a booklet"

Table 2.5: Diminutives for masculine and feminine nouns in GA

The diminutives stated in the table above do not have any negative connotation, yet they are rather used to fulfill a purely linguistic meaning of the object referred to. However, when this kind of linguistic behaviour is used with an adult man or an adult woman as in the following contrasts: "ra:dʒəl"–[rwi:dʒəl] and "mra" [mrija], a negative connotation is implied to belittle the value of either of them. In the case of adjectives, adults and especially women use diminutives to show modesty and intimacy in joking contexts. They generally express the speaker's affection and emotions in a conversation:

GA Diminutive	Gloss
Şbi:jjah	"beautiful"
kfi:wəf	"little"
Kli:wəl	"small "

Table 2.6: Diminutives for Adjectives of masculine singular nouns in GA

A well known rule either in CA or in AA for the feminine is to add an {a} at the end of either the noun, (not all nouns apply for this rule), or the adjective. This can be applied to the list of diminutives given in the table above.

2.8. Conclusion

The Arabic language is a set of colloquial dialects 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 Ghazaouet. In fact, we found that this variety shares so many linguistic characteristics with many Algerian neighbouring dialects, most importantly at a phonological, morphological, and lexical level. What has been stated in this chapter could be of great help to those asserting that GA is not Arabic to the extent that they call its speakers "kbajel" (kabylians).

We can notice that this variety shares a great deal of common linguistic characteristics with all the co-existing AA varieties, in spite of its inherent local peculiarities at all linguistic levels. However, what is evident is that Algerian dialects, as is the case with all varieties of language in this world did and still do undergo linguistic changes.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Introduction

Sociolinguistics focuses upon language in use within a given speech community and 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 (Labov 1972), each having its own particularities. In the previous chapter, we exposed some salient linguistic features characterizing GA. In the present chapter, we seek to investigate linguistic variation at phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

Variationists study how languages vary along geographical or social lines or in correlation with 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 speakers' linguistic behaviour in Ghazaouet and the reasons for such behaviour. For example, in GA the same speaker may use the rural sound [g] in a situation with certain speakers when talking about a certain topic, the sedentary sound [q] in another setting, while he may use his native sedentary [k] in another situation with different speakers and a different topic of conversation.

The description of GA provided in Chapter two will help us investigate the sociolinguistic variation that occurs at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels characterizing this speech community.

3.2 Selecting Informants and Age Sampling

The frequently raised question in the field of data collection is: how much data will one collect? To study linguistic behaviour which correlates with independent variables such as age, gender or ethnic group, Labov estimates that a large 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) states, determining an appropriate subset of the population and 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 (1972) 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 160 informants: 80 males and 80 females aged between 6 and 75 years old. They are divided into four age groups of 20 male informants and 20 female informants in each group. The explanation for such division of age groups is inspired from the lifespan 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 6- 15 years old: 20 males and 20 females.

2-From 16-30 years old: 20 males and 20 females.

3-From 31- 60 years old: 20 males and 20 females.

4-From 61-75 years old: 20 males and 20 females.

We have selected informants from different social backgrounds; students at Primary, Middle, and Secondary schools and others of the same age as these students but some are illiterate and 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.

3.3 Phonological Variation in GA

As far as phonological variation is concerned, we shall examine four linguistic variables: (q), (k), (d) and (g). What is surprising about these salient GA linguistic features is that they are also found in Jijel, a town about 1000 km to the north east of Algeria, and there must be some explanation to this phonological similarity between so far apart dialects.

The features are examined among GA speakers showing their interplay according to age, sex and other social factors. The table below determines some of the most indicative phonological variables and their respective variants in GA.

Phonological Variables	Variants
(q)	[k][q] [g]
(k)	[k][tʃ][f]
(d)	[d] [t]
(g)	[g][dʒ][k]

Table 3.1 Phonological Variables and their corresponding Variants

3.3.1 The (q) Variable

The phoneme /q/ retains its original uvular pronunciation in many parts of the Arab world as a whole, in particular in urban areas of the Maghreb as in Algiers, Constantine, etc. It is pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ] in several prestige dialects, such as those spoken in Cairo, Beirut and Damascus in the Middle East, and Tlemcen and Fez in the Maghreb. But it is rendered as a voiced velar stop [g] in Gulf Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, Upper Egypt, much of the Maghreb, and less urban parts of the Levant (e.g. Jordan). Some traditionally Christian villages in rural areas of the Levant render the sound as [k], as do Shia Bahrainis. Such is also the case in the speech community under investigation.

In some Gulf dialects, it is palatalized to [dʒ] or [ʒ]. It is pronounced as a voiced uvular constrictive [ʁ] in Sudanese Arabic. Many dialects with a modified pronunciation for /q/ maintain the [q] pronunciation in certain words (often with religious or educational overtones) borrowed from the Classical language. Benrabah (1989:31) states that "the standard /q/ is pronounced without any exception as [k] in Ghazaouet and its surroundings". This striking feature of GA speakers makes them highly recognized in the whole west of Algeria. However, the data collected prove that speakers in this speech community make use not only of the urban or the CA /q/, but in many instances they replace it by the rural /g/ too.

The following table shows the degree of variation concerning this variable illustrated in the word /ṭari:q/, "street":

(q)	[q]	[k]	[g]
Male speakers	27	24	29
Female speakers	15	57	8
Both	42	81	37
Percentage	26.25	50.625	23.125

Table 3.2 Shifting Scores from /q/ → [k] ~ [g]

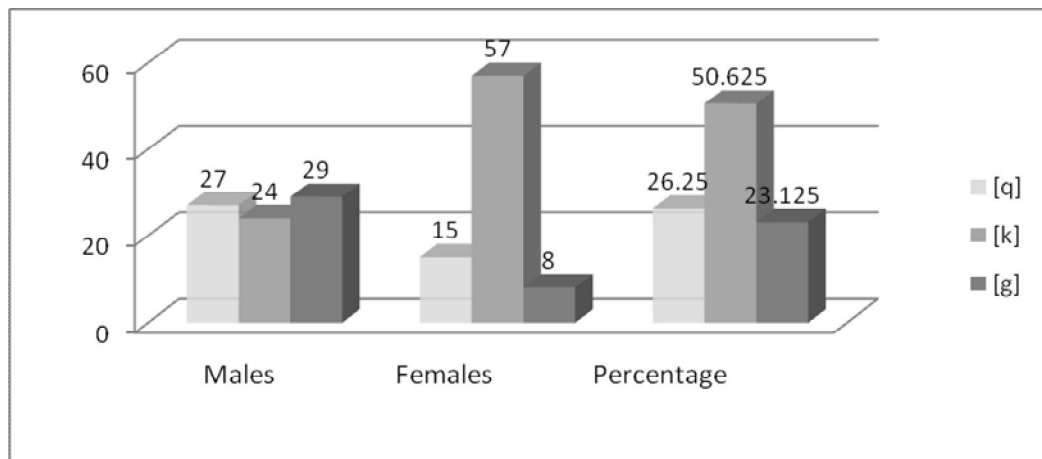


Figure 3.1: Shifting Scores from /q/ → [k] ~ [g]

From what has been shown in this table we can conclude that, in spite of the hazy linguistic reality in this speech community, there is a tangible variation in the daily speech performed by its speakers. Since three variants are used interchangeably, merging into one sociolinguistic variable, the phonological system of GA may be said to be undergoing an inevitable sound change. The sound [q] does not exist in the phonemic system of GA speakers in their early childhood. Yet, extra-familial contact such as schooling makes them discover new sounds and learn them, the fact that results in such variation in their linguistic behaviour.

3.3.2 The (k) variable

/k/ usually retains its original pronunciation in the Arab world, but is palatalized to [tʃ] in many words in Palestine, Iraq and much of the Arabian Peninsula. Often a distinction is made between the suffixes /-ak/ (you, masc.) and /-ik/ (you, fem.), which become [-ak] and [-itʃ], respectively. In Sanaa Arabic, /-ik/ is pronounced [-iʃ].

The point is that in GA, /k/ is realized the same way as in Palestine, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula i.e. [tʃ] or as in the case of Sanaa Arabic when differentiating between masculine and feminine [ʃ] depending on the phonetic environment it occurs in. The table below shows the occurrences of the variable and its corresponding variant in the word /ktəb/: "book".

	[k]	[tʃ]
Male speakers	46	34
Female speakers	14	66
Results	60	100
Percentage	37.5	62.5

Table 3.3 Shifting Scores from /k/ → [k] ~ [tʃ]

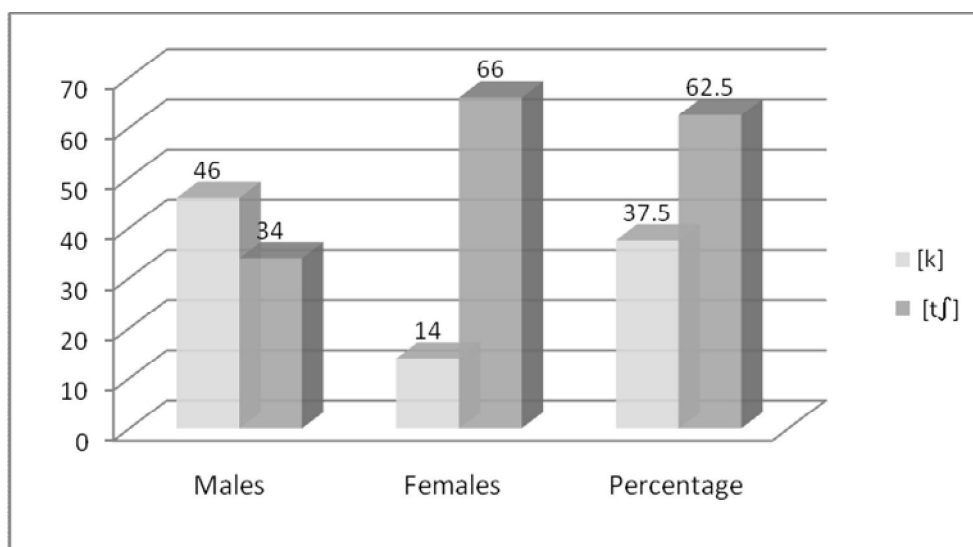


Figure 3.2: Shifting Scores from /k/ → [k] ~ [tʃ]

Let us remind that [tʃ] and [ʃ] are allophonic variants of the velar /k/. These are two phones which have nothing to do with the CA phoneme /ʃ/ which is not affected by any variation, but [tʃ] and [ʃ] witness the reappearance of CA /k/.

3.3.3 The (d) Variable

As previously mentioned (see 2.7.1.2), the classical Arabic interdental consonants /θ/, /ð/, and /ð/ are substituted by [t], [d] and [d̥] respectively in sedentary speech. In addition to this, the sound /d̥/ loses its voicing to become [t̪]. Words like /ðəhr/ 'back' or /jad̥rib/ 'he hits' are realized as [t̪har] and [jə̄t̪rab] in GA. This means that [d̥] and /ð/ are realized as [t̪] in these words. We have investigated the use of this variable among speakers and obtained the following results:

	Males	Females	Both in %
[d]	37	25	38.75
[t]	43	55	61.25

Table 3.4 Scores of the Variants [d]-[t] in Correlation With Gender.

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

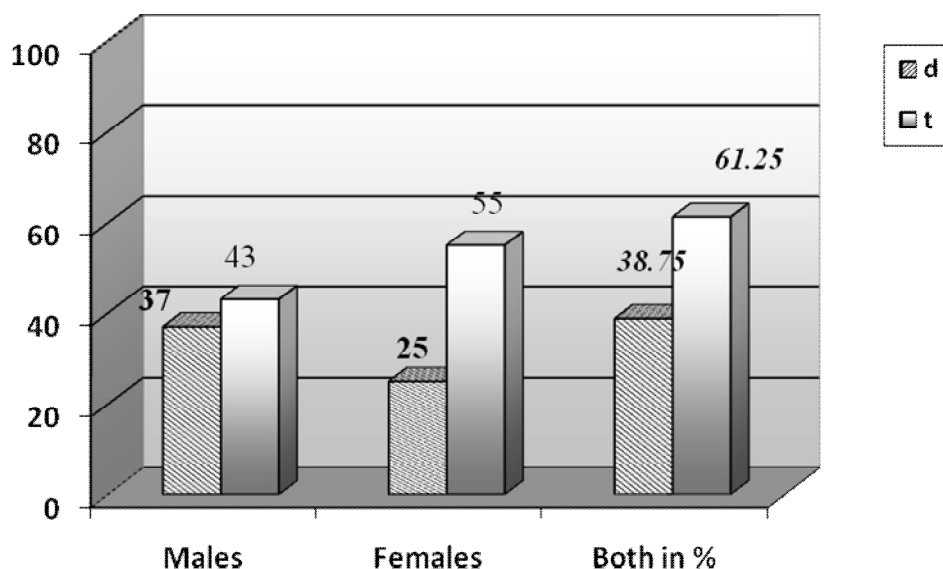


Figure 3.3 Scores of the Variants [d]-[t] in Correlation With Gender.

Males' scores in the articulation of [t̥], as figure 3.3 indicates, have fewer rates compared with those of females. However, for the articulation of [d̥], males' rates are higher than females'. This leads us to say that [t̥] is more likely to be used by women. We may presume that this difference might have an explanation in that women prefer using the voiceless allophone [t̥] because this feature is associated with feminine speech, just as is the case with female speakers in TA speech with the [ʔ] Dendane (2006:223).

In trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speaker's age, we have come up with the following scores:

	Age 6-15	Age 16-30	Age 31-60	Age 61-75
[d̥]	15	17	13	10
[t̥]	25	23	27	30

Table 3.5 Scores of the Variants [d̥]-[t̥] in Correlation with Age.

We notice that age too plays a significant role in distributing the use of [d̥] and [t̥] among speakers as figure 3.5 below shows. And so, we realize that the use of the variant [t̥] is highly scored between speakers of the last two age groups compared with the first two ones, while the use of the variant [d̥] is higher among speakers of the first two categories and decreases in the last two categories.

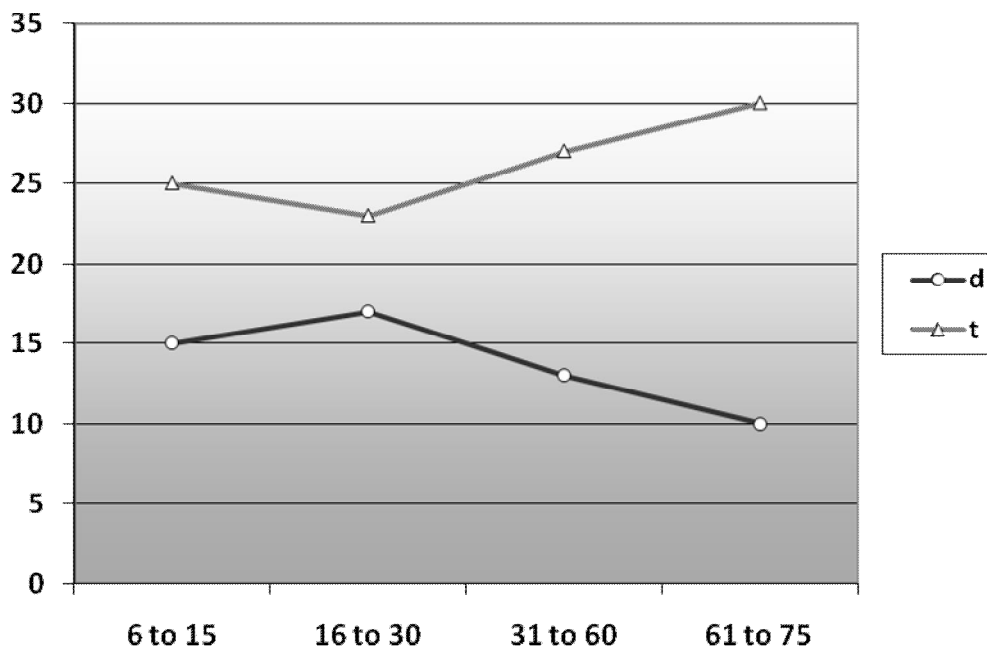


Figure 3.4 Scores of the Variants [d]-[t] in Correlation with Age.

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 devoiced variant tends to completely disappear because this social stratum favours the use of [d] instead.

3.3.4. The (g) variable

It is generally stated that the voiced velar [g] is unarguably realized as [dʒ] in GA. Words, like /gəʃʃa/, /gərga:ʃ/, /gaʔo/ and /gərbi/ meaning respectively, "hair lock", "walnuts", "cake", and "hut" are realized /dʒəʃʃa/, /dʒərdʒa:ʃ/, /dʒaʔo/ and /dʒərbi/.

The reality reveals that this sound does exist in many instances. However, the following table explains more to what extent this sound can be subject to variation.

	[g]	[dʒ]	[q]
Males	27	24	29
Females	15	57	8
Total	42	81	37
Percentage	26.25%	50.625%	23.125%

Table 3.6 Shifting scores from /g/ → [dʒ] ~ [q]

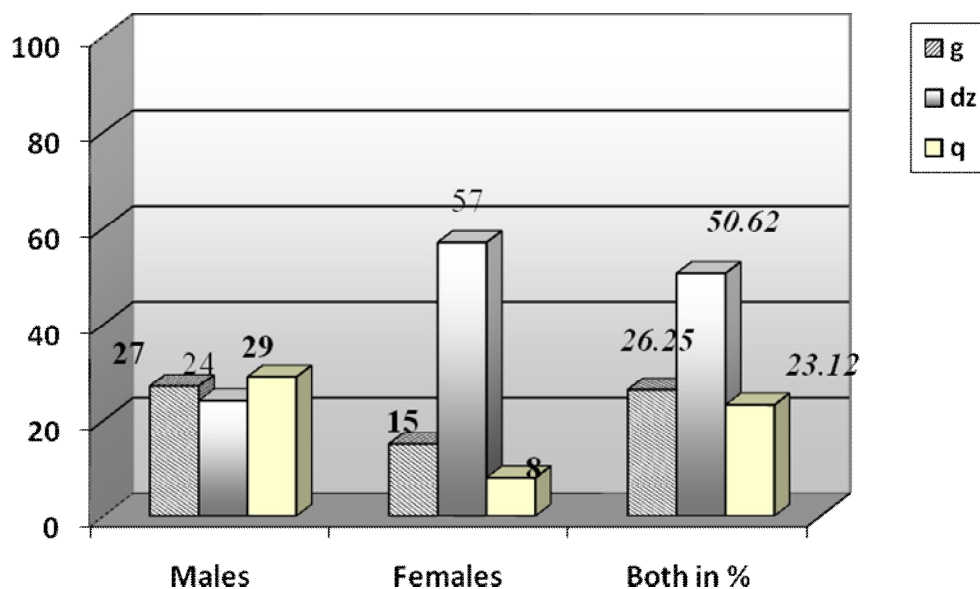


Fig.3.5 Shifting Scores from /g/ → [dʒ] ~ [q]

As it is clearly demonstrated in the graph above, women in Ghazaouet speech maintain [dʒ]; a fact that can be attributed to their conservative character of certain linguistic features peculiar to GA. Men's shift to the use of both [q] and [g] is due to their contact with other AA varieties or to the influence of the neighbouring dialects.

3.3.5 Metathesis in GA

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. The variety under investigation is subject to this process too. For example, the CA word /jaltaħIfu/ "to wrap oneself", is realized in GA [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 GA are the following:

CA	GA	Gloss
/jaltaħIfu/	[jətlaħħaf]	"to wrap oneself"
/jaltawi:/	[jətləwwa]	"to be twisted"
/jaltaqi:/	[jətlaka]	"to meet someone"
/jaʒðIbu/	[jəʒbəd]	'to pull'
/ʒawa:b/	[wʒa:b]	'answer'

3.3.6 Other Phonological Processes in GA

In GA, another process whereby some sounds in some words are deleted and substituted by other sounds is noteworthy. This process is well illustrated in the following examples:

- -/ʃadʒara/ 'tree' is pronounced [səʒra] in GA. The post alveolar fricative /ʃ/ is substituted by alveolar [s]. Such shift also occurs with the voiced counterparts:
- /dʒaɪʃ/ 'army' → [zi:ʃ] in GA, where /dʒ/ is realised as [z]; and /ʒaħʃ/ 'young donkey' is articulated [zeħʃ]; /zabbudʒa/ 'sterile olive tree' is pronounced [ʒəbbuʒa].

3.4 Morphological Variation

At the morphological level of our investigation we are interested in three morpho-syntactic phenomena: The drop of the 2nd pers. sing. verb feminine marker {-i}, the use of the inflectional morphemes {-a}, {-u} and {-əm} to denote the possessive case instead of the affixes used in other AA dialects or in CA {ha},{hu} and {hum}, and the use of the dual form.

3.4.1 The Drop of the Feminine Verb Marker {-i}

The omission of the verb feminine marker {-i} is a trait that does not characterize GA speech alone, but this feature is found in the speech of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Khemis, too. When addressing a woman, speakers in these dialects distinguish themselves by dropping this suffix morpheme {-i} making no gender distinction in addressing either a man or a woman. Thus, [ktəbt] 'you wrote', is used equally with a man or a woman, while in other varieties of Arabic the suffix is maintained as in [ktəbt*i*] when addressing a woman. This hallmark of GA speech community is measured and quantified by means of different elicitation techniques. The table below explains more what is stated here.

	{ <i>ø</i> }	{-i}
--	--------------	------

Male speakers	53	27
Female speakers	65	15
Results	118	43
Percentage	73.75	26.25

Table 3.7: The drop of the feminine marker {-i}

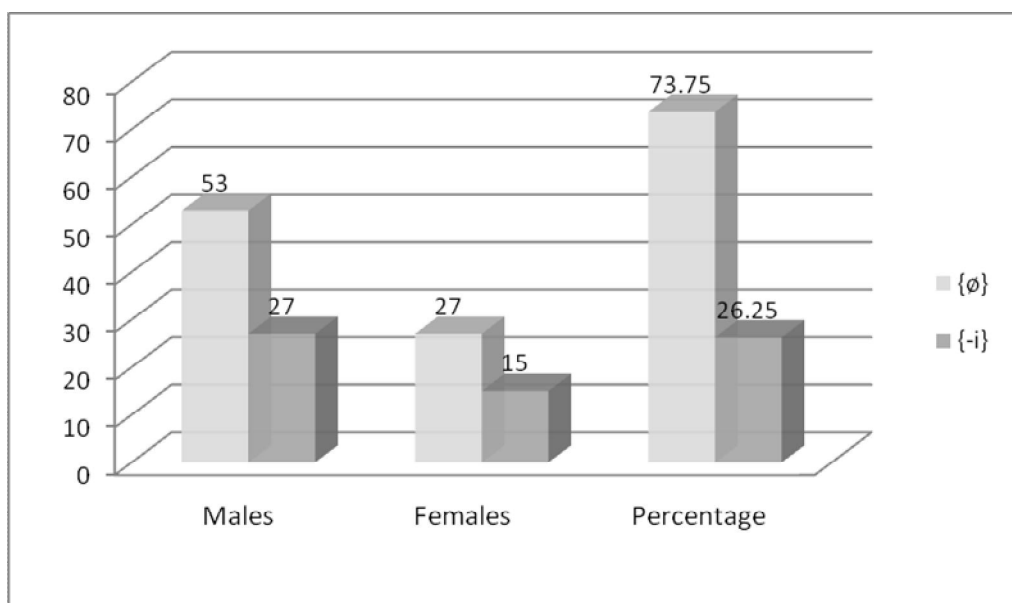


Figure 3.6: Scores of the Drop of the Feminine Marker {-i}

Such results demonstrate that variation in the use of the feminine marker {-i} begins to attract one's attention in a society which is said not to make gender distinction.

The appearance of this feminine marker in the considered as a new feature added to the linguistic system of GA due to the language contact of its speakers with Non-GA varieties in daily life practices.

3.4.2 The Inflectional Suffix Morphemes {-ha}, {-hu} and {-hum}

GA speech is widely known by its weakening of the glottal [h], or rather its drop, in the 3rd pers. suffix pronouns {-ha}, {-hu} and {-hum}, either when they act as direct objects (when affixed to verbs) or when used to denote possession (when affixed to nouns). Such weakening results in {-a}, {-u} and {-əm}, respectively.

Let us consider the following examples and then see to what extent this can apply to this speech community by analyzing the results obtained.

CA	AA(rural forms)	GA	Gloss
/da:ruhu/	/da:rah/	[da:ru]	his house
/kitəbuha/	/ktəbha/	[tʃtəba]	her book
/ʔaʃluhum/	/ʔaʃlum/	[ʔaʃləm]	their origin
/dʌrabahu/	/dʌrabah/	[tʌrbu]	he hit him

	{-a}	{-ha}
Male speakers	53	27
Female speakers	64	16
Results	117	43

Percentage	73.125%	26.875%

Table3.8. The Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-a}, {-ha}.

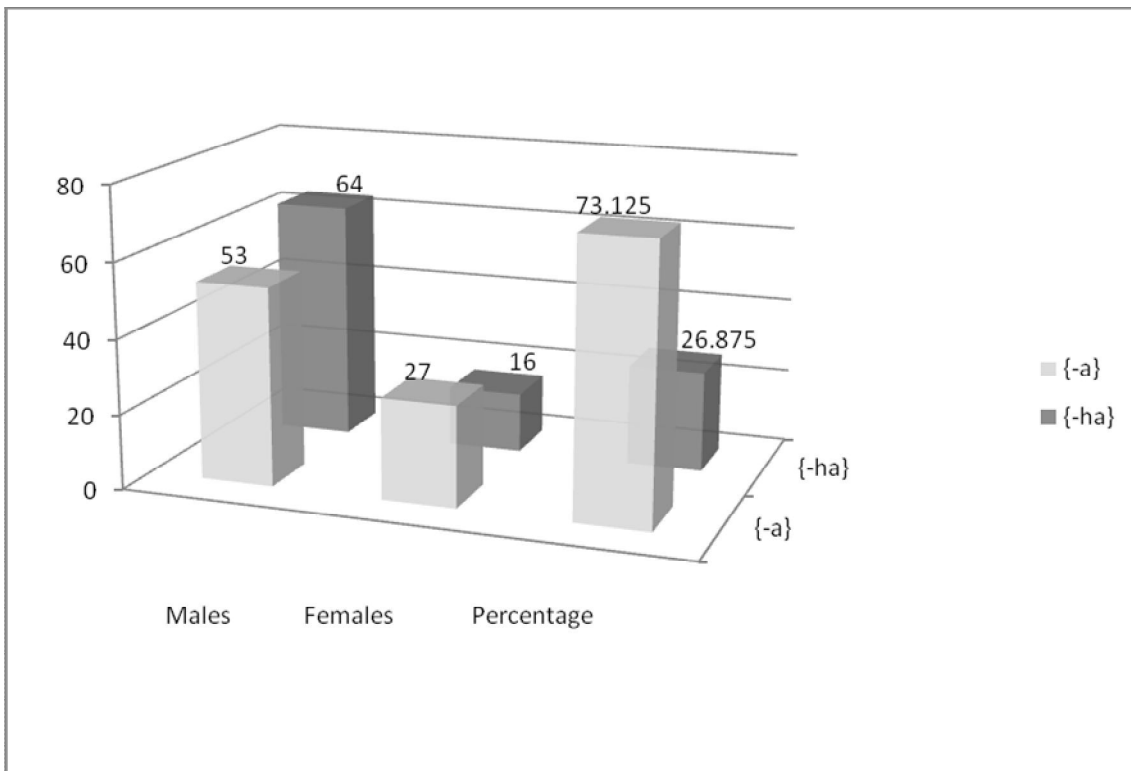


Figure 3.7: Scores of the Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-a}, {-ha} .

	{-u}	{-ah}
Male speakers	58	22
Female speakers	68	12
Results	126	34
Percentage	78.75	21.25

Table 3.9. The Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-u}, {-hu}.

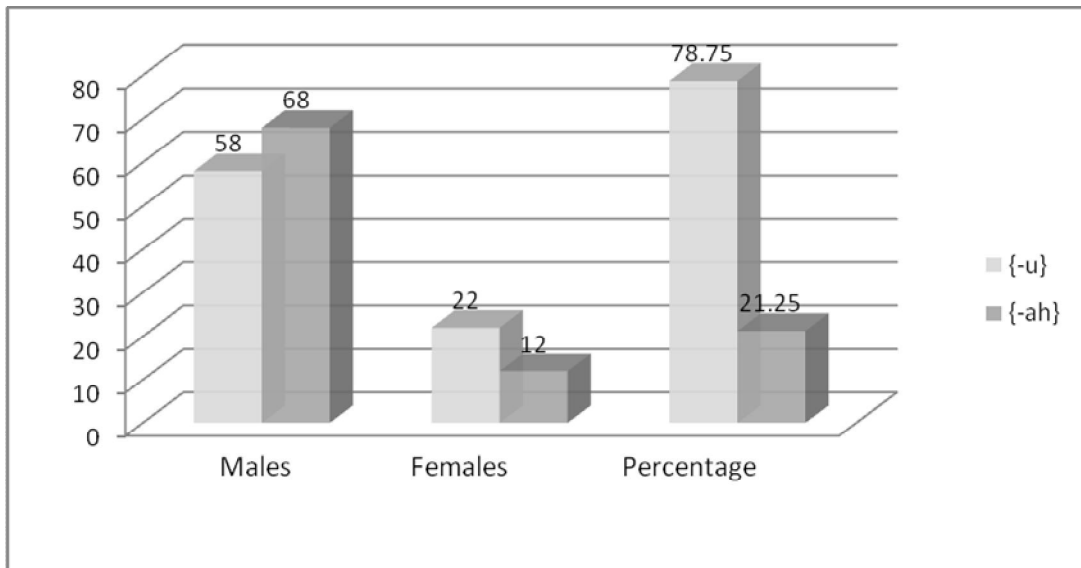


Figure 3.8: Scores of the Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-u}, {-hu}.

	{-əm}	{-hum}
Male speakers	50	30
Female speakers	65	15
Results	115	45
Percentage	71.825	28.125

Table 3.10. The Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-əm}, {-hum}.

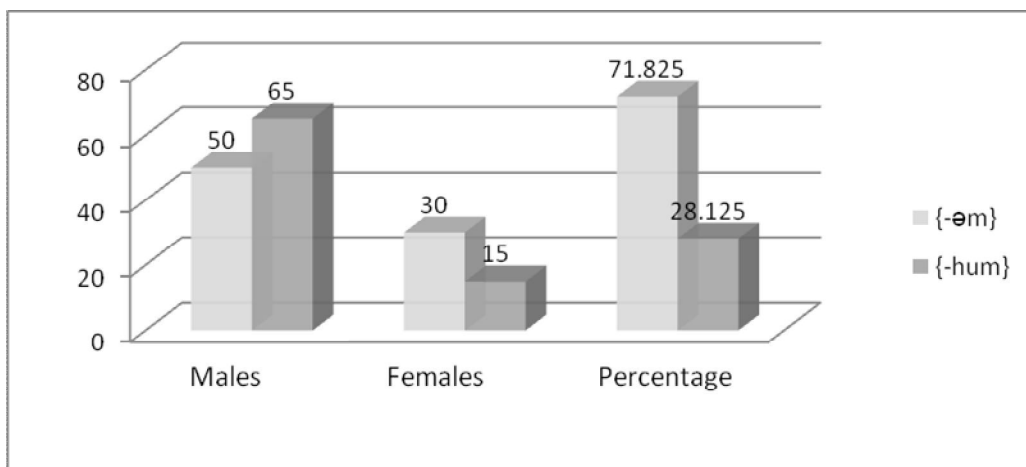


Figure 3.9: Scores of the Use of the Inflectional Morphemes {-əm}, {-hum}.

As far as the inflectional morphemes are concerned, and as the tables above demonstrate clearly, the local affixes {-a}, {-u} and {-əm} occur saliently more than the other dialectal forms. This may be due to the ease of articulation as far as the weakening/drop of the sound [h] is concerned and to the ability of communicating with even non-GA speakers.

3.4.3 The Use of the Dual and plural Forms

The dual is formed by adding {-ān(i)} to the noun stem in the nominative and {-ajn(i)} in the accusative and genitive. The final vowel "-i" is not pronounced in pause form and more colloquial forms of Arabic (not affecting the Arabic unvocalised spelling). The final ending - "ni" is dropped in the "ʔiḍāfa" construct form (Status constructus), as in 'bintāni' meaning "two daughters", resulting in -ā, 'bintā # ʔali'; "Ali's (two) daughters", and in the nominative and -ay in the accusative and genitive (affects the spelling as well) as in 'bintay # ʔali'; "Ali's (two) daughters".

Sometimes, a look at some particular GA dual forms shows how its speakers employ the numeral [zu:F] meaning "two" with the plural forms of nouns to express duality. The following examples clarify this point:

[bBnt] ⇨ [zu:F # bna:t]: "one girl" ⇨ "two girls".

[χa:tBm] ⇨ [zu:F # χwa:tBm]: "one ring" ⇨ "two rings".

The plurals, however, are formed in two ways. The 'sound plural' is formed by the addition of a suffix: a masculine

sound plural takes the form {-ūn(a)} in the nominative as in 'sayādūn(a)', i.e. "fishers", and {-īn(a)}, as 'sayādīn(a)', in the genitive and accusative. These do not change whether the noun is definite or indefinite. Note that in written Arabic (without vocalization), dual and sound plural forms are spelled identically but pronounced differently. The final -a is not pronounced in pause form and in less formal Arabic in general, and in many cases of GA plural forms in particular.

A feminine indefinite sound plural takes {-āt(un)} in the nominative, 'muḥallimāt(un)' referring to "teachers(fem.)", and {-āt(in)}; 'muḥallimāt(in)', in the accusative and genitive, while a definite sound plural takes {-āt(u)} (e.g. 'banāt(u) # ʔali': "daughters of Ali") in the nominative and {-āt(i)} in the accusative and genitive, 'banāt(i) # ʔali'. Similarly, the final (u) and (i) are not pronounced in pause form, in dialectal Arabic forms and in our speech community of Ghazaouet.

The broken plurals are formed by altering the vowel structure according to one of about five established patterns. Some nouns have two or more plural forms, usually to distinguish between different meanings. All these plural forms are spelled identically in Arabic, the endings in brackets are not pronounced in pause form and in less formal Arabic.

Unlike almost all other AA dialects throughout the Algerian territory, duality is marked in GA by the use of the dual marker {-jən} in some words, especially those related to time measurement and others which come in twos and are parts of the body. (some examples where the dual marker {-jən} is found are listed in table(3.11))

Seeking variation in the use of this typical dual marker was a kind of challenge that ended for the speech community under investigation. One can say that despite the fact that variation in language is a fact recognized by scholars and laymen alike, there are items in language that remain intact. The table below illustrates the point.

Words in CA	Equivalent in English	Realization	Results
ʃahrajn(i)	'Two months'	[ʃahrajən]	150/160
lailatajn(i)	'Two nights'	[li:lta:jən]	
Sa:ʕatajn(i)	'Two hours'	[saʕta:jən]	
ʕa:majn(i)	'Two years'	[ʕama:jən]	

Table 3.11: The Use of the Dual Marker {-jən}

What is worth noting in this instance is the absence of verb agreement. Despite the fact that many words almost keep their original CA dual form, verbs are always used in the plural. In CA, we say [daxala:] "they (two) entered" but in colloquial Arabic the same utterance is realized [daxlu] for both the dual and the plural forms and so is the case in GA.

3.4.4 The Use of the Pronoun [nta]

In our investigation, we have inquired about the use of the salient feature characterizing GA: the second personal pronoun [nta] when addressing a feminine interlocutor "you" and the possibility of the use of the other pronouns cited in Chapter two (see 2.7.2). We have presented the results of this inquiry in the following table:

	[nta]	[nti]	[ntija]	[nti:n]	[ntina]
Males	34	00	00	18	15
Females	46	00	00	22	25
Percentage	50%	0%	0%	25%	25%

Table 3.12. Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Gender.

From the above table we may quickly realize that the personal pronoun [nta] addressing both men and women remains the most used pronoun among male and female speakers with a percentage of 50 per cent. In the second position comes the pronoun [ntina] and [ntin] which realized equal rates. In final position the pronouns [nti] and [ntija] scored \emptyset . This draws us to say that both male and female speakers shift mainly from the use of [nta] to [ntina] and [ntin] when addressing a female speaker. These results are put in the following figure where we explain the use of these pronouns in relation with the sex of the speaker:

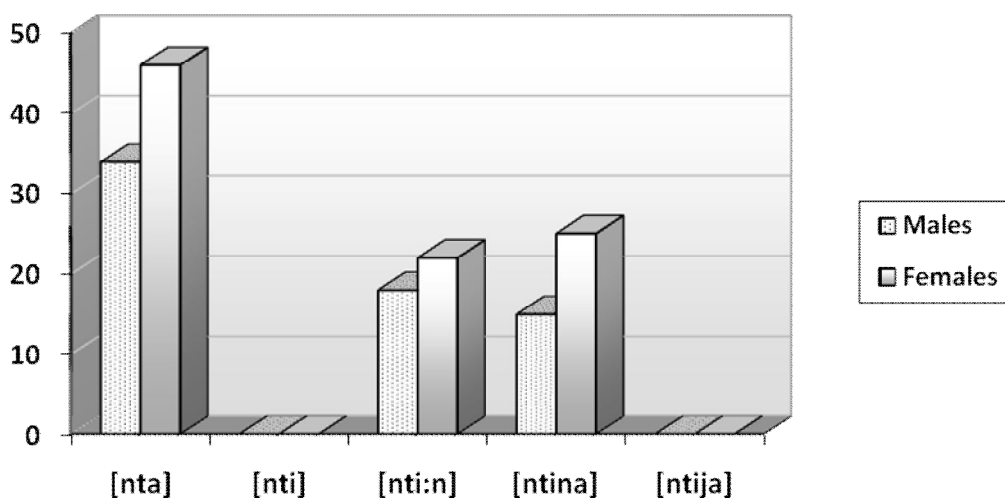


Fig.3.10 Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Gender.

According to this figure, GA 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 have relied on the information of elders who constitute the wiser category in this area. They claim that their ancestors used to address both sexes only with this pronoun, and that the remaining pronouns are of foreign origin.

Arguably, [ntina] has its roots from other neighbouring towns which share the same sedentary status such as Msirda, Nedroma, and Tlemcen where, in this latter, this feature is seen as stigmatized, the reason for which they usually switch to [nti]/[nti] in dialect-contact situations. Dendane (1993:40) states that in Tlemcen speech, "[a] lexical item that should deserve attention is [nt^sina] 'you', a unique singular personal pronoun to address both sexes".

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 this linguistic variable:

	[nta]	[nti]	[ntin]	[ntina]	[ntija]
Age 06-15	14	00	04	12	00
Age 16-30	10	03	04	13	00
Age 31-60	18	02	06	04	00
Age 61-75	22	00	05	03	00

Table 3.13: Scores of the Use of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age.

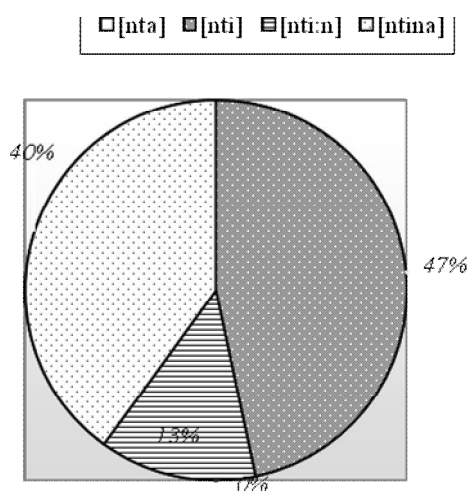


Fig. 3.11a % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age(06-15)

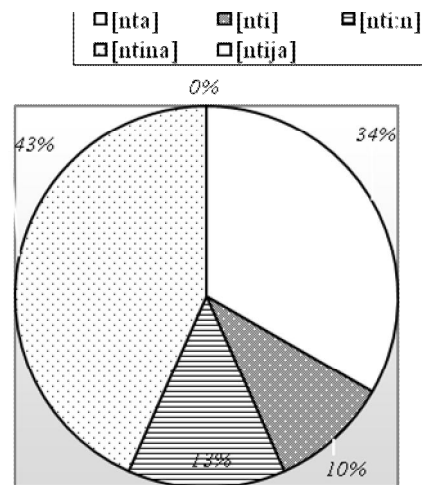


Fig. 3.11b % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age(16-30)

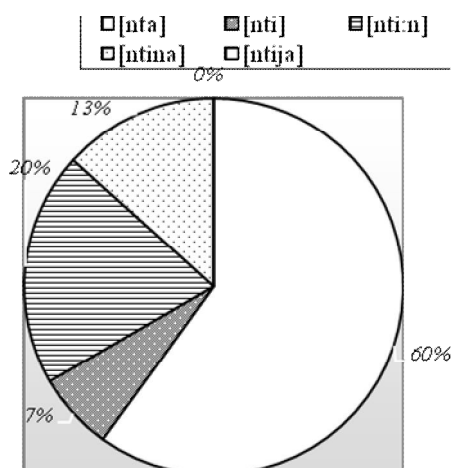


Fig. 3.11c % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age(31-60)

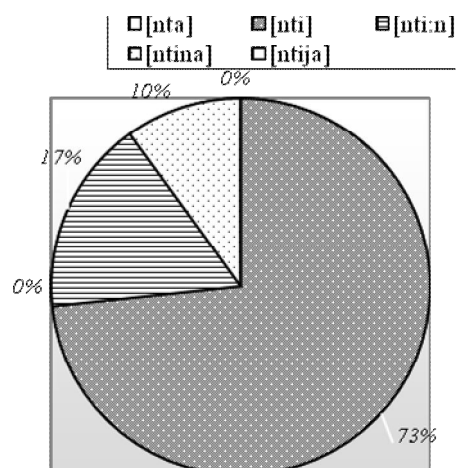


Fig. 3.11d % of Personal Pronouns in Correlation with Age(61-75)

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 first two categories towards the use of [ntina] and [ntin]. Students from Primary, Middle, and Secondary schools have shown tendency to use these pronouns more than other speakers. In spite of the fact that [ntina] and [ntin] have existed for a long time in GA, the elders have always considered them as foreign uses to their variety. This explains elders' preservation of traditional forms of the variety.

3.5 Lexical Variation in GA

We know that there exists an important variation between the Arabic dialects (see Chapter 1.2). We also know that within the same dialect such as AA there exists variation between its various colloquial dialects. Therefore, the Arabic variety under investigation comprises variation at all linguistic levels. At the lexical level, as is the case of most Algerian dialects, GA 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.

3.5.1 Variation in Gender of Unmarked 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 Ghazaouet and even in comparison with CA and some neighbouring varieties. These words are body parts which are frequently used in GA speech community, in addition to some other nouns: [rʒəl] "foot", [jədd] "hand", [d̪har] "back", [l+χudmi] "knife", [l+məlh] "salt", [l+χubz] "bread", [bi:t] "room", and [d̪d̪o] "light". As we examined the gender of these nouns we found that variation exists 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
[rʒəl] "foot"	66.33%	33.67%
[jədd] "hand"	54.83%	45.17%
[d̪har] "back"	90%	10%

Table 3.14: Gender Variation of Unmarked Nouns in % among Ghazaouet Speakers

In fact, most of those speakers tend to treat [jədd] "hand" and [rʒəl] "foot" as masculine, whereas for [dhar] "back" scored ten per cent as feminine. This affirmation is clearly shown in figure 3.8. Variation in these words can be attributed to the fact that many neighbouring dialects, such as Tlemcen Arabic treat the gender of these nouns differently.

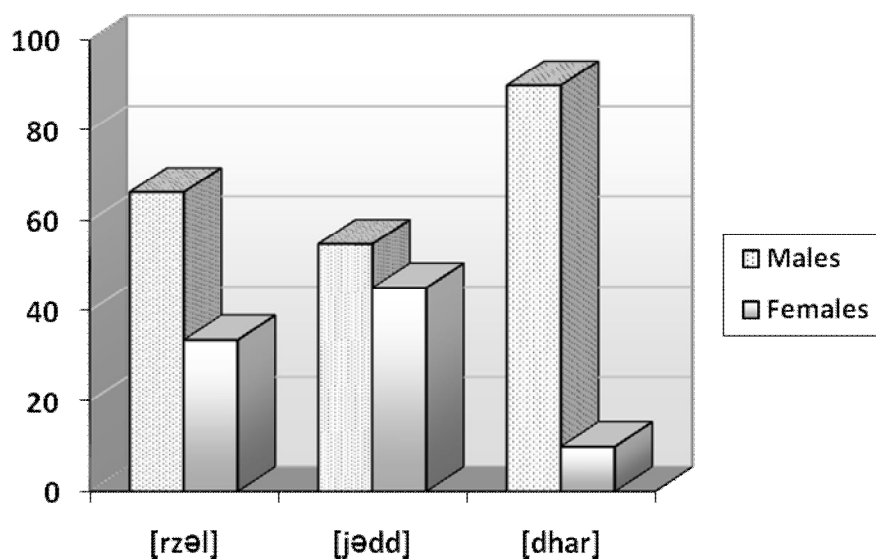


Figure 3.12 Gender Variation of Unmarked Nouns in % Among Ghazaouet Speakers

For the following nouns: [l+χudmi] "knife", [l+bi:t] "room" [l+mɫaḥ] "salt", [l+χubz] "bread", and [dɔ] "light", the results showed that all the informants tend to consider them as masculine.

To explain this gender mixing in nouns in GA, 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 as 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 Ghazaouet, 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 have 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], [jəd] and [d̤har] are treated by the majority of GA speakers as masculine nouns. In Tlemcen, [d̤har] is said to be treated as masculine too. Because of the insufficient data in dialectological studies concerning gender of nouns in Arabic dialects, we tried to compare our data with gender of these nouns in CA:

Words	Classical Form and Gender	Gender In GA
[rʒəl] "foot"	/riʒl/→ feminine	Masculine
[jəd] "hand"	/jad/→ feminine	Masculine
[d̤har] "back"	/ðahr/→ masculine	Masculine
[l+χudmi] "knife"	/sɪkki:n/→ masculine	Feminine
[l+bi:t] "room"	/ɣurfa/→ feminine	Masculine
[l+mლაჰ] "salt"	/əl+ milh/→ masculine	Masculine
[l+χubz] "bread"	/əl+χubz/→ masculine	Masculine

[dɔ] "light"	/dɔw?/ → masculine	Masculine
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Table 3.15: Gender of Unmarked Nouns in GA.

3.5.2 Urban vs. Rural Vocabulary

In an attempt to see whether the speakers of Ghazaouet use rural or urban vocabulary and also, in order to agree or disagree with what the French previous scholars had stated earlier in that the variety spoken in Ghazaouet is of a sedentary type, we selected some rural and urban words already mentioned in Chapter two (see 2.7.3.3) to see which words of the two types are used in this speech community.

These urban and rural words are found in all Algerian dialects as a dichotomy '*Urban vs. rural*'. We have listed some urban words with their rural equivalents, tested their use among speakers, and we obtained the results shown below:

Urban	Rural	Gloss
[fajən]	[wi:n]	Where
[kæməɫ]	[ga:ʔ] or .[kull]	All
[je:h]	[wa:h]	Yes
[jʔæbbi]	[jeddi]	He takes
[jaʔməɫ]	[jdi:r]	He does

[ʔæsəm]	[wa:ʃta] or [wæsəm]	What
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Table 3. 16 Urban Vs Rural Dichotomy

It is worth noting here that the whole set of urban items mentioned above are particularly specific to Tlemcen speech (see Dendane 1993; 2007), and thus we may suppose that there might have been some influence of that urban variety on GA speakers.

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

Table 3.17: Scores in %: Urban/ Rural/ Local Words in GA: Males and Females.

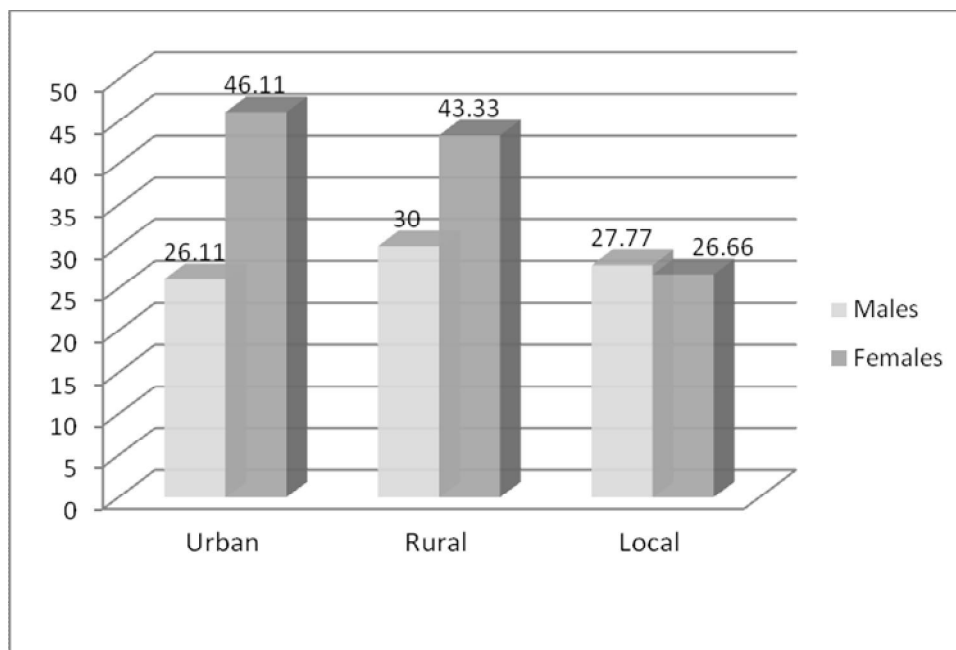


Figure 3.13: Scores in %: Urban/ Rural/ Local Words in GA: Males and Females.

The results demonstrate that in GA there is some mixture of rural and urban vocabulary, though in a number of instances it shows its own linguistic items rather than the urban or rural ones. Among these items that were examined we can list the following:

[k^wʔud] 'sit down', [wa:səm] 'what', [djælu] and [ntafu] 'his'.

However, the figure above clearly shows the tendency of GA speakers to use rural words rather than urban ones.

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 GA is lexically a composition of rural and urban items. These similarities and differences concerning lexis in GA in comparison with urban dialects such as that of Tlemcen and rural dialects confirm that the

influence of the rural type of speech starts being salient in this urban speech community.

3.5.3 MSA vs. French Vocabulary in GA

The first question in part three 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 the development of technology and sciences, while part "b" was devoted to the translation of some common words used in daily life as a result of the influence of French. Table 3.19 shows 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	72	45%	Congé	96	59.16%
cyber café	65	40.83%	La mairie	124	78.33%
portable	91	57%	Lycée	108	67.5%
micro-ordinateur	106	66.66%	Stade	90	56.66%
la puce	14	9.16%	Marché	100	100%
clavier	76	47.5%	Credit	145	91.66%
Réseau	24	15%	Station	48	30%
Unité centrale	80	50%	Bureau	96	60%
parabole	29	18.33%	Pompiers	120	75%
la souris	90	56.66%	port	32	20%

Table 3.18: Scores of Words Translation from French to MSA

Throughout this table, some GA speakers show inability to translate the words above, whereas some others translated them. The scores show that some recent French technical terms that have entered the bulk of GA 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:nija/. For the following words, *clavier*, *souris*, *micro-ordinateur*, *unité centrale* (keyboard, mouse computer, and central processing unit, respectively), thanks to the educational system which has introduced the discipline of informatics to Middle and Secondary schools.

Despite their low marks in French, students 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 of these terms at school, and so they could not find any difficulty in translating most of them. 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 a far world from theirs: computing does not mean anything to 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 strong influence of French during the colonisation of Algeria, the reason for which these old persons still retain French loanwords. Many speakers claim to alternate between some words, for instance, saying *la mairie* or /baladijah/ 'town hall', *lycée* or /θanawijah/ 'secondary school', *marché* or /su:k/ 'market' is the same. But, they cannot use the standard Arabic forms /ʔija:dah/ and /malʔab/ referring to a 'clinic' and a 'stadium' respectively. They rather utilize their equivalents in French; *Polyclinique* and *stade*.

As for the second question within the same part of the questionnaire which was assigned to test the attitudes of Gazaouet speakers towards GA and French, we obtained the following results: 93.75% for GA 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 use their native variety, their weakness in handling French because the majority of the speakers did not have the opportunity to learn during the French colonisation. 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 in their day-to-day interaction. This is a clear-cut point because the Arab world is known for its diglossic linguistic situation.

3.5.4 Old Lexis Versus Young Lexis

Linguistic sex differentiation is by no means the sole social factor affecting language use in Ghazaouet speech community. How old is a speaker is really telling when they are susceptible to choose between linguistic alternates. There are linguistic items and expressions that are used only by the youth and others which only elders use except in case where one wants to use the other's lexis to make fun.

Previous research in the field of language variation proved that elders in comparison with young speakers are highly conservative (Trudgill, Romaine, Labov). In the case of the speech community under investigation, this conservatism is reflected through the use of GA phonological, morphological and characteristic lexical peculiarities. Elders tend to use some linguistic items and expressions that are no longer used by the youth nowadays to the extent that when hearing them sometimes, one may think they are using some other variety than GA. This may be explained by the

heterogeneity of this variety and its intermingling system between rural and urban vocabulary.

This fact suggests that in any community, where such linguistic choice may exist, age as a social factor dictates the choice of the lexical alternate. To show how age influences the choice of the linguistic variants, we had to engage our informants in an oral game where each group was in isolation from the others. Items were shown and then names were given. The same list of vocabulary items was presented to the four age groups. The results obtained were on the basis of old and new lexis. The table below shows the results in accordance with age.

Age groups	Old lexis	New lexis
6-15	25	15
16-30	10	30
31-60	27	13
61-75	33	07

Table: 3.19 the use of old and new lexis in GA according to age

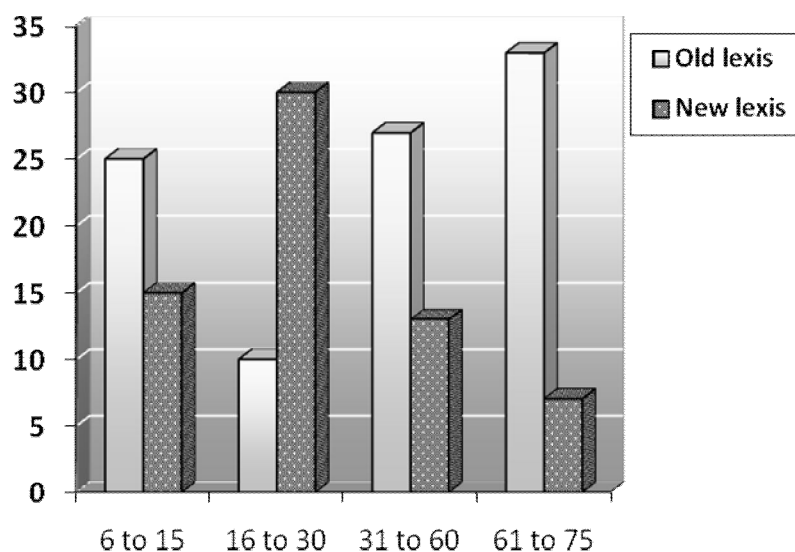


Fig3.14 the Use of Old and New Lexis in GA According to Age

The graph above reveals an increase of the use of old lexis by children followed by a decrease by teenagers and young speakers aged between 16 to 30 years old. This decrease is then followed by a rise in the use of old lexis with age increasing. We can explain the retention of old lexis by children as being due to the family environment in which the child hears sounds that he imitates then words he internalizes from his immediate linguistic environment. As he grows up, the linguistic environment grows larger and then the child starts using new lexis appropriate to his social milieu. For middle aged speakers and elders, the retention of old lexis can be interpreted in terms of identity and conservatism.

3.5.5 Factors Promoting Linguistic Variation in GA

The linguistic variation attested in the area of the speech community under investigation is not random but 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.

3.5.6 Political and Socio-Economic Conditions

From a political angle, Algeria knew several disturbances because of terrorism that characterized it in the 1990s. The political leaders tried to restore public security by fighting any act of terrorism. The area of Ghazaouet 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 fifteen years, Ghazaouet became the sole refuge of many people living on the borders. They left their villages and settled in this area.

If we come back **to** the French colonial period, we will see that the whole area of Ghazaouet was agricultural except for the city which had the sea as the major source of living. Most, if not all the inhabitants of the contiguous villages, relied on farming. Just after independence, the conditions of living had been relatively enhanced and the population increased. But soon, the question of unemployment appeared on the surface as a great number of adults found themselves jobless. Therefore, free rides were the only way to improve their economic situation. By the 1980s, threatened by insecurity, the Algerian government privileged the area by creating the vital sectors and institutions. As previously stated, the only large area in which urged the political leaders to choose this area as a suitable centre for these institutions: the administration of the Daira, police station, fireman station, the post office, the house of culture, the centre of vocation, middle and secondary schools, the hospital, 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 which has become socially and economically outstanding in addition to its famous port.

The recent socio-economic evolution in the area was accompanied by a linguistic evolution too such as the introduction of new terms such as cyber café, kiosque; during the data collection, we asked some people about the Arabic equivalent of 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 Ghazaouet.

3.5.7 Sex and Age Differences

Sex and age have been included as significant social variables that have a significant 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, mainly in today's western societies. In this respect, Hudson (1998:198) reports:

One remarkable pattern has emerged repeatedly in these societies: for virtually every variable, in virtually every community, females (of every age) use high prestige standard variants more often than males do.

In addition, Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974) have also shown that women are likely to use more standard forms than men do. Also, as already mentioned, 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, men are accustomed to use 'swear words' and slang which have relation with religion and sex. But women tend to avoid 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 Ghazaouet are mainly connected with the social role each sex 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 the 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, as an attempt to show some prestige, 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 Ghazaouet, the generation of elders is characterized in general by its stability in language use, while 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 [d] instead. Moreover, we have observed that the young use some words and expressions that really reveal their distinctiveness from elders and show thus their inclination to be easily influenced.

3.5.8 The Educational System in GA

During the French colonization in Algeria, the inhabitants of Ghazaouet did not receive French and Arabic teaching at equal rate. French was the sole medium of instruction for those who could afford it at that time. 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.

Education has begun to be important just in the last decades in 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.

3.6 Language Attitudes among GA Speakers

Though the study of language attitudes 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 defines 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 GA variety and their feelings towards their local variety: GA 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 quite spontaneously, probably because they are items related to school language for which no equivalent terms are available in GA; here are a few examples:

- [Istɪfma:l zzaman] "timetable",
- [maχbar l+fulu:mʈʈabi:fɪjja] "lab of natural sciences",
- [ʒadwəl l + ɪχtɪbara:t] "exams table",
- [fɑrd] "test",
- [l + kura l + ʔærdɪjja] "the globe", and

- [χari:tɑt l + ʔa: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 the education and Arabization begin to have their impact on these young students who utter Arabic terms unconsciously. They attest: "we think GA is the best variety to use when communicating since we master it well, and MSA is the "best of the best"."

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. In spite of this, French loanwords are introduced in their speech: [blama # nʔiku # nʂe:bu # ʔwaħna # mdaχli:n # tʂelma:t # bəl+ʔarbijja # w # tʂelma:t# bəl+ franʂe:ʂ] "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: [ʔlama # nħəbbu # l+ʔarbijja # w # ddaɾiʒa # dijana # ma+ʔlabalna:ʃ # ʔlaja:ʃ # ndaχlu # l+franʂe:ʂ # fə # tʂla:mna] "though we love standard Arabic and our local variety, we do not know why we involve French words in our speech". [franʂɑ # kəllʔat # hadi # zma:n # wə # ħna # bki+na # tebʔill+a] "France left a long time ago and we remained dependent on it". 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 Ghazaouet, that the use of French in this speech community is 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 GA. MSA for them is heavy to communicate with and state that it is the specialty 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 views, French equals colonialism. More strikingly, their attitude towards MSA shows strangeness claiming in their own words: [ma# krɪna # fraŋse:ʒ # ma # ʔallmuna # ʔarbiʒja] "we neither learned French nor did they teach us Arabic". During the interview these speakers uttered interesting Arabic words unconsciously when they said [ʔahd # l+ɪstɪkla:l]"time of independence", [ʃʃarɪʔa]"the ethical code based on the Qur'an and sunnah".

This category of 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.

3.7 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 Ghazaouet, 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 GA is on the road to lose some of its salient linguistic characteristics. Many factors have contributed in this variation among its speakers: population mobility from neighbouring regions, the socio-economic development in this area, and language contact phenomena that result.

General Conclusion

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, most dialects (particularly in Western societies) 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 GA 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 GA in particular:

It has been proved by many European researchers that approaching Arabic from the perspective of Western methodologies and theories is regret, and so we come to answer our question stated earlier that effectively Western findings do not fit our Arabic sociolinguistics in all aspects. Each language has its own structure different from any other language though there are similarities between them. The lack of research works on 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 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 Ghazaouet has led us to make some conclusions about this spoken variety and answering our questions stated earlier in this research work: Examining linguistic variation in GA has demonstrated that variation is a reality in this speech community.

The impact of age on the linguistic structure of GA 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.

Sex differentiation in Ghazaouet has also a great role in shaping the way variation occurs in men's and women's talk. The scores of the many examined linguistic variables demonstrate that women are likely to preserve their speech more than men. From this investigation we have come to realize that there are factors which underlie gender-related variation in Ghazaouet. A social disparity 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 outside the home world.

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, in addition to those used in education.

Ghazaouet speakers are self-relied on GA more than any other given variety despite the fact that many loanwords are used from either French or Spanish. Their dialect is characterized by much borrowing, gradual use of standard forms, mainly among young speakers. The minority educated speakers are constrained to store their bilingualism characteristic and to communicate just with one linguistic code which is GA. Contact between the neighbouring villages and Ghazaouet has become easier than in the past due to social mobility. This contact between different dialects has yielded a slight shift in GA towards some linguistic features of these neighbouring varieties.

From the aforementioned conclusions, we may say that GA is, phonologically and morphologically said to be a sedentary dialect. But, lexically it is a merging variety between rural and urban vocabulary.

Language use in the area of Ghazaouet is mainly reflected into two major social variables: sex 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 migration to this area make this speech community a heterogeneous one.

The question that is raised then is: Can we expect a dialect merge between GA and other AA varieties at all linguistic levels to the point they produce a new code?

APPENDICES

Questionnaire

Family Name:

First Name:

Date and Place of Birth:

Occupation:

Level of Education:

Gender: male female

Part1: Phonological Variables

A- Variable (K) Realization of /K/ as [K] or [tʃ]

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

-/kta:b/ "book" 1-[kta:b] 2-[tʃta:b]

-/ʃfəbka/ "net" 1-[ʃfəbka] 2-[ʃfəbtʃa]

-/ʃuka/ "thorn" 1-[ʃuka] 2-[ʃətʃa]

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

B-Variable (q) Realization of /q/ as [q] , [K] or [g]

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

-/qala#li:/ "he said to me" → [kalli] [qalli] [galli]

- /qaʃaʃa/ "to cross" → [kʃaʃ] [qʃaʃ] [gʃaʃ]

- /ʔiqtaraba/ "to get near to" → [kərrab][qərrab] [garrab]

- /qɪdr/ "pot" → [kədra] [qədra] [gədra]

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

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

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

-/ʔaðallu/ "I remain" 1-[ndəll] 2-[ntəll]

-/ðahr/ "back" 1-[dhar] 2-[thar]

-/ðala:m/ "obscurity" 1-[dla:m] 2-[tla:m]

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

D- Variable (g) Realization of /g/ as [g], [q] or [dʒ]

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

-/garage/ "garage" 1-[garaʒ] 2-[dʒaraʒ]

-/gʊrbi/ "hut" 1-[gʊrbi] 2-[dʒʊrbi]

-/gəʃʃa/ "hairlock" 1-[gəʃʃa] 2-[dʒəʃʃa]

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

Part 2: Morphological Variables

A-The drop of the feminine marker {-i}

How do you address a female speaker in your in your own dialect?

-/?akalti/ "you ate" 1-[kliti] 2-[tʃlit]

-/ðahabti/ "you went" 1-[mfiti] 2-[mfit]

-/saqaʔti/ "you fell down" 1-[ʔohti] 2-[ʔi:ht]

B-The drop of the inflectional morphemes {-ha}, {-hu} and {-hum}.

How do you say the following words in your in your own dialect?

-/dʌraba#ha/ "he hit her" 1-[ʔrabha] 2-[ʔarba]

-/dafaʃa#hu/ "he pushed him" 1-[dafʃah] 2-[dafʃu]

-/?a ʁa:fa#hum/ "he frightened them" 1-[ʁuwafhum] 2-[ʁuwfəm]

C-The use of the dual marker {-jən}

How do you express the idea of duality concerning time measurement items?

-/ ʃahrajn(i)/ "Two months" 1-[ʃahri:n] 2-[ʃahrajən]

-/ʃa:majn(i)/ "Two years'" 1-[ʃami:n] 2-[ʃamajən]

-/ Sa:ʃatajn(i)/ "Two hours" 1-[saʃti:n] 2-[saʃtajən]

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?

-[rədʒli # rah # jəwdʒafni]

-[rədʒli # raha # təwʒafni] "My foot aches me".

-[dɑhri # rah # jəwdʒafni]

-[dɑhri # raha # təwʒafni] "My back aches me".

-[jəd̥di # rah # jəwʒafni]

-[jəd̥di # raha # təwdʒafni]. "my hand aches me".

-[l+ bi:t # ʃʃve:r]

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

-[l+χubz # l+ maʃrija]

-[l+χubz # l+ maʃri] "bought bread"

-[d̥d̥o # mʃa]

-[d̥d̥o # mʃa:t] "light has gone"

-[l+χudmi # l+kaʃaf]

-[l+χudmi # l+kaʃfa] "sharpened knife"

c. How do you say the following words in your own dialect?

1-/?əjna/ "where".....

2-/?jaʃχuðu/ "he takes".....

3-/?jaʃmalu/ "he does".....

4-/?χa:ʃʃatuhu/ "his".....

5-/?ɪdʒlis/ "sit down".....

7-/?al+kull/ "all".....

8-/?ma:ða/ "what?".....

Part 4:

French word	MSA	English Gloss
Kiosque	/kuGk/	"kiosk"
Cyber café	/maqha:#l+?ænternet/	"cybercafe "
Portable	/?æl+ha:tif#?æ+nnaqqa:l/	"cellphone "
Reseau	/Gabakah/	"network"
Micro-ordinateur	/kumpjutar/	"computer"
Puce	/Gari:ħa # ?Iliktru:nIja/	"chip"
Clavier	/lalħat#?æl+mafa:ti:ħ/	"key board"
Champs magnétique	/ħæql#maɣnaʔe:se:/	"magnetic field"
Unité centrale	/wiħda#markazija/	"central processing unit"
Parabole	/?æl+hawa:ʔi:/	"parabola"
Souris	/faʔrah /	"mouse"
Congé	/ʔuʔlah/	"vacation"
La mairie	/baladijah/	"municipality"
Lycée	/θa:nawijah/	"secondary school"
Polyclinic	/ʔija:dah/	"clinic"
Stade	/malʔab/	"stadium"
Marché	/su:q/	"market "
Credit	/daIn/	"credit"

Conversation

At the café, where nearly half of the data had been gathered, men have the habit to meet every day afternoon. I came across a short conversation held between three men. I took part in it and conducted the conversation in order to elicit some data. Talking about the primary school exam results, the first men began:

1: [kult#llbent#ila#ma#rbahtʃ#had#lʃam#wal#lah#ma#tzid#taʃrab#
ħa#tʃarba#fə#l+kraja]

"I told my daughter, if you do not pass the exam this year, I swear God that you will not go to school any more".

2: [jana, tʃi#ʒat# rrizilʃa#w+ʃabba#l+mtiħan#djal+u#ʃritl+u#ħa+
lʃta:b#də+lkiʃaʃ# kado]

"Me, when the results appeared, and he passed his exam, I bought to him a story book as a present".

3: [ʔa#wəddi#jaħsan#ʃawn#had#drari#mtʃaʃri:n#ʃli:həm#bəzzajaf#də+
lkraja#w+fə+ttali#ma+jʃi:bu#ma+jkabʃu]

"May God be in the help of these children. The programme is too much for them, and at the end, they can't retain anything".

4: (Myself): [ma+nkadu#llumu#la+ttilmi:d#la+lmuʃalli:m#les programme#
ra:həm# chargé# bəzzajaf# ʃla#wlidatna]

We cannot blame neither the teachers nor the pupils, the mistake is at the level of the programmes which are too much for our kids.

rak#xwilt#a#wka:n#ja#l+wza#f#xi#wza#f#ki#t#har#ki#rjøl#ki#haja#x^wra
##lli#f#a#hu+nna#sidi#rabbi#ma#qəddinalu

qallək#rabbi#f#a#l+fabd#lχnafer#s^wya:r##l+fabd#ma#hməd#f#rabbi#w
#qallu#ja#rabbi#zi:d#wəssaflifihum

1:[had #lkrja# də# lju:m# ka#f# ma# tban#f# mfa# zman]

"today studies cannot be compared with previous times"

2:[ʔasəm#ra#f#həb#tkul]

"What do you want to say?".

1:[f+fukla+ni#f#unna#nəkraw#jana#w+χaj#di+şyeer#wakt#ldzi:rra#mfa#
fransa#bəşşah#t#anət#lkraja]

"I remember when we were in war with France, we used to study, my brother and I but studies were indeed".

المخلص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة السوسيو لغوية إلى تحليل البعض من جوانب التغير السوسيو لغوي، خاصة الفونولوجي، المورفولوجي و المعجمي منه، بمدينة غزوات الواقعة غرب مدينة تلمسان. غرضنا الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو ربط و إظهار العلاقة المتبادلة بين التركيبين 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 la ville de Ghazaouet située à l'extrême Ouest de la wilaya de Tlemcen. Notre principal objectif est de corréliser les deux structures linguistique et sociale de cette région en se basant sur des données qualitatives et quantitatives prises 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 town of Ghazaouet situated in the extreme West of 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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