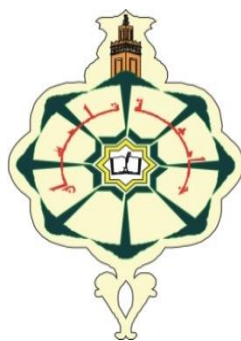


PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH



UNIVERSITY OF ABOU BEKR BELKAID-TLEMCEM  
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

*A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF DIALECT CONTACT AND  
ACCOMMODATION IN BENI SNOUS*

**Thesis submitted to the department of English in candidacy for the degree of  
Doctorate in Sociolinguistics**

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**2017**

## ***DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY***

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution. I also certify that the present work contains no plagiarism and is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

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Signature:

# *Dedications*

*To the memory of my mother and my sister*

*To the memory of Mr Benzian Abderrezak*

*May they rest in peace*

*To the people I love most:*

*My husband, son, father, sisters, and brothers*

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## ***ABSTRACT***

Within a dialect contact framework, this study investigates the linguistic consequences of long-term dialect contact of three rural in-migrant groups in Beni Hammou village (in Beni Snous valley in the south-west of Tlemcen). It accounts for linguistic accommodation in two settings: rural inside Beni Hammou as the minority three in-migrant groups have long been in contact with the majority group of natives: and urban as some in-migrant speakers are highly mobile and move frequently to the neighbouring cities. The selected linguistic variables are: (q), (9), (5), (3), the pronoun suffix (-hu) and gender marker (i: na). By means of quantitative and qualitative methods, data analysis has revealed that some social factors dictate the linguistic behaviour of the in-migrant groups to the host village speech and to urban speech. Except for one group, women inside and outside the village are likely to maintain their native speech while men adopt some features but not of the host village local variety. Those speakers of contact outside are prone to accommodate to urban speech. Accommodation is reinforced by social-psychological factors: negative attitudes of in-migrants towards the local variety of Beni Hammou as well as its inhabitants lead to non-accommodation of its features. However, their positive attitudes towards urban speech and its speakers lead to accommodation. Eagerness to grasp a significant social position and gain social approval of urban people, in addition to the stigma associated with some particular local forms, has led to the reduction of some salient features. Change in progress is manifested in: mixing of some native and non-native variants, levelling of some variants, and simplification where Beni Bahdel in-migrant group speech is revealed to take the direction of a simplified form of gender marker [-i] which is being adopted instead of the complex form: diphthongisation of gender marker. The study brings the result that geographical diffusion is taking place in Beni Hammou rather than levelling as speakers of internal contact in the host village have adopted new features not from the majority local variety but from urban cities speech. Thus, the trend of change in progress in this rural area is towards a regional koine.

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## LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

### Consonants

<i>MSA</i>	<i>BS Local varieties</i>	<i>MSA</i>	<i>BS Local varieties</i>
ا	ʔ	ض	d
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t*	ظ	ð
ث	θ	ع	ʔ
ج	ʒ	غ	ɣ
ح	ħ	ف	f
خ	χ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ð	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	ʃ	و	w
ص	ʂ	ي	j

\*/t/ is realised in BBA as [t<sup>s</sup>]

### Vowels in the environment of plain consonants

Short Vowels	Long Vowels
[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 in the environment of emphatic consonants

Short Vowels	Long vowels
[e] as in [rʁeʂɑ] ‘cheap’	[e:] as in [tɛ:r] ‘a bird’
[o] as in [ʂoʔɑ] ‘hit’	[o:] as in [ʂo:m] ‘fast’
[ɑ] as in [ʂɑd] ‘he went’	[ɑ:] as in [tɑ:b] ‘be cooked’

## ***LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS***

- AA:** Algerian Arabic
- BAA:** Beni Achir Arabic
- BA:** Beni Achir
- BBA:** Beni Bahdel Arabic
- BB:** Beni Bahdel
- BHA:** Beni Hammou Arabic
- BH:** Beni Hammou
- BS:** Beni Snous
- b<sup>w</sup>:** labialised consonant
- CA:** Classical Arabic
- CAT:** Communication Accommodation Theory
- EC:** external contact
- IC:** internal contact
- k<sup>ʃ</sup>:** affricate
- k<sup>j</sup>:** palatalized
- MA:** Maghnia Arabic
- MSA:** Modern Standard Arabic
- MZA:** Mazzer Arabic
- MZ:** Mazzer
- OA:** Oran Arabic
- SA:** Sebdou Arabic
- SAT:** Speech Accommodation Theory
- SDA:** Second Dialect Acquisition
- TA:** Tlemcen Arabic
- t<sup>s</sup>:** affricate
- t<sup>ʃ</sup>:** affricate
- []:** Brackets for dialectal articulation
- //:** slashes for standard articulation
- ( ):** are used to represent the linguistic variable

## ***GENERAL INTRODUCTION***

The field of language variation and change has long been a subject of interest. Looking for the possible factors involved, the field has been considered from different angles, contact being one of them. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the term contact covers languages or dialects in contact. The first refers to at least two language systems, which are not mutually intelligible, while the second refers to at least two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language: the former is not a new discipline, whereas the latter has only recently intensified. As evidence for this is Weinreich's (1953) earlier significant studies in bilingual communities with the aim of explaining the possible effects and linguistic processes resulting from languages which are in contact. Later on, the field of contact jumped from language studies to dialect studies when Trudgill's (1986) *Dialects in Contact* marked a turning point in the field of contact linguistics and flavoured the dynamics of language change by stating the possible linguistic outcomes.

Within the dialect contact framework, when different but mutually intelligible dialects of the same language come into contact, linguistic accommodation takes place (Trudgill, 1986; Britain and Trudgill, 2005). Accommodation is originally the interest of social psychology, but Trudgill (ibid) has extended it to cover the field of contact dialectology to explain dialects that are in contact and the formation of new dialects. The relationship between dialect contact and accommodation is understood in Trudgill's concepts of short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation: the second being the result of repeated acts of the first (Trudgill, 1986; Britain, 2010). Short-term accommodation is the result of temporary contact as speakers respond to their interlocutors in a particular situation and it does not affect the speaker's speech permanently. If this short-term accommodation takes place frequently and becomes routinized over a long period of time, speech modifications and adjustments may become permanent and results in long-term accommodation, without taking into account the interlocutor or the setting (Trudgill, 1986). Auer *et al.* (2005) argue that long-term accommodation is the key to change on a larger social scale.

Issues and mechanisms of linguistic variation and change discussed in Trudgill's seminal work were particularly relevant to the effects of mobility and migration in contemporary speech communities (Milroy, 2002). Thus, the ever-growing number of migrants and displaced persons in these communities prompt researchers to investigate the linguistic consequences at various levels (phonological, grammatical, and syntactic) of international and transnational migration, and mobility (Milroy, *ibid*).

The Arabic-speaking world is among those contemporary communities that recognised the urbanisation process just after achieving independence in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Miller, 2007). The chief characteristic of this process in these countries has been the mass internal migration from rural areas, which have triggered variation and contact studies ever since. The Arab dialectologists felt concerned more with the internal sociolinguistic geographies of cities and strived for a deeper dive to examine the emerging koineised urban varieties with the influence of urbanisation and migration in a differing social and geographical milieu within the city itself<sup>1</sup>.

The study of contact-induced variation and change in these Arabic dialects stands at the crossroads of two important studies within the field of dialect contact: dialect and diglossia that stand on vertical and horizontal axes: a standard with dialect as 'vertical contact' and dialect with dialect as 'horizontal contact'. Over the past two decades, many studies have been undertaken in favour of the first type i.e., contact of standard with dialect (Al-Wer, 2014).

Being a multilingual country, Algeria displays all types of contact: language contact and dialect contact. It is characterised by three main periods in its linguistic history. Through these periods, a number of languages and language varieties have been in contact and rendered the linguistic situation so complex. The Berber language existed from early pre-Islamic era as well as the Arab conquests that

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<sup>1</sup> Britain, 2009

introduced the Arabic language and Islam during the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century. Then later, the French occupied the country and imposed the French language. The relationship between these challenging languages is diglossic and bilingual. While the investigation of the bilingual and diglossic relationships had the lion's share, the dialect with dialect contact investigation remained relatively less remarkable.

The history of Arabic in Algeria is strongly related to the westward expansion of the Islamic empire outside the Arabian Peninsula in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century that introduced Islam and the Arabic language to the indigenous Berber inhabitants of North Africa. The conquest of this region went on in two periods. The first period, which dates back from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, witnessed a great wave of sedentary Arab migration along with the Arab-Islamic armies to the area. This period is generally referred to as pre-Hilali period. The second period, which took place in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, witnessed the immigration of Bedouin (nomadic) tribes to North Africa (Pereira, 2011). Therefore, the types of Arabic dialects brought to Algeria during the Arab conquests of North Africa split the Algerian dialects to pre-Hilali or sedentary dialects and Hilali dialects, known in the Maghreb as the Nomadic or Bedouin dialects.

Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) often called *Darija* or *Ammiyya* is considered as a dialect among the various colloquial dialects of the Arabic language. It includes various regional dialects spoken in most parts of the Algerian territory, which are more of different accents than different dialects (Benali, 2007). AA stands as the major element of identity from region to region. It changes from place to place and from town to town. Even two towns or two villages near one another may not speak the same accent.

Zooming in further the built up picture of dialect contact in an Algerian mould, the context of this study was set in one of the myriad of Algerian villages located in the vicinity of big towns and cities. It is a small ex-Berberophone area called the valley of Beni Snous, situated on the Algero-Moroccan confines, approximately forty-five kilometres south-west of Tlemcen. Consolidated in small sub communities, the valley of Beni Snous cradles thirteen villages located along

water courses. Among these sub communities, Beni Hammou (BH) was chosen as a fieldwork in this study mainly because it is heterogeneous. The source of its population heterogeneity stemmed from the internal migration that swept the valley of Beni Snous since the 1990's for purely social and political reasons. Most of the inhabitants of the local villages of the valley were forced to leave their dwelling places for purely social needs seeking housing, work, schooling, and better conditions of life. This village is the unique large area among the thirteen villages, which has witnessed an infrastructural development. Other local inhabitants of the valley, who were living on the border areas, were forced to leave their homes for purely political reasons during the black decade<sup>2</sup> seeking a safety life. Within this heterogeneous speech community of BH, we identified three internal minority migrant (in-migrant<sup>3</sup>) groups within the majority native group of this host<sup>4</sup> village. These regional groups are referred to as follows: the native group of BH who are those original inhabitants of the host village and the in-migrant speakers who are those original inhabitants of Beni Bahdel (BB), Beni Achir (BA), and Mazzer (MZ).

Arguably, the local population movement to BH seeking comfortable houses, benefiting from the multiple services of the vital institutions provided, in addition to insecurity that threatened their lives during the Algeria's black decade was the watershed event in the contact phenomenon in this area. In fact, these three groups do not display considerable differences at all linguistic levels in their speech, and in this case, it is almost impossible to refer to them as dialects. Moreover, they do not exhibit only phonetic or phonological dissimilarities for to be called accents. Their differences are, basically, phonetic, phonological, lexical, and to a lesser extent morphological. Thus, to avoid any confusion, the terms dialect and variety will be

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<sup>2</sup> The Algerian civil war or the black decade in Algeria (began in 1992) is an armed conflict between the Algerian regime and various factions adopting ideas loyal to the Islamic Salvation Front and political Islam.

<sup>3</sup> The term in-migrant has been used by a number of scholars in their works among which we mention Trudgill and Kerswill. We have used it in this study to refer to those Beni Snous speakers who left their rural dwelling places to settle in another rural area in the valley of Beni Snous.

<sup>4</sup> The term host village will be used throughout this study to refer to the village of BH to which the three regional groups of Beni Snous valley moved.

used interchangeably throughout this study to refer to a language variety that differs from other varieties at a grammatical, phonological, and lexical level. We call a variety an accent whenever it varies at phonological or phonetic levels. Terms like local varieties, dialectal varieties, and sometimes, local dialectal varieties are used throughout this study to refer to those varieties of speech that characterise each group in BH and make them different from one another via a set of phonetic, phonological, morphological as well as lexical level rather than syntactic. These differences generally do not impede mutual intelligibility between speakers either in BH, in the whole valley, or even in the neighbouring areas.

It is thus that contact phenomenon found between speakers of these local dialectal varieties in the host village and outside it that we are interested in. The theoretical framework of dialect contact (Trudgill, 1986) states that in a situation where speakers of different but mutually intelligible varieties of the same language come together, usually the process of accommodation takes place whereby speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing the existing differences between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other's speech. The initial stage of accommodation is short-term where speakers, during temporary acts of contact, respond to their interlocutors in a particular situation but their speech is not affected permanently. If this short-term accommodation takes place frequently as a result of countless repeated acts of contact, over a period of time, it leads to long-term accommodation where significant speech patterns of speakers may be affected, and that the final stage of accommodation process is dialect change where long-term accommodation spreads in the society at large.

Putting accommodation in a sociolinguistic framework has enabled proponents of accommodation theory to describe dialect blurring and the flux found at dialect boundaries for regional dialects, as well as social ones. Furthermore, it has provided a base for describing and understanding the process of change in dialects under contact. Long-term accommodation is the aftermath of permanent contact as a change might occur in the speakers' automatic speech habits and it, undoubtedly, leads to one of the forerunners of contact-induced-change explanations which is

koineisation that is, in the context of our study, a combination of three processes giving birth to a koine form. These are mixing, levelling, and simplification. But, in other contact situations it can result in further linguistic processes that do not form part of this study. One of the most important findings in dialect contact studies is that accommodation towards a particular variety is motivated by the speakers' favourable attitudinal orientations towards that variety itself, towards its speakers and more particularly towards the accommodated linguistic features of that variety.

The regionally mobile minority in-migrant groups who came to live among the non-mobile majority BH group form the backbone of this study. Seeing linguistic variation and change through the lens of dialect contact and linguistic accommodation, the chief concern here is to investigate the linguistic behaviour of the three selected groups in order to reveal out whether accommodation is attested via adopting each other's patterns of speech or not. If their linguistic behaviour bears witness to accommodation, thence our aim is also to trace the linguistic and social outcomes of this contact. The same linguistic behaviour is examined as these groups come into constant contact with speakers outside their geographical space (i.e. outside the host village of BH and even the valley) as they move for different purposes to the neighbouring towns and cities. More particularly, we aim to examine how and why accommodation varies between the three groups and why some features are adopted while others are not. Thus, we propose an attempt to explain the major factors that might influence the linguistic behaviour of these groups inside the host village and outside it: social and attitudinal factors also form the basic premise in explaining their behaviour and the possible mechanisms of variation and change.

Most of the sociolinguistic studies, which have investigated speakers' linguistic behaviour in relation to factors such as mobility, migration and urbanisation, were conducted in urban cities and centred on rural migrants in these cities. The current study is different from those former studies as it is set in a rural context to examine the linguistic behaviour of in-migrants who moved from rural areas to live in another rural area. It is also set in an urban context to investigate the

linguistic behaviour of these very groups who are in contact with urban speakers as a result of their mobility outside the valley. Thus, the aim is to see whether the linguistic consequences of contact found in a rural-urban setting are similar or different from a rural-rural setting.

Issues related to contact-induced linguistic changes such as the outcomes of long-term accommodation, the subsequent processes that may result, and the direction of linguistic change constitute the most robust questions addressed in sociolinguistic research. The interaction between the linguistic structures of the three regional groups speech, their social parameters, as well as their attitudinal orientations that may take centre stage in a possible change in progress will be examined. The steps that are taken into consideration to fulfil this aim are: 1- to examine the possible phonological and morphological accommodation of the immigrant speakers to the local variety of the host village and to the urban speech of the adjacent cities and towns. This will be done in correlation with their social parameters of regional origin, age, gender, and type of contact inside or outside BH village: 2- to identify a correspondence between the accommodating behaviour of BH speakers (i.e. the three regional groups) and their attitudinal orientations towards the input dialectal varieties they are in contact with in BH and in the neighbouring cities, towards the speakers of these dialectal varieties and particularly towards the accommodated and non-accommodated features.

In his influential work, Trudgill (1986) assumes that when different varieties of the same language come into contact as a result of migration and mobility, some form of linguistic accommodation necessarily occurs. In an Arabic-speaking context, and specifically in an Algerian context, and based on this assumption, a problem statement of fundamental importance is addressed here:

- *Does rural-rural internal migration or rural-urban mobility of regionally different speakers necessarily lead to linguistic accommodation? Thence (if so), who accommodates to whom and under what conditions?*

It is essential in this study to trace intersecting patterns with linguistic accommodation such as the demographic parameters of speakers, as well as their attitudes towards the forms used and their speakers. Involving these factors might be vital in explaining the linguistic behaviour of speakers. Therefore, the following questions are set out to either prove or disprove this process among in-migrant speakers in two different settings: rural in the host village and urban in the adjacent cities and towns.

1) If accommodation is attested, then what is its nature and which forms are adopted and which are not?

2) What social constraints can be placed as the major factors determining the linguistic behaviour of the minority in-migrant speakers?

3) Do attitudinal aspects that the in-migrant speakers hold towards the speakers they are in contact with (either inside or outside the valley) as well as their spoken dialectal varieties and some particular features affect their accommodating behaviour?

4) If the claim of accommodation is attested, what can it tell us about the possible mechanisms of linguistic change that have taken or are taking place in this rural area?

Bringing insights from a variety of theoretical and empirical works found in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language in order to find reliable answers to these questions, this study is based on a set of hypotheses. The central hypothesis to the formerly stated problem is as follows:

- The rural-rural internal migration within the valley from a rural area to another such as BH does not lead to accommodation between speakers of the three regional groups found in this village. It is rather their increased mobility outside BH which ultimately leads to accommodation. The in-migrant regional groups are expected to lose some of the linguistic features

specific to their speech and adopt others from the neighbouring cities and towns of Oran, Tlemcen, Maghnia, and Sebdou.

As this study explains the patterns of linguistic variation and change in the speech of the three in-migrant speakers as a consequence of their long-term contact, it examines the following hypotheses:

1) Accommodation is expected to have taken place in the speech of the three regional groups living in BH because of some stigmatised features found in their native dialectal varieties. This accommodation process is manifested differently as their linguistic behaviour is on a continuum ranging from:

- An unexpected complete accommodation where none of the newly adopted features is completely adopted,
- An expected incomplete accommodation where some linguistic features are partly adopted,
- And an expected complete non-accommodation where some original features are still maintained.

We claim that the speakers' incomplete accommodation entails the process of levelling, by which the presence of some original forms are reduced, and simplification by which morphological forms are simplified.

2) Linguistic accommodation is the inevitable result of sustained contact between mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. The extent of this accommodation is likely to be determined by social factors. Speakers' linguistic behaviour corresponds with some social parameters like regional origin, age, gender and the type of contact between speakers in the valley and outside it.

3) Attitudes are important in understanding the speakers' linguistic behaviour. It is expected that if accommodation occurs, it will pertain to attitudinal orientations of speakers. The in-migrant speakers' linguistic behaviour, which is reflected in accommodation or non-accommodation, corresponds with their attitudinal orientations towards the input dialectal varieties inside BH and outside it,

more particularly towards those accommodated features and also towards their speakers.

4) Two natural processes form the backbone of contemporary sociolinguistic theory: variation and change. As variation among BH speakers is zoomed in with accommodation lens, their accommodating behaviour will leave the doors open to linguistic change processes going in the direction of losing native sedentary features in favour of Bedouin and rural features.

The present study is structured in five interrelated chapters. The first chapter is threefold: first, it introduces a review of the literature, which stresses the main linguistic and social issues related to the study: the second part includes a sketch of the Arabic language with its numerous dialects and their general classification: the last part sketches the linguistic composition of the Algerian profile. The second chapter is two-fold: the first part presents a geographical and socio-historical overview of the whole area of Beni Snous: the second part describes the materials and methods used to elicit the data for the present study. Empirical in nature, chapter three strives to examine the linguistic behaviour of Beni Hammou speakers in order to find evidence of accommodation. The fourth chapter also seeks to examine speakers' attitudes in correlation with their linguistic behaviour. The last chapter synthesises linguistic data and attitudinal data and at the same time summarises the motives and pressures under which the speakers' linguistic behaviour is governed. Shortcomings of the study alongside with new insights for further investigations in the valley of Beni Snous are also involved.

Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to obtain full understanding of BH speakers' linguistic behaviour, the current study of accommodation between BH speakers is an investigation standing at the crossroads of several subfields: it is a dialectological study by bidding to describe some basic phonological, morphological, and lexical similarities and differences of the four local varieties at play; a sociolinguistic study of dialect contact; a variationist study of language variation and change where the Labovian approach is applied to show the interplay of the linguistic and social structures; and a social-psychological

investigation to reveal the extent to which speakers' linguistic behaviour is affected by their attitudes.

The principal impetus for choosing dialect contact and accommodation as a field of investigation in this study stems from the very limited studies carried out on the Algerian dialectal varieties. It is, therefore, an attempt to help enriching the linguistic studies in this speech community. It constitutes a continuation of a previous study. Eagerness to reveal the patterns of language variation and change in this rural area from dialect contact perspective is also one of the main motives for carrying this study.

*Chapter One: Historical Considerations and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*

**1.1 Introduction**

**1.2 Contact Linguistics and Contact Dialectology**

**1.3 Mobility and Dialect Contact**

**1.4 Dialect Contact and Accommodation**

**1.4.1 Short-term Accommodation**

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**1.9 Historical and sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria**

**1.9.1 Historical Sketch**

**1.9.2 Linguistic Repertoire in Algeria**

**1.9.3 Algerian Dialect Classification**

**1.10 Conclusion**

## **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter is threefold. First, it introduces a review of the literature which stresses the main linguistic and social issues related to the study. The focus is, particularly, on accommodation theory, dialect contact framework and dialect change processes. As the context of this study is Arabic, the second part includes a sketch of the Arabic language with its numerous dialects and their general classification in terms of the well-known East–West and Sedentary-Bedouin dichotomies. A spotlight is given at the end of this part on previous studies carried out on Arabic dialect contact.

The third part deals with the linguistic composition of Algeria as an attempt to show its intricate sociolinguistic situation resulting from the interplay of more than one variety in this country. The diglossic and bilingual situations characterising the Algerian society are a further step to depict the linguistic rivalries existing in the verbal repertoire of the Algerian population.

## **1.2 Contact Linguistics and Contact Dialectology**

In his *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, David Crystal (2008) defines contact as a term that is widely found and used in sociolinguistics to refer to a:

Situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, mixed forms of language (such as creoles and pidgins), and a general increase in bilingualism of various kinds. In a restricted sense, languages are said to be ‘in contact’ if they are used alternately by the same persons, i.e. bilinguals.

Crystal (2008: 107-108)

Thus, the term contact linguistics covers the study of languages and dialects being in contact situations. According to Meyerhoff (2006), many linguistic studies have been devoted to contact between languages rather than contact between dialects. The dialect contact phenomenon has been studied relatively by few researchers. This lack of dialect research is, according to Winford (2003:1), due to the fact that language purists consider this form of language as “an aberration of the

“correct” language” having no status of true languages and being deviant and corrupt from the standard. Additionally, the major goal of traditional dialectology was the description of dialects, mainly the speech of non-mobile, older, rural males giving priority to rural dialects over urban dialects in a sense that the former are pure dialects while the latter are not.

As its name implies, *‘language contact’* refers to at least two language systems in contact which are not mutually intelligible, while *‘dialect contact’* refers to at least two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language<sup>5</sup>: the former is not a new discipline, whereas the latter has only recently intensified: as evidence for this is Weinreich’s (1953) earlier significant studies in bilingual communities with the aim of explaining the possible effects and the linguistic processes resulting from languages being in contact. Later on, the field of contact jumped from language studies to dialect studies when Trudgill’s (1986) *‘Dialects in Contact’* marked a turning point in the field of contact linguistics.

Some investigators in the field state that there is a blurred boundary between language contact and dialect contact research. Hickey (2010:5) states that the difference between language contact and dialect contact is “more one of degree than of kind”. Nevertheless, each field has grown independently from the other using different methodologies and terminologies (Britain, 2012). Additionally, and as stated by Trudgill (2003), the two fields have been the subject interest of different researchers: on the one hand, language contact has been investigated by non-variationist linguists like sociologists; social psychologists; bilingual acquisition specialists and applied linguists. On the other hand, dialect contact has been studied by variationist sociolinguists: “as a consequence of their following in the dialectological tradition, which was always aware of the importance of the geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations and the development of transition zones and linguistically intermediate forms” (Trudgill, *ibid*: 601).

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<sup>5</sup>Many linguists in the field acknowledge that the criterion of mutual intelligibility is not an absolute criterion.

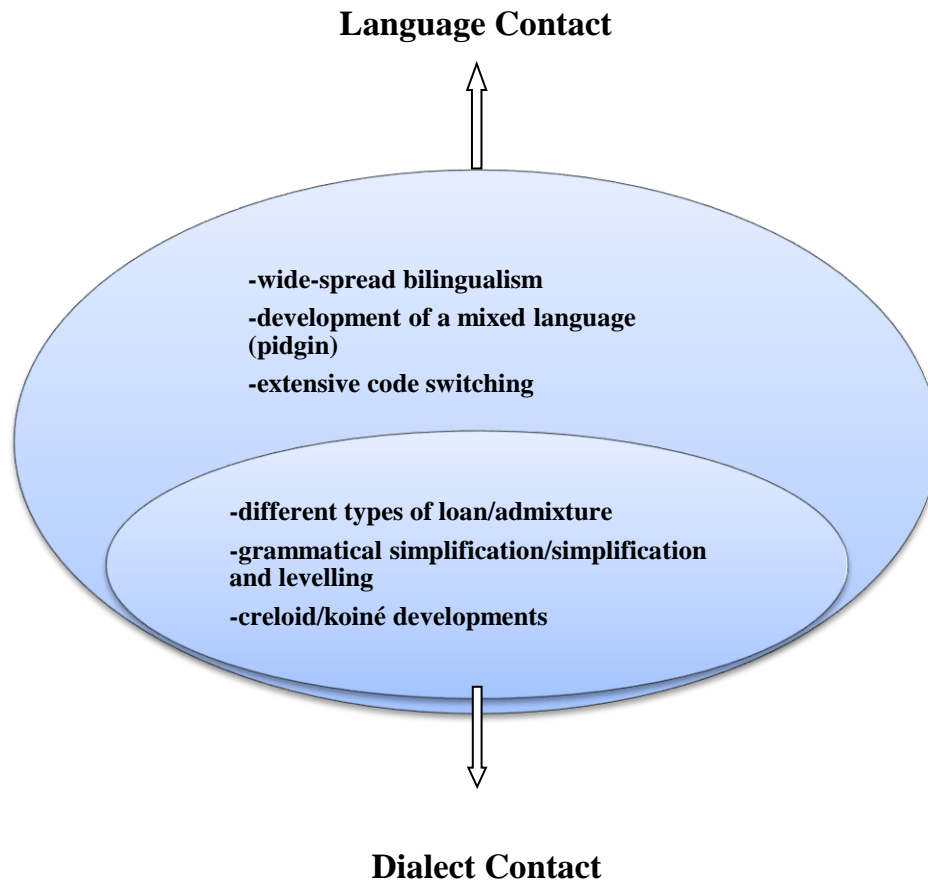
Kerswill and Williams (2002: 82) point out that there are important differences between the two fields stating that dialect contact does not “involve speakers learning a new language, either wholly (giving rise to various degrees of bilingualism) or in a restricted sense (typically resulting in lexical borrowing, but without any changes)”. In dialect contact situations, linguistic phenomena may be mixed “apparently at will and with minimal loss of intelligibility” Kerswill and William (ibid).

The linguistic outcomes of both fields are at the forefront of researchers in linguistic variation and change. It has been acknowledged that though there are differences between the two types of contact, there are similarities in terms of linguistic outcomes. Some of the same linguistic outcomes can be involved in both fields (Trudgill, 2003: 601).

In discussing these outcomes, Jahr (1998) lists some of them and states that while in language contact case it is reasonable to expect widespread bilingualism, development of a mixed language (pidgin) and substantial code switching, in dialect contact case these phenomena are not expected. The phenomena found in both fields are sometimes of different terms. For example, loans of different types are known in the case of dialect contact as an admixture (Trudgill: 1986), grammatical simplification as simplification and levelling, creoloid as koine<sup>6</sup>. The diagram below clearly shows this relation between the two fields as discussed by Jahr (ibid):

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<sup>6</sup> The term ‘koine’ whose Greek meaning is ‘common’ was first used to refer to the form of Greek used as a lingua franca during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In an Arabic context, Cadora (1979: 17) describes it as a kind of simplified conversational form of Classical Arabic.



**Diagram 1.1 Language contact vs. dialect contact**

**Source: Adapted from Jahr (1998)**

### **1.3 Mobility and Dialect Contact**

Contact between different groups of people is the ultimate consequence of regional and social mobility. Such contact is extreme and can be in various forms such as those resulting from: colonisation, forced labour movements, and long distance mass migration (Britain, 2010) and this occurs at a national or international level. They generally lead to important and abrupt linguistic changes (Britain, *ibid*). As opposed to extreme contact, interdialect contact is another form that occurs at a local level as a result of people travelling regularly between their places of work or study and their homes, i.e. commuting, or staying temporarily there before returning home, i.e. short-term residents. Linguistic changes, according to Britain (*ibid*), can be similar to those forms of extreme contact or less dramatic.

In very recent times, it has become very clear that mobility has had an effect on modern-day society. As just mentioned before, mobility at intranational or transnational levels involve mass migration of families or individuals seeking work and socio-economic progress (Milroy, 2002). At a more local level, as explained by Britain (2010), it includes those mobile individuals from many communities who move frequently because of their daily lives' humdrum business. Mobility can also take the form of migration at this too local level as members from a given area move to another neighbouring one. Such internal population mobility under the form of internal migration occurs in contemporary speech communities under four types: urban-to-urban, and this is frequent in the Algerian society where people move permanently from a city to another city for many reasons: urban-to-rural, and this is less frequent than the first, but exists under forceful circumstances: rural-to-urban, which is the widely noticed type as mass of population exodus move permanently from rural areas to urban cities: rural-to-rural, if compared with urban-to-rural, it occurs more often than this latter. Malmberg (1997) summarises human mobility as it occurs at a national or international level in the following table:

**Table 1.1 Typology of human mobility**

<b>Permanent Mobility</b>	Local Migration (Intra-regional)	Inter-regional Migration	International Migration
	Commuting	Circulation/Seasonable	Long-Distance-Commuting
<b>Temporary Mobility</b>	<b>Short-Distance - Mobility</b>		<b>Long-Distance-Mobility</b>

**Source: Malmberg (1997, qtd. in Zohry, 2002: 70)**

Mobility with all its previously stated forms has far-reaching linguistic consequences because it allows speakers “access to the social and linguistic

practices of distant communities” Milroy (2002: 3). Accordingly, mobility is considered as a “powerful linguistic force” Chambers (2002: 117).

#### **1.4 Dialect Contact and Accommodation**

The form of individuals’ local mobility (shown in table 1.1 above) is concerned with permanent mobility that entails local migration between regions of the same country or even between regions of a city. It also includes temporary mobility of individuals commuting from an area to another neighbouring one. Thus, individuals of different dialects, but of the same language are in permanent contact. The effects of such contact have been widely investigated since Trudgill’s ‘*Dialects in Contact*’ book.

In his seminal work ‘*Dialects in Contact*’ (1986), Trudgill refers to Weinreich’s (1953) earlier work ‘*Languages in Contact*’ and the processes which occur as a result of individual bilingualism. In a similar interesting way to that of Weinreich and in order to explain how contact can lead to change, Trudgill’s (ibid) framework discusses contact and its aftermath between two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language rather than Weinreich’s genetically unrelated languages. He is considered to be among the outstanding researchers who have given a lot of thought and devotion to dialect contact studies and founded a basic framework of dialect contact phenomenon that was the starting point of a myriad of dialect contact studies which have increased dramatically since then.

Accommodation theory was initiated by Giles (1973) and then expanded by Giles et al., 1987; Giles and Coupland, 1991. In its earlier form, it emerged as a social-psychological model of speech style<sup>7</sup> modification known as Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) (Coupland, 2010: 21). Within this theory, Giles (ibid) introduced his ‘*accent mobility*’<sup>8</sup> model to explore interpersonal accent

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<sup>7</sup> In sociolinguistics, style, as defined by Trudgill (1992), refers to: ‘a variety of language which is associated with social context and which differs from other styles in terms of their formality. Styles can thus be ranged on a continuum from very formal to highly informal or colloquial’ Trudgill (ibid: 72).

<sup>8</sup> In later work Coupland (1984, qtd. in Trudgill 1986) stated that accent convergence and divergence processes can occur at grammatical and lexical levels.

convergence and stated that during interactions people may reduce some of the phonological differences existing in their speech styles. The social motive behind such accommodation is to “(1) evoke their interlocutors’ social approval, (2) increase communicational efficiency (i.e. mutual intelligibility), and (3) maintain positive social identities” Beebe and Giles (1984, qtd. in Wilson 201: 9).

He also introduced the opposite process known as accent divergence when people wish to dissociate themselves from their conversational partners by accentuating their speech. Giles (ibid) claims that this theory<sup>9</sup> was formed to challenge the aspect of formality-informality of the context within the Labovian paradigm (1966) and states that formal and informal contexts are not the motive of an individual’s style shifting<sup>10</sup>, but rather depends on the interviewer’s style and the informant’s response to that style (either consciously or subconsciously). In other words, style shifting in sociolinguistic interviews is not related to attention paid to speech discussed by Labov, but it is rather related to the speaker’s desire to be like the person he is talking to.

As accommodation theory introduced these two underlying social psychological concepts as accommodating strategies that communicators can adopt in their speech to achieve the desired social distance between each other, i.e. to create similarity and/or dissimilarity in interaction (accent convergence and accent divergence), it has also introduced speech maintenance, which occurs when speakers do not make any changes and stick to their original styles in interaction situations (Coupland,

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<sup>9</sup> Bell (1984) indicates that Giles’ accommodation theory can also be applied in the mass media and face-to-face communication. Thus, his sociolinguistic theory called: audience design originally developed from Giles’ accommodation theory and where he states that a speaker style relies fundamentally, in addition to the addressee, on the audience with whom he is speaking and, again, opposes Labov’s (1966) amount of attention paid to speech.

<sup>10</sup> Labov (1966) indicates in his contextual style of speech: the speaker has a variety of speech styles available to him or her. These speech styles are usually determined by the social situation. In a formal social situation, for example a speaker during a job interview typically calls for a formal style of speaking: an informal, casual social situation calls for an informal, colloquial style of speech. To analyse style-shifting Labov postulates that: “styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech” (Labov 1972b, qtd. in Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 200).

2007; Galois et al.: 2005)<sup>11</sup>. In later work SAT was renamed Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) as research in it grew widely to include the use of a number of communication features (verbal and non-verbal) covering language choice, accent, speech rate, vocal intensity, jokes, pausing frequencies and lengths, and gestures (Giles et al., 1991).

As stated above, Giles' (1973) accent mobility entails the processes of convergence and divergence which take place only in short-term contacts. In such contact situations, speakers of different social classes adjust their speech from high-prestige to low-prestige accents or the reverse (up to down or down to up). The problem raised in this situation is the direction of accommodation where Giles and colleagues have tried to determine the factors behind who accommodates to whom, the reason and extent for doing so, and how it would be perceived by others (Trudgill, 1986).

Switching from the approach of social psychology to that of sociolinguistics, it was Trudgill (ibid) who has made use of Giles' (1973) accommodation theory and extended it to cover the field of contact dialectology to explain dialects that are in contact and the formation of new dialects. Within Trudgill's framework, the terms dialect contact and accommodation are closely related to each other. He defines the phenomenon of dialect contact as "contact between varieties of language that are mutually intelligible at least to some degree" (Trudgill, 1986: 1). Within the field of variationist sociolinguistics, the dialect contact paradigm investigates the linguistic outcomes of the clash between different varieties of the same language when speakers are in face-to-face interaction (Britain: 2012). The outcome of such contact is usually described by scholars as linguistic accommodation, which takes place between socially and regionally different speakers by reducing or dropping the

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<sup>11</sup> Like Trudgill (1986) who uses the term accommodation equally with convergence, Gallois et al. (2005) equate the term accommodation with speech convergence to refer to regulation of communication in order to appear more like each other. They also use the term counter-accommodation to mean speech divergence which refers to maximizing differences between a speaker and his interlocutor. Non-accommodation equals speech maintenance which denotes maintaining one's own behaviour and discourse.

linguistic differences of their speech patterns and adopting each other's linguistic features. This linguistic convergence in face-to-face interaction is the key element in contact-based explanations for language change (Britain, 2010). As speakers might converge, they might also diverge and render their linguistic behaviour different from their partners'.

According to Trudgill, the direction of accommodation is problematic from the social psychologist's point of view who works on CAT. However, from the linguist's point of view, he states that accommodation occurs in short-term and long-term contacts in the field of sociolinguistics. Thus, in the situation of long-term contacts, the problematic question 'who accommodates to whom' that is difficult to analyse by social psychologists is:

Less problematical, since, in most cases where this phenomenon can be observed, we are dealing with contact between speakers of different regional varieties, and with regionally mobile individuals or minority groups who accommodate, in the long term, to a non-mobile majority that they have come to live amongst.

Trudgill (1986: 3)

Trudgill further adds that the problem lies in determining:

How speakers accommodate, the extent to which they accommodate, and why some situations and some individuals produce more - or different types of - accommodation than others. Long-term accommodation is therefore of less interest for the social psychologist, but of considerable interest to the linguist.

Trudgill (1986: 3)

The relationship between dialect contact and accommodation is understood in Trudgill's concepts of short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation: the second being the result of repeated acts of the first (Trudgill, 1986; Britain, 2010). Accordingly, accommodation depends on the type of contact. Based on Trudgill's work (1986) '*Dialects in Contact*', the term accommodation and contact are used in the field of sociolinguistics in two ways: the first one is temporary (initial) contact and implies short-term accommodation: the second one is permanent contact and implies long-term accommodation. That is to say, if speakers of mutually intelligible but regionally different varieties come into contact,

accommodation will be the ultimate consequence of such contact (Britain, *ibid*). Initially, accommodation here is called short-term accommodation. If speakers continue to meet permanently, short-term becomes long-term accommodation. This latter is extreme and can be the result of, for example, colonisation, forced labour movements, and long-distance mass migration.

These two types of accommodation used in a variety of contexts have led many researchers to argue, on the basis of their sociolinguistic studies, that probably all or at least most language change should be conceptualised as a consequence of dialect contact (Britain, 2012). The following two sub-sections are devoted to a brief discussion of these two types of accommodation .

#### **1.4.1 Short-term Accommodation**

As just mentioned above, short-term accommodation is the result of temporary contact as speakers respond to their interlocutors on a particular situation or as Trudgill (1986) mentions, it is the result of face-to-face interaction which precedes long-term accommodation and does not affect the speaker's speech permanently. Studies on this type of accommodation received little attention by sociolinguists at phonological, grammatical, and other structural levels (Britain: 2010, 2012).

Short-term accommodation has always been the focal point for Giles and his associates. Criticism of short-term accommodation that is investigated by social psychologists centres on the lack of linguistic analyses as the degree of speakers' linguistic accommodation is "measured impressionistically" Trudgill (1986: 3). Thus, Trudgill suggests a detailed linguistic analysis that includes a number of benefits for both fields (i.e. social psychology and sociolinguistics) among which he states the following:

- (1) An exact, rather than impressionistic, quantification of degree of linguistic accommodation;
- (2) An examination of which linguistic features are and are not changed during accommodation, together with explanations for this;
- (3) A study of whether accommodation is a uniform process, or whether linguistically different types of accommodation take place in the case of different speakers, different situations, or different relationships;

(4) A study of the limits of accommodation: what are the linguistic (as opposed to social and psychological) constraints on accommodation, and is it possible to accommodate totally to a new variety?’

Trudgill (ibid: 4)

One of the earliest works on short-term accommodation was that of Coupland (1984) in his study of the speech of a female travel agency assistant in Cardiff, Wales when talking to her clients. He discovered that this assistant adapted, quite highly, some phonological features of her speech so that they corresponded to that of her clients’. The assistant accommodated her speech for purely social motives mainly to gain social approval of her clients and create mutual intelligibility when conversing with them (Coupland, 1984). In fact, the measurement of linguistic accommodation within CAT framework is impressionistic and needs linguistic predictions by analysing the linguistic features (Coupland, ibid).

Besides social psychologists’ studies on short-term accommodation, linguists conducted a number of studies. We state Trudgill (1974) as an example who conducted a survey about spoken English in Norwich. He recorded himself when interacting with his interlocutors to see his linguistic accommodation (which was done in an automatic and subconscious way) of the linguistic features: the glottal stop realisation of (t) and the back vowel (a:). Data analysis showed that he adapted in his speech t-glottalling rather than the vowel (a:) fronting or backing. The linguistic analysis carried out showed why some linguistic features were modified while others were not.

To explain his linguistic accommodation of t-glottalling rather than (a:) fronting or backing, he followed Labov’s claim (1972) that in most speech communities some linguistic variables carry different social values. He (ibid) classifies them as markers and indicators. Some linguistic variables are called sociolinguistic *markers* as they are subject to both social class and stylistic variation, whereas others are simply subject to social class variation and are described *indicators*. He then deduced that (t) in Norwich English is considered as a *marker* while (a:) is an indicator. Sociolinguistic markers are usually modified in contact situations because simply the speakers are aware of them and try to avoid them in their conversations .

Compared with each other, markers are relatively higher in a speaker's consciousness than indicators and those “variables which have an especially high level of awareness associated with them are called stereotypes” (Trudgill, *ibid*). He, then, validates that the high level of awareness associated with a marker leads speakers to modify its pronunciation when speaking.

#### **1.4.2 Long-term Accommodation**

Unlike Giles and associates, Trudgill concentrates on long-term accommodation for its usefulness in explaining dialect contact situations and interpreting mechanisms of linguistic change. He (1986) indicates that in dialect contact situations, accommodation may take place temporarily in the face-to-face interaction between speakers from different social and regional backgrounds. If this short-term accommodation takes place frequently over a long period of time, speech modifications and adjustments may become permanent without taking into account the interlocutor or the setting (Trudgill, *ibid*). In other words, long-term accommodation is the aftermath of permanent contact as a change might occur in the speakers' automatic speech habits and it, undoubtedly, leads to one of the forerunners of contact-induced-change explanations which is levelling (Trudgill, *ibid*). Kerswill gives the view that: “long-term accommodation results from the cumulative effect of countless acts of short-term accommodation in particular conversational interactions” Kerswill (2013: 9). Accommodation occurs among groups of speakers who move to another place to live within the same language area. Dialect contact between the variety of the host area and that of the immigrant groups may lead to a permanent change in speech habits of these groups. This idea is originally explained in Trudgill's own words (1986: 39):

In face-to-face interaction [...] speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other's speech. If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect, --then the accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable.

He argues that long-term accommodation is a regular process that follows fixed routes and the linguistic outcomes, as will be mentioned in the subsequent

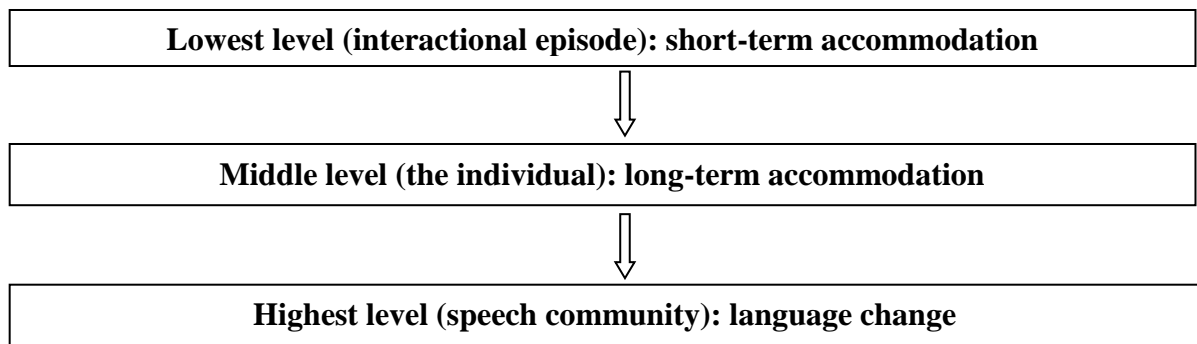
sections, can be predicted (Trudgill, *ibid*: 28). Linguistic accommodation is understood by social psychologists, mainly Giles (1973), in a social dimension rather than geographical. Their interest is based on behavioural convergence and divergence in short-term contacts and: “in terms of adjustments up and down the social dimension from high-prestige to low-prestige accents” Trudgill (1986: 2). However, for linguists, accommodation: “can also take place between accents that differ regionally rather than socially, and that it can occur in the long term as well as in the short term” Trudgill (*ibid*: 3). Accommodation in long-term contacts is of less interest for the social psychologist and of substantial interest for the linguist because it deals: “with contact between speakers of different regional varieties, and with regionally mobile individuals or minority groups who accommodate, in the long term, to a non-mobile majority that they have come to live amongst” Trudgill (*ibid*).

The reached conclusion here is that the types of accommodation just mentioned above (psychological and linguistic) were not measured by social psychologists equally as much interest was given to the former rather than the latter. However, sociolinguists (Trudgill, 1986; Coupland: 1984 among others) look at linguistic accommodation thoroughly by means of quantitative analysis of speech styles of speakers in natural settings. As far as contact and accommodation are concerned in this section, we refer to Trudgill’s (*ibid*) further distinction between contact of speakers with other speakers from different regions and contact of speakers with members within the same community. While contact in the same community may lead speakers to alter (socially) the frequency of a number of variants of particular variables of their native variety they have already control over, contact beyond the community may lead migrant speakers to adopt (regionally) new features which they are not familiar with.

In the context of the current study, the primary concern is with those in-migrant groups from regionally different areas situated in the valley of Beni Snous who have come into contact with each other and give a linguistic analysis of their speech accommodation as recorded in naturalistic settings in a local context. Moreover, we aim to investigate their linguistic accommodation as they move out

of the local context, i.e. when they are outside their home village and in contact with speakers of urban cities.

To sum up, whichever type of accommodation takes place in interactions between speakers and their interlocutors, the investigators agree on the fact that both types lead to language change: long-term accommodation, achieved either consciously or subconsciously (Kerswill, 2010) and depending on short-term accommodation, is the master key to explaining the mechanisms of language change. In the same vein, Niedzielski and Giles (1996) propose a model which they term ‘Change-by accommodation model’. They (ibid) state that three steps are recognised within this model, arguing that mechanisms of linguistic change undergo these three steps where each one is dependent on the other one: individual short-term accommodation in temporary contacts is to take place first and does not usually result in change, but if maintained over a long period of time, it paves the way for the second step to take place, which is individual long-term accommodation. This latter, as it spreads widely in a community, it induces language change such as dialect levelling or sound change. The transition from one step to the other is conceptualised as follows:



**Diagram 1.2 Change-by-accommodation model**

**Source: Adapted from Niedzielski and Giles (1996)**

As indicated in the diagram (1.2) above, the transition from short-term accommodation where speech convergence is temporary to long-term accommodation which implies permanent speech convergence in the individual is the key element for community-level change such as dialect levelling or sound change. Specialists in the field like Trudgill and Chambers acknowledge that

generally within the second step, where speech convergence becomes permanent over a period of time, second dialect acquisition might be taken into account. Speakers, who are in regular contact and are often involved in interactions with other speakers from different regional, ethnic, or social backgrounds, are likely to adopt linguistic features that are different from their native ones. This process is called second dialect acquisition (SDA). In the literature, much like second language acquisition, a complete acquisition of a dialect is likely to occur before the critical period of early adolescence (Trudgill 1986). Hence, children (seven years old and less) are more successful in acquiring new phonological features of a second dialect than adults (14 years old and over) who have limits in acquiring the phonology of a second dialect (Johnson and Newport 1989). From a conducted study on the process of dialect acquisition of six Canadian children (between 9 and 17 years old) who moved to southern England, Chambers (1992) concluded that phonetic features were acquired before phonological features. Therefore, he states that dialect acquisition abilities increase as the age of the child decreases. In addition, he reveals that: “lexical replacements are made faster than pronunciation and phonological variants” (Chambers, *ibid*: 667). In turn, phonetics variants are likely to be acquired much more than phonological variants.

The relationship between CAT and SDA is that this latter is the result of long-term accommodation, where repeated and frequent acts of short-term accommodation over long periods of time lead migrant speakers to acquire features from the host dialect they are exposed to. Many linguists use different terms to refer to the process of dialect acquisition. These are dialect levelling, dialect convergence, and adoption. The latter term is used to refer to the in-migrant groups linguistic behaviour that is reflected in the acquisition of new forms from other dialectal varieties they have long been in contact with.

### **1.5 Koineisation: A Contact-Induced Process**

Contact-induced linguistic change has been the major topic debated among linguists. Contact and change are the extreme terms in this process: the first makes a fresh start of the second, while the second makes the far end of the story of the

linguistic heterogeneity of two different but mutually intelligible dialects when they come into contact (Trudgill, 1986). Usually, linguistic heterogeneity undergoes koineisation<sup>12</sup>, which can be defined as: “structural convergence between closely related linguistic systems, eventually leading to the stabilisation of some compromise variety” Hinskens et al. (2005: 46). This process is composed of a series of processes of linguistic accommodation which occurs first and can become routinized and permanent as a consequence of long-term contact (Britain and Trudgill, 2005: 183). A combination of three processes gives birth to a koine form. These are mixing, levelling, and simplification (Trudgill, 1986). Researchers in the field have revealed that these processes can occur in both urban and rural contexts (Britain, 2009: 239).

As just mentioned, linguistic accommodation is the opening process to occur as an inevitable result of such contact (Britain and Trudgill, *ibid*: 1) and as a starting point for other processes to occur. Both manifestations of accommodation (short and long already discussed in the preceding sections) are correlated: constant contact between speakers of two varieties often leads to short-term accommodation. In the long run, this latter might turn into long-term accommodation. A concise definition of koineisation is given by Siegel (1985):

Koineisation is the process which leads to mixing of linguistic subsystems, that is, of language varieties which either are mutually intelligible or share the same genetically related superposed language. It occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties. A koine is the stabilized composite variety that results from this process. Formally, a koine is characterized by a mixture of features from the contributing varieties, and at an early stage of development, it is often reduced or simplified in comparison to any of these varieties.

Siegel (1985: 375-376)

Within Trudgill’s (1986) dialect contact framework, generally, four linguistic processes (mixing, levelling, simplification, and reallocation) are involved in

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<sup>12</sup>Koine is the form of a variety that is the final outcome of koineisation which is a contact-induced process that leads to change (Kerswill, 2003).

tracking linguistic change and new-dialect formation (i.e. koineisation). This latter is a process with different but overlapping stages and a variable, but limited time span to reach completion for the emergence of a koine (Trudgill, *ibid*). He argues that generally three successive generations form the time span of koineisation to complete though it is accomplished within one. The overlapping stages that take place in order to give birth to a koine are identified by Trudgill (1998, Trudgill et al., 2000, qtd. in Kerswill 2003) as follows:

**Table 1.2 Stages in Trudgill’s new-dialect formation theory**

stage	speakers involved	linguistic characteristics
I	adult migrants	rudimentary levelling
II	first native-born speakers	extreme variability and further levelling
III	subsequent generations	focusing, levelling and reallocation

**Source: Kerswill (2003)**

The aforementioned linguistic processes involved in dialect contact and change and new-dialect formation are the results of accommodation between speakers of different, but mutually intelligible dialects being in long-term contact. These are, as already mentioned: mixing, levelling, simplification, and reallocation.

### **1.5.1 Mixing**

Dialect mixing refers to the coexistence of more than one variant of a particular linguistic variable which originated from different input dialects in a given community (Kerswill, 2003, Kerswill and Trudgill 2005). Siegel (1993: 6) refers to this as a ‘pre-koine’ stage. Trudgill (1986) considers the prior mixing of features from different varieties to be the roots of a koineisation start. This dialect mixing is characterised by a high degree of linguistic variation among speakers of the mutually intelligible and linguistically contrasting varieties being in contact.

The process of mixing is a prior process that paves the way for the koineisation start. Britain (2010) states that mixing of many different dialect variants of the same variable leads to the emergence of a triumphant variant among the available ones in the input dialects. Therefore, the emergence of one dominant variant at the expense of the other variants indicates the process of levelling, but

there must be prior mixing of these variants for levelling to occur and this latter occurs after accommodation is manifested.

### **1.5.2 Levelling**

Among the earliest definitions of this term is that of Trudgill: “the reduction or attrition of marked variants” (Trudgill, 1986: 98). In his study on Norwegian, he referred to these ‘*marked variants*’ as forms which are “unusual or in a minority in Norwegian as a whole” (Trudgill, *ibid*). In a precise definition, levelling: “may just favour the most simple or most natural or most unmarked variant present in the mixture. It may, on the other hand, favour that variant which is most demographically dominant.” Trudgill (1994: 20).

While mixing denotes the coexistence of variant forms of the same linguistic variable in a community, levelling denotes the prominence of one of these variant forms and the reduction, if not the elimination, of the existing others. Thus, mixing and levelling are related processes and that the first is necessary for the second to take place. Britain (1997) defines levelling with reference to mixing by stating that the process of levelling is “the eradication of marked variants in the dialect mix” (Britain, *ibid*: 141).

### **1.5.3 Simplification**

Simplification involves “an increase in regularity” (Mühlhäusler, 1974, *qtd.* in Trudgill 1986: 103). It might also involve a reduction in the number of grammatical categories such as gender morphologically marked cases, simplified morphophonemics and a reduction in the number of phonemes (Kerswill and Williams, 2000).

To illustrate simplification, Jahr shows the grammatical simplification of Bergen<sup>13</sup> dialect in comparison with other Norwegian dialects. Bergen forms that are grammatically simplified are:

- Monophthongs instead of diphthongs.

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<sup>13</sup> Bergen is a city situated in Hordaland on the west coast of Norway.

-Two grammatical genders instead of three.

-The absence of plural endings in adjectives.

-Analytical means replacing the genitive case when expressing possession (*mannen sin att, lit 'man- the his hat = 'the man's hat'*)' Jahr (1998: 126-127)

#### **1.5.4 Reallocation**

This term has been defined as follows: “reallocation occurs where two or more variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process, but are refunctionalised, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect” (Britain and Trudgill 1999, qtd. in Kerswill 2003: 3) Thus, reallocation refers to those variant forms that have not been levelled out (i.e. maintained), but have new linguistic or social functions in the newly formed dialect that are different from their earlier functions in the original dialects.

#### **1.6 On Arabic and its Dialects**

Arabic<sup>14</sup> is among the oldest living languages in the world with a deep history. It has a vast literary heritage which has existed since the pre-Islamic era (Ryding, 2005). It belongs to the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) family of languages (Rippin, 2013). This phylum includes languages like Aramaic, Ethiopian, South Arabian, Syriac, and Hebrew (Aoun et al., 2010). A number of the languages in this group are spoken in the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula, and Africa. Although there are scholarly debates about the history of Classical Arabic<sup>15</sup> (CA) and its spoken dialects, it has been acknowledged that the

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<sup>14</sup>The term Arabic will be used in this study to refer to the formal, standard variety of the language, represented historically by Classical Arabic and today by Modern Standard Arabic.

<sup>15</sup>In discussing the tendency between CA and MSA, Badawi (1973: 83) in his book *Mustawayaat al- arabiyya l-mu'aaṣira fi miṣr* uses the term fuṣḥaa for both varieties referring to the former as al-fuṣḥaa al-qadiima whereas the latter as al-fuṣḥaa al-ḡadiida or al-fuṣḥaa al-ḥadiiṯa. The book was summarised in an English article in 1985 under the title 'Levels of Contemporary Arabic (Ryding, 2011: 849). In the Arabic version he claims that: 'ان لدينا الان فصحي جديدة لها صفاتها الخاصة بها و التي هي اقرب الى صفات العامية المحلية منها الى صفات الفصحى القديمة. ان لدينا فصحي حديثة لا تكاد تمت الى الفصحى القديمة الا بصلة قليلة' '... Nowadays we have to do with a new fuṣḥaa, that has its own characteristics much closer to the characteristics of the colloquial language than to the characteristics of the old fuṣḥaa. We have to deal with a

former developed from the necessity for the standardisation of the language of the Qur'an and poetry as it became the language of an empire, with the Islamic expansion starting in the seventh century (Aoun et al., 2010), while the latter<sup>16</sup> appeared after the Arabs expansion after the death of the Prophet in 632 C.E. (Abboud-Haggar, 2006).

It is well known that dialect geography is a typical invention of the European nineteenth-century linguistics. Though the western dialects have been the subject of intensive investigation more than the Arabic ones, Arabs had an earlier awareness of linguistic variation in their speech. Owens (2001) and Versteegh (2001) state that prior grammarians accepted variation in early pre-Islamic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula and considered it as a part of pure Arabic speech. Sibawayhi is one among those who described linguistic variation in his 'kitaab' in terms of two types: internal variation based on his linguistic theory<sup>17</sup> and external variation based on different tribal groups (like Hidzazi, Tamimi, and Banu Sulaym) (Owens, 2001).

In fact, the interest in linguistic variation during the Islamic period was restricted to Arab historians, geographers and travelers who mentioned in their books pronunciations and lexical variation in the regions they visited mainly the urban cities which were influenced by Bedouin immigrants (Versteegh, 2001). Versteegh (ibid) mentions that urban speech was neglected by grammarians who considered it as incorrect. The historians and geographers described the urban speech as influenced by Bedouin immigrants (Versteegh, ibid). Versteegh (ibid) cited EL-

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modern fuṣḥaa, that has only a slight link with the old fuṣḥaa'. (Both Arabic and English versions are extracted from Van Mol, 2003: 39).

<sup>16</sup>In fact, there was a paucity of studies devoted to the Arabic dialects of pre-Islamic era and no comprehensive corpus was available to reflect the development of spoken Arabic during that period (ryding, 2005).

<sup>17</sup>For more information about this theory refer to Owens (1998a)

Muqaddasi<sup>18</sup> for his best description of linguistic variation between various regions in the Islamic empire.

Recent interest in Arabic dialects study began after the Second World War in the form of American dialectal studies in the Middle East and French dialectal studies in North Africa. Versteegh (ibid) believes that the dialects have struggled to gain recognition as a serious object of study in the Arab world. They were generally based on the description of individual dialects, dialect atlases, and corpus-based sociolinguistic studies (Owens, 2003). He cited two earlier studies: Cowan (1960) and Kaye (1972) and claimed that they prompted the development of Arabic dialectology as a series of studies were carried out. Both Owens (ibid) and Abboud-Haggar (2006) mentioned influential works in the field of traditional dialectology. These works include Bergsträsser's dialect map of Syria and Palestine (1915); Cantineau's Atlas in Southern Syria (1940). Recent works are those of Behnstedt's dialect atlas of Northern Yemen (1985) and in Syria (1997); Behnstedt and Woidich's atlas of Egypt (1985,) as well as several other studies of individual dialects. Other earlier traditional dialectological studies of Arabic dialects, as stated by Eid (1990), are those of Cantineau in Orbis (1955), Sobelman (1962), and Abboud (1970).

Though Arabic has always been an important subject of study for western linguists (Bassiouney, 2009), this does not mean that Arab researchers were out of the Arabic sociolinguistic arena. According to Suleiman (1994) and Bassiouney (ibid), research into Arabic sociolinguistics by Arab researchers has recently gathered pace and had its source of inspiration from Ferguson's pioneering work on diglossia<sup>19</sup> in the late fifties (Ferguson 1959) and later from the methodological progresses originated from Labov's (1966) work on the English language. Arabic

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<sup>18</sup>He describes variation in his book *'Kita:b Zaḥsan Zaṭ-taqa:si:m fi: maʿrifati al-aqa:li:m'* 'the best arrangement for the knowledge of the regions' Versteegh (2001).

<sup>19</sup>Ferguson coined this term from the French word diglossie, which had been used by the French linguist Marçais in his early studies in the 1930s, though Krumbacher already used it in 1902. He used this term in English in 1959 and discussed Arabic diglossia in addition to other speech communities: Greece, Swiss Germany, and Haiti.

variationist sociolinguistics research has been also investigated by Arab researchers who concentrated on the study of Arabic in its social context with the aim of a systematic examination of varieties and variation in language use and relating this latter to social factors like age, gender, and level of education. Evidence for this interest in Arabic varieties and variation is that many Arab researchers have applied their expertise to their own dialects since so many doctoral theses were presented to the western universities on this very specific subject<sup>20</sup> (Suleiman, 1994) and it was firmly stated that the best-written dialect monographs were those of the Arab linguists (Versteegh, 2001).

According to Al-Wer and De Jong (2009), the study of Arabic dialects, moulded in the Labovian approach, started also with the work of Holes on language variation and change in Bahrain and led to the emergence of subsequent Arabic studies:

Clive's research on language variation and change in Bahrain is the first work on Arabic dialects which is variationist 'to the core', executed with the passion of an ethnographer and the knowledge of an insider. His take on variation in Arabic has lent a fresh and realistic perspective to the subject. As such, his work in the field has not only led but also shaped subsequent studies on Arabic dialects.

Al-Wer and De Jong (2009: introduction, para 2)

As far as AA is concerned in this study, the major earlier and recent works carried out in the coastal areas in North Africa were compiled by Watson (2011) in his article: '*Arabic dialects*'<sup>21</sup> He lists some completed works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Kampffmeyer (1903, 1905, 1909, and 1913) on Moroccan and Algerian dialects: Marçais (1902, 1911) on Tlemcen and Tangiers respectively: Cohen (1912) on Jewish Algiers: Stumme (1896) on Tunisian dialect. Studies of the mid-twentieth century were also stated by Watson as French scholars published a considerable number of works. Studies on AA include those of Brunet (1931, 1952), Boris (1958), P, Marçais (1956), Pérès (1958), and Grand'henry

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<sup>20</sup>Suleiman (ibid) cites as examples Schmidt (1974), El-Hassan (1977, 1978), Sallam (1980).

<sup>21</sup>The article includes also studies on the Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula.

(1972, 1976). On Moroccan Arabic, he mentions Harrell (1962b, 1966) and Cohen (1964-1975) and Singer (1958) on Jewish Tunisian and Tunisian respectively. Studies on Libyan Arabic are those of Owens (1984), Abumdas (1985) and more recently Pereira (2001, 2003) on Tripoli and Yoda (2005) on the Jewish dialect of Tripoli. These are some studies among the many stated by Watson (2011) on the Arabic coastal dialects.

Generally speaking, the study of Arabic dialects throughout the entire Arabic-speaking world covers several different dialectal topics. Whether carried out by European or Arab scholars, a lack of Arabic dialect studies still persists because the field is so vast and has not yet been completely investigated, since most achieved works focussed on particular topics and issues rather than others (Owens, 2001; Bassiouney, 2009). Haeri (2000) also shares the same view, claiming that little has been achieved so far as the interest in the study of Arabic dialects has been in the analysis of their phonological, morphological, and syntactic features and “... no linguistic ethnographies appeared offering a more detailed, complex, and, analysis of the language situations ... to date” (Haeri, 2000: 67).

Nevertheless, these studies which started in early pre-Islamic era have primarily served to differentiate between the Arabic dialects through classifying them into distinct groups based on geographical, linguistic, and social factors as we will see in the following section.

A generally held opinion among many scholars is that the Arabian Peninsula is assumed to be the cradle of CA, the language of pre-Islamic poetry (Versteegh, 2001; Kaye and Rosenhouse, 1998). Arabic, originally, developed there and then spread eastward, northward, and westward during the Islamic conquests in the seventh century where a lot of linguistic changes occurred (Haak, 1997; Kaye and Rosenhouse, *ibid*). As stated also by Miller (2004), a number of scholars such as Blau 1965, Cohen 1962, Ferguson 1959 and 1989, Fück 1955, Versteegh 1984, 1993, 1997 claim that in early times of the Arab conquests (seventh and tenth centuries), contact with people of the military camps with urban centres were alleged to have been the starting point of the Arabicisation process of the conquered

areas and to have played a great role in forming, diffusing, and developing the modern Arabic dialects.

Therefore, on the basis of certain linguistic features, the Arabic dialects can be divided into two major geographical groups: Eastern and Western<sup>22</sup> (Watson, 2002). Between these two poles, CA stands to differ widely from the western dialects and to be closely related to eastern dialects. However, in Arabic dialectology, it is generally accepted that Arabic dialects can be classified into two large socially and ethnically distinguishable groups: this classification is commonly known as Sedentary-Bedouin dichotomy<sup>23</sup>. In the following two sub-sections, an outline is provided about these two types of Arabic dialect classification.

### **1.6.1 Eastern vs. Western Dialects**

The Arabic dialects can be similar and different at the same time. Though they share the same grammar, phonology, and lexicon they remain very distinct dialects (Al-Jundi, 1965; Haak, 1997; Kaye and Rosenhouse, 1998). Watson (2002: 8) posits that: “dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible.”

In this context, Palmer (2007) illustrates that the spoken dialects of Arabic differ from each other the further a speaker moves away from his or her country to another. He provides the following table to show the degree of intelligibility between speakers which decreases gradually giving the example of the eastern and western extremes of the Arabic-speaking world: Iraqi and Moroccan Arabic which are almost entirely mutually unintelligible. Within these two extremes, making up a linguistic continuum, Palmer (ibid) demonstrates through the sentence *‘I want to go now’*, given in the Iraqi, Syrian, Jordanian, Egyptian, and Moroccan dialects and

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<sup>22</sup>Bouamrane (1989) mentions these two groups under the terms: Oriental and Maghreban dialects. Versteegh et al. (2006), refer to these two groups as Maʿrīqi (Eastern) and Maghribi (Western) dialects.

<sup>23</sup>The Arabic dialects are also classified on the basis of religious affiliation notably Islam, Christianity, and Judaism existing in the Arab communities. Our study is beyond this type of classification.

Modern Standard Arabic, how these spoken dialects along this continuum differ significantly though some similarities exist between some of these dialects:

**Table 1.3 ‘I want to go now’**

areed aruuḥ haessa	Iraqi
bididi ruuḥ haellae	Syrian
bididi aruuḥ haellae	Jordanian
ʕawiz aruuḥ dilwaʔti	Egyptian
bgheet nimshi daaba	Moroccan
ʔureedu an aḏhaba al-aan	MSA

**Source: Palmer (2007)**

Much of the literature in Arabic dialectology classifies the Arabic dialects from the viewpoint of East–West dichotomy<sup>24</sup>. Kaye and Rosenhouse (1998) draw the boundary of the Eastern group from the Arabian Peninsula (which includes Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates) across Mesopotamia (Iraq), until Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, and Israel. The Western group includes the dialects of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. They further state that differences between these two types of dialects are recognised on all linguistic levels. For instance, at a phonetic level, speakers of the Western group have lost inherited short vowels in medial position (Palva, 2006) and reduced the length of long vowels. Unlike the Sudan, Libya, and Egypt, this change is typical of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco as a result of the Berber substratum (Kaye and Rosenhouse, 1998). The syllable pattern of Western dialects is different from that of CA (Palva, 2006: 605):

- 1- CVCC > CCVC (riʕl > rʕəl → leg)
- 2- CVCV- > CCV- (katab > ktəb → he wrote)

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<sup>24</sup>The division of Arabic dialects into Eastern and Western groups is based on a geographical dialect study (traditional dialectology) in which a number of relevant isoglosses have been drawn on maps to mark boundaries between different dialect areas.

The main morphological distinction is the use of the imperfect prefix {n-} for both first person singular and plural in Western dialects: (*nəktəb-nəkkətbu*, ‘I/we write respectively’), while the Eastern dialects use this prefix only with plural form (*ʔaktib-niktib*, ‘I write/we write respectively’) (Palva, 2006; Kaye and Rosenhouse, 1998). Another distinction (mentioned in Kaye and Rosenhouse, *ibid*) is that in Western dialects plural verbs (1<sup>st</sup> person plural) end with ‘-u’ which does not exist in the Eastern’s: *nəkkətbu* in Western dialects vs. *niktib* in Eastern dialects. Syntactic differences are related to lexical items used in certain syntactic roles: *ʔiza*, *ʔiða* vs. *ʔila* ‘if’ in the East and the West respectively (Kaye and Rosenhouse, *ibid*).

Differences between these two groups are not only at the above-mentioned levels, but according to Marçais<sup>25</sup> they do exist mostly at a lexical level due to:

influences alien to Arabic: 1) that of the Berber substratum ... 2) that of the languages of the coloured races in the North Zones bordering on the Negro lands; 3) that of the Romance Language of Latin, often transmitted through the medium of Andalusians, and also of Spanish and Italian; 4) that of Turkish, particularly in Algeria and Tunisia; 5) finally, that of French, an influence which is still exerted today.

Marçais (1958: 580)

### **1.6.2 Sedentary vs. Bedouin Dialects**

Many scholars consider the categorisation of Arabic dialects into sedentary and Bedouin as the most important division and the basic dichotomy to differentiate between Arabic dialects as it has a historical and demographic explanation. This socially-based division has its history in early times since Ibn Khaldoun was the first scholar to make a distinction between Arab speakers in their communities in his book ‘*Muqaddima*’ in the fourteenth century (Miller, 2007). He divides the

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<sup>25</sup> Both versions French and English are extracted from Bouamrane (1989: 11-12). The original French text reads: aux influences du Berbère; des langues des races noires...; des langues Romanes : le Latin (transmis surtout à travers l’andalou); l’Espagnol et l’italien; le Turc surtout en Algérie et en Tunisie; enfin le Français dont l’influence s’exerce encore aujourd’hui.  
Marçais (1958: 580)

Arabs on the basis of their lifestyles into ʔahl-Erriif or El-badaoua and ʔahl-El-mudun or ʔal-Hadar<sup>26</sup>. But this division existed earlier than this date where it had its origins in the works of some Arab grammarians such as Ibn Jinni in the tenth century (Larcher, 2006; Owens, 2005b; Versteegh, 1997, qtd. in Miller, 2007). According to Versteegh (2001); the Arab rulers feared the corruption of the language of the Qur'an during the early centuries of the foundation and expansion of the Islamic empire. They asked the Arab grammarians to save CA from external influence. They relied in this mission on the speech of the Bedouin who were alleged to speak a pure Arabic as they were isolated from contact with non-Arab speakers. A great deal of literature describes their speech as more conservative and closer to CA than the sedentary which was said to be corrupted (Haak, 1997; Versteegh, 2001; Miller, 2007).

In Kaye and Rosenhouse's view (1998), the sedentary dialects are likely to evolve from the contact of Arabic with non-Arabic substratum while Bedouin dialects are of less mixed origin. The sedentary dialects can be further subdivided into urban (city) and rural (village or farmer) dialects. Unlike the East-West classification, Cadora (1992), Haak (1997), Watson (2002), Abboud-Haggag (2006), and Davies (2006) take the view that the Arabic-speaking countries are ethnically and socially diverse and cannot be divided into purely geographical terms only but attention should be given to the stratification of society. In this respect, Cadora notes that: "Arabic speech communities exist in several distinct social units, ranging from tribal and subtribal Bedouin groups traditionally associated with desert life to urban families in various socioeconomic classes" Cadora (1992: XI).

A commonly known feature that differentiates between the sedentary and the Bedouin dialects is the main important phonological feature (q) with its reflexes: [g] in Bedouin dialects, [q],[ʔ] and [k] in sedentary dialects. The following

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<sup>26</sup> Miller (2007) and Davies (2006) use the term 'ḥadāri:' for sedentary and 'badawi:' for Bedouin. They also refer to urban dialects as 'madani:' and rural dialects as 'qarawi:' (village) or 'fallaḥi:' (peasant). However, throughout this study we shall adopt the terms 'sedentary-Bedouin' and 'urban-rural'.

table shows some typological features that constitute partial contrast between the two groups:

**Table 1.4 Features of the Bedouin and sedentary Dialects**

<b>Bedouin Dialects</b>	<b>Sedentary Dialects</b>
-Interdental fricatives	-Interdental fricatives > post dental stops
-Partially retained and generalised indefinite marker –in (tanwi:n)	-No indefinite marker –in, except in formulaic expressions
-Gender distinction in plural	-No gender distinction in finite verbs and personal pronouns
-No verb modifier in the imperfect	-Different verb modifiers in the imperfect
-Internal passives productively used	-Absence of internal passives
-Retained productivity of Form IV	-Absence of form IV
-Low frequency of analytic genitive	-Common use of analytical genitive structure

**Source: Palva (2006)**

The classification of the Arabic dialects on a rural/Bedouin/urban basis has been a key and controversial one in the field of Arabic linguistics (Miller, 2007). The cited works of Holes (1996); Ingham (1982) in Miller’s (ibid) article offer further support for the claim that how can just a few features distinguish all Bedouin dialects from all sedentary dialects. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, she mentions Palva’s (2006) and Rosenhouse’s (2006) works which have proved that these dialectal classifications are not completely false as: “the structural similarities recorded between dialects separated sometimes by huge geographical distances indicate that these dialectal classifications are not completely unfounded” (Miller, 2007: 5)

### **1.7 Arabic Koine**

Because little is known about the nature, formation, and development of pre-Islamic spoken dialects, various theories have been put forward about the origins and the evolution of modern Arabic dialects (Aniss, 2003). Though many researchers, the western Arabists mainly, devoted a great deal of literature to the koine issue with many contradictory views concerning the existence of one or several koines, no decisive result has been reached. Throughout this section, some of these theories are discussed.

According to some authors, the Arabic koine came first as pre-Islamic koine through which the early signs of linguistic unity began, conjoining several factors which led to the convergence of the Arab tribal dialects into a unique and unified poetic koine. Trying to depict the pre-Islamic linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula, Rabin (1955)<sup>27</sup> postulates the possibility of the existence of this poetic koine which was regarded as an elevated style restricted only to poetry. Alongside this koine, there were several tribal dialects with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. Dickins (2013) who supports this theory states:

The most widely held view among modern scholars is that in pre-Islamic Arabia there existed alongside a number of different tribal-based dialects a pan-Arabic koiné. This was used mainly for the composition of POETRY, which had a central place in pre-Islamic culture.

Dickins (2013: 41)

After the emergence of Islam throughout the Arabian Peninsula, this poetic koine came to be known as Qur'anic, a language by which the Holy Qur'an was revealed. Most of the researchers agree that this Qur'anic koine is basically the same as the poetic and cannot be severed from it (Holes, 2004).

In fact, the origin of the so-called Qur'ano-poetic koine<sup>28</sup> has been put into question: whether it has originated from an existing tribal dialect, or it was a super-tribal dialect distinct from the rest of the tribal dialects. Abboud-Haggag (2006: 617) argues that: "most scholars seem to concur that the poetic-Qur'anic koiné never formed the spoken vernacular of any Arabic-speaking group, either before or after Muhammad."

The enigmatic origins of modern Arabic dialects were also conceived to be lineal descendants of a common commercial urban spoken Arabic labelled commercial koine assumed to have existed before and after the rise of Islam Corriente (1976, qtd. in Versteegh, 2006: 617). He takes the view that commercial

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<sup>27</sup> [http://www.innerbrat.org/andyf/articles/diglossia/hist\\_arab.htm](http://www.innerbrat.org/andyf/articles/diglossia/hist_arab.htm)

<sup>28</sup> Versteegh (1993), qtd. in Versteegh et al. (2006: 617)

links led to linguistic contact between the Aramaeans and Nabateans in north Arabia, the Syrian Desert, down to the Sawad Al-ʿIraq and the area between Kufa and Basra in Mesopotamia<sup>29</sup>. Based on the evidence of grammarians, and then concluding that this commercial koine arose with no declensional endings, Corriente (ibid) indicates that because of the importance of this commercial koine, it had expanded to the rest of Arabia.

Another category of researchers, of whom Ferguson (1959)<sup>30</sup> was the first to introduce the concept of military koine, view the Arabic koine as a form which had developed in the military camps and garrison towns during the Islamic expansion where it was used by the military for inter-tribal communication and for communicating with non-Arabs shortly after the Islamic conquests. It then spread to the surrounding areas where different tribes speaking different dialects mixed together by intermarriage and assimilating the outsiders as clients to their tribal groups. These dialectal differences, which coupled with the need for Arabs to communicate with each other, had led to the establishment of the Arabic Koine after long linguistic processes as loaning, simplification, and levelling (Abboud, 1970). Ferguson (1959) posits that the modern dialects developed from this new Koine and not from Al-ʿArabiyya or the poetic koine. These mixed and innovative forms of Arabic formed the basis of most modern dialects.

In early times of the Arab conquest (seventh and eighth centuries), those military and urban centres were alleged to have been the starting point of the Arabicisation process in the conquered areas and to have played a great role in

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<sup>29</sup>(Retsö 2003, qtd. in Versteegh 2006: 617). Nabateans are nomadic peoples whose origins are unknown but scholars stand for that Arabia is their original homeland but disagree on which part in Arabia they are from. What has usually been assumed is that Nabateans originated from centre Syria then settled in north Syria and Arabia. Mesopotamia is located between Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. In Arabic it is known as 'Bilad Er-rafidayn'.

<sup>30</sup>Versteegh (2006: 618) states that the military koine introduced by Ferguson had already been assumed by Fück (1955:7).

forming, diffusing, and developing the modern Arabic dialects<sup>31</sup> (Miller, 2004). Holding a similar view with Fergusson, Miller (ibid) avows that:

If the authors do not agree and still argue on the processes of the emergence and diffusion of the dialects..., they agree on the importance of the military camps and the cities as poles of early Arabization and linguistic innovations for the conquered territories.

Miller (2004: 3)

In his study of the emergence of Middle Arabic dialects, Blau's (1981) view of koine dissents from Ferguson's, as he confirms that no koine existed in the beginning, giving as argument that this notion can be only applied to the result of the long and intricate linguistic development of the Old Arabic dialects and not to the development itself:

The various items, carefully collected by Ferguson, to attest to the existence of the koiné, from which, it is alleged, the modern sedentary dialects have developed, do not, in our opinion prove that such a common language really existed. The koiné stands, as we have tried to demonstrate, at the end of the linguistic process and not at its beginning.

Blau (1981: 15-16)

Abboud-Haggar (2006) states that it was through the Qur'ano-poetic koine, the Noble Qur'an became the main source of what is known in the literature as CA, or El-ʿarabiyya. Consequently, along with the spread of Islam, the Arabic language extended outside Arabia to the north in the Levant<sup>32</sup>, to the east in Iraq and Khuzistan, and in North Africa (Watson, 2002).

Whether this koine is poetic, Qur'anic, or of military type, one cannot deny the great role it has served as a medium of intercommunication during the pre-Islamic period, at the beginning of the spread of Islam, until the present day. Most

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<sup>31</sup> (Blau, 1965; Cohen, 1962; Ferguson, 1959 and 1989; Fück 1955, Versteegh, 1984, 1993, 1997, qtd. in Miller 2004: 3).

<sup>32</sup> The term Levant, which first appeared in English in 1497, is originally meant the East in general. In an Arabic context it refers to the eastern Mediterranean littoral between Anatolia(which corresponds to the western two-thirds of the Asian part of Turkey) and Egypt. The Levant includes most of modern Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Palestinian Authority, Cyprus, Turkey's Hatay Province and some regions of Iraq.

scholars (like Watson, 2011 and Pereira, 2011) agree on the fact that the poetic and Qur'anic koines were the only available sources of literary Arabic which played a great role in the standardisation and development of Arabic. Modern Arabic dialects are assumed to be originally descendants of CA dialects. In this respect, Abboud (1970: 453) states: "A widely accepted hypothesis about the origin of the modern dialects is that they are the descendants, directly or indirectly, of CA, which was itself a koine based on the ancient dialects."

No matter how the pre-Islamic situation has been described, all theories of the development of Modern Arabic dialects take the view that a lot of linguistic changes occurred as Arabic spread beyond its cradle during the Islamic Conquests in the seventh century (Haak, 1997). Accordingly, contact with other languages accelerated these linguistic changes, though some Bedouin tribes kept their lifestyle safe from mixture with non-Arabs (Haak, *ibid*).

## **1.8 Arabic Dialect Contact Studies**

As we have already mentioned in section (1.3) the publication of Trudgill's book *'Dialects in Contact'* has led to a series of studies all over the world, concentrating on the phenomenon of dialect contact and its possible consequences. As far as the Arabic-speaking world is concerned, many researchers in the field started investigating contact of the several Arabic dialects which make up a continuum from West to East with different degrees of mutual intelligibility. These investigations have been either in a diglossic context, i.e. contact of the standard variety with the spoken variety or the inter-dialectal contact between the Arabic dialects. Marshall (2004) refers to the first type of contact: standard with dialect as 'vertical contact', whereas the second type: dialect with dialect as 'horizontal contact'.

As already referred to in the book of *'Arabic Dialectology'* edited by Al-Wer and De Jong, Holes' bibliography on the study of the Gulf dialects is very rich as he contributed widely to the understanding of Arabic dialect contact. In a number of her studies, Al-Wer devoted her attention to her native Jordanian speech: in her doctoral thesis (1991) she examined Jordanian Arabic in an urban context among

women in three areas of Jordan: in another study (2002), she investigated contact between Jordanian and Palestinian dialects: her 2002, 2003, 2007 works also included new dialect formation in Amman. Miller's 2004 and 2007 works supplied the Arabic dialect studies with extremely important issues on development, variation, and change of Arabic urban vernaculars. In one of her articles (2005), she analysed the process of dialectal accommodation among Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo (Egypt) with the influence of the Standard variety. Blanc's (1953) doctoral dissertation studied the Arabic spoken by the Druze of Western Galilee and Mount Carmel in the North of Palestine. He examined also the communal dialects of Baghdad (1964). Versteegh constitutes a leading figure in Arabic linguistics studies in general and in Arabic dialects studies in particular. He contributed widely to the field of dialect contact through his numerous scholarly works (among which we mention notably: 1983, 1984, 1985, 1990, 1997a-b, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2010).

In a diglossic contact situation, Gibson (2013) examined dialect levelling of Tunisian Arabic in contact with Standard Arabic. S'hiri (2013) reported Tunisian Arabic speakers' interactions with other Arabic dialect speakers through investigating the main strategies used to achieve linguistic accommodation via the use of their native dialects, Standard Arabic, and other foreign languages (French, English, and German). Another study carried out by Abu Melhim (1991) centred on accommodation and code-switching between speakers of different Arabic dialects. These speakers use a variety of accommodation strategies when interacting with each other: in diglossic switching situations, they switch from their regional dialects to the standard variety, i.e. Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA). In other situations, he states that they switch from their regional dialects to other dialects. Other situations include code switching from their own dialects to English.

A number of other works (Blanc, 1964; Badawi, 1973; Taleb Ibrahim, 1995 among others) are particularly notable in their suggestions for existing levels of spoken Arabic. These levels are without clear boundaries between one another, but rather there is a gradual transition from one level to another making up a linguistic continuum from the most classical to the most colloquial going down from pure Classical to pure dialect.

The above-mentioned studies are a sample of the several significant scholarly works published on Arabic dialects which have served widely to understand language dynamics in an Arabic-speaking context. Unlike the Arabic standard variety, the Arabic dialects are spoken rather than written and without the linguistic description provided in the area of Arabic dialect studies (either in a social or regional context) information about these spoken varieties would be lost.

As the present study has the primary aim of investigating dialect contact in an Algerian context, we will devote the remaining section of this chapter to a glance at the linguistic situation in Algeria.

### **1.9 Historical and sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria**

The Algerian speech community is characterised by three main periods in its linguistic history. Through these periods, a number of languages have been in contact and rendered the linguistic situation so complex: the existence of Berber from early pre-Islamic era, the Arab conquests during the mid-7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>33</sup> to introduce the Arabic language and Islam, then later, the French colonialism which imposed the French language and culture which continued to be so even after independence. In reality, Algeria witnessed several invasions and occupations such as the Turkish in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and the Spanish in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century which did not leave any deep-rooted linguistic traces compared with the above-stated ones.

All these periods of domination yielded a complex linguistic repertoire characterised by the intertwined varieties used throughout the Algerian speech community: Arabic with all its forms (i.e. dialects), Berber, and French. The use of these linguistic codes has yielded some linguistic phenomena like code-switching and mixing, borrowing, and diglossia by which an Algerian speaker could be able to communicate in different settings.

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<sup>33</sup>Gibb (1978, qtd. in Watson, 2002) states that this period witnessed the founding of an Islamic Arab Empire, centring first in Mecca and Medina, then Damascus, and then Baghdad. After these areas it had extended north into the Levant, east into Iraq and Khuzistan, and west into North Africa. The following centuries, the stretch of the Islamic Arab Empire reached Spain, Africa, India, Indonesia, and across central Asia into Turkestan and China.

### **1.9.1 Historical Sketch**

According to some historians, Algeria has been inhabited since prehistoric times. Its history tells about successive invasions which were mainly of foreign origin. Archaeological evidence of prehistoric periods suggests that the northern part of Africa was occupied by people known as Berbers. These Berber populations are of unknown origin, but Camps (1974) asserts that they were the indigenous people of the area.

A succession of many invaders: the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, and then the Spaniards, the Turks and the French were among the people who settled down in Algeria (Ciment, 2015). Being the first military expedition to North Africa, the Arabs invaded the area in the seventh century bringing their religion, language, and culture to the area. The primary mission of this expedition was to spread Islam and Arabic. As already stated in a previous work (1986), Bouamrane<sup>34</sup> asserts that the Islamisation and Arabicisation processes transformed the social and ethnic identity of the region in general and Algeria in particular because they were so complicated and lengthy: the local population of Algeria, as well as other adjacent areas in North Africa, were not totally arabicised until the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century when other large Arab tribes of Bedouin character known as *Banu Hilal* invaded the region and hence, the Berber people began to fuse with the Arab culture.

Algeria with other Maghreb countries<sup>35</sup> has become under the flag of El-ʔumma-el-ʔarabiyya and the use of Arabic as a primary language can be traced to this time (Dendane, 2007). Taleb Ibrahimi (1997) asserts these facts as she writes:

Algeria is Arabic and proclaims itself to be Arab and arabophone since the arrival of the successive waves of the Arab conquerors, who have thus, along with the Islamisation of the Maghreb, allowed its arabicisation. An

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<sup>34</sup> For a detailed historical background of Algeria, see Bouamrane (1986).

<sup>35</sup> Maghreb countries in this sense include Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania.

arabisation which was made slowly and on a long period from the presence of Okba Ibn Nafaa in the 7<sup>th</sup> century up to the late Hilalian tribes.<sup>36</sup>

K. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997: 23)

All that had been left by the Arab military expeditions was reinforced by the Turks as Algeria fell under the Ottoman domination since the early seventeenth century: a dominance which lasted three hundred years (Bouamrane, 1986). They reinforced the Islamisation of the country and contributed widely to its linguistic diversity as Turkish was the official language alongside AA which was the primary medium of daily communication in the surrounding country (Charles-Andre Julien, 1970, qtd. in Bouamrane 1986). However, the linguistic influence of Turkish was not significant for the Ottoman dominance of Algeria was based on military camps in urban areas. Nevertheless, we can find some borrowed words which entered the Algerian linguistic bulk like, *baqlawa* meaning ‘cake made of walnuts, peanuts, and almonds wrapped in pastry’, *gewri* meaning ‘European’.

Though the introduction of Islam and Arabic had a profound impact on North Africa, some Berbers, particularly in some mountainous areas, maintained their spoken varieties and resisted the process of Islamisation and Arabisation. This can be clearly seen in the case of Algeria where some Berber varieties are still used.

Another significant historical event which had a great impact on all spheres in Algeria is the French colonisation which lasted for 132 years. It aimed to destroy the traditional infrastructure of Algeria and eradicate the Arab-Islamic identity, though they were immediately encountered by a strong rebellion from the Algerian fighters.

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<sup>36</sup>This is my own translation of the original text which reads: « l’Algerie est Arabe et se proclame arabe et arabophone depuis l’arrivée des vagues successives de fatihin arabes qui ont donc, avec l’islamisation du Maghreb, permis son arabisation. Une arabisation qui s’est faite lentement et sur une longue periode, depuis l’année d’Okba Ibn Nafaa au 7<sup>ème</sup> siècle à celle plus tardive des tribus hillaliennes. » K. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997: 23).

### **1.9.2 Linguistic Repertoire in Algeria**

The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria has always been problematic as the official and national language of the country coexists, in addition to French, with another national variety: Berber and AA which is spoken along the Algerian territory. These varieties have contributed widely to the complexity of the linguistic situation. As seen by most researchers, the language situation in Algeria can be a real laboratory for sociolinguistic studies because of the diglossic, bilingual and even multilingual situations that prevail in this speech community.

As it is the case of the Arabic-speaking world, Arabic in Algeria refers to three varieties: CA, MSA, and AA. MSA has been implemented since independence as the national and official language of the country. It is a simplified version of *ʔarabijja l fuṣṣḥa* at lexical level. AA is the everyday spoken variety.

Berber or Tamazight, originally the spoken variety of early indigenous people of North Africa, is another linguistic component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire. The two waves of the Arab conquest (seventh and eleventh centuries) to North Africa did not sweep the existing Berber varieties completely as many of them like Kabyle, Chaoui, Chenoua, Mzab, Touareg, and Tashelhit, still exist in the Algerian society: the Kabyle variety is used in Greater Kabylia and Algiers: the Shawiya is also a Berber variety spoken in the Aures Mountains, south of Constantine, while the tribes called the Touareg also speak a Berber variety in the far south of Algeria (Ennaji, 1991). It has been estimated that about 27.4% of the Algerian population speak Berber (Benghida, 2006). Though Tamazight is said to have existed some 5000 years ago, it has not been recognised as a national language until 2002 (Benghida, *ibid*), and as an official language since June 216.

Another competing language that is present in the Algerian linguistic repertoire is French: a language which was set during the colonialism era against the Arabic language and against the Algerian identity. This superimposed colonial language has become into a jagged rivalry with Arabic even after the post-independence era (Benghida, 2006). She further adds that the Arabicisation policy that was launched immediately after independence was to foster the formation of a

national identity based on the Arabic language and Islam: an identity which had long been neglected by the French coloniser. This policy was in fact hindered by the profound French language dominance over a number of domains. Not only the language but also the French culture has gained a highly prestigious position on the ground (Bouamrane, 1986). Still gaining privilege it has been recognised as the first foreign language in the country and continues to play a large role in the day-to-day running of the country and in the lives of large numbers of its people (Bouamrane, *ibid*). Most of the Algerians take the view that besides being the language of the educated élite, of oppression, and of the painful past, French is now, basically, the forward-looking means of access to the wider world of science, technology, and diplomacy although English is taking centre stage regarding these roles (Dendane, 2007).

From a Fergusonian<sup>37</sup> (1991) perspective of diglossia, three forms of Arabic co-exist in the Algerian speech community with each used for distinct purposes; MSA / CA<sup>38</sup> are the High varieties recognized publicly in formal situations and high functions namely, education, administration, political speeches, the media, sermons in mosque: AA is the Low variety. It is the mother tongue and the medium of communication in everyday life used among family, with friends, and sometimes in the media in some television and radio programs as well as in plays and movies. AA, as is the case of almost all Arabic dialects, has survived as a spoken form within two distinct groups: the sedentary dialects (including urban and rural) and

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<sup>37</sup>It was Marçais (1930) in his paper 'La Diglossie Arabe' who first described diglossia in an Arabic context. He described the language situation in Algeria as a diglossic case where he mentioned the co-existence of two forms of Arabic: a written form which had never been spoken and a spoken form which had been never written.

<sup>38</sup> The distinction between CA and MSA is well described by Bateson (2003: 84) as she refers to MSA as the modern form of CA. She states the following three points as the most important changes through which the modern form of CA emerged and became distinct:

- 1-The existence of a series of acceptable simplifications in realizing Classical Arabic, and there are a number of overlapping ways in which Classical Arabic is influenced by the dialects or accommodates to them.
- 2-There is a vast shift in the lexicon, due to the need for technical terminology, which remains a critical problem in the Arab world; this sometimes has grammatical implications.
- 3-There are a number of stylistic changes due to translations from European languages and extensive bilingualism.

the Bedouin dialects. As mentioned earlier, the presence of CA/ MSA, and AA in the Arabic language today has led Algeria and all the Arabic-speaking communities to a diglossic situation.

Besides diglossia, which has always fascinated scholars especially in the Arabic-speaking world, bilingualism is another linguistic phenomenon existing in the Algerian society. It is special as it operates at two levels: societal which is the result of a long lasting French occupation of the country since 1830, and individual which is the effect of social variables of Algerian individuals such as their regional as well as their economic and educational background (Miliani, 1986). In fact, as Miliani (1986) has already pointed out, bilingualism is not homogeneous as not all of the Algerians are bilingual and even those who are bilinguals hold varying degrees of bilingual proficiency ranging from a bit of knowledge in French to the mastery of language as a native-like speaker. In many parts of Algeria, there are monolingual speakers while in others there are bilingual and even trilingual ones (Miliani: *ibid*). In a description of bilingualism in Algeria, Miliani (*ibid*: 125) locates the following linguistic situations:

- Western Algeria: Arabic, French, and Spanish.
- Algiers, Kabylia, and some Eastern places: Arabic, French, and Berber.

Arabic-French bilingualism is practised for a majority of the population speaking AA as their mother tongue where we can find in most parts of Algeria AA often mixed with French in everyday conversation. MSA-French bilingualism is rare and is confined to the élite people who are able to master the two varieties (Dendane, 2007). Berber-French bilingualism is practised for a minority of the population whose mother tongue is Berber mixed with French in daily speech. The ability to use two languages in a bilingual situation depends on the ability to alternate between them.

By mentioning the above different languages and language varieties existing in the Algerian linguistic repertoire in a classical model of diglossia and also in bilingual and even multilingual situations, we may say that the Algerian community forms an intricate diglossic situation which is different from that of the Arabic-

speaking communities described by Ferguson. It is, indeed, significantly dissimilar for the fact that five linguistic codes are used in diglossic situations to serve their formal and informal functions: CA, MSA, AA, Berber, and French. The co-existence of these varieties has allowed the birth not only of diglossic but also bilingual situations. Henceforth, Algeria can be described also, according to Fishman's model of diglossia (1972) which was applied to situations where at least two genetically unrelated languages serve as High and Low in bilingual and multilingual societies. The relationship between these challenging linguistic codes can be diglossic and bilingual. The possible High and Low distributions in a diglossic situation are as follows:

- Modern Standard Arabic/ CA versus AA (intralingual diglossia).
- French versus AA (interlingual diglossia).
- Modern Standard Arabic/CA versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).
- French versus Berber (interlingual diglossia).

### **1.9.3 Algerian Dialect Classification**

As it has been already mentioned in section (1.5), the commonly held view among traditional Arab dialectologists is that the Arabic dialects are divided into Eastern and Western dialects. There is also a distinction within the Eastern dialects where two types can be distinguished: sedentary and Bedouin dialects. For the Western group, the Arabic dialectologists mention a distinction between Pre-Hilalian dialects and Hilalian dialects which, according to them, are similar to that of sedentary and Bedouin dialects in the Eastern Arabic dialect area. The traditional point of view<sup>39</sup> concerning the Western dialects is given by Palva (2006) as he claims:

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<sup>39</sup>Miller (2004) holds the view that Marçais and Colin were the first scholars who had drawn the distinction between pre-Hilali and Hilali dialects of North Africa. However, if we go back to an earlier time than that of these two scholars we will find that their distinction is based on the works of the 14<sup>th</sup> century historian Ibn Khaldoun (Miller, 2007).

The Western dialects can be divided into two major groups: the so-called pre-Hilali sedentary dialects and the Bedouin dialects. The former hark back to the first phase of Arab immigration (7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.). The rural dialects of the Jbala in northern Morocco as well as those spoken around Nedroma in the northwestern corner of Algeria and in the neighborhood of Djidjelli and Collo in northeastern Algeria also belong to this phase. These dialects display considerable substrate influence from Berber languages.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century the originally Najdi tribes of Banu Sulaym and Banu Hilal and the southern Arabian tribe of the Maʿqil moved westward and occupied the North African plains and steppes.

Palva (2006: 609)

Accordingly, the history of Arabic in Algeria is strongly related to the westward expansion of the Islamic empire outside the Arabian Peninsula in the mid-seventh century to introduce Islam and the Arabic language to the indigenous Berber inhabitants of North Africa. The conquest of this region went on into two periods: the first period, which dates back from the mid-seventh century to the tenth century, witnessed a great wave of sedentary Arab migration along with the Arabo-Islamic armies to the area (Pereira, 2011). This period is generally referred to as pre-Hilali period: the second period which took place in the eleventh century<sup>40</sup> witnessed, as mentioned in the quotation above, the immigration of the Bedouin tribes of Banu-Hilal, Banu Sulaym and the tribe of Maʿqil to North Africa (Palva, 2006: 609).

Therefore, the types of Arabic dialects brought to Algeria during the Arab conquests to North Africa divided the Algerian dialects to pre-Hilali or sedentary dialects. They are mainly introduced along the littoral cities of Skikda, Djidjelli, Dellys, Cherchell, and Ténés, and the interior cities of Constantine, Médéa, Blida, and Miliana. In the West, this type includes the dialects of Tlemcen, the old urban centre of Orania and the dialect of Nedroma in the north-west (Palva 2006: 609). Sedentary dialects are in turn subdivided into urban and rural dialects (Miller 2004; Bouamrane 1989) where they are spoken in villages or the countryside and also in

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<sup>40</sup>Unlike Palva (2006), Miller (2004: 182-183) reports that Marçais and Colin estimate the second wave of Arab conquest to North Africa to have started from the twelfth century to the thirteenth century.

towns and cities. The Hilali dialects, known in the Maghreb as the Nomadic or Bedouin dialects, are found in the north-eastern Algeria as well as in many places where the sedentary dialects are not found.

The sociological and anthropological studies conducted during the French occupation of Algeria (1830-1962) such as Cantineau (1937, 1938, 1940, 1941); Mangion (1937); Millon (1937); Marçais (1960) and recent studies like Bouamrane (1989, 1990), Bouhadiba (1992), Caubet (2000-2001), and Pereira (2011) showed linguistic differences between sedentary and Bedouin dialects in Algeria and in the Maghreb countries in general. According to these researchers, the Bedouin dialects in Algeria constitute a broad mass of the population. Hence, these scholars among others distinguish five main groupings within the type of Bedouin dialects:

- 1- The eastern group in the region of Constantine.
- 2- The central and western group in the region of Oran.
- 3- The group of central Algeria and the Sahara.
- 4- The group of the Tell and the Algero-Oranese Sahel.
- 5- The group of the High Plains in Constantine.

Bouamrane (1989) provided a comparison of the speech of these five Bedouin groupings in the following table:

**Table 1.5 Comparative table of the Algerian Bedouin dialects**

Linguistic Difference	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
1	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	dʒ	dʒ
2	ʁ	ʁ	g	ʁ	ʁ
3	ah	Ah	u	u	u
4	darbatak	darebtek	darabtek	darbatek	Darbatek
5	jedarbu	jaddarbu	jadarbu	jeddarbu	Jedarbu
6	ragabti	raggabti	regabti	raggabti	Ragebti
7	Tensi	Tensi	tensai	tensai	Tensai

**Source: Bouamrane (1989)**

Some of the linguistic characteristics of sedentary and Bedouin dialects stated by the aforementioned scholars are summarized as follows:

- The uvular plosive /q/ is realised as [g] in Bedouin dialects whereas in sedentary dialects it is variably realised as [q], [ʔ], [k]. For example, it is kept the same in the region of Tlemcen (such as Nedroma, Beni Snous, Beni Ouarsous), Algiers and many other places. It is realised as glottal [ʔ] in Tlemcen city. In other regions such as Djildjelli and Ghazaouet, it is articulated as velar [k]. However, /q/ is realised [ɣ] in some Bedouin dialects in the Algerian Sahara: Bouhania (2007: 136), in his thorough description of Adrar Arabic, refers to this as cases of hypercorrections giving the following example: [jaɣra: ṭṭɑ: lab lɣɑṭba] instead of [jaqra-] ‘the taleb reads the sermon’.

- Sedentary dialects lost the interdentalals /θ/, /ð/, /ð/ and became dentals [t], [d], and [ḍ] respectively while in Bedouin dialects they are still preserved. For instance, words like /θala:θa/ ‘three’, /ðiʔb/ ‘wolf’, /ðolm/ ‘oppression’ are realised in sedentary dialects as: [tlata], [di:b], [ḍolm]. There are cases where the sound /ḍ/ is realised as /ṭ/: /bajḍɑ/ ‘egg’ becomes [beṭɑ] in some sedentary dialects such as the dialect of Tlemcen.

-The diphthongs /aj, aw/ are kept in Bedouin dialects. In sedentary ones, they are substituted by [i:, u:] in the environment of plain consonants and [e:, o:] in the environment of emphatics /ṭ, ʕ, ð, ḍ/ and the pseudo-emphatics /q, r, ɣ, ʔ/ respectively (Bouhadiba, 1989, qtd. in Bouhania 2007: 98). For example, /mawʒa/ → [mu:ʒa]: ‘wave’: /aw/ becomes [u:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /m/.

/ʕawm/ → [so:m]: ‘fast’: /aw/ becomes [o:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /ʕ/.

- Sedentary dialects in rural areas use different reflexes of the Classical velar /k/: an affricate [kʃ] as in [kʃəlb] ‘a dog’ and [tʃ] as in [tʃəlb]: a palatalized [kʲ] as in [kʲəlb]: or [ʃ] as in [ʃəlb] which is found in rural dialects of north-western Algeria.
- The variants [tˢ] and [tʲ] are realised in sedentary dialects for the Classical alveolar /t/.
- Gender is differentiated in Bedouin dialects by adding the suffix {-i} to verbs when addressing women, whereas in sedentary dialects the masculine form is used for the feminine. For example, [kuli] ‘eat’ in Bedouin dialects is used to address a woman and [kul] to address a man. However, in sedentary dialects only the form [kul] exists to address both genders.
- The passive of the verb is constructed by adding the prefix {n-} or {t-}: [təqtəl], [nəqtəl] ‘he was killed’.
- In Djidjelli, which is an Algerian sedentary rural dialect, the preverbal marker {ku-}<sup>41</sup> is added to the imperfective to denote a durative (continuous), habit, or repetition: [ku nəxdəm] ‘I am working’ and ‘I work’.
- The use of preposed forms [waħd] and [ħa] to the noun in sedentary dialects. These forms are used as indefinite articles: [waħd lə mra], [ħa lə mra] ‘a woman’.
- In the speech of Bedouins, if /ʒ/ and the sibilant /z/ occur in the same word some phonological phenomena appear like metathesis and assimilation. Un example given by Caubet (2000-2001: 79) is the word /ʒazza:r/. It is uttered [zaʒza:r] allowing metathesis to occur: and [zazza:r] to assimilate the sound (ʒ).

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<sup>41</sup> In Moroccan dialect the preverbal markers {ka-}, {ta-} are used in the same situation.

- Diminutive forms are linguistic characteristics of the sedentary dialects such as [ʔwijjar] which is a diminutive form of the word /ʔe:r/ ‘bird’.
- In Bedouin dialects long /i:/ is used to construct diminutives and plurals of quadrilateral nouns: for /mifta:ħ/ ‘a key’ the diminutive is [mfiti:ħ] ‘small key’ and the plural is [mfati:ħ] ‘keys’.
- With verbs, sedentary dialects use the pronominal affix {-u} whereas Bedouin dialects use the form {-ah}. For instance, sedentary dialects use [klitu] in ‘I ate it’ as opposed to [klitah] in Bedouin dialects.
- The use of the personal pronouns [ntina] ‘you in the feminine singular and masculine’, [ntuman] ‘you in plural’, and [human] ‘they’ is a characteristic of the sedentary dialects. But, Bedouin dialect speakers use the personal pronouns [ntijja], [nti] ‘you’ to address a woman.
- Defective verbs<sup>42</sup> in sedentary dialects have the inflectional {-iw} and {-aw} when conjugated in perfect (past) and imperfect (present) tenses as, for example, in [mʃaw] and [jamʃiw] denoting ‘they went’, ‘they go’ respectively. In Bedouin dialects {-u} as an inflectional is used in this category of verbs: [mʃu] and [jamʃu].
- The substitution of the Arabic Classical /dʒ/ with its variants [ʒ] [dʒ] and [g] is a feature of the Bedouin dialects.
- The sedentary dual marker {-ajən} and Bedouin {-i:n} are used with words of time measurement: [ʃahrajən] in sedentary dialects as opposed to [ʃahri:n] in Bedouin dialects ‘two months’.

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<sup>42</sup>In Arabic defective verbs are verbs that have a long vowel as the third root letter /a:/, /u:/, and /i:/.

-At a syntactic level, sedentary dialect speakers are likely to use the analytic possessive prepositions: [di, dyal, ntaʕ] ‘of’, while in Bedouin dialects [ntaʕ] is used: [di wəldu] in sedentary speech as opposed to [ntaʕ wəldah] ‘of his son’.

-At a lexical level, sedentary speakers use some words which are different from that of the Bedouin speakers: [l barəħ] vs. [jaməs] ‘yesterday’, [ʕməl] vs. [da:r] ‘he did’, [ʕɑ] vs. [ʃa:f] ‘he saw’, [ʕəbba] vs. [dda] ‘he took’.

### **1.10 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have tried to review some basic concepts relevant to the field of investigation in its first part. So far, in the first part of this chapter: we spotted some light on accommodation theory that has been established in the 1970s. As we have also come across Trudgill’s (1986) dialect contact framework which has flavoured the dynamics of language change via discussing speakers’ mobility and migration. Using Giles’ accommodation theory in a dialect contact context has allowed for a better explanation of the multiple phenomena resulting from dialects being already in contact with one another. He has also contributed widely to understanding the relationship between dialect contact and accommodation through the notions: short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation.

We have also had a sketch at Arabic sociolinguistics which stands at the crossroads of two important studies within the field of dialect contact: dialect and diglossia which stand on vertical and horizontal axes: a standard with dialect as ‘vertical contact’ and dialect with dialect as ‘horizontal contact’. We also outlined some of the achieved investigations in both fields.

The Arabic language cuddles a set of colloquial dialects with each having important phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic differences that characterise it as a distinct variety (Habash et al., 2006). Based on such linguistic differences, a geographical division of these dialects has classified them into Eastern vs. Western dialect groups and ranges them in a dialect continuum where

the degree of mutual intelligibility decreases whenever two dialects are geographically close and increases as the distance becomes greater. However, relying on sociological, historical, and anthropological evidence, these dialects may also form Sedentary-Bedouin dialect groups where the former can be further subdivided into urban and rural dialects (Miller, 2004).

Throughout this chapter, we considered the historical and sociolinguistic background of Algeria. The long history of Algeria constitutes a treasure house and an invaluable source of reference for its current language situation. From a sociolinguistic perspective, we exhibited the Algerian speech community through showing the existing linguistic systems and the diverse patterns of behaviour that characterise it: diglossia and bilingualism. These have been the result of the coexistence of at least three languages which have fostered the intricacy of the Algerian linguistic situation. Therefore, the framework of this chapter forms a theoretical and sociolinguistic background for the current study.

## *Chapter Two: Theoretical and Contextual Background*

### **2.1 Introduction**

### **2.2 The Valley of Beni Snous and its Tribes**

#### **2.2.1 Geographical and Historical Background**

#### **2.2.2 Ethnic Background**

##### *2.2.2.1 Early Historians and Late Colonial Studies*

##### *2.2.2.2 Testimony of Elderly People of the Valley*

#### **2.2.3 Past and Present-day Socio-Economic Situation**

#### **2.2.4 Sedentary/Bedouin Dichotomy in the Valley**

### **2.3 Regional Variation in the Valley**

#### **2.3.1 Phonology**

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#### **2.3.3 Vocabulary**

### **2.4 Problems of Dialect Classification in Beni Snous**

### **2.5 Research Scope and Methodology**

#### **2.5.1 Beni Hammou: The Locus of Contact**

#### **2.5.2 The Fieldwork and the Informants**

#### **2.5.3 Sample Size**

#### **2.5.4 Data Collection**

##### *2.5.4.1 Observation*

##### *2.5.4.2 Interviews*

##### *2.5.4.3 Questionnaires*

#### **2.5.5 The Selected Linguistic Variables**

##### *2.5.5.1 Variable (q)*

##### *2.5.5.2 The Arabic Interdentals (θ) (ð) (ð̣)*

##### *2.5.5.3 Variable (-hu)*

##### *2.5.5.4 Gender Markers*

### **2.6 Conclusion**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is composed of two parts. The first part presents a geographical and socio-historical overview of the whole area of Beni Snous which embraces thirteen villages. It exposes also the linguistic variation of the dialectal varieties under investigation in a regional context. The primary goal here is to describe the most significant and distinctive features as used by their speakers today in the light of the linguistic features of sedentary and Bedouin dialects stated in the works of many researchers (Cantineau (1937); Marçais (1960); Bouamrane (1989, 1990). In addition, we shall point out the similarities which are also bound to exist.

The second part of this chapter describes the materials and methods used to elicit the data for the present study. The research method applied is essentially a combination of both quantitative and qualitative along with the research instruments used to collect data. These are mainly participant observation, note taking, the sociolinguistic interview, and the questionnaire.

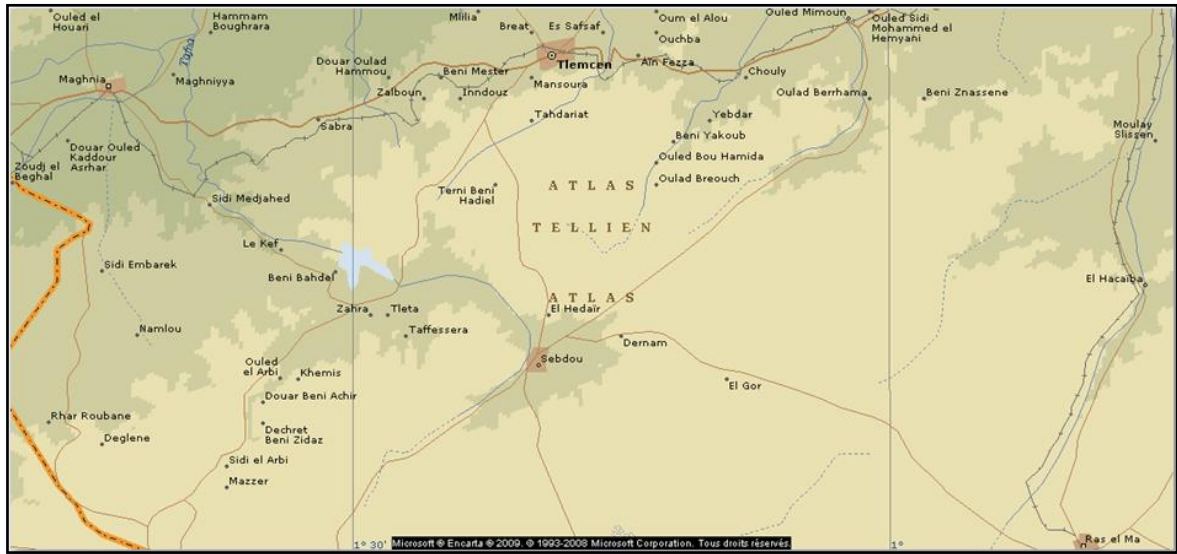
## **2.2 The Valley of Beni Snous and its Tribes**

Thirteen villages make up the valley of Beni Snous: by going up the valley, we come across Tafessera, Tlata (also called Mghanine), Zahra, Beni Bahdel and Keddara. These first five villages are called Azails. The remaining villages are Beni Hammou (the village under investigation), Khémis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir, Beni Zidaz, Ajdir Sidi Larbi and Mazzer. In this section, we will sketch some basic historical premises and assumptions regarding the history of the valley of Beni Snous with its numerous hamlets and villages, its inhabitants and their origins.

### **2.2.1 Geographical and Historical Background**

On the Algero-Moroccan confines and in the extreme west of Algeria lies a number of villages and hamlets constituting the speech community of Beni Snous, formerly known by its Berber name '*Es-Snouss*' or '*At -Snus*'. These small ex-Berber speaking villages spread on a surface of 37,000 hectares and embrace the

mountainous chain (about 1,200 to 1,500 metres high) of the two great valleys: Tifousser (khémis) and Tafna (Oued Lekbir).



Map 2.1 Geographical situation of Beni Snous

Source: Microsoft Encarta (2009)

Situated 45 km far from Tlemcen, the area of Beni Snous is dominated from the East by the hills of Tafraoua, from the West by Morocco and the small town of Maghnia, from the North by Tlemcen, and from the South by the village of Sidi Djilali. It has an altitude of eight hundred and thirty-five meters above the sea level and located between the parallels  $34^{\circ} 38' 35''$  North and the meridians  $1^{\circ} 33' 41''$  West. Its Mediterranean climate is relatively hot in summer and cold in winter.

During colonialism, some French researchers, who were attracted by Beni Snous valley, carried out sociological and anthropological studies in the area. Though they are relatively few, they constitute a source of the history<sup>43</sup> of the valley. Under the French government, the valley was a confederation divided into three main tribes: El Kef, Khemis, and Azails. Each tribe contained a number of hamlets and villages which Destaing (1907) called '*douars*' (see appendix H). After

<sup>43</sup>The history of Beni Snous was provided in a previous work by the author herself. For more details see Kherbache, 2010.

Algeria got its independence (1962), some of these villages were erected as municipalities. The municipality of Azails (7,537 inhabitants) contains Tafessera, Tlata, and Zahra. The municipality of Beni Bahdel (3,000 inhabitants) contains Beni Bahdel, and keddara. The remaining villages (Beni Hammou, Khemis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir, Beni Zidaz, Ajdir Sidi Larbi and Mazzer) form the third municipality known as Khemis (11,284 inhabitants). The total population of the three municipalities is about 21,821 inhabitants<sup>44</sup>. Present-day Beni Snous with all the previous mentioned thirteen villages stands as an administrative centre called '*Daira*' comprising the three municipalities: Khemis, Azails, and Beni Bahdel.

Little was written about ancient and present-day Beni Snous and its people, culture, traditions and customs. Among the scholars who mentioned the valley in their works is Destaing (1907) who cited Camille Kahl, Mac Carthy, Léon l'Africain, J. Canal. The region is as ancient as its monuments and relics. Its ancient chathedrals, dating back to the Roman era, reveal the early existence of this community in the history of humanity (Bel, 1920). Besides the Roman presence, the region witnessed two Moroccan invasions: the leader of the first invasion was *Moulay Mohammed Echérif* in 1650: the leader of the second invasion was *Moulay Ismail* in 1678 (Destaing, 1907). The area was also inhabited by the Moors<sup>45</sup> who fled from Spain after the fall of Granada (Saridj, 2001). It witnessed also the exodus of Banu Hilal from the Orient and the *hidjra* of a tribe called '*Figuig*' from Morocco (Saridj, *ibid*). These waves of immigrants, according to Saridj (*ibid*), brought with them their languages, their cultures, and their traditions and formed a rich cultural diversity in the valley: Berber, Arabic, Islam, and Christianity.

Supporting documentation for this study (Lemkami, 2004; Saridj, 2001) has led us to know some facts about this region and its brave people who fought either

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<sup>44</sup>Daira of Beni Snous: 2010 population census.

<sup>45</sup>Moors are Muslim people living in North West Africa. During the eighth century, they entered Spain and controlled part of it.

for their own safety or for others': during the Ottoman settlement in Algeria (XV-XIX centuries), no traces were found in the valley. In fact, the Ottoman chased after the Spanish who had invaded Tlemcen in order to exclude them from the area. But, the Ottoman troops changed their mind and tried to penetrate the valley, but found themselves confronted by a massive opposition of its inhabitants who were ready to fight until their last breath. They fought even alongside Tlemcen and Nerdroma as these regions had been in troubles with the Spanish invaders. According to the ex-minister of culture Abdelmadjid Meziane (qtd. in Lemkani, 2004), Tlemcen inhabitants evacuated their wives and their children to Beni Snous, fearing the Spanish exaction. Since then, Beni Snous had become allied to Tlemcen. During colonialism (1830), the French army occupied Tlemcen in 1842 and marched on Beni Snous. But, it was difficult to overcome the Senoussian resistance until 1846. During the Algerian Revolution, this area paid a heavy price like all the remaining areas in Algeria to gain independence from the French colonialism. It has been called since '*the municipality of the one thousand Martyrs*'.

### **2.2.2 Ethnic Background**

In this section, some of the assumptions and premises about the origins of Beni Snous inhabitants will be sketched. On one hand, we will examine the view of the official documents and books of earlier historians and some colonial sociologists and anthropologists who mentioned this area briefly in their works. On the other hand, we will take the view of the elderly population of the area who told us some stories that were held from generation to generation. As we will see, this investigation leads us to conclude that the valley is a mixture of different ethnic groups.

#### **2.2.2.1 Testimony of Early Historians and Late Colonial Studies**

One of the assumptions made about the origins of Beni Snous inhabitants claims that they are the descendants of a Moroccan tribe called Banu Habib who were converted into Islam by *Moulay Idriss*. They were excluded later from

Morocco and settled in the valley (Destaing, 1907). Ibn Khadoun assumed that the tribes of Beni Snous belong to a Zenati tribe called Banu Koumia<sup>46</sup>, the group to which Abdul Mumin Ben Ali Al Koumi the founder of the Almohad Dynasty belongs (Destaing, 1907).

One of the late colonial studies (Cantineau, 1940) asserts that Beni Snous inhabitants are Berber in origin. Recently, it has been assumed by Alfred Willms that the inhabitants of 'At Snus' are originally Berbers, and as stated (in his classification of the Berber dialects, 1980) the variety spoken falls into the second group (Morocco-North and Algeria-West) where it is closely related to the group of Rifains particularly Beni Iznassen and Sanhaja of Srair (Chaker, 2011). As mentioned by Kossmann (2013: 22) Beni Snous forms one of: "the best-known groups" of the western Algerian group speaking Berber. It is one of: "the small patches all over the north-western part of Algeria" (Kossmann, *ibid*).

#### ***2.2.2.2 Testimony of Elderly People of the Valley***

Besides of what has been said about the origins of the inhabitants of Beni Snous in the former scholars' studies, we relied also on popular oral and written testimonies of some wise people. What we noticed was that Beni Snous is of mixed origins. The *Imam* of the village of Khemis *Si Abdessalam Mahboub Ibn Mohammed El-Khmisti Essanoussi* speaks about the 'dchours' (hamlets) of Beni Snous in a handwritten document dating back to 1973. According to him, this document was written with reference to what he had heard from long-lived people in the area. As he provides the origins of the thirteen tribes making up the valley, we will state the origins of only the village inhabitants under investigation. Unfortunately, no information is provided for the group of Beni Bahdel:

1-The earlier inhabitants of the village of Beni Achir were: a group of Berber origin called *Ijaftitan* who lived with the Romans and stayed after they left: the Berber group of *Ouled Ibrahim* coming from Figuig: *Ouled Bouchama* from Figuig also:

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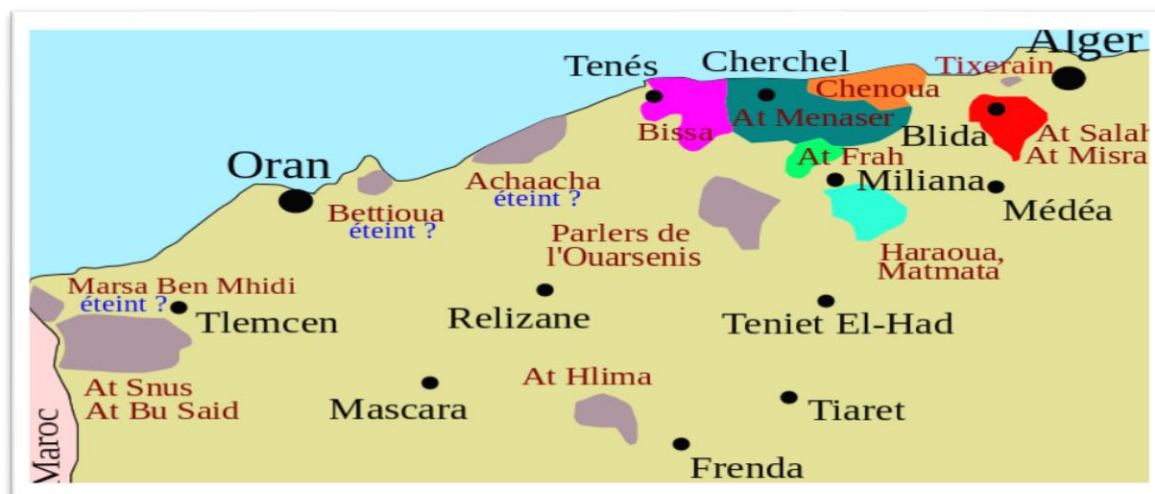
<sup>46</sup> <http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/AlwaraqSrv/bookpage?book=116&session=ABBBVFAGFGFHAAWER&fkey=2&page=2216&option=1> .

*Ouled Youcef* from Trara mountain: *Dar ʕayyad* and Ait Zidaz who are also of Berber origins.

2- The original inhabitants of Mazzer were: the Berber groups of *Banu Istiten* and *Banu ʕwan*: the groups of *Ouled Lahcen* from Beni Hdiyyal near Sebdou were mainly nomadic living in tents.

3- The Ait Hammou area was inhabited by: *Ziyayna* originating from *Banu Ziane*: the Berber group of *Banu Barhoun* who were living with the Romans and stayed in the area after these latter had left: the Berber group of *Douabna* coming from the mountain of *Banu Iznassen*: the group of *Aghraouan* descending from a Berber origin: the groups of *Ouled Ali* and *Ouled Chʕayab* who originated from *El Arab Al-Ahrar (pure Arabs)*: the group of *Mrazgua* coming earlier from the *Sahara* to live in the area.

All in all, the valley of Beni Snous, as it is the case for most parts (if not all) of Algeria, is characterised by three main periods in its linguistic history: the existence of the Berber language from early pre-Islamic era, the Arab conquests during the mid 7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries to introduce the Arabic language and Islam, then later, the French colonialism which imposed the French language and continued to be so even after independence. Thus, Beni Snous has a vocabulary rooted mostly in CA, in addition to a considerable number of loan words from Berber and French. Words of Turkish and Spanish origin are rarely found in the speech of this valley because the area was not subject to invasion by these people formerly. The variety spoken in the pre-Islamic era was Berber, but after the Arabicisation policy that all North of Africa was subject to, Arabic spread over the region of Beni Snous. Nevertheless, this area is still considered as one of the Berberophones areas in Algeria. The following map shows the area of Beni Snous under the ex-Berber name '*Ath Snous*':



Map 2.2 Berber groups: geographical dispersion in western Algeria<sup>47</sup>

Nonetheless, the inhabitants have retained a considerable number of Berber words. Perhaps this act of maintenance of some words was due to the fact that these arabicised people at that time did not know their equivalents in Arabic. These Berber words, still surviving, generally refer to places, mountains, hills, valleys, illnesses, kinds of flowers, herbs, tools of handicrafts and utensils. We list some examples of some places which have Berber names: *tnumrət*, *dmina:t*, *tirifin*, *tadrək*, *tmasəχt*, *tinatin*, *amzuχən*, *taχəssumalək*, *taχərra:ʃ*, *taletjasna*, *tazaχin*, *tidda:χ*, *aʒdir*, *tafəsra*, *tamənjunsa*, *aruwwaman*, etc. Other names of some plants are also of the same origin among which we can state: *tinɗaʒʃt*, *majrama:n*, *adda:d*, *timerʒsat*, *asbubbu*, *mliləs*, *adda:d*: names for forester fruits include *tabχa*, *sasnu*, *bubal*, *azəmmi:ʃ*, etc. Some objects also have Berber names such as *aqalla:l*, *ajni*, *azdouz*, *aʒʃraħ*: handcraft terms are: *tila*, *tizwit*: and names for illnesses are *ajdu:d*, *afurəs*, and *tiʒdəst* etc.

<sup>47</sup> INALCO. Web source:

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berb%C3%A8res\\_en\\_Alg%C3%A9rie\\_occidentale.svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berb%C3%A8res_en_Alg%C3%A9rie_occidentale.svg)

### **2.2.3 Past and Present-day Socio-Economic Situation**

Based on some old people in the valley who shared recollections about their ancestors' way of living and on some French studies (Destaing, 1907; Bel, 1920), as well as recent works (Lemkami, 2004; Saridj, 2001) we will try to depict the social and economic life of the inhabitants in the past (the beginning of the twentieth century) and also describe their present day socio-economic situation.

The villages of Beni Snous are located along both sides of the river. The ancient houses were built of stones in most villages but in others, such as Beni Bahdel and Azails, people dug their houses under the ground and in the rocks and cliffs while other people lived in tents. The geographic location of the villages has served enormously in farming and cultivation. In fact, though agriculture was the main occupation of the inhabitants, most of them were poor and did not possess lands. To save their families, some of those poor people worked on the lands of the rich and received one fifth of the cereal crops, while others worked in market gardens situated along the river and received one-quarter of vegetable products<sup>48</sup>. The main cereals cultivated in the valley were wheat and barley. They were sown on the plateaux of an area called *ḡle:b*. Besides agriculture, raising and breeding domestic animals was among their sources of life: they raised sheep, goats, bulls, cows, free-range chickens, in addition to fishing and hunting.

Most of the local inhabitants were skilful at several handicrafts which served as the main source for many families: as the geology of the area is a clayey soil, they produced all kinds of potteries and supplied the neighbouring markets of Tlemcen, Maghnia, and Sebdou. Women used to produce a quite unique kind of carpets called '*ḥḡe:ra*' and '*hərnaf*' made of an abundant, easily growing plant

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<sup>48</sup>These people were known at that time as *Khammasi:n* and *rabbaḡi:n*.

known in Arabic ‘ħalfa’<sup>49</sup> and another kind of carpets made of sheep wool. ‘*tbiqates*’ (baskets) were made also of colourful ħalfa. All these sorts of handicrafts were sold by men in ‘*souk Al-Khemis*’.

Apart from agricultural and handicraft occupations, the industry was present in the valley. The inhabitants worked in mining in the region of Tafessera where iron was the most important extracted solid mineral substance from this area (Destaing, 1907). Perhaps this was the only industrial work available at the beginning of the twentieth century. By the mid of that century, other industries emerged as the colonial authorities started building the dam of Beni Bahdel and readying roads and building bridges all over the valley<sup>50</sup>.

During the colonial period, education was available only in French while the Qur’anic schools were closed down. Nevertheless, a considerable number of people were educated in French (mostly from the village of Khemis and Ouled Moussa). Many of the inhabitants immigrated to Morocco to continue their studies in Arabic. Unfortunately, almost all those educated people did not stay in the valley after independence and they chose to settle either in urban cities or abroad.

Life in the valley in such circumstances was hard, but famine and serious illnesses which were frequent made it even harder<sup>51</sup>. Old people in the valley remembered what their grandparents had told them about the seven-year famine. Their basic food in those famine years was grilled tubers of some Arum plants, thistle (in AA: *gernunəf*), chicory (in CA/MSA: El-hindiba:?) among others. They resorted also to hunting partridge, picking acorns from oak trees.

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<sup>49</sup> The scientific term of this plant is *stipa tenacissima*. It is also called *esparto*. In Arabic it is called الحلفاء, whereas in French it is ‘alfa’.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Pons et chaussées’ is a public service in charge of providing a country with the necessary social and industrial equipment.

<sup>51</sup> Destaing (1907) reported that in 1903 and 1904 malaria attacked more than half of the population of Beni Snous.

Living conditions in the valley have changed through time. Since Algeria got independence (1962), life has changed in all spheres: social, cultural, and economic. But this change has been so slow: health services are now provided more than before, schooling is available everywhere in the area, half of the population of the valley immigrated to France seeking jobs right after independence. Nowadays the economic situation is fairly average. Activities which were at times essentially based on agriculture and animal husbandry have begun to disappear since the nineties especially. There are also a few mining operations and production of electricity in the Dam of Beni Bahdel which has provided Oran with water for fifty years (Lemkani, 2004). All kinds of handicraft are on their way to disappearing because almost all skilled craftsmen have left these jobs to seek work in the neighbouring towns in industrial and commercial manufactures.

Living conditions in the past do not bear comparison with present living conditions at all levels. But, two central questions are worth asking here: have these indigenous people changed the way they speak as they have changed the way they used to live before? Does the way of nowadays living correlate with the way people speak? These questions entail so many factors besides the ones stated in this section and call for a thorough examination of the linguistic behaviour of this population and the way they interact with each other. First of all, and since no previous studies were done on the dialectal Arabic spoken in these villages, we will devote the following sections to describe the local varieties in question through: reviewing Destaing's classification on a Sedentary/Bedouin dichotomy and revealing whether they are completely different from or similar to each other.

#### **2.2.4 Sedentary/Bedouin Dichotomy in the Valley**

As already indicated in the previous chapter, the distinction that arose between Bedouin (nomadic) and sedentary (urban) Arabic dialects can be traced back to the seventh and eleventh centuries (AD) following the expansion of the Islamic empire outside its cradle, the Arabian Peninsula. Contact of Arab conquerors with non-Arab populations in the conquered areas led to the development of corrupt dialects compared with the pure Bedouin dialects of Arabia

(Versteegh, 2001; Haak, 1997). A number of linguists refer to the Arabic dialects as sedentary or Bedouin on the basis of discriminating linguistic features (Miller, 2007). However, other linguists (Cadora, 1992; Haak, 1997; Watson, 2007; Palva, 2006) categorise the Arabic dialects on the basis of the lifestyle of their speakers.

In the case of the dialectal varieties of Beni Snous, Destaing (1907) classified them on the basis of people lifestyle at that time. According to him, sedentary and Bedouin people can be found in the same *douar* (i.e. village) and the same family can have both sedentary and Bedouin (nomadic) life. He gave the example of Khemis, Beni Achir, and Beni Zidaz whose inhabitants took their families and flocks outside the valley towards the pasturage plateaux whenever they stopped working in the fields. The act of leaving their houses in the valley and living under tents outside it made these populations sedentary and nomadic at the same time. The table (see appendix I) provides the number of houses and tents that the former tribes of Beni Snous contained. Following the social lifestyle of these tribes, he provides a table (see appendix J) in which he gives the total population of the tribes and classifies them as sedentary and Bedouin.

### **2.3 Regional Variation in the Valley**

All languages across the world have their own varieties: Arabic has several colloquial varieties spoken throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Colloquial Arabic does not only differ among nations, but also among regions within the same country. In Algeria, for example, we can discover within AA itself significant local varieties. AA changes from place to place and from town to town. Even two towns or two villages near one another may not speak the same variety or accent.

From a linguistic point of view the classification of modern Arabic dialects as Bedouin, rural, and urban, which almost all linguists still use, is based on the presence or absence of a number of discriminating linguistic features rather than on geographical region or lifestyle (Miller, 2007). Further explaining, she states that classifying a given dialect as Bedouin does not mean that its speakers have a nomadic way of life but their speech exhibits linguistic features of Bedouin type.

So, based on the Sedentary/Bedouin dichotomy: what do Beni Snous local dialectal varieties have in common? And in what ways do they differ? BHA, BBA, BAA, and MZA are local dialectal varieties of AA which are similar and different at the same time: they differ in many linguistic aspects as they share also other close characteristics which are based on a Sedentary-Bedouin dichotomy. Therefore, the linguistic description presented in this study is divided into three main parts: phonology, morphology, and vocabulary. We shall specify some linguistic features of these local varieties and at the same time the prominent linguistic differences existing between them. The shared linguistic characteristics that will be stated here are not confined to these dialectal forms only, but they could rather be found at a universal level as they can also be found on a national level where they are shared among many other Algerian dialects. In this respect, most of the linguistic description provided in the following sub-section is drawn from the work of Bouhania (2007) where he gives a detailed description of Adrar Arabic that is spoken in the south of Algeria: the work of Pereira (2011) where he describes the dialects of North Africa.

### **2.3.1 Phonology**

AA, a dialect among the various colloquial dialects of the Arabic language often called '*ddarija*' or '*lʕammiyya*' includes various regional varieties spoken along the Algerian territory. They are considered as more different accents than different dialects (Benali, 2007). Hence, the dialectal forms under investigation show more phonetic and phonological variation than morphological, lexical, or even semantic. We shall indicate the main common and distinct phonological features of the four dialectal varieties of Beni Snous.

**1-**The major phonological criterion distinguishing Bedouin dialects from sedentary dialects is the uvular plosive /q/ which is realised as [g] in Bedouin dialects whereas in sedentary dialects it is realised [q] or [ʔ]. As far as the four dialectal varieties under study are concerned, [q] is a phonological characteristic of BHA and BBA, whereas it is pronounced [g] in BAA and MZA. We consider some examples to best illustrate this variation:

Table 2.1 (q) and its variant [g] in Beni Snous

CA Gloss	BHA/ BBA	BAA/MZA	English Gloss
/qa:la/	[qa:l]	[ga:l]	He said
/dʒalasa/	BHA [qʕad] BBA [qʕud]	[gʕud]	He sat
/addaʒi:q/	BHA [ttqi:q] BBA [tʰqi:q]	[ddgi:g]	flour
/qidr/	[qadra]	[gadra]	pot
/jaqsimu/	BHA [jaqʕɔm] BBA [jaqsam]	[jəgsam]	He divides
/qabiɖa/	[qbaɖ]-[qbaɖ]	BAA [gbaɖ] MZA [gbaɖ]	He received
/iqtaraba/	[qarrab]	[garrab]	He approached
/farrāqa/	[farrāq]	[farrāg]	He separated
/alfiɖr/	[lfuqqa:ʕ]	[lfugga:ʕ]	mushroom
/waqafa/	[wqaf]	[wgaf]	He stood up

What is noticed from the above table is that the two dialectal varieties: BBA and BHA share similarities as the sound /q/ is articulated [q] in all positions (initial, middle, and final). The words given in the table are almost uttered similarly in BHA and BBA and differently from BAA and MZA as the speakers display the variant [g] in the place of /q/. In fact, this is not a linguistic feature of these dialectal forms only, but of all North African dialects (Moroccan, Tunisian, and Libyan). However, some words are pronounced with [g] and it is impossible for this latter to be substituted with [q]. The following examples show the use of [g] rather than [q]:

[jnəgnəg]: ‘to complain’

[jgalfat]: ‘to tuck up’

[jgərwaħ]: ‘to shiver’ (especially in BHA).

[gunn] : ‘male rabbit’<sup>52</sup>

[jgaʕməz]: ‘squat’

<sup>52</sup>The female rabbit in the three varieties is [g<sup>w</sup>nina]. However, this word can have another meaning whenever you hear women of the area saying: [ləg<sup>w</sup>nina dəlxubz] to mean a container plaited of the fibres of a vegetal material known as ‘esparto’ where the paste of bread is saved in for a while before it is backed.

[gənnajru]: ‘chicken coop’

[gumrəd]: ‘a tax imposed on the weekly souk in Beni Snous’.

[gernunə ʃ]: ‘a plant growing on the borders of the river’

[lgejla]: ‘the sun’

[ləg<sup>w</sup>deħ]: ‘a wooden utensil used to serve couscous in’.

2-Except for Mazzer speakers, the CA phonemes /ð/, /ð̣/, and /θ/ are not articulated in the speech of the remaining Beni Snous speakers. They are substituted with the variants: [d],[ḍ] and [t] respectively. The sound /d/ as a phoneme of CA or as a phonetic realisation [ḍ] of /ð̣/ is realised [ṭ] in BHA and BBA. Mazzer speakers do not distinguish between the Arabic emphatic sounds (ḍ) and (ð̣) and therefore articulate only [ð̣] in words containing /d/ and /ð̣/. For instance, the CA words /ʔaḍḍawʔ/ ‘light’-/ḍabʔ/ ‘hyena’ are pronounced [ð̣ð̣aw]-[ð̣baʔ] respectively.

So, words containing these CA sounds are articulated in the four dialectal varieties as follows:

-/ʔað̣ð̣ala:m/ ‘darkness’ is realised [ḍḍla:m] in BHA, BBA, and BAA. In the speech of old speakers of BHA and BBA this word is realised as [ṭlɔ:m]. Speakers of the fourth dialectal variety MZA still retain the sound (ð̣) in their speech and realise this word as [ð̣ð̣la:m]. The word /ʔaḍḍawʔ/ is uttered by the same formerly stated speakers as [ṭṭo] and [ḍḍo]. Since the realisation of /ð̣/ and /d/ as [ṭ] is attested only among old speakers of BHA<sup>53</sup>, this leads us to confirm that this phonological characteristic is on its way to disappearing. For MZA speakers, this latter is pronounced [ð̣ð̣aw]. The CA interdental /θ/ never occurs in the speech of BHA, BBA, and BAA speakers. It is replaced with [t] in all positions: the words /θala:θa/ ‘three’, [meθrəd] ‘a wooden utensil used to serve couscous in’, and

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<sup>53</sup> A former study was done by the researcher in the same area and found out the above stated result. Kherbache (2011).

/ħaraθa/ ‘plough’ where the sound clearly appears in the three positions (initial, medial, and final) are uttered [tlata], [matrəd], and [ħrət] respectively. However, in MZA it is kept and hence the words are pronounced [θlaθa]-[maθrəd]-[ħrəθ].

3- /aj/ and /aw/ are two Arabic diphthongs missing in the speech of BH, BB, and BB speakers, while MZ speakers still retain these diphthongs. They are substituted with [i:], [u:] in the environment of plain consonants and [e:], [o:] in the environment of emphatics /t̤, ʂ, ʃ̣, ḍ/ and ‘pseudo-emphatics’ /q, r, χ, ʁ/ respectively. Let us consider the following examples:

-/ʔaddajn/ → [ddi:n]: ‘dept’. /aj/ becomes [i:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /d/.

-/lawħ/ → [lu:ħ]: ‘board’. /aw/ becomes [u:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /l/.

-/ʂawt/ → [ʂo:t]: ‘sound’: /aw/ becomes [o:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /ʂ/.

-/χajt/ → [χe:t̤]: ‘string’: /aj/ becomes [e:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /χ/.

4- The realisation of voiceless dental stop /t/ in BBA is an assibilated [t<sup>s</sup>]. This affricate (assibilated) [t<sup>s</sup>] is a phonetic feature of both urban and rural dialects stemming from the Berber (Zenete) substratum (Bouhania, 2007)<sup>54</sup> It is realised in all positions as it is observed in the following uttered words:

Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
[t <sup>s</sup> ammara] ‘hard work’	[nətt <sup>s</sup> əwaw] ‘to be in	[lbi:t <sup>s</sup> ] ‘the room’
[t <sup>s</sup> amma] ‘there’	agreement’	[lmijjət <sup>s</sup> ] ‘the
[tt <sup>s</sup> rabja] ‘upbringing’	[zzit <sup>s</sup> una] ‘olive tree’	dead’
[t <sup>s</sup> mar] ‘dates’	[mt <sup>s</sup> rəd] ‘wooden handmade	[lħu:t <sup>s</sup> ] ‘fish’
	plate’	[ləbna:t <sup>s</sup> ] ‘the
	[jət <sup>s</sup> ʁərrab] ‘to immigrate’	girls’

<sup>54</sup> We followed the way Bouhania (2007) describes the articulation of [t<sup>s</sup>] in Adrar Arabic in all positions.

If /t/ occurs in more than one position within the same word, the affricate (assibilated) [t<sup>s</sup>] is realised in all positions:

[ttu:t]: ‘mulberry’ → [tt<sup>s</sup>u:t<sup>s</sup>]

[wartət]: ‘she inherited’ → [wart<sup>s</sup>ət<sup>s</sup>]

5-The plain consonants /t/, /d/, and /s/ are emphaticised as [ṭ], [ḍ], [ṣ] in many instances in the four dialectal varieties when they occur near emphatic consonants:

/sawt/ ‘sound’: [ṣo:ṭ] in MZA the diphthong /aw/ is maintained: [sawṭ]

/sadaʔ/ ‘rust’: [ṣḍɑ]

/ḍirs/ ‘molar’: [ḍɑṛṣɑ]

/suḷṭa:n/ ‘king’: [ṣoḷṭɑ:n]

/ʔassaj̣ṭara/ ‘domination’: [ṣṣe:ṭɑṛɑ]

-/ḍ/, /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ are de-emphaticised to [d], [t], and [s].

-/ḍ/ is de-emphaticised to [d] as the following examples show:

\*/ʔaḍḍaj̣q/ ‘narrowness’: [ddi:q] in BBA and MZA

: [ḍḍe:q] in BHA and BAA

\*/maḍaya/ ‘he shew’: [mdaỵ] → [mtaỵ] in BHA and [mt<sup>s</sup>aỵ] in BBA

: [ṃḍɑỵ] in BAA and MZA

-/ṣ/ is de-emphaticised to [s]:

\*/laʃ̣iqa/ ‘stuck’: [lsəq] in BHA and BBA

: [ḷṣɑq] in BAA and MZA

\*/ʔatasaẉwaqu/ ‘I shop’: [nəssaẉwaq] in BHA and BBA

: [nəʃ̣ṣaẉwaq] in BAA and MZA

-/ṭ/ De-emphaticisation of /ṭ/ as [t<sup>s</sup>] characterises the speech of BB speakers,

whereas BH, BA and MZ speakers keep the original alveolar emphatic stop /ṭ/:

\*/t̤abaq/ ‘a plant handmade plate’: [t̤<sup>s</sup>bəq] in BBA and /a/ is reduced to [ə]

: [t̤bɑq] in BHA

: [t̤bɑŋ] in BAA and MZA

\*/jufadʒʒiru/ ‘to burst’: [jt̤<sup>s</sup>ərt̤<sup>s</sup>əq] in BBA

: [jt̤ɑr̤t̤ɑq] in BHA

: [jt̤ɑr̤t̤ɑŋ] in BAA and MZA

\*/t̤abaqa/ ‘layer’ : [t̤<sup>s</sup>əbqa] in BBA

: [t̤ɑbqɑ] in BHA

: [t̤ɑbqɑ] in BAA and MZA

**6-**The CA voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ corresponds to the palatal fricative variant [ʒ] in the four dialectal varieties rather than the variant [dʒ] which is used in the neighbouring dialectal variety of Tlemcen. The following instances illustrate the realisation of this sound:

\*/mindʒal/ ‘sickle’ → [menʒəl]

\*/s̤ihri:dʒ/ ‘cistern’ → [sariʒ]

\*/dʒa:ʔa/ ‘he came’ → [ʒa]

\*/di:k/ ‘rooster’ → [fərru:ʒ]

\*/dʒaɪb/ ‘pocket’ → [ʒi:b]

**7-** Assimilation in general, which can be found in many languages, is also a characteristic of Beni Snous dialectal varieties. It can occur at the level of word boundaries or across morpheme boundaries.

- A very rich type of assimilation in Arabic is that of the definite article [ʔal]. This article behaves in relation to the initial sound of the word to which it is prefixed: the /l/ of the definite article [ʔal] is assimilated to the immediate following sound in a word. One of the two categories of Arabic sounds assimilates /l/. These are called

solar consonants as opposed to the lunar (moon) consonants which have no assimilation effect on /l/. The following examples show this assimilating process:

- \*/?al ?aʃħa:b/ → [ʔal ʃħa:b] → [ʃʃħa:b] : ‘friends’  
\*/ʔal dawa:ʔ/ → [ʔal dwa] → [ddwa] : ‘medicine’  
\*/ʔal sama:ʔ/ → [ʔal sma] → [ssma]: ‘the sky’

- But what characterises the assimilation of /l/ in the dialectal varieties of Beni Snous is the lunar consonant /ʒ/ which influences /l/:

- \*[lʒbəl] → [ʒʒbəl]: ‘the mountain’  
\*[lʒra:d] → [ʒʒra:d] : ‘the grasshopper’  
\*[lʒbən] → [ʒʒbən]: ‘cheese’  
\*[l ʒda:r] → [ʒʒda:r] : ‘the wall’  
\*[l ʒald] → [ʒʒald]: ‘plastic’

-Regressive assimilation is frequent in the speech of some regional groups in the valley like Beni Bahdel as well as the surrounding hamlets of Zahra and Tafessera. To a lesser extent our corpus has shown this phenomenon among BH speakers too. In a two-consonant cluster of plosives and fricatives, usually, the first consonant assimilates to the second consonant in voicing. The common known example is the CA word /jaʃsilu/, ‘he washes’ which is realised [juχsəl] in BHA and BBA: /ʃ/ loses its voicing quality and becomes voiceless[χ]. However, in the remaining two dialectal varieties (BAA and MZA) it is realised without assimilation.

-Another example of assimilation is the word: /jaqtulu/<sup>55</sup>, ‘to murder’ is pronounced [juktəl]. In BAA and MZA the realisation of /q/ is [g] so that the word /jaqtulu/ would be uttered [juktəl] in BAA. Assimilation here occurs with the sound [g] as all speakers, in a voicing regressive assimilation case, substitute [g] with [k].

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<sup>55</sup> The sound [t] in /jaqtulu/ (to murder) does not change to [t̚] although it is preceded by the emphatic sound /q/. This is because this sound is a partial emphatic and not a complete emphatic. In fact, assimilation occurs in the realisation of [juktəl] as [juktəl].

- Comparing the four dialectal varieties, regressive assimilation of /h/ to [ħ] when it is preceded by /ʕ/ is common and unique among speakers of BBA and BHA speakers (Zahra, and Tafessera as well) whereas in BAA and MZA no assimilation of this type occurs:

\*[ba:ʕ ha] in BAA and MZA → [ba:ħħa] in BHA – BBA ‘he sold it’

\*[smaʕ ha] in BAA and MZA → [smaħħa] in -BBA ‘he heard it’

\*[ballaʕ ha] in BAA and MZA → [ballaħħa] in BHA-BBA ‘he shut it’

Cantineau (1960) discusses nasal place assimilation where the alveolar nasal /n/ becomes a nasal labial [m] when the immediate sound is /b/ or /m/. As any Algerian dialectal variety, the four dialectal varieties of the valley share this linguistic feature:

\*/n/ followed by /b/ changes to [m]:

[ʒanb] → [ʒamb] ‘side’

[mzanbal] → [mzambal] ‘the state of being in satiety’

[janbəʃ] → [jambəʃ] ‘he digs up’

\*/n/ followed by /m/ changes to [m]:

[mən mura:k] → [mmura:k] ‘behind you’ though in BAA the realisation would be [mən wra:k].

**8-**In a number of nominal forms, dialectal vowel alternation<sup>56</sup> occurs in the four dialectal varieties where, in many cases, the Arabic vowels /a, i, u/<sup>57</sup> alternate between each other. The following examples demonstrate this linguistic feature:

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<sup>56</sup>Cadora (1992), mentions that this process is also known as ‘ʔal muʕa:qaba’. According to him, the alternation of /u/, /a/, and /i/ in some Arabic dialects has been interpreted differently by Arab linguists because of the lack of data in philological works: while Al Jundi (1965) and Anis (1952) refer to [miʕħaf] ‘codex’ as a sedentary word and [muʕħaf] as Bedouin, Al Muttalabi (1978:140-2) gives an opposite data in which he determines that tendency towards the use of [i] in [miʔraf] ‘shawl’ is Bedouin and [u] in [muʔraf] is sedentary. These presumed and indefinite data, as claimed by Cadora, should be verified from other new primary sources.

\*[ʕʕorra] in BAA and MZA → [ʕʕarra] in BHA-BBA ‘navel’

\*[d̥d̥orr] in BAA and [d̥d̥orr] in MZA → [d̥d̥arr] in BHA-BBA ‘hurt’

\*[ʕʕoħba] in BAA and MZA → [ʕʕaħba] in BHA- BBA ‘friendship’

\*[dduχla] in BAA and MZA → [ddaχla] in BHA-BBA ‘entry’

-The verb forms used in Beni Snous bear witness to vowel alternation. Imperfective and imperative verbs, in a number of instances, are uttered in the four dialectal varieties as follows:

Imperfect tense:

[judχul] in BAA-BBA and MZA ‘he enters’ vs. [jədχal] in BHA

[juχruʒ] in BAA- BBA and MZA ‘he goes out’ vs. [jəχraʒ] in BHA

[juskut] in BAA- BBA and MZA ‘he stops talking’ vs. [jəskat] in BHA

[jħukk] in BAA- BBA and MZA ‘he rubs’ vs. [jħakk] in BHA

Imperative tense:

BBA-BAA and MZA: [dχul] ‘enter’ vs. [dχal] in BHA

: [χruʒ] ‘go out’ vs. [χraʒ] in BHA

: [skut] ‘stop talking’ vs. [skət] in BHA

: [ħukk] ‘rub’ vs. [ħakk] in BHA

**9-**The three Arabic short vowels /a/, /u/, /i/ are often elided or weakened to [ə] in the dialectal varieties of Beni Snous. According to Pereira (2011)<sup>58</sup>, this feature is found only in North African dialects where the Arabic short vowels do not occur in open syllables as his example illustrates: /katab/ ‘wrote’ is realised [ktəb]. /a/ is

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<sup>57</sup>When /a, i, u/ occur in the environment of emphatics they are substituted with [ɑ, e, o].

<sup>58</sup>He (Pereira, 2011) gives the exception of some conservative Bedouin varieties, such as the Saharan varieties or the Arabic of Southern Tunisia or Libya where, for example, /xubz/ ‘bread’ can be pronounced [xobəz].

elided in the first syllable. The target dialectal varieties exhibit this phenomenon in three-syllable words:

-The first syllable of a word:

/a l ħaʃi:ʃ/ ‘grass’	→	[ləħʃi:ʃ]	/a/	→	[Ø]
/a l bila:d/ ‘country’	→	[lə bla:d]	/i/	→	[Ø]
/a l qufl/ ‘lock’	→	[lə qfal]	/u/	→	[Ø]

-A medial syllable of a word: where in the first syllable /a/ is realised [ə] in BHA and [u] in the remaining dialectal varieties with labialisation of the preceding consonant:

/sakatat/ ‘she stopped talking’: /a/ → [Ø]

[saktət] in BHA, BAA, and MZA. [s<sup>w</sup>ukt<sup>s</sup>ət<sup>s</sup>] in BBA

-A final syllable of a word, generally /a/ is dropped:

/waʃala/ ‘he came’ → [wʃɑl] /a/ → [Ø]

\*/mina ʃʃuɣli/ ‘from work’ → [məʃɣul] /i/ → [Ø]

**10-**The western dialects of Algeria retain the vowel of the initial syllable by geminating the second consonant like in ləħʒət+i → ləħħəʒti ‘my accent’ (Pereira, *ibid*: 959). This phenomenon occurs also in the dialectal varieties under study in a number of words:

\*[maqabɾa] ‘cemetery’: this realisation is specific to BAA and MZA speakers.

However, in BHA and BBA, the word is articulated [mqabɾa].

\*[mukkaħla] ‘rifle’ is realised so in BAA and MZA. BBA and BHA speakers realise it [m<sup>w</sup>kaħla].

\*[məzzabɾa] ‘cleaver’ as articulated by BAA and MZA speakers, while in BHA and BBA, it is articulated [mzabɾa].

-The doubling of consonants occurs also at the level of some verbs conjugated in the imperfective with the second person feminine singular, the first person plural, the second person masculine plural, and the third person masculine plural. As the

initial vowel in the first syllable is kept but reduced to [ə], the second consonant is geminated. This verb form is also attested in the imperative tense with the second person feminine singular and second person masculine plural. Geminated imperfect verb forms are found in the speech of BB, BA, and MZ speakers:

\* The CA verb /daχala/ ‘to enter’ is used with the above-mentioned personal pronouns as follows: [tədduχli] ‘you enter’-[nədduχlu] ‘we enter’-[tədduχlu] ‘you enter’-[jədduχlu] ‘they enter’.

\*CA verb /laʕiba/ ‘to play’: [təllaʕbi] ‘you play’-[nəllaʕbu] ‘we play’-[təllaʕbu] ‘you play’-[jəllaʕbu] ‘they play’.

-However, in BHA the following realisations are attested:

\* CA verb /daχala/ ‘to enter’:[tədχal] ‘you enter’-[ndaχlu] ‘we enter’-[ddaχlu]<sup>59</sup> ‘you enter’-[jdaχlu] ‘they enter’.

\*CA verb /laʕiba/ ‘to play’: [təlʕab] ‘you play’-[llaʕbu]<sup>60</sup> ‘we play’-[tlaʕbu] ‘you play’-[jlaʕbu] ‘they play’.

**11-** The doubling of consonants in CA/MSA is known as gemination. This process is found, according to Pereira (2011) in Western Algerian dialects, including the dialectal varieties under study:

-In BBA, BAA, and MZA, this process is the result of assimilation of a sound into another. It takes the following phonological assimilating processes with the verb ‘he married’ in the third person singular:

/tazawwadʒa/ ‘he married’ → [təwwaʒ] → [dzəwwaʒ]: /t/ → [d]/-  
[+voice] : regressive assimilation of voicing.

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<sup>59</sup> Except for the second person plural, gemination in this case occurs as result of assimilation of the initial consonant /t/ into [d].

<sup>60</sup> Gemination occurs here also as a consequence of assimilation of the initial consonant /n/ into [l].

[dzəwwaʒ] → [zzawwaʒ]: /d/ → [z]/-[fricative]: regressive assimilation of manner.

-Contrary to this, in BHA this verb is uttered without gemination, and therefore realised [zwəʒ].

-Other examples include gemination in nouns rather than verbs: [χaddamti] ‘my job’ is realised so in the three in-migrant groups’ speech, whereas no gemination is attested in BHA and therefore the word is uttered: [χdamti] associated with vowel [a] deletion. Thus the rule for gemination in nouns is as follows:

Initial c+v → gemination of the immediate following consonant: c+v+cc+v

Initial c+v → no gemination but vowel deletion: c+c+v

**12-**In contrast to CA/MSA, the four dialectal varieties have, in addition to the formerly mentioned [g], two other consonants /p, v/ which show the result of language contact between French and AA. These two sounds are used in French loan words occurring in the speech of speakers as in the words ‘valise’ (meaning suitcase) and ‘pilier’ (meaning pillar). However, since these two sounds do not have counterparts in Arabic they are substituted with [b] and [f] among illiterate people (Benrabah: 1989). So, the articulation of these words among this category of people is [faliza], [bili].

**13-**In a limited number of examples, the sibilants /ʒ/ and /z/ merge interchangeably. This phonological feature characterises BHA and BAA as it is also found in the neighbouring dialect of Morocco. The phonetic realisation of /ʒ/ as [ʒ] is more common than as [z] among older female speakers. The voiceless dental spirant /s/ and the voiceless palatal spirant [ʃ] merge with each other:

\*Shifting voiced palatal spirant /ʒ/ to voiced dental spirant [z] in BHA and BAA:

[ʔʒa:ʒ]: ‘dust’ → [ʔʒa:ʒ] and [ʔza:ʒ].

[ʒaħʃ]: ‘young donkey’ → [ʒaħʃ] and [zaħʃ].

[lʒu:z]: ‘nuts’ → [l ʒu:z] and [l zu:z]

[lʒabs]: ‘lime’ → [əʒʒabs] - [əzzabs] - [əzzabʃ] (metathesis+dissimilation)

[lʒi:ʃ]: ‘army’ → [əʒʒi:ʃ] and [əzzi:ʃ]

\*Shifting voiced dental spirant /z/ to voiced palatal spirant [ʒ] in BHA and BAA:

[zu:ʒ]: ‘two’ → [zu:ʒ] and [ʒu:ʒ]

[zzawwaʒ]: ‘he married’ → [zzawwaʒ] and [ʒʒawwaʒ]

[zza:ʒ]: ‘glass’ → [zza:ʒ] and [ʒʒa:ʒ].

[zaʒ]: ‘he sheared’ → [zaʒ] and [ʒaʒ].

[zzalli:ʒ]: ‘tiles’ → [zzalli:ʒ] and [ʒʒalli:ʒ].

[ʒijjaʃ]: ‘he steals’ → [ʒijjaʃ] and [jʒijjaʃ].

[ləmza:ʒ]: ‘the mood’ → [ləmza:ʒ] and [ləmʒa:ʒ].

\*Shifting voiceless dental spirant /s/ to voiceless palatal spirant [ʃ]. This type of merging sibilants is not widely attested in BHA and BAA as it is confined to just some instances:

[lmansaʒ] ‘loom’ → [lmansaʒ] and [lmanʃaʒ]

[sfanʒ] ‘fritter’ → [sfanʒ] and [ʃfanʒ]

[sfarʒal] ‘quince’ → [sfarʒal] and [ʃfarʒal]

[lməʒlas] ‘assembly’ → [lməʒlas] and [lməzlaʃ]

\*Shifting voiceless palatal spirant [ʃ] to voiceless dental spirant /s/. This phenomenon is limited to just a small number of dialectal words and even with cases of classicism:

\*/ʃaʒara/ ‘tree’ → [ʃaʒra] and [saʒra]

\*/ʔaʃʃaχʂijja/ ‘personality’ → [ʃʃaχʂejja] and [ʂʂaχʂejja]. This realisation is confined to old speakers mainly.

-The former discussed sibilants /s, z, ʒ, ʃ/ also merge at the level of French borrowings:

\*/ʃ/ as [ʂ]: [jʃarʒi:] and [jʂarʒi:] ‘he loads’

: [ʃʃomaʒ] and [ʂʂomaʒ] ‘unemployment’

: [rid ʃosi] and [rid ʂoʂe] ‘ground floor’

\*/ʃ/ as [s]: [ʃafudaʒ] and [ssafudaʒ] ‘scaffolding’

\*/s/ as [ʃ]: [ssiʃwa:r] and [ʃʃiʃwa:r] ‘hairdryer’

\*/ʒ/ as [z]: [ʒʒu:ʒ] and [zzu:ʒ] ‘judge’

### 2.3.2 Morphology

As in most Maghreban dialects:

1- Verbs are negated in BHA, BBA, BAA, and MZA with all persons (singular and plural) by adding the circumfix: [ma-ʃ]<sup>61</sup>. For example, the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular:

[maʃəft haʃ] ‘I did not see her’

While BBA and MZA speakers retain the same realisation in negation, BHA and BAA speakers have the circumfix [ma-ʃaj] when a speaker strongly emphasises the negation:

[maʃəft ha ʃaj] ‘I did not see her at all’

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<sup>61</sup>A circumfix, a combination of a prefix and a suffix, is a morpheme that occurs in two parts, one on each side of a stem (Finegan: 2012). According to Sharqawi (2010), the circumfix [ma-ʃ] (described in this study) is a morphological feature of North African Arabic dialects. It is used to negate verbs. Mutual contact led this feature to be diffused in Egypt as well (Sharqawi, *ibid*).

**2-** The pronominal suffix {-u} is found in BHA, BBA, and BAA whereas in MZA it is replaced by [-ah]:

-/ba:ʕahu/ 'he sold it' : BHA - BBA- BAA [baʕu]

: MZA [baʕah]

-/bila:duhu/ 'his town' : BHA –BBA- BAA [bladu]

: MZA [bladah]

**3-**The affixes {-aw} and {-iw} in defective verbs conjugated in perfect and imperfect tenses are used in the four dialectal varieties, while the rural counterpart {-u} is not used:

The defective verb [ʕallow] 'they prayed' and [jʕalliw] 'they pray' are used in BHA, BBA, BAA, and MZA as opposed to [ʕallu] and [jʕallu] in neighbouring rural dialectal variety of Sebdou.

**4-**The dual markers {-ajən} and {-i:n} show great variation in their use among speakers of the four dialectal forms and within speakers of the same area. These markers are used in a number of words related to time measurement:

\*BHA: [jumajən] as opposed to BBA, BAA and MZA: [jumi:n] 'two days'

\*BHA: [suqajən] or [zuʕ swa:q] as opposed to BBA: [suqi:n] or [zuʕ swa:q] and BAA-MZA: [ʕoge:n] or [zuʕ ʕwa:g].

\*BHA: [jahrajən] as opposed to BBA-BAA and MZA: [jahri:n] 'two months'

\*BHA: [ʕamajən] as opposed to BBA-BAA and MZA: [ʕami:n] 'two years'

\*BHA: [zwiʕtajən] and ([ʕwiʕtajən] for BHA only) as opposed to BBA-BAA and MZA [zwiʕti:n] (and ʕwiʕti:n for BAA only) 'couple'.

\*BHA: [liltajən] as opposed to BBA-BAA and MZA [lilti:n] 'two nights'.

**5-**The four dialectal varieties are differentiated from each other in terms of gender address. In the dialectal varieties of Beni Achir and Mazzer, the suffix {-i} is added to verbs when addressing female persons:

-/ʔilʔabi:/ ‘play’                   →     [llaʔbi]

-/ʔismaʔi:/ ‘hear’                   →     [ssamʔi]

- /ʔiʃrabi:/ ‘drink’                 →     [ʃʃurbi]

-In BHA, the marker (-i) is absent in the second person feminine singular, so that both male and female persons are addressed the same way:

-/ilʔabi:/ ‘play’                   →     [lʔab]

-/ismaʔi:/ ‘hear’                   →     [smaʔ]

-/iʃrabi:/ ‘drink’                 →     [ʃrab]

- In the dialectal variety of Beni Bahdel addressing a female person is rather different from the above mentioned dialectal varieties as the marker {-ij} is added in final position when the penultimate sound is a plain consonant:

-/ilʔabi:/ ‘play’                   →     [llaʔbij]

-/ismaʔi:/ ‘hear’                   →     [ssamʔij]

- /iʃrabi:/ ‘drink’                 →     [ʃʃurbij]

When the penultimate sound is an emphatic consonant the marker {-ej} is affixed:

-/umχudʒi:/ ‘churn’               →     [mmuχdʒej]

-/iħfaðʒi:/ ‘memorise’           →     [ħħafdʒej]

-Many European and Arab linguists call this feature diphthongisation. It is used in the village of Beni Bahdel and the neighbouring villages of Zahra and Tafessera. In sentences of SVOO and SVO patterns, verbs conjugated in the perfect (past), imperfect (present), and imperative tenses with second person feminine singular are constructed in BBA as opposed to BHA, BAA, and MZA as follows:

- In the CA verb /ʔaʔtʃini / ‘give me’ conjugated in the second person feminine in the imperative form is realised [ʔtʃeni] in BHA, BAA, and MZA, but in BBA it is realised as follows:

[ʔtɛni] → [ʔtɛjni]. The type of diphthong realised here is known among some Arab and English linguists, according to Amanzouy (1999), as ‘muzdawedʒ ha:biʔ or ħaʒi:qi:’ because the first part of the diphthong is a pure vowel /i/ while the second part is a semi-vowel [j]. Because /i/ occurs in the environment of the emphatic /ʔ/ the diphthong realised is [-ej].

- The CA verb /taʔkuli:naha:/ ‘you eat it’ in the imperfect tense is realised as: [t<sup>s</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>lijha] in BBA: [tak<sup>w</sup>ulha] in BAA and MZA: and [taklha] in BHA. Unlike the former example, the realised diphthong in this example is [ij] as /i/ occurs in the environment of the plain consonant /l/.

- In the perfect tense: /ʃarib tiha/ ‘you drank it’ is realised: [ʃrabitijha] in BBA: [ʃrabi ha] in BAA-MZA: and [ʃrabi ha] in BHA.

- In sentences of SV pattern, verbs conjugated in the imperative form with the second person feminine are constructed as follows in BBA: [ʒrij] ‘ran’ [ssukt<sup>s</sup>ij] ‘shut up’.

6- The possessive pronoun {-k}-{-ki}-{-kij} are suffixed to nominal forms in the second person feminine in BHA, BAA / MZA, and BBA respectively:

\*/bajtuki/ ‘your room’ → [bitək] in BHA → [bitki] in BAA - MZA → [bitkij] in BBA.

\*/liba:suki/ ‘your dress’ → [lbasək] in BHA → [lbaski] in BAA and MZA → [lbaskij] in BBA

7- The broken plural of quadrilateral nouns is formed in these dialectal varieties with [i:] in BBA, BAA and MZA, and [ə] in BHA:

-Singular: [l maʃu:n] ‘utensil’ plural: → [lə mmaʃi:n] ‘utensils’ in BBA, BAA and MZA.

-Singular: [l maʕu:n]: ‘utensil’ plural: → [lə mmaʕən] ‘ustensiles’ in BHA.

**8-**The diminutive form of quadrilateral nouns is formed in these varieties with /i:/ in BBA, BAA and MZA while it is [ə] in BHA:

\*[l maʕu:n]: ‘utensil’ → [ləmmiʕi:n] ‘a small utensil’ in BBA, BAA, and MZA.

\*[bərra:d]: ‘teapot’ → [briri:d] ‘a small teapot’ in BBA, BAA, and MZA.

\*[ʕye:r]: ‘little’ → [ʕyejjar] ‘very little’ in BBA, BAA, and MZA.

\*[l maʕu:n]: ‘utensil’ → [ləmmiʕən] ‘a small utensil’ in BHA.

\*[bərra:d]: ‘teapot’ → [brirəd] ‘a small teapot’ in BHA.

\*[ʕye:r]: ‘little’ → [ʕyewar] ‘very little’ in BHA.

BH native speakers use distinct diminutive forms from the remaining local varieties for the following two words:

\*[bent] ‘girl’ → [bniwta] - [bnita] - [bnijja] ‘little girl’ in BHA → [bnijta] in BBA-BAA-MZA

\*[derri] ‘boy’ → [driwri] ‘little boy’ in BHA → [driri] in BBA-BAA-MZA

**9-** Unlike BHA, BAA, and MZA the singular form of some specific words is constructed in BBA by adding the suffix [ʔa:ja] to the singular form of the word:

\*/ħabba/ ‘grain’ → [ħabba:ja] in BBA

→ [ħabba] in BHA, BAA, and MZA

\*/ħalfa/ ‘esparto’ → [ħalfa:ja] in BBA

→ [ħalfa] in BHA, BAA, and MZA

\* /ʕalk/ ‘chewing gum’ → [ʕalka:ja]

→ [ʕalk] in BHA, BAA, and MZA

\*/ħalwa/ ‘candy’ → [ħalwa:ja] in BBA

→ [ħalwa] in BHA, BAA, and MZA

Perhaps this form [ʔa:ja] is similar to Egyptian and Syrian Arabic: [kubba:ja] ‘glass’, [ħabba:ja] ‘grain’.

**10-**The CA pronouns: first person singular /ʔana:/, third person masculine singular /huwa/, and third person feminine singular /hijja/ ‘I’, ‘he’, and ‘she’ respectively are referred to in the four local dialectal varieties as follows:

-BHA, BAA, and MZA → [ja: na] ‘I’ in all positions.

→ [huwa] ‘he’ and [hijja] ‘she’ in all positions.

-BBA → [ja:n] ‘I’ only when occurring in final position. In initial and mid positions it is constructed [ja:na].

→ [hu] ‘he’ and [hi] ‘she’ are used only when they occur in final position. In initial and mid positions the construction is [huwa] and [hijja] ‘he’, ‘she’ respectively.

-The second person masculine singular /ʔanta/ ‘you’ is used to address both genders male and female persons in BHA. However, gender differentiation is kept in the other dialectal varieties:

[nta] vs [ntijja] ‘you’ to address male and female persons respectively.

-In BHA, both second person singular masculine and feminine are referred to by using the same variants. But, it is the old and middle-aged speakers of this community who use [nta] to address a woman, while it is almost absent in the speech of young speakers<sup>62</sup>:

BHA old speakers → [nta] ‘you’: for both second person singular masculine and feminine to address a man and a woman.

BHA young speakers → [nta] ‘you’: for a man and [ntina]-[ntin] for a woman.

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<sup>62</sup>These results were extracted from a previous work of the researcher herself in the village of Beni Hammou. (Kherbache , 2010)

- In BBA, it is old speakers who refer to the first person singular as [ja:n] ‘I’ in final position, whereas [jana] ‘I’ is used much by young speakers. In the same village (i.e. Beni Bahdel) the variant [ntij] to address a woman is found among old and young speakers. The following table summarises the use of the personal pronouns in the four dialectal varieties:

**Table 2.2 Variation in the use of personal pronouns**

	BHA	BBA	BAA	MZA
/ʔana:/ ‘I’ firstperson singular	[jana]	[jan]-[jana]	[ʔana][ʔanaja]	[jana]
/ʔanta/ ‘you’ second person masculine singular	[nta]- [ntin]- [ntina]	[nt <sup>s</sup> a]	[ntaja]	[nta]
/ʔanti/ ‘you’ second person feminine singular	[nta]- [ntin]- [ntina]	[nt <sup>s</sup> ij]	[ntijja]	[ntijja]
/huwa/ ‘he’ third person masculine singular	[huwa]	[hu]- [huwa]	[huwa]	[huwa]
/hija/ ‘she’ third person feminine singular	[hija]	[hij]-[hija]	[hija]	[hija]
/naħnu/ ‘we’ first person plural	[ħna]	[ħna]	[ħna]-[ħnaja]	[ħna]

### 2.3.3 Vocabulary

It is obvious that ethnic, geographical, and colonial influences are determining factors in the construction of the numerous dialects spoken along the Algerian territory. Most of the Algerian dialects have a Berber substratum in addition to, Arabic, Turkish, Spanish, Italian, and French ones.

The area of Beni Snous is an ex-Berber speaking area where some Berber linguistic remnants are still attested in the speech of its inhabitants. Geographically speaking, AA dialects show great variation from an area to other at all linguistic levels. Even within the same area variation is bound to be found. The dialectal varieties under study show geographical variation in vocabulary but it is not much attested as the former linguistic levels (phonology and morphology).

1-The analytic possessive preposition ‘dyal’ or ‘d-’ (meaning of) is frequently heard among BHA speakers, while in the other dialectal varieties it is replaced with [ntaʕ]:

BHA: [djali] ‘mine’, [d əl bənt] ‘of the girl’.

BBA - BAA - MZA: [ntaʕi] ‘mine’, [ntaʕ ə l bent] ‘of the girl’.

Throughout the Algerian territory, AA exhibits lexical variation on the basis of the formerly stated sedentary Bedouin dichotomy (chapter 1). They show a great number of synonymous pairs (doublets): one of these synonymous pairs is used in an urban variety, whereas the other one is used in a rural variety (Dendane, 1993). The following table lists a number of sedentary-Bedouin synonymous words<sup>63</sup> where the speakers of the dialectal varieties exhibit a mixing in their use:

**Table 2.3 Urban- Rural- vocabulary in Beni Snous**

CA Gloss	Urban Vocabulary	Rural Vocabulary	BHA	BBA	BAA	MZA	English Gloss
/ʔajna/	[fajən]	[wi:n]	[fajən]	[wi:n]	[wi:n]	[wi:n]	Where
/jaʔxuðu/	[jʕabbi]	[jəddi]	[jəddi] [jʕabbi]	[jəddi]	[jəddi]	[jəddi]	He takes
/jaʕmalu/	[jaʕməl]	[jdi:r]	[jdi:r] [jaʕməl]	[jdi:r]	[jdi:r]	[jdi:r]	He does
/χa:ʕʕatuhu/	[taʕu]	[ntaʕah]	[dijalu]	[ntʕaʕu]	[dijalu]	[ntaʕah]	His
/biʕa:nibi:/	[ʔədda:mi]	[gudda:mi]	[twaliija]	[hdaja]	[gudda:mi]	[gudda:mi]	In front of me
/ʔidʒlis/	[gʷʕud]	[ʒəmmaʕ]	[qʷʕud]	[ʒəmmaʕ] [qʷʕud]	[ʒəmmaʕ]	[ʒəmmaʕ]	Sit down
/naʕam/	[je:h]	[wa:h]	[wa:h]	[wa:h]	[wa:h]	[wa:h]	Yes
/kull/	[kaməl]	[ga:ʕ]	[kaməl] [kulləʕ]	[ga:ʕ] [kullji:]	[ga:ʕ]	[ga:ʕ]	All
/ma:ða:/	[ʔasəm]	[waʕta]	[wasəm]	[waʕta]	[waʕta]	[waʕta]	What?

In the table below, we list some other lexical items which are realised differently among Beni Snous speakers of the four villages under investigation:

<sup>63</sup>This list of synonymous words is based on the work of Dendane (ibid). They had been used in a previous research by the researcher herself (Kherbache, 2010).

Table 2.4 Lexical variation in Beni Snous

CA Gloss	BBA	BHA	BAA	MZA	English Gloss
/ʔal ba:riħa/	[lbarəħ]	[lbarəħ]	[lbarəħ]	[jaməs]	'yesterday'
/jaduqqu/	[jʔabbal]	[jʔabtʔab]	[j <sup>w</sup> duq]	[jʔabtʔab]	'he knocks'
/juʃʕilu/- /ju:qidu/	[jaqdi]	[jʃaʕʕal]	[jagdi]	[jagdi]	'he lights'
/ða:hibun/	[ya:di]	[ma:ʃi]	[ya:di]	[ra:jəħ]	'going'
/ʔal a:na /	[dʔarwaq]	[dʔarwaq]	[dʔork]	[ðork]	'now'
/kaθi:run/	[bəzza:f]- [bəzza:jaf]	[bəzza:f]	[bəzza:f] - [g <sup>w</sup> ba:la]	[bəzza:f]- [g <sup>w</sup> ba:la]	'too much'
/sakaba/	[ʂɑbb]	[zəllaʕ]-[zəttəʕ]	[dəffeg]-[kubb]	[dəffag]-[kubb]	'he spilt'
/ʔibtaʕid/	[k <sup>w</sup> ħuz]-[ləzz]	[dlaħ]-[ngaħ]	[k <sup>w</sup> ħuz]	[k <sup>w</sup> ħuz]	'move up'
/ʔirmi/	[ʔrɑʃ]	[rmi]	[qis]	[qis]	'toss'
/ħabbaʔa/- /dassa/	[dəss]	[ħabba]	[dəss]	[dəss]	'he hides'
/miθla/-/ka/	[zaʕma]	[kimma]	[zaʕma]-[bħa:l]	[bħa:l]	'for example'

In addition to the mixed sedentary Bedouin lexical items in the four dialectal varieties, French loan words are widely attested in the verbal repertoire of Beni Snous and if anyone wants to count the number of these infiltrated loan words in the Algerian speech, he would be unable to do that because of the huge number of these words which reflect the result of more than one hundred years of French contact with Arabic. These borrowings are shared among speakers of the four dialectal varieties in their daily speech. It is rare to hear some of the inhabitants of these villages pronouncing the pure French word. Even educated speakers in the valley are much influenced by the use of French borrowings in their daily conversation with non-educated speakers. However, when their interlocutors are educated speakers either inside or outside the valley, they use French words and therefore they switch rather than introduce borrowings in their speech.

**Table 2.5 French borrowings in Beni Snous**

<b>Borrowings</b>	<b>French Gloss</b>	<b>English Gloss</b>
[sskali]	Escaliers	Stairs
[farmlɪ]	Infirmier	male nurse
[batoire]	Abattoir	slaughterhouse
[ksiliri]	Accélérer	speed up
[ladrisa]	Adresse	Address
[karʔɑb]	Cartable	Schoolbag
[farʃiʔɑ]	Fourchette	Fork
[miti]	Métier	Profession
[karto:n]	Carton	cardboard box
[ssilima]	Cinema	Cinema
[sərtafika]	Certificate	Certificate
[ʃampa:l]-[ʃampo]	Shampooing	Shampoo

Apart from French borrowings, we can also speak about some scarce Turkish, Italian, and Spanish borrowings in the bulk of Beni Snous speech compared with some coastal towns like Algiers, Oran, Béjaia, Ghazaouet, and Mostaghanem. The use of these foreign words in Beni Snous is limited to a very small number. For example, you might hear the Spanish words [bogaɖo] ‘lawyer’, [falʔɑ] ‘fault’, [raʃɑ] ‘race’, and [kabisa] ‘head’: as you might also hear some Turkish words [gɛwri] ‘European’ and [bura:k] ‘a traditional meal’: and last we could come through an Italian loanword that is widely used in the area especially among old men to refer to money [ʃʃwalɖɑ]. In fact, the Spanish invaders did not reach the region of Beni Snous, but the phenomenon of contact with other Algerian dialectal varieties has permitted the implantation of these foreign words in Beni Snous dialectal varieties.

#### **2.4 Problems of Dialect Classification in Beni Snous**

The aim of the above linguistic description of the dialectal varieties of the valley was to try to classify them adequately according to the sedentary/Bedouin categorisation. But, this linguistic description has shown that some of these dialectal varieties exhibit features from both dialects: sedentary and Bedouin. For example,

BAA has the form [gutlu] ‘I told him’ which entails a Bedouin phonological feature [g] and a sedentary morphological feature [-u]. At a lexical level, we have shown that they are of mixed types. As an instance, BH native speakers use both [nħəbbek] and [nəbyi:k] for the expression ‘I love you’. Therefore, the lack of historical contact of these dialectal varieties prevents us from forming a clear picture of the major changes they have undergone and knowing when, how, and why these dialectal varieties are the way they are now.

The only evidence that is likely to be convincing in the explanation of sedentary/Bedouin mixture found in these dialectal varieties is that of Destaing (1907) (referred to in section 2.2.4 above). He states that the lifestyle of Beni Snous tribes is both sedentary and nomadic, and within the same tribe there are sedentary and nomadic inhabitants. So, the sedentary inhabitants are not completely sedentary and the nomadic inhabitants are not also definitely nomadic.

As we have already discussed, this linguistic situation is more problematic when trying, in the following chapter, to trace the different linguistic processes that have occurred or are occurring as a result of the contact between these dialectal varieties. In order to reach a full understanding of the linguistic reality of these dialectal varieties, we need a diachronic reference to be able to analyse and discuss the synchronic situation. This difficulty might affect the reliability of this study.

## **2.5 Research Scope and Methodology**

Investigating sociolinguistically-related questions about language use and its users requires fieldwork methods which “may be the best kept secret of sociolinguistics” (Tagliamonte, 2006: 17). Therefore, the following sections will be devoted to the description of the area subject in this study and methodology used to select speakers and elicit the data required for analysis.

### **2.5.1 Beni Hammou: The Locus of Contact**

The inhabitants of the thirteen scattered hamlets and villages on the river borders led to a quiet life since independence. Conditions of living have been

slowly enhanced and the population has gradually increased. There was a stable local population in every village and hamlet all over the valley. But, by the beginning of the 1970's the village of BH, the crucial area in this study and one of the thirteen villages of the valley, has witnessed a great population influx, attracting people from all adjacent local areas for several political and socio-economic reasons.

At a social level, the rapid growth of population in every village led to an acute shortage of housing as most of the villages were built on the slopes and mountainside areas and hills which do not support high population density. On the contrary, the area of BH is considerably larger than any other area in the valley. As it was built on a flat and large geographical surface, this advantage allowed for the creation of all vital sectors, public institutions, and housing projects in the area within the social welfare protection framework that the government planned since independence to provide the Algerian citizens with. Many people from the local villages of the valley who owned very old houses have been re-housed in BH as this latter was supplied with hundreds of public housing units that were constructed for the first time in the valley: as a key component of these development plans (by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), as a way to improve the social infrastructure in the area: and to overcome housing shortages. As a matter of fact, a mass of population exodus from the other villages seeking jobs, housing and the benefit from public services characterised this period.

Ancient BH was situated in an isolated area along the left side (going down to up) of the river and its remains are still present. It dates back to earlier times. After independence, the indigenous people of this area moved to the opposite bank of the valley and started building their houses on the vast and wild surface in order to be near the national road of Beni Snous which links all the villages to each other. The other part above the road was completely empty and not inhabited. The owners of these lands started exposing them for sale at lower prices: a good profit which prompted the people of the surrounding areas to leave their old houses (dating back to the nineteenth century if not even before) and build new ones in the newly upper

side of BH. At the beginning, no one had the interest in buying a land outside his area of residence. But because of the aforementioned reasons, a craze for buying these lands started in the late 1980's. Consequently, large numbers of internal migrants have moved to the area and settled.

The late 1980's, also, witnessed increasing signs of instability which had drastic effects in all spheres of life in Algeria and effectively permitted the start of a lasting civil war since the 1990's. This period was known the '*black decade*' which still haunts the Algerian people today whenever their memories go back to that bloody period to remember those massacres of innocent civilians. Like all Algerians, the people of the valley of Beni Snous suffered similar tragedies, feared danger, persecution, and death. Insecurity led many inhabitants of the border areas in the valley to escape to the village of Beni Hammou because of: its geographical location in the valley (middle): and the presence of security and safety. Thus, BH has become the most densely populated area in the valley.

Given these factors, over approximately more than twenty years BH has witnessed a large influx of people from the neighbouring local villages mainly those situated up the valley (from Beni Achir, Mazzer, Sidi Larbi, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, and Khémis) which settled in BH for the socio-economic and political reasons mentioned earlier in this section. However, down the valley, only a small number of inhabitants (especially from Beni Bahdel, Keddara, and Zahra) left their homes during the black decade seeking security and safety, but they left soon for the neighbouring urban cities of Tlemcen and Maghnia. Others (mainly from Ouled Moussa, Beni Achir, and Mazzer) moved to Sebdou and Oran.

As will be discussed, our study is based on the linguistic behaviour of those comers, still living in BH. Their linguistic behaviour is best captured within a contact framework of the local dialectal varieties they use in contact situations with each other in the host area, and outside this area when they commute to the neighbouring cities.

### **2.5.2 The Fieldwork and the Informants**

Because the valley of Beni Snous is the home of thirteen scattered villages and hamlets along the river ‘*Oued El-khmis*’, we have chosen the densely populated area of BH which is considered as the locus of contact of all the inhabitants of these villages. Thus, the sample universe used to collect data was drawn from this area. The reasons for choosing BH have been stated in the previous section (2.5.1)

To select speakers from a community requires a valid method. Therefore, two major methods are used for sampling the speakers: random sampling and judgement sampling<sup>64</sup>. Applying one of these methods depends on the practical considerations related to the speech community under study and to the objectives of the researcher (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

Random sampling was implemented by Labov (1966) to select informants in the Lower East Side of New York City. One of its major advantages is that any member of the community can have the chance to be included in the study. To get a representative sample of speakers of a community via this method, researchers rely on electoral registers and telephone directories to draw such representative sample (Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*). However, the selection of this sample in this way can be biased as, for example, an electoral register enumerates only people over the age of 18 whereas those under this age would not be included (Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*). Most researchers in sociolinguistics have abandoned this method in favour of judgement sampling method in which they can identify in advance the types of speakers who fit the specified categories (such as age, gender, education, ethnic group, social class) they involve in their studies (Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*). In other words, the type of speakers needed for the study and the size of the sample are predetermined by the researcher in advance.

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<sup>64</sup>Tagliamonte (2006) and Milroy and Gordon (2003) provide ‘stratified random’, ‘quota’, and ‘quasi-random’ sampling as alternative terms for judgement sampling.

A good judgement sampling requires a defensible theoretical framework (Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*) where the researcher has to justify his judgement sampling. Thus, because we seek to investigate the effects of long-term dialect contact of three regional groups living in BH in two situations: when they first left their dwelling places and settled in this village and at the same time their social mobility to the neighbouring cities and towns, certain criteria were taken into consideration in order to select the informants for this study:

**1-**The informants who make up the old and middle age groups of this study are from the following regional areas that left their villages and went to live in BH: Beni Bahdel, Beni Achir, and Mazzer. Speakers of these three villages are chosen particularly because their dialectal varieties are the ones which exhibit much linguistic variation compared with the remaining others in Beni Snous. The middle-aged category includes informants between thirty one and forty-nine years old. Old age informants are from fifty to seventy five years old. Some speakers of these two age categories form the first and second generations, i.e. fathers and their children.

**2-**Preference is given in this study to families whose parents are from the same region, i.e. men married women from the same area and settled in BH with their children. Couples of different regional areas were excluded from this study for variation in their speech might eventually influence the speech of their children. For example, if the father is a [q] speaker and the mother is a [g] speaker the child, in this case, will be influenced by both pronunciations.

**3-**These in-migrant groups must have lived in BH village for a period of time not less than 10 years. The precision of the length of residence in BH at 10 years or more stems from Trudgill's (1986) work on the non-rhotic English-English speakers living in America. He argues that these speakers do not acquire the rhotic accent until after having lived in America for at least ten years or so. He also adds that this considerable time of living may not lead to the acquisition of preconsonantal /r/ as in [ha:rd].

In fact, some of these speakers were middle-aged and some were old when they came to settle in BH. These speakers make up the old age category in this study now. We selected their children who were at the age of 15 and over when they moved with them. These latter make up the middle age group now. In fact, some of them constitute the young category but they were not included because of the criteria stated for this category in the following point.

The rationale behind involving these two life stages (middle and old) is because sociolinguistic theories assume that this life stage yields “a more static treatment of middle-aged speech than of the speech of other age groups” (Eckert, 1998: 108) and because it is “treated outside of a developmental perspective” (Eckert, *ibid*: 109). Unlike adolescents and young adults, who are engaged in learning adult abilities and the elders who are on the way of losing these abilities, the middle-aged group is seen as: “engaging in mature use, as “doing” language rather than learning or losing it” (Eckert, *ibid*: 108-109). What is more, is that most of the studies focus on the category of old speakers in order to: “compare the frequency of their use of linguistic forms with younger speakers in order to investigate a possible change in progress” (Llamas, 2007: 72). In the light of these findings, we will reveal whether these two categories of in-migrants are likely to accommodate their speech to that of the host village as a consequence of their long-term contact or not.

So, a part of our aim of this study is to examine the speech of the old and middle age groups. Did they change their linguistic behaviour after living a considerable time in BH? Or are they static in their linguistic behaviour through maintaining the linguistic forms of their original speech? The presumed hypothesis for these two questions is that those speakers are expected to preserve all forms of their native local varieties, and so they are not expected to reduce or modify forms of their speech.

**4-**The third group which constitutes the younger age group (fifteen to thirty years old) in this study includes only those speakers who were born and raised in BH. This criterion has been included because we came across speakers who left with

their parents at a younger age and now they still form the young age category, but they were not included. This was done in order to see whether the fact of being born and raised in this area has had an impact on their linguistic behaviour. Moreover, we aim to see whether they have acquired the host village features or not. This age group is made up of speakers ranged in age from fifteen to thirty years old. Within this category, we came across rare instances of a third generation.

This category has been chosen for this study because it is the salient life stage that is mostly investigated for the important role it plays in language variation and change (Eckert, 1998). Marshall (2004) writes that in dialect contact studies, adolescents are considered as the leaders to an overwhelming convergence (both horizontal dialect/dialect convergence as well as vertical dialect/standard convergence). So, are Beni Snous adolescents really leading to linguistic convergence in Beni Hammou? Do they contribute to the process of levelling by having abandoned some features of their parents' local varieties? Of course, we expect this group to lead linguistic change in the valley through the abandonment of features of their parents' speech and the adoption of new forms available.

As already discussed in this chapter, the population in BH village is diverse and hence made up of, in addition to its native inhabitants, people from local neighbouring villages who moved to live there. Thus, the sample was drawn from in-migrant speakers residing in BH and whose origins are from the adjacent villages of Beni Bahdel, Beni Achir and Mazzer. The gender of speakers was also included in the stratification of the sample as male and female speakers from the three aforementioned areas were chosen. Our aim here is to reveal the impact of gender as a social variable on the linguistic behaviour of speakers. In other words, which category of speakers, i.e. men or women is prone to linguistic variation?

Given that intensity of contact primarily correlates with contact-induced change (Nagy, 1997), we included it as a social variable in this study, and it is explained in relation to the speakers' social mobility either inside the valley (internal contact with the native inhabitants of the host village) or outside it (with

speakers of urban cities). Some parameters were taken into consideration for mobility to identify the types of contact of speakers in two environments:

1-In-migrant speakers working or staying in the village of BH and thus, spending much more time in the village than outside it.

2-Mobile in-migrant speakers commuting from the village to the neighbouring towns and cities, or staying there temporarily for a few days, a week, or a month for example before returning home. These speakers who are in regular contact with people outside their village because they work or study in the following regions: the towns of Maghnia and Sebdou, and the cities of Tlemcen and Oran. The stratification criterion used for this group of commuters and short-term residents in terms of the period of time spent in these cities and towns is not specified. It varies from three years to twenty years. We have referred to speakers having internal contact in the host village as IC speakers, while speakers commuting to the neighbouring cities and which are in regular external contact with urban people are referred to as EC speakers.

### **2.5.3 Sample Size**

The number of informants used in linguistic studies is generally smaller than other disciplines since most researchers agree on the view that large numbers of informants are not necessary (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). In the field of sociolinguistics the researchers used different samples and they were criticised (Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*): for example, Labov's work (1966) in New York City contained only 88 informants and states that:

The structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behaviour.

Labov, 1966: 447

Gordon's (2001b) study in two northern cities in Michigan was made up of just 32 informants. In Jordan, with a population of 200,000, AI Khatib (1988) conducted his study with 38 speakers only. Trudgill (1974) used a sample of 60 informants in Norwich (with a population of 118,610) and justified this sample by considering it:

[...] large enough and sufficiently scientifically devised to permit reasonably confident assertions to be made concerning the population as a whole, and small enough to permit accurate and intensive study over a limited period of time.

Trudgill (1974: 21)

In one of his works, Labov (1972a, qtd. in Jassem, 1987: 27) states that a random sample of 25 informants is large enough to investigate language variation. He (1966) also states that: “one or two speakers who represent a particular category of age, sex, social class, etc. are sufficient to reveal the structure after all” (qtd. in Al Khatib, 1988: 60). Sankoff claims that: “samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns” (Sankoff, 1980a, qtd. in Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 29). Instances of scholars who favour small samples in linguistics are many, and those who carried out studies with a small number of informants are even much more. This fact leads us, as already avowed by Jassem (1987), to conclude that there is no general agreement among scholars on the fixed number of speakers that should be involved in any linguistic research. In sum, Labov himself states through his ‘sampling paradox’ that: “the more confident we are that a sample represents a population, the less confident we are that the sample can explain the behaviour of that population” (Labov, 2001, qtd. in Wilson, 2010: 241).

Deciding on the number of speakers who constitute a minority in a given speech community proved to be problematic in many studies since: “it was extremely difficult for the researchers to discover the location of minority speakers or even to discover how many individuals constituted the sampling universe” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 27). Thus, to remedy this problem, the researchers “should attempt to attain as far as possible the goal of statistically representative sampling” (ibid: 28).

Accordingly, it was impossible to know the number of the minority immigrant groups under study. Thus, it was very beneficial that the researcher worked and lived in the host village for 11 years which made her able to know the area and many of its inhabitants very well. During that period, she made friends and

acquaintances, in addition to her neighbours and family members who helped her in the selection of informants and data collection via proposing their friends and family members.

As we have identified beforehand the types of speakers in accordance with our earlier stated objectives and their social parameters and following the stated theoretical framework on sampling size, we have drawn a sample of fifty-two informants from three in-migrant groups. From this sample, three separated samples of twelve BB in-migrants, twenty-one BA in-migrants, and nineteen MZ in-migrants were created. The problem that faced us in deciding on the sample size was that we could not know the number of the in-migrants who settled in BH. Even at the level of the town hall, we did not obtain statistical information about internal migration in the valley. Besides, the in-migrant groups of Beni Achir and Mazzer outnumber the in-migrant group of Beni Bahdel. They constitute the smallest group in BH because after staying in this village for quite a while, many of them either returned home or went outside the valley and the number of those remaining can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Thus, the sample of speakers of this group is relatively small compared with the other two groups and we hardly came across twelve informants to achieve our study. Moreover, it is the category of females in all age groups working outside BH and the valley which is not available within this group. In addition, the old category of females with external contact in the two other in-migrant groups could not be also obtained. Thus, given this fact of lack of informants, without a doubt, will affect the study and make the generalisation of language use in a wider community unreliable.

The following table summarises the distribution of speakers involved in this study across the selected social variables. The symbol (-) indicated in the table means that the cells are empty because we have not come across speakers who fit the needed social parameters in this study, and hence the cells remained void:

**Table 2.6 Sampling and stratification of speakers\***

Age		Young (15-30)				Middle (31-49)				Old (50-75)			
Gender		M		F		M		F		M		F	
Contact		IC	EC	IC	EC	IC	EC	IC	EC	IC	EC	IC	EC
R O	BB	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	-	2	1	2	-
	BA	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	-
	MZ	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	-
Grand Total		5	5	6	3	4	5	5	3	6	4	6	-

\*(RO: regional origin, EC: external contact, IC: internal contact)

### 2.5.4 Data Collection

The best way to account for language use among speakers in a given speech community is to collect samples of their spontaneous, everyday speech. However, obtaining free natural speech has always been confronted with the fact that speakers know they are being observed and tape-recorded, a situation known as *'the observer's paradox'*<sup>65</sup>. The naturalness of speech seems to be difficult to get in this situation and researchers in the field have provided various methods to overcome or at least reduce the effects of the observer's paradox during data collection, but, nonetheless, it still persists and there is no systematic and efficient way of eliminating it (Bassiouney, 2009). So, when planning to collect data for this study, different strategies were observed. We relied first on observation which was achieved via recording spoken interactional data with random groups of speakers from Beni Snous local regions as well as informal note-taking that was done by writing down everything that was said or seen. Structured interviews and written questionnaires form a vital method in our investigation as well as the study of related documents.

<sup>65</sup> The principle of the observer's paradox is that the researcher wants to observe how people speak without knowing that they are being observed.

#### **2.5.4.1 Observation**

Using this research technique, the researcher relied on all kinds of data observed and heard. It was achieved via recording speech and conversations using a tape recorder and note-taking. Thus, the initial step in collecting data was to record ordinary conversations in different contexts between friends, family members, and relatives that the researcher has in her social environment in the valley on different occasions several times. This method provided the researcher with significant linguistic information about the targeted local varieties and social information about their speakers. Thus, it served as a basis for qualitative analysis as well. In addition, via this technique, we could set the linguistic similarities and differences existing between these local dialectal varieties at phonological, morphological as well as lexical levels (though the researcher has a good knowledge about the speech of every group).

As just mentioned, doing this with the awareness of informants always gives rise to the observer's paradox and leads speakers to pay attention to what they are saying and tend to formalise their speech as they know they are being observed. For this reason and during the initial recordings, the informants were not told they were being recorded while speaking. Observation through recordings was extended later to get more information as it was done during different occasions whenever it was possible. Examples of occasions and traditional practices are weddings, childbirth, circumcisions, and banquets. Another alternative technique was based on collecting information from a combination of observation and discussion with community members associated with note-taking. It was also helpful in supplying additional information about Beni Snous speakers in BH, their local spoken varieties, and their linguistic behaviour.

#### **2.5.4.2 Interviews**

The elicited data were organised through the well-known method called the sociolinguistic interview. Though this method has been widely used in variationist sociolinguistics research to capture casual speech, the researchers could not escape the '*observer's paradox*' (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Many approaches have been

put forward to avoid this paradox and make the informants feel at ease while answering. For example, Labov (1972) recorded the speech of his informants into groups rather than individuals. Another technique was introduced by the Milroys (1978). They relied on a 'friend of a friend' approach to elicit spontaneous speech of their informants.

In our study, to count on the technique of grouping speakers and recording their speech at once proved to be useless in some situations. In the initially recorded observations of spontaneous conversations that we stated above, we recorded speakers in groups. Though the groups of speakers of each region were recorded separately, it was impossible to recognise their voices. Fortunately, we were not concerned with the identity of speakers in that phase of data collection. Hence, we concluded that using this technique in the sociolinguistic interview with the targeted speakers was impossible to analyse it quantitatively for the difficulty of identifying the speakers' voices in groups. For these reasons, we relied on the Milroys' 'friend of a friend' technique to gather speakers (but who fit the provided criteria for this study) for the interview. This has been done simply by asking speakers who were already interviewed to recommend their friends with the needed criteria to participate willingly.

Though many linguists view face-to-face interview inappropriate because the elicited speech is rather formal and speakers pay attention to what they say, it was the main technique used to obtain the desired data in this study because of its sufficiency in gathering data in a short period of time. In addition, the observer's paradox did not cause problems because the researcher explained to the interviewed individuals that the main objective was to gather information about their native speech, daily lives, customs and traditions to see whether their practices are similar or different in all Beni Snous tribes. As the researcher is well known for most of the interviewees, the process of recording their speech was done most of the time in a friendly way except for some informants who showed some reluctance and inhibition.

The lengthy process of interviewing speakers took place in different contexts: between friends, family members, and relatives. Most of the time, female speakers were interviewed in their proper homes and their neighbours' as well. In some other cases, male and female speakers of the same family were interviewed individually in their houses. Fortunately, most of the male informants were interviewed in the House of Culture whose person in charge is a close friend of the researcher's husband and let her gather them in his office in order to complete the task in an easy and comfortable way. The secondary school was also a place where adolescent speakers of both genders were interviewed in the library. But, the quality of the recordings was not so good because of the crowded place there. Thus, the researcher was obliged to do some of them again whenever the sound quality was bad.

The structured questions in the interview were introduced to the informants in the same order by asking them general information about their age, job, studies, and their parents' origins in addition to other questions. It stretched then to include some topics for discussion. Unfortunately, this was done only with some speakers who showed willingness and enthusiasm to go deeper into the discussion. For some other speakers, it was difficult to achieve the task because we realised that they felt discomfort and their speech was limited during the discussion<sup>66</sup>.

Therefore, we felt forced to move to the subsequent questions in the interview in which we asked questions to get the needed phonological and morphological data. In this phase, some informants did not understand some questions and, hence, did not answer. So, the researcher interfered to explain through gestures. For example, to elicit the linguistic variable (Ǿ) the question was: 'what do Muslims do in the great feast?' Some informants automatically responded: 'they go to pray.' The researcher made some gestures to show the informant the act of slaughtering a sheep by moving her hand on her neck. In fact, each time the

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<sup>66</sup> Both male and female speakers have shown discomfort mainly BB in-migrants and a few ones from MZ.

researcher interfered during the interviews to guide the confused speakers to the right answer without uttering the target word.

The questions involved in the questionnaire interview were divided into seven parts in order to obtain some objectives. Part one was mainly designed to get information about the identity of the informants (name, date and place of birth) in addition to other questions to get more information about their families, jobs, date of residence in BH, and the reasons that pushed them to live there. Part two aimed at knowing the degree of their integration in the area and its inhabitants they are living with and also the degree of social and cultural integration of those informants commuting or staying temporarily in the neighbouring cities and towns. The third part sought to get general information about the host village and the fourth part was provided to involve the informants in general discussions of different topics. Part five was designed to elicit the interdental variables while the last two parts were provided to elicit the morphological variables (-hu) and gender markers.

In addition to this technique, a set of pictures were provided to the informants at the end of each interview asking them to report what they saw in them. This technique was included in order to elicit data about the phonological interdental variables for the aim of obtaining more words with these sounds, because some of the speakers, as we have just mentioned, were reluctant and very limited in their responses. For some pictures, the informants would answer with just one word whereas for others they would give a full sentence. For example, to elicit the linguistic variable ( $\theta$ ) a picture was provided with a kind of vegetable called 'garlic'. The informants automatically responded with one word without any difficulties, while in some pictures some informants were confused because the pictures did not show objects but rather actions. The researcher, as usual, interfered to guide the speakers to the right answer without talking with them. As an instance, in the picture showing the action of tasting, some speakers said: 'it is a woman eating.' The researcher, in this case, tried to clarify that eating necessitates a spoon, while the woman in the picture is carrying a ladle. After this, the informants could quickly find the right word.

In fact, the elicitation of the morphological variables was the most difficult phase as many obstacles made our task very difficult. Besides the fact that the amount of spontaneous speech elicited from each individual speaker was different as not the same words containing the targeted variables were uttered, the morphological variables themselves were impossible to elicit, as they did not occur often during interviews. Even the elicitation technique via pictures was impossible and we did not use it. Alternatively, we provided part six and seven in the interview to ask questions that contained these variables. These questions were included in order to obtain at least 10 tokens per speaker.

#### *2.5.4.3 Questionnaires*

The other instrument used in this study is the self-reported questionnaire. It constituted the backbone in order to achieve the second task of this study which is the investigation of the informants' attitudes towards the local dialectal varieties, their speakers, and the host community. Two different questionnaires were administered to speakers of different types of contact: speakers who spend their whole time in the village are called internal contact speakers (IC). The speakers, who commute to the neighbouring cities and towns for different purposes, are called external contact speakers (EC). The two questionnaires were administered in Arabic rather than French because of incompetence of most informants in this language. An English version of the questionnaires is provided at the end of this study.

We strongly believe that Beni Snous speakers' attitudes towards each other's local varieties and particularly towards some linguistic features as well as about people living in those areas (i.e. dialect attitudes) prove to be a basic element in explaining their linguistic behaviour. Thus, to elucidate the attitudinal information we applied the direct measures of attitudes as it is a straightforward method widely used by researchers in the field of language attitudes investigations. It is mainly processed through overt questioning by asking the informants questions in a written form via administering a self-reported questionnaire at the end of each interview.

Two types of questions were included: closed questions and open-ended questions. Closed questions include yes/no questions and some multiple choice questions (using Likert scale as a measurement of attitudes). Though these questions restrict the responses and lead the informants not to give additional information, they are less time consuming to complete and easier to analyse. Most of the open-ended questions included ‘wh’ questions. Using this type of questions was a benefit for the researcher as they allowed the informants to answer freely and express their opinions using their own words. But, they took much time to complete and analyse, i.e. data analysis of this type was more complex than that of the former.

### **2.5.5 The Selected Linguistic Variables**

The phonological variables chosen for this study are: the variable (q) and its variants [q]-[g], the variable (θ) with its variants [θ] and [t], the variable (ḏ) and its variants [ḏ]-[d], and the variable (ḏ̣) and its variants [ḏ̣]-[ḏ̣]. Two morphological variables are considered: the variable (-hu) and its variants [-u] and [-ah], the variable (-i:na) and its variants: [-ej] when occurring in the environment of an emphatic consonant and [-ij] when occurring in the environment of a plain consonant : and [-i]-∅.

#### **2.5.5.1 Variable (q)**

The variable (q) has been widely investigated in the Arab societies. Many Arab and European researchers have followed the tradition of investigating this classical variable perhaps because it provides a well-known model and a good example of approaching, interpreting, and understanding variation in the Arabic-speaking world. This variable has been the basic criterion distinguishing Bedouin dialects from sedentary dialects. Across the Arabic-speaking world, this variable has one standard variant [q] and four vernacular variants, [dʒ], [ʔ], [g], and [k]. In some parts of Algeria, mainly in the nomadic tribe of Larbaaʕ (Laghouat), the sound

(ʔ) has [q] as its variant: [ṣʔi:r]-[ʔaba] ‘small’, ‘forest’ are pronounced [ṣqi:r],[qaba] Dhina (1938: 313).

As described by Fisher (1958, qtd. in Schmidt, 1986: 58-59), this sociolinguistic variable and the distribution of its variants: velar [g] and glottal [ʔ] in the Arabic-speaking communities equals the English sociolinguistic variable (-Ing) and the distribution of its variants [-ɪŋ]-[-ɪn]. This conclusion was reached by Fisher (ibid) from a study of Classical/Standard [q] and the Egyptian colloquial [ʔ] in Cairo and Lower Egypt as speakers during structured interviews showed a tendency towards the use of [q] in formal and informal topics and [ʔ] in casual speech. The use of the English variants [-ɪŋ] and [-ɪn] is almost exclusive in the use of [-ɪŋ] in formal situations and predominant in the use of [-ɪn] in informal situations.

Researchers often relate (q) with social factors of age, gender, origin, prestige, occupation and education. Sallam (1980) has pointed out in his study that educated Arab speakers from all origins share the variant [q] in communication. Daher’s (1997) study of men’s and women’s speech in Damascus, Syria has shown that the variant [q] is used by men more than women who tend to use the urbanised variant [ʔ]. Haeri (1991, qtd. in Bouhania, 2011: 51) considers /q/ and /g/ as ‘Diglossic variables’ because they are typical examples of phonological and lexical gaps between “Standard/non-standard” and “Prestige/non-prestige” language varieties. Abdel Jawad (1981), in his study of Amman dialect, states that “because of the social and geographical importance of this variable [(Q)] as a carrier of local or regional loyalties, it has often been used by dialectologists as the main criterion for establishing the dialect boundaries or isoglosses in the Arabic dialects” (Abdel-Jawad, 1981: 159).

As far as this variable is concerned in an Algerian context, Bouhania (ibid) discusses the phonological divergence between (q) and (g) considering them as a subject of controversy among researchers whose opinions were at opposite poles of the debate: one of the two poles describes the velar stop [g] as a surface reflex of the uvular stop /q/, while the other considers them as two different phonemes by themselves. Using minimal pairs and lexical doublets to illustrate the phonetic and phonological contrast between the two variables in Touat Spoken Arabic, Bouhania (ibid) finds out that they are two different phonemes. In the same vein, colonial studies like Dhina's (1938) description of the speech of The Arbaaʿ people in Laghouat show this contrast in a number of examples. We state the following:

[qabla]: 'direction of Mecca' vs. [gabla]: 'south'

[raqba]: 'soul' vs. [ragba]: 'neck'

As we have just mentioned, the variable (q) is realised [ʔ] in Tlemcen (west of Algeria) as women prefer the glottal stop [ʔ] to both uvular /q/ and velar /g/ referring to the former as 'standard' (Dekkak, 1979) and the latter as 'vulgar' (Hassaine, 1984, qtd. in Bouhania, ibid). In a later study of the same dialect, (Dendane, 2013) points out that the glottal stop [ʔ] in Tlemcen has proved to be stigmatised especially among younger males who avoid its use in favour of rural [g], while women, strongly, prefer its use and preserve it in their speech.

Two variants are realised for the standard variable (q) in the speech of in-migrant speakers in Beni Hammou: the voiceless uvular stop [q] and the voiced velar stop [g]. The following table shows the distribution of these variants in the speech of the in-migrant speakers and the natives of Beni Hammou on the basis of their original local varieties:

**Table 2.7 Variants of (q) in Beni Hammou**

Variant	Original Local Variety	Examples
[q]	BHA and BBA	[qa:l] ‘he said’
[g]	BAA and MZA	[ga:l] ‘he said’

### 2.5.5.2 The Arabic Interdentals ( $\theta$ ) ( $\ð$ ) ( $\ð̣$ )

Aniss (2003) avows that Arabic is unique: it has preserved a large majority of the original Proto-Semitic features, and many linguists consider it the most Semitic of any modern Semitic languages in terms of how completely they preserve features of Proto-Semitic. He further adds that what distinguishes the Arabic language is its ability to articulate sounds which are not found in other Semitic languages, for instance, the sounds [ $\ð$ ]- ( $\theta$ )- ( $\d$ )- ( $\gamma$ )- ( $\ð̣$ ).

Early Arabic sociolinguistic studies considered variation and change as an approximation to Standard Arabic as the investigated variants were described in terms of Standard vs. non-Standard (Al-Wer, 2014). Accordingly, the variable interdentals ( $\theta$ ), ( $\ð$ ), and ( $\ð̣$ ) have the variants [ $\theta$ ], [ $\ð$ ], and [ $\ð̣$ ] respectively which were always referred to as Standard variants. The other corresponding variants [ $t$ ], [ $d$ ], and [ $\d$ ] were described as non-Standard variants.

These Arabic interdentals ( $\theta$ ), ( $\ð$ ), and ( $\ð̣$ ) have had the lion share in the field of language variation and change studies as they were among other phonological variables which were investigated by Abdel Jawad (1986) in the cities of Irbid and Amman in Jordan. He reveals that these Bedouin features are substituted with the urban variants: the voiceless dental stop [ $t$ ], the voiced dental stop [ $d$ ], and the emphatic voiced alveolar stop [ $\d$ ] by Amman speakers.

In North Africa, Pereira (2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010) conducted a series of studies in Tripoli (Libya) where he examined thoroughly the most salient linguistic features of different varieties (pre-Hilali, urban, rural and Bedouin) of the Arabic dialect of Tripoli. He (2010) states that in the urbanised Bedouin variety of Tripoli Arabic as well as its numerous rural and sedentary ones the interdentalals ( $\theta$ ), ( $\eth$ ), and ( $\eth$ ) have merged with the dental stops [t] and [d], and [d].

In Algeria, the linguistic differences that characterise the Bedouin dialects from sedentary in many parts of the country were mostly investigated by the French anthropologists and sociologists during colonialism (1830-1962) and even after independence. Among the described linguistic features were the interdentalals [ $\theta$ ], [ $\eth$ ], and [ $\eth$ ]. These variables may be still attested in old urban varieties of Tenès, Dellys and Cherchell (Ph. Marçais 1977, 9; Grand'henry 2006, 54, qtd. in Pereira 2011).

Among the thirteen tribes of Beni Snous valley, only Mazzer speakers preserve these interdental sounds in their speech. What is particular in their speech is that even the Arabic sound /d/ is realised [ $\eth$ ]. For example, the CA words /turdeʕu/, /ʔadɖawʔu/ 'she feeds', 'light' are articulated in MZA: [trə $\eth$  $\eth$ ɑʕ], [ $\eth$  $\eth$ ɑw]. For the remaining tribes in the valley, the speakers pronounce them as dentals, i.e. [t] for / $\theta$ /, [d] for / $\eth$ /, and alveolar [d] for / $\eth$ /. Six variants are found in the speech of speakers in Beni Hammou with each variable having two variants: [ $\theta$ ] and [t] for the variable / $\theta$ /: [ $\eth$ ] and [d] for the variable / $\eth$ /: and [ $\eth$ ] and [d] for the variable / $\eth$ /. All these variants, found in the speech of in-migrant speakers, are shown in the following table:

**Table 2.8 Variants of (θ, ð, ð̣) in Beni Hammou**

Variant	Original Local Variety	Examples
[θ]	MZA	[θmənja] 'eight'
[ð]	MZA	[ðba:l] 'it faded'
[ð̣]	MZA	[ð̣la:m] 'darkness'
[t]-[t <sup>s</sup> ]	[t] in BHA-BAA and [t <sup>s</sup> ] in BBA	[tmənja] 'eight'
[d]	BHA-BBA-BAA	[dba:l] 'it faded'
[ð̣]	BHA-BBA-BAA	[ð̣ð̣la:m] 'darkness'

### 2.5.5.3 Variable (-hu)

The variable (-hu) investigated in this study is a CA pronoun suffix used with the third person singular masculine. It is one of a set of suffix pronouns found in CA: possessive pronouns and object pronouns. The first set is suffixed to nouns and the second set is suffixed to verbs (Ryding, 2005; McLoughlin, 2003). Like CA, nouns and verbs in dialectal Arabic can have these types of possessive pronoun suffixes. As we are interested in the third person singular masculine we give the following instances with the pronoun suffix attached to it which is (-hu):

-Possessive pronouns attached to nouns:

/ridʒluhu/ 'his leg' - /bintuhu/ 'his daughter'

-Object pronouns attached to verbs:

Perfective /samiʔtu hu/ 'I listened to him' - imperfective /ʔasmaʔuhu/ 'I listen to him' - imperative /ʔismaʔhu/ 'listen to him'.

In BH the CA variable (-hu) is realised: [-u] among speakers of the host community, the group of Beni Bahdel, and Beni Achir: [-ah] among speakers originally from Mazzer. The occurrences of the pronoun suffix variable (-hu) in the informants' recorded speech are counted either in nouns as possessive pronouns or in verbs with all tenses as object pronouns. The different realisations for this variable are illustrated in the table that follows:

**Table 2.9 Variants of (-hu) in Beni Hammou**

Variant	Original Local Variety	Examples
[-u]	BHA-BBA-BAA	[jəddu] ‘his hand’
[-ah]	MZA	[jəddah] ‘his hand’

#### 2.5.5.4 Gender Markers

In Algeria, males and females are addressed differently. This is true for Bedouin dialects which keep gender distinction in the second person feminine singular of the verb, but sedentary dialects do not and so that are characterised by the drop of the feminine marker {-i} in the second person feminine singular.

Compared with CA and MSA, gender distinction is made by adding the suffixes (-i:na), (-i:), and (-i) to the second person feminine singular of the perfective, imperative, and imperfective verbs respectively. This gender marker is still retained in Gulf Arabic such as the dialectal varieties of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman but with the elision of final /a/ so that the last letter is kept alone (Watson, 2002). We state the following example to show this description: CA: the verb /taʔkuli:na/ ‘you eat’ /kuli:/ ‘eat’ /ʔakalti/ ‘you ate’ is articulated [tak<sup>w</sup>li:n][kuli:]-[ʔakalti] and [kalti] in most Arabian Gulf states.

However, in the Arab North African countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, and Morocco, it is reduced to the form [-i] (perfective, imperfective, and imperative) to distinguish women from men. In some Algerian varieties such as Tlemcen Arabic, no gender distinction is attested and hence, is completely dropped [-∅]. Therefore, the above CA example is realised: [tak<sup>w</sup>l] ‘you eat’, [kul] ‘eat’, and [kli:t] ‘you ate’.

In the valley of Beni Snous, the neutral realisation of gender marker {-∅} in Tlemcen Arabic is similar to the local dialectal variety BHA. Since it is attached as

a suffix in a number of verbs when addressing the second person singular feminine, it is realised differently among speakers. In BHA, no distinction is made between males and females when addressing them and hence, has  $\emptyset$  variant. In BAA and MZA the variant [-i] is present in the speech of their speakers. However, in the fourth one that is BBA, the diphthong [-ej] is used when it occurs in the environment of an emphatic consonant for example [ʔt̤ej ni] ‘give me’ and [-ij] when it occurs in the environment of a plain consonant like in [mæddij li] ‘give me’.

The Arabic diphthongs, /aw, aj/ are kept in Bedouin dialects. In sedentary ones, they are substituted by [i:] and [u:] in the environment of plain consonants and [e:], [o:] in the environment of emphatics /t̤, ʕ, ɟ, d̤/ and the pseudo-emphatics /q, r, ʁ, ʁ/ respectively. For example, /mawʕa/ → [mu:ʕa]: ‘wave’: /aw/ becomes [u:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /m/.

/ʃajb/ → [ʃi:b]: ‘whiteness of the hair’: /aj/ becomes [i:] as it is preceded by the plain consonant /ʃ/. /ʕawt̤a/ → [ʕo:t̤a]: ‘hit’: /aw/ becomes [o:] as it is preceded by the emphatic consonant /ʕ/.

/d̤ajf/ → [d̤e:f]: ‘guest’: /aj/ becomes [e:] as it is preceded by the emphatic /d̤/.

In MZA whose speakers, though they left the nomadic style of living, their speech still contains this characteristic of Bedouin dialects. In this study, this type of diphthongs associated with nouns is not subject to examination. We are concerned with the realisation of the type of diphthongs realised in verbs which are found in the speech of Beni Bahdel speakers who are particularly subject to utter diphthongs only in verbs rather nouns.

Diphthongisation, as found in nouns, is also found in verbs conjugated in the second person feminine singular with all tenses as follows: perfective [ʃritij],

imperfective[təʃrij], and imperative[ʃrij] ‘you bought, you buy, and buy respectively’. As discussed already in chapter one (section 1.9.3) and in this chapter (section 2.3.1), these diphthongs are also realised in possessive pronouns when suffixed with nouns.

As our concern in this study is to examine linguistic accommodation to explain variation and change in accordance with social constraints and not linguistic constraints, the occurrences of the diphthongs [-ij] and [-ej] in different linguistic environments, i.e. plain and emphatic consonants respectively are counted as one variant. Thus, throughout this study we shall refer to both realisations as one variant referring to them [-ij/-ej] because the number of tokens realised by speakers was relatively small and for this reason, we counted all [-ij]-[-ej] occurrences and referred to them this way: [-ij/-ej].

**Table 2.10 Variants of (i: na) in Beni Hammou**

Variant	Original Local Variety	Examples
∅	BHA	[Kul] ‘eat’
[-i]	BAA-MZA	[kuli] ‘eat’
[-ij/-ej]	BBA	[kulij] ‘eat’ plain consonant environment. [ʔatʔej] ‘cover’ emphatic consonant environment.

As stated earlier, BH village is densely populated by different regional groups from the valley. Three in-migrant groups were chosen for this study because they exhibit linguistic variation in their speech as compared with the remaining groups. So, three dialectal varieties might bear witness to a possible process of linguistic variation and change taking place in this area. Such process is investigated via the process of linguistic accommodation which is, in turn, the consequence of

extensive social and regional contact that BH speakers have inside and outside this speech community. Theoretically speaking, in this situation speakers tend to adopt some linguistic features from a dialectal variety rather than another. So as pointed earlier, our aim is to reveal whether these speakers reduce some forms of their speech and adopt others (either from inside the valley or from outside it).

The investigated phonological and morphological variables with their variants used by in-migrant speakers, living in BH but originally coming from different neighbouring areas in the valley (Beni Bahdel, Beni Achir, and Mazzer), are summarised in the following table:

**Table 2.11 The Selected linguistic variables and their variants**

Variable	BBA	BHA	BAA	MZA
(q)	[q]	[q]	[g]	[g]
(θ)	[t]	[t]	[t]	[θ]
(ð)	[d]	[d]	[d]	[ð]
(ð̣)	[ḍ]	[ḍ]	[ḍ]	[ð̣]
(-hu)	[-u]	[-u]	[-u]	[-ah]
Gender marker (i:na)	[-ij/-ej]	[-∅]	[-i]	[-i]

## 2.6 Conclusion

The first part of this chapter has been provided for the description of the valley of Beni Snous in general and the village of BH in particular, as it is the fieldwork of the present study. Starting from the major classificatory division of the Arabic dialects that is the socially-based Sedentary/Bedouin dichotomy, we have outlined some of the basic features of the dialectal varieties under investigation and found that linguistic differences between them at a phonological level are greater in number than at any other linguistic level. Though almost all of these linguistic features fit the Sedentary-Bedouin dichotomy, we found that the classification of

the local varieties is rather difficult as these dialectal varieties are blurred and display characteristics of both types. The social background about the village of BH permitted us to introduce the subject of the study, where we stated the major socio-economic and political pressures which forced some people from Beni Snous villages to leave their rural dwelling places and settle in BH.

The second part of the present chapter has been devoted mainly to the methodology and procedures used to gather data. Accommodation in contact situations is our basic interest in this study as we investigate the linguistic behaviour of a sample of speakers of the three in-migrant groups (Beni Bahdel, Beni Achir, and Mazzer). To stratify speakers according to the specified social parameters, judgment sampling has been applied in this study. We opted for this method because our sample of population is divided into three regional groups of speakers and very specific criteria were needed in the selection of speakers. Thus, random sampling was inappropriate. To examine whether speakers modify their speech in contact situations or not, we have relied on the cornerstone of any research which is the sociolinguistic interview. The questionnaire has also been used to reveal speakers' personal attitudes about the local varieties and their users. Observation as an initial technique to gather data was applied too. It has permitted to reveal regional variation in the valley.

## ***Chapter Three: Investigating Speakers' Linguistic Behaviour***

### **3.1 Introduction**

### **3.2 Speakers' Variable Linguistic Behaviour**

#### **3.2.1 The Phonological Variables**

##### ***3.2.1.1 The Phonological Variable (q) and the Social Variables***

- *(q) and Regional Origin of Speakers*
- *Correlation of [g] with Age of BB in-migrants*
- *[g] and Gender of BB In-migrants*
- *[g] and Type of Contact*

##### ***3.2.1.2 The Interdentals and the Social Variables***

- *Regional Origin of Speakers and the Interdentals*
- *The Interdentals and Age of MZ In-migrants*
- *The Interdentals and Gender of MZ In-migrants*
- *Stops Counterparts and Type of Contact*

#### **3.2.2 The Morphological Variables**

##### ***3.2.2.1 The Linguistic Variable (-hu) and the Social Variables***

- *(-hu) and Regional Origin of Speakers*
- *Age of Speakers and the Variable (-hu)*
- *Gender and the Variable (-hu)*
- *[-ah] and Type of Contact*

##### ***3.2.2.2 Gender Marker and the Social Variables***

- *Regional Origin and Gender Marker Forms*
- *Age and Gender Marker*
- *Gender and Gender Marker*
- *Type of Contact and Gender Marker*

### **3.3 The Effect of the Social Variables on the Informants' Linguistic Behaviour**

#### **3.3.1 Regional Origin**

#### **3.3.2 Age**

#### **3.3.3 Gender**

#### **3.3.4 Type of Contact**

### **3.4 Conclusion**

### **3.1 Introduction**

As this study deals with the linguistic behaviour of BH speakers that is reflected in accommodation and strives to find social and psychological explanations for the accommodating behaviour, these explanations are represented statistically in this chapter. Thus, as a part of these explanations, an examination of the linguistic behaviour of the three in-migrant groups of speakers will be presented.

The distributions of the linguistic variables among the informants are dealt with by using quantitative methods to represent them via a tabular form, line graphs, or bar graphs. By using the techniques of variationist sociolinguistics, we will examine the social constraints on the variability in the use of four phonological and two morphological variables to reveal linguistic accommodation among the speakers, i.e. which linguistic variants are adopted and which are avoided. This will be done in accordance with the social parameters selected for this study.

### **3.2 Speakers' Variable Linguistic Behaviour**

Since the emergence of sociolinguistics the primary task of language investigators as a social phenomenon has been:

Correlating linguistic variation as the dependent variable with independent variables such as linguistic environment [i.e. social context], style or social categories [i.e. social characteristics of speakers] is the primary task of sociolinguistics.

(Chambers 1997:17)

Thus, the correlation of social structure with linguistic structure via statistical analysis will be provided in the following sections. We will try to find out whether linguistic variation manifested in the linguistic accommodation of the three-targeted groups in BH is constrained by the social factors of age, gender, and type of contact. Therefore, we have used the software version 'R- i 386 3.2.2' to perform statistical analysis. The t-test and ANOVA test are used to find out the significance of the differences between the linguistic and the social variables (confidence interval for  $t: \in [-1.96, 1.96]$ , probability less than 0.05, i.e. p-value <0.05)

As we have mentioned each time throughout this study, linguistic accommodation<sup>67</sup> is the first process that might take place because of contact between mutually intelligible dialects of the same language (Trudgill, 1986). Therefore, we find it of great importance, as far as our study is concerned, to ask the following questions: is there any evidence for accommodation in the speech of BH speakers? Which original forms in their speech are avoided and which new forms are adopted? To what extent do they accommodate?

To get a complete answer to these questions, we look at linguistic accommodation of these groups of speakers, i.e. whether they adopt the host village forms and drop their regional ones, or they retain them. Quantitative data stand in this part of the study as a concrete evidence for the speakers' accommodation to a non-native<sup>68</sup> variant or maintenance of a native variant. Accordingly, the degree of accommodation is quantified by looking at the distribution of the linguistic variants among speakers and their correlation with the social parameters selected for this study. This has been done by counting the number of occurrences of the variants in the speech of the interviewed speakers. These are called tokens and the required number of tokens for the analysis of the data in sociolinguistics is not specified. In his study of final stop deletion, Guy (1980, qtd. in Milroy and Gordon 2003) suggests that thirty tokens per variable elicited from each subject are sufficient. He states that this number is a reasonable objective and is: "an important dividing line in statistics generally between large and small samples" and a number of tokens above ten "moves towards 90 per cent conformity with the predicted norm, rising to 100 per cent with 35 tokens" (Guy, 1980, qtd. in Milroy and Gordon, *ibid*: 164).

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<sup>67</sup> We have explained in chapter one (section 1.4) that the process of linguistic accommodation, which is the main effect of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible dialects of the same language, takes place initially as short-term accommodation. It can become long-term accommodation because of long-term contact (Trudgill, 1986).

<sup>68</sup> The term non-native is used to refer to a linguistic variant that is not present in the original speech of a speaker. The term native is used to refer to a linguistic variant that is already present in the original speech of a speaker. The term native is also associated with BH speakers in order to differentiate them as a majority immobile group of the host village from the remaining three groups (BB, BA, and MZ) as in-migrant minority groups in the host village.

Because the researcher was aware of the specific features under study and in order not to influence the speakers during the interviews, she consciously maintained her own original speech and did not modify it, i.e. did not converge to any of the interviewees' native speech features. Her original speech features are [q], the suffix pronoun [-u], gender marker  $\emptyset$ , and the stops [t, d, d̥]. To prove that the interviewees did not converge to the researcher's speech is that none of them, who is native of [g], [-ah], [-i], and [ə, ɔ̃, ɔ̃̄], has accommodated to her original speech features. These results are shown in the following sections.

The elicitation of the targeted phonological and morphological data was not an easy task in this study because of the unwillingness of some speakers during the interview. This was due to some factors like inhibition that stood as a hindrance to some speakers during the interview, while others were not free to have enough time for a lengthy interview. For some others, they showed disinterest in answering some questions. Thus, as we will see the number of tokens elicited for each variable fluctuated among speakers because the amount of speech elicited from each speaker was different: as some of them articulated more than the reasonable number of tokens that is thirty, while others produced less than this number. Thus, we get an unbalanced number of tokens among speakers. We calculated the percentage scores of the linguistic variables by counting manually the number of their occurrences in the speech of speakers.

### **3.2.1 The Phonological Variables**

The phonological variables subject to linguistic accommodation in the three-targeted dialectal varieties are:

- 1-The standard variable (q) has two variants: sedentary [q] articulated by BH native inhabitants of the host village and by BB in-migrant group and rural [g] articulated by BA and MZ in-migrants in BH.
- 2-The standard interdental fricative ( $\theta$ ) has a variant voiceless dental stop [t] which characterises the speech of BH natives, BB and BA in-migrants. It has also

the variant voiceless interdental fricative [θ] which is found in the speech of MZ in-migrants.

**3-**The standard interdental fricative (ð) has two variants: a voiced dental stop [d] characterising the speech of BH natives, BB and BA in-migrants. The second variant is the voiced interdental fricative [ð̥] that is articulated by MZ speakers only.

**4 -**The standard interdental fricative (ð̥) has two variants: an emphatic voiced alveolar stop [d̥] that is a linguistic feature of the speech of BH natives, BB and, BA in-migrant groups, and an emphatic voiced interdental fricative [ð̥̥] that is typical of MZ in-migrant group.

### ***3.2.1.1 The Phonological Variable (q) and the Social Variables***

As already mentioned in the introductory paragraph of this chapter, the distribution and correlation of the linguistic variables with the social dimensions of the speakers requires statistical representation. BB group of speakers produced an insufficient number of tokens for the variable (q). The table below displays the overall use of the two variants of (q) elicited from the speech of all interviewed informants. While counting the number of tokens for the variants [q] and [g] we took into consideration only those words where variation in the use of both variants is possible, such as: [tbaq] vs. [tbaɣ], [nʁəllaq] vs. [nʁəllaɣ], [baqra] vs. [baɣra], and the word [qa:l] vs. [ga:l]. The latter word had the lion share in its production for each time the interviewee repeated the expression: [ħna nqulu hagda] ‘we say like this’ of course with [nqulu] varying to [ngulu] among [q] and [g] speakers. Some other words were set aside because there was no possibility for the alternation in the use of [q] and [g] like [bətteqri:b] ‘nearly’, [ge:ʁ] ‘all’, [l qanu:n] ‘the law’. We excluded other French loan words like [gɑtɔ] ‘cake’,

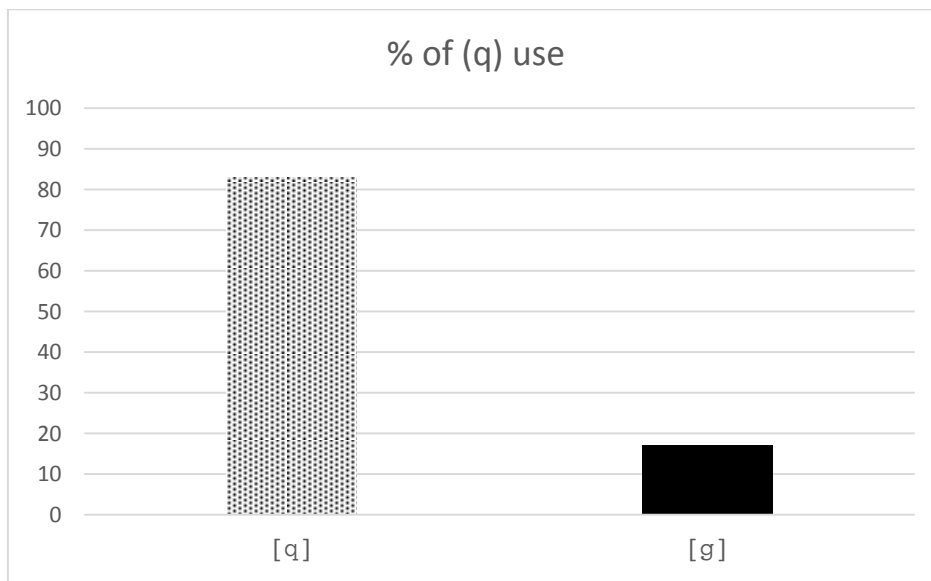
[gamila] 'pot' and therefore we did not consider them in our analysis because there was no possibility for the use of one of the variants in the word.

➤ *(q) and Regional Origin of Speakers*

In relating the variable (q) with the regional origin of speakers, [q] is a linguistic feature characterising the speech of BH natives and BB in-migrants, while the remaining two in-migrant groups, i.e. BA and MZ groups, have [g] as a distinctive feature in their speech. Thus, the following table shows which of the three groups has adopted the non-native feature and which has maintained his native one.

**Table 3.1 Percentage and number use of (q) by BB in-migrants**

	[q]		[g]	
	N	%	N	%
BB	327	83	67	17



**Bar graph 3.1 Variable (q) scores by BB in-migrants**

BB in-migrants have shown an accommodation proportion of 17% to non-native [g] and maintenance of native [q] at a proportion of 83%. Since the two remaining regional groups of BA and MZ in-migrants did not accommodate to [q]

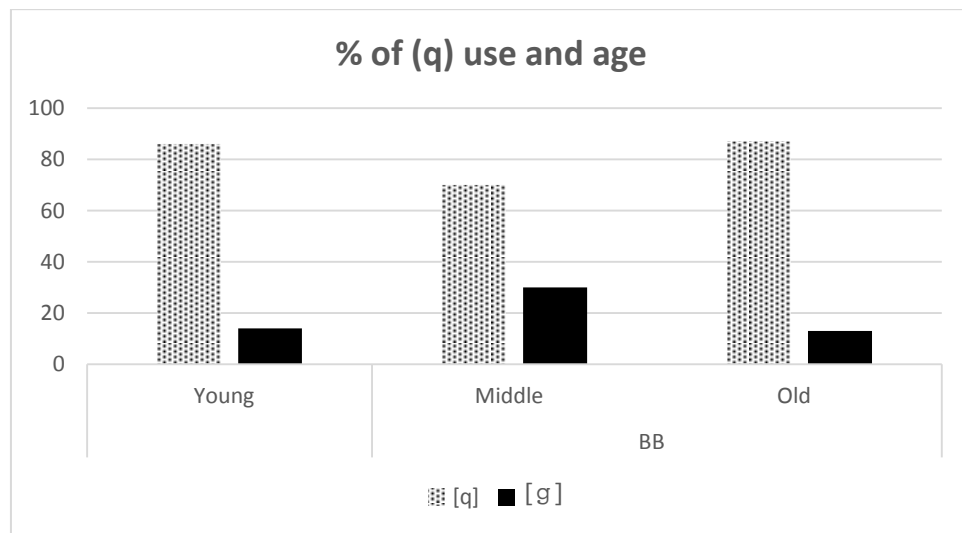
we obtained null results for both groups (00% for [q]), and therefore, it is needless to show them. However, the proportions of maintenance of native [g] reached the top (100%) in these two groups. With regard to the regional origin of the speakers, the results show that the linguistic behaviour of accommodation to the variable (q) takes only one direction. BB group switch from [q] to [g] but no switch in the reverse direction is attested, i.e. from [g] to [q] as BA and MZ groups did not show any accommodating behaviour towards [q] in their speech.

➤ *Correlation of [g] with Age of BB in-migrants*

**Table 3.2 Percentage and number use of (q) by age**

		[q]		[g]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Young	100	86	16	14
	Middle	59	70	25	30
	Old	168	87	26	13

**ANOVA: F=0.52, p-value= 0.6113**



**Bar graph 3.2 Variable (q) scores and age of BB in-migrants**

Since accommodation to (q) variants according to the regional origin has shown that only one group (BB) among the three has adopted [g] and the two

other groups did not accommodate to the other variant [q], table 3.2 above shows the distribution of (q) across the age categories in BB group only. It is the middle category which scored the highest proportion in accommodating to [g] (30%), followed by the young with a proportion of 14% and the lowest proportion is from the old category which scored 13%, though there is no great differences in rates between the last two groups.

The ANOVA test indicates that the accommodation proportions to the variants [q] and [g] by age of BB speakers is statistically not significant ( $p = 0.6113$ , a value that is higher than the ANOVA test which is at 5% significance level.)

Though these quantitative data are of available evidence to deduce that the speakers of middle age category accommodate more than the two other categories do we should present at this level of analysis the fact that the sample was unbalanced. Because in the old category of speakers of the three groups we have not come across old women over the age fifty having external contact, or working outside the valley. This unequal sampling may have an effect on our data analysis while comparing the groups' realisations of the variables and even when making generalisations about the accommodating behaviour of a particular social group towards a particular variant in this study. Though this fact makes it difficult to compare data between the three groups of speakers, we feel obliged to rely on the obtained statistical data regardless the unbalanced number of speakers in each group. The reached conclusion here is that as all the age categories show accommodation to [g], the middle age category appears to be ahead of the accommodation process. Even though the adoption of [g] across the three age groups is quantitatively different we cannot deny the fact that [g], indeed, is replacing [q] in the speech of BB in-migrants.

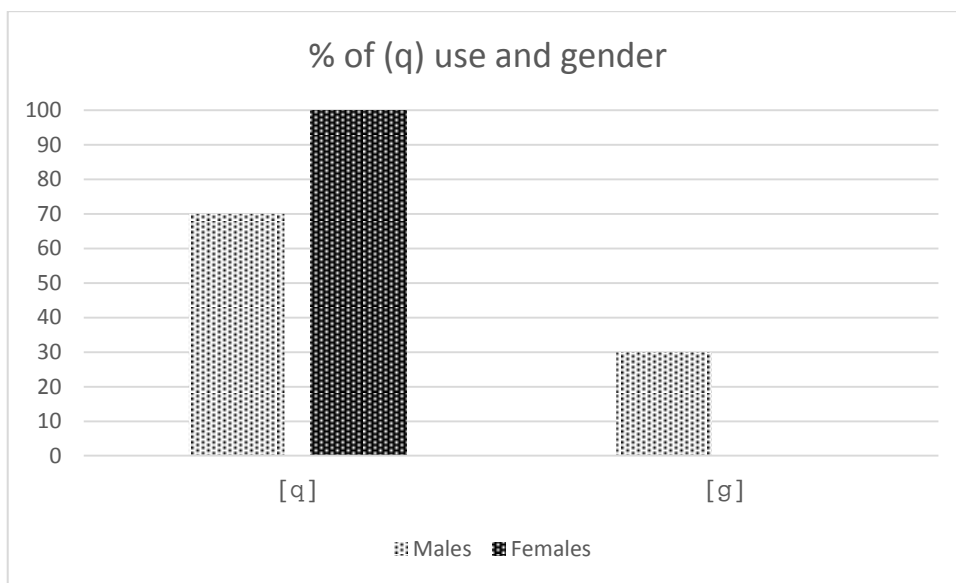
➤ *[g] and Gender of BB In-migrants*

As we have examined the distribution of both variants [q] and [g] according to BB speakers' social structure of age, we shall examine the use of these two variants according to gender of speakers in order to come up with a full understanding of the interplay of this latter with accommodation or non-accommodation in BB speakers speech.

**Table 3.3 Percentage and number use of (q) by gender**

		[q]		[g]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Males	159	70	67	30
	Females	168	100	00	00

**t-test =8.31, p-value=0.0001646**



**Bar graph 3.3 Variable (q) scores and gender of BB in-migrants**

The statistical data displayed in table 3.3 show the distribution of [q] and [g] among male and female speakers of BB group. Native male speakers showed an accommodation to [g] at a proportion of 30% and maintenance of their original [q] at a proportion of 70%. However, females did not accommodate to [g] at all

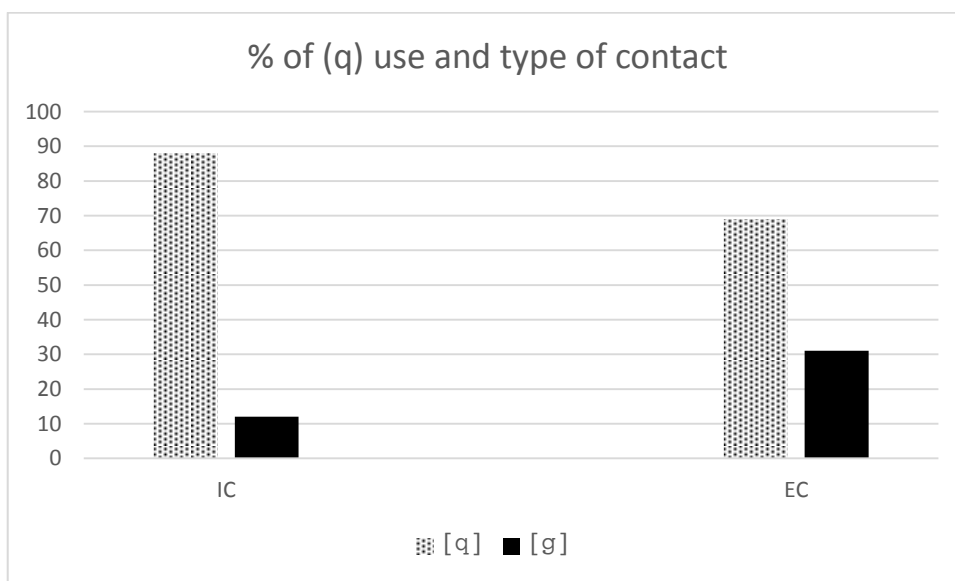
and that maintenance of their native [q] was total. Therefore, it is clear that BB female speakers favour the use of their native [q] more than male speakers, who appear to be leading the change towards the variant [g] as the accommodation proportion is relatively high. The t-test indicates that accommodation proportion to the variant [g] between male and female speakers is statistically significant: male speakers are likely to accommodate to [g] while female speakers are not. However, as just mentioned above, the unavailability of the category of older female speakers certainly has consequences on the analysis and interpretation of the data along the social parameters of age and gender. Thus, the category of old females in the three groups is set aside as no informants are found to be as representative of old females in BB group.

➤ *[g] and Type of Contact*

**Table 3.4 Percentage and number use of (q) by type of contact**

		[q]		[g]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	IC	261	88	37	12
	EC	66	69	30	31

**t-test = 3.1931, p-value = 0.01274**

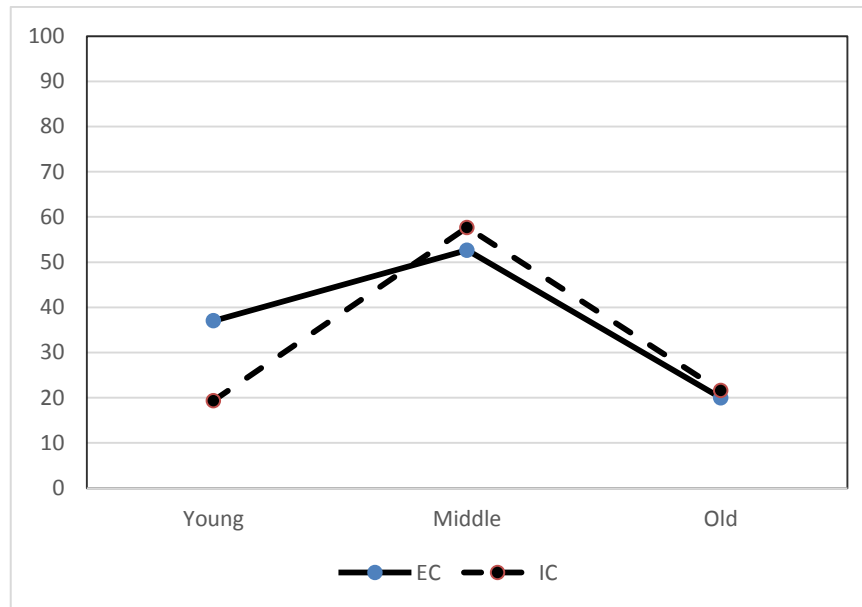


**Bar graph 3.4 Variable (q) and type of contact among BB in-migrants**

As for the type of contact as a social variable, table 3.4 reveals clearly that accommodation to [g] is dramatic among speakers commuting or staying temporarily in the neighbouring urban cities. BB in-migrants of external contact have accommodated to [g] at a proportion of 31%. Strikingly, even the group of internal contact showed an important proportion of accommodation to [g] (12%). Thus, the type of contact along with accommodation to [g] is of a significant correlation as the t-test indicates:  $t\text{-test} = 3.1931$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.01274$ .

Though this latter group (i.e. BB in-migrants of internal contact in BH) spend a considerable time inside the village because of their daily occupations (either at work for men and women, at schools for the young, or at home for women who do not work) accommodation was attested in their speech. It is rarely when they move outside compared with those who commute from the valley to the neighbouring urban cities. Given these results, we can clearly observe that even those speakers with a limited contact which does not exceed the vicinity of BH and the whole valley have shown accommodation to [g].

The investigation of the variable (q) has shown a strong correlation with the regional origin of the speakers as the two groups (BA and MZ) showed no accommodation to the variant [q] and the third group (BB) showed accommodation to [g]. The following figure illustrates the interaction of the speakers' social parameters and the use of the variant form [g].



**Figure 3.1 BB Males and [g] use according to age and type of contact**

The quantification of (q) in terms of accommodation or non-accommodation among speakers according to their social parameters correlates with the regional origin variable as the variant [g] was subject to accommodation by BB group. However, the variant [q] was not subject to accommodation by BA and MZ groups. From the data presented in figure 3.1, we see that the route of accommodation to [g] is the same within both types of speakers (internal and external contact). There is a sharp increase in the use of [g] from the young to the middle age categories, then a decrease among the old age category. The young, middle, and old speakers have shown the proportions of accommodation to [g], where the young and old speakers of internal contact exhibit approximately the same proportions. The middle-aged speakers have scored the highest proportions in both types of contact (internal and external), which denotes that the type of contact is important in accommodation. BB middle-aged male speakers, having permanent social contact either inside the host village or with the neighbouring cities, are leading to the loss of native [q] to the adoption of non-native [g].

### **3.2.1.2 The Interdentals and the Social Variables**

Regionally speaking, and as already mentioned in chapter two (2.5.5.2), the CA interdentals ( $\theta$ ), ( $\delta$ ), ( $\delta$ ) have a restricted regional distribution in the valley of Beni Snous, as among the thirteen tribes these sounds are found only in the speech of Mazzer inhabitants. In the remaining tribes, these interdentals are absent and instead, the stops [t], [d], and [ḍ] are used: [t] for ( $\theta$ ), [d] for ( $\delta$ ), and [ḍ] for ( $\delta$ ).

As we have also mentioned in the previous chapter (2.5.1), because of some factors (political mainly), a number of these inhabitants left their home villages and settled in the neighbouring village of BH seeking a safe life in this new area. Accordingly, because of contact in the new area, a question might be worth asking: have these Arabic Bedouin interdentals, which characterise the speech of MZ in-migrant group, melted away in the new living area? Alternatively, are they rejected or still maintained? Have any other groups in the village of BH adopted these sounds? In the following subsections, we will answer in a statistical and quantitative way these questions through the investigation of the use of these variables across the social parameters of regional origin, age, gender, and type of contact of speakers.

Unlike some variables (mainly the morphological ones), where we encountered difficulties in the number of tokens during interviews, ( $\theta$ ), ( $\delta$ ), and ( $\delta$ ) were easy to elicit because they have occurred frequently in the speech of some informants. This easiness stemmed from their willingness to interact during interviews. However, for some of them, they could not overcome their inhibitions. This fact led us to provide all speakers with additional pictures to obtain more words containing these variables. Effectively, we could reach the sufficient number of tokens required in any sociolinguistic study. The production of these variables varies from thirty three as a minimum number to fifty two as a maximum number per speaker. What was particular in the production of the variant [ $\delta$ ] is that speakers have used it even in words with the Classical emphatic-alveolar stop [ḍ].

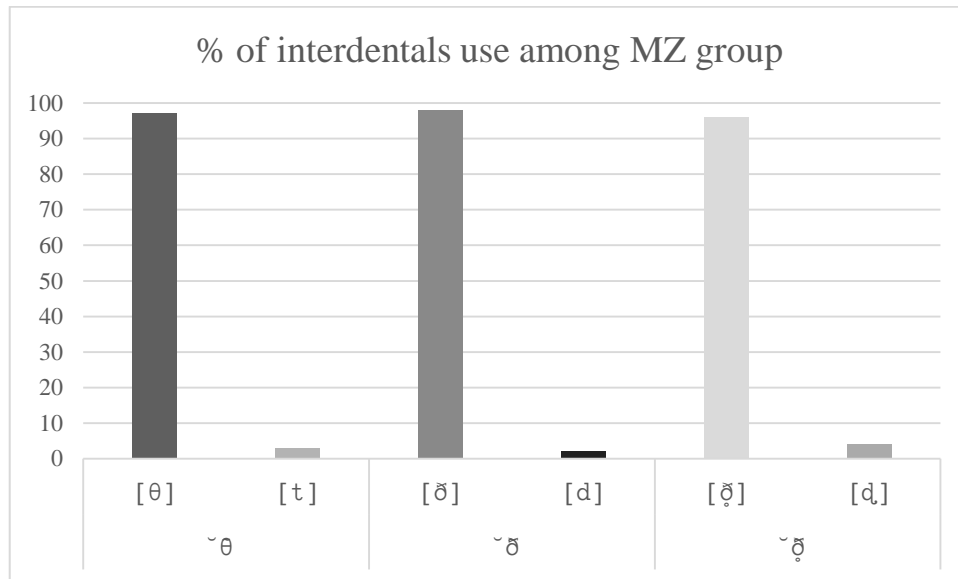
Examples like, /maɖmu:na/ 'guaranteed' realised as [mað̥muna]-[maɖmu:na] and /bajɖun/ 'eggs' realised as [bajð̥]-[bajɖ], were also counted as tokens in order to reach the needed number in each speaker's speech.

➤ *Regional Origin of Speakers and the Interdentals*

The three interdentals are quantified and statistically presented to show their interplay with the social variable of regional origin. However, strikingly, no one of the two groups (BB and BA) showed the use of these variants. The native interdental speakers showed a tendency towards the adoption of the urban counterparts: [t], [d], and [ɖ]. A similar linguistic behaviour reflected in non-accommodation to the variant [q] that was found among BA and MZ in-migrants is found among BB and BA in-migrants towards the variants [θ], [ð̥], and [ð̥̥]. These groups showed a complete non-accommodation to these variants and thus, the null results are not mentioned throughout the correlation of the interdentals with the social variables.

**Table 3.5 Percentage and number use of interdentals by MZ in-migrants**

		N	%
(θ)	[θ]	769	97
	[t]	21	03
(ð̥)	[ð̥]	761	98
	[d]	13	02
(ð̥̥)	[ð̥̥]	707	96
	[ɖ]	30	04



**Bar graph 3.5 Scores of interdental use among MZ in-migrants**

The use of interdentals in BH is limited and confined to MZ in-migrants only, as it is a feature of their native local variety, whereas their counterparts are widely used among the remaining groups because they are features of their native local varieties and no accommodation to the interdentals was attested among these groups (BB and BA groups). Nevertheless, MZ in-migrants are the only group who has shown variation in the use of their native features. Therefore, the regional origin of the speakers appears to be a significant factor affecting the linguistic behaviour of native and non-native interdental speakers.

However, the use of stops is low across the sample. The variants [t], [d], [d̃] are accommodated to approximately at the same proportions: 03% for [t] and 02% for [d]. However, the most accommodated variant was [d̃] at a proportion of 04%. As these stop variants have a marginal or low proportion of use, it is interpreted as the existence of preservers of the original interdentals, which overcome adopters of stops. A correlation of the social variables might show which one is responsible for the slow interference of the variant stops in the speech of MZ group.

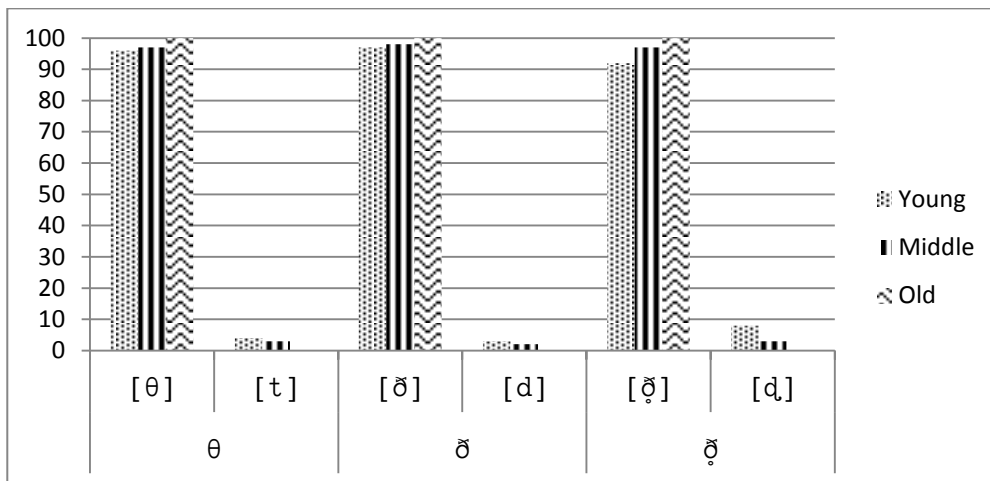
➤ *The Interdentals and Age of MZ In-migrants*

The analysis of the three interdental variables across the three age categories is provided in the table and bar graph below to show the impact of age on the linguistic behaviour of MZ in-migrant speakers.

**Table 3.6 Percentage and number use of interdentals by age**

Interdentals		Young		Middle		Old	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
(θ)	[θ]	294	96	253	97	222	100
	[t]	12	04	09	03	00	00
(ð)	[ð]	309	97	233	98	219	100
	[d]	08	03	05	02	00	00
(ð̥)	[ð̥]	281	92	225	97	201	100
	[d̥]	23	08	07	03	00	00

[t] - [d] - [d̥] → ANOVA: F= 1.3961, p-value= 0.2761



**Bar graph 3.6 Scores of interdentals according to age of MZ in-migrants**

The marginal use of the stops attested among MZ in-migrants previously is interpreted differently when correlated with age. Accommodation to all non-native urban counterparts [t], [d], and [d̥] is revealed in bar graph 3.6 above to be decreasing across the age categories of speakers. The young obtained a percentage of 04% as the highest score for [t], 03% for [d], and 08% for [d̥]. It decreases in the middle-aged category at 03% for [t], 02% for [d], and again increases to 03% for [d̥]. It is definitely absent in the speech of the old category who showed no accommodation to any of the stop variants and maintained their original

interdentals. The ANOVA test indicates that the three variants obtained the same test and p-value results which are interpreted as follows: accommodation to stops when correlated with age of speakers is approximately of the same rate in the age groups. We then, say that it is statistically insignificant in all three stop variants.

Overall, we might infer that the older the speaker is the less accommodation to stops is evident in his/her speech: and the younger the speaker is the more accommodation to stops is evident in his/her speech.

➤ *The Interdentals and Gender of MZ In-migrants*

A quantification of the three interdental variables is provided here between male and female MZ in-migrant speakers.

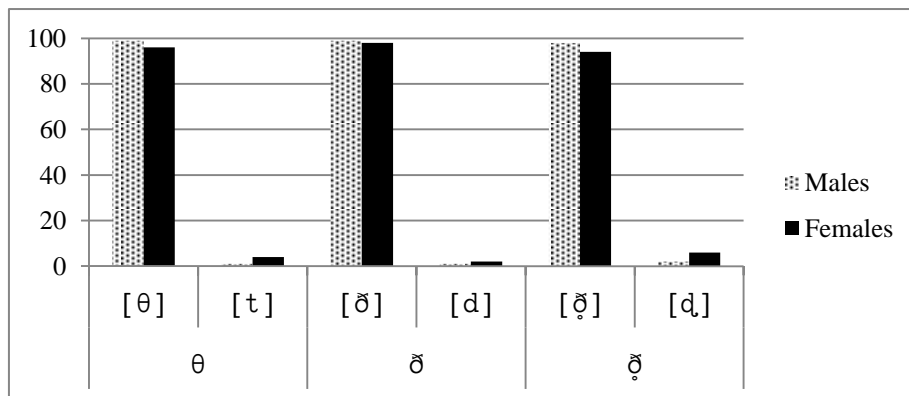
**Table 3.7 Percentage and number use of interdentals by gender**

Interdentals		Males		Females	
		N	%	N	%
(θ)	[θ]	417	99	352	96
	[t]	05	01	16	04
(ð)	[ð]	399	99	362	98
	[d]	05	01	08	02
(ḏ)	[ḏ]	361	98	346	94
	[ḑ]	09	02	21	06

[t] → t-test t = -1.5789, p-value = 0.1477

[d] → t-test t = -1.0189, p-value = 0.3245

[ḑ] → t-test t = -1.0189, p-value = 0.3245



**Bar graph 3.7 Scores of interdentals and gender of MZ in-migrants**

Table 3.7 above indicates that the use of all three stops is low among male speakers. Accommodation proportion for [t]-[d] is the same (01%), while it doubles for [d̥] (02%). The female speakers, interestingly, have shown a tendency to use stops instead of their native interdental more than the male informants do: 06% as the highest for [d̥] use, followed by 04% for [d] use, and only 02% for [t] as the lowest proportion. [d̥] with the highest proportion of accommodation is the preferred variant for females. However, the t-test in all three variants shows that is statistically insignificant when correlated with gender.

Though accommodation to stops appears to be marginal among MZ speakers, males are responsible for such marginal accommodation. Their scores are lower in all three variants compared with females who appear to be more willing to use these features of the urban varieties.

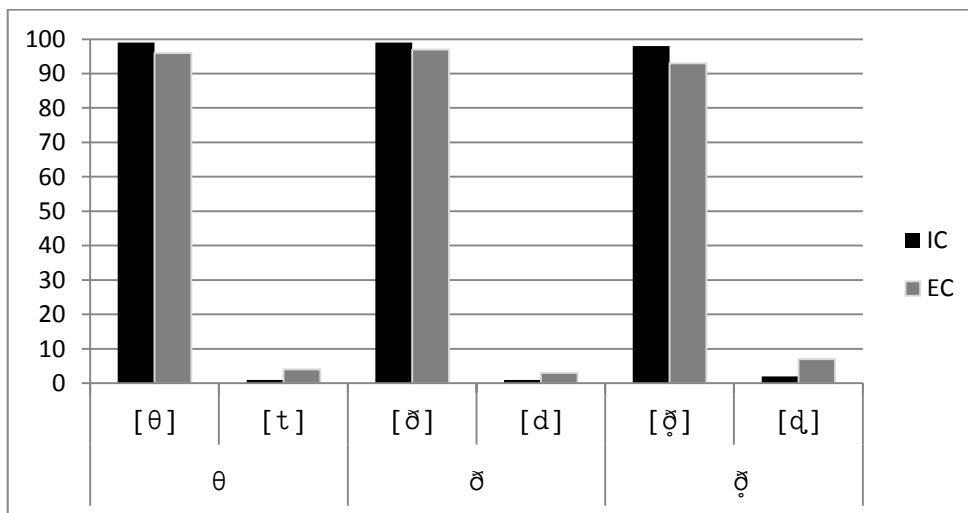
➤ *Stops Counterparts and Type of Contact*

With the former phonological variable (q), type of contact does really play a significant role in linguistic accommodation because both categories of speakers (with internal and external contact) accommodated to the variant [g] with significant differences in its use. Thus, and as far the interdental is concerned, we will verify statistically whether this social variable has an influence on speakers' linguistic behaviour or not.

**Table 3.8 Percentage and number use of interdentals by type of contact**

Interdentals			N	%
(θ)	[θ]	IC	432	99
		EC	337	96
	[t]	IC	06	01
		EC	15	04
(ð)	[ð]	IC	432	99
		EC	329	97
	[d]	IC	04	01
		EC	09	03
(ð̥)	[ð̥]	IC	423	98
		EC	284	93
	[d̥]	IC	07	02
		EC	23	07

[t] - [d] - [d̥] → t-test = 1.5659, p-value = 0.1479



**Bar graph 3.8 Scores of interdentals according to MZ in-migrants' type of contact**

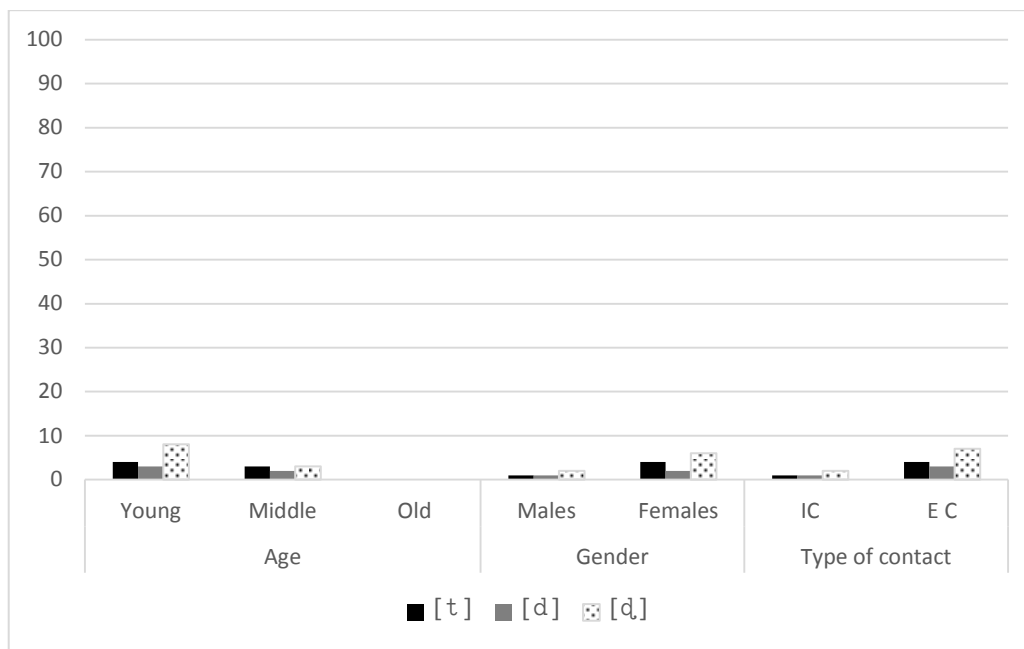
Examining the distribution of the interdentals by type of contact appears not to be operating well. Both types of contact have influenced the linguistic behaviour of MZ in-migrant group, but with differing degrees. In the accommodation of each variant, internal contact is of less influence compared with external contact. Among the three variants, emphatic [d̥] (07%) is the most favoured by speakers of external contact. Then, it is [t] which is the second favoured variant at a proportion of 04%, and finally [d] at a proportion of 03%. Though the variants are accommodated with

low, but different proportions, these scores are, indeed, important in showing that a low trend of a shift is taking place. For internal contact speakers, the order of preference for these variants is more or less the same as external contact speakers. Speakers with limited contact (i.e. confined only to contact inside BH or within the valley) have shown approximately the same proportions in accommodation to the three stops. They have shown accommodation to [d̥] by scoring 02% and to [t] and [d] by scoring 01%. Accordingly, the t-test indicates that differences in accommodation to stops in relation to the type of contact are statistically insignificant: t-test = 1.5659, p-value = 0.1479.

The overall results obtained from the correlation of interdentalals with the social variables have yielded some interesting facts about the linguistic behaviour of MZ in-migrant speakers. An observation which is obtained from these statistics is that accommodation is not bidirectional and thus, it is revealed that the direction is only from interdentalals to stops as MZ speakers have exhibited the use of stop counterparts in their speech. However, the direction from stops to interdentalals is not in evidence where the remaining two groups of BB and BA speakers did not accommodate to the CA interdentalals in their speech. Thus, a summary of the results is given below:

The correlation of the interdentalals with the regional origin of the speakers has shown that the interdental variants [θ], [ð] and [ð̥] were not adopted at all in the speech of BB and BA groups who demonstrated a strong maintenance of their native stops [t], [d] and [d̥]. On the contrary, MZ group accommodated to these latter in lower proportions. Correlating MZ speakers' accommodation to stops with their age has revealed that the older the speaker is, the less accommodation to stops is evident in his/her speech and the younger the speaker is, the more accommodation to stops is evident in his/her speech. Correlating further their linguistic behaviour with the social parameter of gender, accommodation was attested in both genders' speech with women taking the lead of this linguistic behaviour. Type of contact as another social parameter, has an impact on the use of

interdentals as both groups of either internal or external contact accommodated their speech, but with differing proportions that put external contact MZ speakers ahead of internal contact MZ speakers. The following figure summarises the use of the interdental variables among MZ in-migrants in relation to their social parameters.



**Bar graph 3.9 MZ in-migrants and the dentals use according to age, gender, and type of contact**

### 3.2.2 The Morphological Variables

As already referred to in chapter two, most of the linguistic similarities shared by these local dialectal varieties are in fact found in many Arabic-speaking countries and most importantly are shared among many Algerian dialects. The two-targeted morphological variables are:

**1-**The CA pronoun suffix (-hu) used with the third person singular masculine. It is realised [-u] among BH natives, BB and BA in-migrant groups, and [-ah] among speakers originally from Mazzer. The following examples show this variation:

\*[ʃəftu]-[ʃəttu] in BHA-BBA-BAA vs [ʃəttah] in MZA ‘I saw him’

**2-**The standard suffix (i:na) is a gender marker used to address a female person. It has a reduced form [-i] and a neutralised form Ø in dialectal Arabic. [-i] is articulated by BA and MZ in-migrant groups, and the neutralised form Ø is typically exemplified in the speech of BH natives. It has also the form of

diphthongs [-ij] when occurring in the environment of plain consonants and [-ej] when occurring in the environment of emphatic consonants. Diphthongisation of the standard suffix (i:na) characterises the speech of BB group.

As already mentioned, eliciting these two morphological variables was quite difficult as they did not occur so often in the speech of speakers. Thus, the only technique was to provide questions that most of the speakers responded with lengthy explanations.

### ***3.2.2.1 The Linguistic Variable (-hu) and the Social Variables***

The CA variable (-hu) is a pronoun suffix used with the third person singular masculine. It is one of a set of suffix pronouns found in CA: possessive pronouns and object pronouns. It is realised in the three dialectal varieties as follows: in BHA, BBA, and BAA, it is articulated as [-u]: in MZA, it is articulated as [-ah]. The occurrences of the pronoun suffix variable (-hu) in the informants' recorded speech are counted either in nouns as possessive pronouns or in verbs with all tenses as object pronouns. The number of tokens elicited from each speaker was relatively small compared with the preceding phonological variables. It varies between ten as a minimum number and twenty three as a maximum number.

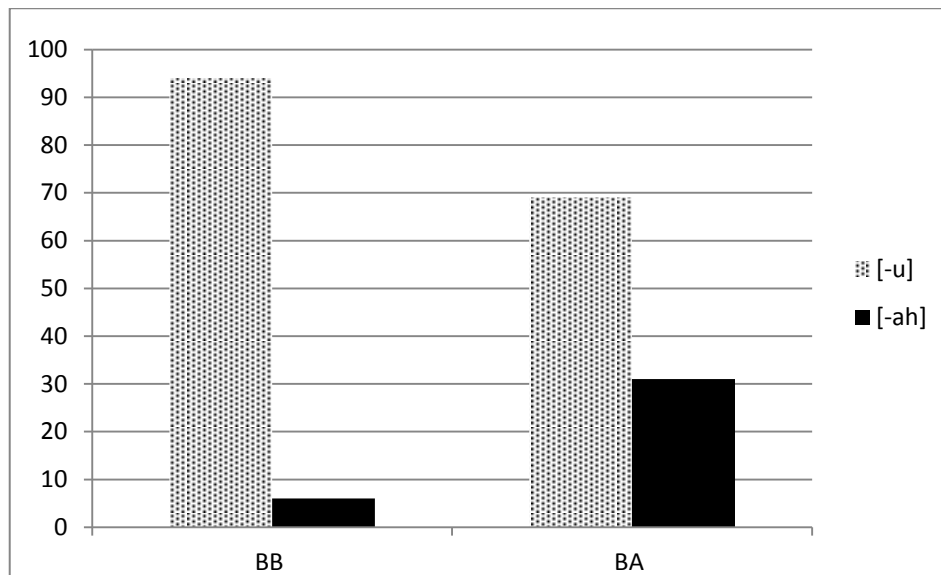
Based on quantitative data, we will analyse the linguistic accommodation in order to show its possible correlation with the local social structure in the speech community of BH. Such correlation is considered very important for the aim of obtaining a deep explanation of speakers' linguistic behaviour in this rural area.

#### **➤ *(-hu) and Regional Origin of Speakers***

To recall, the linguistic feature [-ah] is original in the speech of MZ in-migrants. Moreover, the other available feature [-u] which characterises the speech of BH natives, BB, and BA has not been revealed in MZ speech maintaining, in this case, their native feature [-ah] completely. Hence, this group is excluded from the investigation of this variable as no variation was attested. For the remaining two groups (i.e. BB and BA) variation in the use of their native [-u] and non-native [-ah] was revealed.

**Table 3.9 Percentage and number use of (-hu) by regional origin**

	[-u]		[-ah]	
	N	%	N	%
BB	164	94	11	06
BA	216	69	98	31



**Bar graph 3.10 Scores of (-hu) according to regional origin**

As illustrated in table 3.9 and bar graph 3.10 above, two groups of native [-u] speakers have adopted the morphological variant [-ah]. As far as the regional origin of speakers is concerned, it is revealed that BA in-migrants have shown preference for the use of non-native [-ah] rather than their original feature [-u]. Surprisingly, they scored 31%. BB in-migrants also have shown accommodation to non-native [-ah] scoring 06%. It is then clear that the regional origin of the speakers correlates with their linguistic behaviour as both groups have accommodated to the new feature rather than maintaining their native one. As these initial results show evidence for the infiltration of this feature among speakers who do not have it in their original speech, it will yield further patterns of differentiation as we break them down by the other social variables.

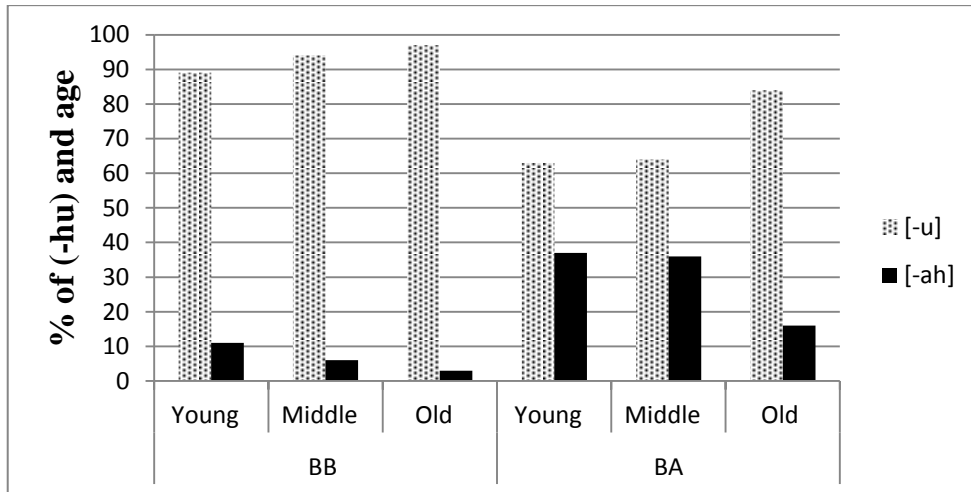
➤ Age of Speakers and the Variable (-hu)

**Table 3.10 Percentage and number use of (-hu) by age**

		[-u]		[-ah]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Young	48	89	06	11
	Middle	49	94	03	06
	Old	67	97	02	03
BA	Young	66	63	39	37
	Middle	79	64	45	36
	Old	71	84	14	16

ANOVA: F= 0.7546, p-value= 0.4978 (BB group)

ANOVA: F= 0.8669, p-value= 0.4371 (BA group)



**Bar graph 3.11 Variable (-hu) and age of BB and BA in-migrants**

Considerable variation in the distribution of the suffix pronoun (-hu) variants across age is revealed. Accommodation to non-native [-ah] across age categories is highly variable in BA group compared with BB. Further comparing the results of the age categories of both groups, we find a mismatch between the same categories of the two groups. The order of accommodation starting from the highest to the lowest proportion in the three age categories is: young (11%)-middle (06%)-old (03%) among BB group, and young (37%) - middle (36%) -old (16%) among BA group. As indicated above, the ANOVA test in both groups has shown no significant correlation between age and accommodation to [-ah].

It is clearly shown that accommodation of BA group is dramatic, mainly the young and middle-aged speakers. Though it is much less attested with BB group, accommodation proportions are important in the young and middle age categories. Thus, despite the accommodation proportions scored in BB three age categories, BA speakers overcame these scores by showing extreme tendency and preference to adopt this feature.

The dramatic increase in accommodation to [-ah] revealed among BA speakers is ascribed to preference demonstrated by these speakers for this variant and the rejection of native [-u]. The second dramatic decrease in [-ah] use was in the old males of both in-migrant groups though with differing proportions. This striking difference in the high degree of accommodation to [-ah] across young and middle-aged categories of speakers complicates our task in this study mainly because there has been no available former studies in this area that might trace this high variability in speech and explain the ongoing change: why and when it started. The psychological explanation helps know more about this drastic variation. Looking also further at a possible correlation of this linguistic feature with the social parameters of the speakers is also helpful.

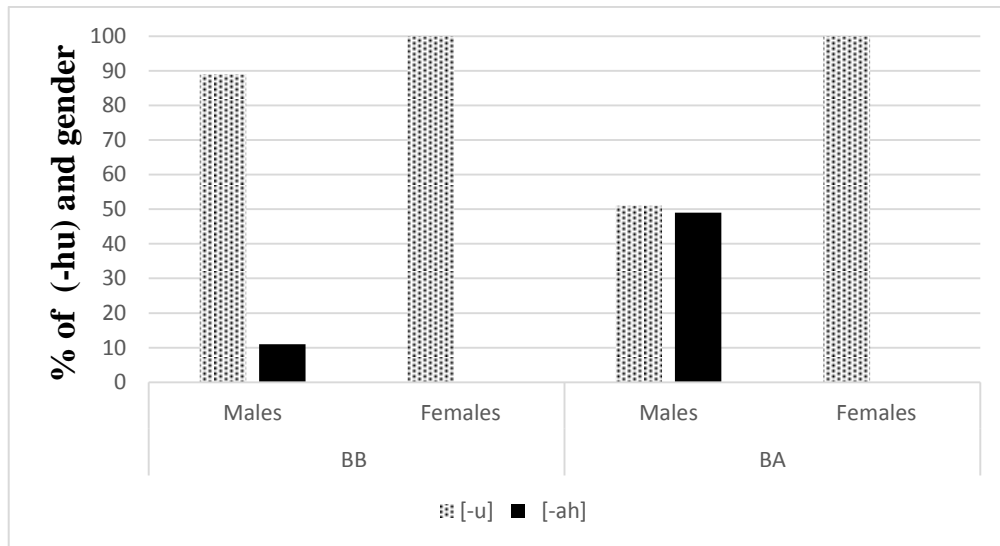
➤ *Gender and the Variable (-hu)*

**Table 3.11 Percentage and number use of (-hu) by gender**

		[-u]		[-ah]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Males	93	89	11	11
	Females	71	100	00	00
BA	Males	102	51	98	49
	Females	114	100	00	00

**t-test = 2.9755, p-value = 0.02478 (BB group)**

**t-test = 7.0393, p-value = 2.156e-05 (BA group)**



**Bar graph 3.12 Variable (-hu) and gender of BB and BA in-migrants**

The results above suggest that the variant [-ah] demonstrates a considerable percentage of accommodation among males as opposed to females who appear to maintain their native [-u]. The highest proportion of accommodation to [-ah] is exhibited by BA males scoring 49%. Though BB males show a similar behaviour as BA males, the proportions are different as they scored 11% only.

Maintenance of native [-u] is revealed in both groups of females as they did not accommodate to [-ah]. Therefore, these results indicate the preference for [-ah] among males and preference for native [-u] among females of both groups. Gender is extremely significant with the variant [-ah] in BA and is confirmed by:  $t\text{-test} = 7.0393$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 2.156e-05$ . In BB group it is also significant, but not as strong as the first group. The  $t\text{-test}$  is:  $t\text{-test} = 2.9755$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.02478$ .

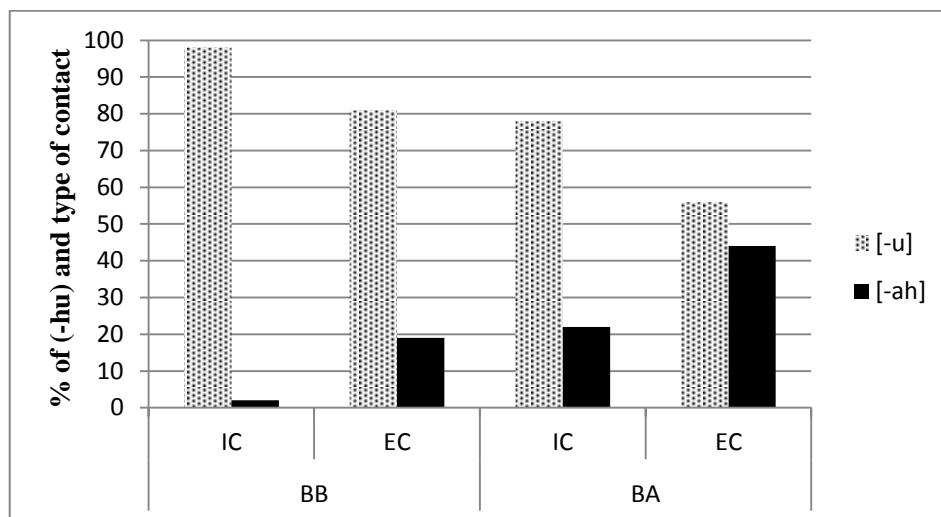
➤ *[-ah] and Type of Contact*

**Table 3.12 Scores of (-hu) use by type of contact**

		[-u]		[-ah]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	IC	130	98	03	02
	EC	34	81	08	19
BA	IC	140	78	39	22
	EC	76	56	59	44

**t-test = 3.2998, p-value = 0.0587 (BB group)**

**t-test = 1.4341, p-value = 0.1746 (BA group)**

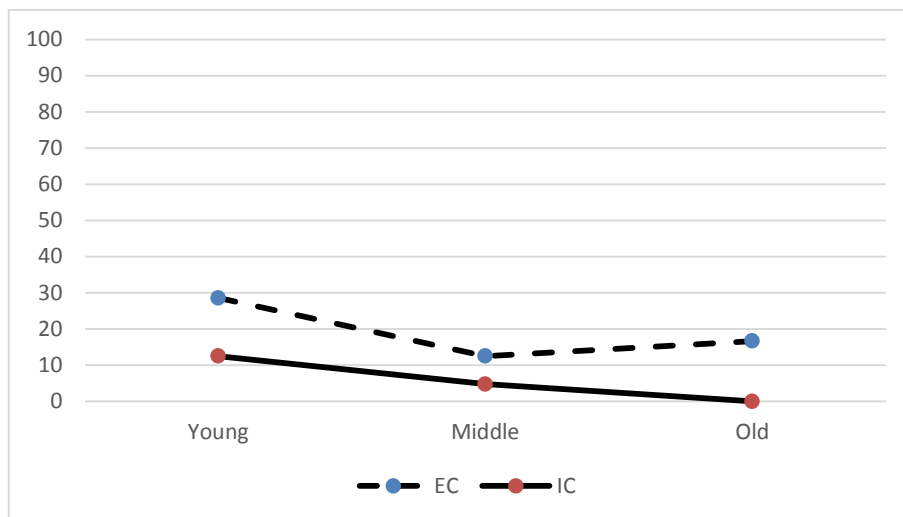


**Bar graph 3.13 Variable (-hu) among BB and BA in-migrants according to type of contact**

The lack of studies on this standard variable, in either an Algerian or an Arabic-speaking context makes our arms strictly tight to each other and hence, unable to compare the given results with those of previous researches. Correlating this type of contact with the regional origin of speakers, the results come rather different. Accommodation to [-ah] reaches the highest point in external contact BA in-migrants (44%) and decreases across the remaining group with a score of 19% for external contact BB speakers. Interestingly, accommodation to [-ah] is present in the speech of internal contact speakers of both groups, but with differing proportions where internal contact BA group linguistic behaviour is surprising with a considerable proportion of 22%. BB group have shown maintenance of their native feature [-u], but accommodation to [-ah] was attested with a low proportion (2%). Finally, both internal and external BA groups of speakers are ahead of the regional groups adopting non-native [-ah] in their speech. The t-test indicates that the correlation of type of contact with the variant [-ah] is statistically insignificant in both groups as the values in BB and BA speakers respectively are:  $p=0.0587$  -  $p=0.1746$ .

To sum up, the use of the variant form [-ah] of the CA variable (-hu) is workable when correlated with the social parameters of gender of speakers as the

correlation is significant. An important result can be mentioned here which is that accommodation is not bidirectional and therefore, the direction from [-u] to [-ah] is attested among the two groups who are native speakers of [-u]. However, the direction from [-ah] to [-u] is not in evidence where MZ group did not show any tendency to adopt [-u] in their speech.

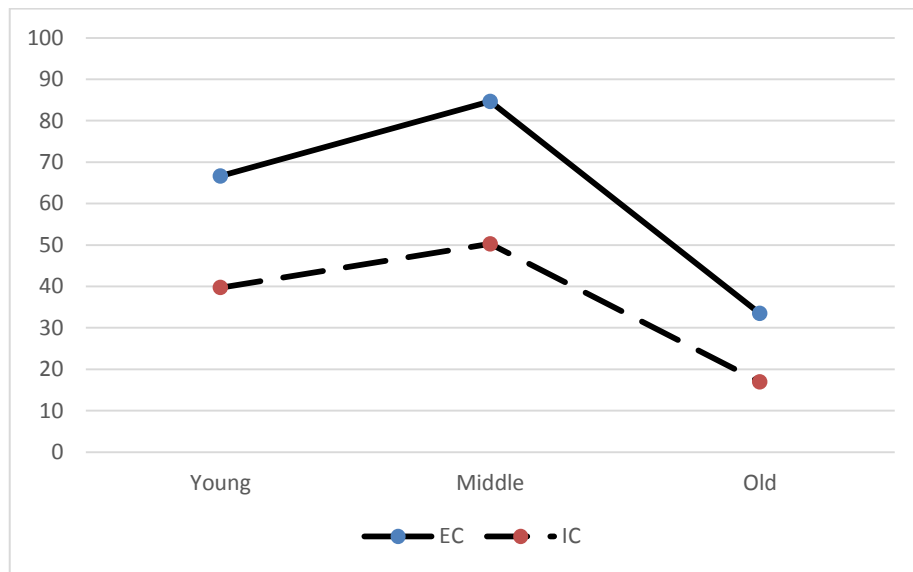


**Figure 3.2 BB Males and [-ah] use according to age and type of contact**

As accommodation to [-u] was not attested in the speech of MZ group, it is BB and BA groups who showed a tendency towards the adoption of [-ah] with differing proportions. Surprisingly, BA speakers scored significant proportions in accommodation to [-ah].

While the correlation of age with the use of [-ah] is not significant with the three age categories, it is so with type of contact. Accommodation is not identical among speakers of the two types of contact. External contact speakers have scored important proportions in the use of [-ah] in comparison with internal contact speakers. The figure shows clearly that the accommodation proportions are going from a sharp increase among the young age speakers of external contact to a dramatic decrease among the middle-aged speakers of the same type of contact. Again, it increases among older age category. However, among internal contact speakers, though it follows the same path among young then middle, i.e. an increase

in the young, then a decrease in the middle, it does not increase, but it continues to decrease to reach a zero proportion among older speakers.



**Figure 3.3 BA Males and [-ah] use according to age and type of contact**

The data presented in the figure above (3.3) suggest that [-ah] accommodation within BA group is not identical to the former group. However, accommodation among external and internal contact speakers of BA group is similar (though with differing rates), i.e. accommodation reaches its highest top among the middle-aged speakers, then decreases gradually among the young and the old speakers. All age groups have adopted the new form in their speech. The type of contact factor appears to play a significant role in the process of [-ah] accommodation among BB and BA speakers. BA and BB males are the leading categories to variation and change as opposed to females who strongly maintained their native feature [-u] with absolutely no accommodation to [-ah].

### 3.2.2.2 Gender Marker and the Social Variables

One of the main markers of the local varieties spoken in the valley is the diversity in addressing feminine gender. Therefore, as already indicated in chapter two BH natives have no gender distinction in the second person feminine singular  $\emptyset$ . BA and MZ speakers do make a distinction by adding the suffix [-i] to verbs conjugated in all Arabic tenses. BB group diphthongise gender marker by adding

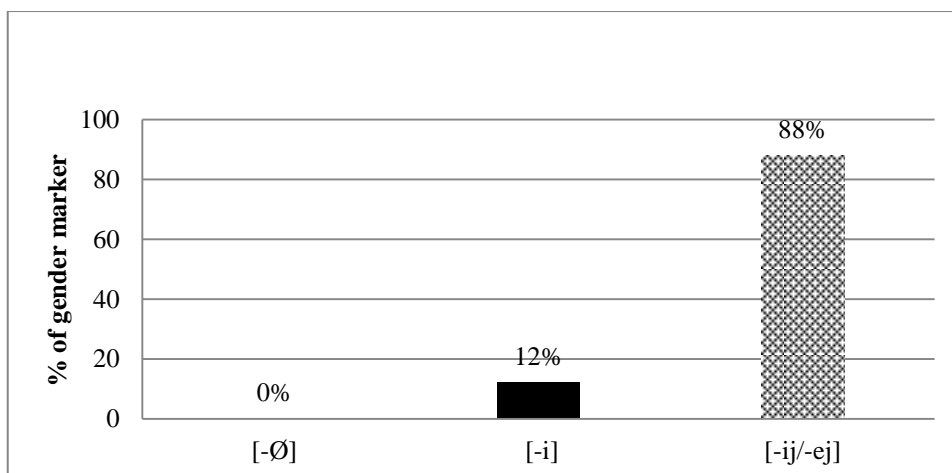
the suffix [-ij/-ej]. The following subsections will show the interaction of the phenomenon of gender distinction with the social variables.

Compared with (q) and the interdental, gender marker and variable (-hu) were particularly difficult to elicit mainly because they did not occur frequently in speakers' speech. Moreover, as it occurs with imperfective, perfective, and imperative verbs, it needs a face-to-face interaction with a speaker asking or talking to a woman and this was almost impossible to achieve because it takes much time with speakers. Elicitation via pictures also proved to be useless. Thus, some direct questions that were included in the interview questionnaire to elicit gender marker, helped so much to get more tokens. The number of tokens realised swung between ten as a minimal number and eighteen as a maximum number, elicited from each speaker. The following subsections expose the interplay of the three variant forms with the demographic factors of the three regional groups living in BH.

➤ *Regional Origin and Gender Marker Forms*

**Table 3.13 Percentage and number use of gender marker by regional origin**

	Ø		[-i]		[-ij/-ej]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
BB	00	00	21	12	150	88



**Bar graph 3.14 Gender marker among BB in-migrants**

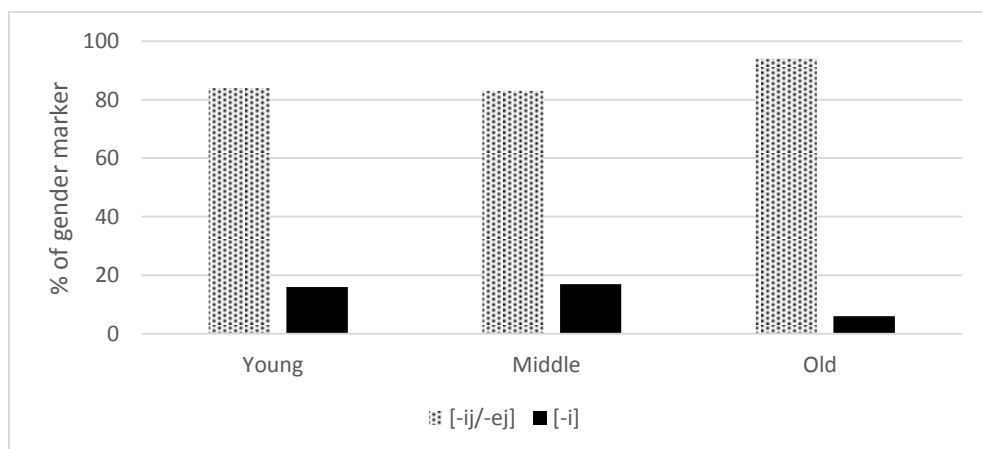
No accommodation has been attested in the speech of the three in-migrant groups to the neutralised form of gender marker  $\emptyset$  that characterises the speech of the host village BH. However, only BB in-migrants have shown variation in low proportion between their native diphthongs [-ij/-ej] and native [-i] gender marker of BA and MZ in-migrants. This latter has occurred in their speech at a very low proportion as indicated in table 3.13 above. Diphthongisation of gender marker is maintained at a proportion of 88%, whereas the variant [-i] as an adopted new form is used 12%. Again, like [-ah], this variant appears to be interfering in the speech of this in-migrant group so as its geographical use would be wider in Beni Snous. One important observation can be made from the first glance at the table above and all the preceding tables whenever BB group is concerned is that this group has shown accommodation to non-native forms available in the host village. However, the remaining two groups have almost not accommodated all non-native features at hand (accommodation to one variant for each group).

➤ *Age and Gender Marker*

**Table 3.14 Percentage and number use of gender marker by age**

		[-ij/-ej]		[-i]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Young	43	84	08	16
	Middle	44	83	09	17
	Old	63	94	04	06

ANOVA:  $F = 0.8714$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.4509$



**Bar graph 3.15 Gender marker and age of BB in-migrants**

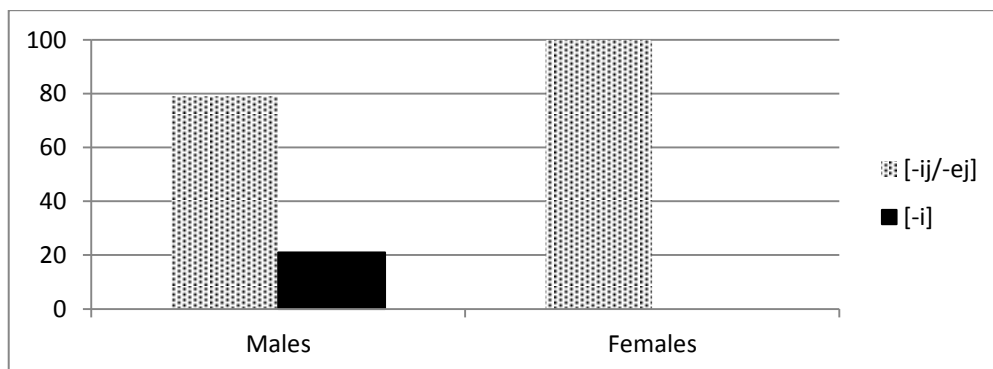
As indicated in table 3.14 the rates of accommodation to the variant [-i] in the speech of the young and middle age categories of BB are almost identical: 16% for the young and 17% for the middle age speakers. However, the older age category has scored 06%. The young category has shown an important rate of [-i] accommodation. Many studies have proved this linguistic behaviour in the speech of the young where this generation always displays innovative or reduction of original linguistic forms in their speech. Though the older category has shown the lowest rate by scoring 06%, this result can be important. Accordingly, accommodation to [-i] is revealed to affect all age categories across BB group of speakers, and instead of expecting the young category to be ahead of all the other age groupings, it is the middle-aged group of speakers who are leading change towards the adoption of [-i]. Nevertheless, the ANOVA test indicates that no significance is attested in accommodation to [-i] and age of speakers (ANOVA: F= 0.8714, p-value= 0.4509).

➤ *Gender and Gender Marker*

**Table 3.15 Percentage and number use of gender marker by gender**

		[-ij/-ej]		[-i]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	Males	81	79	21	21
	Females	69	100	00	00

**t-test t = 3.4369, p-value = 0.01385**



**Bar graph 3.16 Gender marker use among BB males and females**

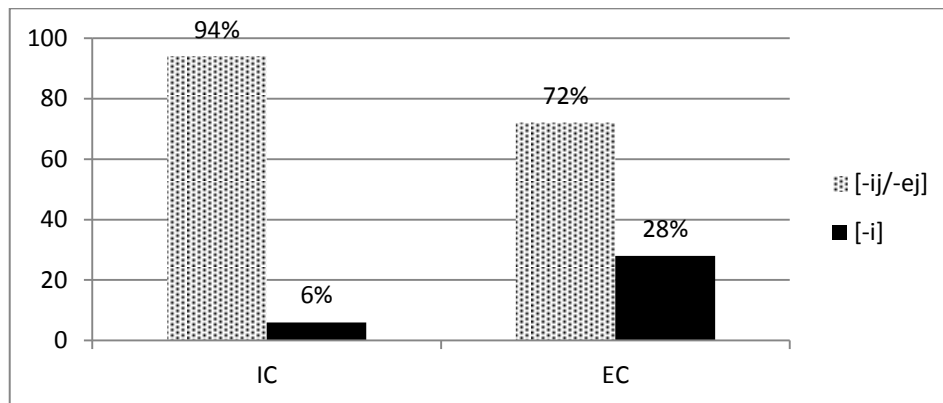
As table 3.15 above shows, accommodation to [-i] occurs at high percentages among males (21%), while no accommodation has been revealed among females who strongly favour the use of their native gender marker. The linguistic behaviour of female speakers makes the males the leading category to variation and change. Statistically, the correlation is extremely significant between [-i] and gender of speakers. The t-test affirms this significance: t-test  $t = 3.4369$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.01385$ .

➤ *Type of Contact and Gender Marker*

**Table 3.16 Percentage and number use of gender marker by type of contact**

		[-ij/-ej]		[-i]	
		N	%	N	%
BB	IC	116	94	08	06
	EC	34	72	13	28

**t-test = 3.2998, p-value = 0.0587**



**Bar graph 3.17 Gender marker and type of contact among BB in-migrants**

The overall accommodation rates shown in bar graph 3.16 indicate that it is those BB in-migrants of external contact who accommodated to non-native [-i] at a rate of 28%. The other subgroup of internal contact did show a similar behaviour but with a low rate (06%). Thus, as expected in the investigation of each variable, external contact plays a significant role on speakers' linguistic behaviour that is reflected usually in accommodation to new forms. Though the important proportion

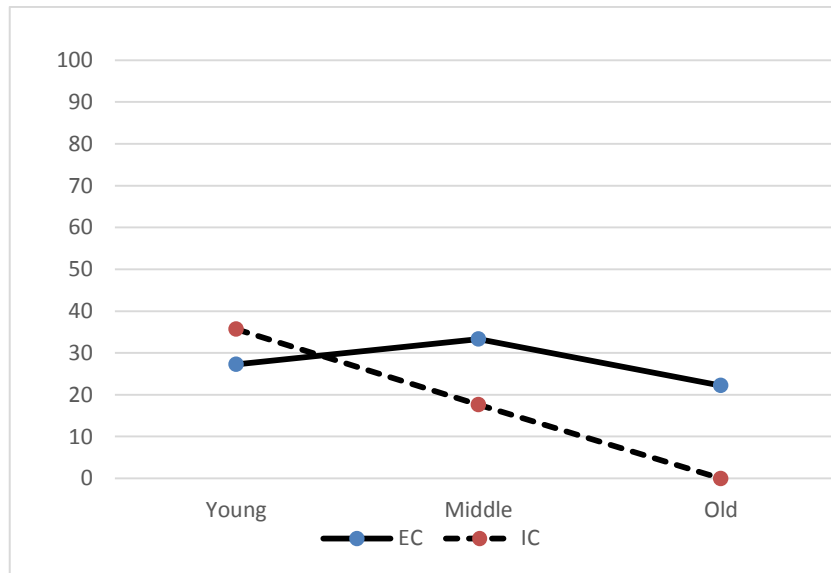
of accommodation to [-i], the correlation between this variant and type of contact is not statistically significant (t-test = 3.2998, p-value = 0.0587).

Among the three groups included in this study, BA and MZ in-migrants are native [-i] speakers while BB in-migrants have the characteristic of diphthongising gender marker in their speech by adding the forms [-ij/-ej]. The third form is the neutralisation of gender marker  $\emptyset$  which characterises the speech of the host community. Thus, the following results are obtained when correlating these three variants with the social parameters of speakers.

As far as the regional origin is concerned, only BB in-migrant speakers appeared to show accommodation to non-native [-i], whereas the remaining two groups accommodate neither to the original feature  $\emptyset$  of BH group nor to BB feature [-ij/-ej]. Thus, the attested accommodation of BB group works only in one direction, i.e. accommodation from [-ij/-ej] to [-i] but not from [-i] to [-ij/-ej].

Adoption of [-i] is revealed to affect all age categories of BB in-migrant speakers where the young and middle age categories have scored approximately the same rates. But, it is revealed that it is not statistically significant. Correlating gender with this variable is significant among male and female speakers. As gender-correlated accommodation is evident, high scores are of BB males but not in females' as they have strongly maintained their native form of gender marker.

Though the results obtained from gender marker variants when correlated with the type of contact show accommodation to [-i] in both subgroups, it is the external contact speakers who scored the highest rates but remains insignificant according to the t-test statistical tool.



**Figure 3.4 BB Males and [-i] use according to age and type of contact**

As shown in figure 3.4, the highest accommodation rate is among the young category of internal contact speakers. It decreases throughout the remaining two age categories. Thus, the results clearly show that accommodation increases the younger the speaker is. For external contact speakers, accommodation follows the same route as the preceding features [ɟ] and [-ah]: a sharp increase among the middle-aged speakers, and a gradual decrease among the young, then among older speakers. These results clearly show the young speakers' adoption of [-i] to the reduction of their native feature of gender marker. This can be explained from a socio-psychological point view to show that the strong [-i] accommodation rate among internal contact young speakers stems from their disinterest in using their native diphthongs [-ij/-ej] of gender marker.

### **3.3 The Effect of the Social Variables on the Informants' Linguistic Behaviour**

The former tabulation of the linguistic variables with the social parameters of speakers has revealed that the linguistic behaviour of the informants is strongly influenced by the social parameters of regional origin, age, gender, and type of contact. Thus, the outcomes of the interplay of the linguistic structure with the social structure will be provided here.

### **3.3.1 Regional Origin**

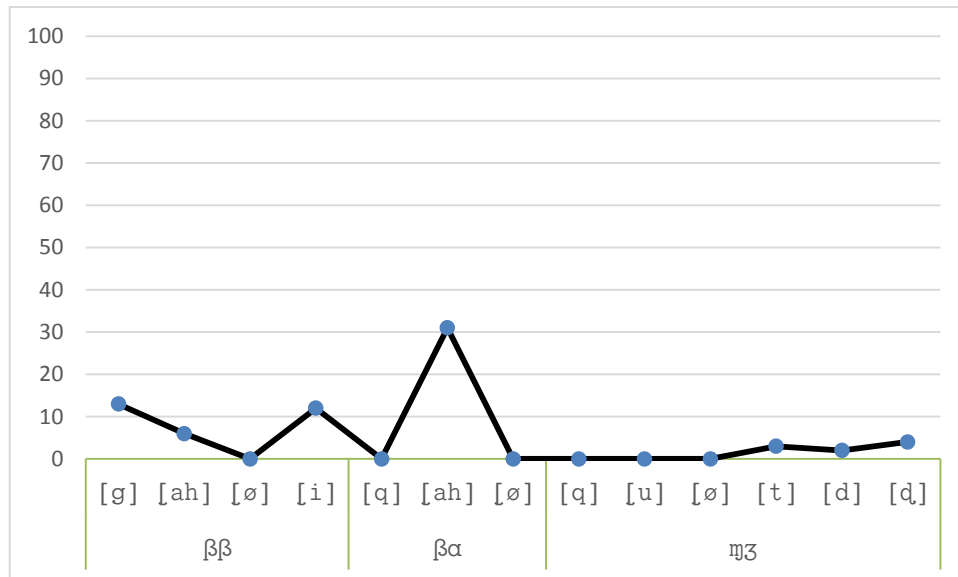
Based on the review of many sociolinguistic works on the Arabic dialect contact, we have noticed that few have taken this social dimension as a variable. Some sociolinguists, concerned with other dialect contact studies across the world, have also stated this. For example, Wilson (2010) reports Milroy's (1987a: 113) claims that speakers' region of origin "has not been an important variable in quantitative studies". He further adds that most studies which were carried out focused on individuals from the same dialect area or speech community (Wilson, *ibid*).

In an Arabic-speaking context, Miller (2004) reviewed the literature related to variation and change on urban spoken Arabic particularly Christian and Muslim varieties in terms of their religious differences. She acknowledges that a lack persists in this area of study, as no 'systematic detailed descriptions' are available in correlation with some social variables like age, gender, social class or regional origin (Miller, 2004). She further states that regional origin of speakers has been also investigated along with the social variables of residential quarters and the accommodation degree to show their impact on migrant speakers in urban varieties (mainly cities like Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Casablanca). She stresses the fact that there is always a need for more detailed studies of language use in connection with these social variables (Miller, *ibid*). In one of her studies in Cairo (2005), she found that the regional origin of the Upper Egyptian migrants to this city is an important factor in their integration within the city.

Another study, conducted by El-Khatib (1988) in Irbid city in Jordan where he included this social variable, has shown that the speakers use forms that are more standard in their speech regardless of their regional origin. Given the considerable lack of language use studies in an Arabic-speaking context in connection with regional origin (El-Khatib, *ibid*), we have considered it in this study. The aim is to determine the linguistic behaviour of Beni Snous speakers from different regional areas within the valley who came to settle together in BH village.

The village of BH is a heterogeneous speech community, which embraces many regional groups and where the interplay of many accents and dialectal varieties are at play. Thus, we have included the regional origin of speakers as a social variable upon which we have drawn our sample population to investigate the accommodation process of the three minority in-migrant groups speech to the majority immobile group of the host village. Therefore, the three regional groups did not show a similar linguistic behaviour. Thus, as far the regional origin of speakers is concerned and based on the former tabulation of both the linguistic and social variables, we will show which group did (or did not) accommodate and which variable was (or was not) accommodated.

It has been clearly shown that BB in-migrant group accommodate to [g] and [-i] which are the shared linguistic features between BAA and MZA. They also accommodate to MZA feature [-ah] but do not accommodate to its interdental features [θ], [ð], and [ð̥]. As this group share the variants [q] and [-u] they do not accommodate their speech to the other differing variant form of gender distinction ø preferring the other variant [-i]. For the second in-migrant group (i.e. BA) they do not accommodate to BHA features which are [q] and Ø, and also to MZA interdentals but show a strong preference for [-ah]. Moreover, no accommodation is revealed in their speech for BB diphthongisation [-ij/-ej]. The third regional minority group which is MZ in-migrants do not accommodate to BHA features [q], [-u], and Ø and show, particularly, adoption of stops in their speech instead of their native interdentals. Similar to BA speakers, they do not adopt BB diphthongs. Accordingly, among the three groups, BB group was more prone to accommodation than any other group since they have adopted two new forms in their speech. The following figure summarises what has just been stated about accommodation and non-accommodation of the features in relation to the regional origin of the speakers:



**Figure 3.5 Pattern of accommodation according to regional origin of the speakers**

Trudgill (1986) among many, states that when a group of speakers settle in a new area, they are likely to adopt linguistic features of that area, i.e. the minority immigrant group accommodate their speech to that of the majority group. He states:

In long-term contacts, who accommodates to who is less problematical, since, in most cases where this phenomenon can be observed, we are dealing with contact between speakers of different regional varieties, and with regionally mobile individuals or minority groups who accommodate, in the long term, to a non-mobile majority that they have come to live amongst.

Trudgill (1986: 3)

In fact, Trudgill's claims do not work if applied to our case study. Instances for this are drawn from the linguistic behaviour of the three regional groups of speakers. No one of the three groups showed accommodation to the host village variants that are different from theirs. [q], [-u], and ø were not subject to accommodation of any group. Trudgill's (1986) claims are valid only with MZ group who favoure the use of [t], [d], and [d̥] rather than [θ], [ð], and [ð̥].

### 3.3.2 Age

It has been proved in sociolinguistic studies that age-based variation may often lead to a change in progress. This entails the use of real time and apparent time constructs. In a real time construct, the investigation of language change is

diachronic, whereas, in an apparent time dimension, the investigation is synchronic. Though the first dimension proved to be successful in tracing change in progress and allowed researchers to detect the newly introduced variant into the linguistic system, Labov (1963, 1966) demonstrates the usefulness of apparent time methodology claiming that it is: “the use of the present to explain the past” (Labov 1978, qtd. in Wagner: 2012).

Age appears to have an impact on the linguistic behaviour of the three regional groups living in BH, though the statistical tools indicate its insignificance. Starting with BB in-migrants, it is the middle age speakers who are ahead of all age categories in accommodating to [g] and [-i], though the young and old age categories have shown also accommodation to these features. For the variable (-u), it is the young BB in-migrants who accommodate mostly to [-ah]. The second group, that is BA minority in-migrant group show accommodation to only one linguistic feature which is the pronoun suffix (-u) as the middle-aged followed by the young favour the use of [-ah] rather than native [-u]. MZ minority in-migrant group, in turn, show low rates of accommodation to the urban stops only. The young age category in this group plays a significant role in accommodation to the interdental counterparts [t], [d] and [ɖ].

An outstanding analysis of age in sociolinguistics has been given by Llamas (2007) in which she states that age-correlated variation is suggestive of a change in progress. However, to follow the conventional wisdom to say for example, that adolescents are the leading generation to change in progress is not always the case in many studies. She further states that: “unlike some facets of our identity, our age is never static: it is, unfortunately perhaps, constantly moving onward” (Llamas, *ibid*: 75). With this movement through life: “the complex relationship between age and changing linguistic behaviour is not well understood in sociolinguistics” (Llamas, *ibid*: 76).

Accordingly, the statistical results corroborate Llamas' conclusion in that the linguistic behaviour of the three in-migrant groups has come with different results and drawing conclusions is difficult. Thus, the middle age category of BB in-

migrant group appears to be the leaders in accommodation to, at least, two variants [g] and [-i]. In addition, the middle-aged category of BA in-migrants have accommodated mostly to the variant [-ah]. Previous studies on the middle-aged group claim the tendency to a more static speech compared with other age groups, and it is always treated as being outside the circle of the developmental perspective found in the speech of children and adolescents (Eckert, 1998). Unlike the adolescents who are engaged in learning adult abilities and the elders who are on the way of losing these abilities, the middle-aged group are seen as: “engaging in mature use, as “doing” language rather than learning or losing it” (Eckert, 1998: 108-109).

Accordingly, contrasting Eckert's view and agreeing with Llamas' (2007) view, the middle-aged speakers of BB and BA are not static in their linguistic behaviour. Just like their age is constantly changing so is their linguistic behaviour. As stated by Llamas (ibid), the relationship between the speakers' changing linguistic behaviour and their age proved to be difficult to explain. Therefore, from a social-psychological view, the linguistic behaviour of this group might shed some light on this existing difficulty.

However, for the category of young speakers showing significant rates in accommodation are BB in-migrants (with the variant [-ah] only and as the second important accommodation rate with [-i] after the middle-aged group). MZ young in-migrants constitute the first category to adopt urban stops. The statistical results go hand in hand with the statement that innovation is associated with adolescents more than with middle-aged people (Eckert 1998), and also with the claims that age-graded changes are mostly associated with childhood or adolescence (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The category of young speakers included in this study includes only the adolescents, which is, in this case, supposed to be the leading generation to change (with the above accommodated variants) as theorised by Eckert (1998) when she states that:

Adolescents lead the entire age spectrum in sound change and in the general use of vernacular variables, and this lead is attributed to adolescents' engagement in constructing identities in opposition to – or at least independently of – their elders.

Eckert (1998: 163)

Being born and raised in BH has an effect on young MZ in-migrants that are considered to be the change leaders from interdental to stops. This reveals that some of these young MZ speakers have acquired the stops from their environment. Besides, both BB and BA (second important rate after the middle-aged) in-migrants are considered as the leading regional groups in changing the pronoun suffix variant (-u) from the urban variant [-u] to the Bedouin variant [-ah]. However, Eckert's statement appears to be working only with these accommodated variants only, but for the other available variants like [q], [-u], [-ij/-ej], and Ø they have not been adopted by BA and MZ groups. So, how can we account for such linguistic behaviour? Can we generalise, for example, in the case of BA and MZ in-migrant groups that the adolescents are paving the way for linguistic change to occur? In fact, the same young category which has accommodated to a specific variant like [-ah] in BA group and the stops in MZ group has not adopted the other available variant forms in their speech. These implications remain inexplicable if social psychology will not provide explanations for these questions.

As in several studies carried on accommodation, the social parameters of speakers affect their speech patterns, McCann and Giles (2007), in their study in the United States and Thailand, have found age to be important in the speakers' accommodating behaviour. Evidence for this is the eldest speakers' accommodation that was less than younger speakers were. In fact, what the data in this study expose does not contradict with McCann and Giles (ibid), as in most of the cases the eldest category has shown tendency to accommodation, but their rates have never been in the first position because the strong adopters are always either the middle age speakers or the young speakers. In the current study, BB old speakers did show accommodation to the features [g], [-ah], and [-i] but, they usually come in the third position by scoring the lowest rates. However, the linguistic behaviour of MZ eldest

speakers is rather different as they have preserved their original interdental forms completely. This issue will be transferred to attitude considerations seeking an explanation for speakers' linguistic behaviour of this category.

In dialect contact situations such as that of people's migration from their original homes to other communities, there is a linguistic discontinuity between generations. Because they are historically connected to their original areas, parents are not considered as members of the host community and have historical associations elsewhere but children are, mainly because they are socialised into it (Kerswill et al., 2013). In BH, this situation may well apply as the three age groups were carefully selected on the basis of some criteria already mentioned in the second chapter: the category of old speakers moved to live in the area at a later age accompanied with their children who constitute now the middle-aged category in this study: the third category is those children born or raised in the host village. So, while this latter young group was born and raised in a geographical and social space different from that of the old and middle age groups what was statistically revealed is a contrasting linguistic behaviour.

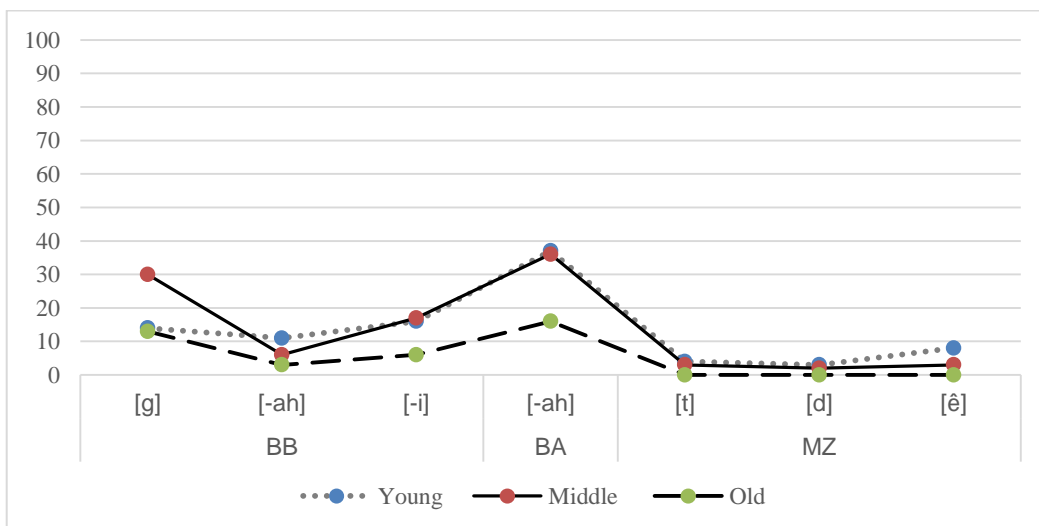
Eckert (1998) states that most studies that were carried out on children focus primarily on the socialisation<sup>69</sup> process in their environment. Thus, the young category of the three in-migrant groups was born and raised in the host community where they have socialised with the native inhabitants of the village in all spheres of life (for example, at school studying together, outside playing and enjoying themselves together and so on). In this case, young non-native [q] speakers of BA and MZ groups might have adopted this feature, but the results were extremely astonishing as the rate of accommodation of this feature among this category of speakers was null (0%).

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<sup>69</sup> Socialisation is: "the process by which individuals are trained both informally and institutionally to conform to a community or subculture" Llamas et al. (2007: 229)

The same case for gender neutralisation as a complete non-accommodation was attested in the speech of BA and MZ in-migrants. So, years of socialisation process do not explain this situation. However, in other cases, it does work for example, the case of MZ in-migrant young speakers that was stated already in the preceding paragraph where young speakers have shown accommodation to stops in the first place. Moreover, as accommodation to features of the host village was not attested in the speech of the three groups of in-migrants, other available features were adopted like, [-i] and [-ah]. These two forms are the original forms of the minority in-migrant speakers of MZ and they were adopted in the speech of the third group of BB who have accommodated to both of them, and BA group who have accommodated to [-ah]. Thus, how can we account for such accommodation? In other words, why has accommodation occurred in minority group accommodating to another minority group rather than a minority group accommodating to a majority group? The attitudinal orientations of these speakers, perhaps, might find an explanation for their linguistic behaviour, as we shall see in the following chapter.

As a summary of the use of the variables according to the age of the speakers, the following figure shows the interaction of the age variable with the features adopted in the speech of the three in-migrant groups:



**Figure 3.6 Interaction of age with the adopted forms by regional origin of the speakers**

Viewing the data above, we can clearly see that the middle-aged category is ahead of the accommodation process in almost all the adopted features. This pattern of accommodation among speakers of this category is similar to younger age category. However, the older category shows an increase in the use of some forms among BB group, such as [g], then a gradual decrease in the use of [-ah]. Again, a gradual increase is seen in the use of [-i] among the same mentioned group. This increase reaches its top in the use of [-ah] among BA group, and then starts to be stable among the group of MZ speakers who show maintenance rather than accommodation to the stops [t]-[d]-[d̥].

### **3.3.3 Gender**

Studies have proved that variation in language use according to the variable is universal (Al-Wer, 2014). Earlier scholars in their investigations on the relationship between gender and linguistic variation proved that men and women differ in their speech in different ways: Labov's study (1966) has shown that men and women's speech differs in style and that women's speech contains more standard forms than men's. The Milroys (1978) state a number of differences among which we mention that on a stylistic continuum, women are careful in their speech and men are casual. In addition, women are likely to use prestige norms whereas men use vernacular norms.

Investigations on this social variable in the Arabic-speaking world have proved the assumptions of its universality. After comparing studies from both Arab and Western societies, Chambers (1995) claims that the diverging socio-cultural structure of the Arab world and the Western world does not necessarily lead to divergent gender behaviour. They are rather similar in that women use more standard forms than men do in the same social group in both worlds. This behaviour is associated with women's verbal ability which apparently, according to him, overrides the socio-cultural differences (Chambers, *ibid*).

However, other studies on gender differences in the Arabic-speaking world show the reverse. For example, Abd-el-jawad's (1981) study of Amman and

Sallam's (1980) study in Cairo, have shown that men use the standard variant [q] more than women do; a result that contrasts with the Western societies where women are found to use standard forms more than men do.

Therefore, the present study is, certainly, worth a question in relation to the gender variable: Do the general reached findings on gender differences apply to the present study? Do Beni Snous men and women behave the same way as other men and women across the world? More particularly, are Beni Snous women really innovative or conservative in their linguistic behaviour? Among many other issues, we seek to investigate the patterns of gender differentiation in the village of BH where a considerable number of local inhabitants of the valley moved to stay in this area.

Women in this study are significantly much more in non-accommodation than accommodation. In cases of non-accommodation, the results have shown that BB female in-migrants have maintained their original features [q], [-u], and [-ij/-ej], whereas BA female in-migrants have maintained their native [-u]. The only case of accommodation is that of MZ female in-migrants who have shown tendency to adopt the urban stops in their speech. This divergent linguistic behaviour of women reflected in both adoption of new forms and maintenance of original speech can be partly attributed to the innate conservatism in the valley with women having less exposure to the outside world; a fact that has led some of them to maintain their original linguistic features. Accommodation behaviour can be partly attributed to women in present day living. They have demonstrated an openness to change in the way of living and become more exposed to the outside world. The group of MZ female in-migrants (mainly middle and young age groups) have experienced such openness as they left the tradition of farming, raising cattle, and crafting and moved to another area of living where opportunities of studying and working have been available. Even though present-day living is not like times long ago, women's frustration still exists. This study has also shown another category of in-migrant female speakers, who though they are in regular contact with other people and seem to have no conservatism character in their social behaviour, they do show this

conservatism character in their linguistic behaviour by maintaining their original way of speaking.

Compared to men, women, originally from BB and BA, have shown very conservative linguistic behaviour in the village and outside it. We extracted the following statements from some female interviewees when we asked them: “Do you think that in order to integrate with people in the urban cities and towns one has to change the way they speak?”

-[wə ʔla:ʃ χaʃ jana lli nbeddel hɔɔrti. ʔla:ʃ maʃi huma?]

‘Why is it me who must change the way I speak? Why not them?’

-[lijjəh ma ʃandi ʔaʃl bəʃ nahɔɔr hadra maʃi djali?]

‘Why? Am I with no origins to speak a speech that is not mine?’

The female’s response to the aforementioned question entails many issues: chief of them is the question of origins. Her answer reveals the feelings of affiliation to her origins. She shows how strongly she is attached to her area and her native speech. In fact, the above-stated example shows that women’s (BB and BA females) conservative behaviour in non-accommodation reflects their disinterest in the outside world represented in this study in the urban lifestyle in the adjacent towns and cities. Furthermore, this very behaviour reflects their rural-oriented lifestyle as well as the pro-tribalism character that is still deeply rooted in the area.

For a long time, women had been excluded from the sphere of social class research and were neglected because they were considered as economically dependent on their husbands (Giddens, 2001, qtd. in Kerswill 2007: 53). However, the present-day situation, according to Giddens, is different due to women’s involvement in economy. Stratification has been based on the main person considered in a household as the breadwinner and sometimes both genders in one household are stratified because both are breadwinners.

Giddens' statement provides a useful starting point for gender-based explanation in the village of BH. Though accommodation rates of women<sup>70</sup> were relatively lower than those of men, this does not prevent us from taking the view that women are participating in linguistic change in BH and in the entire valley. With the rapid growth that every span on earth has been subject to, this particular small village is also accompanying this growth. After having lived in the same area all their lives, women in this rural area have recently accompanied this growth especially by starting to break the family and tribal loyalties. As just mentioned above, in times past, not very long ago, women in the whole valley did not have the chance to attend schools, to utter a word in a family gathering, or to take decisions. Moreover, they were forced to be married at a very young age and take the family responsibilities. Their role as existing human beings in the tribal sense was confined to their private role within family space looking after its members as housewives and raising children. On the contrary, men are engaged in public life living in the outside world that is totally different from the inside world (i.e. within the family). Almost all male speakers in this study are urban-oriented lifestyle. Such beliefs and attitudes are, as stated just above, totally different from female speakers'.

This past picture still has far-reaching consequences: for example, during data collection, we did not come across old women as a category of female speakers having external contact via commuting or travelling regularly outside the valley for work. This shows us that old women in the valley have never been at schools and have never stepped outside the valley. But for the other female categories, i.e. young and middle, things have changed: Girls are no more forced to leave school whenever they reach the age of puberty and boys are not compelled to go to farming. Traditional family farming is less and less decreasing all over the valley, and mainly in BH. These tribal pressures and family traditions have started to be disentangled. Women, originally from MZ, in this rural area, have broken loose from these views and pressures and have become relatively free in their decisions and behaviour. Most important is their linguistic behaviour that starts, as the current

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<sup>70</sup> The accommodation rates of women were lower than men's because only one in-migrant group (MZ) whose female speakers accommodated their speech.

data in this study show, to move away from conservatism. But, for women of the remaining two groups (i.e. those who are originally from BB and BA), the matter is different. Their conservative linguistic behaviour in non-accommodation and maintenance of native speech reflects their disinterest in the outside world, which is represented in this study in the urban lifestyle. Moreover, non-accommodation linguistic behaviour reflects their rural-oriented lifestyle and still advocates the tradition of tribalism loyalty.

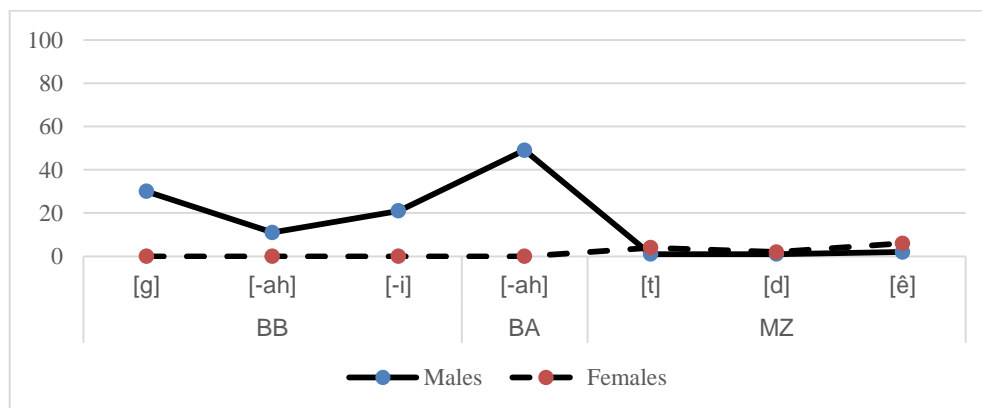
As Eckert (1989) claims, the conservative character in women speech, as opposed to men, has been investigated, and the results varied among women leading change and women resisting change. Under the sense of accompanying growth, these women feel the desire to sound softer in their speech by avoiding harsh sounds and adopting soft sounds instead. Thus, the contrasting linguistic behaviour in the host village is that while BB female in-migrants are likely to maintain the standard variant [q], MZ females tend to abandon the interdental standard forms [θ], [ð], and [ð̥] to the adoption of the urban stops to sound, as Eckert (ibid) states, softer in their speech. As far as the issue of standard is concerned, Al-Wer (2014) claims that one of the most understanding results in sociolinguistics on gender differentiation is that: “female speakers on average produce or maintain linguistic features that are closer to the standard or prestigious features more often than male speakers” (Al-Wer, ibid: 05). The mentioned Western variationist findings stating that women use standard forms more than men are contradictory. They are partly applied to some variables like maintenance of standard [q] found among BB female group rather than males and the abundance of standard interdentals by MZ females rather than old males. Here, the only explanations lie in purely social as we have seen and might be partly social-psychological as will be shown in the following chapter. This psychological view is reflected in the speakers' subjective attitudes towards speech and its users.

Al-Wer (2014) states that applying the Western findings that women use standard forms more than men in an Arabic-speaking context has, in fact, led to misleading interpretation. The standard forms like interdentalals signify outdated lifestyle and non-standard forms are associated with modern lifestyle (Al-Wer, *ibid*). In an Arabic-speaking context, they were reformulated into local vs. supralocal to fit the findings of the Arabic-speaking communities (Al-Wer: *ibid*). She brought the two generalisations into one moulded to fit the Arab-speaking communities:

The true situation is that male and female patterns in Western and Arab communities are identical in that men tend to use the localised features more often than women do, and Arab women prefer supralocal features (which are often non-Standard features).

Al-Wer (2014: 6)

Taking both generalisations: standard vs. non-standard, localised vs. non-localised to fit our aim in this study is, certainly, workable. Women originally from BB tend to stick to the localised forms such as [q], [-u] and men use supralocal forms such as [g], [-ah]. Women originally from MZ area use supralocal forms like [t], [d], and [d̥] more than men who use local forms like [θ], [ð], and [ð̥]. However, we should also look at women's role in the society where they live, the nature of their social relations, contacts, and network to understand their linguistic behaviour (Abdel-Jawed, 2013). Thus, taking all these overall factors into consideration, women's linguistic behaviour can be explained in either maintenance or shift of these standard forms.



**Figure 3.7 Interaction of gender with the adopted forms by regional origin of the speakers**

The figure above shows clearly the females pattern of accommodation which is identical among both BB and BA groups. This reveals the conservative behaviour of women within these two groups and it appears to be stable and resisting the adoption of any new forms. However, this stable and conservative behaviour changes among MZ female speakers, where accommodation takes place in the adoption of the three variant forms of the interdental variables. The male speakers show also a similar conservative behaviour, but only among MZ group of speakers. In the remaining two groups, accommodation to non-native variant forms is clearly shown in the figure above with BA male speakers ahead of this linguistic behaviour.

### **3.3.4 Type of Contact**

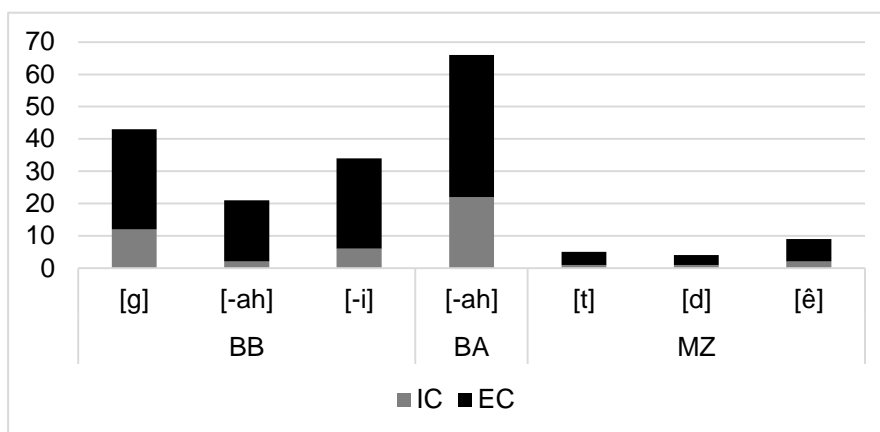
Contact has been considered as a social factor in contact studies (both language contact and dialect contact). In the context of language contact, Thomason (2001) contends that the intensity of contact is a major social predictor of contact-induced change. In dialect contact contexts, in his study of regional dialect levelling in urban and rural varieties of English in Britain, Kerswill (2003) concludes that the intensity of contact between speakers of different local areas is a determinant of regional dialect levelling which is based on both geographical diffusion and the accommodation-based process of levelling.

Nagy (1997) lists a number of contact-induced language change studies (chosen randomly) in order to show the range of factors which have been included in each one and concludes that more than half of the selected studies were rejected because: “effects of social factors were not reported at all.” (Nagy, *ibid*) He further states that the intensity of contact as a predictor of change was significant in most studies.

As far as the type of contact is concerned in this study, we have stratified the three regional groups into speakers of internal contact and focused on those who spend most of their time in the valley. Speakers of external contact are those mobile individuals having permanent contact with other speakers outside the host village and even the valley. This is done as stated earlier in chapter two for the sake of measuring mobility and immobility of speakers. In a number of Arabic

sociolinguistic studies, for instance, the abundance of standard forms in favour of non-standard forms, it has been proved that it is those educated and highly mobile individuals of the community who are ahead of a linguistic change in progress (Al-Wer, 2014).

From this study, we have observed that this social variable affects the linguistic behaviour of the three groups and plays a significant role in the process of accommodation. Speakers of the three in-migrant groups who have shown tendency to accommodate their speech were of both types of contact. As shown in the bar graph below, accommodation rates among external contact speakers are higher than those of internal contact speakers. The figure below clearly shows the difference.



**Bar graph 3.18 Distribution of accommodated features according to type of contact**

The linguistic behaviour of internal contact speakers is represented in the low rates of accommodation. This latter reflects their limited social contact and the weak ties with members of the host village. Even the accommodated features are not the original features of the host village. For instance, the linguistic accommodation of BHA variants [q],  $\emptyset$ , and [-u] did not occur. Stops counterparts were the only variants of BH speech which were accommodated by MZ group. Moreover, all the attested cases of accommodation are not bidirectional, but rather take only one direction:

- Accommodation of (q): [q]  $\Rightarrow$  [g]
- Accommodation of ( $\theta$ ), ( $\delta$ ), ( $\delta$ ): [ $\theta$ ]-[ $\delta$ ]-[ $\delta$ ]  $\Rightarrow$  [t]-[d]-[d]

- Accommodation of (-u): [-u] ⇨ [-ah]
- Accommodation of (-i:na): [-ij/-ej] ⇨ [-i]

As illustrated above, accommodation takes always one direction. Speakers of both types of contact have contributed to these cases of accommodation. Internal contact speakers have accommodated less than external contact speakers. These latter are more affected socially by showing a high degree of integration in the social milieu they are in contact with. Their social integration is reflected in their linguistic behaviour. External contact as a variable has an impact on some linguistic variables with differing degrees. For example, MZ in-migrants, who commute or live temporarily in the neighbouring cities, have shown readiness for the replacement of their native interdental features with dental stops which are features of people in urban cities. As the feature [q] was strongly maintained at a local level, at an external level it is replaced with the feature [g]. The same results were obtained for the suffix pronoun [-ah] as those BA and BB speakers have exhibited variation in its use alternating between the original variant form and the newly adopted form.

However, avowing that external contact as a powerful social variable affecting the speakers' linguistic behaviour does not work all time with all the available linguistic variables. To illustrate this issue, we take the case of some external contact speakers who have shown no accommodation in their speech because they reported having limited contact as they have been recently hired in their jobs (three years). Thus, the length of time spent in a given area is important in the case of BH speakers contact with outsiders in the neighbouring cities. For example, some of these speakers who have spent more than a decade interacting with people outside the valley have really shown high rates of accommodation of some non-native features like [g], [-ah], and [-i]. Moreover, some of them have definitely adopted these features in their speech.

As far the length of residence is concerned, Trudgill (1986) argues that the non-rhotic English speakers, living in America, do not acquire the American non-prevocalic /r/ in their speech before having lived in America for at least ten years or so. Though we have not considered the length of residence as a social variable, we set it as one of the main criteria on which our selection of IC speakers is based (stated in chapter two). But, it was not included as a criterion to select speakers of external contact outside the valley. We preferred to combine this criterion in a general way to see whether it has an effect or not at a local level.

Trudgill's (ibid) findings appear to contrast and confirm ours at the same time. Though the considerable number of years spent by those in-migrant speakers in BH, BA and MZ groups have not adopted [q] and gender neutralisation  $\emptyset$  in their speech, and even [-u] has not been adopted by MZ group. At an external level, some native [q] speakers have exhibited accommodation, particularly, to the feature [g] but the length of time spent with [g] speakers outside the valley is less than Trudgill's claim of ten years.

From the data presented, an observation can be made. Accommodation varies among in-migrant groups according to their social parameters, but non-accommodation is uniform. For accommodation, speakers of different social parameters have accommodated to some variants. For example, only male in-migrants of all age groups in BB group accommodate to [g]. For non-accommodation, some features are not adopted at all and it is the whole group which has rejected them, not only some individuals of that group. This uniformity concerns primarily the feature (q) where two opponents stand: [g] accommodators and [q] non-accommodators. For [g], the accommodating behaviour of BB in-migrants varies across the social parameters of age, gender, and type of contact. However, for [q], the non-accommodation behaviour is uniform in all the social categories of BA and MZ groups. Thus, a further analysis needs to be given in this

case. Only social psychological evidence can explain this uniform behaviour, an issue that will be dealt with in the next chapter.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Long-term contact between speakers of the local dialectal varieties in the heterogeneous community of BH might lead as a first step of change to linguistic accommodation. The three regional groups living in BH have shown variability in the use of some linguistic variables. BB in-migrant group have exhibited some degree of phonological and morphological accommodation to the variants [g], [-ah], and [-i] in their speech. BA in-migrants have shown no phonological accommodation to any of the input variants and have accommodated only to the morphological feature [-ah]. MZ in-migrants have manifested phonological accommodation only to [t], [d], and [ɖ] reducing the standard interdental variants [θ], [ð] and [ɸ] in their speech.

As this chapter has exposed the speakers' linguistic accommodation with respect to the retention or reduction of their native regional forms, the reached result is that these forms are at a variable stage. The variants: [q], the interdental variants [θ], [ð], and [ɸ], the pronoun suffix [-u], and gender marker [-ij/-ej] alternate with their counterparts [g], [t]-[d]-[ɖ], [-ah], [-i] respectively in the speech of the three groups. However, a small number of speakers in the three regional groups have totally adopted the features [g], [-ah], and [-i].

The study has shown a significant correlation between the use of the different phonological and morphological variables with some social factors involved. Age, gender, and type of contact appear to be significant in the accommodating behaviour of speakers. External contact as a dominant factor of speakers' linguistic behaviour interacts with the other social parameters of age and gender.

The quantitative data have suggested unusual results that do not conform to prior theories and studies. Besides, we add the uniform linguistic behaviour of the three groups towards some variants that were not accommodated. Unlike accommodation that was at varying degrees, non-accommodation of some features appears to be agreed on by a given group with all its social parameters.

To sum up, this chapter constituted the first objective of this study that lies in the investigation of which of the linguistic forms are subject to accommodation and which are subject to maintenance. The next chapter will fulfil the second objective of the study that is the impact of speakers' attitudes on their linguistic behaviour. Therefore, the following question is worth asking: "Do attitudes trigger the patterns of linguistic accommodation and non-accommodation found in the speech of the three in-migrant groups?"

## *Chapter Four: Investigating Speakers' Attitudinal Orientations*

### **4.1 Introduction**

### **4.2 Attitudes and Accommodation**

### **4.3 Attitudes Measurements and their Difficulties in this Study**

### **4.4 Attitudinal Orientations of Speakers' Linguistic Behaviour**

#### **4.4.1 Attitudes of Internal Contact Speakers**

#### **4.4.2 Attitudes of External Contact Speakers**

### **4.5 Comparison of Speakers' Linguistic Behaviour with their Attitudes**

### **4.6 The Effect of Attitudes on Accommodation**

### **4.7 Conclusion**

## **4.1 Introduction**

The process of accommodation may be conscious or unconscious among speakers who tend to make adaptations in their speech under the effect of their interlocutors' speech (Meyerhoff, 2006). Speakers' attitudes towards their interlocutors and the way they speak are of vital importance in the construction of accommodation theory. Therefore, for a better understanding of the process of linguistic accommodation among the selected groups of speakers, their attitudes are interesting for the aim of this study.

We will take into account the differing attitudes those speakers have towards each other as members of the same living area, their local spoken varieties and to some particular linguistic features. We will also attempt to reveal how these attitudes affect their linguistic behaviour, i.e. linguistic accommodation to a particular feature of a local variety rather than another. It attempts to fulfil the second objective of this study, that is, the impact of speakers' subjective attitudes on their linguistic behaviour. To probe these attitudes, we have applied the direct measures of attitudes because it is a straightforward method widely used by researchers in the field. It is processed mainly through overt questioning by asking the informants questions in a written form.

## **4.2 Attitudes and Accommodation**

Among the various definitions of language attitudes, we refer to that of Crystal which states that it is: "a term used in sociolinguistics for the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others". Crystal (2008: 266). Earlier works on attitudes like that of Allport (1935, qtd. in Garrett 2010: 19) claimed that the concept of attitude was considered as a crucial component in the field of social psychology. He further states that this concept has also been essential in sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966) influential work on the social stratification of speech communities whose languages might be driven to change due to prestige and stigma as forceful factors towards some linguistic features existing in the speech of these communities. Since Labov's work, attitudes have become

prominent in understanding social behaviour and thought (Garrett, 2010). Thus, attitudes are learned through human socialisation and are less influenced and more persistent, such as language attitudes that are acquired in early life and do not change in later life (Sears, 1903, qtd. in Garrett, 2007: 116).

The parent discipline of language attitude research is the social psychology of attitudes (already referred to in the above-mentioned paragraphs in this section). Language attitudes research seeks to bring together: “a record of overt [and covert] attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes” Labov (1984: 33). According to Fasold (1987), there are generally two theories that hold different views about attitudes. The behaviourists’ claim that: “attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations”, whereas the mentalists’ view is “an internal state of readiness” (1987: 147)

While accommodation theory gives particular importance to the dynamic communicative shifts of speakers in communicative interaction, studying language attitudes in this field takes account of these shifts (Garret, 2010). Researchers argue that the degree of accommodation, be it short or long-term, is strongly linked to attitudinal backgrounds. Evidence for their claim is that accommodation theory is based on the social psychological concept of ‘*similarity-attraction*’<sup>71</sup> which postulates that attitudes and accommodation are related to each other depending on the speaker’s views and beliefs towards his interlocutor. The more he evaluates his interlocutor positively the more he is likely to accommodate to his interlocutor’s linguistic variety (Giles and Smith, 1979; Kerswill and Williams, 2000).

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<sup>71</sup> Social psychological accommodation is constructed upon four social psychological theories: similarity attraction, social exchange, casual attribution, and intergroup distinctiveness (Giles and Smith: 1979). The similarity-attraction theory posits that: “The more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to those of others, the more likely it is for them to be attracted to us.” (Byrne, 1971, qtd in Giles and Smith, Ibid: 47)

Language attitudes studies have differed from each other in terms of the subject under study. Fasold (ibid: 148) summarizes three trends in language attitudes study: one trend includes studies focusing on attitudes towards language itself where the investigator may ask questions about whether a language or a language variety sounds nice or harsh, poor, ugly, rich, beautiful, old-fashioned, modern or the like. Another trend which covers studies that go beyond this level of language attitudes investigation and ask questions about the speakers of a language or a language variety: Some groups are believed to be ordinary, honest, hard-working, and intelligent: some groups are believed to be lazy, insolent (Preston and Robinson: 2005). On a broader scale, the third trend stresses the importance of language attitudes towards language maintenance and language planning (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian: 1982).

In the context of our investigation and as it will be explained in the second part of this chapter the designed questionnaire on attitudes will include questions on speakers' attitudes towards speakers of the host community, and towards the local dialectal varieties. Moreover, attitudes towards people of urban cities and their speech form also a part in the questionnaire.

### **4.3 Attitudes Measurements and their Difficulties in this Study**

Most researchers in the field of language attitudes agree on the complexity of inferring attitudes about language. Because attitudes are a mental construct, researches carried out are coloured with uncertainty about the real informants' attitudes. Auer and Hinskens (1996) assert that data elicited about speakers' attitudes do not: "necessarily carry a high degree of external validity", and "cannot always be generalised to language use in "real life"" (Auer and Hinskens, ibid: 21-22).

Hence, among the various methods which have been put forward to determine attitudes about language are the direct method and the indirect method. The direct method is overt and involves the use of a series of direct questions written in the form of a questionnaire designed to large groups of people. These

questions can be also in the form of interviews in which the researcher asks the respondents individually. The indirect method is covert and seeks to investigate the speakers' attitudes without informing that they are being investigated (Fasold, 1987: 149). Researchers who use this method often rely on the matched guise technique, first introduced by Lambert and colleagues in the 1960s where he makes the informants in the investigation listen to audio recordings, usually a passage read in different languages or language varieties. Then, they are asked to describe the individuals reading the same passage, while in fact, it is only one person who performs the readings.

As we started thinking about how to best elicit data among these three regional groups in this study, we have considered many facts. First of all, having taken into account that most of the speakers are illiterate and cannot complete the questionnaires in a written form (and this has been the planned technique at the beginning of the investigation), we thought of asking the attitude questions directly but in an oral form. Doing this in the beginning with some speakers led us to stop thinking about this technique, because not only it would take much more time than the written form, but it would be difficult to ask a question with a variety of optional responses (Likert scale for example). The speakers might in fact, forget quickly these options and feel confused which one to choose in a hurry. We thought of asking questions which need either yes/no questions, but this might give insufficient data because the answers would be limited. The open-ended questions appeared to be useful for the sake of obtaining much data. Doing this in an oral way also might cause problems with many speakers who had already shown unwillingness to discuss topics during the interviews.

In the end, we came back to the first technique which is the administration of the written questionnaire. They were administered in Arabic rather than French because of the informants' incompetence in this language. Moreover, because of the illiteracy rate, which is still unacceptably high among the middle and old age categories of informants, the relatives, sons and daughters of the illiterate speakers were in charge of completing the questionnaires instead. For others, the field

workers wrote down the responses. Another major obstacle which stood against getting more information in this way was also the reluctance on the part of some speakers to answer freely, and sometimes to leave some questions unanswered, a fact that most of the time made the researcher feel obliged to go back to the fieldwork and meet again the informants. An English version of the questionnaires is provided at the end of this study

Researchers on language change stressed the need to look at the geographical area where change takes place (Marshall, 2004). They also hold a common view which states that the way a group view another group might have an effect on their linguistic behaviour and prompt them to adopt some features from the speech of that group (Trudgill, 1986). To measure the psychological attitudes of the speakers in this study, we used the direct method via administering two questionnaires having more or less the same questions. The first one was administered to the three regional in-migrant groups to assess their attitudes towards the host community as a living place, the native group of the village and the way they speak, in addition to attitudes towards each other's local variety. The second questionnaire was mainly designed for speakers working or studying outside the valley in order to reveal out what they think about the people they are in contact with and the way they speak.

The questionnaires are made up of two types of questions: closed questions where yes/no and multiple-choice questions are included. We relied mostly on Likert's scale to structure the multiple-choice questions. The obtained answers from such type would be in the form of degrees (such as agreement and occurrences). We also included open-ended questions in order to allow the speakers to respond in their own words and generate useful information. These latter are not quantified. After the completion of the questionnaires, we noticed that some informants left some blank, what made us forced to meet them again to complete the questionnaires. However, as some responded, some others did not and wrote: 'I don't know', 'I cannot answer', and 'no idea'. Thus, we provided after each unanswerable question the option 'undecided' to refer to those who refused to respond and showed reluctance. The speakers' reluctance might be due to the nature of the question that

would raise tribal conflicts, or simply they did not want to show their real feelings and thoughts. Therefore, we discarded these void responses from the analysis, but showed them in each table of statistical results.

In fact, a variety of interesting and thought-provoking questions were structured earlier in the two questionnaires, but for practical reasons we dropped many of them for the sake of avoiding the long-lasting tribal conflicts that might arouse whenever they are administered to the informants. In addition, some parts in the questionnaires were difficult to complete. These difficulties were related to the incomprehensibility of speakers to some questions and most importantly Likert's scale responses that made the speakers feel confused, for it seemed to them, for example, the options 'often' and 'sometimes' are the same. In the following section, we will look at speakers' attitudes by combining their opinions and beliefs expressed in: the questionnaire responses quantitatively and during the interview qualitatively.

#### **4.4 Attitudinal Orientations of Speakers' Linguistic Behaviour**

Proponents of the accommodation theory (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Giles et al., 1973; Giles and Smith, 1979; Giles and Coupland, 1991) argue that attitudinal orientations play a great role in speakers' tendency to modify their speech. If an individual wants to gain the approval of his interlocutor, he will converge linguistically to his variety and reduce the linguistic differences: but if he wants to distance himself from that interlocutor, he will diverge by maintaining his original variety. Contemporary works suggest that linguistic variation as a key component to understanding how new regional dialects develop is insufficient and it is of central concern to look also at "the sociocultural conditions and to speakers' awareness of and attitudes towards linguistic features" (Marsden, 2013: 22-23).

Because the factor of type of contact is revealed to be powerful in shaping the speakers' linguistic behaviour, we have divided BH speakers into two groups. Those of internal contact and those of external contact, and as we have already stated, two questionnaires were administered to these two groups of speakers. We designed the first questionnaire to speakers having internal contact in the village as

they spend most of their time there. The aim is to assess their attitudes towards the host community as a living place, the regional groups of speakers making up this area, and their spoken local varieties. The second questionnaire was designed for speakers who commute or reside temporarily in the neighbouring cities and towns. Similar to the first questionnaire, the second aims also at investigating speakers' attitudes towards the urban cities, their speakers, and the varieties they speak. Accordingly, the questions involved in the first questionnaire, which was designed to internal contact speakers, have the following objectives:

**1-**The first five questions have the objective of eliciting attitudes about the host village as a living place. Researchers on language change stress the need to look at the geographical area where change takes place (Marshall, 2004). Thus, we have structured these questions to see how speakers see the environment they are living in and to see the impact of their attitudes on their linguistic behaviour that was analysed in the previous chapter and bore evidence to linguistic accommodation.

**2-**questions (6) and (7) seek to reveal speakers' attitudes towards the four regional groups that make up the speech community of BH. The common generally held view among a wide variety of researchers is that the way a group views another group might have an effect on their linguistic behaviour and prompt them to adopt some features from the speech of that group (Trudgill, 1986).

**3-**Five questions are selected in order to capture the salient features in the speech of the groups of speakers. To know what they think about the speech of each other in addition to the speech of the host village is essential to reveal the stigmatised and stereotyped features. Because they exhibit linguistic differences in their speech mainly at phonological and morphological levels, accommodation of each other's features was manifested in their speech. So, the aim of this section is to reveal how speakers view each other's dialectal varieties and particularly some linguistic features.

More or less similar to the above form, the designed questionnaire to speakers, who are in regular contact outside the valley, includes questions to fulfil the following objectives:

**1-** Eight questions aim to reveal the salient and stigmatised linguistic features in the speech of the speakers and how they perceive urban speech in terms of stigmatised and prestigious features. Thus, their attitudes towards their own local varieties when they are inside and outside the valley and how people in urban cities perceive their speech are essential to know about the salient linguistic features in the dialectal varieties at play.

**2-**The inhabitants of BH do not have internal contact except in the host village, but some of them are in contact with some neighbouring urban cities for different purposes such as work, study, and business. Thus, this part is mainly designed for speakers working or studying outside the valley in order to reveal out what they think about the cities and towns as living places. The questions involved are: (09) and (10).

**3-**It is important to know what BH speakers think of people living in urban cities as well. Thus, we introduced one question (11) to reveal their subjective attitudes towards these urban people.

**4-**The last question is structured to get speakers' attitudes towards the speech of people in urban cities.

Some qualitative questions, which were already introduced in the interviews, were also included in the questionnaires.

#### **4.4.1 Attitudes of Internal Contact Speakers**

The five questions were administered in order to reveal the speakers' opinions about the village of BH as a living place. These are structured as follows:

**1-**Are you satisfied with the fact of living in BH? -Can you say why?

**2-**Do you ever feel proud of being born/having grown up/living in Beni Hammou?

**3-**How do you call the area where you live?

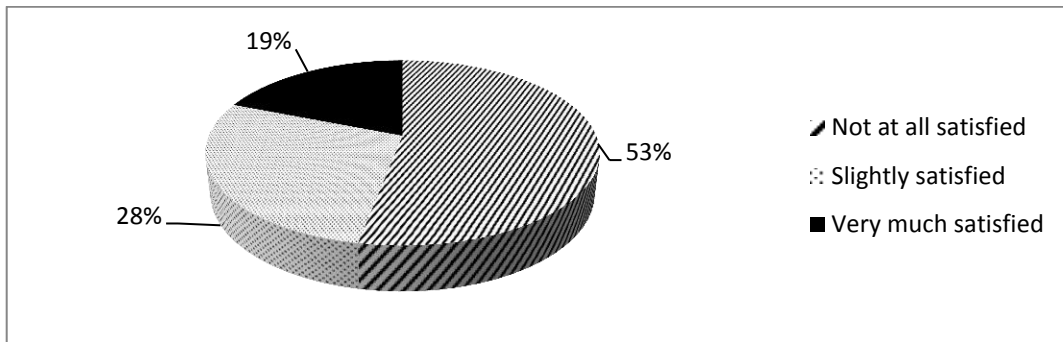
**4-**Are you for or against the ongoing infrastructural development in Beni Hammou?

5-If you have the choice to live in another area, what would you choose? -If your choice is the third, can you mention the area exactly?

The results obtained are displayed in the tables and their corresponding pie charts below:

**Table 4.1 IC speakers' responses to question one: satisfaction**

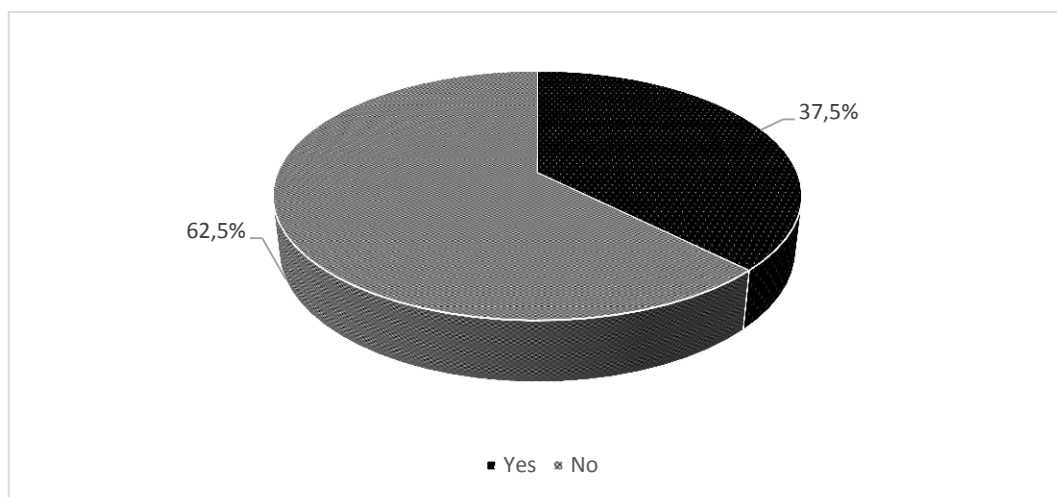
	Not at all satisfied	Slightly satisfied	Very much satisfied
AF	17	9	6
RF	53%	28%	19%



**Pie chart 4.1 IC speakers' scores to question one**

**Table 4.2 IC speakers' responses to question two: pride**

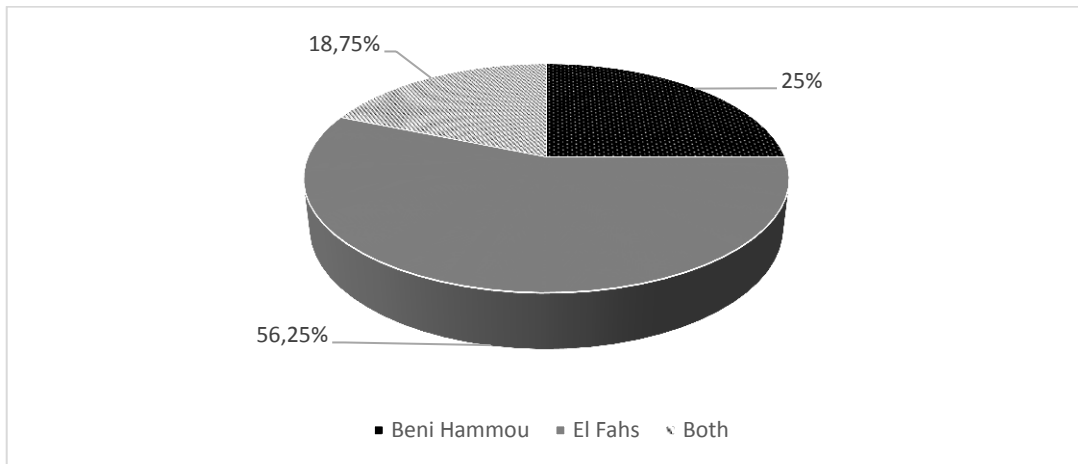
	Yes	No
AF	12	20
RF	37.5%	62.5%



**Pie chart 4.2 IC speakers' scores to question two**

**Table 4.3 IC speakers' responses to question three: living area**

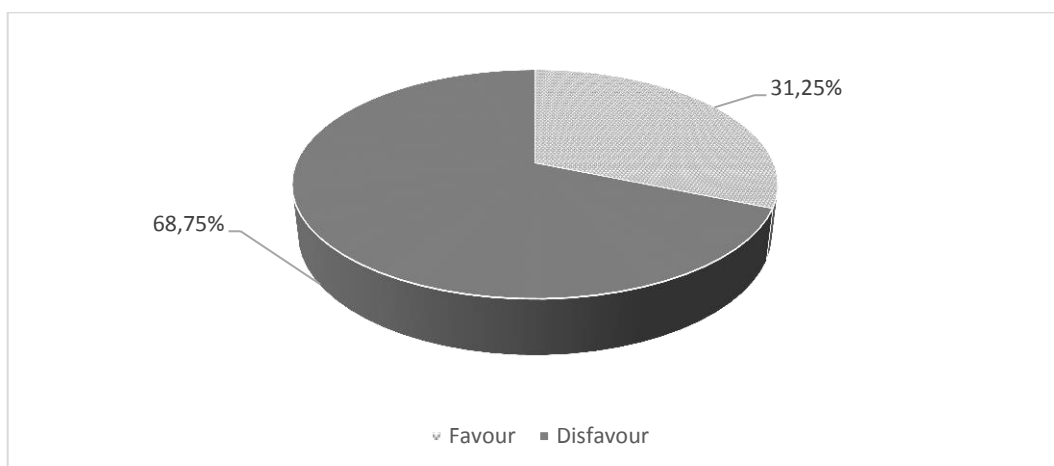
	Beni Hammou	El Fahs	Both
AF	8	18	6
RF	25%	56.25%	18.75%



**Pie chart 4.3 IC speakers' scores to question three**

**Table 4.4 IC speakers' responses to question four: infrastructure**

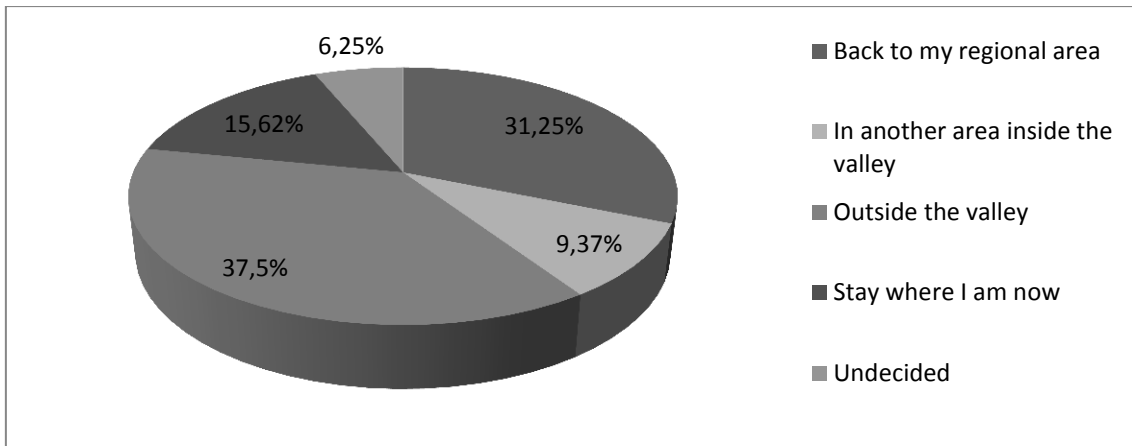
	Favour	Disfavour
AF	10	22
RF	31.25%	68.75%



**Pie chart 4.4 IC speakers' scores to question four**

**Table 4.5 IC speakers' responses to question five: area choice**

	Back to my regional area	In another area inside the valley	Outside the valley	Stay where I am now	Undecided
AF	10	3	12	5	2
RF	31.25%	9.37 %	37.5%	15.62%	6.25%



**Pie chart 4.5 IC speakers' scores to question five**

In table 4.1, it is clear that among the three optional responses, 53% of the speakers claim they are not satisfied at all with the fact of living in the host village, whereas 28% claim to be slightly satisfied, and 19% state the opposite, claiming they have no difficulties in living in this area. As shown in table 4.2, speakers' attitudes towards their place of birth or growing are rather negative. They scored 62.5% claiming they feel embarrassed whereas 37.5% of them do not have such feelings. Bearing in mind that throughout the valley, the term 'Beni Hammou' is negatively perceived and the term 'El Fahs' carries positive connotations, the speakers scored 25% for the first and 56.25% for the second.

Calling the area with both names without having any negative or positive connotations, some speakers scored 25%. If you ask someone 'do you live in Beni Hammou?' his /her words would come in a rush tone: 'no, no, no, I live in El Fahs'. The underlying reality is that both terms are names given to the village and both have a story: 'Beni Hammou' is the oldest name given to the area after the Berber one 'Ait Hammou'. It has long been associated with the historical victories and

challenges of well-known figures in the area in ancient times<sup>72</sup>. Since then, it has become the running name of the area. According to Destaing (1907), in Beni Hammou there was an area reserved only to bury well-known personalities such as heroes and religious leaders. This area was called 'r3el El Fahs' 'men of El Fahs'. And it appears from the discussions with the locals of this area that this term re-emerged again with the waves of the new settlements. Negative connotations started to be associated with the ancient term and preference was given to the new one. These new comers refused to buy lands and houses contiguous with those of the local inhabitants. They went to the opposing side and formed totally a new area reserved only to newcomers and started naming it 'El Fahs' rather than 'Beni Hammou' to avoid the negative connotations associated with it. These responses reveal the social division between the natives of the area and the in-migrants.

While most of the in-migrants were forced to leave their dwelling places for purely social needs seeking housing, work, schooling, and better conditions of life, others left their homes, situated on the Algero-Moroccan border areas, for purely political reasons during the black decade seeking a safety life. As they settled in the host community a separation is made explicit between these people in their physical environment. They chose to rent, buy, or build houses not in the same area where the natives live, but jumped to the opposite side of the area, where the major road of the valley stands between the two areas, and created a new environment for their own calling it 'El Fahs' rather than the ancient one 'Beni Hammou'. Accordingly, they are determined to dissociate themselves from the rest of the native inhabitants by giving a different name to the area where they live. El Fahs (100%) is the major name given instead of Beni Hammou thinking that it does not imply negative connotations like the other term.

The fourth question holds also similar negative attitudes as the former ones. The speakers have shown strong opposition towards the continuous flourishing in the

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<sup>72</sup>Edmong Destaing (1907) and Alfred Bell (1920), whose book was translated into Arabic by Hamdaoui in 2001, are useful sources where Beni Hammou was mentioned with its heroes in ancient times.

area. They scored 68.75% as a response to their hostility towards the infrastructural development in BH. However, only 31.25% have favoured these developments. From a general point of view, people who moved from a particular area to settle in another one were certainly under conditions that forced them to leave their dwelling places. Thus, the conditions under which those in-migrants left their dwelling places might be the driving force for the negative held attitudes towards the area. The recent ongoing development in the area which is received with negative attitudes revealed some of these in-migrants' regret for having left their homes and wished the infrastructural development (such as schools, roads, and basic public institutions) had taken place in their original areas rather than BH.

As shown in table 4.5, the proportions of 'live outside the valley' and 'back to my regional area' are the highest (37.5% and 31.5% respectively). Back to the speakers' answers in the first question, we have found that among the six persons who said 'I am very much satisfied', five of them have responded 'I stay where I am' with a proportion of 15.62%. The proportion of those who want to live somewhere else in the valley is 9.37%.

In question five, leaving the area if a possibility would be available, is strongly favoured by most of the three in-migrant groups of speakers particularly BA group. However, the choice of the area as an alternative varies from one group to another. While approximately all BA in-migrants show tendency to leave for Oran and Maghnia, MZ group chose to settle in Sebdou, and BB group of speakers chose to return to their home villages with some of them preferring Tlemcen. In fact, the speakers' choices of these places are viewed from a historical point of view where the early trend of emigration from the valley to the neighbouring cities and towns since independence shows the same direction of these in-migrant groups and there is no doubt that they wish to join their families and relatives in these cities. A male speaker originally from BA speaks about one of his relatives who lives in Oran:

-[ʕandi waħd m la famil sekən temma rah fi ʃħa:l mən ʕam w ra:h bχir ʕlih ma  
χaʕʕo ħəttə χəʕʕa :ʕ]

-‘I have a relative living there many years ago, and he is fine there and he does not lack anything’

-[rrzuqa:t lli ʕandu ma ʕand ħəttə waħd]

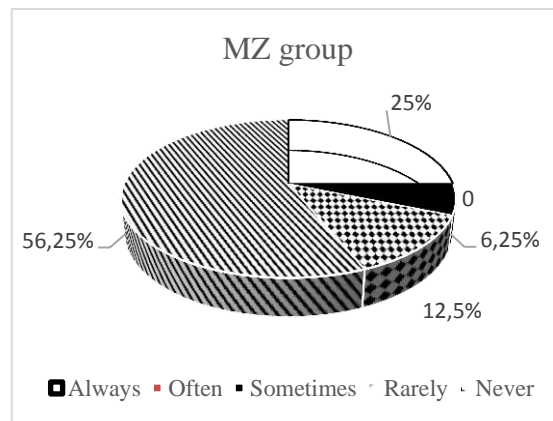
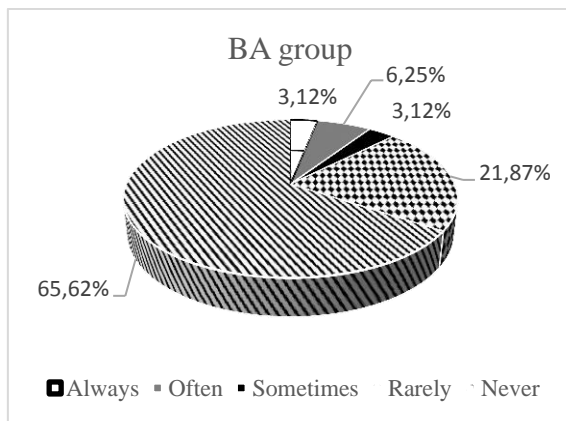
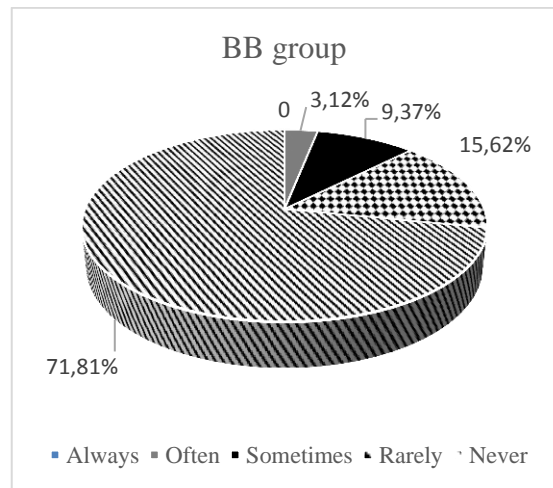
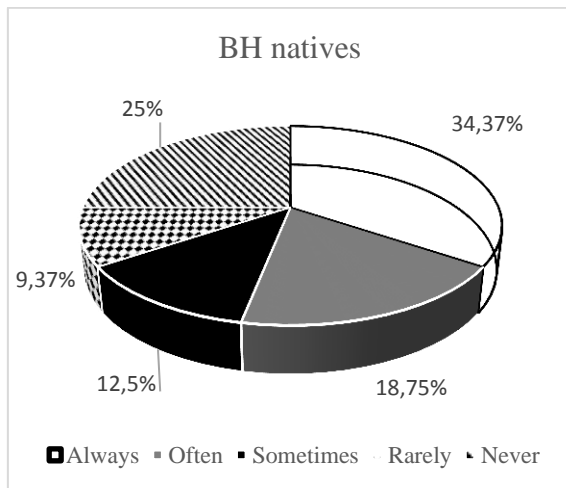
-‘The properties he owns, no one else can own’

The above stated question has, indeed, revealed the long-lasting tendency of these rural people to leave their home places and immigrate to the urban cities mainly. The lack of documentation throughout the history of Beni Snous emigrations prevents us from giving statistics about the number of people who left from these rural villages to larger cities. As we are concerned in this study with providing a social or psychological explanation for the linguistic behaviour of the speakers involved, we would state that the scored proportions in the two questions reflect the linguistic behaviour of the in-migrant groups, which has resulted in non-accommodation to any of the linguistic variables of the host community. In general, the speakers agree that they feel uncomfortable and they would flee if the opportunity is given and if the conditions permit.

These held positive and negative attitudes towards the host village appear to have an influence on the trajectory of the individuals' linguistic behaviour that can be able to trigger accommodation or non-accommodation to particular features of the input local varieties. From another perspective, speakers' social parameters can also play a role in the process of accommodation. As an initial step in this investigation, speakers' attitudes towards the area itself are negatively oriented.

**Table 4.6 IC speakers' responses to question six: integrating**

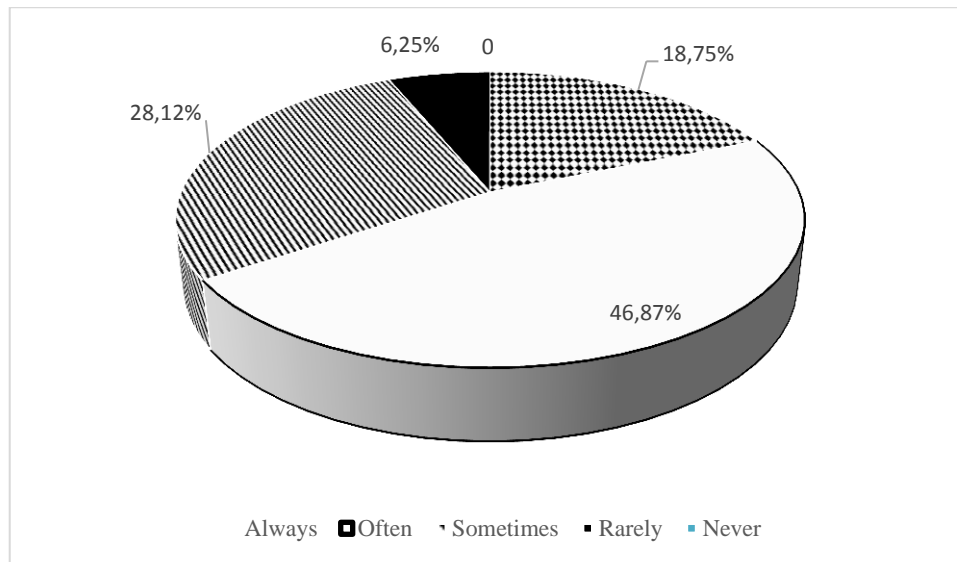
		always	often	sometimes	rarely	Never
BH natives	AF	11	6	4	3	8
	RF	34.37%	18.75%	12.5%	9.37%	25%
BB group	AF	0	1	3	5	23
	RF	0%	3.12%	9.37%	15.62%	71.81%
BA group	AF	1	2	1	7	21
	RF	3.12%	6.25%	3.12%	21.87%	65.62%
MZ group	AF	8	0	2	4	18
	RF	25%	0%	6.25%	12.5%	56.25%



**Pie chart 4.6 IC speakers' scores to question six**

**Table 4.7 IC speakers' responses to question seven: calling BH**

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
AF	6	15	9	2	0
RF	18.75%	46.87%	28.12%	6.25%	0%



**Pie chart 4.7 IC speakers' scores to question seven**

From the above table (4.6), we can classify the four regional groups on the basis of speakers' responses to the degree of integration with each other. This is done according to group preference, choosing the options 'never' and 'always' as extremes for attitudes: positive and negative attitudes respectively. Between these two extremes, a continuum of attitudes gradually moving from positive to negative have the remaining options in the same order of preference; 'rarely', 'often', and 'sometimes'. Beni Bahdel in-migrants come in the first position with a score of 71.81%, followed by Beni Achir in-migrants with 65.62%, then Mazzer in-migrants with 56.25%, and Beni Hammou natives with 25% for the option 'never' which expresses positive attitudes. As this classification put Beni Bahdel and Beni Hammou groups in the extreme positions: speakers' positive responses go to the first extreme and give preference to Beni Bahdel group to be in the first position as the best group that someone can integrate with without difficulties; and then go to the opposite extreme to assign Beni Hammou natives the last position with negative

attitudes, and so is considered the most difficult group in the area to integrate with. Between these two groups come Beni Achir and Mazzer groups as intermediate groups between the extreme of attitudes.

Attitudes of the minority in-migrant groups towards the majority native group are, in point of fact, no more than folk beliefs without firm background, and they are deeply rooted and fixed with social prejudices that stem from a long-standing negative stereotyping of social groups (Llamas et al., 2007). In most of the speakers' questionnaire responses and discussions during interviews, social stereotyping was evident. Though a considerable number of studies in folk linguistics<sup>73</sup> have illuminated research on varieties and their speakers and reflected a sizeable range of socio-cultural backgrounds about speakers and their varieties, it was attested in a number of other studies that these beliefs are false, and inevitably the field was faced with wide critics (Coates, 2007).

Negative attitudes towards the natives of the host village and the other groups stem from the common stereotypes<sup>74</sup> existing in the community. Some of these stereotypes existed long before and are reflected in the popular sayings and proverbs reserved in this area since the remote past. These very deep stereotypes are still perpetuated by the inhabitants of the valley as a whole and in BH as a unique part of this whole: why is it unique? Among the thirteen standing villages in the valley of Beni Snous, BH is the only area which is densely populated and extremely heterogeneous. The regional groups, who settled there, found the opportunity to

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<sup>72</sup> Folk linguistics, perceptual dialectology, and sometimes folk dialectology are terms given to the field of study pioneered by Denis Preston. It looks to non-linguists beliefs which are generally speakers' beliefs about their languages and their dialects. These folk beliefs are far from objective reality but sometimes these beliefs create that reality. For example if the majority of English-speakers believe that the form 'ain't' is unacceptable so 'ain't' is unacceptable (Coates, 2007).

<sup>73</sup> A variety of common stereotypes about these regional speakers in this area is found in the popular sayings and proverbs in the valley. In addition, some historical facts and stories were reported by old speakers really reveal the deep rooted stereotypes in the area. But because they are highly sensitive and harmful to these people we chose not to state them and restrict the discussion only to the most important points that fit the aim of this study.

emphasize these stereotypes and made them grow more and more since their arrival to the area.

The formerly stated attitudes (in questions: 1-2-3) towards the area as a living place are almost negatively rather than positively oriented. These attitudes are strongly related to the factors that led the regional groups to migration. Though these speakers left their homes a long time ago, they still feel attached to their regional areas and express hostility to the residence area. These negative attitudes towards the area as a living place are, certainly, the same attitudes held towards the natives of this area. This is reflected mainly in the difficulty of social integration of these regionally different groups with members of the host community. This was reached from the introduction of a pertinent question about their social integration (question 6).

Moving deeply into the social integration of the in-migrant groups and the native speech of the area, we stated another question (question 7) to see their opinions about whether they call each other with their specific areas of origin or not. The result was that calling people by the specific area of origin is explained in a tribal behaviour. Quantitatively speaking, the scores 'always', 'sometimes', and 'often' are the highest (18.75%, 46.87%, and 28.12% respectively) compared with the two other options 'rarely; 6.25%' and 'never; 0%'. Most of the names of the thirteen villages in the valley start with the terms 'Beni' or 'Ouled' which both denote 'sons of'. So, perhaps the explanation for calling people so comes from the tribal behaviour that is deeply rooted among these people. They used to refer to an individual by referring to his/her place of origin to distinguish them as outsiders and not members of the tribe. This tribal character has been perpetuated over time. Hence, there is no doubt that the tribal system practised in the thirteen villages in early times is still mirrored in the behaviour of the members of these villages.

This behaviour is inherited from father to son, where within a family you find the father who first calls people by their place of origin, because, according to him, it is the unique identity of an individual which he shares collectively with

members of his tribe. The inhabitants of the valley are, originally, Berber tribes of Morocco united in a series of groups from ancient times and tended to remain small and scattered. Since then, these small tribes have never amalgamated or formed a single entity. But, whenever danger faced them, these scattered tribes consolidated in order to be off danger. The historical background provided in chapter two states some historical facts about the several invasions that this area witnessed (Spanish and Turkish invasions mainly) and shows how they managed to defeat enemies at that time.

To further show the difficulty of groups' social integration with each other, let us illustrate the case with vivid examples extracted from the interviews. During the collection of data with secondary school students, a group of female students ranged in age from 16 to 19 years old were waiting for their friend to come in order to start the revision. After a while, their friend came and one of the students who were sitting waiting for her suddenly said:

-[ha: hijja ʒet ləʔʃi : rtijja]

'Here is the girl from Beni Achir coming'

- [ʔassala: mu ʔalikum, waʃta ɣa: ʂʂɑk ja lħammoutijja]

- 'Good evening everybody. What do you want girl from Beni Hammou?'

- [rani nestenna fələ ʔʃi: rtijja dʒi: baʃ twarrili kifeʃ nħəl l məsʔala dərrija:dɛjja:t]

- 'I'm waiting for the girl from Beni Achir to come and show me how to solve this problem in mathematics'.

Another example of a male interviewee who states: [ʔanaja ki nəbʁi nəʂraf ma nəmʃi:ʃ ʔand l ħammu:ti lli guddami gri:b nhawwad ʁila ltaħt ʔand familijti ʔu wald ddaʃra nteʔi baʃ nəʃri mən ħanutah'

'When I go shopping, I do not go to the neighbouring grocer from Beni Hammou, but rather I go the long way down to buy from my relative's shop'.

Old women in the area behave the same way as the young girls. In one of the anonymous recordings on different occasions, an old woman who acted as a chef in a wedding ceremony giving just orders without doing anything says:

- [lʏa l ħammutijja dʒi tʃu:f tʃamha lli dertu jbaχχar.... W ki dʒiw baj tseqqiw llyafji mətənsəʃ hədik lbarranijja məskina ddiwlha ʃwijja tʃa:m...]

‘Call for the woman from Beni Hammou to come see her couscous that she put to steam..... And when you serve all the guests, don’t forget to take some couscous to that poor stranger’

The poor strange woman referred to above is a widow originally from Remchi (a contiguous village to Tlemcen) who has been living in BH for more than thirty years and she is still considered as a stranger in this community. We have preferred to give these examples to show that both educated and uneducated people in the area behave alike. So, do people in this area really find the words that refer to their specific areas of origin offensive? One of the speakers says:

- [mafiha walu ki jəlxawli l baħħadli. wasəməm jhi:n fiha]

‘I don’t find any problem if someone calls me the man from Beni Bahdel. What is offensive in it?’

Other two answers from two other speakers which rather match the statistical data are:

- [ləʃjirti ʃjirti wə l ħəmmuti ħəmmuti w l mazzri mazzri w lbaħħadli baħħadli]

‘The man from Beni Achir is a man from Beni Achir, the man from Beni Hammou is a man from Beni Hammou, the man from mazzri is a man from mazzri, and the man from Beni Bahdel is a man from Beni Bahdel’

- ‘ʃlaf kif kif bəʃ mənχalltəʃ binethum’

‘Are they similar so that we do not mix between them?’

Sometimes, the tribal behaviour wins over any other behaviour in any given situation. It is not surprising to hear names like ‘ttmouʃsentijja’, ‘lwahrana’ and even ‘lmərrokijja’ in a limited area like Beni Hammou or the valley, or even at a

larger level like Oran and Algiers, or even more like Morocco. These demonyms are used at a very restricted level as they can be used at a national level and even international.

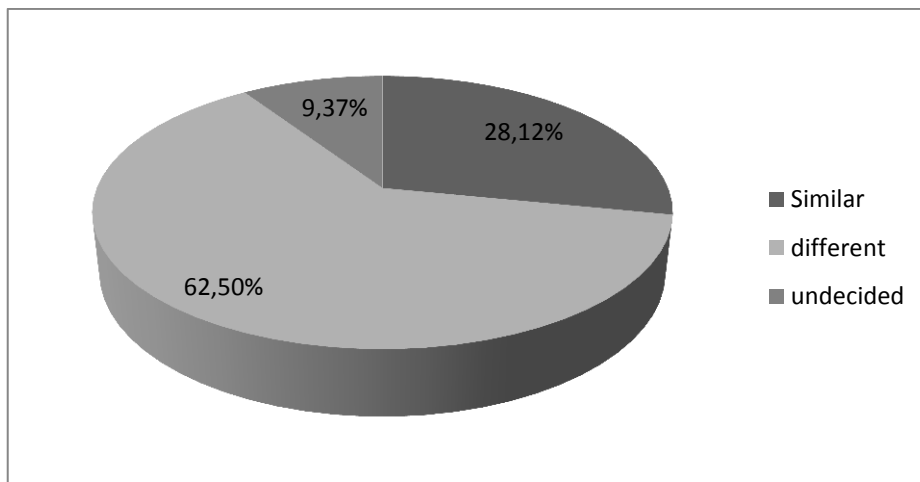
Speakers' negative and positive attitudes held towards these groups of people might be, without any doubt as we will see in the following questions, closely tied with attitudes towards their spoken varieties; this claim is the basic hypothesis that we formulated in this study. Preston states:

It is perhaps the least surprising thing imaginable to find that attitudes towards languages and their varieties seem to be tied to attitudes towards groups of people.

(Preston, 2005: 133)

**Table 4.8 IC speakers' responses to question eight: speaking way**

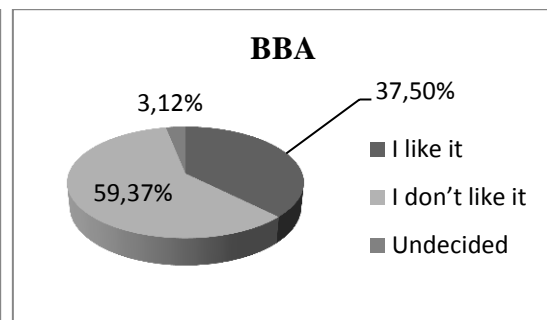
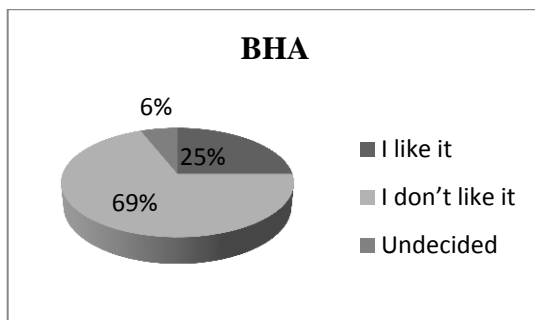
	Similar	different	Undecided
AF	9	20	3
RF	28.12%	62.5%	9.37%



**Pie chart 4.8 IC speakers' scores to question eight**

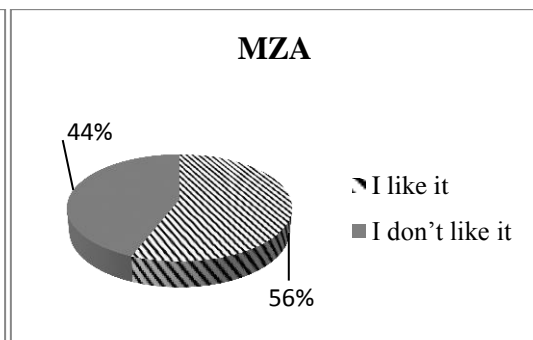
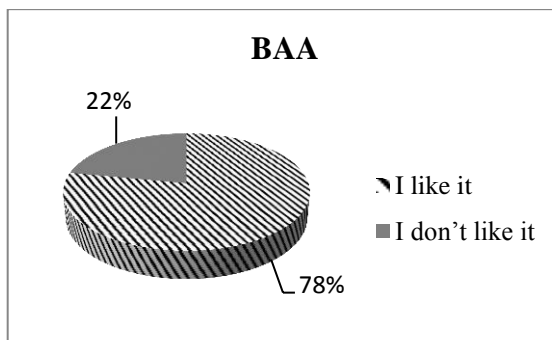
Table 4.9 IC speakers' responses to question nine: liking speech ways

		I like it	I don't like it	Undecided
BHA	AF	8	22	2
	RF	25%	69%	6%
BBA	AF	12	19	1
	RF	37.50%	59.37%	3.12%
BAA	AF	25	7	--
	RF	78%	22%	--
MZA	AF	18	14	--
	RF	56%	44%	--



Pie chart 4.9 Attitudes towards BHA

Pie chart 4.10 Attitudes towards BBA

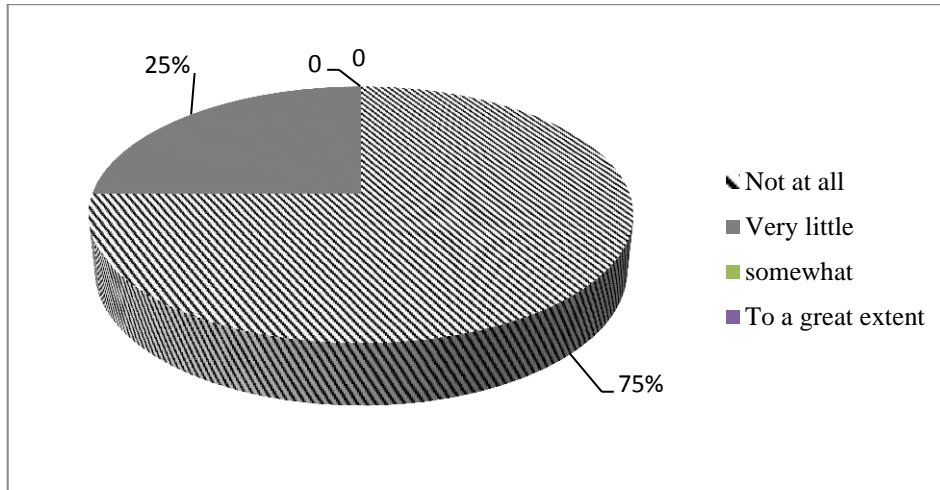


Pie chart 4.11 Attitudes towards BAA

Pie chart 4.12 Attitudes towards MZA

**Table 4.10 IC speakers' responses to question ten: speech change**

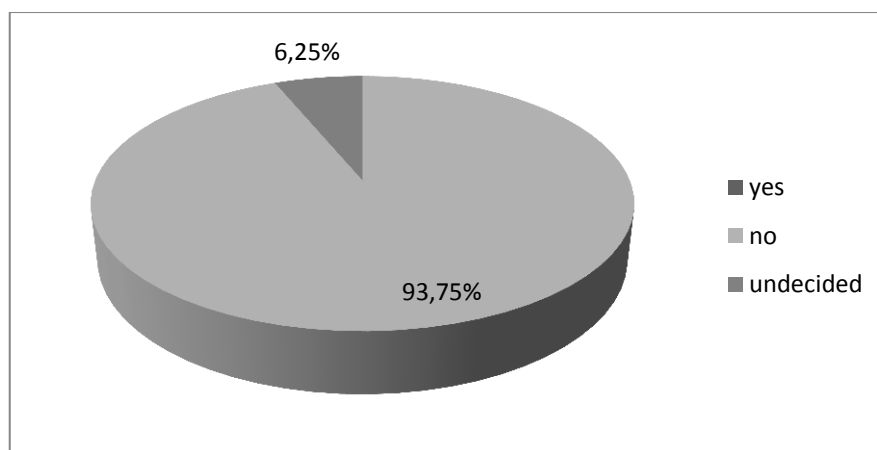
	Not at all	Very little	somewhat	To a great extent
AF	24	8	0	0
RF	75%	25%	0%	0%



**Pie chart 4.13 IC speakers' scores to question ten**

**Table 4.11 IC speakers' responses to question eleven: mocking speech**

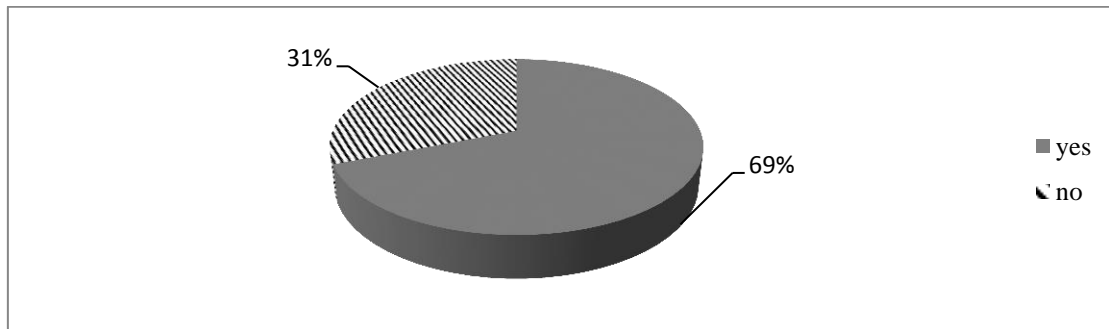
	yes	no	undecided
AF	0	30	2
RF	0%	93.75%	6.25%



**Pie chart 4.14 IC speakers' scores to question eleven**

**Table 4.12 IC speakers' responses to question twelve: pride in native speech**

	yes	no
AF	22	10
RF	69%	31%



**Pie chart 4.15 IC speakers' scores to question twelve**

As pie chart 4.8 illustrates, the majority of the speakers claim that their local varieties are different from that of the host village with a proportion of 62.5%, while those who claim no differences scored 28.12%. The degree of awareness of the dialectal differences of the in-migrant groups' local varieties and the dominant variety in the host village proved to be high as more than half of the speakers are aware of their speech and the particularities pertained to it. Most of the speakers have stated that the way they speak is different from that of BH natives' speech and that these latter have some characteristics in their speech which cannot be found in any other local variety in the valley. They have, indeed, managed to mention the existing linguistic differences between BHA and the other local varieties, mainly the contrasting realisations of [q] and [g], the pronoun suffix [-ah], and the interdental of MZ group. Moreover, they have stated also suprasegmental differences like intonation and loudness in the speakers' speech of the host community.

What is really interesting in the speakers' responses is the linguistic features they listed. Rather unexpectedly, most of the speakers, when asked to state some particularities in the speech of the four regional groups<sup>75</sup>, agreed on that BA and MZ in-migrants are [g]speakers, BH natives and BB in-migrants are [q] speakers, MZ in-migrants are [θ, ð, ð̥] speakers. Despite the fact they share some linguistic similarities, BA in-migrants claim that the way they speak is categorically different from BH natives. Gender neutralisation in BHA is conceptualised in a negative sense that it would be a source of shame to address women the same way like men because they are not socially equal and that women should be treated differently from men. These false views lead these three groups to strongly disagree with the way these speakers address women.

The obtained results favour accommodation process and predict its occurrence, but since we have already investigated this process, this might drive us to realise a possible matching between what speakers feel and think about their speech and the others' and their actual linguistic behaviour. Such possible correlation will be dealt with in the following section.

The above table (4.9) reveals statistically the degree the in-migrant groups' liking of each other's local variety, in addition to BHA that is the dominant variety in the host village. For the dialectal variety BHA, all three groups have scored the highest percentage (69%) for 'I don't like it' and the lowest percentage (25%) for 'I like it'. The extreme opposite of these negative attitudes towards BHA is those positive ones towards BAA as the proportions reach 78% for 'I like it' and 22% for 'I don't like it'. MZA also has gained positive attitudes more than negative, as the percentages are 56% against 44% negative. The second local variety that is negatively evaluated is BBA with a proportion of 37.5% liking and 59.37% disliking.

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<sup>75</sup> In open-ended questions, the researcher allowed some speakers, who were unable to write in a formal way, to write in dialectal Arabic and thus, this latter was loaded with French borrowings to the extent that it was impossible to decode what was written down.

The contrast that is in question here is that BAA is positively evaluated and the scores are the highest, but at the same time, the native speakers of this local variety have long been under criticism and persiflage of people not only of BH, but also of the whole valley to the extent they are described in the following way:

- [w ʃku:n lli majəʔrafʃ lə wharna di wadna]
- 'And who does not know the Oranees of our valley'
- [ddiʔɑʃmo di wahran]
- 'Detachment of Oran'

However, these opinions about this group, which are widely spread throughout the valley, prompted us to ask more about the source and especially what makes people form such ideas about these people. Interestingly, the source of this persiflage is purely linguistic and lies in the pronoun suffix [-ah] which is widely used by this group. As we have already investigated this feature in chapter three, it is the middle-aged and young males who use this variant in their speech. People in the valley refer particularly to this group in the following way:

- [ʃħɑ: b gullah-gullah]
- 'Speakers of tell him tell him'

The following statement, which we consider enlightening and thought provoking, has been extracted from interviews:

- [hadi raha fi χir llah sni:n mni:n kanu gəʔ ʃħab lwa:d jzaʔqu ʔlina w jgulu nna: ʃħab gullu-gullu w lju:m ʃʃi tbəddal walli:na ʃħɑ: b gullah-gullah]
- 'Years ago, people of the valley used to mock us saying: speakers of tell him-tell him, (with [-u]) but, nowadays they mock us saying: speakers of tell him-tell him (with [-ah])'

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the village of BA, as all the other villages, witnessed a wave of migration to BH seeking security. The political instability at that time, unleashed a wave of migration to Oran specifically. Years after, many families who could not manage to live there came back home. What

characterised their linguistic behaviour was that their children, mainly those born in 1975 and over, started imitating Oranees people. Since then, the speech of BA village has been conceptualised in a negative way. Some speakers from other villages in the valley report that years ago when they were teenagers used to play football in the only stadium that gathered all teenagers of the valley. They add that when they saw BA teenagers coming into the stadium they started mocking them saying: [ʒɑ jji hama daχlu lə wharna] 'it is ok, the Oranees have come in'.

Data extracted from the interview has revealed that MZ group is the one that is mostly mocked on the way they speak especially the articulation of the interdental. The inhabitants of the valley perceive them as farming people who work hard. This has been reflected in their speech which is unique in the valley in terms of the interdental articulation which appears to make all their speech emphatic, though it has been mentioned in chapter two (section 2.3.1) that both BA and MZ groups have this feature of emphaticisation, whereas BH natives and BB group have the characteristic of de-emphaticisation. One of the many funny comments is the following:

- [lsan hum labda bərra ki jnəʔqo ʃi klajəm kimma ʔʔbaʔ, ʔʔi:b, ʔʔalma]

- 'Their tongue is always out when they utter words such as 'hyena', 'wolf', 'darkness'. MZ in-migrants are generally described as [θ, ʔ, ʔ] speakers and this description is mentioned through the following speaker's responses:

- [haduk jgulu ʔʔalma, ʔemma, ʔθu:m, ʔʔbaʔ]

'Those say darkness, there, garlic, and hyena'

- [ʔandhum ʔθa wə ʔʔa bezza:f w tχəllihum jbenu χ[a:n fi hadrathum]

'They have much θ and ʔ sounds which make them appear tough in their speech'

- [hum fi l ʔaʕl bedw ruħħal jetamajjaz kala:mu hum bi stiʕma:l ħarf ʔa ʔōʔad ʔal ʕarabi]

‘They are originally Bedouin nomadic people whose speech is characterised by the use of the Arabic sound ʔ’.

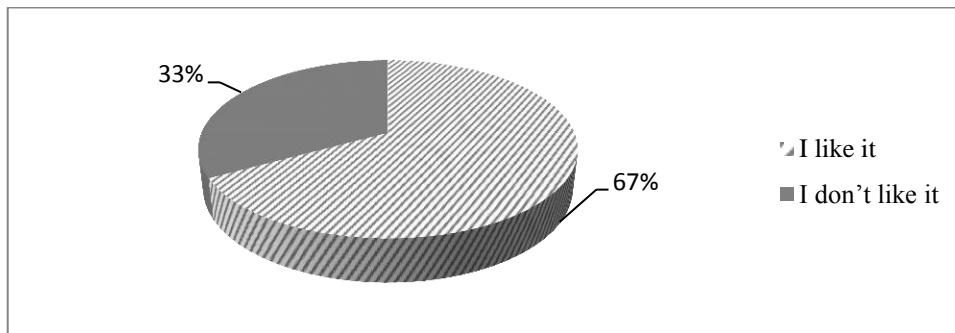
BA in-migrants do not show any negative attitudes towards the interdentalals used in MZ speech. Because these interdentalals are perceived among BB speakers as features denoting rough speech, BA group do support roughness in speech and avoid any features associated with softness. Evidence for these claims is their responses to the fourth question where they state that they are aware of the shift from [-u] to support the use of [-ah] mainly because it is associated with strength that shows their manliness.

Another feature which is found in BBA and is unique was revealed by many speakers. Though we have not included it as an investigated variable we have referred to it in chapter one (section 2.3). It is the variant form [t<sup>s</sup>] of the variable (t), but because this feature is not easily discriminated from the variant [t] and therefore needs acoustic identification that relies on technological tools it was not involved in this study. BB speakers have also been always subject to humour because of this linguistic feature. The realisation of (t) as [t<sup>s</sup>] forms a source of mocking throughout the valley. One of the long lasting expressions which has been a source of humour among the inhabitants of the valley until now is that during the Algerian revolution one of BB fighters uttered an amusing expression that contains [t<sup>s</sup>] sound telling his companions who were in dispute with each other: [ʕila t<sup>s</sup>ɖɖarbu ɖɖarbu w ila t<sup>s</sup>ħħurbu ħħurbu] ‘If you fight, fight but if you escape, escape’.

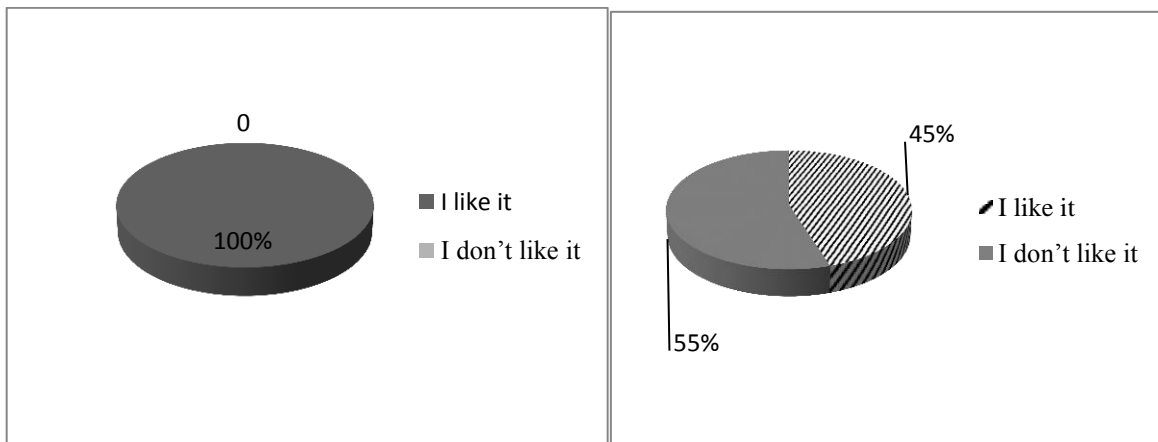
In the table below, we show the number of speakers who evaluated negatively their own speech when asked (in the ninth question) to rate the local varieties in terms of liking or disliking.

**Table 4.13 In-migrants' self-evaluation of their native speech**

		I like it	I don't like it
BBA	AF	6	3
	RF	67%	33%
BAA	AF	12	0
	RF	100%	0
MZA	AF	5	6
	RF	45%	55%



**Pie chart 4.16 BB in-migrants' self-evaluation of their native speech**



**Pie chart 4.17 BA in-migrants' self-evaluation of their native speech**

**Pie chart 4.18 MZ in-migrants' self-evaluation of their native speech**

While 62.5% of the three in-migrant groups have rated BHA negatively and 25% of them have given it a positive evaluation, these very groups have evaluated their native local varieties negatively too. BB speakers' proportions are about 33% for 'I don't like it' and 67% for 'I like it'. More than half of MZ speakers evaluate their speech negatively (55%) and only 45% who have positive attitudes towards

their native speech. Contrary to these two in-migrant groups, all BA speakers evaluate their local dialectal variety positively. In fact, though the positive attitudes scores are higher than the negative ones the proportion of these latter should not be neglected. This attitudinal behaviour of speakers might reflect dialect stigma that makes them feel embarrassed about the way they speak.

The social stratification of /r/ in Labov's study in New York City Department stores (1966) has revealed important patterns of linguistic behaviour as /r/ varies in its use among New Yorkers according to social class and formality: 'r-lessness' of the lower class pronunciation became the more prestigious variety of the pronounced (r). Within the same study, and as far as attitudes are concerned, the combination between the use of /r/ and attitudes of its users has revealed that New Yorkers showed negative attitudes towards New York City speech. Their overt attitudes provided evidence of the linguistic self-hatred.

In the context of our study linguistic self-hatred is found among BB and MZ groups of speakers as they have shown negative attitudes overtly towards their native dialectal varieties, with the first group scoring fewer rates than the second group. Therefore, as Labov (*ibid*) states, the linguistic self-hatred motivates other types of linguistic behaviour in the speech of these two groups among which is the attested linguistic accommodation to non-native features of other dialectal varieties.

Table 4.10 shows that most of the speakers claim that their speech has not changed since their immigration, scoring 75% and claiming that their speech has remained safe of any shift. Those who claim their speech has changed very little scored 25% claiming that at least some change has infiltrated their speech.

Based largely on the speakers' interviews, the suitable answer for the above question is founded upon the lifestyle, the way the area of living and its inhabitants are perceived by these in-migrant groups. They admit that if they had not been forced to leave their original villages, they would not be living in this area. Moreover, though they benefit from the infrastructural development that is taking place in the area, they are against such development and wish they were founded in

their original villages rather than BH. Some young speakers from the in-migrant groups of BB and BA feel ashamed of the fact of being born and raised in this area. What is striking is that years of living together could not make these in-migrant groups melt with the natives of the area and integrate socially with them. Hence, it is not surprising that the investigation of accommodation to the linguistic variables of the majority BH inhabitants did not take place. But, on the contrary, and except for the stop counterparts, which are adopted in the speech of MZ group, the other features have not been adopted.

All the speakers in question (11) have denied being mocked, when speaking, by the majority group of the host village and hence have answered 'no' and obtained a proportion of 100%. This result reveals that they have never experienced mockery or fun by the natives of BH. The initial recordings, i.e. observation at the very start of the data collection process have shown the claims of these speakers that there is nothing odd or unusual in their speech that makes other speakers laugh or mock. Moreover, these speakers make fun of BH natives' speech. People everywhere mock each other's accents all the time. They sometimes do this in face-to-face interactions or often behind their back. Most of these speakers believe that the correct way when speaking is their own way of speaking. In one of the conversations, the following statement is extracted:

-Female (1): [manħabʃ lli jʒarru fə l haɖra ntaʕhum]

'I don't like who intone their speech'

-Female (2): [lukan ʔi:l jʒarruha w ma jʔullɖohaʃi]

'If they would intone it rather than emphaticise it'

Thus, as a mass of literature states that it is usually the majority speakers of an area who make fun of those migrating minority individuals' speech. The case in our study is the reverse as the minority mocks the majority's way of speaking.

Just like question eight where the speakers were asked about whether their local varieties are similar or not and their responses have rather revealed a high degree of awareness to variation in their local varieties. In question twelve, the

speakers scored the highest proportion which is 69% claiming that they are proud of the way they speak, while about 31% of them claim they are not proud at all and that they are rather embarrassed. Among the ten speakers who claimed they are not proud, five of them (17.5%) are MZ speakers. The negative attitudes towards the interdental features used by this group bring the result of a strong social stigma in their use inside the valley and hence, accommodation to stop counterparts as the revealed results in chapter three show this accommodation statistically.

Interestingly, these results show that these in-migrant groups have evaluated their native speech negatively by stating 'no' so that they really feel embarrassed. Thus, the negative evaluation of native speakers to their native stigmatised speech by saying, for instance 'bad' or 'improper' is not, in fact, unusual or uncommon (Niedzielski & Preston, 2000). However, what is uncommon in the context of our study is that these speakers feel embarrassed about their own local varieties in a local context where they work, study, or do their business. Thus, do speakers of external contact hold the same attitudes towards their speech? How do they evaluate it? The following section will deal with the second group of speakers who are in regular contact with the outside world (i.e. when they are outside the valley).

#### **4.4.2 Attitudes of External Contact Speakers**

Looking at attitudes of those speakers who commute to the neighbouring cities and towns reveals a different direction in their opinions and perceptions of the outside world, its speakers, and the type of speech used. Thus, attitudes of the three groups are essential to be revealed in order to detect the social psychological motives for their linguistic behaviour.

Eight questions aim to reveal the speakers' attitudes towards their own local varieties when they are inside and outside the valley, and how people in urban cities perceive their speech as well. These questions were structured as follows:

**1-**How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people inside your home village?

2- How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people in urban cities?

3-Where do you change the way you speak?

4-Is the way you speak similar or different from the way people speak in urban cities?

5-If it is different, can you give examples?

6-Do you think that in order to integrate with people in the urban cities and towns one has to change the way he speaks?

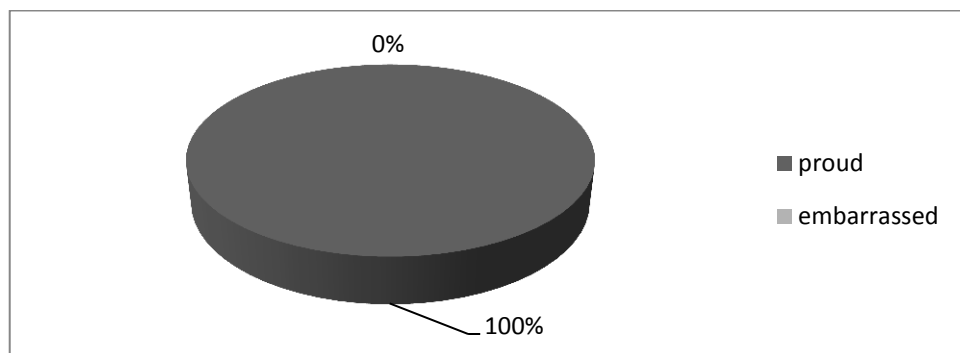
7-Do you think that your speech has changed since you started working or studying outside your village?

8- Have you ever felt that people in urban cities mock you when you speak?

The results obtained from the first three questions are demonstrated in the tables and their corresponding pie charts below:

**Table 4.14 EC speakers' responses to question one: pride inside the valley**

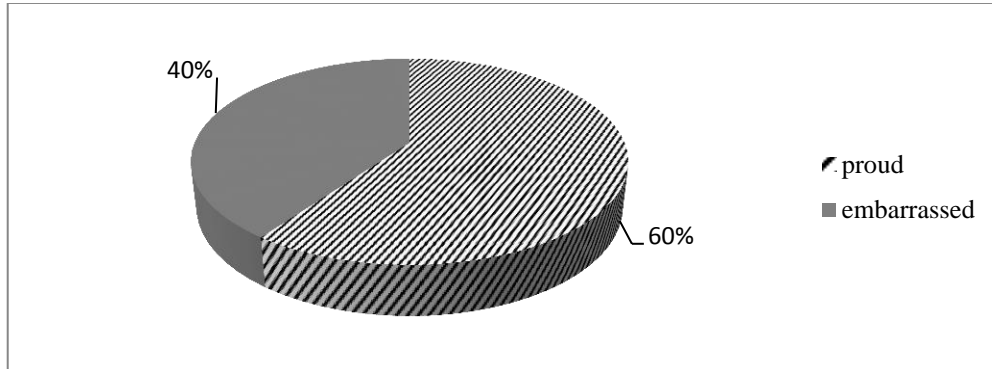
	proud	embarrassed
AF	20	0
RF	100%	0%



**Pie chart 4.19 EC speakers' scores to question one**

**Table 4.15 EC speakers' responses to question two: pride outside the valley**

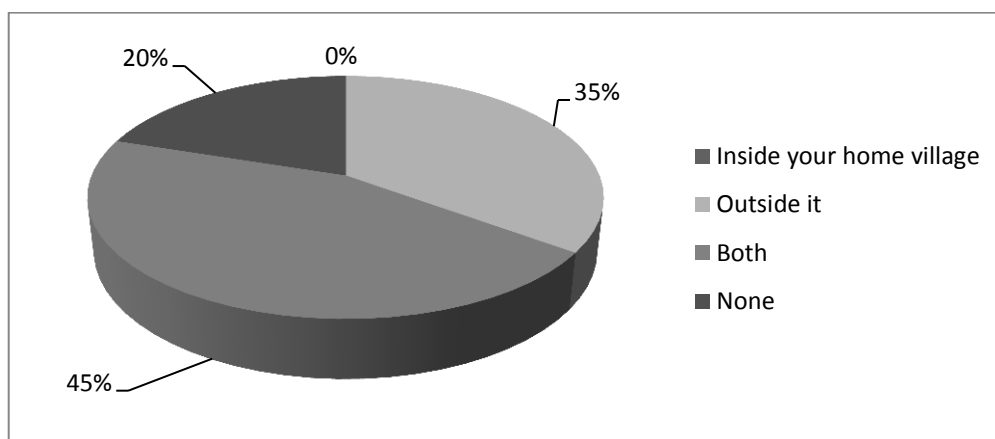
	proud	embarrassed
AF	12	8
RF	60%	40%



**Pie chart 4.20 EC speakers' scores to question two**

**Table 4.16 EC speakers' responses to question three: speech change**

	Inside your home village	Outside it	Both	None
AF	0	7	9	4
RF	0%	35%	45%	20%



**Pie chart 4.21 EC speakers' scores to question three**

As illustrated above (table 4.14 and pie chart 4.19), all the speakers state that they feel proud of the way they speak and have no complex when they are inside the valley among their home village and family members. Based on these results, it is quite clear that these speakers maintain their native local varieties when they speak to their family and village members and hence do not adopt features from other local varieties. However, if we take into account their social mobility as commuters and short-term residents in other localities outside the valley, then they might have some non-native features in their speech when they interact inside the valley. Moreover, if we look at their responses in the second question the option 'proud' has a lower rating scale (60%) than in the former question (100%), which means they feel embarrassed once they are outside the valley speaking to people not from their home places. Their attitudes with regard to the statistical results and their social mobility reveal that they have some linguistic accommodation in such contact situation that contrasts with the former one.

Though BA group assert that there is nothing odd in the way they speak and they feel relaxed when speaking with people outside BH village, their responses are rather confusing here. As all of them mention the morphological variant as a feature that is adopted in their speech, they strive to explain the situation differently, and indicate that the adoption of [-ah] in their speech is not the consequence of shame or stigma of this feature but it is a matter of preference. Two male speakers state that commerce brought them to these urban cities and it was not easy to build up a clientele as this took much time. For this reason, they feel the necessity to accommodate linguistically (accommodation by necessity) to attract more clients to their shops. One of these speakers claims owning a shop for women clothes. He asserts that in order to have a large regular clientele, one should give first full attention to his/her linguistic behaviour with the clients and think how to satisfy their needs. Then, we infer that this feature is strongly favoured by BA in-migrant speakers. However, at the same time these very speakers do not devalue their native pronoun suffix [-u].

Speakers' perception of this feature, though, are uniform and decisive, they implicitly reveal another reality. On the one hand, their attitudes towards accommodation to [-ah] are overtly stated for most of them. They avow: 'since we are able to modify our speech, it is impossible for our regional origins to be revealed' and 'there is nothing to push those urban people to mock or laugh at the way we speak simply because there is nothing odd or unusual in the way we speak'. Thus, as far as the variant [-ah] is concerned, we can reasonably infer that these speakers want to put their speech and the speech of urban centres in the same pan to denote that there is no differences between the way they speak and the way urban people speak. This also gives strong evidence for their tendency to imitate urban speakers in the way they speak and at the same time show no stigma towards their native [-u].

From a linguistic point of view, the speakers' subjective attitudes are not founded on solid ground. Their claim that their origins could not be revealed because they are able to modify the way they speak is strictly wrong. Accent, which refers to the way people pronounce words when they speak (Trudgill, 1992), is generally combined with dialect and that it may reveal the speaker's geographical origin, whether, for example, he/she is from Tlemcen or Oran as it may also reveal his/her social background and even if he/she is a native speaker of that dialect or not.

As indicated above (table 4.16 and pie chart 4.21), the three in-migrant groups agree that they do not change the way they speak inside their home village. However, outside it, 35% of the speakers claim they change the way they speak outside it. Avoiding their local varieties either inside or outside, the speakers have had a score of 45% that is the highest proportion. Another group of speakers claim they do not change the way they speak in both localities: where they live and where they commute. This is the lowest proportion scored and which constitutes of speakers who are in favour of using their local varieties both with their home villagers and with people they work with.

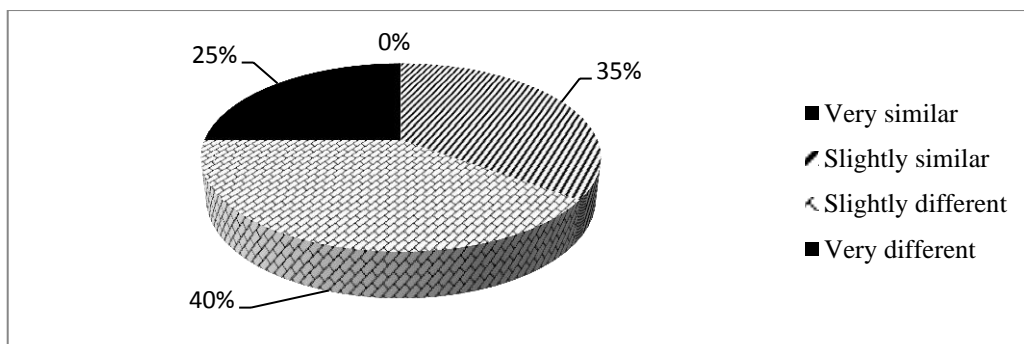
To a certain extent, attitudes results scored in this question are contrasted with attitudes results in the first question where all speakers claim being proud of their local varieties. However, they stand as an explaining tool for the second question where 40% of speakers claim they feel embarrassed when they use their local varieties outside the valley. Thus, because they feel so, some of them claim they change the way they speak outside and some claim both (inside and outside). The last group, as already stated, do maintain their speech in both localities.

Accordingly, though these commuters and short-term residents are aware of the changes that have occurred in their speech, some of them keep using non-native features everywhere (45%): outside at work or study, inside the valley with speakers of the villages, in BH with members of the village, and even at home with their family members. Others report that the way they speak outside is not the way they speak inside BH (35%). As soon as they come back home, they switch to their original speech using native features with the local inhabitants and even with their family members. These speakers consider, in fact, their local varieties as home dialects restricted for just a local use.

The results scored in question (4) are illustrated in the following table with its corresponding pie charts, whereas question (5) is qualitative in nature:

**Table 4.17 EC speakers' responses to question four: speech similarities**

	Very similar	Slightly similar	Slightly different	Very different
AF	0	7	8	5
RF	0%	35%	40%	25%



**Pie chart 4.22 EC speakers' scores to question four**

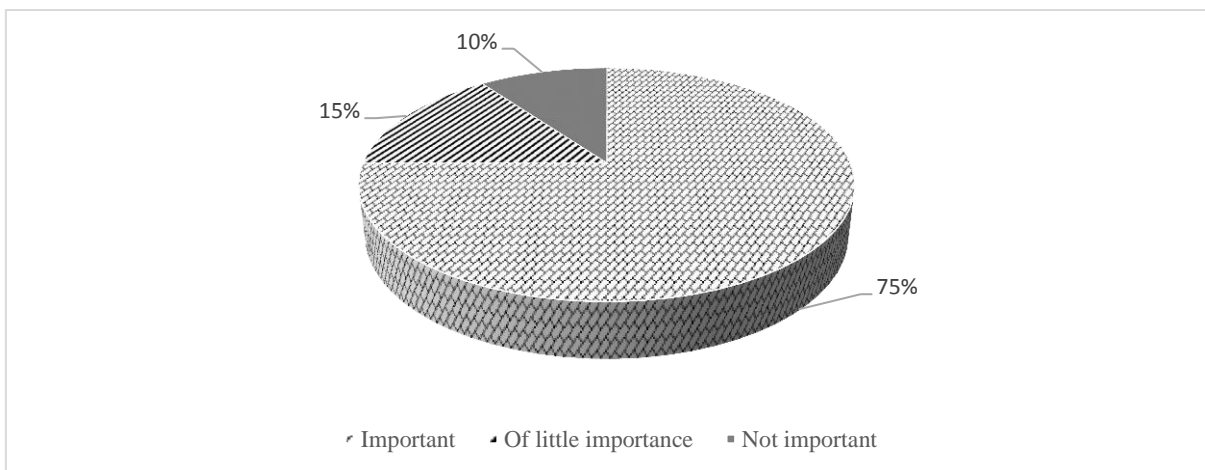
As the table and pie chart above show, 35% is the proportion of speakers who think their dialectal varieties are slightly similar to those found in big cities. The responses of the speakers, who state that there are differences between them, have scored 40%, but this difference is slight. Those who state that there are many differences constitute 25%. Thus, despite the differing degrees in stating the differences (i.e. slightly similar, slightly different, and very different), they are convincing and are of evidence for the former questions as speakers do feel ashamed about the use of their dialectal varieties outside the valley and hence do change the way they speak. Thus, they are aware of the linguistic differences between their speech and that of the urban cities. Otherwise, they would neither feel embarrassed nor change the way they speak.

Once again, the scores are interesting as the agreed answer among almost all three groups is variation in the use of the sound (q). For example, in Tlemcen, it is realised: [q]-[g]-[ʔ] and in other areas like Sebdou, Magnia, and Oran it is quite clear that the majority of speakers use [g]. The speakers of BA have particularly mentioned the morphological form [-ah] which is used in a significant majority in these urban cities except in Tlemcen where the variant form [-u] appears among native speakers. MZ speakers working in Tlemcen have noticed the absence of the interdental variants [θ], [ð], and [ð̥] in the speech of Tlemcen native speakers, but those who work in Sebdou are aware of the similarity in their speech where these variant forms are used also in the speech of this area.

Scores to questions (6) and (7) are illustrated in the tables and pie charts below:

**Table 4.18 EC speakers' responses to question six: change for integration**

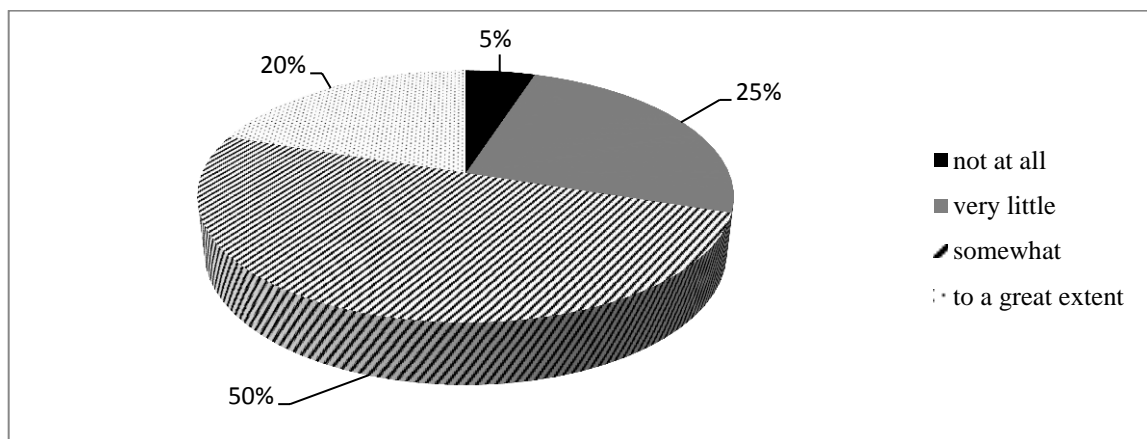
	Important	Of little importance	Not important
AF	15	3	2
RF	75%	15%	10%



**Pie chart 4.23 EC speakers' scores to question six**

**Table 4.19 EC speakers' responses to question seven: change outside**

	not at all	very little	somewhat	to a great extent
AF	1	5	10	4
RF	5%	25%	50%	20%



**Pie chart 4.24 EC speakers' scores to question seven**

The results illustrated in table 4.18 and pie chart 4.23, show that almost all speakers agree on that modification of one's way of speaking in urban cities is important (75%), while 15% of the speakers state that it is of little importance. Very few of them state that it is of no importance at all (10%).

These commuters and short-term residents and after a considerable time spent in some towns and cities, think that there is a necessity to be aware of the way one speaks in these urban locations. They see the social integration with urban people necessitates converging linguistically with them as a basic element to gain social approval in order to achieve their professional and educational goals. This can be fulfilled by proving oneself in the task he or she is implementing.

They consider speech modifications as one of the most important keys for someone to achieve their goals and gain a social position among those urban people. However, some other speakers who are mainly females show the opposite and state firmly that there is no necessity to modify speech under any circumstances.

As the above mentioned reasons push the majority of these speakers to modify the way they speak whenever they are outside the valley, the psychological purpose, in this case, is that some speakers see the way one speaks might reveal their regional origins. Commuters to Tlemcen say that this happens frequently and whenever the first word is uttered people automatically reveal your regional background:

-[ntina məʒja m li ðvirʒ təʔ Tlemcen jəkʔ]

‘You come from the surrounding areas of Tlemcen, don't you?’

In many cases, they have often experienced mockery of outsiders and could not sometimes stand any more of their scorn. In Sebdou, for example, the linguistic feature that reveals one's origins is the variant form [q]. As the inhabitants of this town are [g] speakers, they often refer to BS speakers as [lə qbajəl] in connection with the realisation of [q] when they speak. Nevertheless, this designation is negatively interpreted on the part of BS speakers. Thus, the variant [q] according to

its native speakers in the valley is the first form that is revealed to hinder the process of social integration. Young speakers, especially, claim its rejection because it reveals their rural origins.

Admitting that they do change the way they speak whenever they are outside their home village, MZ group confess that most of the time features of their original local varieties reveal their origins especially if they are widely different to be noticed. Female MZ speakers, in particular, are aware of the interdental features that characterise their speech, and consider them as a detector of their rural origins as soon as they introduce them in their speech, and thus they feel obliged to avoid them in order to be safe from their colleagues' comments. A female speaker reports that her short-term residence in Tlemcen for approximately six years permitted her to understand the social behaviour of speakers of this urban city and how easy they form stereotypes on mere backgrounds which include an individual's verbal or non-verbal behaviour: ways of speaking, walking, laughing, gestures and alike. She further claims that because of these stereotypes one should select his or her words. Common words those are associated with people outside Tlemcen are for example, [ʕrubijja], [ʕrijbijja], and [kavijja] that all denote a rural inexperienced woman. It is, therefore, that under these social pressures these rural speakers are forced to change their linguistic behaviour. However, within the same group there are speakers who show the extreme opposite of these claims and state that they stick to the way they speak.

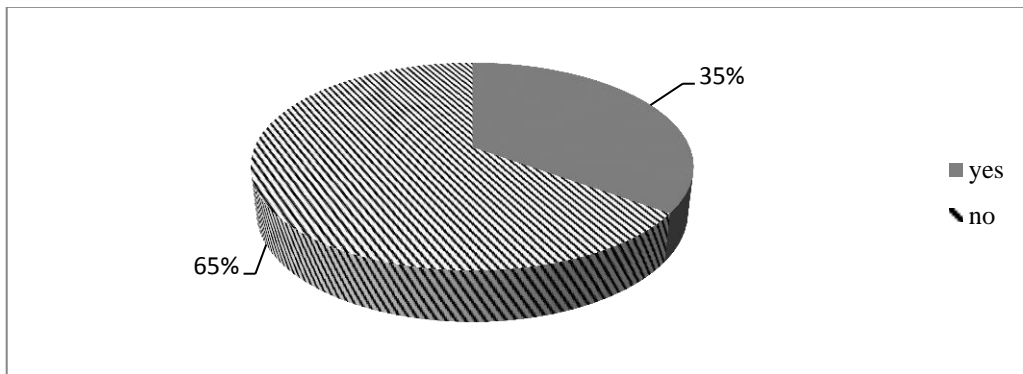
Except for one speaker who stated in question (7) that his speech has not changed, the remaining speakers are, indeed, aware and conscious of the ongoing change of their speech. They claimed that it has changed, but with differing degrees: 25% of them state that it has changed just a little, while 50% state that it has changed to a certain extent, and 20% claim it has changed but at a high degree.

As already mentioned in question six, the motive behind speech modification is purely social. The speakers seek social approval of their interlocutors as well as achieve professional and educational goal and psychological: as most of the

speakers feel embarrassed about their local varieties and hence drop them in contact situations in order to avoid their interlocutors' scorn who often do not hide it.

**Table 4.20 EC speakers' responses to question eight: mocking speech**

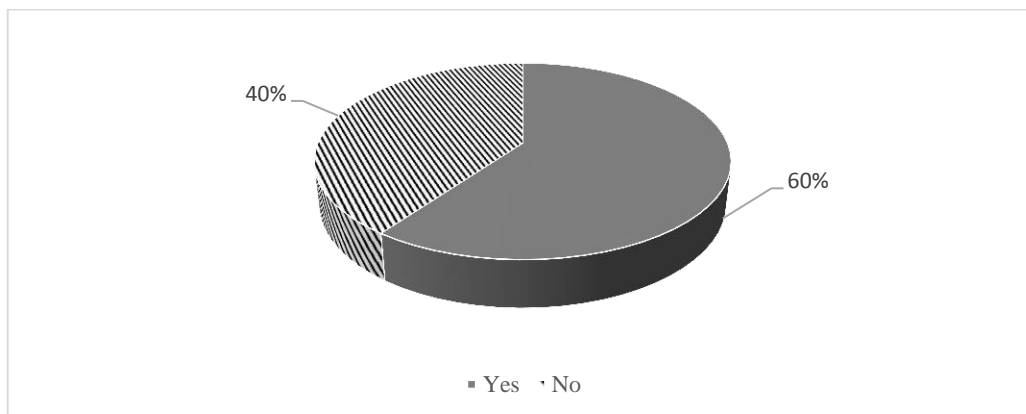
	yes	no
AF	7	13
RF	35%	65%



**Pie chart 4.25 EC speakers' scores to question eight**

**Table 4.21 EC speakers' responses to question nine: ease at work/study**

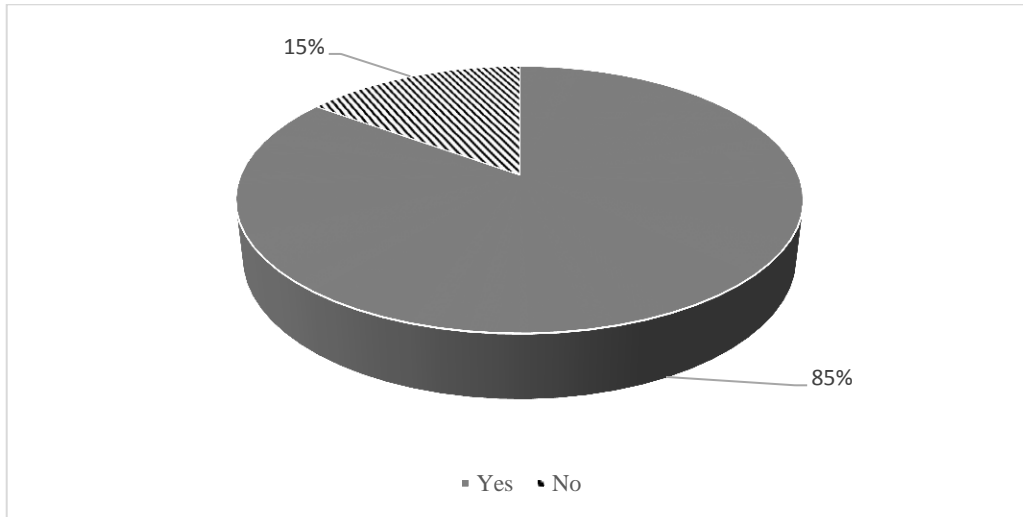
	Yes	No
AF	12	8
RF	60%	40%



**Pie chart 4.26 EC speakers' scores to question nine**

**Table 4.22 EC speakers' responses to question ten: living in urban areas**

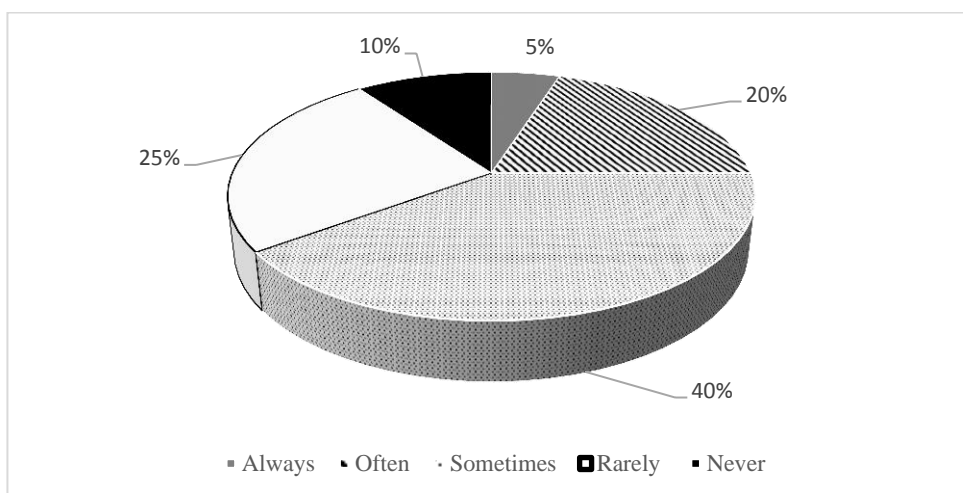
	Yes	No
AF	17	3
RF	85%	15%



**Pie chart 4.27 EC speakers' scores to question ten**

**Table 4.23 EC speakers' responses to question eleven: integration**

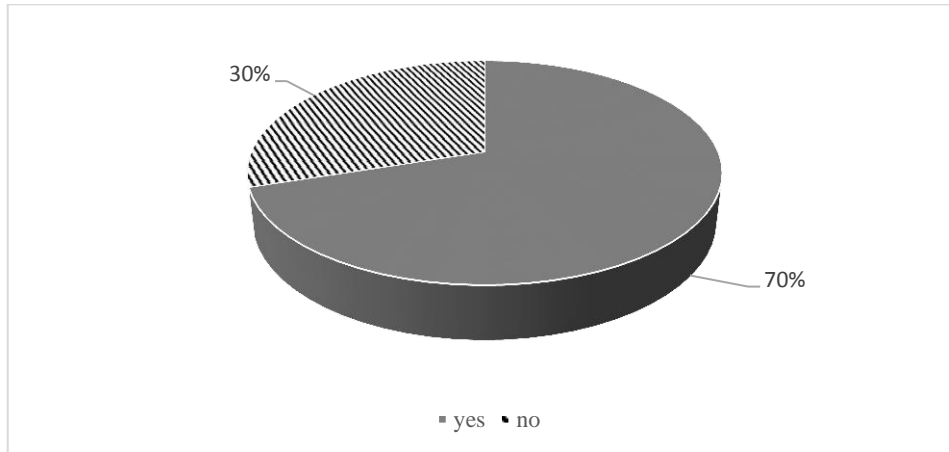
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
AF	1	4	8	5	2
RF	5%	20%	40%	25%	10%



**Pie chart 4.28 EC speakers' scores to question eleven**

**Table 4.24 EC speakers' responses to question twelve: speech liking**

	yes	no
AF	14	6
RF	70%	30%



**Pie chart 4.29 EC speakers' scores to question twelve**

Both table 4.20 and pie chart 4.25 above indicate that over a third of the speakers state they encounter mock of people living in urban cities, making up a percentage of 35%, while the remaining two thirds of speakers deny being mocked scoring 65%. The interviews that were done in this study form a solid basis for qualitative research. In many cases during interviews, speakers state that they have often experienced mockery of outsiders and could not, sometimes, stand any more of their scorn.

Heterogeneous speech communities, which gather large populations, are found generally in urban cities rather than small towns and villages. Many groups of people in these dense areas are of different backgrounds. They sound different when they speak because they exhibit distinctive speech characteristics that reflect their social, regional, and ethnic backgrounds. The speech characteristics of people being in contact with other majority groups often receive prejudices and humour. Hence, many linguistic features might be subject to stereotyping. The speakers in this study state that for the sake of avoiding such stereotypes and prejudices associated with their regional varieties are in many situations obliged to modify the way they speak

by dropping those stereotyped features of their local varieties. They also state that their origins are always recognised from specific features in their speech.

Responding to question nine, the speakers have scored a percentage of 40% claiming that they do not feel at ease where they commute or stay temporarily. 60% is the score for those who feel comfortable where they are. Given that they usually encounter problems in means of transports and housing problems for those of short-term stay, these speakers (mainly those in Tlemcen and Sebdou) do not feel comfortable at all: as problems surface each time in the places where they work. However, for others, whether commuting or short-term staying in Maghnia and Oran, avow that they have no difficulties. If this reveals something, it would then reveal that attitudes towards the area depend primarily on its inhabitants. However, their responses in question ten do not match when they were asked if they would seize the opportunity of living permanently where they work. 85% favour the idea of permanent settlement in urban cities while only 15% disfavour it, preferring to return to their home places in the valley. This shows their affiliation to their home villages.

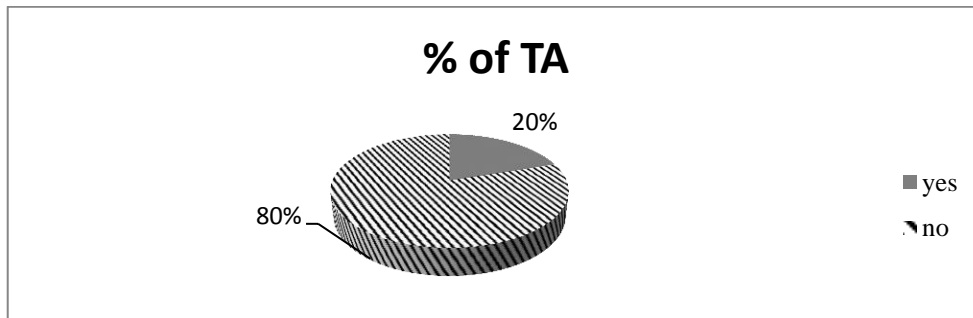
As for question (11): 'do you find difficulties to integrate with people in urban cities?' the optional responses are in the following order: 'sometimes' 40%, 'rarely' 25%, 'often' 20%, 'never' 10%, and 'always' 5%. Here, the majority of speakers state they sometimes encounter problems with people whom they are interacting with: at work or at schools and universities.

Whatever the reason that pushes these speakers to adopt new features from urban speech, their attitudes are converging towards positive trends favouring urban speech and negative trends devaluing it. This is clearly noticed from the above table (4.24) and pie chart (4.29). These external contact speakers in a significant majority evaluate the urban speech positively (70%) while 30% of them evaluate it negatively. Breaking speakers' attitudes down further according to the place they are in regular contact with, we obtain the following results:

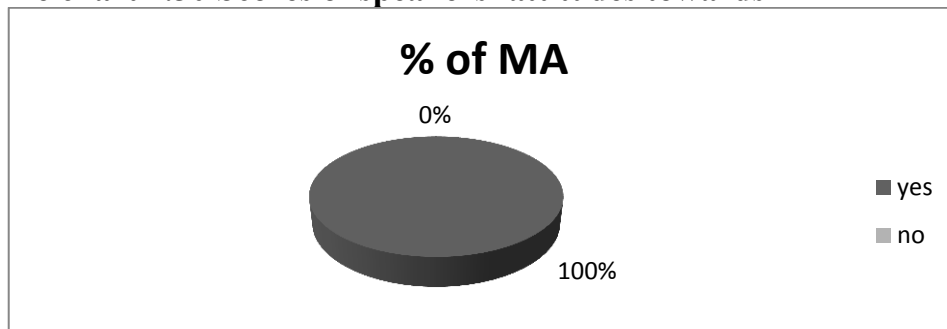
**Table 4.25 Speakers' attitudes towards urban speech**

	DV/Tlemcen (5 speakers)		DV/Maghnia (4 speakers)		DV/Sebdou (6 speakers)		DV/Oran (5 speakers)	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	No
N	1	4	4	00	4	2	5	00
%	20%	80%	100%	00%	67%	33%	100%	00%

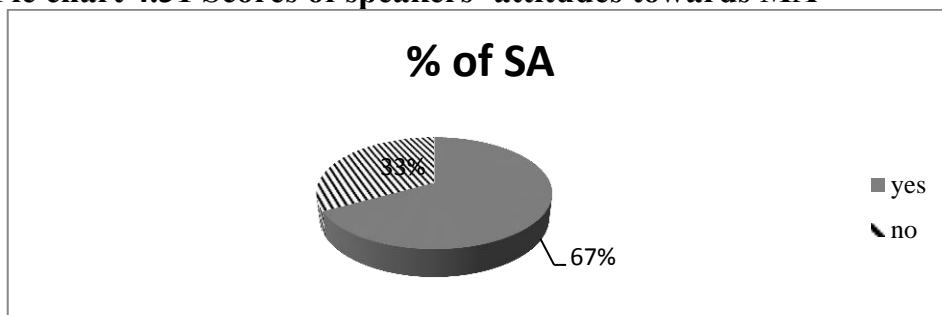
\*DV: dialectal variety



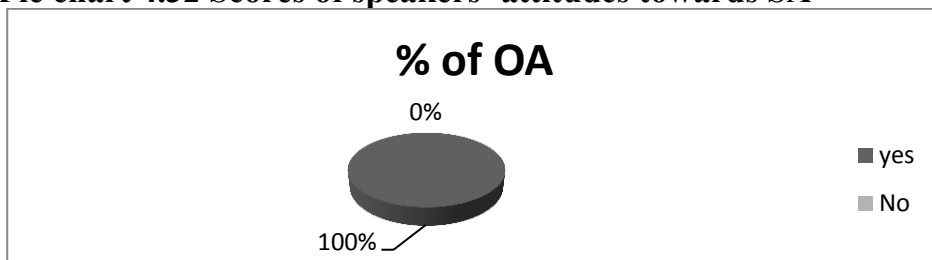
**Pie chart 4.30 Scores of speakers' attitudes towards TA**



**Pie chart 4.31 Scores of speakers' attitudes towards MA**



**Pie chart 4.32 Scores of speakers' attitudes towards SA**



**Pie chart 4.33 Scores of speakers' attitudes towards OA**

Among the five speakers who are in contact with the urban speech of Tlemcen, only one of them has evaluated it positively (20%), and the remaining showed their negative attitudes (80%). As previously stated in this section (speakers' responses to question three), some BB speakers are convinced that the way they speak might reveal their regional origins and even push people to mock them, they have shown negative attitudes to the variant form [q] considering it as a source of stigma which might hinder their social integration in urban cities. Alternatively, they switch to [g] showing positive attitudes. Conversely, negative attitudes are towards the Tlemcen variant [ʔ] which is not adopted in their speech. The social pressures that have been just mentioned above do not lead to the adoption of all the features they are exposed to. The case of Tlemcen here is the best example where BA and MZ speakers claim not to appreciate the sound [ʔ] especially when it is used by Tlemcen male speakers. They view it as a feminine feature, while their native [g] is a feature that implies strength and manliness. These two groups of speakers prefer to maintain their native [g] rather than adopting the urban feature [ʔ]. In fact, these attitudes towards [ʔ] are similar to those held by non-native speakers in an earlier investigation in Tlemcen by Dendane (2007) as their attitudes were negative and consider this feature as a feminine form confined in its use only to women rather than men.

Though BA speakers do not feel stigma in the use of their native morphological feature [-u], they drop it and switch to rural [-ah] which is widely used in Tlemcen among people coming from neighbouring rural areas. Thus, they favour the use [-ah] over native [-u] which is also a native variant of Tlemcen speech. Just like BHA gender neutralisation form  $\emptyset$  which has not been adopted by any of the three in-migrant groups, this very form exists also in Tlemcen among the natives and appears to be highly disfavoured by the three regional groups of speakers.

As for those speakers who commute to Maghnia, this town is much admired as a place of work and most importantly business. The four speakers who commute to this area feel very comfortable and hence their attitudes are positive towards its speech (scores are 100%). The variant [g], gender marker [-i], and the suffix [-ah] are the dominant variants in this town. The speakers report that they do not feel embarrassed when they speak with people there. Nevertheless, the statistical data have revealed that two speakers among the four have shown adoption of [-ah] in their speech.

Those who commute to Sebdo: four of them have evaluated the speech of this town positively (67%) and two have evaluated it negatively (33%). MZ speakers are much found to favour Sebdo dialectal variety because they share almost all linguistic features given that both people are by origin nomadic where the interdental variables are widely used in addition to the variants [g], [-i], and [-ah]. On the contrary, BB dialectal variety is different from that of Sebdo in the use of stop counterparts as well as the variants [q], [-u], and diphthongisation of gender marker. The five speakers who are short-term residents in Oran admire the speech spoken there and evaluated it positively (100%). Four BA speakers are among the five residing temporarily in this city. As we have already stated, the village of BA witnessed a mass migration to Oran and since then rumours started to circulate in the valley about these people and their connection with Oran people and their speech. As evidence, the statistical data have pointed out that the native form [-u] is being replaced with the Bedouin form [-ah]. Thus, all the people in the valley assume that people from BA are strongly linked to Oran because of this feature that is generally regarded as the common denominator between BA and Oran dialectal varieties.

Finally, it is clear from the above illustrative tables and charts that a possible reinforcement of the speakers' use of certain linguistic features to the rejection of others stems from their attitudes towards the dialectal varieties spoken outside the valley. Much of the impetus for accommodation comes from the socio-

psychological factors which lie in the desire of those speakers (working or studying outside the valley) to remove dissimilarities found in their speech. This was achieved by avoiding forms of their native speech and adopting their interlocutors' ones. In addition, speakers in their attitudinal self-report have devalued their own speech and, in contrary, have valued neighbouring speech of urban cities.

#### **4.5 Comparison of Speakers' Linguistic Behaviour with their Attitudes**

In this section, we will provide a comparison of the speakers' linguistic behaviour (i.e. accommodation and non-accommodation) with their responses in the two questionnaires. The analysis has shown that the speakers' linguistic behaviour, in the majority, corresponds with their answers to the questions. We concluded this from calculating the proportions of each option in their responses. Since internal contact speakers have shown negative attitudes more than positive towards the host village, its speakers and their speech, and external contact speakers have shown positive attitudes more than negative towards urban cities, their people and their speech, we will analyse the correspondence of both questionnaires with the linguistic behaviour of the two types of speakers by selecting randomly a few questions to see their correspondence or non-correspondence in order to avoid redundant analysis of all the responses. The selected questions of internal contact speakers involve attitude responses about the host village, its speakers and their local variety, as well the in-migrant groups' native speech. The questions are the following:

**1-**Are you satisfied with the fact of living in BH?

**5-**If you have the choice to live in another area, what would you choose?

**8-** Is the way you speak similar or different from the way BH natives speak?

**9-**Rate how much the way the following people speak is to your liking.

-BH natives

**10-**Do you think your speech has changed since you have come to live in this village?

**11-** Have you ever felt that BH natives mock you when you speak?

**12-** Do you feel proud of the way you speak?

As the speakers in each group split into preservers of the features of their native speech and adopters of the features of non-native speech, the statistical results shown in chapter three have revealed that among the three groups only MZ group has shown accommodation to native speech of the host village. Therefore, in the following table, we will compare the preservers and adopters responses to the questions with this group only. The question that is well worth asking here is: do positive attitudes necessarily lead to accommodation and negative attitudes lead to non-accommodation? The following table shows the three in-migrant groups' responses to the above stated questions:

**Table 4.26 IC speakers and their attitude responses**

N	BB group	BA group	MZ group	
			Preservers	Adopters
1	Not at all satisfied % 67 Slightly satisfied 33% Very much satisfied 0%	Not at all satisfied 92% Slightly satisfied 8% Very much satisfied 0%	Not at all satisfied 0% Slightly satisfied 0% Very much satisfied 100%	Not at all satisfied 0% Slightly satisfied 56 % Very much satisfied 44 %
5	Back to my regional area 67% In another area inside the valley 0% Outside the valley 33% Stay where I am now 0 %	Back to my regional area 25% In another area inside the valley 8% Outside the valley 58% Stay where I am now	Back to my regional area 0% In another area inside the valley 50% Outside the valley 50% Stay where I am now 0%	Back to my regional area 14.28% In another area inside the valley 14.28% Outside the valley 14.28% Stay where I am now 57.14%
8	Yes, similar 22% No, different 78%	Yes, similar 45% No, different 55%	Yes, similar 0% No, different 100%	Yes, similar 25% No, different 75%
9	I like it 56% I don't like it 44%	I like it 8% I don't like 92%	I like it 0% I don't like 100%	I like it 43% I don't like 57%
10	Not at all 78% Very little 22% Somewhat 0% To a great extent 0%	Not at all 100% Very little 0% Somewhat 0% To a great extent 0%	Not at all 0% Very little 100% Somewhat 0% To a great extent 0%	Not at all 56% Very little 44% Somewhat 0% To a great extent 0%
11	Yes 0% No 100%	Yes 0% No 100%	Yes 0% No 100%	Yes 0% No 100%
12	Yes 78% No 22%	Yes 75% No 25%	Yes 50% No 50%	Yes 56% No 44%

Starting with the first group that is BB in-migrants of internal contact, the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter has shown that they have not accommodated to any of the variants of the host village. Attitudes responses of this group strongly correlate with their linguistic behaviour in general except for some instances. The results show that these speakers are negatively oriented in terms of their attitudes towards BH as a place of living, its natives and their dialectal variety. Thus, they do not feel satisfied (67%) with the fact of living in BH and wish to go back to their regional areas (67%), except for three speakers who wish to live outside the valley. These very speakers think their speech sound different from that of BH natives (78%) and 56% of them like the way the natives speak, while 44% don't. In this question mainly, the speakers' responses do not match their non-accommodating behaviour as the majority of them like BHA but do not accommodate to its features. A more convincing response to the behaviour and attitude correspondence is their answers to questions (10), (11) and (12) as 78% of them do not think their speech has changed and feel proud of the way they speak. The natives do not make fun of the way BB group speak (0%) but it is rather the opposite. According to these results and to the previous stated accommodation results, their linguistic behaviour matches with their attitude responses.

On the other side of BA in-migrant group, they have also shown non-accommodation to the native variants of the speech of the host village. Their responses are negative towards the host village, its people, and their speech. BA in-migrants are in the majority not satisfied with living in BH (92%). They want mainly, like the former group, to live elsewhere except staying in BH. Most of them do not like the way the natives of the area speak (92%) and state that their speech has not changed (100%) since their coming to the area. Feeling very proud of the way they speak (75%), they state that they have never felt that the natives mock them when they speak (100%).

MZ group of speakers, particularly, as shown in the table above, is divided into preservers and adopters. The preservers have shown both positive and negative attitudes towards the host village: they are very much satisfied with the fact of

living in this area (100%), a response that does not correspond with their conservative behaviour. Then, in the fifth question, their responses are negative, but correspond with their linguistic behaviour as they choose to quit the village and settle in another one within the valley (50%) or outside it (50%). They do not like the way the natives of the area speak (100%) making these answers match with their non-accommodating behaviour. In fact, they were inaccurate in their responses to questions (10) and (12) as they have stated that their speech has changed since they came to live in BH and half of them do not feel proud of the way they speak (50%), but they did not accommodate their speech during the interviews. Thus, as we have already referred to in chapter two and three, we may link this to some factors like, inhibition or misconceiving of the questions or to time restrictions of the speakers which made them in a hurry while answering the questions.

Adopters of the same group were not accurate in their responses mainly to questions (9), (10), and (12) which do not correspond with their accommodating behaviour. They do not like the way the natives speak (57%), feel that their speech has not changed since their coming to BH (56%), and feel proud of the way they speak (56%). These responses are extremely contradictory with their linguistic behaviour. All in all, BB and BA in-migrant speakers having internal contact in the host village have generally revealed negative attitudes towards the host village and to its speech, while the third group of MZ have shown inaccurate responses that do not correspond with their linguistic behaviour.

We will look now at a possible correspondence between the linguistic behaviour of the speakers of external contact and their responses to the second questionnaire. This latter includes questions about the native speech of the in-migrant groups, the urban cities, their people, and their dialectal varieties. Because the accommodated features are of the urban speech, we will consider all the questions related to the speakers' dialectal varieties and to urban speech. To mention, the group of BB does not contain preservers. Thus, we will analyse the responses of only adopters. For the other two groups, both categories are available. Six questions are selected for comparison to avoid redundancy and long analysis of

the questions which are the same. The questions selected for this purpose are as follows:

1-How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people inside your home village?

2- How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people in urban cities?

3-Where do you change the way you speak?

6-Do you think that in order to integrate with people in the urban cities and towns one has to change the way he speaks?

7-Do you think that your speech has changed since you started working or studying outside your village?

10-if you get the opportunity to live permanently where you work/study, would you seize it?

12-Do you like the way people speak in urban cities?

**Table 4.27 EC speakers and their attitude responses**

N	Adopters	Preservers
2	Proud 50% Embarrassed 50%	Proud 100% Embarrassed 0%
3	Inside my home village 0% Outside it 37.5% Both 56.25% None 6.25%	Inside my home village 0% Outside it 25% Both 0% None 75%
6	Important 87.5% Of little importance 6.25% not important 6.25%	Important 25% Of little importance 25% not important 50%
7	Not at all 0% Somewhat 56.25% Very little 18.75% To a great extent 25%	Not at all 25% Somewhat 25% Very little 50% To a great extent 0%
10	Yes 87.5% No 12.5%	Yes 100% No 0%
12	Yes 87.5% No 12.5%	Yes 0% No 100%

External contact speakers who have shown accommodation to the speech of the urban cities mirror their linguistic behaviour in their attitudinal orientations as they are in general positively oriented. Thus, their accommodating behaviour corresponds with their responses to the questions. These adopters have shown uniformity in most of their responses except for some instances. Half of them feel embarrassed when they speak to people in urban cities while the others do not. They change the way they speak inside and outside the valley (56.25%) knowing that there are slight differences (68.75%) between the way they speak and the way people in urban cities speak. Most of them (87.5%) are convinced that it is very important, for those who are in regular contact with urban lifestyle, to modify their speech. They are more accurate in their answers than internal contact speakers as they are aware (56.25%) that their speech has changed since they have started working in the urban cities. These speakers wish to live where they work (87.5%), if they get an opportunity. These adopters like the way people in urban cities speak (87.5%), showing a great correspondence with their accommodating behaviour.

Attitude responses of preservers outside the valley correspond with their linguistic behaviour as they have stated that they feel proud of their native speech when they speak to foreigners and do not change the way they speak (75%), whether they are outside or inside the valley. Half of them state that it is not necessary to modify speech to integrate socially with the urban lifestyle and its people. However, their responses do not always reflect their linguistic behaviour as their answers to the seventh question do not correspond with their conservative behaviour when saying that their speech has changed to a certain degree (50% for very little and 25% for somewhat as options). Wishing to live in urban cities (100%) and disliking the way people speak there (100%) does not correspond with their linguistic behaviour.

Accordingly, the overall picture of the correspondence of attitude responses with the linguistic behaviour is that the speakers of internal contact (either preservers or adopters) are negatively oriented towards the host village, its natives as well as their dialectal variety. The speakers of external contact are in the majority

adopters with positively oriented attitudes towards urban cities, their people, and their dialectal varieties. As the preservers were not accurate in their responses they are somewhat negatively-oriented towards urban cities, their people, and their speech.

#### **4.6 The Effect of Attitudes on Accommodation**

The provided theoretical knowledge of dialect contact supports the idea that in contact situations among native speakers of different dialectal varieties, the adoption of new features may find its way after a long exposure (Trudgill, 1986). This process is known as accommodation and it can be motivated or restricted by positive or negative attitudes a given group has towards another group and towards their dialectal variety and even towards the geographical area where accommodation might take place (Marshall, 2004).

Because the type of contact as a social variable is revealed to be the dominant factor shaping the linguistic behaviour of in-migrant groups, we designed two questionnaires: the first one was administered to internal contact in-migrant groups living in BH to elicit their opinions about the area they are living in, the majority group of the host village, and their dialectal variety. It was also designed to reveal the attitudes of in-migrant groups towards each other's dialectal varieties. The second one was designed to external contact in-migrant groups to obtain their attitudes about the urban areas they are commuting to or staying temporarily in, the people of these urban places, and their dialectal varieties as well.

In his claims that attitudes towards languages and varieties are strongly connected with attitudes towards groups of people of those languages and varieties, Preston supports this claim by giving the following examples that stem from peoples' beliefs towards a particular group and the way they speak:

Some groups are believed to be decent, hard-working, and intelligent (and so is their language or variety): some groups are believed to be laid-back, romantic, and devil-may-care (and so is their language or variety): some groups are believed to be lazy, insolent, and procrastinating (and so is their language or variety): some groups are believed to be hardnosed, aloof, and unsympathetic (and so is their language or variety), and so on. Preston (2005: 133)

Such folk beliefs, as Gordon and Montgomery (2009) say, added fruitful insight to language variation and change investigations. One of its findings, say the authors, is that preference is given to some varieties over others which can often be perceived as stigmatised forms and hence are described in severe and unpleasant terms. These negative attitudes are constructed basically on prejudices against the speakers of the stigmatised varieties (Gordon and Montgomery: *ibid*). Accordingly, though the in-migrant speakers have positively evaluated Tlemcen inhabitants, they have not adopted native [ʔ] in their speech. However, the case of Oran is different: they have positively evaluated Oran speech and its speakers and thus, have adopted its feature [-ah]. Sebdou speech has received negative attitudes and its interdentals have not been adopted. More importantly, the host village and its natives have been perceived negatively and so has been their speech.

Based on the analysis of the speakers' responses to both questionnaires, this part of the study has revealed that internal contact speakers' attitudes are deeply rooted in their history, their past lifestyle, and most importantly the way they perceive each other as members of the same community. These speakers are basically negative attitudes-oriented which stem from the social prejudices of these regional groups, in addition to the weak ties if non-existent, between them. This attitudinal behaviour started developing since their arrival to the area. Thus, Kerswill and Williams (2000) posit that the degree of short-term and long-term accommodation is based on the speakers' attitudes towards their interlocutors: the more a speaker likes his/her interlocutor the more accommodation degree is high. They further add that this will lead to differences between groups in contact.

These held positive and negative attitudes towards the host village, its speakers, and their dialectal variety appear to have an influence on the trajectory of the individuals' linguistic behaviour that can be able to trigger accommodation or non-accommodation to particular features of the input local varieties. As an initial step in this investigation, speakers' attitudes towards the area itself are negatively oriented. This was reflected in their non-accommodating behaviour to BHA

linguistic features: [q], stops instead of interdental, pronoun suffix [-u], and absence of gender marker.

Given that BB in-migrants are [q] speakers like BH natives and share also the variant form of the pronoun suffix [-u] they did not accommodate to gender marker  $\emptyset$ . [g] speakers who are BA and MZ in-migrants did not accommodate to [q]. Moreover, BA group who share the pronoun suffix [-u] and the stops as variants in their speech with BH natives did not accommodate to gender marker  $\emptyset$ . MZ group, on their part, did not accommodate neither to [q] nor to [-u] and  $\emptyset$ , but showed tendency to the stops counterparts only, though accommodation scores are very low.

However, while BA in-migrants' attitudes reflect their linguistic behaviour, MZ in-migrants, do not: BA speakers' attitudes match their linguistic behaviour, i.e. strong negative attitudes towards natives of the host village and their dialectal variety associated with complete non-accommodation to BH features. MZ speakers' linguistic behaviour is in opposite correlation to their subjective attitudes towards BH natives and their dialectal variety. Except for the stops which were adopted in low rates, this group did not accommodate to the other linguistic features. For speakers, who have contact outside the valley; have shown in almost all responses to the questions positive attitudes which reflect their accommodating behaviour.

Based on the speakers' responses to the questionnaires, we might be able to decide whether their accommodating behaviour is of short or long term. Thus, those who have stated that they accommodate their speech only outside, i.e. contact with urban speakers at work or study are of short term accommodation. However, those who have shown accommodation in their speech either inside or outside the valley are of long term accommodation. For internal contact speakers, they have stated that they accommodate their speech inside the area where they live, with other speakers from villages inside the valley, and even outside whenever they travel far from their dwelling places.

## **4.7 Conclusion**

It has been clearly shown in this chapter that a strong correspondence exists between the linguistic behaviour of speakers and their attitudes towards the local dialectal varieties inside the valley and their speakers, the dialectal varieties of the neighbouring cities and their speakers. But, if attitudes can be shown to guide the linguistic behaviour among the speakers of this rural village, then it is not so easy to generalise this in real life (Auer and Hinskens 1996). Starting from inside the valley and particularly in the host village, we have found that, for the most part, speakers of the three regional groups are aware of some phonological and morphological features in the host village. This awareness is interpreted into negative attitudes towards these speakers and their local varieties except for MZ in-migrants who are positively oriented towards BH natives. These speakers are basically negative attitudes-oriented which stem from the social prejudices of these regional groups, in addition to the weak ties if non-existent, between them. This attitudinal behaviour started developing since their arrival to the area.

Outside the village of BH and even the valley, most of BH speakers, who are mainly commuters and short-term residents in the neighbouring urban cities, hold positive attitudes towards urban people and their speech. These positive attitudes are reflected in the accommodation of some features of this urban speech, such as [g], [-i] and [-ah]. As most of the speakers stated that they are socially integrated with the new environment, its speakers as well as their speech, they have shown positive attitudes towards the urban spoken varieties.

But, this study has also revealed that individuals' attitudes do not ultimately determine the extent the speakers want to adapt to a particular variety. For example, Tlemcen typical feature [ʔ] was attached to strong stigma by native [q] speakers. Because these latter also associated [q] with stigma they shifted to [g] rather than [q] and [ʔ]. Explanations for this linguistic behaviour lies in the fact that in order not to sound too rural whenever they are outside the valley they avoid the use of

[q] and in order not to sound feminine they avoid [ʔ] in their daily conversations (either students at university or workers in different domains with Tlemcen inhabitants).

Thus, much of the impetus for accommodation of external contact BH speakers comes from the social and social-psychological factors which lie in the desire of those speakers (working or studying outside the valley) to remove dissimilarities found in their speech. This was achieved by avoiding forms of their native speech, which were devalued, and adopting their interlocutors' ones. On the contrary, negative attitudes of internal contact BH speakers towards the dialectal variety of BH were the main factor that resulted in non-accommodation of the local features of this variety and hence maintenance of each regional group of their original features.

## *Chapter Five: Discussion and Findings*

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## **5.1 Introduction**

It has been confirmed in the literature that when speakers of different, but mutually intelligible dialects come into contact, modifications in speech may occur momentarily if contact is short term. But, if it is prolonged, modifications in speech may become permanent particularly if speakers' attitudes are favourable. Such contact and accommodation ultimately lead to a number of possible outcomes.

Accordingly, linguistic and attitudinal data presented in the former two chapters (three and four) bore evidence of a correspondence between the speakers' linguistic behaviour and their attitudes. Since the quantitative investigation of linguistic data has stated accommodation of some features and non-accommodation of others, attitudes of speakers have also played a great role in shaping the linguistic behaviour towards adoption or maintenance of some features.

Thus, we seek in the present chapter to reveal the possible outcomes of dialect contact between the three regional groups of Beni Snous who came to live together in the village of BH. Speakers' linguistic behaviour, as reflected in accommodation or non-accommodation, will be zoomed out to find more about the motives standing behind. We will also conclude this chapter with insightful statements about the shortcomings of the present study and recommendations for future work.

## **5.2 The Nature of Accommodation**

Trudgill's (1986: 39) theoretical assumptions state that in dialect contact situations: "speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other's speech". In fact, Trudgill's statement can be applied in this study. After quantifying and representing the linguistic and the social variables statistically, we came to the conclusion that the in-migrant groups do really accommodate their speech and this accommodation varies among them according to the accommodated features and the rate of accommodation. All the attested accommodation instances are not bidirectional, but rather take only one direction for example, BB group switch from

their native variant [q] to BA and MZ variant [g] but no switch in the reverse direction is attested, i.e. BA and MZ groups do not switch to BB group's variant [q]. The cases of accommodation (mentioned previously in chapter 3 section 3.3.4) which took only one direction are:

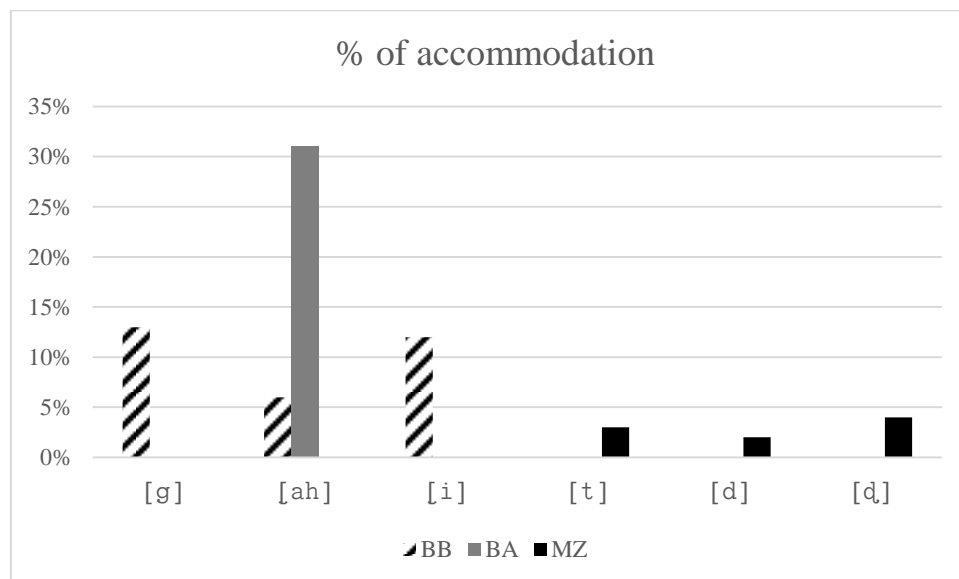
-Accommodation of (q): [q]  $\Rightarrow$  [g]

-Accommodation of ( $\theta$ ), ( $\delta$ ), ( $\delta$ ): [ $\theta$ ]-[ $\delta$ ]-[ $\delta$ ]  $\Rightarrow$  [t]-[d]-[d]

-Accommodation of (-u): [-u]  $\Rightarrow$  [-ah]

-Accommodation of (-i:na): [-ij/-ej]  $\Rightarrow$  [-i]

The following bar graph shows the proportions of the accommodated features by regional origin of the speakers:



**Bar graph 5.1 Percentage of accommodation by regional origin**

As far as the phonological variables are concerned, native [q] group (BB in-migrants) have shown accommodation to [g], whereas native [g] groups (BA and MZ in-migrants) have exhibited no pronunciation of [q] in their speech maintaining, in this case, their native [g]. The Standard Arabic interdental ( $\theta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\delta$ ) were not adopted in the speech of BB and BA in-migrant groups who are

originally native speakers of the stops counterparts [t], [d], and [d̥]. However, native speakers of the interdental (MZ group) have shown accommodation to [t], [d], and [d̥].

For the morphological variables, the variant [-ah] has been the most adopted feature by BA and BB in-migrants as a new feature in their speech, and to the opposite side MZ group have not accommodated at all to the feature [-u] of these groups. Gender marker is manifested among BB group by the adoption of the variant [-i] while no adoption of the gender neutralisation form  $\emptyset$  is attested in the three groups. Thus, all these results apply to Trudgill's claims that in contact situations, speakers reduce linguistic differences between the forms of their speech. But, do they accommodate to each other's patterns of speech in the same way and the same rate? Trudgill provides a full explanation for this question.

To get a clear picture of the nature of accommodation that is shaping the way BH inhabitants speak, we look at the type of contact as an initial and basic step for accommodation to occur. Studies of dialect contact generally focus on long-term contact of minority mobile groups with non-mobile majority group that they settled with in their area (Kerwill, 1994, 2003, 2010; Trudgill, 1986, 2003). Contrary to these studies and based on previous research in the same area (Kherbache, 2010), we found that both natives and in-migrant groups are losing some features of their original local varieties. Our concern is, therefore, on both groups: the majority group of BH native inhabitants and the minority three in-migrant groups who have come to live with the majority group in the same village. So, while those studies on dialect contact presented in Trudgill (1986) have yielded useful results by showing how the minority groups may adopt new features of the host community, surprisingly, the current study with the previous one conducted by the researcher herself (Kherbache, *ibid*) reveal the opposite.

Native speakers of this village have shown a degree of variation in the use of (q). Out of a sample of 120 speakers who were involved in the investigation, a proportion of 10.83% used the non-native variant form [g] in their speech. By

showing a variability in the use of (q) we can say that linguistic accommodation among the three regional groups in addition to the native group living in BH is remarkable as the native inhabitants of the host village also accommodated their speech by adopting another dialectal feature [g] that is not present in their local variety.

After reviewing a number of studies on long-term accommodation among young children and after stating a detailed linguistic analysis, Trudgill (1986) concludes that this category of speakers plays a vital role in the processes of dialect mixture and new-dialect formation because they: “are well known to be much more rapid and complete accommodators than adults.” Trudgill (*ibid*: 31). This interesting finding prompts him to put further important questions: what are the limits of accommodation? Is total accommodation to a new variety possible in the long term?

He (*ibid*) states that in dialect contact situations the diffusion of linguistic forms from one geographical area to another may be the result of the accommodation process. He further adds that the linguistic form of the originating variety and the acquired form in the receiving variety are not always identical. This is due, according to him, to different types of imperfection of accommodation. Trudgill (*ibid*) defines incompleteness as one of the imperfections during the acquisition of a new linguistic form. He argues that: ‘speakers during accommodation reduce dissimilarities with other speakers, not imitate them slavishly’ Trudgill (*ibid*: 58). Therefore, accommodation is not complete in all dialect contact situations and hence it may be incomplete (partial). He identifies three types of incomplete accommodation:

Accommodation may be incomplete in three different ways. Speakers may reduce pronunciation dissimilarities with other speakers (a) by alternating their own variant of a form with that of the other speakers: (b) by using the other speakers’ variant in some words but not others (transfer/mixed dialects): and (c) by using pronunciations intermediate between those of the two accents in contact (approximation/fudged dialects). Of course, all three may occur in conjunction with each other.

Trudgill (1986: 62)

The first type of incomplete accommodation refers to speakers' variable use of the variants found in both varieties in contact. Lexical diffusion is the second type of incomplete accommodation. It is first associated with the occurrence of the new variant form in some words rather than others, and then lexical diffusion takes place. The last type lies in the fact that phonetically intermediate and phonetically approximant forms between the original and the acquired dialect develop as a result. He labelled these intermediate forms interdialect where the developed forms originally occurred in neither dialect and are of great importance in the process of new-dialect formation (Trudgill, 2004).

Accordingly, the type of accommodation located in the speech of some speakers is incomplete accommodation which falls into Trudgill's partial accommodation of type one and two. The alternation of variants of both the original variety and the host variety is well attested. Quantitative data on speakers' accommodation bore witness to this process of incomplete accommodation of the first and the second type. For some speakers, some variant forms (that of their original variety and that of the host variety) were used alternately during interviews. The following statements, which were extracted from the interviews, are instances of incomplete accommodation to show non-native [g]speakers' alternate use of the linguistic variants [q] and [g] in their speech and the use of non-native variant [g] in some words but not others within the same utterance:

-[ħnaja kəm məŋgulu:] Imarmiɫɑ. ŋulul ha ʕanna lqadra]

-‘We do not call it mess tin. We call it pot’

What is noticed in this example is that the variants [q] and [g] are used alternately. The speaker has not adopted the new feature [g] totally and at the same time has not lost his native [q] but, rather, both variants are used variably and: “it is frequencies that change over time, as accommodation proceeds” (Trudgill, 1986: 58). This example shows also that non-native [g] of the speaker

occurs twice in his speech in the same word: [məŋgulu:f] and [ŋgulu] and he has not used it with the word [qadra]. We can say that incomplete accommodation of the second type where speakers utter the new form in certain words and not in others is restricted only to the variable (q) as the above example shows. The observation that might be said here is that those speakers who alternate [q] and [g] in their speech, [g] as a non-native form has occurred frequently with the word [ga:l] ‘he said’.

The example above shows clearly incomplete accommodation of the second type as the variant [g] occurs with some words rather than others. Mixing of the variants [q] and [g] is not random, but rather we find that non-native speakers of [g] associate this variant with some particular words, mainly: [ga:l] ‘say’, [gʔud] ‘sit’, [gləb] ‘turn over’, [gri:b] ‘near’, [gudda:m] ‘in front of’, [gʔaʔ] ‘cross’, [gaʔʔaʔ] ‘cut’, [gbadʔ] ‘catch’, [gsam] ‘divide’, [mga:bəl] ‘to be in front of’, [gəd gəd] and [mədgəddi:n] ‘having the same length’, [rragba] ‘neck’. However the same variant was shown not to be used with some words such as: [qalb] ‘heart’, [quffa] ‘basket’, [qʂe:r] ‘short’, [qdi:m] ‘ancient’, [nqaʂ] ‘I cut’, [qadra] ‘pot’. This might drive us to say that native [q] appears to be primarily related to psychological matters as the variant appears to be too salient in some words rather than others.

The following example (taken from one of the speakers’ interviews) shows incomplete accommodation of the first type where MZ speakers alternate their native interdental with non-native stops:

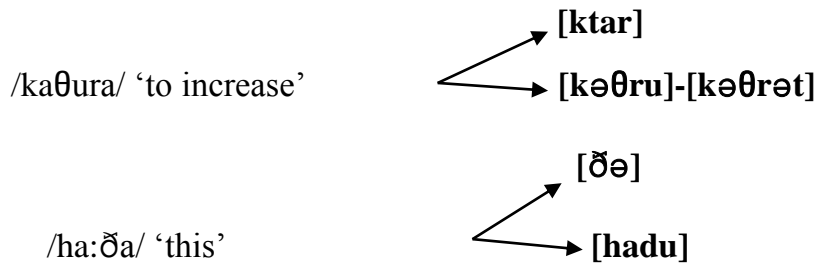
- [ʔork lamra raha ʒi:r mərraʒəl ʔla ʒaʔar raha ddajja ʔquq ha fu:t məlla:zəm. nnsa rahum ktar mə rʒel ʔə lwaqt ʔəl ʔaqəl rahum tlaθa ʔla waʔəd....., w ki kəθru fəl ʔaded ʔquqhum kəθrət w meʂekil hum zadət....., jʒuʂ ʔəttə ʔna

naχðu ħquqna w ngulul hum lamra nderet lə ddar maʃi l bərra w həð ʃʃi qli:l  
 ʔlihum.... hadu ləsni:n l wa:ħəd walla jəndʒar mə zzwa:ʒ....]

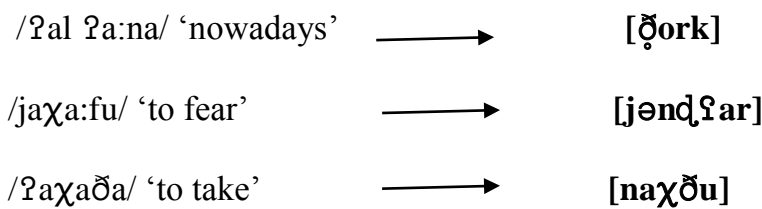
-‘Nowadays, the woman is more privileged than the man, because she had all her full rights more than it should. Women outnumber men at the present day, by at least three to one..... When they increased in number, demands for their rights also increased, as well their problems..... We must claim our rights too, and say to them woman’s place is home not outside, and this is not enough. The individuals have become afraid of marriage recently.....’

This example entails a lot of social and psychological explanations. It clearly shows mixing of the variants [θ] and [t], [ð] and [d], [ʒ] and [dʒ] but differently in different words depending on the occurrence of the variable in words:

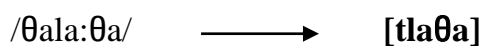
**1-**The variable occurs only once in the word and that word is repeated many times. Thus, mixing of the variants is likely to occur:



**2-**The variable occurs once in different words, and then the variants occur in a word and not in another:



**3-**The variable occurs twice within the same word, and then both variants are likely to occur in that word:



Certainly, these cases where the realisation of the interdental variants appears different deserve a thorough investigation alone to reveal the linguistic constraints

that might govern the use of these variables. As this analysis was for the type of incomplete accommodation, what about the remaining investigated variables which were not partially accommodated? Where do they fall then?

In an attempt to answer this question, it is important to mention Wilson's (2010) study of linguistic accommodation among Moravian migrants in Prague. In this study, he found that several types of accommodation can be identified on an accommodation continuum: full accommodation where speakers acquire all the linguistic features of the host variety and appear to be native-like: complete non-accommodation (Trudgill's term is lack of accommodation) where speakers do not assimilate any forms of the host variety. He realised that his informants' accommodation is located between these two extremes as they accommodated only partially.

In the case of our study, not all variants found in the host village were accommodated. The following variants: [g], [t], [d], [ɖ], [-ah], and [-i] were partially accommodated. But, for others the situation falls, as described by Wilson (*ibid*), into one of the two poles of the accommodation continuum: some speakers, indeed, did not adopt any new variants at all. For instance, the interdentalals which are features of MZ speakers were not adopted by any of the groups of speakers in BH. This shows a case of complete non-accommodation of [θ], [ð] and [ð̥] from the part of BB and BA groups of speakers. Additionally, [q] and the gender marker ø, which characterise the speech of the majority group were not accommodated at all by the same mentioned in-migrant groups and hence, retained their native [g] completely. Non-accommodation (or lack of accommodation) is complete and implies variant retention and speakers of the above-mentioned groups retained completely their variant forms [t], [d], [ɖ], [g], and [-i].

However, for the third group (MZ in-migrants) only partial accommodation was attested in their speech as they showed alternation in the use of the interdentalals and their counterparts [t], [d], and [ɖ]. Within Niedzielski and Giles' (1996)

‘change by accommodation-model’, complete accommodation is the last stage in this model. It occurs at the highest level as change becomes at a community level because a particular new feature is completely adopted and used by individuals in the whole speech community, whereas the original one is completely lost. Cases of complete accommodation in this study were not attested in the speech of the three in-migrant groups.

Therefore, the above discussion leads us to state that it is too early to speak about total accommodation among BH speakers because the process itself ‘must be a slow, ongoing process which is not completed for a number of years.’<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the attested linguistic accommodation bears evidence to further processes that are already taking place. The fact that linguistic accommodation of some variants was attested and we have already quantified it in the speech of the speakers, this means that this speech community is undergoing the process of koineisation: so, which processes are found and which stage koineisation process is at?

### **5.3 Outcomes of Dialect Contact in Beni Hammou**

The hallmark of speech is inherent variability. Variability, as explained by Labov (1969, qtd. in Poplack and Levey 2010: 394), is the alternative way of saying the same thing. This typical characteristic of speech is the source of linguistic change of a linguistic variety in a given community (Poplack and Levey, 2010). Dialect contact and change have been dealt with from a number of perspectives (Kerswill, 2003) as several linguistic processes take part in such process. Trudgill’s (1986) theoretical framework of dialect contact and change and new-dialect formation suggests a number of linguistic processes (already referred to in chapter 1 section 1.5) which emerge in settings where speakers of different but mutually intelligible dialects are in long-term contact. As explained earlier in the preceding chapter, linguistic accommodation is the first process of change to occur paving the

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<sup>76</sup>Shockey: no date (manuscript), qtd. in Trudgill, 1986: 22.

way to other processes mainly mixing, levelling, and simplification. In this study, variability that Labov explained has been investigated from the perspective of speakers' linguistic accommodation to the linguistic features of each other's dialectal variety as a consequence of their long-term contact.

The quantitative data indicate that a certain amount of linguistic accommodation was attested in the speech of the in-migrant speakers. To recall, accommodation rates vary according to the social parameters of the speakers. Therefore, as far as the local dialectal varieties of these rural speakers are concerned, what does their linguistic behaviour entail? In other words, what are the other possible linguistic processes that might appear in the contact and accommodation picture?

### **5.3.1 Evidence for Mixing**

Trudgill defines the term mixing as: "rather obviously, the coming together in a particular location of speakers of different dialects of the same language, or of readily mutually intelligible languages" (Trudgill, 2004: 84). According to this definition, the speech of the three in-migrant groups in addition to the majority group of the host village are considered as local dialectal varieties of the same language differing from each other by exhibiting phonetic, phonological, morphological, and lexical variation. Thus, since the speakers of these different local varieties have come to live together, mixing might have already taken place. Socio-historical evidence permits us to say that mixing would have occurred in BH during the mass internal rural migration (within the valley of Beni Snous) of the neighbouring villages to this village for a number of reasons which are purely social, political, and economic (already discussed in chapter two, section 2.5.1).

We also take the following definition of Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 197) where mixing refers to: "the coexistence of features with origins in the different input dialects within the new community, usually because speakers have different dialect origins". BH as a heterogeneous rural village embraces people from different parts in the valley where the interplay is between sedentary and Bedouin/rural

features. Mixing in this village has given rise to the coexistence of different available variants of a given variable. This was supported by the quantitative data which has shown the mixing of different variant forms of the variables designed for this study. In front of these mixed and competing forms, speakers choose what to use and what not to use. It is at this level that some new features are accommodated to and some original ones are levelled out. Accommodation, generally, leads to convergence and levelling (Auer and Hinskens, 2005). On this basis, and as we have stated and quantified the accommodated features in the previous sections, we will also give evidence of the levelled variants.

### **5.3.2 Levelling: A Key Process of Koineisation**

Following the order of the linguistic processes of koineisation, we have given testimony for prior accommodation and mixing in BH, then, what comes next? Are some variables levelled out? Let us look for evidence of one of the pillars of koineisation. Britain (2010), asserts that through the process of accommodation the input dialect converges towards a particular linguistic variable and the amount of variability is reduced. In this case, one can speak about a levelling process.

Among the three processes indicated by Trudgill (1986) that can be found in the koineisation process, he stresses the importance of levelling. Sharing the same idea with Trudgill, Britain proposes the term convergent linguistic accommodation and says that it usually gives birth to levelling where ‘highly local dialect forms are often beginning to be eroded, levelled away in favour of spatially more widely distributed variants’ (Britain: *ibid*: 199).

Kerswill (1994) says that when two mutually intelligible language varieties come into contact and the linguistic difference between them is small, different strategies can be expected among the minority group of speakers. This group may preserve its own variety with differing degrees of admixture of linguistic features found in the variety of the host community. The focal point in Kerswill’s claim is that when there are several minority groups within a non-powerful native majority group the process of koineisation may take place. The synthesis that we might form

between Kerswill's statement and the findings of the present study is that several groups are found to be in contact with a non-powerful native majority group. In a former study (Kherbache, 2010) the majority native group of BH was revealed to use the non-native [g] instead of their native [q], the use of the second person pronoun /ʔænti/ → [nti]-[ntijja] and gender marker [-i:] instead of the second personal pronoun /ʔænta/ → [nta] 'you' to address a woman with the absent final gender marker  $\emptyset$  in their speech. Thus, this latter group has adopted new features of the minority groups residing in their village.

In the speech community under investigation, the dialectal varieties are closely related subsystems of the Arabic language. The amount of linguistic variability among speakers in this village in the use of certain forms such as [q, ɟ, θ, ð, ʔ, t, d, ḍ, -u, -ah, -i:, -ij/-ej ] has been measured quantitatively: so, faced with such result, is it possible to suspect a koineisation process in this village? Is it in its earlier or later stages?

Answering these questions is difficult as the situation of the spoken dialectal varieties in the valley is even more complex. Why such complexity? The linguistic description provided in chapter two on the basis of sedentary vs. Bedouin dialects has permitted us to claim that these local varieties are of mixed types where both sedentary and Bedouin forms appear in a single local dialectal variety. For example, BA speakers exhibit in the sentence [gutlu] 'I said to him' sedentary [-u] and Bedouin [g] without knowing when and how this change has occurred and in what direction: is it from Bedouin to sedentary or from sedentary to Bedouin? Therefore, relying on the linguistic evidence of mixing, can we speak about the existence of an early process of koineisation which has already taken place or about a koine which has been already formed? The complexity lies, then, in the fact that up to this date, no complete linguistic description and no systematic investigation of possible processes leading to change of these local dialectal varieties is at hand. Since no

diachronic evidence is available about the possible changes that these local varieties have undergone to become the way they are now, we rely on the synchronic evidence at hand (i.e. the current study) to form a picture about the possible results of contact and accommodation.

To speak about an early-formed koine would be fascinating, of course, if diachronic evidence was at hand in order to see the major changes that took place in the speech of these inhabitants, especially changes concerning the sedentary/Bedouin features: why are they mixed? Why do we find within the same local variety sedentary and Bedouin features? Did these dialectal varieties undergo a change from Bedouin to sedentary or from sedentary to Bedouin? Linguistic evidence refers only to mixed forms and to partial accommodation of some of them rather than others. However, for the second part of the question, it is almost plausible to detect early signs of a koineisation process. These signs are depicted in the state of mixing of several linguistic forms of the input dialectal varieties. The reached conclusion is that koineisation is still infant showing mixing and variability in the use of the competing forms via the process of levelling. In fact, what Shockey (qtd. in Trudgill, 1986) suggests confirms to our study at a number of points for the phonological variables and contradicts for the morphological variables:

1-For the phonological variables (q), (θ), (ð), and (ḏ): though the number of years spent in the village of BH (more than 10 years) the process seems to be slower than the degree described by Shockey and it may take years in the future to be completed. Nonetheless, it is still an ongoing process where, under its umbrella, the two variant forms of the variable (q), the variant forms of the Bedouin interdental (θ, ð, ḏ) are involved in a process of levelling in which the speakers tend to suppress the use of some features of their original dialectal varieties to the adoption of others from other dialectal varieties. As shown in the former chapter, such linguistic behaviour is governed by a variety of social and psychological factors.

As the general trend in Arabic dialects is for interdentals to be replaced by stops (Al-Wer, 2014), scholars argue that this loss is a feature of sedentarisation.

Now, as the case in BH is the gradual loss of Bedouin interdental among their native minority MZ speakers and the adoption of sedentary stops, it is apparent that the trend is for sedentarisation rather than Bedouinisation. However, for the variable (q) the trend is for Bedouinisation rather than sedentarisation as native [q] speakers are gradually adopting the Bedouin form [g] at the expense of their sedentary feature. So, these two opposite trends might contribute in the far future to the formation of a mixed urbanized Bedouinised koine in this area.

2-For the morphological variables (-hu) and gender markers, levelling is slowly infiltrating towards the eradication of the suffix pronoun variant [-u] especially from the speech of BA in-migrants who exhibited a great amount of variation in the use of [-u] and [-ah].

Therefore, the attested accommodation among speakers has attributed and is still contributing to change in progress of certain linguistic features. This process implies a gradual increase or decrease in the frequency of the use of a linguistic feature which can be explained by researchers as a change in progress.

Indeed, early studies validated the assumption that linguistic accommodation leads to language change. The process of dialect levelling and other processes are the supporting evidence (e.g., Britain, 1997; Trudgill, 2004). Hernandez-Campoy (2003) states that change reaches completion after a number of stages. As clearly shown in the equation below, he says that it starts with the transition from the categorical use of one variant to its categorical replacement by another:

$$x > x/y > y$$

The variant 'x' refers to the native feature as maintained by its speakers which means a categorical use, whereas the variant 'y' denotes the newly adopted variant from the other variety in contact which means a categorical replacement, while 'x/y' is levelled out. The occurrence of both variants 'x/y' at the same time means that both variants are in a stage of alternative use (i.e. mixed forms). By the time, the native variant forms start to be reduced in favour of the new ones until, as

Hernandez (2003) states, the categorical use of the newly adopted forms takes place. Given this explanation of change, a question is addressed here: has a linguistic change started in BH or is it on its way to completion? As the quantitative data presented in this chapter have shown that some variants are being accommodated, this means that some of them, mainly those of high accommodation proportions, are in alternate use by speakers with the native forms overwhelming the new adopted ones.

Bassiouney (2009) reports what Guy et al. (1996) state about change and says that usually irregularities in the usage of a variable may provide evidence of linguistic change in progress. She further gives the example of the Arabic (q) and argues that “if a phonological variable such as the q in Arabic is used irregularly by a specific community, this may be a sign of a change in progress” (Bassiouney, *ibid*: 90). This appears to be an explanation for the distribution of the phonological and morphological variables among BH speakers. The former given statistical data (in chapter 3 and the previous study of the researcher herself, 2010) are convincing evidence that (q) among BH natives and BB group of in-migrants is variably used. This drives us to confirm that this variable is undergoing a sound change from sedentary [q] to Bedouin [g] among these two groups whose original dialectal varieties are characterised with sedentary [q] but accommodate their speech by adopting Bedouin [g] as a new form and moving slowly away from the pronunciation of [q]. Additionally, BA group of in-migrants along with BB groups have manifested the use of the pronoun suffix [-ah] in their speech over their native [-u]. MZ group also showed a shy accommodation of the interdental variables. Such change is labelled by the scholars change in progress. Sankoff (2006)<sup>77</sup>, states that it is detected by means of quantitative methods and by looking at the increasing or the decreasing frequency of use of a linguistic feature.

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<sup>77</sup> Quoted in Tagliamonte (2012 : 43)

### **5.3.3 Simplification**

As already defined in chapter one (section 1.5.3), simplification denotes an increase in regularity and decrease in irregularity. Within this process a number of complex grammatical categories are simplified. In the current study, the only accommodating behaviour that has yielded simplification process was gender distinction realised as diphthongs [-ij] and [-ej] (depending on the environment of either plain or emphatic consonants respectively) in the second person feminine singular among BB speakers. The process is taking place among these speakers as the diphthong [-ij/-ej] is monophthongised to the form [-i]: a form used in the host village by BA and MZ in-migrant groups. The accommodation rates of [i:] among this group of speakers is 12% with the middle (17%) and younger (16%) age categories scoring the highest proportions. Among BB speakers, who are in external contact with urban cities, monophthongisation of the diphthong [-ij/-ej] to [i:] was attested. The scores were higher (28%) than those of internal contact in BH or in the valley.

As we have given the explanatory linguistic processes of contact-induced change in the village of BH, now we turn in the following section to reveal which individuals in this village are most likely to lead or to resist such process. If there is evidence for the formation of a koine where these sedentary/rural and Bedouin/rural dialectal forms are in contact, what type of koine will be predicted among these speakers? The direction of change towards a sedentary variant or a Bedouin variant might predict the nature of the koine which is still in process.

#### 5.4 Accommodation and Koineisation: towards a Regional Urban Koine?

In an attempt to explain the evolution of modern Arabic dialects, scholars have put several hypotheses which mould to an earlier koine<sup>78</sup> used as a communicative Arabic variety. Most importantly, scholars have tried to explain the origin and the development of early urban vernaculars which developed in the military camps and garrison towns during the Islamic expansion where they were used by the military for inter-tribal communication and for communicating with non-Arabs shortly after the Islamic conquests. It then spread to the surrounding areas where different tribes speaking different dialects mixed together by intermarriage and assimilating the outsiders as clients to their tribal groups. These dialectal differences, coupled with the need for Arabs to communicate with each other, had led to the establishment of the Arabic Koine after long linguistic processes as loaning and levelling (Versteegh, 2001) had occurred. Ferguson (1959) posits that the modern dialects which developed outside the Arabian Peninsula are all descendants from this new Koine rather than being derived from Al-ʿArabiyya or the Poetic Koine. These mixed and innovative forms of Arabic formed the bases of most modern dialects (Ferguson, *ibid*).

Miller (2007) postulates that the term koine has been dominantly used to refer to the Arabic urban vernaculars<sup>79</sup>: an idea which associates the urban vernaculars with the feature of mixing as opposed to the pure Bedouin vernaculars. The direct cause of such mixing is that: in some areas new urban forces brought urban dialects to be in front of rural or Bedouin ones (Miller, 2004): while in some others, these urban dialects extended to reach rural areas and became the prestigious/national standard (Miller, *ibid*).

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<sup>78</sup> Among the different koine hypotheses suggested are: poetic koine and commercial koine before the Islamic era: Qur'anic koine and military koine after the spread of Islam. See Ferguson (1959), Corriente (1976), Blau (1981), Holes (2004), Anis (2003), and Versteegh et.al (2006).

<sup>79</sup> Miller's works (1998, 2004, 2007, 2010, and 2011) form a basis for the description of urban Arabic vernaculars.

In the current study, do the attested linguistic processes of accommodation and koineisation ultimately lead to a form of koine that is considered to be prestigious? In fact, the paucity of data by which we can compare the linguistic descriptions and investigations of the dialectal varieties found in the vicinity of Tlemcen forms actually a great hindrance to moving further in the analysis of the direction of change. Dendane's (1993, 2007, and 2011) valuable studies on the urban dialect spoken in Tlemcen form a good basis for gathering pieces and constructing the direction of change.

Tlemcen, as the capital city of a number of neighbouring towns and villages, has witnessed a mass migration of people from the rural contiguous areas. This population exodus has had a great impact on the pure sedentary speech in this city as the imported rural speech by those rural in-migrants made both forms mix together and the result was a high degree of variability in the speech of Tlemcen native and non-native speakers. In his study in this urban city, Dendane (ibid) analysed the synchronic linguistic variation and among the most interesting drawn conclusions that fit our study is that the variety of Tlemcen appears to be losing some of its distinctive linguistic traits as a consequence of dialect contact in favour of rural speech. He further states that the contributing factor in such drastic change is the stigmatisation of sedentary [ʔ] among its native young male speakers as opposed to female speakers who appear to be conservative in their speech. These young male speakers switch to rural [g] whereas women maintain the typical old form [ʔ]. This was from the part of the heterogeneous community of Tlemcen.

From the part of the rural area of BH, the direction appears to take the same path as that of Tlemcen. The process of levelling taking place in the speech of BH inhabitants is, as Kerswill (2003) points out, closely related to the mechanism of linguistic accommodation. The initial stimulus for such process comes from the external contact that those mobile speakers have with speakers of neighbouring cities. These villagers (working or studying outside the valley) converge linguistically to the urbanites' speech. This conclusion is applied to the examined linguistic variable of standard Arabic (q), the CA interdentals, the CA pronoun suffix [-hu] used with the third person singular masculine, and gender marker [-i]

where accommodation was shown in internal and external contact speakers' speech. This favours our assumptions of a possible formation of a mixed (urbanized-Bedouinised) koine in the vicinity of Tlemcen as the above mentioned variables have variant forms of sedentary and Bedouin types. What gives more support to our claim, is that our former observation when correlating the linguistic behaviour with the social parameters of the speakers we realised that accommodation varied among these social factors, but non-accommodation was uniform. To explain more this point, if a feature is not adopted at all, it is the whole group not only some individuals that reject it. But, in the case of accommodation, this process varies along with the social parameters of the speakers.

Accordingly, given this brief argument, is the standard Arabic variable (q) involved in the formation of a presupposed mixed koine? Thus, the social and linguistic explanations could be supported by a further social psychological understanding of speakers' attitudinal orientations in order to be able to trace the first steps of the presupposed regional koine. And as these attitudes are already elicited, we can reasonably state that BH speakers support the use of other features rather than their native ones. More importantly, the variants that are part of this koineisation process are mainly [g], [-ah] and [-i] where it has been proved quantitatively that BH speakers adopt these features and also show positive attitudes towards their native speakers.

## **5.5 Accommodation and Salience**

A number of scholars (Trudgill, 1986; Thomason and Kaufman 1988) have proposed 'routes of accommodation' and suggest that lexical accommodation takes place first<sup>80</sup>. Then, it is followed by phonological (phonetic as well) accommodation and at last morphological and syntactic accommodation. They further state that the attributing factors in the framework of this route are the social and linguistic factors related to salience and socially marked features. In his study of English-English

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<sup>80</sup> Because lexical variation among speakers is said to be highly salient and can lead to intelligibility problems' (Trudgill, 1986)

speakers in the United States of America, and comparing different other studies, Trudgill (1986) found that the majority of these speakers accommodated to American English following exactly the same route. The phonological features were acquired in the following order:

- (1) The realisation of intervocalic /t/ as [d]
- (2) /æ/ in words such as dance and last
- (3) Acquisition of /a/ in words like hot and top in which 'o' is realised in English-English as [ɒ]
- (4) Use of non-prevocalic /r/, as in cart
- (5) The monophthongal realisation of /aɪ/ as [a] like life.

The overall picture in this order of phonological accommodation is, in fact, due to the salience of the linguistic features where: "in contact with speakers of other language varieties, speakers modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware" (Trudgill 1986: 11). This term, as defined by a number of other linguists, is: "a reference to the degree to which speakers are aware of some linguistic feature" (Hickey 2000: 57). The common denominator between these two definitions is 'awareness'. Thus, salience is related with that linguistic feature of a particular variety whose speakers are aware of it to the extent that it is more noticeable than others and do not predict why it is so. Salience is strongly attached to sociolinguistic markers. Labov (1972) used this term when he realised that some linguistic variables carry different social values. He (ibid) classifies them into two types: markers and indicators. Some linguistic variables are called sociolinguistic markers as they are subject to both social class and stylistic variation, whereas others are simply subject to social class variation and are described indicators.

Furthermore, it is salience which turns particular variables into markers because of speakers' awareness of these. If this awareness is stronger and higher in an individual's consciousness, it turns them into stereotypes (Trudgill, ibid, Labov, 1972). Thus, the sociolinguistic markers are usually modified in contact situations simply because the speakers are aware of them more than others and try to avoid

them in their conversations. Trudgill (*ibid*) states four factors by which a particular linguistic variable is relatively high in the speaker's consciousness:

- 1- Forms which are overtly stigmatised in a particular community. This overt stigmatisation is due to the high-status variant of the stigmatised form and this high-status variant matches up with the orthography.
- 2- Forms that are currently involved in linguistic change.
- 3- Variables whose variants are phonetically radically different.
- 4- Variables that are involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts.

(Trudgill, 1986: 11)

Accordingly, a salient variant, which is labelled a marker because of the speakers' awareness about it, is likely to be accommodated to. If the source of salience is stigma, the variant is not likely to be accommodated to. Moreover, if the degree of awareness about the salient variant is too high in the speakers' consciousness, it turns it to be stereotyped and therefore, will not be incorporated in the speaker's speech. Awareness of features in Trudgill's view refers to either the non-native dialect variant, or the native dialect variant or the variable itself. Along with Trudgill, Siegel (2010) holds the same view and notes that: "the prediction would be that a variant in the D2 would be more likely to be acquired when the corresponding variant in the D1 is stigmatised." (Siegel, 2010: 121). Compared with Trudgill's above statements, the accommodated features on the basis of accommodation proportions are set in the following order:

- The pronoun suffix [-ah] instead of native [-u]
- The variant [g] of variable (q) instead of native [q]
- The feminine marker [-i] in the second person feminine singular instead of [-ij/-ej]
- The stop counterparts of standard interdental [t]-[d]-[d̥] instead of the interdentals [θ]-[ð]-[ð̥]

The questionnaires (mainly questions 8-9 in the first questionnaire and 4-5 in the second one when speakers were asked to state the dialectal differences and similarities between their own native dialectal varieties and the other ones they are exposed to) and the interviews form a basis for the detection whether a linguistic feature is subject to salience or not. Because the majority of BB native [q] speakers consider [q] as a source of stigma if used outside and most outsiders mock them, [g] is the newly adopted feature in their speech. Conversely, [g] is salient and was adopted because the majority of the speakers are aware of it. Gender marker [-i], a feature characterising almost all Algerian dialects, was found to be used among speakers originally from BB while their native gender marker feature, which is diphthongisation [-ij-ej], is being replaced with [-i]. These diphthongs appear to be stigmatised and avoided by its native speakers. To a lesser degree, the standard Arabic interdental, also are witnessing a very slow change in progress (according to accommodation rates) mainly from the part of MZ women where these forms constitute a stigma if used inside or outside the village. BH speakers are aware of the variants [g], [-i], [ah], and [t, d, d̥] existing in the speech of the urban dialectal varieties. Such awareness has led to their adoption.

As we have just mentioned, the interviews and questionnaires constitute a reference to reveal which features are salient and which ones are not. Thus, we have found that [q], [-ij/-ej], and the interdentals are highly salient in the speech of their natives. Such salience stems from the degree of their awareness about these features (based on their responses to questions 8-9 in questionnaire 1 and question 4-5 in questionnaire 2). The speakers are aware of the dialectal differences existing between their speech and the others'. For internal contact speakers, this awareness is interpreted into negative attitudes towards BH natives and their local variety except for MZ in-migrants who were positively oriented towards BH natives. However, for external contact speakers this awareness of dialectal differences is interpreted into positive attitudes towards urban speech. The variant form [-ah] was

the most accommodated feature among BA in-migrant groups. In striking contrast to the aforementioned features, [-u] was revealed to have no stigma attached to it (either inside or outside the valley) as its native BA speakers claim. But they rather prefer the use of the other rural variant form [-ah]. This might lead us to consider this variant in order to find the source of the greater rates of accommodation to the non-native form [-ah].

So, [q] is the most stigmatised feature among BB group and BH natives<sup>81</sup> for they claimed in their questionnaire responses (external contact speakers) that they usually confront social comments on the way they speak, mainly the use of [q]. Those who work in the neighbouring town of Sebdoou and the city of Tlemcen claim that their speech is scrutinized usually by the speakers there. [q] and diphthongisation of gender marker are the stigmatised features of BB speakers. MZ speakers in Tlemcen, mainly women, are also subject to speech scrutiny which makes them forced to modify the way they speak by dropping the interdental variants which are the source of stigma. Salience of these linguistic features results in stigmatisation and stereotyping, which in turn, lead speakers to reduce them in their speech.

From what we have stated, it is necessary to advocate that the devaluation of some linguistic features on account of others is raised from the metalinguistic statements the speakers form about their local dialectal varieties as well as the neighbouring ones. In fact, these beliefs and attitudes are completely wrong from a linguistic point of view. Trudgill (1995: 8), in this respect, states: “the scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all languages, and correspondingly all dialects, are equally ‘good’ as linguistic systems”. He further adds in his statements that judgments associated with speakers are more social rather than linguistic and nothing at all makes them inferior.

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<sup>81</sup> For this group we relied, as mentioned many times in this chapter, on a previous study (Kherbache, 2010) to extract what the speakers think about their native feature [q].

For clearly psychological considerations like stigma, most [q] speakers in BH who devalue this sound in favour of [g] confess that it is a rural stigmatised feature which reveals one's origins and that they incorporate in their speech the feature [g] which they consider to be appropriate to the urban speech of cities whenever they are in contact with people there. However, the incorporation of [g] is not confined to situations where speakers are in those cities only, but they have extended its use with their families and friends where they live.

Those speakers, who are in daily contact with the inhabitants of Tlemcen, do not use[ʔ] in their speech. Instead, they find [g] as an intermediate form for all the attested variants in Tlemcen. For the same reason, MZ in-migrants also avoid[θ],[ð] and[ð̥] in their speech and choose to use the variant forms [t],[d], and [d̥] respectively. BB in-migrants, on their part, avoid their native gender marker [-ij/-ej] preferring the overwhelming variant in urban speech [-i]. At the first glance, this conclusion seems to be extremely opposing Auer and Hinskens's (2005) conclusion which states that: "the best predictor of accommodation is not the frequency of interaction, but instead, a strong attitudinal orientation towards the group with whom one wants to associate" (Auer and Hinskens, *ibid*: 356).

Positive attitudes towards a particular group of people and their dialectal variety do not result in the adoption of a feature from the speech of those people. The best example here is Tlemcen glottal stop which is overtly stigmatised by BH commuters to this city and hence, not adopted in their speech. Thus, it is proved that not only positive attitudes towards a particular variety or just a feature of that variety alongside with its speakers correlate with the accommodating behaviour. Salience is not related to a particular feature (or features) of a speaker's variety only, but it is also related to a particular feature (or features) of the variety to be accommodated to. Therefore, like Tlemcen native speakers, non-native speakers of

[ʔ] are also aware of this feature and it is considered as stigmatised that is avoided in their speech (i.e. not accommodated to).

### 5.5.1 Changing Roles: Linguistic Forms between Urban Prestige and Rural Stigma?

One of the most important findings of Trudgill (1986) concerning dialect contact is that: “If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect [...] then the accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable” (Trudgill, *ibid*: 39).

In the current study, it has been clearly shown that native [q] speakers were likely to adopt [g] in their speech, whereas native [g] speakers demonstrated the opposite by showing non-accommodation to [q]. The interdental variants [θ], [ð], and [ð̪] were rejected by their native speakers and, instead, the urban stops [t], [d], and [d̪] were adopted. On another side, native speakers of these stops did not accommodate to the interdental features in their speech. Both groups: BB and BA accommodated to [-ah], while [-ah] native speakers (MZ group) did not accommodate to [-u]. So, a question is, certainly, worth to be asked: which variants of the linguistic variables in question are considered as a source of prestige or stigma among BH in-migrant speakers? The key to this question is the state of competition that exists between the different linguistic varieties and their connection with different values in the Arab urban setting (Miller, 2004). These competing forms are:

fuṣḥa, associated with literacy, high education and religion but also with formality and conservatism: urban dialects, associated with modernity and urban cultural models but also sometimes with effeminacy and decadence: and Bedouin dialects, associated with asala ‘purity of origin’ and Arab tradition but also sometimes with backwardness and toughness.

Miller (2004: 181)

Accordingly, the fact that native [q] speakers in BH devalue this form and value [g], and interdental speakers devalue their native forms and value the urban ones, this bears witness to the changing roles of these variants in this rural area. This is, in fact, what speakers think: [q], [θ], [ð], and [ð̥] are stigmatised and associated with one's rural origins: [g], [t], [d], and [d̥] are prestigious associated with people of urban areas. The strong attitudinal orientations of BH speakers are the key to understanding their accommodating behaviour.

It should be pointed out that [q] speakers in BH are unaware of the fact that the negative attitudes they hold towards the linguistic feature [q] as a rural feature are in reality, attitudes towards a sedentary feature associated with the speech of urban speakers and not with rural speakers as they think. A reality that is unknown to them makes them determined that they are moving towards urbanisation (i.e. adoption of urban forms) via the use of [g] when they communicate with outsiders whom they hold in high esteem and even with insiders (either with speakers in the village where they live or with speakers of the other villages in the valley of Beni Snous). The reality is that the trend of accommodation of [g] and [-ah] are towards Bedouinisation (adoption of the Bedouin forms [g] and [-ah]) rather than urbanisation (rejection of the urban forms [q] and [-u]). However, for the variant [-i], it is an urban feature and BB group feel ashamed of their gender marker [-ij/-ej] showing tendency to use the urban one rather than their native.

As referred to earlier in the preceding chapter, one of the main important findings in western sociolinguistics is that gender-related variation is seen from the angle that men use non-standard forms and women tend to use standard forms. In the case of Arabic, this statement: "fall short of recognizing the relevant social meanings of these variants" (Al-Wer, 2014: 6). As an example, Al-Wer (ibid) refers to her findings in Jordan where she concludes that standard [θ] is closely associated with an outdated lifestyle and [t] signifies a modern life. Similar attitudes are held

towards these interdental variants in BH by both: native and non-native speakers of these variants. They combine the interdentals with roughness and nomadic life of MZ native speakers.

As these standard forms are associated with social connotations based essentially on speakers' attitudes, James and Lesley Milroy (1994, qtd. in Al-Wer 2014) propose that gender-related variation between males and females can be seen, instead of standard vs. non-standard, in terms of localised vs. supra-local features. Al Wer (ibid) refers to the local forms as those features that characterise a dialect and are specific to it, or a number of dialects of a particular region. Supra-local features are found in a larger geographical area and thus, are not characteristic of a particular dialect or groups of dialects.

The misleading interpretations of gender variation in the Arab communities on the basis of standard vs. non-standard forms, and in combination with the formerly stated reformulation localised vs. supra-local, Al-Wer (ibid) states that:

If a generalization is needed, the true situation is that male and female patterns in Western and Arab communities are identical in that men tend to use the localized features more often than women, and Arab women prefer supralocal features (which are often non-Standard features).

Al-Wer (2014: 6)

In the light of this generalisation: the village of BH is a geographical area with native speakers of a local variety with distinctive local features. The other neighbouring smaller villages and hamlets situated in the valley of Beni Snous have local varieties with distinctive features that make them slightly different from each other. As a fact, these local varieties have come into contact with each other, where those localised distinctive features have emerged in BH to compete in contact situations in this village. The overall aim is to trace the direction of change of these local varieties. Under certain social and social-psychological constraints, the use of a form rather than another is in question.

Linguistic change has been related to various factors like age, gender, social class, and ethnicity among many. Cadora (1992) relates linguistic change also to ecological development where the Arab world has witnessed three different ecological structures:

nomadic (bedouin) and sedentary (rural and urban)-with parallel linguistic systems. The development of one structure into another is attributed to contactual phenomena which are often facilitated by migrations involving the settlement of Bedouin groups near or in rural or urban areas, or the settlement of rural segments near or in urban centers.

(Cadora, 1992: 1)

Cadora's statement above shows that contact via migration makes these tribal people move from one ecological structure to another. He (ibid) explains this movement as follows:

**Bedouin → Bedouin-Rural → Rural → Rural-Urban → Urban**

Thus, to trace the slow linguistic change among the three regional groups' dialectal varieties we refer to Destaing (1907) who classified them on the basis of their lifestyle in earlier times. According to him, sedentary and Bedouin people can be found in the same *douar* (i.e. village) and the same family can have both sedentary and Bedouin (nomadic) life. He gave the example of Khemis, Beni Achir, and Beni Zidaz whose inhabitants took their families and flocks outside the valley towards the pasturage plateaux whenever they stopped working in the fields. The act of leaving their houses in the valley and living under tents outside it made these populations sedentary and nomadic at the same time. Therefore, the lifestyle of Beni Snous tribes is both sedentary and nomadic, and within the same tribe there are sedentary and nomadic inhabitants. So, the sedentary inhabitants are not completely sedentary and the nomadic inhabitants are not also definitely nomadic. Based on Cadora's (ibid) ecological structure and Destaing's (ibid) classification, we will attempt to trace the movement and the linguistic change of each group from an ecological angle.

- 1- BB inhabitants were classified as sedentary people and the results have shown their preference for [g] and [-ah] use instead of their native [q] and [-u]. This linguistic behaviour is leading to the loss of sedentary features and adoption of Bedouin ones.
- 2- While Destaing (ibid) classified BA inhabitants as sedentary people, their dialectal variety is of mixed type, i.e. sedentary and Bedouin. The use of sedentary stops and suffix pronoun [-u] instead of Bedouin interdental and suffix pronoun [-ah] and conversely, the use of Bedouin [g] instead of sedentary [q] show clearly this mixing. The results have shown tendency to the adoption of [-ah] instead of native [-u]. Thus, the trend of change of this dialectal variety is towards more Bedouin forms and the loss of sedentary ones.
- 3- MZ inhabitants were classified as sedentary and Bedouin (nomadic) people. However, their actual speech (MZA) is of Bedouin features. The results have revealed their use of the stops instead of their native interdentals. The direction of change is towards sedentary (urban) speech.

### **5.5.2 Imperfect Accommodation: Hyperadaptation**

For those commuters and temporary residents in Tlemcen, the situation is quite different from those in the village. For BB in-migrant male speakers, on one hand, the adoption of the sound [ʔ] in their speech appears to be almost impossible as all the interviewed individuals did not utter this sound and said they would feel strongly embarrassed if they used such sound. On the other hand, [g] which was already attested in their speech does not cause any embarrassment. To illustrate this, the following passage is the response of one of those short-term residents in Tlemcen when we asked him why he used [g] when communicating with members of the speech community of Tlemcen:

[lli jəħraʒni f lhadʒra ntaʕʕħabi lʔa. jana nahdʒar bəl ga mʔa gaʕ lyaʕi ke se ʕwa jhadʒru lʔa wella lqa , wella lga wella ħətta lka. W deʒa tlemsenijji: n kutrathum majəstaʕmlu:ʕ lʔa bezza:f. qli:lʕ dak waħad waħad]

-‘All what annoys me in the speech of my friends is [ʔ]. I use [g] in my speech with [ʔ], [q], [g], and even [k] speakers. Most of Tlemcen male speakers do not use [ʔ]. Few of them use it.’

Abdel Jawad (1981) states that the adoption of the variant form [g] in Amman does not always indicate that the rural dialects are prestigious but it can also be attached to positive connotations which Amman speakers hold towards this variant such as “toughness, manhood and masculinity” (Abdel Jawad, *ibid*: 176). Therefore, it is clearly shown that accommodation to [g] is almost attached by speakers in BH with these positive connotations that Abdel Jawad stated, whereas non-accommodation to [ʔ] is due the negative connotations held by both its native speakers and non-native speakers. The following statement is of one of the speakers residing temporarily in Tlemcen:

- [hna fi Tlemcen, laʕrab jdaħku ʕlə kulʕi tqulu wella ddi:ru. jətmasħru ʕla: llabsa ntaʕək, lmaʕia ntaʕək, ttabsima wella ddaħka ntaʕək, lhadʒra ntaʕək... kullaʕ... kullaʕ.. kull ħaʒa. ʕinihum u wadnihum jskaniw kamel l kopərtəmo djalək. kaməl bna:t ʔalli jʕufu fina ħna lliʒaji :n mə ʒwajəħ hak w hak ʕʕufa də ttakabbur. ħubhum jsaqsiw: ntina bent men ʔila makuntʕ m familja ʕari:qa, wəlla maʕrufa fi Tlemcen, madaħla:ʕ lə sserkl dijəlum w ʕommrak matku:n waħda mənhum. ʔiwa lla jħelli:k ʕla ħsabək, nwelli nahdʒar bəl ‘ʔa’ dijəlum lijjeh hijja faʕ ħi:r menni baʕ ħaʕ ntabaʕ ha fi kulʕi ħətta fi hadʒrat ha]

-‘Here in Tlemcen, the Arabs make fun of everything you do or say. They mock: the way you dress, the way you walk, the way you smile or laugh, the way you speak... every... every everything. Their eyes and ears scan your behaviour. The majority of ‘ʔalli’ girls speakers looks down upon us (coming from neighbouring areas). Their

favourite question is: which family do you belong to? So, if you do not belong to a deep-rooted, well known, or wealthy family in Tlemcen, you are considered to be out of their circle of friendship and you will never be a member. Faced with such behaviour do you think I will utter their [ʔ] sound in my speech? Why? Is it because she is better than me I must follow her in everything she does even the way she speaks?’

Another striking case concerning the use of Tlemcen prestigious female [ʔ] comes from interviewed female speakers who are originally [q] and [g] native speakers from BH. Their attitudinal behaviour is rather different from the remaining interviewed female speakers because it is related to hyperadaptation. This phenomenon is a linguistic process which is the result of dialect contact and accommodation. It is a form of imperfect accommodation usually connected with speakers’ adoption of some features from another input variety in order to approximate the speech of its speakers, but they generally overdo it (Trudgill, 1992:37). Trudgill’s best example is that of the non-rhotic English accent speakers who imitate rhotic American accent speakers when pronouncing words such as calm /ka:m/ as [ka:rm] because they have an idea that American English has an ‘r’ in words like farm /fa:m/.

These female speakers stated that sometimes they feel at a loss as where to use [ʔ] in some particular words. Native [ʔ] speakers, they say, usually make fun of the inappropriate use of this variant. For example, one of these speakers remembered the first contacts with Tlemcenian girls at university when she uttered the word [ʔʔad] ‘he sit down’ and one of them commented on her speech and claimed that no pure Tlemcen speaker would ever produce [ʔʔad] as it is not typical of Tlemcen speech but rather the typical one would be [gʔad]. The following table shows the words which were associated with hyperadaptation.

**Table 5.1 Cases of hyperadaptation**

Word	English Gloss	TA realization	Hyperadaptation
/qabiɖa/	get	[ʔbat]-[qbat]	[ʔbaɖ]
/qum/	stand	[nu:ɖ]	[ʔu:m]
/ʔiqtaʔ/	cross	[gtaʔ]	[ʔtaʔ]
*	* <sup>82</sup>	[ʃrag]	[ʃraʔ]

The table clearly shows that not only [ʔ] was subject to this phenomenon, but other phonological units were involved. In the first example, final [t] was overdone and realised [ɖ], whereas in the second example, it was the variant [q] which was subject to hyperadaptation and hence realised as [ʔ] which is considered by Tlemcen native speakers to be completely incorrect. In the third example, it is [ʔ] which is overdone while the appropriate sound is [g]. Believing that such cases of hypercorrection might reveal their regional background in their first experience in Tlemcen, these female speakers stopped imitating native speakers of this city and avoided the use of the variant [ʔ] preferring to use, in case of [q] natives, the intermediate variant [g] or to stick to their original dialectal feature, and to retain, in case of [g] natives, their native form but not [q].

Accordingly, though the majority of speakers evaluate Tlemcen inhabitants positively, they hold negative attitudes towards [ʔ] as a variant form marking these people. As we have seen, the positive attitudinal claims found among them towards Tlemcen speakers do not necessarily lead to the adoption of Tlemcen [ʔ]. Driven by the fear of not conforming to the Tlemcenian variant and of being

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<sup>82</sup> The literal meaning of the verb [ʃrag] is the wrong passage of water when drinking.

mocked, these BH speakers who are in regular contact with natives of this urban area did not adopt this variant. The above two statements of the two male and female speakers validate the claims of Dendane when investigating the variant [ʔ] among male and female speakers of Tlemcen:

There is indeed much evidence that native speakers, particularly among younger males, tend to avoid the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for its tight association with femininity and thus its strong stigmatisation and negative attitudes towards its users.

Dendane (2013:1)

Stereotyping of [ʔ] is overwhelming not only among locals of Tlemcen, but also those who commute to this city: a fact that leads BH speakers to avoid using this variant even though they are (the majority of them) positively oriented towards Tlemcen speakers. However, these speakers have shown negative attitudes towards [g] speakers of Sebdou and positive ones towards [g] speakers of Oran. Regardless the negative attitudes held towards one of the groups of [g] users this variant is attested in their speech. These statements corroborate with Trudgill's (1986) claims which affirm that stereotyping of some linguistic features may hamper linguistic change as speakers may not accommodate to the stereotyped variants of the dialect they are exposed to in contact situations. So, the result that we might come up with is that motivations for the use of these variants are not strongly connected with attitudes towards the users, but rather attitudes towards the variants themselves and their social weight in a given speech community.

Therefore, the given discussion above permits us to conclude that non-accommodation to [ʔ] among male and female speakers is strongly connected with social psychological matters as both males and females relate it with the factor of stigmatisation. Other females, however, avowed that they did start to imitate native [ʔ] speakers in the beginning during their first year of residence in Tlemcen, but later on, and avoiding any situations of embarrassment, they abandoned it because

of [ʔ] native speakers mockery which is related linguistically to the phenomenon of hyperadaptation.

### **5.6 Geographical Diffusion or Levelling?**

In a more precise and accurate use of the term levelling in case accommodation occurs, Kerswill (2003) suggests the term regional dialect levelling or what Britain (2010) refers to as supralocalisation. It is the loss of localised features of both rural and urban varieties and the adoption of new features found over a wide geographical area (Kerswill *ibid*). When analysing the changes of this process, Kerswill (*ibid*) distinguishes between two mechanisms: geographical diffusion and levelling. We can say a geographical diffusion, if features spread from a major economic, populous, and cultural centre to other areas. The process of diffusion is gradual as the contiguous towns and cities acquire first the new feature then, it spreads to small rural areas through contact with speakers of these cities and towns, and hence the local feature is replaced by the new one.

The second mechanism is levelling that we have spoken about in chapter one. Levelling implies “the reduction or attrition of Marked variants” (Trudgill, 1986: 98) in other words, it is the reduction of unusual variants or variants associated with a minority group. It is mainly related to the social psychological process of accommodation, where short-term accommodation over a period of time turns into long-term accommodation. In this case, accommodation and non-accommodation are likely to be found. Milroy (2002, *qtd. in* Kerswill *ibid*) explains that non-accommodation can also affect the levelling outcome: because those features which were not adopted are said to be highly local and stigmatised, a geographical diffusion might be instead of levelling where new features are adopted from a wider geographical area.

If we apply this process to the current study, we can say that levelling as a mechanism resulting from long-term accommodation between BH speakers was verified, quantified, and analysed. Cases of accommodation of features were evident as well as cases of non-accommodation. So, on the basis of Kerswill’s (2003)

notions of levelling and geographical diffusion and also on Milroy's (2002 qtd. in Kerswill, *ibid*) claims that non-accommodation in a levelling process can lead instead to geographical diffusion, we inquire whether accommodation and non-accommodation that have been proved in this study are the results of levelling or geographical diffusion: are the adopted new features in the speech of in-migrant speakers really the result of mutual accommodation between these speakers? Or are they adopted from a wider geographical area? Did the in-migrant speakers, who had not shown accommodation to any of the variables of the host village speech, adopt features from a wider geographical space? Contact and accommodation clearly impact upon the degree to which dialect features diffuse socially and geographically and converge versus diverge (Britain 2009). Taking Britain's statement into consideration, we shall explain some issues about whether the accommodated features in a local context (i.e. in BH) are socially diffused, where Kerswill's (2003) term is levelling that results from social psychological accommodation, or are geographically diffused.

The most convincing argument for a non-dialect levelling in BH is that the adopted features in the speech of these in-migrant speakers are not the original features of the host village dialectal variety. More concrete evidence lies in a previous study that was carried out by the researcher herself (Kherbache, 2010) in the same area where the results indicated that BH native speech is undergoing change by using the variant form [g] instead of their original native [q]. The three in-migrant groups are basically negative-attitudes oriented towards the host village and its speakers as well as their speech. So following Milroy's (2002) statement we might say that these in-migrant speakers have not adopted the native features of the host village speech because they highly stigmatise it. This stigma associated with the host village speech has led these in-migrants to adopt other features from other areas. In this case and according to Milroy (*ibid*), we can speak about geographically diffused features from the neighbouring areas rather than levelling as a consequence of linguistic accommodation. Thus, if this denotes something, it

would denote that the use of [g] and other features involved in this study is the consequence of a geographical diffusion.

Linguistic accommodation is generally the natural outcome when dialects come in contact particularly if “attitudinal factors are favourable” (Trudgill, 1986: 39). Thus, taking the attitudinal factors into consideration, we find that speakers’ attitudes form a basic component in diffusing linguistic forms from wider economic urban centres to smaller rural areas like the valley of Beni Snous. Unfortunately, no dialectal studies were carried out in the surrounding urban areas to confirm diffusion and levelling. Therefore, we combine the speakers’ attitudes with their accommodating behaviour as follow to see the cases of levelling and geographical diffusion:

- [g] adopters have shown negative attitudes towards native speakers of this feature in BH who are BA and MZ groups but have shown positive attitudes towards native speakers of this feature who are the urbanites. Moreover, speakers of external contact and for purely social motives as well as social psychological explanations, claim to change the way they speak in order to gain social approval in their professional career and hide their rural origins.
- [-ah] adopters also have shown negative attitudes inside BH towards native speakers of this feature who are MZ group but positive attitudes towards urban speakers who are natives of this feature mainly people of Maghnia and Oran.
- [-i] adopters have negatively perceived natives of this feature who are mainly BA and MZ group living in BH. However, native speakers of this feature who are living in urban areas are highly valued.
- The interdental variables speakers have positively evaluated the speech of the host village.

Given these attitudinal orientations, we say that except for the case of interdental variants reduction, which appears to be the consequence of levelling, the other adopted features are the consequence of geographical diffusion brought from the neighbouring cities by mobile speakers into the local area of BH. Evidence for this is that the speakers have not adopted any of the host village linguistic features. It is then, the speakers of internal contact who are negatively oriented towards the

host village, its speakers, as well as their speech. On the other hand, the speakers of external contact are positively oriented towards the urban cities, urban speech, lifestyle, its inhabitants and their speech.

An additional argument to support that the levelling process is geographical diffusion and not levelling is that these positive attitudes held towards these forms and towards their native speakers from the neighbouring cities and towns, are mainly attitudes of those external contact speakers who commute from their home village to these urban cities, and of those who are in short term residence. Additionally, based on the speakers' responses to the stated questions (in the first questionnaire) and on parts two and three in the structured interview, most of the speakers (who are mainly of internal contact) claim that though some of their neighbours are the natives of the area, they do not interact with them. Their weak ties inside the village are reflected in their responses to the interview question: 'are you involved in any cultural and social clubs or community activities? Where and with whom?' Many of them, who are mainly women of all age groups and older men, state they have no social activities inside the village. Some of the young and middle-aged males are involved in some sport and cultural activities which gather individuals from other regions except the natives of the host village. For some of the speakers who commute to the neighbouring cities, state that they are members in cultural and sport associations outside the valley rather than inside it.

What is particular in the village is that there is a sense of group identity. For example, if an association is formed, all its members would be of the same regional group. Moreover, throughout the successive nominations for the inauguration of the mayor of the area, what has been noticed is that the crew of the municipal council is always formed of people from the same region. If it happens to go to the café, it is rarely when you meet individuals of different regions together. They avow that even if there is no conflicting interest with people of this area, there is no close relationship between them and every one, like they say, is minding his own business.

A close investigation of the few speakers of internal contact, who have adapted their speech, has permitted to reveal that they are strongly connected with their relatives living in urban cities. Most of these adopters are from the same family. Therefore, when asked whether they had relatives outside the valley and how much they saw each other, they claimed that they were in regular contact with them and whenever the opportunity permitted they would go to see them. Most of the time, the families who are tightly close to their relatives outside the area often send their children to spend time there in winter, spring, and summer holidays.

The above discussion reveals the speakers' group identity. Every member in the three in-migrant groups inside the valley feels a sense of belonging to his/her original group and shows distinctness from the majority group of the host area. This group identity is interpreted differently among adopters of external contact. As they are socially attracted by the urban lifestyle, group identity means a sense of belonging to a civilised and modern group that is found in urban cities.

The geographical space where the adopted features are used is wider than the original ones. Thus, in the neighbouring urban areas, the features [g], [-ah], [-i], and [t, d, d<sub>l</sub>] are widely distributed compared with [q], [-u], ø, [ə, ɔ̃, ɔ̃] which occupy a narrower geographical space. The feature of diphthongisation of gender marker is restricted in its use only in the area of BB. Thus, though the accommodated features are not new in the valley but are articulated by a number of regional groups living in BH, it is those external contact speakers who are mainly responsible for their geographical diffusion from urban centres to this rural area. Additionally, strong ties with their relatives living in urban cities prompt internal contact speakers to modify the way they speak. None the less, these explanations leave the doors open for further investigation of the process of levelling in the area where, according to the synchronic statistical data, some new features are taking place.

As mentioned above, the lack of dialectological studies in the vicinity of urban cities hampers this stage of analysis in this study. We have come up with just tentative explanations to say that geographical diffusion is taking place rather than

levelling. Kerswill (2003) states that the spread of the linguistic features within the geographical model is “wave-like, but modified by the likelihood that nearby towns and cities will adopt the feature before the more rural parts in between” (Kerswill, *ibid*: 1)

### **5.7 Torn between Urban and Rustic Life**

One of the main conclusions brought from this study is that the linguistic behaviour of BH speakers manifested in the move away from the local forms of their original speech has socioeconomic as well as social psychological interpretations. In a discussion of the historical process known as supraregionalisation by which varieties of a given language lose their local linguistic features and become less regionally bound, Hickey (2003) states:

For reasons best known to themselves, speakers often desire not to sound too local in their speech. Taken collectively, whole groups in society often want not to be too easily recognised as from a specific locality.

Hickey (2003: 351)

The above statement might be well applied to our study. Young speakers originally from rural regions in Beni Snous who have moved to urban areas appear to be moving away from the localised forms of their speech varieties towards more urbanised forms which, according to them, may help them appear as people living in big cities such as Oran and Tlemcen. Thus, as Hickey (*ibid*) says, for reasons best known to themselves, the linguistic behaviour of these rural speakers is closely attached with the urban lifestyle. Eckert (2000) states that adolescents are likely to treat language much as they do with their clothing, trying it on, deciding what matches their budding sense of identity and discarding what does not match. Wagner (2012) on her part, states that language is constantly changing like any aspect of community social behaviour as clothing, music, government policies. They are ready to grasp the opportunity to appear on the surface and behave in a socially and linguistically urban way. The way the younger generation look at their living situation make them feel distinctly uncomfortable and just like they choose clothes that match their mood they also select the way of speaking to match their need to appear more urban and more civilised.

For the middle and old categories, the situation is quite different. The basic social motive for their accommodating behaviour is basically constructed upon achieving their aims such as social and economic positions. Those who work outside or have business relationships reported that they started working too young and were relatively inexperienced, if not unqualified. For these reasons and in order to gain social approval of the new working environment, the move away from some forms of one's speech was necessary. To find a plausible explanation for the older speakers accommodating behaviour we follow Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 79) in their statement that this category is: "more influenced by mainstream societal values and, perhaps, by the need to impress, succeed and make social and economic progress." The young category, according to Chambers and Trudgill (*ibid*) receive that the main social pressure comes from their peer group. Just like the young category, these middle and old people feel a need to change even the place where they live if the opportunity would be at hand.

Opposite to men and MZ women, BB and BA women are strongly conservative and loyal to their native local varieties either in the valley or outside it. Instances of accommodation were totally absent in their conversations during the interviews. As mentioned in the previous chapter, their linguistic behaviour is reflected in their negative attitudes towards the speech of BH natives as well as that of the urban cities. These negative evaluations assert their disinterest in both speech and lifestyle of the host village and the urban cities.

The social psychological factors prompting such linguistic behaviour have been referred to several times throughout this chapter. To recall, the results have shown that young BB in-migrants tend to use the variant [g] and avoid their original [q]. This group of speakers considers [g] as a symbol of urban lifestyle since most of the urban speakers (Tlemcen, Sebdou, Maghnia, and Oran), which they have contact with, use it in their speech. However, [q] is apparently thought to be stigmatised because it reveals, as they believe, their rural origin. MZ in-migrants especially women do not like the way they speak and are, as Labov (1966)

states, self-hatred. Such feelings stemmed from strong stereotyping of the interdentals which they consider as harsh forms.

As reported in their speech during the interview when asked to speak about their daily life, some native [q] speakers who commute from the host village to Sebdou stated that a common view is held among Sebdou speakers whenever they hear someone uttering [q] in his speech: ‘you are Kabilyan’ [nta qbejli]. This word has a negative connotation among BB speakers as people in Sebdou strongly relate it with [q] pronunciation to mean that this minority [q] speakers found in the area are not urbanised and are originally cave-dwellers<sup>83</sup>. This relation is interpreted from the part of BH speakers as kind of humour in order to make fun of them in the environment of work or business. So, if they use [q] they may risk the scorn of their friends and colleagues at work and such mockery makes them abandon it in favour of [g].

The need to fulfil their social and economic benefits, these commuters and short term residents feel the necessity to accommodate their speech when interacting with people they are dealing with in daily contact. Particular to the young generation in this village, the linguistic behaviour that was reflected in accommodation to certain forms rather than others stems from the negative and positive attitudes interpreted in: stigma of a form and prestige of another form, a rural form and an urban form. As they change the way they speak, they are eager to change the way they live. Speakers’ responses to questions (5) and (10) in both questionnaires (1 and 2 respectively), show their strong interest and wish to leave their home village and settle permanently in urban cities.

The overall picture here is that preservers who are in daily contact with speakers of the host village tend to dissociate themselves and appear as a distinct

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<sup>83</sup> Destaing (1907) stated that BB inhabitants used to live in caves. Though they no more live there, these caves still exist in the present time and stand in the area as ancient monuments and as part of their history.

group from the majority group. At the same time, their eagerness to identify themselves as civilised and modern like urban people is reflected in their linguistic accommodation to features from outside the valley. Not very different, speakers who are in regular contact with urban speakers also reflect their strong feelings of belonging to urban lifestyle in their linguistic accommodation to some features from urban speech.

### **5.8 Type of Contact as a Variable in this Study**

Advancements in science and technology have characterised human society and facilitated humans' daily lives all over the world. These advancements, presented mainly by modern means of transport and communication, have diminished language homogeneity by reducing geographical barriers and linking every isolated area with the rest of the world. Accordingly, modern-day societies have yielded mobile members of great linguistic diversity because of their contact with people of different languages and different dialects as well.

As stated earlier in chapter two, Beni Snous has been a rural area that relied mostly on farming. People's livelihood in the past depended on raising all kinds of domestic animals and growing plants producing fruits, vegetables, and grains. Compared with present-day Beni Snous, and though it is still a rural area, it is economically dependent on the contiguous urban cities. Because the area is shifting from farming community to trading community, its people are characterised with a massive contact with the outside world. As the economy of the area has become a trade-oriented people, they practise all types of trade by bringing goods and provisions for their shops (health, food, and clothing shops etc.) from the adjacent cities and towns.

Unlike the neighbouring local villages situated in Beni Snous, BH has witnessed an infrastructural development since the beginning of the 1990's. It is considerably larger than any other neighbouring area in the valley. As already referred to in chapter two, it has witnessed a great population movement over the last few decades, attracting people from all adjacent areas for its flat and large

geographical surface. The lands of Khémis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir and Mazzer are slopes where villages are built on areas of land that are part of mountains and hills and do not support high population density. The growth of population due to births, marriages, and some other reasons in each of these villages caused many people to think of moving to BH, especially in a time when most of the landowners started to expose pieces of land for sale with relatively symbolic prices. The rush upon these lands doubled the price of the land in BH. Hence, for four decades, population movements in this area have continued massively. In addition to this, political factors such as instability during the black decade that Algeria witnessed forced the people of the insecure border areas to live and settle in this village as well.

Though the infrastructural development has taken place quite late, but is relatively rapid. The economic and social changes bear witness to such process. The influx of people from the neighbouring local areas has reached its peak since these developments. This has visibly affected the whole valley in general and the host area in particular. It has also influenced the life of every inhabitant. Different from former poverty, isolation, immobility, the normal run of nowadays life dictates instead new terms of making money, mobility, contact, and technology among others which have become among the social features that characterise this relatively small rural community (Kherbache, 2010).

Under the influence of increased mobility and urbanisation that has spread throughout the neighbouring urban cities of Tlemcen, Maghnia, Sebdou, and Oran these rural inhabitants of BH have become increasingly mobile. Such characteristic has created contact with people of different accents and dialects. Many factors have helped mobility and contact increase among these rural speakers. Most of external contact speakers involved in this study seeking work and doing business in urban cities report that adjusting one's speech is the essential thing to do in order to succeed. What these speakers state is, in fact, a reflection of the rapid social change that these urban areas are undergoing. This is also a reflection of the speakers' desire for a social change in their lives.

Though BH inhabitants constitute a minority outside, they form the basic source of change in the community where they live. The qualitative study has revealed that the degree of social contact of these speakers and the type of social network justifies their accommodation to some variables. Most of them spoke about their daily lives outside BH which is extremely stimulating: some of these individuals reported spending a great deal of free time with their friends: some of them stated they are engaged in community activities and sometimes are forced to stay where they work for more than a month before returning home to see their families. The wish of leaving their homes and settling permanently in their work and business environment is currently present in their agendas and whenever the opportunity is at hand, they would seize it without hesitation.

The situation can be seen from another angle and it is always in the speakers' views, feelings, and experiences outside their homes. Marginalisation that sometimes the majority of these rural speakers are faced with from the part of urban people, push them to strive to gain their social approval by showing more linguistic accommodation to their native urban speech and knit more social contacts with them. Contact in this study is, therefore, not only where the individual works or commutes for daily needs, but it is rather based on his strong social contacts and relationships attained through the construction of social networks in his/her environment.

An individual can be in daily contact outside his or her geographical space with individuals of different accents and different ways of speaking, but if his/her contact is limited only in the environment of the place of work or business and does not widen it, accommodation might fail to occur. This case of limited contact is revealed in external contact speakers as they are found not to show any evidence for accommodation and have stayed loyal to their original speech mainly among women. Cases of accommodation attested among internal contact speakers in BH were instances of features already available in the community and because attitudinal orientations of these speakers were basically negative attitude oriented towards the speech and the speakers of those accommodated features are therefore

adopted through geographical diffusion of these features via their strong ties with their relatives in urban cities and via external contact speakers. Thus, the type of contact suggested as a social variable in this study should be associated with certain criteria based on the speaker's strong social contacts and relationships attained through the construction of social networks in his/her environment. Contact in this sense is constructed upon: the looser a speaker's social network, the more his or her linguistic convergence (i.e. accommodation).

### **5.9 Shortcomings and New Insights**

In our daily life, we always hope everything goes according to plan, but things usually do not go as we plan and so is this study. Some shortcomings merged on the surface during its completion. It was not easy to remedy these shortcomings because of some difficulties. Time restrictions were the chief problem among others related to methodology. One of the main shortcomings is the disproportionate distribution of gender in the three regional groups. This was due to the stated criteria for selecting the informants. As a consequence, we have not come across old women over the age fifty having external contact, or working outside the valley in the three groups. Moreover, the group of BB as a sample does not include females of external contact in the three age categories. This stands as a major shortcoming against getting a full analysis and comparison of the data and a full understanding of gender behaviour in this study.

Though we included some questions in the interview in order to reveal the degree of speakers' contact in their social milieu we did not take social interaction, i.e. their social network as one of the main criteria upon which we could have properly based our selection of speakers for the contact variable. When setting out the social variables of this study, we included the length of residence for in-migrants in BH as a criterion to select speakers, without paying attention to the length of these speakers who reside temporarily or commute to the neighbouring towns and cities. But, by the end of the research, it has become obvious that the length of residence of EC contact speakers has an impact on their linguistic

behaviour, as some speakers who have recently moved to live in cities or started commuting (up to three years) did not accommodate.

As we moved further towards the completion of this study, we came across different issues that really deserved to be included. These issues are primarily the linguistic constraints on accommodation and/or non-accommodation of the interdental variables [θ], [ð], and [d̪] in the speech of MZ speakers and diphthongisation of gender marker among BB speakers. It was felt that these variants were not given due consideration. A thorough examination of the different environmental occurrences of each variant of these variables might yield further patterns of differentiation. Because the number of diphthong tokens was relatively small, we accepted both occurrences of [-ij] and [-ej] in the environment of plain and emphatic consonants respectively as one diphthong symbolising it as [-ij/-ej]. Accordingly, it would have yielded fruitful results if we had investigated these two diphthongs separately. Thus, MZ interdentals and BB gender marker should be taken into consideration for further research in the future.

The initial steps in data collection phase were to gather some information about the linguistic differences and similarities between the three groups involved in the investigation. Thus, among these three regional groups we found that BB speakers exhibit distinctive features in their speech that are not found elsewhere. For example, the singular form of some specific words, which are similar to Egyptian and Syrian Arabic, is constructed in BBA by adding the suffix [ʔa:ja] to the singular form of the word: /ħabba/ ‘grain’ [ħabba:ja]. Additionally, the following CA pronouns: first person singular /ʔana:/, third person masculine singular /huwa/, and third person feminine singular /hijja/ ‘I’, ‘he’, and ‘she’ respectively, are articulated: [ja:n] ‘I’, [hu] ‘he’ and [hi] ‘she’ when they occur in final position. Gender-mixed system in BH is another interesting subject where the second personal pronoun [nta] /ʔænta/ ‘you’ is used to address both genders. Thus, it is of fundamental concern to show the driving social and linguistic forces for such

diversity. On a semantic level, the word [qu: ʃ] ‘one’ has a specific meaning in BBA as it refers to [ħabba zitu:n] only ‘one olive fruit’. However, in the other local varieties in the valley like BHA, it has a specific meaning which is [ħazra ʃʕe:ra] ‘a small stone’. Thus, these features among many in other local varieties deserve to be investigated. The central problem resides in the lack of former linguistic studies on these dialectal varieties upon which we would be able to trace, for example, the trend of linguistic change and analyse dialect contact outcomes such as levelling. This problem has really prevented us from forming a clear picture of the major changes they have undergone and knowing when, how, and why these dialectal varieties are the way they are now.

As this study has negative sides, it has also positive ones. The investigation of the Arabic variables in relation to the selected social parameters of speakers to uncover contact-induced variation and change in BH has prevailed our eagerness to swim to the other opposite bank of the study and look at these variables from a vertical contact angle rather than from a horizontal contact angle, i.e. to switch from contact of non-standard varieties to contact of standard with non-standard. As the standard Arabic interdentalals (θ, ð, ð̣) are primarily standard linguistic features and their counterparts [t, d, ḍ] are non-standard linguistic features (Al-Wer, 2014), then it is worthwhile to look at their correlation with the variable of education and see whether our findings will confirm to the common pattern found in all Arabic studies of such type of contact which state that “the higher the educational level of speakers, the more innovative and the less conservative they are in their linguistic behaviour” (AL-Wer: *ibid*).

Gender has recently been a key variable in Arabic variationist sociolinguistics research along with other variables such as education, and age (Bassiouney, 2009). According to Al-Wer (2013), general findings emanated from research studies on variation in spoken Arabic and gender claim that “Arab women contradicted the pattern found elsewhere by not using standard prestigious features as frequently as Arab men” (Al-Wer, 2013: 402). Therefore, the lack of research on

gender and language use in general and gender and language use in a standard context, in particular in an Algerian context, is one of the main interesting topics that needs to be investigated. Motives behind considering such topic in future research does not come from nothing, but during data collection of this study, our overall impression about old women and the standard forms use seemed to be extremely unlikely to occur, but surprisingly this category of gender, as Al-Wer (ibid) avows, contradicts the claims of earlier studies.

### **5.10 Conclusion**

It has been clearly shown in this chapter that a strong correspondence exists between the linguistic behaviour of speakers and their attitudes towards the local dialectal varieties inside the valley and their speakers, the dialectal varieties of the neighbouring cities and their speakers. But, if attitudes can be shown to guide the linguistic behaviour of the speakers in this rural village, then it is not so easy to generalise this in real life (Auer and Hinskens 1996). Starting from inside the valley and particularly in the host village, we have found that for the most part, speakers of the three regional groups are aware of some phonological and morphological features of the different dialectal varieties existing in the host village. This awareness is interpreted into negative attitudes towards these speakers and their local varieties. These speakers are basically negative attitudes-oriented, which stem from the social prejudices of these regional groups, in addition to the weak ties, and most of the time non-existent. This attitudinal behaviour has started developing since their arrival to the area.

Outside the valley, positive attitudes towards urban speech was reflected in the accommodation of some features of this urban speech, such as [g], [-i] and [-ah]. This study has also revealed that individuals' attitudes do not ultimately determine the extent to which the speakers want to adapt to a particular variety. For example, Tlemcen typical feature [ʔ] was attached to strong overt stigma by native BH [q] and [g] speakers and also by its native Tlemcen speakers. As a result, it has been categorically rejected.

The chapter has shown that because some native variants are socially connoted as rural markers, BH speakers from the three regional groups quickly drop them. Explanations for this linguistic behaviour lies in the fact that in order not to sound too rural whenever they are outside the valley they avoid the use of [q] and in order not to sound feminine they avoid [ʔ] accommodation in their daily conversations (either at university or work) with Tlemcen speakers, preferring the intermediate form [g].

The suggestion given in the literature is that some features spread outwards from populous and economically important centres (Kerswill, 2003). In this study, we suggest that some features like [g] and [-ah] are slowly interfering into the rural area of BH because of their diffusion from the surrounding urban centres such as Tlemcen, Oran and Maghnia because these centres are becoming the favourite destination of most of these villagers for a number of reasons like work, voyage, and family visits.

## ***GENERAL CONCLUSION***

As we have reached the last station, the aim now is to draw the different strands of this study. The primary objective was to investigate language variation and change as viewed through dialect contact and accommodation lenses in an Algerian context, more particularly in the valley of Beni Snous which is situated in the north-west of Algeria. In this study, contact and accommodation investigations were taken in two contexts: a rural-rural contact context and a rural-urban contact context. A rural-rural contact context refers to those minority three rural groups of different regions in the valley who moved to live in another rural area called Beni Hammou for many social and political reasons. Thus, their linguistic behaviour was investigated in relation to their long-term contact with the native inhabitants of the host area. An urban-rural contact context denotes those speakers within the three in-migrant groups who are in regular contact with people of the neighbouring urban cities, as they commute or stay temporarily there for different reasons. The combination of attitudinal orientations along with the linguistic behaviour of the in-migrant speakers, form also a vital part of this study.

In his influential work, Trudgill (1986) assumes that when different varieties of the same language come into contact as a result of migration and mobility, some form of linguistic accommodation necessarily occurs. In an Arabic-speaking context, and specifically in an Algerian context, and on the basis of this assumption, we stated the problem of contact in BH village as a consequence of migration and mobility of these three in-migrant groups.

*Does rural-rural internal migration or rural-urban mobility of regionally different speakers necessarily lead to linguistic accommodation? Thence (if so), who accommodates to whom and under what conditions?*

It is essential in this study to trace intersecting patterns with linguistic accommodation such as the demographic parameters of speakers, as well as their attitudes towards the forms used and their speakers. Involving these factors might

be vital in explaining the linguistic behaviour of speakers. Therefore, the following questions are set out to either prove or disprove this process among in-migrant speakers in two different settings: rural in the host village and urban in the adjacent cities and towns.

1) If accommodation is attested, then what is its nature and which forms are adopted and which are not?

2) What social constraints can be placed as the major factors determining the linguistic behaviour of the minority in-migrant speakers?

3) Do attitudinal aspects that the in-migrant speakers hold towards each other as regionally different groups, their local varieties and some particular features, the dialectal varieties in the neighbouring towns and cities, the speakers of these dialectal varieties, affect their accommodating behaviour?

4) If the claim of accommodation is attested, what can it tell us about the possible mechanisms of linguistic change that have taken or are taking place in this rural area?

Bringing insights from a variety of theoretical and empirical works found in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language in order to find reliable answers to these questions, this study is based on a set of hypotheses. The central contact hypothesis we provide to the previously stated problem is as follows:

- The rural-rural internal migration within the valley from a rural area to another such as BH does not lead to accommodation between speakers of the three regional groups found in this village. It is rather their increased mobility outside BH which ultimately leads to accommodation. The in-migrant regional groups are expected to lose some of the linguistic features specific to their speech and adopt others from the neighbouring cities and towns.

As this study explains the patterns of linguistic variation and change in the speech of the three in-migrant speakers as a consequence of their long-term contact, it examines the following hypotheses:

1) Accommodation is expected to have taken place in the speech of the three regional groups living in BH because of some stigmatised features found in their native dialectal varieties. This accommodation process is manifested differently as their linguistic behaviour is on a continuum ranging from:

- An unexpected complete accommodation where none of the newly adopted features is completely adopted,
- An expected incomplete accommodation where some linguistic features are partly adopted,
- And an expected complete non-accommodation where some original features are still maintained.

We claim that the speakers' incomplete accommodation entails the process of levelling, by which the presence of some original forms are reduced, and simplification by which morphological forms are simplified.

2) Linguistic accommodation is the inevitable result of sustained contact between mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. The extent of this accommodation is likely to be determined by social factors. Speakers' linguistic behaviour corresponds with some social parameters like regional origin, age, gender and the type of contact between speakers in the valley and outside it.

3) Attitudes are important in understanding the speakers' linguistic behaviour. It is expected that if accommodation occurs, it will pertain to attitudinal orientations of speakers. The in-migrant speakers' linguistic behaviour, which is reflected in accommodation or non-accommodation, corresponds with their attitudinal orientations towards the input dialectal varieties inside BH and outside it, more particularly towards those accommodated features and also towards their speakers.

4) Two natural processes form the backbone of contemporary sociolinguistic theory: variation and change. As variation among BH speakers is zoomed in with accommodation lens, their accommodating behaviour will leave the doors open to linguistic change processes going in the direction of losing CA features in favour of Bedouin and rural features.

Therefore, the present study has displayed an outline of five chapters in which the first started with the literature related to the field of contact and accommodation, Arabic and its dialects, and a brief sketch of the linguistic profile of Algeria. The second chapter gave a brief socio-historical and ethnic background of the whole valley of Beni Snous and stated the main materials and methods used to elicit the data. The third and fourth chapters were practical in nature as they investigated the linguistic and attitudinal behavior of speakers respectively. Chapter Five discussed the findings of this study and stated its main shortcomings.

The results of this study indicate that the linguistic behaviour of the immigrant speakers at a local level or regional level is determined by a number of social and social-psychological factors. As far the social factors are concerned, the study has shown a significant correlation between the use of the different phonological and morphological variables with some social factors. Regional origin, gender and type of contact appear to be significant in the accommodating behaviour of the speakers. It has been stated in the literature that when a group of speakers settle in a new area they are likely to adopt linguistic features of that area, i.e. the minority immigrant group accommodate their speech to that of the majority group. The linguistic behaviour of the three regional groups of internal contact speakers contradicts with the above statement, as no one of the three groups showed accommodation to the host village variants. However, the statement is valid only with MZ group who favoured the use of dental stops rather than their native interdental.

Though age is not a significant factor that correlates with the speakers' linguistic behaviour, the results have revealed out that the middle-aged category (BB and BA mainly) is ahead of the accommodation process in almost all the

adopted features among the three groups. Though with differing rates, this pattern of accommodation among speakers of this category is similar to that of the younger age category that came in second position. The older category (in all groups) with the lowest rates, swing between accommodation and non-accommodation. Previous studies, which claim the tendency of the middle-aged group to a more static speech compared with other age groups, is always treated as being outside the circle of the developmental perspective found in the speech of children and adolescents. The middle-aged speakers in this study are not static in their linguistic behaviour and thus, Just like their age is constantly changing so is their linguistic behaviour. The younger age category is also found with significant rates in accommodation mainly to the suffix pronoun [-u], gender marker [-i], [g], and to a lesser extent to the stop variants. Among all the variant forms, the older category has shown adoption of [g] and gender marker [-ah].

Gender was also significant in this study. Women were significant much more in non-accommodation than accommodation. Compared to men, women of all age categories, originally from BB and BA, have shown very conservative linguistic behaviour in the village and outside it. Such behaviour in non-accommodation and hence maintenance, reflects their disinterest in the urban lifestyle in the adjacent towns and cities. Conversely, this very behaviour reflects their rural-oriented lifestyle as well as the pro-tribalism character that is still deeply rooted in the area. However, young and middle-aged women originally from MZ have shown a differing behaviour as accommodation was attested in the adoption of the three variants of the interdental variables among internal and external contact female speakers. This divergent linguistic behaviour of women reflected in both adoption and maintenance of original speech can be partly attributed to the innate conservatism in the valley with women having less exposure to the outside world; a fact that has led some of them to maintain their original linguistic features. Accommodation behaviour can be partly attributed to women in present day living. They have demonstrated an openness to change in the way of living and become more exposed to the outside world. The group of MZ female in-migrants (mainly

middle-aged and young), who are the category that adopted new features, have experienced such openness as they left the tradition of farming, raising cattle, and crafting and moved to another area of living where opportunities of studying and working are available.

From this study, we have observed that type of contact as a social variable affects the linguistic behaviour of the three groups and plays a significant role in the process of accommodation. Speakers of the three in-migrant groups who have shown tendency to accommodate their speech were of both types of contact. In one of his studies, Auer (2007) argues that there are cases where individuals who have spent a long time in a new dialect area did not show any significant linguistic accommodation. As for our study, linguistic accommodation among the in-migrant speakers settling in the new area of BH is not determined by the place where speakers live. It is also not determined by close internal contact and interaction of the in-migrant speakers with the members of the host village as they did not show any accommodation in their speech to the features of BHA, but to other features that are not found in this local variety. Except for some young speakers who did adopt these new features, most of internal contact speakers have shown maintenance of their native features in social interactions inside the host village. Contact and strong ties with their families and relatives outside the valley have driven these young speakers to modify some features of their speech and adopt feature from outside. More concrete evidence lies in the fact that these adopters are most of the time from the same family. Thus, we assume that instead of dialect levelling a geographical diffusion of the newly adopted features from urban cities might be possible.

The argument for a non-dialect levelling in BH is that the adopted features in the speech of these in-migrant speakers are not the original features of the host village dialectal variety. More concrete evidence lies in a previous study that was carried out by the researcher herself (Kherbache, 2010) in the same area where the results indicated that BH native speech is undergoing change by using the variant form [g] instead of their original native [q]. Thus, if this denotes something, it

would denote that the use of [g] and other features involved in this study is the consequence of a geographical diffusion.

This study has shown that linguistic accommodation of external contact speakers outside the valley with speakers of urban areas was attested in their speech. Though the speakers have shown readiness to the adoption of some linguistic features not found in their original speech, this linguistic behaviour is strongly attached to the lifestyle of urban people who are in contact with. They are seen to be more affected socially by showing a high degree of integration in the social milieu of the urban cities. Thus, unlike internal contact, external contact is of decisive influence and makes linguistic accommodation more likely to occur among speakers who are in regular contact with speakers of the urban areas than those having internal contact with members of the host village.

The speakers' linguistic behaviour is not uniform, but exists on a continuum ranging from non-complete accommodation where none of the speakers has adopted totally the new features and eradicated completely his original ones. Incomplete accommodation is also an aspect of accommodation process where some linguistic features are partly adopted. Non-accommodation is also attested as some original features are still maintained by most of the internal contact speakers. Accordingly, we claim that the speakers' incomplete accommodation entails the process of mixing by which both variants of the same variable are used by speakers, levelling, by which the presence of some original forms are reduced, and simplification by which morphological forms are simplified. These three processes are the ultimate consequences of dialect contact and accommodation in this area. Levelling and mixing involve the features [q], the suffix pronoun [-u], and the interdental [θ], [θ̥], [ð̥]. Simplification entails the phenomenon of diphthongising standard gender marker (i:na) by giving the form [-ij] in the environment of plain consonants and [-ej] in the environment of emphatic consonants. The results of the analysis show that this form is reduced by its native speakers and hence simplified to the form [-i].

One of the most important consequences of linguistic accommodation in relation to change in the village of BH is that the attested process of levelling is leading to change in both directions, i.e. from sedentary to Bedouin and from Bedouin to sedentary. The best examples are the standard forms [q] and the suffix pronoun [-u] which are undergoing change towards the adoption of Bedouin [g] and [-ah]. Change on the opposite bank, i.e. from Bedouin speech to urban speech is the standard interdentalals that are being levelled out and replaced by their dental counterparts. Therefore, the attested accommodation among speakers has and is contributing to change in progress of certain linguistic features. This process implies a gradual increase or decrease in the frequency of the use of a linguistic feature which can be explained by researchers as a change in progress.

The social-psychological factors are presented in this study through eliciting internal and external contact speakers' beliefs and opinions about the area and its inhabitants they are in contact with and the way they speak. For internal contact speakers, attitudes are revealed to be related to strong stereotyping and negative attitudes may have played a fundamental role in the rejection of each other's linguistic forms. Attitudinal factors are also summarised mainly in the speakers' awareness of some phonological and morphological features. Such awareness has led to the phenomenon of salience where the forms [q], [-ij/-ej], and the interdentalals are highly salient in the speech of their natives. Thus, they feel embarrassed about them and thus, avoid them in their speech. However, for external contact speakers this awareness of dialectal differences is interpreted into positive attitudes towards urban speech.

Salient linguistic features of urban speech like [g], [-ah] and [-i] are favoured by these speakers who, like internal contact speakers, feel embarrassed about some stigmatised features of their native speech and stated that for the sake of avoiding stereotypes and prejudices associated with their regional varieties they are in many situations obliged to modify the way they speak by dropping those stigmatised features of their local varieties. Because they exhibit distinctive speech

characteristics they sound different when they speak and this reflects always their social and regional backgrounds. MZ in-migrants especially women do not like the way they speak and are, as Labov (1966) states, self-hatred. However, stigmatisation appears in this study not only in avoiding features of the speakers' native dialectal varieties but also features of the dialectal varieties they are in contact with outside their home village. The best example is the urban Tlemcen feature [ʔ] which is totally rejected by the in-migrant speakers who commute to this city.

The overall picture of a possible correspondence of attitude responses with the linguistic behaviour of the two existing opponents in each regional group, i.e. adopters and preservers, appears to operate in general in the following way: speakers of internal contact (either preservers or adopters), except for MZ adopters who have shown positive attitudes, are negatively oriented towards the host village, its natives as well as their dialectal variety. External contact speakers who have shown accommodation to the speech of the urban cities mirror their linguistic behaviour in their attitudinal orientations as they are in general positively oriented. Thus, their accommodating behaviour corresponds with their responses to the administered questionnaire. The investigation of speakers' linguistic behaviour, as well as their attitudinal orientations, has revealed the long-standing stereotypes between the inhabitants of the tribal villages. The speakers' attitudes are, in fact, deeply rooted in their history, their past lifestyle, and most importantly the way they perceive each other as members of the same community. The inhabitants of the valley are, originally, Berber tribes of Morocco united in a series of groups from ancient times and tended to remain small and scattered. Since then, these small tribes have never amalgamated or formed a single entity. This reveals speakers' in-group identification and distinctness from the majority group they are living with. The negative attitudes also stem from the social prejudices of these regional groups, in addition to the weak ties, if non-existent, between them. This attitudinal behaviour started developing since their arrival to the area.

As this study is brought to an end, it is necessary to conclude that long-term contact as a consequence of the internal migration wave that swept BS rural areas into another rural area has not yielded linguistic accommodation in the speech of the in-migrant groups to the speech of the host area. In fact, these rural speakers have never amalgamated or formed a single entity, because of their weak ties and long standing stereotypes and prejudices. However, it is rather their increased mobility outside the valley towards urban cities that governs the linguistic behaviour and makes accommodation likely to occur. The speakers associate their native speech with stigma, rurality, and poverty, while they associate urban speech with urbanisation, modernity, and richness.

Relying on specific linguistic variables that characterise the speech of the three regional groups involved in this study, we have addressed long-term contact and its aftermath. Nevertheless, there are other linguistic features which deserve investigation, mainly some features which are undergoing rapid change. Among these features we state BBA suffix [ʔa:ja], which might be derived from Egyptian and Syrian Arabic, added to the singular form of some specific words. Other forms are also significant and unique in BBA. These are the realisations of CA pronouns: first person singular /ʔana:/, third person masculine singular /huwa/, and third person feminine singular /hijja/ ‘I’, ‘he’, and ‘she’ respectively, are articulated: [ja:n] ‘I’, [hu] ‘he’ and [hi:] ‘she’ when they occur in final position. Gender-mixed system in BH is another interesting subject where the second personal pronoun [nta] /ʔænta/ ‘you’ is used to address both genders. Thus, it is of fundamental concern to show the driving linguistic, social, and psychological forces for such diversity. Thus, these features among many in other local varieties in the valley deserve investigation and hence a pertinent question worth asking here: what are the linguistic, social, and psychological constraints that might have contributed to the attrition of some original linguistic features in the speech of their native speakers?

Gender has recently been a key variable in Arabic variationist sociolinguistics research along with other variables such as education, and age (Bassiouney, 2009). According to Al-Wer (2013), general findings emanated from research studies on variation in spoken Arabic and gender claim that “Arab women contradicted the pattern found elsewhere by not using standard prestigious features as frequently as Arab men” (Al-Wer, 2013: 402). Therefore, the lack of research on gender and language use in general and gender and language use in a standard context, in particular in an Algerian context, is one of the main interesting topics that needs to be investigated. Motives behind considering such topic in future research does not come from nothing, but during data collection of this study, our overall impression about old women and the standard forms use seemed to be extremely unlikely to occur, but surprisingly this category of gender, as Al-Wer (ibid) avows, contradicts the claims of earlier studies. Thus, does women’s pattern of linguistic behaviour confirm to the common pattern found in all Arabic and European studies?

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## APPENDIX A

## Arabic Version of the Interview Questionnaire

## أسئلة المقابلة

الجزء الأول

- 1- ما هو اسمك الأول؟
- 2- متى ولدت (السنة)؟
- 3- أين ولدت (المكان)؟
- 4- من أي منطقة ينحدر والداك في الأصل؟
- 5- متى جئت/جاء والديك للعيش بالمنطقة؟
- 6- ماذا تعمل؟
- 7- أين تعمل أو تدرس؟
- 8- إذا كنت تعمل / تدرس خارج الوادي، هل تنتقل يوميا من منزلك إلى مكان العمل / الدراسة أم تبقى هناك؟
- في حال لا تنتقل يوميا كم من الوقت تمضيته هناك قبل أن تعود مرة أخرى إلى قريتك؟
- 9- هل المنزل الذي تعيشون فيه هو ملكيتكم الخاصة؟
- 10- أي جزء في بني حمو تعيش فيه؟
- 11- لماذا انتقلت للعيش في بني حمو؟

الجزء الثاني:

- 1- من أين هم جيرانك في الأصل؟
- 2- هل تختلط معهم اجتماعيا؟
- 3- إذا كنت تعمل / تدرس في بني حمو، هل لديك زملاء أصلا من أهالي بني حمو؟
- 4- هل لديك أقارب في بني حمو؟
- 5- كم من مرة تقوم بزيارتهم؟
- 6- إذا كنت تعمل خارج الوادي، هل لديك زملاء في أماكن العمل / الدراسة؟
- 7- هل لديك أقارب خارج الوادي؟ -أين بالضبط؟
- 8- كم من مرة تقوم بزيارتهم؟
- 9- هل لديك أصدقاء خارج الوادي؟ -أين بالضبط؟
- 10- كم من مرة تقوم بزيارتهم؟

- 11- هل تشارك في أي نواد ثقافية واجتماعية أو أنشطة اجتماعية؟ أين ومع من؟  
 12- ما هي مزايا و عيوب العيش في المناطق الريفية والمناطق الحضرية؟

### الجزء الثالث

- 1- ما رأيك في بني حمو كمكان للعيش؟  
 2- هل تؤيد شخص (صديق أو قريب، احد المعارف) في فكرة الانتقال للعيش في بني حمو؟  
 3- كيف تقضي وقت فراغك؟  
 4- حيث يمكنك التذكر، هل تغيرت بني حمو كثيرا للأفضل أو الأسوأ؟

### الجزء الرابع

- 1- كيف تبدي الاحترام لمن هو أكبر منك سنا؟  
 2- هل تعتقد ان النساء تعاملن بنفس الطريقة التي يعامل بها الرجال؟  
 3- ما هو رأيك بزواج الاقارب وغير الاقارب في الوادي؟

### الجزء الخامس

- 1- ماذا يلد الدجاج؟  
 2- ما لونه؟  
 3- في أي شهر يصوم المسلمون؟  
 4- ماذا يفعل المسلمون في عيد الاضحى؟  
 5- لماذا لا يمكننا رؤية الأشياء في الليل؟  
 6- ما هو المعدن المفضل عند النساء؟  
 7- في المثل الشعبي ببني سنوس: إذا خالفنا اليمين علينا أن نصوم.....  
 8- في المثل الشعبي ببني سنوس: إذا ذكرت المدن.....  
 9- هل من الممكن أن تذكر أيام الأسبوع؟  
 10- هل من الممكن أن تعد من 1 إلى 10؟  
 11- ما هي الصلوات الخمس؟  
 12- ما هو الحيوان الذي يفترس الغنم؟  
 13- في فصل الشتاء عادة تسقط الأمطار و كذلك.....  
 14- إذا وضعنا الزبدة فوق النار فسوف.....  
 15- ماذا يحدث إذا لم نسق الورود؟.....

**الجزء السادس**

**1-ماذا كنت تفعل لو :**

- رأيت محفظة تسقط من جيب رجل.
- رأيت إحدى العجلات الأربعة لسيارة جارك المتوقفة مخرقة.
- جارك يحدث فوضى.
- ترك جارك مفتاحه في قفل الباب الأمامي.

**الجزء السابع**

**1-كيف تخاطب أمك/اختك/زوجتك/ابنتك عندما تسألها كي:**

- تعطيك كوبا من الماء
- تحضر لك الطعام
- تسرع
- تحكي لك حكاية
- تخرج
- تنهض
- تعطيك ببطانية
- تراجع دروسها
- ترى من يدق الباب
- تذهب للنوم

## **APPENDIX B**

### ***Interview Questions***

#### **Part One**

- 1-What is your first name?
- 2-When were you born (year)?
- 3-Where were you born (place)?
- 4-Where are your parents originally from?
- 5- When did you/your parents come to Beni Hammou?
- 6-What do you do?
- 7-Where do you work/study?
- 8- If you work/study outside the valley: do you commute from your home to the place of work/study every day or stay there?  
-In case you do not commute, how much time do you spend there before returning to your village?
- 9- Is the house where you live your property?
- 10- Which part of Beni Hammou do you live in?
- 11-Why did you move to live in Beni Hammou?

#### **Part Two:**

- 1-Where are your neighbours originally from?
- 2-Do you socialise with them?
- 3-If you work/study in Beni Hammou, do you have workmates/schoolmates originally Beni Hammou natives?
- 4-Do you have relatives in Beni Hammou?
- 5-How often do you visit them?
- 6-If you work outside the valley, do you have colleagues at work/study places?
- 7-Do you have relatives outside the valley? -Where exactly?
- 8-How often do you visit them?
- 9-Do you have friends outside the valley?  
-Where exactly?
- 10-How often do you see them?

11-Are you involved in any cultural and social clubs or community activities?  
Where and with whom?

12-what are the advantages and inconveniences of living in rural and urban areas?

**Part Three**

1-What do you think of Beni Hammou as a place to live?

2-Do you support someone (friend, relative, acquaintance) in his idea of moving to live in Beni Hammou?

3-How do you spend your free time?

4-Since you can remember: has Beni Hammou changed very much for the better or worse?

**Part Four**

1-How do you show respect to someone older than you?

2-Do you think women are treated the same way as men?

3-What do you think of exogamous and endogamous marriage in the valley?

**Part Five**

1-What do chickens lay?

2-What is its colour?

3- In which month do Muslims fast?

4-What do Muslims do in the great feast?

5-Why can't we see things in the night?

6-What is the preferred metal for women?

7-In the popular BS saying: if we break our oath we would fast.....

8-In the popular BS saying: when cities are mentioned.....

9-Would you please list the days of the week?

10-Would you please count from 1 to 10?

11-What are the five prayers?

12-What is the animal that preys on sheep?

13-In winter, usually rain falls as well as .....

14-if we put butter on the heat it .....

15-What happens if we do not water plants?.....

**Part six**

1-What would you do if:

- You see a wallet falling out of a man's pocket.
- You see one of the four tyres of your neighbour's parked car has lost pressure.
- Your neighbour causes disturbance.
- your neighbour left his key in the front door lock.

**Part Seven**

1-How do you address your mother/sister/wife/daughter when asking her to?

- give you a glass of water.
- prepare you lunch.
- hurry.
- tell you a story.
- go out.
- stand up.
- cover you with a blanket.
- revise her lessons.
- see who is knocking at the door.
- go to sleep.

## APPENDIX C

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والصلاة والسلام على رسوله الكريم

الاستبيان الاول: المواقف الذاتية

استبيان موجه للمجموعات المهاجرة ذات اتصال داخلي

نرجو منكم التعاون معنا وذلك من خلال الاجابة على الاسئلة الاتية التي اعدت للقيام بدراسة ميدانية حول منطوق اهالي قرى بني سنوس النازحين الى قرية بني حمو. الرجاء وضع علامة في الخانة المناسبة.

الاسم	السن	الجنس	المهنة	المنطقة التي تنحدر منها

1- هل أنت راض عن واقع المعيشة بمنطقة بني حمو؟

لست راض اطلاقا  راض قليلا  جد راض

هلا ذكرت لماذا؟

.....  
.....

2- هل تشعر بالفخر كونك ولدت /نشأت /ترعرعت /عشت في بني حمو؟

نعم  لا

3- كيف تسمي المنطقة التي تعيش فيها؟

بني حمو  الفحص  كلاهما

4- هل أنت مع أو ضد تطوير البنية التحتية الجارية في بني حمو؟

أؤيدها  لا أؤيدها

5- إذا كان لديك خيار العيش في منطقة أخرى، ماذا كنت تختار؟

العودة الى قريتي الاصلية  في قرية اخرى داخل الوادي  في مكان اخر خارج

الوادي  أبقى حيث انا الان  غير محدد

إذا كان خيارك الثالث هلا حددت المنطقة؟

.....  
.....

6- هل تجد صعوبة في الاندماج مع المجموعات التالية؟

- السكان الأصليين لبني حمو  مجموعة بني بحدل  مجموعة بني عشير   
مجموعة مازر

7- هل تسمي الناي ببني حمو نسبة الى مناطقهم الاصلية؟

- دائما  غالبا  أحيانا  نادرا  أبدا

8- هل طريقة كلامك مشابهة أو مختلفة عن طريقة كلام سكان بني حمو المحليين؟

- نعم متشابهة  لا مختلفة  غير محدد

-إذا كانت مختلفة أيمكنك إعطاء أمثلة؟

9- قيم إلى أي مدى تميل إلى طريقة كلام كل من:

-أهل بني حمو

- تعجبني  لا تعجبني  غير محدد

-أهل بني بحدل

- تعجبني  لا تعجبني  غير محدد

-أهل بني عشير

- تعجبني  لا تعجبني  غير محدد

-أهل مازر

- تعجبني  لا تعجبني  غير محدد

-هلا بررت اختيارك؟

10- هل تعتقد أن طريقة كلامك تغيرت منذ مجيئك للعيش هنا في هذه القرية؟

- على الاطلاق  قليلا جدا  قليلا  الى حد كبير

11- هل سبق لك ان احسست بان سكان بني حمو المحليين يسخرون من طريقة كلامك؟

- نعم  لا  غير محدد

12- هل تشعر بالفخر من الطريقة التي تتكلم بها؟

- نعم  لا

## APPENDIX D

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والصلاة والسلام على رسوله الكريم

الاستبيان الثاني: المواقف الذاتية

استبيان موجه للمجموعات المهاجرة ذات اتصال خارجي

الاسم	السن	الجنس	المهنة	المنطقة التي تتحدر منها

نرجو منكم التعاون معنا وذلك من خلال الاجابة على الاسئلة الاتية التي اعدت للقيام بدراسة ميدانية حول منطوق اهالي قرى بني سنوس النازحين الى قرية بني حمو. الرجاء وضع علامة في الخانة المناسبة.

1- كيف تشعر حيال لهجتك المحلية عند التحدث إلى الناس داخل قريرتك المحلية؟

فخور  محرج

2- كيف تشعر حيال لهجتك المحلية عند التحدث إلى الناس في المدن الحضرية؟

فخور  محرج

3- اين تغير طريقة كلامك؟

داخل قريرتي  خارجها  كلا الاثنين  ولا مكان

4- هل طريقة كلامك مشابهة أو مختلفة عن طريقة كلام اهالي المدن؟

تشابه كبير  تشابه طفيف  اختلاف طفيف  اختلاف كبير

5- إذا كانت مختلفة يمكنك اعطاء امثلة؟

.....

.....

6- هل تعتقد أنه من أجل الاندماج مع الناس في المدن والبلدات الحضرية يجب على الفرد ان يغير

الطريقة التي يتحدث؟

مهم  قليل الاهمية  غير مهم

7- هل تعتقد أن كلامك قد تغير منذ بدأت العمل أو الدراسة خارج قريرتك؟

على الاطلاق  قليلا جدا  قليلا  الى حد كبير

8- هل سبق لك ان احسست بان سكان المدن يسخرون من طريقة كلامك؟

نعم  لا

9- هل تشعر بالراحة في المكان حيث يوجد عملك / دراستك؟

نعم  لا

10- إذا اتتك على فرصة للعيش بشكل دائم حيث يوجد عملك / دراستك، هل تستغلها؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان اختيارك هو 'لا'، أين تود الذهاب؟

11- هل تجد صعوبة في الاندماج مع الناس في المدن الحضرية؟

دائماً  غالباً  أحياناً  نادراً  أبداً

12- هل تحب طريقة كلام أهل المدن؟

نعم  لا

شكراً

**APPENDIX E**

**Self-reported Questionnaire: Subjective Attitudes**

**Questionnaire One: designed to internal contact in-migrant groups**

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Place of occupation	Original village

**1-**Are you satisfied with the fact of living in BH?

Not at all satisfied       slightly satisfied       very much satisfied

-Can you say why?

.....  
 .....

**2-**Do you ever feel proud at being born/having grown up/living in Beni Hammou?

Yes       no

**3-**How do you call the area where you live?

Beni Hammou       El Fahs       both

**4-**Are you for or against the ongoing infrastructural development in Beni Hammou?

favour       disfavour

**5-**If you have the choice to live in another area, what would you choose?

back to my regional area  in another area inside the valley  outside the valley

stay where I am now  undecided

-If your choice is the third, can you mention the area exactly?

.....

**6-**Do you find difficulties to integrate with the following groups?

-BH native inhabitants

Always     often     sometimes     rarely     never

-BB group

Always     often     sometimes     rarely     never

-BA group

Always     often     sometimes     rarely     never

-MZgroup

Always  often  sometimes  rarely  never

7- Do you call people in Beni Hammou by their specific area of origin?

Always  often  sometimes  rarely  never

8- Is the way you speak similar or different from the way BH natives speak?

Yes, similar  no, different  undecided

-If it is different; can you give examples?

.....  
 .....

9-Rate how much the way the following people speak is to your liking.

-BH natives

I like it  I don't like it  undecided

-BB group

I like it  I don't like it  undecided

-BA group

I like it  I don't like it  undecided

-MZ group

I like it  I don't like it  undecided

-Would you argue for your choice?

.....  
 .....

10-Do you think your speech has changed since you have come to live in this village?

not at all  very little  somewhat  to a great extent

11- Have you ever felt that BH natives mock you when speaking?

yes  no  undecided

12- Do you feel proud of the way you speak?

yes  no

**APPENDIX F**

**Self-reported Questionnaire: Subjective Attitudes**

**Questionnaire Two: designed to external contact in-migrant groups**

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Place of occupation	Original village

**1-**How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people inside your home village?

proud  embarrassed

**2-** How do you feel about your local variety when you speak to people in urban cities?

proud  embarrassed

**3-**Where do you change the way you speak?

Inside my home village  outside it  both  none

**4-**Is the way you speak similar or different from the way people speak in urban cities?

Very similar  slightly similar  slightly different  very different

**5-**If it is different, can you give examples?

.....  
 .....

**6-**Do you think that in order to integrate with people in the urban cities and towns one has to change the way he speaks?

Important  of little importance  not important

**7-**Do you think that your speech has changed since you started working or studying outside your village?

Not at all  very little  somewhat  to a great extent

**8-** Have you ever felt that people in urban cities mock you when you speak?

Yes

No

**9-**Do you feel at ease in the locality where you work/study?

Yes

No

**10-**if you get the opportunity to live permanently where you work/study, would you seize it?

Yes

No

-If your choice is 'no'; where would you go?

.....  
.....

**11-** Do you find difficulties to integrate with people in urban cities?

Always

often

sometimes

rarely

never

**12-**Do you like the way people speak in urban cities?

Yes

No

APPENDIX G

Pictures

الصور

استخلاص المتغيرات الفونولوجية





**APPENDIX H**

The former tribes of Beni Snous (Destaing, 1907: xx)

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

***APPENDIX I***

Number of tents and houses in the three tribes of Beni Snous

(Source: Destaing, 1907: xx)

Tribe	Number of Tents	Number of Houses
Azails	no tents	270 houses
Khemis	75 tents	342 houses
El Kef	152 tents	94 houses

**APPENDIX J**

Sedentary and Bedouin lifestyle of Beni Snous tribes: Destaing (1907: XXII)

<b>Tribes</b>	<b>Douars</b>	<b>Common Language</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
<b>Khemis</b>	-Ouled Farès	Arabe	123	171	167	128	589	sedentary
	-Ouled Mezian	Arabe	130	138	142	121	531	sedentary
	-Beni Achir	Berber	164	156	114	80	514	sedentary
	-Ouled Moussa	Arabe	84	98	77	83	342	sedentary
	-Ouled Arbi	Berber	50	46	33	28	157	sedentary
	-Beni Hammou	Arabe	142	144	174	114	574	sedentary
	-Mazzer	Berber	65	62	60	56	243	Sedentary and nomadic
	-Ouled Abdelaziz	Berber	37	42	44	32	155	nomadic
	-Ouled Amara	Arabe	33	33	31	31	128	nomadic
	Totals			828	890	842	673	
<b>Azails</b>	-Tafessera		90	109	123	113	435	sedentary
	-Tlata		112	127	141	121	501	sedentary
	-Zahra		63	79	72	63	277	sedentary
	-Beni Bahdel		123	163	190	158	634	sedentary
	Totals			388	478	526	455	

## المخلص

تتناول هذه الدراسة الاحتكاك اللهجي و التعديل اللغوي في منطوق سكان القرى القبائلية لوادي بني سنوس (الواقعة على بعد 45 كلم جنوب غرب ولاية تلمسان) و بالأخص منطوق ثلاث مجموعات قبائلية بسبب احتكاكهم الدائم نتيجة للهجرة الداخلية إلى قرية بني حمو وبما أن الاختلاف والتغير اللغوي يأخذ من منظور التعديل اللغوي فإن الغرض الرئيسي هو الكشف عن الخصائص اللغوية المكتسبة في منطوق السكان النازحين والتي اعتمدها من اللهجات المحلية الأخرى. ومن هذا المنطلق، فإن الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو تسليط الضوء على البعض من جوانب التغير السوسيو لغوي، خاصة الفونولوجي والمورفولوجي منه في منطوق هؤلاء القرويين النازحين إلى قرية بني حمو وذلك من خلال إبراز وتحليل عواقب الاحتكاك اللهجي والتعديل اللغوي في محيطين مختلفين: ريفي نتيجة احتكاكهم المحلي ببعضهم ببعض ومدني نتيجة احتكاكهم الخارجي بأهالي المدن الكبرى

## الكلمات المفتاحية

الاحتكاك اللهجي -التعديل اللغوي -احتكاك محلي/ خارجي - منطوق ريفي / حضري - تكيف فونولوجي/ مورفولوجي - اللهجات المحلية

## Résumé

L'objectif principal de cette étude est d'analyser les conséquences du contact des dialectes dans la vallée de Beni Snous (45 km au sud-ouest de Tlemcen), et plus particulièrement dans le parler de trois groupes ruraux en raison de leur contact à long terme à la suite de leur migration interne vers le village de Beni Hammou. Comme la variation et le changement linguistique sont considérés dans cette étude à travers l'accommodation langagière, le but est donc de trouver les formes linguistiques récessives en faveur des nouvelles formes adoptées. Cette étude se situe dans deux contextes différents : un cadre rural local à l'intérieur de la vallée pour voir si les trois groupes s'adaptent aux formes linguistiques disponibles dans le parler du village où ils résident ; et un milieu urbain externe hors de la vallée pour voir leur adaptation linguistique au discours urbain.

**Mots Clés :** Contact dialectal - accommodation langagière - contact interne / externe -parler rural / urbain - adaptation phonologique et morphologique - dialectes locaux

## Summary

The purpose of this sociolinguistic study is to shed light on the phenomenon of dialect contact and analyse its linguistic consequences in the speech of three rural groups from Beni Snous valley (forty-five kilometres south-west of Tlemcen) because of their long-term contact with each other since they moved to live together in Beni Hammou village. As it examines linguistic variation and change through the lens of dialect contact and accommodation, the purpose is to find out which original forms in the speech of these groups are reduced and which new forms are adopted via the process of linguistic accommodation. The study is set in two different settings: a local rural setting inside the mentioned village to see whether the three groups accommodate to the speech of the majority immobile group; and an external urban setting outside the valley to see their accommodation to the urban speech.

**Key Words** Dialect contact - linguistic accommodation - internal / external contact- urban/rural speech- phonological/morphological adaptation - local dialectal varieties