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Sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Béchar

*Thesis submitted to the department of foreign languages in candidacy for the degree of
Magister in Sociolinguistics*

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- ❖ **AA:** Algerian Arabic
- ❖ **Cl.Ar:** Classical Arabic.
- ❖ **D1:** Dialect One, Dialect of the Majority.
- ❖ **D2:** Dialect Two, Dialect of the Doui Mni3.
- ❖ **D3:** Dialect Three, Dialect of the Ksouria.
- ❖ **D4:** Dialect Four, Dialect of the Ouled Jrir.
- ❖ **D5 :** Dialect Five, Dialect of the Shlough
- ❖ **F:** Feminine.
- ❖ **H:** High. Variety
- ❖ **L:** Low Variety
- ❖ **M:** Masculine.
- ❖ **MSA:** Modern Standard Arabic.
- ❖ **Pl:** Plural.
- ❖ **S:** Singular.
- ❖ **∅:** In the Boundary of.

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List of phonetic symbols

Consonants:

Plosives

[b] as in [bæb] “door”
[t] as in [ntæ3i] “mine”
[d] as in [dar] “house”
[k] as in [kelb] “dog”
[g] as in [gamra] “moon”

Affricate

[ʒ] as in [ʒa:r] “neighbour”

Nasals

[m] as in [mard] “illness”
[n] as in [na:r] “fire”

Flaps

[r] as in [raʒəl] “man”

Emphatics:

[ð] as in [ðæb] “dissolved”
[θ] as in [θəlʒ] “snow”
[t̪] as in [ta:r] “it flew”
[ð̪] as in [ð̪alma] “darkness”

Fricatives

[f] as in [fa:r] “mouse”
[s] as in [ssma] “sky”
[z] as in [zu:j] “two”
[ʃ] as in [ʃu:f] “look”
[x] as in [xæl] “uncle”
[h] as in [həl] “open”
[ʒ] as in [ʒammi] “my uncle”
[h] as in [həmm] “anxiety”
[ɣ] as in [ɣta] “covert”

Lateral

[l] as in [li:l] “night”

approximants

[w] as in [wəld] “boy”
[j] as in [jəd] “hand”

[q] as in [qərd] “monkey”

Vowels

- [æ] as in [dʌb] “dissolved”
- [a] as in [mæn] “man”
- [i] as in [nju:] “new”
- [ə] as in [sʌn] “son”
- [o] as in [lʌntʃ] “lunch”
- [a:] as in [fa:] “fire”
- [i:] as in [naɪt] “night”
- [u:] as in [brɔ:gt] “they brought” (similar to the French /ou/)

Used in D3 [e] as in /e/ of French [e:] long /e:/

Abstract

The present research work is an attempt at analysing linguistic variation in the speech community of Béchar, a town where the sociolinguistic situation became interesting in the last few decades. Indeed, a significant homogeneity can readily be observed in the speech community nowadays; the young speakers use a new elaborated code, on the other hand the older generations use different dialects which vary according to ethnicity; Varieties of this kind do not usually receive sufficient interest in the field of investigation, though they carry many interesting linguistic phenomena.

Before presenting the field of work, we will first introduce some important linguistic key concepts such as: language varieties and speech community, the second chapter draws a picture of the sociolinguistic situation in Béchar, and its linguistic repertoire, we refer to the linguistic phenomena which exist including bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, and code switching, this chapter includes a categorization of the Algerian dialects as Rural or Urban ones. The third chapter is reserved for the description of the most salient characteristics of the existing dialects in Béchar; most of the data obtained from questionnaires and interviews, reveal that a growing number of young speakers shift to D1 or what we call “the dialect of the majority”, while young speakers from the Doui Mni3 tend to stick to their original dialect (D2). Chapter four introduces ethnicity as the main factor that correlates with linguistic variation; some phonological morphological and lexical variables are presented, in this chapter, also, we introduce age and gender as linguistic variables, in D3 there are linguistic features that appear specific to women’s speech, while in D2 the difference is not very apparent. We have found no evidence of linguistic variation correlating with social stratification or style; to a certain extent, the sociolinguistic variation we have been able to examine is due, mainly, to ethnicity, or to age and gender, an important conclusion is that, because of the growing number of speakers who shift to D1 we may be witnessing important linguistic changes in the speech community of Béchar.

I. General Introduction

Sociolinguistic research has provided a significant development in recent years; it has attended more definite descriptions and a more realistic analysis of language in its social context. It studies language within society and the aspects that result from social context of language such as: bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, borrowing, codeswitching, and other phenomena; it analyses the influence of various social factors on the speaker's linguistic behaviour and the importance of synchronic variation in actual speech interaction. As Pride remarks:

“it is difficult to escape the conclusion that language is very frequently the whole social behaviour of the moment.”

(Pride, 1970: 289)

Labov, followed by many other linguists, gave a new start to the study of language in relation to the circumstance where it functions, by means of investigation techniques based on experiential research work, it has been shown that linguistic variation is systematically related to certain social variables such as social class, sex, age, etc., and also responsible for linguistic change. Since language is a social phenomenon it is natural to assume that the structure of a society has some impact on the language of the speakers of that society.

The Algerian speech community includes a large number of dialects which are distributed over many regional areas, and a lot is being done by a great number of sociolinguists to present and analyze many varieties, either in Rural or Urban context. Therefore, this paper examines the most salient features of Béchar speech community's dialects, providing the sociolinguistic field with a study of sociolinguistic variation in a southern region of Algeria.

This research work is divided into four chapters. The first one is a literary review where we present the most important linguistic key concepts in addition to a general description of the linguistic variables. In the second chapter we try to draw a linguistic picture of the Algerian speech community which displays a certain degree of multilingualism (Arabic, Berber, French) though colloquial Arabic –the low variety in Ferguson's terms (1959) - remains the major language; this chapter also includes a study of the main sociolinguistic phenomena that take place in Algeria like diglossia and code switching.

The third and fourth carry the fieldwork, in the third chapter we introduce today's linguistic situation in Béchar, we give general observations on the existing dialects, and some specific characteristics of each dialect. This chapter includes comparisons between the dialects and MSA. Chapter four deals with variation between two main dialects, and the results (obtained from rapid face-to-face interviews) show that a certain number of linguistic items may be observed to vary either with combination to the tribe (art.) speakers belong to, or in relation to the age and gender variables.

The problem area of this research work can be structured in the form of the following questions:

- ▶ What are the existing dialects in Béchar?
- ▶ What are the specific features of each dialect?
- ▶ In what way do the existing dialects correlate with social factors?

We will try to give adequate answers to these questions. Using the Labovian methodology we will try to find rules for phonological, morphological, and lexical variations and their correlation with social factors; these correlations are presented and analyzed in a quantitatively statistical results and tables.

Chapter one:
Literature review

1.1 Introduction

Synchronic language variation and diachronic language change are two ways of language development over time and within certain areas or groups of language users. Synchronic language variations are differences in pronunciation, use, or vocabulary within the same language between groups of people, regions of the country or contextual situations at the same period of time. On the other hand, Diachronic language changes are real transformations that occur in a language over a long period of time and for several reasons, including ease of production and ease of comprehension, and are wholly accepted by users of the language.

Diachronic language change occurs over long periods of time and tends to be accepted in the language as a whole, not just accepted by certain groups of language users, ASL (American Sign Language) demonstrate well the concept of diachronic change over its more than 225 years history, signs researched back to the Abbe de l'Eppe from his 1776 publications show dramatic changes that seem to support ease of production and ease of reception.

For example signs produced near the centre of the face tend to have moved toward the perimeter of the face (ex. WRONG) and signs that required two hands near the face require now only one (HORSE), in contrast, signs that are produced in the lower mid-section area of the body that previously require one hand, now require two (TRAVEL).

As time goes on, people need new words to describe new technologies or inventions, these words will be added to languages where they will develop variations depending on which groups of people use them. It is easy to realize the differences between synchronic language variation and diachronic language change, by looking at several examples each.

Synchronic language variation can be demonstrated well with American English, one example of language variation occurs between different ages of the speaker where someone in his sixties would probably say, "I will see you tomorrow, Sam", another one in his late teens might say, "later, dog"; in each of these examples the speaker means the same thing semantically but lexically, different words are chosen to meet the approximate ages of the speaker. Another example of synchronic language variation occurs when listening to conversations in different geographic areas of a country for example in America in Oklahoma it is fine to say "ain't" in a

conversation even in a workplace; but in New York, you might be considered as an uneducated person if you say it.

One last example of synchronic language variation takes place when the speaker uses different registers of language; when speaking in different social settings, a person will not use the same terms of vocabulary with his friend chatting in the café, and when introducing himself to the president.

For example, a person who treats sick people can be called a doctor, physician, medical practitioner, or even a quack, depending on with whom the speaker is conversing.

English doesn't have differing vocabulary to distinguish "respectful word forms" from "non-respectful word forms", different vocabulary will be selected according to the particular social situation to show respect, for instance you would call a judge "your honour" or "Sir" and not "dude" or "dog", unlike in French, where "vous" is for "you" with respect and "tu" for "you"(informal), or "ni:nga" (you with respect and) and "ni:" (you without respect) in Tamil,

1.2 Languages Varieties and Social Structure:

1.2.1 Language, Dialect, and Variety:

The phrase variety of language is used to refer to different manifestations of language. What make one variety of language distinct from another are the linguistic items that are involved in the language. The three important elements that represent the varieties of language are: language, dialect, and variety; these terms are close to each other especially language and dialect which are regarded as non technical terms.

Language was defined differently according to its users, for instance, poets say that language acts as an artistic medium, while philosophers define it as a means of interpreting human life and experience, and sociologists see it as a way of communication and language teachers regard it as a system that comprises a set of skills. The complexity of language is correlated to human life such as: society, culture, mind, and thoughts and the study of each of these associated with language leads to the birth of a discipline, for example, language with society leads to Sociolinguistics.

Sapir (1921:7), on his side, describes “language” as: “a purely human and non instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”. For Sapir language is a human property of expressing ideas and feelings, it is in fact a system of symbols of which only the spoken form is mainly important, it also serves as the most important part of people’s culture and a means of preserving that culture and transmitting it through generations.

There have been many theories which propose the origin of language, the exact origin of language is never found but some theories helped as lines of development, some regards the origins of language as a matter of God when he gave Adam the capacity to speak a fully Pledged language, other theories remain unable to explain the origin of language but at least they agree that in primitive times language has developed from a basic need to communicate.

Storck and Widdowson (1974:15) say in this respect that man: “is a social animal using language to communicate in such a way that it is indispensable to the maintenance of his culture”

Finding an exact definition for “dialect”, was the main trouble of sociolinguists, it is regarded as a sub-division of language which varies from other varieties grammatically, lexically, and phonologically, it is generally associated with privilege, low status, and has no official prestige like Black English Vernacular. We might refer to a linguistic variety which is not standard and has no written form as dialect, in

contrast language is the standard written form and used in official setting. In the case of the Algerian speech community MSA is the standard form of Arabic, most prestigious, correct and the appropriate variety of school, media, religion and other public domains, leaving the other local and regional varieties for every day communication.

The variety spoken in a given geographical area is called a regional dialect, however geographical boundaries are not always trusted in defining limits of variation; people move from one region to another taking their original dialects with them, and this in turn means that there is a “geographical mobility”. In fact geography is not the only relevant factor in determining dialect boundaries, Britain, for instance, takes social class over geography as a determinant of speech variation.

Size and prestige, for many sociolinguists a key of differentiation between language and dialect, that is language is both larger and more prestigious than dialect. Hudson (1996:32) says in this respect: “...a language is larger than a dialect. That is, a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect [...] the other contrast between language and dialect is a question of prestige, a language having prestige which a dialect lacks.”

In this sense Standard Arabic, for example, contains a large number of terms than its various local dialects. People usually may not find a problem in recognizing what language they speak, sometimes they even have the ability to decide whether it is a dialect or a language they speak, yet they may face a difficulty in explaining what is the different between language and dialect. Haugen (1966) points out that both language and dialect are ambiguous terms, but ordinary people use them quite freely in speech arguing that dialect for them is almost not more than a local non prestigious variety of a language, in contrast scholars frequently experience a substantial confusion in deciding which term should be used rather than the other in particular situations. He adds that while speakers of English ignored the concept of “patio” in the description of language, they have tried to employ both of “language” and “dialect” in a number of conflicting scenes, dialect is used for both local varieties of English and for different types of informal, lower class, and rural speech. Haugen (1966:924-925) concludes that: “In general usage it therefore remains quite undefined whether such dialects are part of the language or not. In fact, the dialect is often thought of as starting outside the language...as a social norm, then, a dialect is excluded from polite societies.”

However, from the linguistic point of view, a standard language has not been proved to be better than any other variety, for instance, in spite of the high prestige that Standard English has, linguistically speaking it is only one variety among many; it is the standardization process which made the chosen variety to be used in administrations, media, and education as it became a superposed variety and a prestigious accent. Trudgill (1983:9) says:

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

Even sociolinguists face problems in deciding whether some kinds of speech are dialects or languages. As an example Serbian and Croatian are ethnically two distinct languages, but there is mutual intelligibility between their speakers, the same thing occurs between Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish which are all autonomous standard languages in three political independent states; nevertheless educated speakers in those countries can communicate with each other. In contrast Mandarin and Cantonese are Chinese dialects, but there is no mutual intelligibility between the speakers of these dialects, sociolinguists prefer to use the term variety in such intermediate case.

Variety is a neutral term used to refer to any kind of language, dialect, sociolect, style, or register. It may be general like American English, or specific like the dialect of the lower working class of New York City. Hudson (1996:22) says that: “a variety of language is a set of linguistic items with similar social distributions.”

If variety is defined according to the range of speakers or circumstances with which it is associated, then it may contain only few items and then it can be much smaller than a language and even than a dialect. However, there are no restrictions on the relations among varieties because they may overlap or one variety may include another. The defining characteristic to each variety is the relevant relation to society, that is by whom, and when the items concerned are used.

1.2.2 Social structure

Dialectologists, anthropologists and some linguists have tried effectively to explain the noticeable synchronic language variation in relation to social factors, they give a theoretical importance to the study of language in its social context, and the development of this view was behind the progress of a new discipline called ‘Sociolinguistics’. Such a recent field of investigation started to throw light on the nature of language and on the society, but also to describe how different socially-defined factors are tightly correlated with linguistic variability Hymes (1971) writes in this respect:

“Concepts that are unquestionably postulated as basic to linguistics (speaker-listener speech community, speech act, acceptability, etc.) are, as we see in fact socio-cultural variables, and only when one has moved from their postulation to their analysis can one secure the foundations of linguistic theory itself” (Hymes ,1971: 277)

Certainly, in an attempt at proving that in any speech community mono-, bi- or multilingual, linguistic variability is the rule, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) agree in writing: “One of the corollaries of our approach is that in a language serving a complex (i.e. real) community, it is absence of structure heterogeneity that would be dysfunctional.” (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, 1968:101)

It is exactly this ‘structured heterogeneity‘ that today’s sociolinguists are trying to throw light upon, and their findings result from explorations based on social perception, and thus they go beyond the subject matter of linguistic theory, Pride (1970) explained : “Language is very frequently the whole social behaviour of the moment” (Pride, 1970: 289)

Though ,while in certain speech communities the sociolinguistic behaviour of an upper class speaker presents a similar one to what is considered as standard language, in other communities there is a wide gap between everyday speech and the standard, or written form, in other words and according to the structural theory of language, while in western speech communities the standard form of language is used in everyday setting by a number of speakers mainly from the higher social class, in diglossic situations such as in Arabic-speaking communities there seems to

be no ideal speaker-listener (in Chomsky's sense), because Cl. Ar has almost no native speakers, thus as we shall see below in chapter 2, the relation between Cl .Ar and its low varieties is far from being comparable to such contrast as spoken/standard English: indeed an English educated middle class speaker will usually say "they 're walking" whereas a lower class speaker might say "they walking" the two utterances do not differ to a great extent and are mutually understood by both types of speakers .

But in Arab- speaking communities there is often a clear-cut difference between a Cl Ar utterance and the corresponding one in a low variety :the sentence in Cl .Ar / inahoum ya3maloun/ , "they are working" is said "rahou kaykhadmou " in Béchar and " rahoum yakhadmou" in Oran

1.3 Dialectology

Ferdinand de Saussure delineated his famous distinction between synchrony and diachrony in his "Cours de linguistique générale", he explained: "the opposition between the two viewpoints . . . is absolute and allows no compromise. A few facts show what the difference is and why it is irreducible" (1916[1959]:83), since it is socially situated and stimulated, variation is "intrinsic" to usual language and is constantly potentially unstable.

1.3.1 Mutual intelligibility

Dialects are mainly considered as subdivisions of a particular language, we always say dialects of a language, and so we may talk of the Parisian dialect of French, the Yorkshire dialect of English, and the Bavarian dialect of German, and so on. To find a clear distinction between a language and a dialect is something always faced with difficulties, and one of the related problems is to find an exact definition of a language; mutual intelligibility was one way for finding a definition to "language" , in fact a language is a collection of a mutually intelligible dialects which means that a dialect is a subpart of a language, this characterization of language, nevertheless is not totally correct, some counterexamples like the Scandinavian languages, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish which are a mutually intelligible but different languages, explains that mutual intelligibility is not enough to draw limits of

distinction, on the other hand some dialects of the same language are not mutually intelligible like in German.

Dialect is a variety of a language, characterised by systemic differences in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary from other varieties of the same language; everyone speaks a dialect, in fact, many dialects and at different levels; people who speak a certain dialect are called a speech community, for example British English and American English are some of the larger dialectal divisions in the English speaking world.

A dialect spoken by an individual is called “Idiolect”; every one has small differences between the way they talk and the way even the family and best friends talk, creating a “minimal dialect”.

Dialectology is the study of regional dialects or dialects defined by geographical regions, this was done originally by travelling around a country and asking the people living in various locals what words or phrases they use for particular objects and concepts. In a non specialized encyclopaedia dialectology is defined as the study of dialects—both descriptive and theoretical—and those engaged in this study are known as dialectologists. Interpreting the term dialect broadly to mean ‘variety of language’ (but see below), this means that it is concerned with analysing and describing related language varieties, particularly in respect of their salient differences and similarities. It is also concerned with developing theoretical frameworks for such analysis and description, and for arriving at generalizations and explanatory hypotheses about the nature of linguistic differentiation and variation. Like most branches of linguistics, dialectology began to assume its modern form in the nineteenth century.

The most famous American study was performed by Hans Kurath, and covered the most of the USA east; what Hans Kurath and all the dialectologists looked for were isoglosses (iso: same gloss: speech) boundaries separating regions of a country which uses different words or constructions to describe the same things.

Hans Kurath found in some parts of the country that isoglosses, for several unrelated words, fell practically the same locations forming bundles of isoglosses. These bundles were significant discoveries as they indicated the existence of a real correlation between speech patterns and region, these bundles also provided a living linguistic reminder of the patterns of migration of American moving westward.

Dialectology started to be effected directly by linguistics; it was also influenced indirectly by the social sciences. Some dialectologists began to identify that the

dimension of linguistic variation had been concentrated on to the elimination of the social dimension.

If we observe dialects spoken by people in rural areas, in many places in the world, we might find this kind of situation. If we move from village to village, in a particular direction, we note linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another, these differences vary in a way that the further we get from our initial point, the larger the differences will become (if we arrange villages along our route in a geographical order) while speakers from village A understand people from village B very well and those from village F quite well, they may understand village M speech only with considerable difficulty, and that of village Z not at all. Villagers from M, on the other hand, will probably understand village F speech quite well, and villagers from A and Z only with difficulty. In other words, dialects on the external boundaries of the geographical area may not be mutually intelligible, but they will be related by a chain of mutual intelligibility.

All speakers have a social background, as well as a regional setting, and in their speech they frequently identify themselves not only as natives or residents of a particular region, but also as members of a particular social class, age group, ethnic background, or other social characteristic.

1.3.2 Social dialects

The development of the systematic investigation of dialect in society has challenged some of the perspective of both linguistics and dialectology. Linguistics focused on the formal structure of language as an abstract cognitive system, with a little attention given to the kinds of variants that were central to the examination of dialect variation. Dialectology however, focused on the distribution of particular variants in geographical space and time, from a sociolinguistics point of view, the popular perceptions of dialect patterns are simpler and less complex than the objective reality of dialect distribution within society.

The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada is the first dialect study which takes into account the social factors. The beginning of works on this investigation in the 1930s was very much in the mould of traditional dialectology; however fieldworkers when studying some sections were instructed to select socially different types of informants, taking note of the social dimension of linguistic variation in this way was an essential step, but the procedure by which informants were classified was clearly still somewhat subjective.

For Kurath's analysis, these aspects did not represent any kind of problem, because its aim was to examine linguistic variation in a geographical context. Traditional dialectology focussed its analysis mainly on rural dialects, and in many countries the neglected speech was the one of people living in the cities, even if they represent the majority; like in England where perhaps 90 per cent of the population live in towns. This way linguists and dialectologists have been missing out a great deal of linguistic data, and the study of urban dialects was not only an interesting but a necessary task; in fact Urban dialects were considered to be less conservative, because they often result from immigration and from neighbouring rural regions. For dialectologists, the most important fact was to collect information about conservative dialects, mainly rural ones. Social variations were not taken seriously into account when analysing, and as a result of inclinations towards the analysis of social urban dialect, the synchronic approach of studying language showed a rapid development.

Many linguists studied urban varieties, neglecting the social dimension with a very limited selection of informants; belonging most of the time to the same category of age or gender or social class. For instance David DeCamp examined the speech of San Francisco; he studied the speech of people known to him. Moreover Eva Sivertsen, in her study of 'Cockney' speech community, published in her book *Cockney Phonology* in 1960, trusted four speakers, all of them women over sixty living in Bethnal Green.

1.3.3 Modern dialectology

A crucial part in the development of sociolinguistics is due to the different traditional investigations of regional dialects, although the original goal was purely geographical.

Historically, dialectology has moved from studying variations within geographically-distributed dialects to the analysis of linguistic features that correlate with social aspects. Traditional dialectologist were interested in studying rural dialects where they can get the most conservative data for their investigations with the aim of diachronic comparisons, today's sociolinguists analyze linguistic variable occurrence that shows a relationship with social variables. Unlike structural linguists for whom language studies should be context free, the sociolinguists have totally rejected the concept of language as a homogenous entity and consider it as a

heterogeneous active system with variation to be taken into account and linguistic change to be clarified.

With the development of modern dialectology, that is largely due to Labov's (1963, 1966a) pioneering research and those of his followers, the classical speech community model is no longer held, particularly in the urban context, where diversity results a wide linguistic variation. Halliday (1978: 155):

“The urban ‘speech community’ is a heterogeneous unit, showing diversity not only between one individual and another but also within an individual. And this leads us to recognize a basic fact about urban speech: that the language itself a variable [...] the variation is intrinsic in the system [...] a system with a great deal of flexibility in it.”

Such a diversity has previously been studied along three synchronic dimensions (geographical, social and stylistic), and also on all linguistic levels (phonological, grammatical and lexical).

1.4 The Speech community

Language is the tenure of the individual and society, when someone speaks he gives an impression to the hearer about him, as an individual and as a member of a particular group of people, it can be a country, a tribe or a social class. A society may involve a group of speakers which would share the same linguistic behaviour, the same language, dialect, or variety; and so they are members of the same “speech community”, a term widely used by sociolinguists, Hudson (1996) used the term “linguistic community” to refer to the same meaning.

Speech communities can be defined at different dimensions of generalization, from communities of rehearsal to the local neighbourhood to the nation state. They can also be recognized in terms of social measures such as ethnicity, social class, gender, and so on.

A simpler description, used even by ordinary people, is that “speech community” is no more than a social group whose speech characteristics are the same. But sociolinguists have other opinions and different explanations which may give the notion that “speech community” is a very complicated term to define, however linguists can merely suppose that a language is what is spoken by a distinct speech

community, but because a speech community can only be defined in provisos of its means of linguistic interaction, it needs more precise explanations.

A community sharing the same language with the same system was the main idea with which Bloomfield defined speech community, he said: “a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech” (1933:42). In contrast, Hymes (1974) sees that Bloomfield’s definition is not accurate, he explains that it is impossible to associate language and society when we lack a clear understanding of the nature of language, on the other hand mutual intelligibility and communication between members of the speech community is what Gumperz (1962) spots when said: “We will define (linguistic community) as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weakness in the lines of communication”

Gumperz adjoins that there should be some particularly linguistic differences between the members of a speech community and another, he writes (1968): “The speech community: any human aggregate characteristics by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in languages.”

Here again the use of one language for a speech community, according to Gumperz is not required, unlike John Lyons who insists on the existence of a shared language or dialect he writes (1970:326): “speech community: all the people who use a given language (or dialect)”, this means that a language or a dialect is all what a speech community needs so that it can be limited, neither social nor cultural unities are required; therefore, it may be probable to delimit speech communities as far as it is possible to delimit languages and dialects with no indication to which groups use them.

Another criterion is added by Charles Hockett (1958:8) in defining a speech community he says: “each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language.” for Hockett, communication between members of the same speech community is a basic criterion so that if two groups speak the same language but have no contact with each other at all, they would be counted as different communities.

According to Suzan Romaine (2000:23): “ a speech community is a group of people who do not necessary share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language.” Here the use of the same language is not sufficient to draw

limits for a speech community Romaine adds the use of the same norms and rules for the spoken language.

Besides the linguistic criteria that classified a speaker among a speech community, some linguists reached that there are other characteristics which make individuals feel that they are members of the same speech community and in this sense William Labov (1972:120) says:

“The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariants in respect to particular levels of usage.”

This definition demonstrates that speech community is not related just to language. The English language, for example, is spoken in many places in the world, but it is definitely used in a wide variety of ways in communities that are almost, completely, isolated from each other, such as South Africa, New Zealand, and even in China, on the other hand a single community can make use of more than one language.

These definitions can be all considered as correct, because they provide us with definitions to groups of people who have something in common. These people are described on the basis of shared languages or dialects, interacting by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for use, or a given range of attitudes to varieties, these factors may differ completely. There is no opportunity to gather these definitions in a general one because they are reflecting different phenomena, what can gather them is that they are all definitions or proposed criteria to limit or describe “speech community”.

In order to distinguish a group of people from the rest of the world, we need more than one characteristic, which must be very significant in the social lives of the members. Yet, the question of which definition leads to indisputable distinction of communities in this sense is still not answered.

“a group of people who use a given language or dialect”, is considered as the simplest definition of the speech community. It is in truth vague to say that a community has no more than a common language to be distinguished, and as far as the factor of interaction emerges, we have just to say that there will be other shared characteristics besides it, nevertheless different speech communities may incorporate in many composite ways. For instance a community defined in terms of

interaction, may comprise parts of several communities which are defined in terms of shared language varieties.

The following definition might be the most inclusive view which involves all the previous definitions and gives many shared characteristics that a group of speakers should have to form a speech community

Robert Le Page (1985) says:

Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they all resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that

a- he can identify the groups

b- he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyze their behavioural system

c- his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behaviour accordingly

d- he is still able to adapt his behaviour.

Hudson considers this definition as a very satisfactory one, it assembles all the above incompatible definitions and replaces them by a single definition; “group” is, therefore, a relative concept and so is the speech community. The individual may belong to different communities according to many criteria; he can speak the language of one community and share many traditions, customs, and norms with another, but in one instance he will identify only one of them especially when taking into consideration Le Page’s definition.

A speech community can be classified as “homogenous” or “heterogeneous”, De Saussure supposes that a homogenous speech community is the one whose members share a common code and the use they make of this code is represented in an individual and idiosyncratic substance. On the other hand Loveday (1996: 16) has suggested that communities might be categorized according to the degree of bi- or multi-lingualism. For Loveday classification of speech communities results from exposing (them to different contact settings, he proposes six “archetypal contact settings,” each categorized by different arrays of contact facts. At one limit of the scale we find quite homogeneous communities of monolinguals most of whom have slight or no direct contact with speakers of other languages, still the little influence is introduced by the mass media or by teaching languages in school.

In the middle of the scale we find a variety of situations involving different degrees of bi- or multi-lingualism within the community, this situation results from contact

between linguistic minorities and a dominant host group. Finally, at the other extreme of the scale, highly heterogeneous communities are placed and characterized by high degrees of individual multilingualism,

The concept “speech community” has sometimes been difficult to pin down but it has proven useful and enlightening in the study of language in its social and cultural setting.

1.5 Linguistic variable

All humans when using languages, spoken or even signed; have various ways of saying the same thing. Some variation is unplanned and transient; it may occur from the mechanical limits of the speech organs, and may not be entirely under the speaker’s control. There are more systematic variations which correspond to options speakers may consciously or unconsciously choose (Coulmas 2005); in fact the existence of a choice between two or more dissimilar but linguistically equivalent variants defines the “linguistic variable”.

Speakers in Aberdeen, north-east Scotland, for example, have the choice between the terms “boy”, “loon”, “laddie” or “boy” when referring to a young male person, or between “quine”, “lassie”, or “girl” in reference to a young female.

Sociolinguistics aims to understand the relationship between social factors and linguistic variation. It directs linguistic restrictions with respect to variability, even though it is clear that sociolinguists are more concerned with theoretical ideas of the scientific study of language.

Long before the rise of urban dialectology, speakers had previously been observed to vary some characteristics in their linguistic act, as an example English traditional dialectologists, made remarks about the different uses of glottal stop [ʔ] as a variant of /t/ in words such as ‘but’ or ‘little’ in certain dialects, they referred to such differences in speech as ‘free variation’ or ‘dialect mixture’ and they regarded these variations as being with a difficult manageability. However, most linguists have confessed today that variation is not free, but controlled by social and linguistic variables, in fact the variable is considered by Chambers and Trudgill (1980) as a ‘structural unit’ that may be linked to such linguistic units as phonemes or morphemes: “a linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in co-variation with other social and/ or linguistic variables.” (p.60)

Correspondingly, Labov (1970) describes the sociolinguistic variable as: “One which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting...” (Labov, 1970:66)

After Labov’s *Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966a), a progress has been realized in the study of sociolinguistic variation, with the help of the methodology of quantitative analysis. Most sociolinguists admitted that Labov’s initial work and its progress have been essential in the development of the ‘sociolinguistic’ theory which intends to make logical statement about the relation between language use and the social patterns.

In fact, a solid methodological way for the study of language in its social context was laid down thanks to Labov’s empirical results, in one of his articles (1970:180) he explained:

“.....in the practices and techniques that have been worked out are embodied many important principals of linguistic and social behaviour. Close examination of these methodological assumptions and findings will tell us a great deal about the nature of discourse and functions of language.”

Some sociolinguists, on the other hand, have observed that constructing a sociolinguistic theory on such basics is not easy, they have proposed that wide spread studies of different speech communities are necessary, to find a more general theory, for instance Romaine (1982) considers Labov’s patterns as: “Testable hypotheses concerning the basic principals underlying the organization, social differentiation and change of speech communities” (p. 2)

A linguistic variable may have different statuses depending on the degree of consciousness shown by the speaker towards such or such variable, Labov has distinguished among what he calls indicators, markers, and stereotypes, he gives the term “markers“ to the sociolinguistic variables that : “not only show social distribution, but also stylistic differentiation.” (Labov, 1970: 188), in fact “markers” are variables that speakers are conscious of, while “indicators” are variables with less awareness, he defined indicators as variables that : “are used by each individual in more or less the same way in any context” (id. p.188)

On the other hand a stereotype is a popular and mindful characterization of the speech of a particular group, some times a stereotype is considered as stigmatized, because it gives people a ready categorized description.

The aim of this research work is to study the sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Béchar, but at first we have to know what is meant by the “linguistic variable”.

The linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has alternative variants that can replace each other without changing the sense of the word; it co-varies according to different variables such as age, gender, social class, and ethnic group. Wardhaugh (2006:145) says in this respect: “The important fact to remember is that a linguistic variable is an item in the structure of a language, an item that has alternate realizations, as one speaker realizes it one way and another different way or the same speaker realizes it differently on different occasions.”

For instance the word “walking” is sometimes pronounced as “walkin”; the final sound in this word (ng) is called the linguistic variable with two variants [n] and [ɪŋ]. The same is for the variable /q/ which has different variants in the Algerian speech community such as: [q], [k], [g], and [ʔ]. The variable /h/ has also two variants in words like “when” and “how” these are [h] and [0], [s] is another variable which has three variants [s], [z], and [ɪz] in words like “coats”, “pens”, and “dishes”, variables of these kinds often call for a sociolinguistic interpretation because no other kind of analyses is appropriate.

Language variation happens at all levels of language that is why sociolinguistics distinguishes different types of variables: these are phonetic, phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic.

1. The phonetic variable takes place when the same phonological pattern has different phonetic realizations, for example the English phoneme /t/ has a variety of alternative pronunciations such as: a glottal stop in words like “not”, a [d] like “tap”, alveolar stop, alveolar aspirate with an [s] in endings.
2. The phonological variable takes place when the same lexical unit has alternate phonological structures. For example, lexical items like “international” can have stress on the first or the second syllable.
3. The morphological variable appears when the same word has alternate morphological structures, these certainly exist in the presence or the absence of the suffix “s” with the third person singular in the present tense. Example: in Norwich, “he walk” is used in the local form, and “he walks” represents the standard one.
4. The lexical variable is noticed when the same meaning is expressed in two different lexical items or when two lexical items are partial synonyms. For instance,

all these sentences: “he kicked the bucket”, “he passed away”, and, “he popped off” are used to say that “some body has died”.

5. The Syntactic variable occurs when the same meaning is expressed by different syntactic structures, examples of this kind are observed at the beginning of the English relative clause which may be introduced by “that”, or by “wh” pronoun such as: “who”, “which”, or nothing at all. For instance all of the following sentences: “the article that I wrote”, “the article which I wrote”, or “the article I wrote” carry the same meaning.

For example: speakers in North America distinguish between the vowels used in “cot” and “caught”, but others do not. In other words; either one differentiates between the vowels or not, this has no social significance. In contrast, a marker carries with it social significance. Members of the same speech community are aware of markers and their distribution which is clearly related to the social groupings and to the styles of speaking. For instance: the pronunciation of “r” in words like “car” and “cart” in New York City varies according to different circumstances. Stereotype is a linguistic variable which characterizes the speech of a particular group, such as New York use of “boid” for “bird”, “toity Toid Street” for “thirty third street and soon.

1.6 Conclusion

Languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves; the need of intercourse brings the speakers of one language or dialect into direct or indirect contact with neighboring or culturally dominant languages and dialects. The contact may be friendly or hostile; it may consist of a borrowing or interchange of spiritual goods, arts, science, and religion.

We have initiated this research work by giving the definitions of some key concepts in sociolinguistics that present a sign of the subject matter, speech community is one of those concepts, a term that received popular interest among many linguists around the world, it is really required in this research work so as to clarify the norms and rules that govern group membership. These rules will be noticed around the community of Béchar in order to ensure the reader that it really forms a speech community sharing the same verbal repertoire, and guarantees that the speech which

is under investigation is in fact used by a group of people not just randomly distributed members; the above concept is topped by the description of other language varieties, these are used in order to classify the speech of Béchar as a language, dialect, or a variety. The linguistic variables explained previously will take a very important share in our research, and because we are in the domain of sociolinguistics we have to take into account the social factors and incorporate them, these are age and gender; the other factors will not be considered for reasons mentioned before. Language is one of the significant aspects in determining speech communities. Algeria, as one model, takes Arabic as its standard language together with a number of various languages that exist in secondary positions. In the following chapter we will analyze the linguistic and the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria emphasizing on its language repertoires and its classification as a multilingual speech community.

Chapter two :

*Aspects of Sociolinguistic
Variation in Algeria*

2.1 Introduction

The linguistic situation in Algeria is described as complex and diverse because of the co-existence of more than one language, the main languages spoken by the community are; Arabic, Berber, and French. The official language of Algeria is Arabic according to the Constitution of 1963; Berber has been recognized as a national language after the constitutional amendment of May 8th, 2002. These two languages are the native ones of more than 99% of the Algerian population, French has been considered as the second language and it is still used in government, culture, media, and education.

According to Benali M.R (1993:26), Arabic becomes the most used language in the Maghreb, from all the existing ones in North Africa. This has taken place progressively because of various factors; the most important one is that Arabic is the language of Islam. Another reason is that Arabic at a given time was the medium of knowledge, science, and scholarship; it was the equivalent of English language nowadays.

Arabic in its colloquial forms is the native language of most Algerians; the standard form is learned at the primary schools, and it is different from the colloquial ones which contain a simplified phonological system.

In addition to Arabic, according to Benali (1993:26)¹ French did not lose its importance and prestige in Algeria even after the independence, it is now part of the standard school curriculum, ethnologic estimates indicate that 20% of the population can read and write it. Some two- thirds of Algerians have a fairly broad grasp of French, and half speak it as a second language. Besides these two languages Berber flourishes but gradually. Despite of the influences of other languages, mainly Arabic, French and to a lesser extent Spanish, it is still used, because many Berber speaking areas are mountainous and have had a natural protection against invasions². This is a general vision on the three spoken languages in Algeria that we will try to study in the following sections.

¹ French in present Algeria does not seem to be losing its importance and prestige four decades after the independence of the country It is still the language of science, modernism, and opening on the world.

²Benali Mohamed (1993:26).

English is also used in Algeria but as a second foreign language after French, it is taught from the first year of Middle School because of its status as a global language; the number of English speakers in Algeria is very limited, most of them are young people, who started to be very interested in English after the widespread of the internet, in fact, no one acquires English for daily communication; individuals who are competent in English are either teachers or students at university. Algeria has also integrated in its antique repertoire other spoken languages before the coming of Arabic and French such as: the Mediterranean Lingua Franca or Sabir, and Ladino which was formerly spoken by some Algerian Jews, around Oran, after 1830 they had gradually disappeared and their functions were taken over by French.

2.2 Arabic: CA/MSA and Algerian Arabic:

Arabic is a Central Semitic language, it dates back to the first century of the Common Era although its origins go as far as the period of Ibrahim the Patriarch. Arabic is the largest language in its Semitic family spoken in 22 countries from Morocco and Mauritania in the west of Africa to Iraq in the eastern edge of the Arabian Peninsula. These countries are represented by more than 280 million people who all regard it as their first language. The Arabic language generally comes into two forms: Standard Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic (CA/MSA) and dialectal Arabic, although the difference is not between Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, a distinction is sometimes made. CA is the language of the Koran; it is considered as the formal version that was used in the Arabic peninsula. It was also the language of poetry during the pre-Islamic era, and the language of royal and princely courts during the Islamic history, it is "...the language of Islam. It is codified and the vehicle of a huge body of classical literature...., it encompassed in ancient poetry, grammar books and mainly in the Koran, in which Classical Arabic was revealed and it is still preserved"³

Modern Standard Arabic is the modern complement of Classical Arabic. It is the official language of all the countries in the Arab Nation, and it is used in the educational spheres. Ennaji (1991:19) defines it as:

"..... standardized and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghreb and in the Arab World at large. It has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture."

According to Benali Mouhamed (1993:28), the most important difference between CA and MSA lies in the vocabulary. MSA reveals the needs of modern expression while CA reflects the needs of older styles. In order to avoid any confusion, it is decided to use the term Standard Arabic (SA) in this research work to group the two above concepts and to refer to the variety of Arabic. SA is, therefore, the language used in formal and official circumstances. The linguistic policy in Algeria, after the independence, insists on recuperating the national language and step by step, reducing the importance of French. Therefore a process of Arabization has been spread; and all the Algerian constitutions proclaimed that Arabic, or SA, is the language of the country.

³ Ennaji (1991:7-8)

In addition to SA, there are various forms of Arabic which exist in different parts of Algeria; these are regional varieties with different accents. Algerian Arabic is spoken in everyday communications by the vast majority of Algerians, it fades into Morocco and Tunisian Arabic along the borders, in the South there is a group of Bedouin dialects.

The common feature of AA is its inclusion of many borrowed words from French with the general syntax of the mother tongue, some of these words are: [ku:zina] “kitchen”, [məʃwara] “handkerchief”, [ʃombra] “room”, etc. This linguistic phenomenon has resulted from the French occupation of Algeria. Linguistically speaking, AA differs considerably from SA, but shares many features with it. In addition to the lexical variation between the two, AA drops the case endings of the written language as in [darun] which becomes [dar] “house”, [bæbun] becomes [bæb] “door”, the initial article of the standard form {-al} is also omitted in words like: [lɜrs], instead of [ɜrsun], and [lbarəħ] instead of [al bariħa] “yesterday” ...etc.

Variation does not occur only between SA and AA, but between the Algerian dialects too, one aspect appears in the use of many lexical items which varies from one region to another, and sometimes even between villages, the degree of mutual intelligibility differs from one region to another, the dialect of Adrar is not understood by those who live in Algiers, and in turn the speech patterns of Tindouf are definitely misunderstood not only in Annaba, Constantine, or Oran, but even by the other southern areas such as Béchar, Ouergla and others.

Some aspects of variation within AA dialects appear in the use of items or expressions which vary from one place to another. Example: “car” is called [ʃonobile] in Algiers, [loʃo] in Béchar, [taksi] in Constantine, and [lwatira] in some parts of Tlemcen and in Tindouf it is called [lwatta], also “boys” is [ʃaʃra] in Oran, [dra:ri] in Anaba, [ləwla:d] in Béchar, and [tərka] in Tindouf, In other cases, the same word has different meanings creating a kind of semantic variation. For instance in Constantine: [sələktaħ] means “I paid him”, while in Béchar it means “I saved him”.

At the phonological level all the Algerian dialects share 24 consonants in addition to the long and short vowels such as: /æ/ as in [klæ] (he ate), [i:] in [qri:t] (I read), /u:/ in [tilifu:n], (telephone), /i/ in [hija] (she), perhaps one of the most distinguished feature of Algerian Arabic is the collapse of short vowels in some positions, thus, the Standard Arabic [ramad] (ashes) became [rmad], and [kalam] (talk) is [klæm],

this leads us to say that Algerian Arabic always shortens the syllable structure found in the standard form like in: [ħadʒara], “stone” is [ħadʒra], we can also observe that in many Algerian dialects the vowel glides [ai] and [au] substituted for the long vowels [i:] and [u:] as it appears in these two examples: [dajn] becomes [di:n] (debt), /lawn/ is [lu:n] (colour), some Bedouin dialects keep the same forms of Cl.Ar .

Phonological variation is noticeable particularly, in the use of phonemes which differs from town to town, for instance: /q/ is pronounced as: /q/ in Algiers, /g/ in Oran, /ʔ/ in Tlemcen and /k/ in Jijel thus “near” is: [qri:b] in Algiers, [gri:b] in Bechar, and [ʔri:b] in Tlemcen. another example of variation is in the pronunciation of the third singular masculine objective pronoun. Example, [ktəbtah], “I wrote it” is said [ktəbtu:] in other dialects, [səqsitəh], “I asked him” instead of [səqsit]. Adding the phoneme /k/ before each verb is one phonological aspect of the south western dialects, like that of Béchar and Adrar, it makes their speech similar to that of Morocco. Example: [kangu:l], “I say”, [kanəmʃi], “I go”, [kanfhəm], “I understand”...etc, eastern dialects have similar accent to the one of Tunisia even when speaking French.

In Adrar the two phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are recognized differently from the other parts, even the bordering ones, it is called ‘sibilant-merging dialect’⁴ Example: “two” is pronounced as [zu:z] instead of [zu:ʒ], and “sun” [səms] rather than [ʃəms].

In terms of gender, Algerian Arabic masculine nouns and adjectives generally end with a consonant, while the feminine nouns generally end with an “a”, and most feminine nouns are in fact feminized versions of masculine nouns, such as Nassim/Nassima, Amin/Amina...etc. Examples: [kəlb] a “dog”, [kəlba] a female “dog”, [tfol] a “little boy”, [tofla] “a little girl”, [tkil] for “heavy” and [tkila] for a female’s description .

Most of the dialects use approximately the same pronoun’s form of standard Arabic in “you” [nta] for “man” which is [anta] in Cl.Ar and [nti] for “woman” instead of [anti] except few places like Tlemcen where [ntina] is used for “man” and [nta] for “woman”. Broken plural exists in AA like in Cl.Ar; it is used for some masculine and feminine words. Example: plural of [raʒəl] is [rʒəl] or [roʒəla] "men" and the plural of [dif] guest is [diaf]. Regular plural is used too, the suffix { -un } used for the

⁴ (Bouhania, B. 2007 *Sociolinguistic and Dialectological description of Adrar Arabic*, Unpublished Doctoral thesis. University of Oran Es-Sénia)

nominative in Cl.Ar is not use in AA, in contrast the suffix {-in} used in Cl.Ar for the accusative and the genitive exists in AA. Example: [mbela3], “closed” is [mbel3in], [sən], and “tooth” is [sənnin].

For feminine nouns, the plural is mostly obtained by adding the suffix {-a:t}. Example: [ʒa:ra] “a neighbor” the plural is [ʒara:t], negation is expressed in AA usually in two parts, with the particle {ma} before the verb, and /ʃ/ after the verb, or words like: [walu:] in combination with {ma} to express more complex types of negation.

Example: [xdəmt] “I worked” becomes [maxdəmtʃ] “I didn’t work”

[klæ] “he ate”

[maklæʃ] “he didn’t eat”

[ʃefnæh] “we saw him”

[maʃefnæhʃ] “we didn’t see him”

For adjectives, the negation in most of the Algerian dialects is formed by adding the particle [mafɪ]. Example: [mlih] “good”, [mafɪmlih] “not good”.

There are two types of derivation forms: Causative, Passive. Derivation is made by adding suffixes or by doubling consonants;

- Causative: is obtained by doubling consonants :

Example: [xrəj] “to go out” it is [xarrəʒ]

[dxəl] "to enter" is [daxxəl]

- Passive: This derivation is similar to Berber and does not exist in Classical Arabic, where the passive voice uses vowel changes and not verb derivation; it is obtained by prefixing the verb with {t- / tt- / tn-/ n-}.

Example: [qtəl] "to kill" is [tnəqtəl] "to be killed"

[sraq] "to steal" is [təsrak] "to be stolen".

Variations within Algerian dialects and sometimes within a dialect make “mutual intelligibility” difficult to occur but the Arab origins of the majority of Algerian dialects makes them understandable to a certain extent, mainly when the words used in a conversation are very near to Cl.Ar. Otherwise, it is difficult for a person from Kenadsa to be understood by another one in Annaba or Oran if he says: [ʔaʃ had əl ɣriba xizu: mɣarha: mzəlfə:] (what’s that! the carrots are in a very bad case).

2.3 Berber

The Berber dialects are spoken in many parts of Algeria but largely in Kabylia, in the Aures, and in some villages in the Sahara, it has the status of a “national language”. The following presentation of the Berber dialects of Algeria which are classified geographically includes mainly all the existing ones:

In the north:

- “Kabyle” in Kabylia about 7,5 million inhabitants in Algeria specially in Algiers, Béjaïa, Tizi Ouzou, Bouïra, Sétif and Boumerdas.
- “Chaouia” in the Aures about at least 5 million inhabitants specially in Batna, Khenchela, Souk Ahras, Oum el Bouaghi, and Tebessa.
- “Chenoua” in Tipaza Province.
- “Tarifit” around Arzew, and Tlemcen, and Sidi Bel Abbès.

Perhaps extinct, in western Algeria: Beni Snous, Achacha, Ouarsenis, Bel Halima, Haraoua.

In the Sahara:

- “Tumzabt” in the Mزاب
- “Ouargli” in Ouargla
- dialects of “Touat” and “Gourara” (called "Taznatit" by the Ethnologists, this name in fact refers to most of the Zenati languages)
- dialects of “Touggourt” and “Témacine”
- “Tidikelt”
- “Tamahaq”, the dialect of the Tuareg of the Hoggar
- "Tachelhit", the dialect of the western ksours and also Figuig.

There is no ultimate classification of all the Berber dialects in Algeria, in fact Berber varies from one locality to another; ethnicity plays a role in variation, some of these dialects are mutually intelligible, others are not. There is no standard orthography for Berber, for instance, Tamazight has 41 basic sounds, 38 consonants and, the Tuareg varieties have developed some extra long and short vowels. The growing use of Kabyle as a modern written language has increased the use of the adapted Roman script.

The Lexicon comprises an important domain of dialectal variations among Tamazight dialects; there are many loan words from Arabic, French and Latin. Loan words are morphologically adapted in the Tamazight word structure, furthermore in Tamazight structure morphemes conveying grammatical information such as tense,

gender, number and person do not constitute autonomous affixes, such elements rather appear as compound phonemes, vowels more often, within words. Vocabulary differences should be considered as initially reflecting lexical richness, the most important criterion of dialectal variation is phonological.

The different varieties of Tamazight may be classified into three different groups: plosive, fricative and affricate dialects, “plosive dialect” refers to the dialects that have kept the original plosive sounds as plosives (mainly Tachelhit or Tuareg varieties), while they have been developed into fricatives in “fricative dialects” like: Kabyle, central Moroccan Tamazight and Tachawit, or even affricates in “affricate dialect” (mainly those called Zenete in the literature among which Tumzabt and Mauritanian varieties) .

The group that is characterized as affricate has phonologically gone a lot further, some varieties such as Tarifit are difficult to classify as they have already moved from the fricative status but not enough to consider them as affricate. These differences do not reflect country boundaries but are older than the constitution of the present different states, in Algeria for instance, all these three varieties coexist. These differences reflect the classification of inhabitant groups very often referred to as the Masmouda, Sanhadja and Zenete.

Although there are differences between the Berbers and the Arabs, but they share the same linguistic, cultural and social events, there are some similarities like: [tlæta] (three), [roh] (go), [xamməm] (think), [khdəm] (work), [di:n] (religion)...etc. These similarities between Algerian Arabic and Berber refers to the common presence of both communities, a common feature of Algerian Arabic and Berber is the occurrence of French words with the general syntax of the mother tongue, for example: [stilu:jət, stilu:jən] (pens), [ku:zina, taku:zinət] (kitchen).

2.4 French

After the independence, language presented an ideological, social and political, concern in Algeria. While the government followed a strategy of linguistic Arabization of education, but the important position of the French language in Algeria was not profoundly affected by this policy and French continued to be used in the spoken and the written forms, however; it is nowadays part of the standard school curriculum and it is largely understood by people. It has been estimated that about 20% of the Algerian population can read and write in French, other sources estimated a much larger percentage. In the late 1990s, a political debate took place in Algeria concerning the replacement of French by English in the educational system, the government decided to keep French. It is, according to President Ben Bella (1962-1965), an essential tool for the acquirement of modern techniques. In the same sense; Ahmed Taleb El Ibrahimi, a former Minister of Education and one of the leading proponents of the Arabization policy, considers Arabic as the appropriation of the Algerian soul and French as a window open on the world, for Miliani(2001:17) : “French is no longer the property of the old enemy. French as a world language is a tool (linguistic, cultural, social, economic, and technical) for humanity, beyond the political borders”.

The use of French varies among the population, many people can understand it but not every one can speak it or write it correctly. Geographically speaking, the majority of the northern people can master French more than the southerners, may be because of the French concentration on the north. Because Southern people were not, effectively, in contact with the French, most of them were Nomads, however, in some southern villages like Knadsa, French people lived and stayed even after the independence, and as a linguistic result of this contact, Knadsa is the home town of many great writers in French like Malika Moukadam and Yasmina Khadra, and the dialect of this town contains a lot of borrowings from French language.

Since independence, important sciences such as: medicine, architecture, chemistry, and others are studied in French, materials, medicines, foods, have notices written in French, including the local ones, for instance on a date's jam pot you find mainly words in French, like “confiture de dates” or “ingrédients naturels”. Some Algerian sociolinguists consider this kind of linguistic colonization more “dangerous” than the political one. The charge of liberating Algerians from using French, is very hard following this point of view, and excluding the use of such

language, will create a linguistic conflict, because French exists in the majority of our dialects; it becomes part of our daily communication, our history, our culture; it hardly happens, to hear someone saying “nafoura” rather than “jet d’eau” or [ʒido], “madrassa” in stead of “l’école” or [liku:l] “el barid” instead of “la poste” or [lboʃta], or “lawhat el mafatih” and not “clavier” and so on.

2.5 Algeria, a Multilingual Speech Community

According to Martin J. Ball (2005), competence in more than one language can be approached both at an individual or a social level, and depending on the perspective, different dimensions must be emphasized. In many parts of the world an ability to speak more than one language is not at all notable. A monolingual individual, according to R. Wardhaugh (2006), would be regarded as a misfit lacking an important skill in society that makes him able to interact freely with the speakers of other languages with whom regular contact is made in ordinary conversations.

These various languages are usually acquired naturally or learned through educational approaches, and the shifts from one to another are made without hesitation, the present research work is not concerned with multilingualism in Algeria, but there are a few linguistic facts that have to be cited here. The Algerian population was linguistically influenced during the French colonization, that today, nearly fifty years after the Algerian independence (1962), French continues to play an important role in spoken as well as in written domains; in addition to the great number of French loan words integrated into Algerian Arabic, many Algerian people understand French and use it. Dendane (1993) explained that until recently, French was seen as prestige language, conferring advantages in the domains of education and work; French is often mixed with Arabic in a form of code switching or code mixing, for instance it is common to hear people say [di:na la voiture (or /loto/) wəmʃina lla pisi:n] “we took the car and we went to the swimming pool” , a sentence where French loan words are “voiture” and “piscine” are accompanied with their articles.

Studying multilingual speech communities, some sociolinguists have tried to plan a sociolinguistic ‘typology’ of languages (Steward 1972) or as Ferguson (1964) did before to propose a “sociolinguistic profile formula” for a given political unit, for comparative purposes. Ferguson classified languages in three main categories: main languages, minor languages and languages of special status; the languages are classified according to the political or social statuses, some being official, national, and others standard or vernacular and still others literary, etc. Without going into the details of such categorizations, it should be noted that the Algerian sociolinguistic profile demonstrates special characteristics on the basis of which specific sociolinguistic patterns could be drawn: both Cl.Ar (that is the official and national language of the state, but only used in certain formal situations) and French are

considered as prestigious languages for different reasons, thus the Algerian linguistic “picture” appears to be very complex though the ‘low’ varieties of Arabic, as we shall see presently, as opposed to Cl.Ar, remain of major use.

2.5.1 Multilingualism in Algeria

The co-existence of Arabic, in its two forms, besides French, and Berber makes Algeria a complex sociolinguistic situation, not all the Algerians speak Berber, and not the entire master French, the only language that can be spoken by all the population is Arabic, or the Algerian dialect. Generally speaking Algeria is a multilingual community, but the use of those three languages depends on the individual, i.e. Which languages he is able to master and for which situation alternately. Wardhaugh (2006: 96) says: “People who are bilingual or multilingual do not necessary have exactly the same abilities in the languages (or varieties); in fact that kind of parity may be exceptional.”

By a simple observation into the Algerian speech community, we can see that most of the Algerian population has at least some level of multilingual competence, something which indicates that adding a second language doesn’t need superhuman or unnatural accomplishment, in fact we hardly hear Algerians speaking without using at least a few words in French and Berber, any one can say, or at least understand, “c’est fini”, “trois jours”, or [argaz], [azu:l fəlawon]...etc, the use of words differs according to the level of competency in languages for instance Berber of French.

Sridhar (1996: 50) says:

“Multilingualism involving balanced, native like command of all the languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. Typically, multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires. The differences in competence in the various languages might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles.”

Such competence doesn’t give any evidence that multilingualism is particularly a conversationally fluency in all these languages, but at least we can say that many words of those languages are known by everyone and even used in their conversation. Such linguistic competence is clearly developed among the Kabylis who have the ability to speak Arabic, French, and Berber; the latter represents their

mother tongue, Arabic is the language they learn at school, and French is the second foreign language which they sometimes learn at home even before going to school, though most the old people speak only Berber and French.

In the Algerian speech community, Multilingualism results from alternate use of three languages, that exist because of different circumstances explained formerly; Algerian speakers can easily communicate with the French, some of them can interact with the Berber speakers of other countries, and of course all of us can be mutually intelligible to a certain extent with the other Arabic speaking countries.

Many definitions of Multilingualism do not refer to the possibility that more than one language can originate in one community; rather they highlight the idea that multilingualism requires more than two distinct languages in the same community, this circumstance can be found in Algeria, both AA and Berber are considered as the native languages of most of the Algerians.

The classification of Algeria as a uni-modal⁵ or multi-modal⁶ nation depends on the particular group concerned, in fact language decisions are made essentially on nationalism⁷ rather than nationism⁸, moreover, the educational objectives of the Algerian school and the curriculum as a whole, has been equipped to stimulate feelings of nationalism as a counter to ethnicity, thus school is very significant as part of the overall policy which started with the execution of the Arabization process, reinforced by Algeria's nationalization of the teaching staff. Teaching classical Arabic has been a very complex issue in education, since 1962 the government's main objective was to unite the nation, and one of the most important ways was to bring the mother tongue into the educational prospect, but some teachers were neither sufficiently ready for the abrupt transition, nor linguistically prepared to explain effectively in Arabic, the new concepts in the various subjects.

French is now officially a "foreign language" as English, German, and Spanish, nevertheless it still plays an important role in the school system. These changes have systematically affected the role and the status of French in Algeria, since all official documents must be written in Arabic, on the other hand, the francophone elite did not really accept this policy of acquisition planning.

⁵ Uni-modal nation is a country characterized by the existence of an indigenous language with literary tradition alongside a language of wider communication which is left over a period of colonial rule.

⁶ Multi-modal nation is a country that has a number of languages with literary traditions that exist side by side, in this case compromises have to be made in designating an official language.

⁷ Nationalism is the feelings that develop from a sense of group identity, and nationalists are people who see themselves as a sociocultural unit with integrative bonds.

⁸ Nationism is the practical concerns of governing, and nations are a political unity which tends to have one dominant nationality.

2.5.2 Bilingualism in Algeria:

For sociolinguists the definition of bilingualism is still debatable, from the concept any person can guess that it concerns the use of two languages but the degree of mastery of both languages creates the difference in defining the term, Bloomfield (1933) observes that:

“Bilingualism resulted from the addition of a perfectly learned foreign language to one’s own, undiminished native tongue”

According to Martin J. Ball, Bloomfield puts emphasis on the question of degree, for him a perfect learning of both languages is recommended, on the other hand Weinrich (1953) defines bilingualism simply as: “the alternate use of two languages” , a wider context is presented in Haugen’s definition (1954) which describes a bilingual speaker as some one: “who knows two languages”, in fact Martin J. Ball, sees that these definitions tend to limit bilingualism to equal mastery of the two languages, while later ones have allowed much greater variation in competence.

Baetens Beardsmore (1982), on his side, says that no reference is made about the level of mastery of both languages, besides the gradation in bilingual usage depends on the four primary skills.

Miliani.M (2001) regards bilingualism as the practice of using consciously and or unconsciously in every day speech two languages alternately with a certain degree of ability which could be mentioned in both languages. Such ability can be active, that is with interacting, speaking, understanding, and some times writing and reading both languages, or passive, i.e. understanding both languages, but speaking only one correctly and neither reading nor writing in either language. Abilities that Miliani has proposed in his view are found in the Algerian bilingualism, yet the educated elite’s ability in Arabic and French is completely active since they can master both languages using their four skills, illiterates seem to have passive abilities towards those two languages, that is they can understand them but speak only Arabic, or the Algerian dialect, and can not read or write them which is the case for the majority of illiterate old Algerians.

After 132 years of French colonization with its policy in Algeria which aimed at achieving at first political control, then a total domination, and with the existence of Arabic in its different form, bilingualism became a logical result of that situation.

After the independence and even nowadays there is a linguistic overshadow resulting from the presence of French, moreover the heralded solution of complete and rapid Arabization is not really easy as it appeared, because the linguistic impact of French is more rooted in the Algerian linguist situation .

There are two types of bilingualism in Algeria, the first is called “societal bilingualism” which is the result of a historical process mainly the gradual control of the entire country by France, and the second type is the “individual bilingualism” which is the consequence of several variables mainly the regional, economic, social, cultural, ethnic, and educational backgrounds of the individual, therefore, each bilingual individual can be “balanced” or “unbalanced”, “balanced bilingual” refers to the speaker who masters equally the first language (L1) and the second one (L2), it mostly refers to those who were in a direct contact with the French during and after the colonization, “unbalanced bilingualism” takes place when there is a dominant and secondary language, it is represented by those whose competence is higher in one language than the other and generally in the mother tongue.

According to Benali, Algeria is a silent model of bilingualism in which different languages are in contact, mainly Arabic, French, and Berber which have been in contact since a long period of time, and have affected each other, bilingualism is also seen as a “particular” one because it is, for the majority of the population, the result of the contact between the French language and the Algerian dialect, and for a minority, between French and Berber, the current policy of the country is to become free from the linguistic neocolonialism carried on by the French language.

The educational system strategies and social characteristics caused the particularity of bilingualism in Algeria. Children learn both Arabic and French in primary school, they develop two systems of meaning of words, one system for the words in the first language, and the other is for the second language, it means that languages are learnt disjointedly and are more or less independent. This idea is of owning two systems has been reported so by Spolsky (1998:48):

“For a number of years, there was an attempt to distinguish between compound bilinguals whose two languages were assumed to be closely connected, because one language had been learned after (and so through) the other, and co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned each language in separate contexts and so kept them distinct.”

It should be noted that bilingualism is approved as having a constructive effect on intellectual functioning and cognitive process. The inherited linguistic diversity

should be considered as a positive point; for social elites an additional language is always an important fraction of civilized life, however it has been always proved that one's personality broadens with the growth of the linguistic repertoire.

2.5.3 Code switching:

In the literature on the speech behaviours of bilinguals the term “code switching” has been used in more than one sense, for Robin (1968), G. Sankoff (1972) and Fishman (1972) it refers to the bilingual's ability to choose one or the other of his two languages in a particular speech situation, the choice is influenced by a number of non-linguistic features such as topic, participants, setting and so on, Bloom and Gumperz (1972) called this type of “code switching”: “situational switching”.

Code switching refers broadly to « alternation » between languages used by a bi-monolingual speaker; it can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits. As Gal (1988: 247) says: “Code switching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change Interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations.

Code-switching (also called code-mixing) can occur in conversation between speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn. In the latter case it can occur between sentences (intersentential code switching), like in: [waʃ mən hala hadi nta3 les pauvres sinistres rahu:m sabri:n après les inondations], or within a single sentence (intrasententially) like: [wəktəʃ jmedu: les diplômés nta3na].

In this chapter, code switching follows Poplack's definition (1980:583) “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent “. Concerning Algerian views towards code switching it would appear that a confuse is made between the so-called “Sabir” and AA/F code –switching or Francarabic, Taleb Ibrahim (1981:20) seems to explain the latter confusion, he writes “let those who speak avoid Francarabic by the progressive introduction of Arabic terms in the place of Arabised French words”, Lanly (1970 :37) described “Sabir” as a “pidgin French” “a simplified language of transactions and negotiationsneither a French nor an Arabic language”.

Lanly (1970 :38) quotes the French General Faidherbe as saying in 1884 that “in using this language the French trooper is convinced that he speaks Arabic and the Arab is convinced that he speaks French”, it is also possible to define “Sabir” as a kind of French jargon used by Arab North Africans trying to speak French .

We know that it is due to historical issues that the Algerian speakers choose to switch in their speech to the French language, the causes are important topic of investigations and interpretations, number of answers have been suggested, including solidarity, accommodation to listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance. In other words, the motivation of the speaker is an important consideration in the choice, French is always considered a prestigious language, and it is common that the first impression we have about people switching regularly to French, is that they are educated, cultivated and they belong to a higher social class, as a personal view point Algerian speakers switch to French when they ignore about the existence of a synonym in AA or even in MSA like the word “window shopper” which is referred to by the French word “vitrine” or the borrowed one [vitrina]. Code switching occurs even with the presence of a synonym which may not cover the exact meaning of what the speaker wants to spot, for instance, a woman may say [ʃrit wahəd la robe ʃabba] (I bought a nice dress) “une robe” have synonyms in AA: [roba], [3baja] or [gandu:ra] but in here the use of “une robe” describes the dress’s style the woman wants to speak about, i.e. “une robe” is a modern one , and “3baya” is reserved for a traditional dress.

According to Bouamrane (1988), Code switching between French and AA is governed by some rules not in the sense of correctness but possibilities, in other words, there is a word order to follow for a better and easier utterance, and breaking the order doesn’t result in a wrong expression but a heavy and strange one to pronounce, here are some of his proposed rules in AA-French code switching:

- The disjunctive pronouns in AA [ana, ntu:ma] must be followed by clitic ones in French (je, nous) example: [ana je parle souvent m3a wladah] (I always talk to his sons).
- The verb in French after an AA subject must be adapted to AA example: [ntu:ma présentitu: hier] (you presented yesterday) instead of [ntu:ma présentez hier].
- A French preposition can not govern a main phrase in AA example: [fi la chambre] (in the room), [avec əsərwal] (with the trousers).

Borrowing has been distinguished from code switching according to the kind of utterance; Gingras (1974) and Reyes (1974) classify single words as borrowings while changes of language involving more than single words are classified as code switching. According to Bouamrane (1988) this view is mistaken for its ignores the possibility of borrowing proverbs and whole idiomatic phrases, phonological

adaptation to the system of the host language helps to distinguish code switching from borrowing, Bentahila and Davies (1983:302) contend that it will be clear from a Moroccan bilingual speech that he would be code-switching if he uses the French word “épicerie” while he would be “borrowing” if he uses the phonologically adapted word [bisri] (grocer’s shop), it is the same for the French word “mineur” and the adapted one in AA [minu:ri] (miner) .

In French AA code switching “phatic expressions”⁹ occur, some are with a religious etymology and said always in AA examples:

[lhamdu:llah]	“thanks to God”
[bəsməllah]	“in the name of God”
[llah yeraħmu:]	“god bless his soul”

Others are without a religious etymology but “low on the scale of translatability and occur in Arabic” Bouamrane’s (1988) examples :

[marħba]	“welcome”
[tfadal]	“after you”
[saħa]	“ good health”

There are several linguistic and functional factors implicated in French-AA code switching, speakers who code switch are competent in the syntactic rules of both languages, limits and restrictions in code switching indicate that AA and French are not undergoing a process of pidginisation, social functions affect code choice, people have distinct feelings and attitudes towards various codes, some are prestigious and sound beautiful others are stuffy and less desirable, what ever the speech community under investigation is, monolingual or multilingual, variation is the rule, and the linguistic behaviour of bilinguals, namely switching from one language to another, may be comparable to monolingual’s shift from variety to variety, or from style to style according to the setting where the speaker finds himself.

2.6 Diglossia:

One of the most prominent facts about the linguistic situation in Algeria, and all the Arabic speaking communities, is the existence of two varieties of the same language, each one used for specific functions with clearly defined roles, one is

⁹ Expressions used in stereotyped verbal change and function as a mean of establishing or cementing interpersonal relationships (Cram , 1981 : 253)

considered as prestigious and has a high status “H” and a low one with no official status. Ferguson (1959: 336) states that diglossia is:

“a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or a regional standard, here is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation”.

According to Mouhadjer, the Algerian diglossic situation is very particular; the low variety is not very close to the high one, illiteracy prevents people from recognizing many lexical items found in Standard Arabic, and the colonization movement which left many French words used by many people instead of the local ones are some causes of the differences between AA and Standard Arabic, for example many people do not know that the “curtain” in Arabic is called “sita:r”, and rather that they say [ridu:] (instead of “rideau”).

In Arabic-speaking communities, the high variety, represented by Cl.Ar is used in all domains that have something to do with education and written form (a lecture, a religious preach or TV and radio news), whereas the low variety is the real mother tongue, the speech of everyday:

“These two varieties, Classical and Colloquial, exist side by side in the Arabic speech community in a diglossia relationship.” (Ferguson, 1970:359)

However, there is a third intermediary variety that is often termed as a “middle language” or “a modern standard Arabic that is so widespread in the mass media and in education” (Ennaji, 1991:9), a variety that seems to be accepted and learned easily than the “complicated” Classical Arabic.

Apart from this “triangular” linguistic situation, (high, middle and low varieties), a very important fact to point at is that while standard French, for instance or standard English as superimposed varieties(have acquired a certain status and prestige, so as to be used to a great extent in everyday speech, especially by educated people and higher class speakers), Cl Ar is hardly used as a medium of everyday conversations, although it is considered as the national and official language ,it is taught in all the

educational curricula and used in mass media, it is apparently a stable linguistic system classical vs. colloquial Arabic.

“diglossia differs from the more widespread standard-with-dialects in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be[...] pedantic and artificial.” (Ferguson 1959:245)

The functions calling for MSA are formal and are used for delivering sermons and formal lectures; it is used in a parliament or legislative body, and for giving political speeches more explanation or as a sign of sympathy the politicians may shift to the H variety.

The Algerian dialects are used for functions that are informal such as: giving instructions to workers in low prestige occupations or to household servants, in popular programs on the radio and even TV, we may indeed shift into L when a person lectures in the H variety but answers questions about its contents or explains parts of it using the L variety so as to ensure understanding.

MSA is not the native language of any Algerian speaker it is learned in a formal type of education, at school or in mosques...etc. Yet, the term diglossia has been extended to cover situations where forms of two genetically unrelated or at least historically distinct languages occupy the H and L positions. The Algerian speakers, for instance, may use French as H for educational and more prestigious domains and the Arabic vernacular as L for informal primarily spoken domains, the L and H varieties are not only different in terms of social features but also in terms of structural features, Romaine (1994:46): “... not only in grammar, phonology and vocabulary, but also with respect to a number of social characteristics namely: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, and stability.”

Ferguson (1970) describes the low varieties or what he calls “colloquial Arabic”: “the chain of regional dialects which constitute the Arab’s mother tongue today.” (p.359) He characterizes the Arabic diglossic situation by the existence of a wide gap between “H” and “L” varieties, here are some illustrations about differences at all the linguistic levels Dendane (1993) gave a more detailed illustration :

a/ phonetic:

* Replacement of the Cl.Ar interdental / ð, θ / by the dentals / d, t/ in many varieties mainly in urban ones examples:

	Cl Ar	AA
[ðahab]	[dhab]	(gold)
[θu:m]	[tu:m]	(garlic)

*Realization of the phoneme /q / either as a voiced velar /g/ in rural dialects, as a voiceless /q,ʔ, k/ in other varieties example: Cl Ar AA
 [qalb] [galb], [ʔalb], [kalb] (heart)

b/ phonological :

There are numbers of vowel reduction processes witnessed in Arabic modern dialects:

* Vowel elision resulting in many consonant clusters with cases of assimilation example:

	Cl Ar	AA
	[rasama]	[rsam] “he drew” (past)
	[sami3a]	[sma3] “he heard”
*Vowel centralization as in	[darabat]	[darbət] “she hit”

c/ morphological:

*the dropping of the dual verb form suffixes or “bare form” as named by Owens means that the same way of conjugation is said equally to two or more persons example:

[iktuba:]	[ketbu:] (write!)
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d/ lexical :

*transformation: reflects variation in the form, the use, and the meaning (Ferguson, 1959b) as in [mʃa] which means “he went” in AA, the verb [mæʃa] in Cl.Ar means “he walked” , and [ðahaba] which means /he went/ does not exist in L variety, [ðhəb] in some rural dialect as one of the dialects in Béchar means (get out) .

e/ syntactic:

*dropping of case and mood endings (Dendane1993:31) (i3ra:b) for instance [ʔiʃtarajtu: kita:ban ʒadidan] “I bought a new book” is said in the L variety [ʃrit ktab ʒdid], we change the mood ending in Cl.Ar if we say for example [hada kitabun ʒadidun] “this is a new book ”but in AA it stays [hada ktab ʒdid].

The considerable body of literature found in the H variety with its prestige is another significant aspect concerning the natural superiority of this variety; whereas the folk literature associated with the L variety will have none of the same prestige. It may interest folklorists and it may be transmuted into H by writers skilled in H. One more feature of diglossia is the different patterns of language acquisition with H and L varieties. The Algerian dialect is acquired by children in a normal unselfconscious way whereas MSA is learned with formal setting such as in classrooms or mosques to learn the holy Koran as a part of a religious or cultural

instruction, to that extent, the H variety is ‘taught’ whereas the L variety is ‘acquired.’

Not surprisingly H is the standard, written form while L often shows a tendency to borrow words from H mainly when speakers try to use the L variety in more formal ways, speeches of the Algerian prime minister Ouyahia are good examples of this case like in : [sakanat li maddinaha fi itar əsakan elwađifi maraha illa dalil 3la na3ah el moxaṭaṭ] if this expression is said in Cl.Ar it will be [ʔasakanatu: lati qadamnaha fi ʔitari əsakani əl wađifi mahija illa dalilun 3ala na3ahi el muxatat] and the result is a certain admixture of L vocabulary into the H. On other occasions, there may be distinctly different pairs of words, i.e. doublets, in the H and L varieties to refer to very common objects and concepts. Since the domains of use of the two varieties do not overlap, there will be an L word for use in typically L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring one to the other. So far as the pronunciation of the two varieties is concerned the L system will often appear to be the more basic.

In comparison with bilingualism, diglossia is less used in Algeria, most of the inhabitants are bilinguals and sometimes multilinguals, thus, we frequently switch between Arabic and French, but rarely switch between MSA and AA, for instance we may say: [raku:m rajhin par avion] but not [raku:m rajhin bitaʔira], in this way the speaker is not switching in diglossia but in bilingualism.

The degree of diglossia in Algeria depends on the regional dialects, if we look deeply to this situation we notice that there are many diglossic situations in Algeria since each region takes diglossia as switching from MSA to its own dialect. People living in a diglossic speech community do not generally regard diglossia as a problem, only if there is a growth of literacy or religious indoctrinate which leads to the use of MSA or mainly Cl.Ar even in daily conversations, for example their kids say [ʔomi] for “mom” instead of [maa] or [jemma] and [abi] “dad” instead of [baba] or [bba], or when there is a desire to decrease regional and/or social barriers, or when there is a need for a unified national language, diglossia is an extremely stable phenomenon used to maintain more than one type of language in society, so if the various colloquial Arabic dialects do not exist, the form of language used in Koran would be the same one used in every day speech, the language used at schools would be the same one used for insults, and other daily informal conversations, and there would be no diglossia. In this way diglossia will be used to preserve the history and the value of Arabic.

The communicative relief which arises from the diglossic situation may be resolved through the use of relatively un-codified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language, and frequent vocabulary of borrowing items from high to low variety.

Ordinary people in Algeria, do not feel that they are in a diglossic community, in a way that they don't even know what the word "diglossia" means, but at least they are aware that they often resort to standard Arabic terms when they have a lack of vocabulary in the dialect, they also know that the words used for introducing yourself to a president, are not similar to one used for a chat with friends.

2.7 Rural vs urban dialects:

North Africa in general and Algeria in particular, have been arabized in two periods, the first period started in the sixth and seventh centuries, the varieties which existed at that time were spoken in old centers and in countryside, these varieties are called according to Bouamrane (1986) Prehilalian dialects, these dialects are divided into dialects spoken in villages and countryside and dialects spoken in towns; we may find the dialects spoken in villages in the Mountains of Msirda and also the region of Constantine, Mila.

The second period of arabization started with Beni Hilal in the mid eleventh century and lasted 150 years, these dialects are also classified in two types: Urban and Bedouin or Rural dialects, the distinction between the two types lies mostly in the different realizations of a number of phonetic and morphological features, as well as in the use of different lexical items:

a/ Urban dialects:

In this group, according to Bouamrane(1986), we distinguish Jewish dialects- which are beyond the task of this study -and Muslim dialects, we find them in Tlemcan, Dellys, Algiers, Media, Blida, Constantine, Skikda and other towns, Urban dialects possess particular characteristics here are some :

* the Arabic sound /ʒ/ (ج) is replaced by /dʒ/ example :

[dʒamila dʒəbti dʒəlaba?] (Djamila did you brought the gown?)

* the Arabic sound /q/ (ق) is pronounced in /k/ or glottal/?/ or kept as it is for example : [qalbi] (my heart) is said [ʔalbi] in Tlemcan .

[kalbi] in Djidjel .

[qalbi] in Algiers and Blida .

*The /h/ (ه) sound is often weak like [ntaʒhu:m] “theirs”, [darha]”her home”

* Feminine and masculine forms are not always distinguished; they are referred to the same way and sometimes reversed, example:

[Amina ftaħ el bab] (Amina open the door), instead of [fethi] which is normally for females, [ftaħ] is said to males, for whom you may say [ftaħ] like in the dialect of Tlemcan or [fəθi] in the dialect of Annaba

* The adoption of a diminutive form when talking about smaller things example:

[krisi] instead of [kursi] (chair)

[wli:d] instead of [wəld] (a boy)

In addition to these general features there are many lexical items typical to the Urban dialects for instance: [kæməl] (all) which is replaced by [ga3] in Bedouin dialects and [rdʒəl]

(foot) vs.[kra3].

b/Bedouin dialects:

These dialects form a mass and are used in many regions of Algeria mainly in the Sahara and the villages or small towns like Naama, Bayadh, Tiaret, Béchar, Djelfa and in the West of Oran, these dialects have also common characteristics like:

*the Diphthongization: or the pronunciation of diphthong instead of long vowels, most of the times the sound /aj/ replaces the /i:/ example:

[nsi:t] (I forgot) is said [nsajt].

[ʒɪθu:m liha] (I gave them to her) is pronounced [ʒɪajθu: lajha].

*The Fricatives / θ / (ث) and / ð / (ذ) are kept in most of the Bedouin dialects whereas, they become dental in urban dialects: /t/ (ت) and /d/ (د) example:

[ðhab ɣali θəmak] (Gold is expensive there) which is pronounced in Urban dialects [dhab ɣali təmak].

This general view on the complexity and diversity of the different kinds of dialects in Algeria will help me to introduce and determine the nature of the spoken dialects in Béchar, which is the aim of this study.

2.8 Conclusion

The most significant feature that typifies the linguistic situation of Algeria is the existence of three languages, Arabic, French, and Berber, classifying Algeria among the multilingual countries. These languages are not used arbitrarily in society, but they are given different political, social, and educational positions and status, thus new linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena, such as diglossia and code switching, emerged in the scene as a result of the long term contact between the co-existing languages.

Any country in the world has a language that differentiates it from the other countries and takes it as a base form for its communication, Algeria's first language is Arabic, in its two forms (standard and colloquial) presents the most important share in the linguistic scene. Arabization and after few years of application, brings Cl.Ar to use, and different Arabic dialects existing presents a sort of Arabic varieties used mainly in the whole country for daily communication, Berber varieties exist in many regions of the country in the north, and the south, Béchar also includes some Berber varieties.

Chapter three:
Sociolinguistic Situation in
Bechar

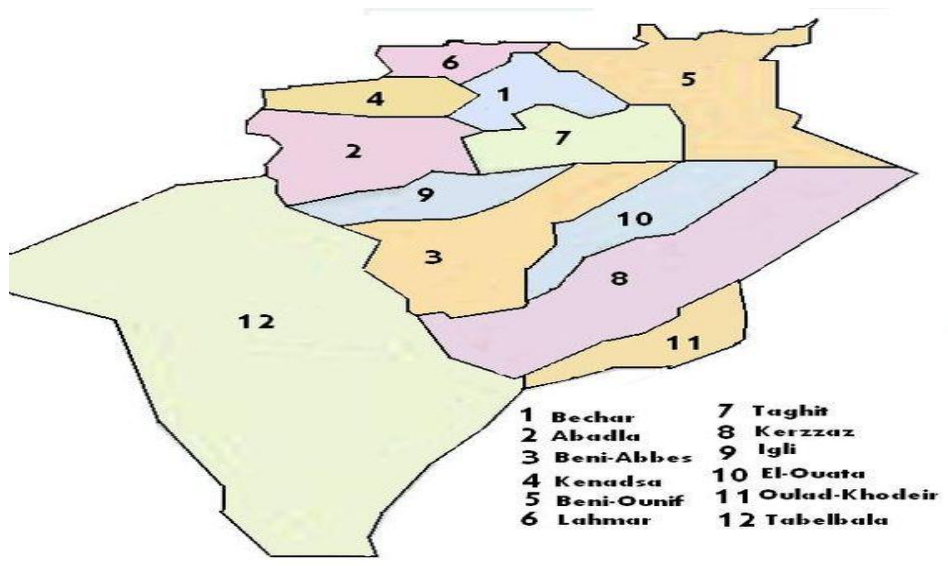
3.1. Introduction

Any description of a certain dialect must be initiated by the description of the area that uses that dialect, defining the origins of the tribes is also necessary to provide the reader with some arguments about the inclusion of terms or expressions from MSA or Moroccan dialects. For instance; Béchar's speech community shares the same verbal repertoire apart from some Berber old speakers, who may be presented as a minority group living in Béchar with a very limited intelligibility, the present dialects are varieties of AA , and a Berber variety from Igli , the existence of the present dialects in this research and more varieties beyond the analysis like the "Jewish Ksourian" variety and other Berber varieties make the sociolinguistic situation in Béchar very complex, the lack of documentation about the dialects of the region presented also a difficulty, in fact no further studies were made about dialects of Béchar, BELOUFA(1989) presented some observations about the sociolinguistic situation in Béchar , this research will introduce many characteristics and features about the existing dialect and give a clear image about the actual sociolinguistic situation in Béchar.

3.1.1. General background of Béchar

Béchar is a town in the south of Algeria; it is situated in the south west bordered by other Saharan towns such as: Naama and El Bayedh in the north, Morocco in the west, Adrar in the east, which extends until the south with Tinduf. Béchar had witnessed many historical events, the most important one happened in December 1852 when Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah, from Ouled Sid Cheikh, pushed all the population to revolt against the French. In January 1855, Captain Colomb, commander chief of El Bayed, declared a battle against Doui Mni3 and Ouled Jerir¹⁰. In March 1855, the same officer attacked those tribes, and then in April 1900, a military expedition led by Colomb reached Taghit where the French founded a military base. In 1903, the region took the name of Colomb- Béchar of the French captain.

¹⁰ Doui Mni3 and Ouled jrir are the two most important groups in Béchar.



Map (1): Administrative division of Béchar.

3.1.2. Origins of the tribes

To present the origin of each tribe we trusted books and reports written by the first French officers sent to Béchar, to avoid glorious stories told by any member of the concerned tribes. According to general Colomb, the Doui Mni3 formed a confederation; most of the books said that the Doui Mni3 were nomads coming originally from Arab tribes.

Some historians said they came to Béchar through Morocco with the help of El Chorfas Hassania to serve and protect them; others said that they came directly to settle in the boundaries of Béchar exactly in “Oued Guir”, but what all the sources agreed with was that they came exactly from “Yemen”, what is clear also is that their contact with the Moroccans was limited because there are no similarities neither in their speech nor in their traditions.

When the Doui Mni3 came to “Oued Guir”, they met “Ouled Jrir”: a sub-tribe of Hmiane¹¹, and after a battle between the two tribes, the Doui Mni3 took the valley of “Oued Guir”. The Ouled Jrir, to come back to their valley, forgot about their origins and accepted to live under the control of the Doui Mni3, it was like an alliance, that is why in many books it is mentioned that Ouled Jrir and Doui Mni3 formed one tribe in the past; here again the two tribes must have been in a long term contact because their dialects are approximately the same; after years the co-existence of the

¹¹ A very powerful tribe in the north of Béchar whose members are numerous, powerful, and rich

two tribes in the same region, caused a problem, and because the Doui Mni3 represented a dominant majority, the Ouled Jrir moved to Bni Wenif , Zouzfana and Ben Zirreg.

The “Ksouria” or “Ksorians” refers to people living in the Ksar of Kenadsa¹² and of Béchar or “Takda”. The Ksouria are of different origins like Ouled Sidi Mhammed ,Ouled Dekhissa and even Jewish families, this tribe did not take part in wars and conflicts .Kenadsa was the centre of commandment of Béchar lead by the Mourabtin of Morocco. Sidi Mohammed Ben Bouziane came to Kenadsa and founded the Zaouia Ziania and became the spiritual leader of all the region, he brought many Imams to teach Ksouria about Arabic, Islam and history, and Ksouria , in spite of their different origins, formed one cultivated and civilized speech community. The impact of the Moroccans is clear in the speech of the Kousria which is very close to Moroccan dialects, Ksouria use some terms and expressions, especially songs which result from the contact with some Jewish families who lived in Kenadsa.

The inhabitants of Iqli who represent the Shlouh in this research, were and are still referred to as “Glaoua” according to their region’s name. The general truth of the North African Berbers is that they were divided into three groups: Kotama in the north, Senhaja in the middle, and Zenata in the Sahara. Iqli belongs to Zenata and in ancient times it witnessed the existence of four important Berber tribes which were: “Ait Khebash” which was the biggest and the strongest, “Ait Atta”, “Beni Guil”, and “Ait Alwan” who are considered as the first group that dropped anchor in the area. Most of these people were pirates, they consumed Iqli’s strategic situation as the link between the northern and southern towns and built a bridge between two high mountains so as to allow people pass but after paying a tax. Then in 1730 Sidi Mohamed Ben Othman, a religious man originating from Touat¹³, came to the area and settled in the highest mountain which is “Aghrem Amoqran” while the others lived in El Ksar.

3.2. The existing dialects in Béchar

¹² A small town situated at 20 km in the south west of Béchar famous for its artists and writers, like Alla ,Yasmina Khadra and Malika Moukadem, and its Zaouia Ziania.

¹³A region that belongs to Adrar, and Ouled Ben Othman who were in Iqli are from the same family of Oulad Ben Othman who are in Zauoia Tehtania in Adrar, 40km north of Ouad Zouzfana. They did not have a Zaouia in Iqli and their influence remained around Touat.

The sociolinguistic situation in Béchar, is said to be complex because of the multiplicity and the diversity of the dialects. There are at least six dialects spoken in Béchar. We will introduce in this work five of them: four are Arabic: the dialect used by the majority, the dialect of the Doui Mni3, the dialect of Ouled jrir, and the one of the Ksouria and a Berber variety called “Shelha”.

3.2.1. The dialect of the majority

This dialect has many similar features to the one spoken in the south of Morocco, it is used now by most of the second and third generations except for the Doui Mni3, and it presents a good example of elaborated code. If we compare this dialect to other spoken ones we can easily see that its syntax is simplified and its phonological system has less phonemes.

Examples:

- [amakangəd] ndi:rha wahdi] (I can not do it alone).
- [akikadiru: txorju: mən təmmæk] (how can you get out from that place)
- [amakanəbyih] ga3 ana] (I don't like him at all).
- [amaʃi hakak] (not like that)
- [awi:n kayəskən hadak ssijəd] (where does that person live)
- [a3andak t3awəd had əddarba] (I am warning you to never do it again)
- [ama3andah ga3 3lah jlu:mna] (he does not have the right to blame us)

The addition of the prefix {a-} at the beginning of each expression is perhaps the most important feature of this dialect, the function of this prefix is not clear because it is added to expressions, in the beginning of only the first word.

The pre-verb {ka-} at the beginning of the verbs is the mark of the present tenses; it is a common feature between this dialect and Moroccan ones, for example:

[kanəbki]	(I cry)	(I am crying)
[kanəʒri]	(I run)	(I am running)
[kanətfarəʒ]	(I watch)	(I am watching)

The dialect of the majority (D1) is a sibilant-merging dialect; the /z/ sound is replaced by /ʒ/ in most of the words like in: [mʒəwaʒ] instead of [mzawaʒ] (married) and [ʒu:ʒ] instead of [zu:ʒ] (two), and [ʒaʒ] for [zaʒ] (glass).

Code switching takes place in this dialect, but what is a grammatical error in French especially by the young persons, is to consider the definite article “la” in any feminine word in French as “l’” or “l’ apostrophe”, and so they omit the “l’” and keep the /a/ at the beginning of words, for example:

French	D1
la robe (dress)	[arob]
la tarte	[aʔartʔ]
la piscine	[apisi:n]

This dialect is an elaborated code, it has a simpler phonological system than the dialect of the Doui Mnii (D2) and the dialect of the Ouled Jrir (D3), in fact this dialect doesn’t include some purely Arabic sounds which exist in D2 like /ð/, /ð/ and /θ/, and it replaces the long /e:/ which characterizes D3 by the /u:/, examples:

D2	D1	D3	D1
[ðəlma]	[dəlma] (darkness)	[ʒarhe:]	[jarhu:] (their neighbours)
[θawm]	[tu:m] (garlic)	[ləm]e:]	[ləm]u:] (cats)

There are many lexical terms and expressions that leak from Morocco and exactly from Figig to Béchar, and vice versa, like the word [msantəh] or [msaʔi] for mad and the expression [jak labas] for (what is wrong?), and maledictions like [awili:], [anari:]; other expressions are typically from D1 like [iwahah] and [aʒa:rrəbi] for (really!) and [hara] (give me).

This dialect is some how typical for its incursion of a large number of slang vocabularies, such as: [xwi] meaning “go”, which can be also expressed as [kʃi], or [kru:], [xbaiʔa] is another term which refers to a bombed man, [baz] and [ʃəfʃi] are used to describe a weak person, or more precisely to hesitate on him, and [mdarrak] for a brawny man.

3.2.2. The Dialect of the DouiMni3

The DouiMni3 is a tribe whose members present an example of solidarity, the way Doui Mni3 settled in Béchar is still debatable, however what we are sure about is

that they are of pure Arab origins exactly from the tribe of Bani Hilal¹⁴ in the Yemen. If any one who knows about the dialect of Doui Mni3 is watching a film or documentary about the Arab Bedouin life in the golf or in the Yemen, he will notice great similarities in the accent and in many expressions and words, some of them are exactly the same. According to Beloufa.L (1986) the percentage of cognition between this dialect and MSA is about 80% for instance we find some words like: [ta3ala] is [t3ala] (come), [ana la aṭiqo an ataḥarak] is [maniʃ tajəg nəḥarak] (I can not move at all), /jataḥadaθ/ is /jəḥadaθ/ (speak)...etc, and this confirms the Arab origin of the DouiMni3.

This dialect is used by all the members of Doui Mni3, for them it's a question of solidarity and ethnicity. Most of the Doui Mni3, nowadays live in Abadla, and it is there where we can hear their pure dialect, even if this dialect did not change a lot, here are some examples :

- [ja wil mattek] (pay attention)
- [hajəd 3ani] (get away from me)
- [sir 3ani ḥsan lak] (you'd better let me alone)
- [3tajni ʃitʃu:f dik lʁanʃa] (give me that case)
- [xli xajmtək] (malediction will be on you)
- [ya t3ala tʃu:f] (please come to see).
- [waʃta θə su:lima dajrinha lajna hna ha wajn] (what is this scandal happening here).

Like most Algerian dialects, the DouiMni3 don't have names for new objects, they rarely borrow words from French; in fact this dialect is remarkable by the creation of new names for new objects, these names can be derived from the sound made by the object, or its function, for instance, the DouiMni3 gave (bra) the name [xabaja] from the verb [jxabbi] or (to hide), and for (ice cream) it is [mliḥsa] from the verb [jəlḥas] (to lick).

This dialect is also characterized by the use of proverbs in each corresponding situation; there is at least one proverb for each situation, when having a discussion with someone from the DouiMni3 you will hear at least one proverb. Most proverbs have a relation with Bedouin environment, including names of very old objects and some abandoned names for objects or animals like [yrara] which means an object made of leather and serves as water reservoir, and [lbaw] or a small camel.

¹⁴ a confederation of Arabian Bedouin tribes that migrated into North Africa in the 11th century their influx was major factor in the Arabization of the Maghreb

Here are some proverbs: [ɣa li ʒa mən dahra wəld ʒamək a Zohra], (any one who comes will be your cousin). It is said to a person who is pretending any one to be one member of his family.

[mʃaw ʒajnijja h̄arak ja h̄waʒbi], (I have lost my eyes so what about my eyebrows).

[limahawel ʒla wəl ləyrara ma j̄hawəl ʒla ʒgabha] (Who does not take from the beginning will not take by the end).

[li ma ðag əlham tʒaʒbu: rrija] (Who had never tasted meat likes liver) this proverb is said to the person convinced that what he owns is the best, even if he doesn't have any idea about other things.

[lkərʃ ɣrara wərbatha ʒkal], it means that eating without control is the cause of all health problems.

This dialect is characterized by the use of {ɣa} instead of {ɣir} which means “just”, example: [ɣa ʃwi], (just a few) or, [rahʒab ɣa lbaʒaʒa] (he brought just some potatoes).

By analyzing these examples we can see that DouiMni3's dialect is typically Bedouin, the fricatives {θ} (ث) and {ð} (ذ) are present, this pronunciation is one characteristic of the resemblance between this dialect and CA; examples:

CA	D2
[θu:m] (garlic)	[θawm]
[ðahab] (gold)	[ðhab]
[ðala:m] (darkness)	[ðlam]

Another feature which classifies D2 as a Bedouin dialect is the pronunciation of diphthongs in place of long vowels, for instance “hand” is pronounced in urban dialect [li:d] but in D2 it is [laid], and “good” is pronounced [zain] instead of [zi:n].

Some cases of deletion appear in words that are borrowed from Arabic example:

CA	D2
[basal]	[bsal] (onion)
[haʃiʃ]	[hʃiʃ] (herb)
[kaθir]	[kθir] (a lot)

Some expressions in D2 are not just different from CA but seem to the hearer “bizarre”. These words are mainly the ones used in asking questions in addition to some adverbs of place here are some examples:

[nahu:] who?

[kif]	how?
[wajwak]	when?
[hnahawajn]	here
[lhajh]	there

These words, even if give us an impression that have totally dissimilar origins from the other common words between all Algerian dialects, have a relation in a way or another with the equivalent ones in AA, for instance [wajwak] is a combination of two variables of “when” in AA: [wajnta] or [wi:nta] and [wəkta], and [hnahawajn] a derivation from the word [hnaja].

In terms of lexis and in most cases the feminine terms are derived from the masculine ones by adding the suffix {a}. Example:

M		F
[mrið]	sick	[mriða]
[kbir]	big	[kbira]
[zain]	nice	[zaina]

In indicating possession and as a shared characteristic with the majority of the Algerian dialects, we add the suffix {-i:} for the masculine and {-ti:} for feminine, the following illustration may clarify the task:

[xa:li]	my uncle	[xa:lti]	my aunt
[sahbi]	my boy friend	[sahabti]	my girl friend
[ʒari]	my neighbour (masc.)	[ʒarti]	neighbour (fem)

3.2.3. The Dialect of the Ksouria

We must first clarify that the Ksouria are not people who live in Ksours of the South where the spoken dialect is “Shelha”, but people who live mainly in the Ksar of Kenadsa and the Ksar of the center of Béchar or “Takda”.

Ksouria come originally from Morocco and from “Hmian”, but were settled since at least four generations in Kenadsa. Ksouria were all educated and civilized, they were “Toulba” and “Mrabtin” the first comers to Kenadsa, brought with them their “Abid” or Black people to serve them and help them in their works. They shared with the “Abid” many habits and traditions and even dialects. No previous studies were made about this dialect; informants and many family members facilitate the analysis of this dialect and provide us with the data needed.

This dialect is the nearest one to Moroccan ones from all the Algerian dialects, and here are some examples:

[a zidu:hu: xəbza xra] (give them some bread)

[aʃ had el ʒi! bælli ʒlijja məblu:l](what is this couscous like! I think it is wet)

[iwa byiti ləvnivina, hada ləbxas xlas] (you are mad to ask for no viable things)

[dəxlətli ʒi:ʃa fi ʒini] (a have a crumb in my eye)

[makajhəʃmu: makajxazu: l mi:da mkaħla mrəgda] (what’s a shame the table was dirty)

[makatʒarfu:ʃi ləswab] (you don’t know how to deal with people)

[ku:s el bu:ss yi bida] (I swear she has a white skin)

However some words exist only in Morocco and in Kenadsa, these words were brought with the first comers to Kenadsa, and are still used by the Ksouria here are some examples: [xizzu:] “carrot”, [ɣtar] for “slate” [matiʃa] for “tomato” and especially the word [waxa] which means “yes” or “ok”. Examples:

[ləmrozia] (Carrot)

[zu:nan] (Crumbs of glass)

[mozon] (Lentil)

[qədu:h] (Marmite)

D3 has no names for new objects, unlike Doui Mni3, the Ksouria give borrowed names to new objects. In fact there are a lot of French borrowings in Ksouria dialects because they were in a permanent contact with French people who lived there during and after colonization.

Most of the French who lived in Kenadsa worked in education and teaching they went to cinema, swimming pool and libraries, their objects and activities were taken and imitated by the Ksouria and the names of these objects and activities were borrowed. Examples:

D3	French
[su:nit]	(Sonnette)
[safajas]	(Surveillance)
[lbartmu:n]	(Porte monnaie)
[lkantina]	(La cantine)
[minu:ri]	(Mineur)

These words are still used and pronounced this way even by educated people.

D3 is classified as an urban dialect, phonologically speaking the fricative /θ/ (ث) and /ð/ (ذ) are replaced by the dental /t/ (ت) and /d/ (د). Example [tqil] is said for heavy instead of [θqil] and [dhab] for gold instead of [ðhab], some Arabic sounds are not found in D3 at all like /ð/ for instance Ksouria don't say [ðalma] (darkness) but [dalma].

Unlike all dialects in Béchar where the sound /q/ is replaced by /g/, D3 in some words keeps the sound /q/ like in CA, example: [qalbi] instead of [galbi] for (my heart) and [qrib] instead of [grib] for (near).

Another feature is the use of diminutive forms like [stijəl] a small [stal] (can) and [mtiwi] a small [mətwi] (knife). Ksouria's dialect is also famous for the use of the /e:/ instead of /u:/ Example: [ʒəbna lhe:t nməlhe:h wə nakle:h] (we brought fish we will put in some salt and eat it) which is pronounced in all the other dialects [ʒəbna lhu:t nməlhu:h wə naklu:h].

Proverbs also exist in D3, most of these proverbs have a relation with religion and education which are very important for the Ksouria; examples:

[tibaʃire: la tinaffire:] from the original Arabic proverb [baʃiru: la tonaffiru:], it is said to a person who never gives hope to people.

[jakəlha lmsali wəla tarək ssla] (is it for the one who prays or for who doesn't) and it is said for those who cook a small quantity of food for many people.

[zriba tedi laxra] it is said for consolation.

[dkarna lma ou ləhlib wə sidna Mohamed əl ħbib] it is said to a person who is always complaining about pain and illness.

[ʒbid si:dna dkərna gədamhu: ɣi ssla wə sjəm] it is said for gossip, in front of whom we have to pay attention when speaking.

Like D2, Ksoria's dialect has a proverb for every situation sometimes many just for one situation, for instance to say that you humiliate someone you can use one of these proverbs: [wadditu: fi kas], [ɣsəltu: ɣsil əl kərʃa], [xda ma xda ətbal nhar əl ʒid].

In D3 possessive pronouns have /ntaʒet/ as a root, which is /ntaʒ/ in other dialects; here is the list of possessive pronouns: [ntaʒti] mine

[ntaʒtək]	your
[ntaʒtu:]	his
[ntaʒətha]	her
[ntaʒətku:]	yours
[ntaʒəthu:]	their

The feminine of nouns in D3 is formed by adjoining the suffix /a/ to the masculine, and like all the dialect in Béchar D3 doesn't include the dual form neither in pronouns nor in nouns. The external plural requires adding the suffix {i:n} for the masculine and {a:t} for the feminine, examples:

S (M)	S(F)	Pl (M)	Pl(F)	
[mrabəʃ]	[mrabʃa]	[mrabʃin]	[mrabʃa:t]	(Marabou or Almoravid)
[xayaʃ]	[xayaʃa]	[xajaʃi:n]	[xajaʃa:t]	(dressmaker)

The case of "broken plural" occurs only in the masculine, the plural in here needs a change in the vowel of the root, example:

S	Pl	
[ʃrif]	[ʃorfa]	(sacred)
[kbir]	[kbar]	(big)
[ʒdid]	[ʒdad]	(new)

3.2.4. Dialect of the Ouled Jrir

The dialect used by Ouled Jrir is similar, or even identical to the one of the Doui Mni3, it is said that both groups formed one tribe in the past, and because of many reasons, mainly wars, they were separated. In some historical books the Doui Mni3 and the Ouled Jrir were different tribes but they formed an alliance for a long time, however, there is a slight difference in pronunciation and in the names of some words. Examples: [lgarg] (shoes), [zəgdu:] (a lot of), [lhatf] (hill), [lu:h] (throw)...etc. Ouled Jrir live in the center of Béchar not outside of it; they usually form small groups in dispersed places. These groups are shifting to the dialect of the majority.

3.2.5. Shelha

There are many types of Berber languages spoken in Béchar along the different regions, but these varieties have almost the same Berber speech pattern, including lexis and phonology, and carry only few differences, they also share many characteristics with Tamazight, Chaouia, and Tamachek except the one of Tabelbala which consists of a particular vocabulary and a different phonological system from the other varieties in Béchar and Kabylia. It can be intelligible just by some tribes in Mali and Niger because they have the same rules of speech¹⁵, we are not going to present all these varieties, but only one of them which is the one used in Igli, because it is mutually intelligible between all the Berber speakers in Béchar and Igli is the only region where you can find many people using “Shelha”.

Shelha is a very old variety, and it was among the Berber languages spoken in North Africa. Nowadays “Shelha” is found in some areas in the region of Béchar, more exactly in Beni-ounif, Igli, Wakda, Taghit, Lahmar, Boukais and Tabelbala, it also extends to Figig, a small region in Morocco, and to other places in the South of the kingdom due to country borders. Shelha is spoken by elders more than the youngsters who acquire other languages of their generation; all the examples below are from the “Shelha” of Igli, or the native speakers call “Tabeldit”.

According to Mohanhd Akli. H (2000), in spite of the geographical distribution of the Berber languages, they still have many lexical terms in common.

¹⁵ Mouili (2011)

Examples: (Tz: Tamazight, Ch: Chawia, T:Tabeldit, Sh: Shelha)
 “father” is [baba] (Tz, Ch), [abba] (T), and [ba:] (Sh).
 “mother” is: [jəmma] (Tz, Ch), [ma] (T).
 “sister” is: [ultma] (T), [weltma] (Tz), [istma] (Sh).
 “eye” is: [tiz] (for all the Berber languages)
 “day” is: [wa:s] (Tz, Ch), [a:s] (Sh).

Shelha has names for all the local objects mainly the old ones, but it doesn't have names for new objects like pocket, window, radio, TV, cinema, villa ...etc. Thus the new generations intended to borrow names for these things from Arabic or French with a slight difference in the pronunciation or a change in one or two elements. Nevertheless, this variety still has many lexical characteristics that are original and others are created because of the influence of other languages mainly Arabic and French.

Some terms are abandoned or even forgotten and others are replaced by words from Arabic, most of the lost words are related to agriculture because it was the most important activity in the past, nowadays, people are interested in education, culture and other activities, just old persons work in agriculture. Those words are lost mainly among the new generations more over most of them do not have their synonyms neither in Arabic nor in other languages because they are specific to the Ksours of Béchar, example:

*[tagəja:rt] is a piece of wood put around the well used to prevent the sand from going inside.

*[agmu:n] refers to the earth which is used and available for agriculture.

*[a:ʒdəl] is a place in the earth where water is poured.

Berber varieties have many similarities with each other at all levels, in terms of lexis Shelha shares many words with Tamazight, example:

Tamazight	Shelha
[aman]	[aman] (water)
[tu:dərt]	[tu:dərt] (life)
[i:ɣzər]	[i:ɣzər] (river)
[qijəm]	[qijəm] (sit)

There are also many lexical differences between the two, example:

[adrar]	[tawri:rt] (mountain)
[wu:l]	[u:l] (heart)
[axxam]	[ti:dart] (house)
[anzad]	[ixəf] (hair)

The Ksours of Béchar witnessed the occupation of the French in 1900, but the influence of French vocabulary on Shelha did not reach its utmost. However, apart from switching into it, there are some French words which have been integrated in Shelha like the word [bu:rdi:n], “le bord de la dune” which has swept into this variety during the French colonization to refer to a place in front of the dunes where old people gather.

Shelha’s speech is not randomly structured, in spite of its lack of a written form, it has grammatical rules through which speech patterns are organized, and correct forms are distinguished from the said “incorrect” ones thanks to these rules, and here are examples of syntactic categories:

Shelha unlike Classical Arabic and MSA does not include the dual of both masculine and feminine among its pronouns. The feminine pronouns are derived from the masculine ones by adding a {t} example : [nətta]: he [nəttat] : she

[ʃku:m]: you Pl M [ʃku:mt]: you Pl F

Shelha has two types of number, singular and plural, but only the latter is marked. The plural has two forms according to the type of nouns, the first regular type is known as the "external plural" it consists of a change in the initial vowel of the noun *a, u, i* into *i*, and adding a suffix *-n* for the masculine.

Example: [argaz] → [irgazən] “man” [u:tʃu:] → [itʃu:wan] “horn”

The feminine plural requires the omission of the suffix /t/ and its replacement by the suffix {i:n}, and sometimes *a* is omitted and replaced by *i* or *u*. Example:

[tamətu:t] → [timətu:ti:n] [tajta:lət] → [tajta:li:n]

The second form of the plural is known as the “broken plural”; in here the plural form is made by a change in the vowels. Example:

[saku:] → [isoka] “bed” [taʃka:rt] → [tiʃu:kar] “case”

But sometimes the word is totally changed. Example:

[a3yal] → [alwaʃu:n] [axdu:] → [ta3talət] (child)

The adjectives, on the other hand, are derived from the nouns and can be either masculine or feminine; the masculine is initiated by a vowel, while the feminine is initiated by the /t/ consonant examples: [tizəgərt] [azəga:r] [tazəga:rt] “tall”

[tikələt] [akəlu:] [takəlu:t] “short”

Shelha in general is a subject verb object language, the VSO order acts as an answer of a question like in (2), and sometimes two verbs can be found in one sentence (see c).

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1- | a3ʒal iswu: aman. | The boy drank water. |
| 2- | a) mani gəlaw a3jal? | Where did the boy go? |
| | b) iza adi ɣər.(see deletion) | Went to study. |
| 3- | atzi:3 adəgma3 aman. | I go to bring water. |

Unlike Tamazight which is used in Kabylia, any of the Berber varieties in Béchar has an official status, their status remains social. Some varieties like “Tabeldit” are used just by old people but, with the presence of those speakers we can at least collect data about the dialect. Other varieties start to disappear and giving features about, is something very difficult especially with the absence of a written heritage.

3.3. Lexical comparison and cognition with MSA and D1

According to Beloufa.L (1989) it seems complicated to determine the degree of lexical relationship between Classical Arabic and any dialectal Arabic because of the difficulty to select the shared lexical items and to identify their meanings. So in order to give a general view of this dichotomy it may be better to use the Swadesh list, which is an organized way to present such a list of words, it includes more than 100 stable terms for each dialect, and a synonym in CA for every term.

This comparison follows the following order: the terms will be written in English at first, then in CA or MSA, and then the other dialects represented as:

- D1: the dialect spoken by the majority,
- D2: the dialect spoken by the Doui Mni3,
- D3: the one used by the Ksouria,
- D4: used by the Oulad Jrir, and
- D5: refers to Shelha.

Apart from the Swadesh list we can generally say that the dialects of Béchar are related to Classical Arabic or later MSA for many reasons. The most important one is that Algeria is a speech community in which diglossia is societal. In particular, the dialects of Béchar are considered as low and MSA is high, the dialect which is closely related to MSA is the one spoken by the Doui Mni3. For example: (go away from me) [ibta3id 3ani] in MSA is [hajəd 3anni] in this dialect, also [ta3ala] is [t3ala] (come), [ana la atiqo an ataharak] is [maniʃ tajhæg nətharrak] (I can not move at all), [jatahaddaθ] is [jəthaddaθ] (he speaks)...etc. This means that this type of dialect consists of a considerable number of MSA items more than the others but with a slight difference in pronunciation.

In terms of phonology, together with the other southern regions, Béchar is famous with its use of the phoneme /g/ rather than /q/ in most of the words like: [gri:b] (near, closer), [g3od] (sit), [gu:l] (say), [lgi:t] (find), [gamra] (moon), [tleg] (let). But some times /q/ remains as it is in the dialect of Ksouria and in some words like: [qra] (read or learn), [qorʔan] (Quran), [mqadəm] (advanced), [qəlb] (heart), and sometimes it is replaced by /k/ as in [ktəl] (he killed). The phenomenon of metathesis, on the other hand, is very common in this speech, it appears in the inversion of /s/ and /ʃ/ as in [səmʃ] rather than [ʃəms] (sun), or /r/ and /l/ like in [rol] instead of [lor] (behind) in Doui mni3's dialect [m3a] (with) is pronounced [3ma].

These are only few features that characterize the dialects of Béchar. The grammar associated in it is similar to most of the Algerian dialects, and from all the analyzed dialects the one which can be mutually intelligible with all the Algerian dialects including the northern, the southern, and perhaps the eastern dialects is the one spoken by the majority. The other southern dialects remain far from being clearly understood by the others mainly the dialects of Adrar and Tinduf.

3.3.1. Cognition with MSA

After comparing the lexical items of the dialects of Béchar using the Swadesh list, we move to present the percentage of cognation between these dialects and MSA. Now we try to make the correlation between them one by one starting by:

a) MSA and D1

According to Beloufa (1989), the percentage of cognation between MSA and D1 is around 62%. Some of the words in this dialect are identical to MSA others are not but their origins go back to it. The roots are the same but the difference lays in morphology through adding or omitting one morpheme or more. Examples:

/MSA/	/D1/
[rafi:q]	[rfi:g] (companion).
[ahmar]	[hmar] (red).
[josra]	[ləsra] (left).
[qari:b]	[gri:b] (near).
[ba3i:d]	[b3i:d] (far).

On the other hand, there are many words which are not related to MSA such as:

[wasix]	[mja3fən] (dirty).
[majnu:n]	[hbi:l] (crazy)
[yanam]	[j̣jah] (cheeps).

b) MSA and D2

The percentage here is 79%, however there are many similarities between the two, as said before, and most of the difference is at the level of morphology.

Examples:

/MSA/	/D2/
[jabis]	[yabəs] (dry).
[bayð]	[bayð] (egg).
[ku:l]	[ku:l] (all).

[kaθi:r] [kθi:r] (many).
 [tɪfl] [tʃəl] (baby).

Sometimes the difference lays in lexis, for instance:

[sami3a] [tsənat] (listen).
 [ðaraba] [zda] (hit).
 [ʃaraba] [skah] (drink).
 [hajawan] [zajla] (animal).
 [irja3] [3gob] (go back).

c) MSA and D3

The percentage of cognition is 73%, in here also there are many similarities, and some words are the same like in Arabic even if not borrowings

/MSA/	/D3/
[fi]	[fi] (in)
[yəl3ab]	[yəl3ab] (play)
[3aʃ]	[3aʃ] (live)
[warda]	[warda] (flower)
[riʃa]	[riʃa] (feather)

Some words have a slight difference which can sometimes be a vowel or a syllable like in the following examples:

/MSA/	/D3/
[xa:fa]	[xa:f] (fear)
[a3ʔa]	[3ʔa] (give)
[haʃi:ʃ]	[hʃi:ʃ] (grass)
[hu:na]	[hna] (here)
[qalb]	[qəlb] (heart)

On the other hand there are some words which are totally different from Arabic, especially the ones originating from Moroccan dialects:

/MSA/	/D3/
[saqata]	[təslat] (fall)
[saħn]	[ɣtar] (slate)
[sikin]	[mtiwi] (knife)
[nafida]	[sar3əm] (window)

In this dialect some words are the same like in Arabic but their meaning is different like in /ma3sour/ which is an MSA word meaning (pressed) but in D3 it means “ slim”; /l3afia/ also means in MSA /health/ but it refers to (fire) in D3.

d) MSA and D4

MSA and the dialect of Ouled jrir are related to each other at about 67%, and like the previous dialect there are lexical similarities as well differences between the two. Examples of their similarities are:

/MSA/	/D4/
[yamu:t]	[ymu:t] (die).
[yaxaf]	[yxaf] (fear).
[warda]	[warda] (flower).
[ða3if]	[ð3if] (week).
[sami3a]	[sma3] (hear).

Of course there is a slight difference in phonology, but this does not really create a concrete distinction more than it is in lexis as in:

[saqata]	[tərdax] (fall).
[jati:r]	[jfər] (fly).
[ata]	[xlaʔ] (came).
[kaθi:r]	[zəgdu:] (a lot)

Variation between dialect three and MSA is more than the variation between dialect two and MSA, after the separation of the Ouled jrir and Doui Mni3 the former chose to constitute their own variety

e) MSA and D5

Although both of these languages are originally distinct from each other but they may correlate at about 23%. These examples show exactly the difference:

/MSA/	/D5/
[kull]	[ga3] (all).
[aswad]	[abərkan] (black).
[ba3d]	[afu:h] (some).
[najm]	[itri] (star).
[dahr]	[tadwat] (back).

Nevertheless there are similarities between the two as in:

[hukuma]	[hukmet] (government).
[maslaha]	[salhat] (interest).

[ramd]	[rmad]	(ashes).
[zoqaq]	[sqaq]	(road).
[tajr]	[ti:r]	(bird).

3.3.2. Comparison and Cognition with D1

Dialect one in general may act as the amalgamation of the various varieties because of the diversity of the origins of people who live in Béchar, it is spoken by the great majority including: Doui Mni3, Ouled jrir, Ksouria, Chraga¹⁶, and the new comers who are people from all the Algerian regions.

f) Dialect One and Dialect Two

Cognition here is 73%, and examples of their differences are:

/D1/	/D2/	
[3and]	[hda]	(at).
[jsot]	[jhab]	(blow).
[3gəd]	[krəf]	(tie).
[dabəz]	[t3arək]	(fight).
[baz]	[tful]	(kid).

While for the similarities we may find words having the same root with a difference in pronunciation, most of these words are similar to MSA examples:

/D1/	/D2/	
[dhar]	[ðhar]	(back).
[kbi:r]	[kbi:r]	(big).
[dəm]	[dəm]	(blood).
[hfar]	[hfar]	(dig).

g) Dialect One and Dialect Three

Cognition between these two dialects is about 79 % here, are some examples

/D1/	/D3/	
[gə]ra]	[gə]ra]	(bark)
[jsott]	[jsott]	(blow)
[na]əf]	[na]əf]	(dry)
[sma3]	[sma3]	(hear)

¹⁶ People who are not originally from Béchar mainly those who came from Bayedh and Ain Safra

Some of the differences are:

/D1/	/D3/
[gəɫta]	[bħira] (lake)
[twəka]	[tməd] (lie)
[gʒod]	[gləs] (sit)
[zrodia]	[xizzu:] (carrot)
[zəri:3a]	[bədra] (seed)

h) Dialect one and dialect four

The percentage of cognation in this comparison is 72% which is near the percentage of cognition between D1 and D2 and it confirms that D2 and D4 are not very different, examples of their similarities are:

/D1/	/D4/
[3dam]	[3ðam] (bone).
[ʃrab]	[ʃrab] (drink).
[nar]	[nar] (fire).
[hu:t]	[hu:t] (fish).
[tqi:l]	[tqi:l] (heavy).

These two dialects also differ from each other like in:

[raʒəl]	[təra:s] (man).
[hməl]	[twədər] (lost).
[tri:g]	[mənʒu:ra] (road).
[zəri:3a]	is [bəðra] (seed).

i) Dialect One and Dialect Five

Dialect four is spoken by a minority, its group of speakers compared to the others is the smallest, therefore it represents only 26% of correlation with dialect one. Consequently dialect five has only few similarities but large differences not only with dialect one but with all the analyzed dialects. Examples of similarities are:

/D1/	/D5/
[rmad]	[rmad] (ashes).
[ti:r]	[ti:r] (bird).
[3a]	[3a] (live).
[ɣjam]	[ɣjam] (cloud).
[jaħsəb]	[jaħsəb] (he counts).

The differences are numerous but we choose only some of them:

[raʒəl]	[argaz] (man).
[mra]	[tamettot] (women).
[nhar]	[ass] (day).
[ħmar]	[aɣju:l] (donkey).
[ʃwija]	[afu:h] (few).

We explained previously that D2 and D4 form mainly the same dialect, the difference is just in some words which are used by old persons, the similarity in speech is justified by the long term contact between the two tribes. These two dialects, however, are very different from D5 which has a very low percentage of cognition with all the existing dialects in Béchar. The difference between D2 and D3 is a logical one since it concerns Rural and Urban dialects, the differences in the way of life, the interests and the culture cause a difference in speech.

At last we can observe that dialect one is composed of different features from all the dialects, except from D5 which is represented by a limited number of speakers (old Shlouh).

The highest percentage of cognition is with D3, a dialect considered as urban and used by a cultivated speech community, D2 and D4 are Bedouin dialects from which typically Bedouin words and expressions were not adopted for an urban context (Béchar as a city).

3.4. D1 as an elaborated code:

D1 or dialect of the majority is a model for an elaborated code, this dialect contains many expressions and terms from all the existing dialects, from French and MSA, the characteristics of this dialect were presented previously but to prove that it is used by the majority of the new generation a questionnaire was needed.

3.4.1. Questionnaire

This questionnaire is to prove that D1 or the elaborated code is used by most of the new generation speakers in Béchar, which is a hypothesis we proposed as a native speaker, and we formulated after analysing the speech of speakers. To get naturalistic speech, we used one of the most obvious elicitation techniques: recordings in unobserved settings, a small recorder being hidden. Many short-time conversations have been recorded from random groups of people talking about miscellaneous topics; the groups consist of two to five speakers.

The questionnaire contains four situations where the informant has to choose the expression he uses, there are three expressions one from D2 and D3 and D1, if the informant uses a not mentioned expression, he has to write it. The informants give their age and gender, and it is just after answering that we asked informants about the tribe they belong to, social class doesn't present a problem in the selection of informant because this factor has not really an effective rule in classifying people, rich people have not a very different way of life than poor ones.

The informants are 100 persons, 50 women and 50 men, their ages vary between 17 and 40 years old, we selected 20 informants from each tribe: Ksouria, Doui Mni3, Ouled Jrir, Shlough, and Chruga.

3.4.2. Results of the questionnaire

Just as it was expected –thanks to long term observation and our intuition as a native of Béchar- D1 or the elaborated code is widely used by the majority of new generation speakers, the terms proposed for D1 were chosen by more than 85 informants, some informants use none of the proposed terms, in situation (1) they used some borrowed terms from French, or switched directly to French, like [fjansi] or /fiancée/ these two terms were used by thirteen female informants, nine of them are Chrega and four Ksouria.

In situation (2) the term [wəʃta] was proposed by seven informants one male and six females apart from these informants all the others used [waʃ].

Shelha was totally absent and not used, we didn't suggest any term in Shelha, and we didn't expect any informant to answer with it, because it is nearly a “dead language”.

In the situation (3): D2 was used by six Doui Mni3 informants who are more than 35 years old and D3 by nine Ksouria female informants, and the term [nari] was proposed not more than four times by females also.

For situation (4): all the informants used the same term of D1 except two Ksouria female informants who used [xarraq].

The terms used in the questionnaire are very old, because a typical term to each tribe was needed, an important factor of identifying the speaker's origin is the accent, and to get a trusted results this factor was ignored, for situation (1), the term [maxtu:ba] is a common one between all the Algerian dialects, because it is originally from MSA, that is why new generation speakers prefer to use it than other terms like [ma3tija] or [mzayrta]. To code switch or at least borrow from French is a normal behaviour, woman speech is said to be trivial and superficial, some female informants (Chraga, and Ksouria) proposed “fiancé” or [fiansi], in fact the common characteristics between these females is that they know us and their answer perhaps comes from their impression that the questionnaire is about their educational level.

In situation (2), and for a better mutual intelligibility young speakers use [waʃ] instead of [smu:] or [asmu:] which seems heavy to pronouns, [waʃta] was used by Chraga and the answer of the seven informant is a result of the influence of their original dialects, the three Doui Mni3 females shifted to Chraga's speech as a first step into their shift to D1.

D1 and as an elaborated code contains abbreviations and simpler expressions and terms than the original dialects [wili] is abbreviating both [will le3da] and [wilmatak], some Doui Mni3 informants declared that they avoid [wilmatak] because it is not polite they don't mean really maledictions on the mother of the addressee but on him, furthermore [wili] is used widely in all Moroccan regions, from where many terms are borrowed and it is from where [nari] comes; [geṭṭa3] in situation (4) comes from the Arabic verb [qaṭṭa3a] an easier and more understandable term than [ʒoq] and [xarrak], the latter is used by some informants who clarify that they use it for a particular context (when explaining that the person was insulting or blaming like in [rah 3ad jxarrak fi fəmu:] or after all what he did, he is still complaining).

3.5. Conclusion:

What is mentioned above is a brief overview of the language repertoire of Béchar, which is characterized by the existence of: MSA, dialectal Arabic, French, and Berber varieties, of course we did not give a detailed explanation of the Standard form of Arabic because it is the same one of all the Algerian speech community, nor French was dealt with. Our concern is on the dialects spoken in Béchar, these two factors are the only that carry some special characteristics of the speech patterns of the area of Béchar, although this chapter does not present a detailed sociolinguistic analysis on the speech of Béchar, but at least it provides us with a clear description on the dialects which exist.

The words examined in the comparison show that similarities and differences between the four dialects and Modern Standard Arabic are basically lexical, phonological, and morphological. What is clear through that comparison is that dialect two is the closest one to MSA as compared with the other dialects. Moreover, in terms of dialectal variation we have discovered that dialects two and three have the largest percentage of cognation for reasons explained before; without any doubt dialect one, which is used by the majority, is the most famous among the others and its speech characteristics are known among the non users of Bécharian dialects. The only dialect which seems to have few relations with the rest is dialect four for its unique origins and characteristics.

The results of the questionnaire in this chapter are very important; because they give significance to the use of the expression “the dialect of the majority” it also clarifies and facilitates the analysis of the actual sociolinguistic situation in Béchar.

Chapter four:
Sociolinguistic Variation in
Bechar

4.1 Introduction

We are interested in speech variation according to social factors: age, gender, ethnicity, and social class. Variation in Béchar occurs between and within dialects; in this chapter we will present variation between two existing dialects D2 and D3, because D4 is similar to D2 and D5 is a Berber variety totally different from the others. D1 is an elaborated code from D2 and D3, the difference of the nature of the tribes (Ksouria and Doui Mni3) is also an interesting fact which promoted the choice. The speech community of Béchar does not involve social class in variation. In a town like Béchar social classes are difficult to distinguish; people, mainly, have the same way of living. Variation, on the other hand, occurs at the levels of age, gender, and especially ethnicity which is the main factor causing a clear speech variation, though gender does not carry as much variation as the rest, because whenever we say D2 we are talking about Doui Mni3, and D3 means the speech of Ksouria. The origins of the tribe and the characteristics of each dialect were presented with details in the third chapter, and the following phonological, morphological and mainly lexical variables are studied at the level of ethnicity.

4.2 Phonological variables

4.2.1 The diphthongization /aj/in D2 vs. /i: / in D3:

As we saw earlier one characteristic of Bedouin dialects and of D2, is the diphthongization of long vowels. There is no rule for diphthongization in D2, it occurs sometimes with verbs, with possessive pronouns and within nouns.

The long /i:/ which presents the past simple of the verbs with all the pronouns except with “he” [hu:wa] and “she”[hija] and “they” [hu:ma] in D3 is replaced by /ai/ in D2, in the examples below the verb “to go” is conjugated in the past simple with “I, we and you”:

D2	D3	
[ana mʃajt]	[ana mʃi:t]	(I went)
[nta mʃajt]	[nta mʃi:t]	(you went sg.m)
[nti: mʃajti]	[nti : mʃi :ti]	(you went sg.f)
[ħna mʃajna]	[ħna mʃi:na]	(we went)
[ntu:ma mʃajtu:]	[ntu:ma mʃi:tu:]	(you went plr)

Diphthongization occurs also with nouns in diminutive form, while in D3 it is formed by adding a long /i:/ to the word like in [kəlb] and [kli:b] (dog), D2 words take /ai/ for diminutive form like in [klaib] here are some examples:

D2	D3	
[wɫajd]	[wli:d]	(little boy)
[msajki:n]	[msiki:n]	(poor man)
[mhajri:z]	[mhiri:z]	(a small pestle)

Surprisingly enough, diphthongization doesn't characterize just old speakers from Doui Mni3, but some pupils use words where long vowels are replaced by a diphthong. At home and whenever we had a discussion about the Doui Mni3-a seven years pupil in primary school- always commented “I know them they say [xbajz] (a loaf of bread) instead of [xbi:z] which is common between young speakers. We decided to check myself the use of diphthongization by pupils, and from 10 pupils of different ages between 6 and 10 years old, only one girl named a part of bread: [xbaiz]; I expected that she was in a permanent contact with her grandparents and that was the case.

4.2.2 Variables /e:/ and /e/

D3 is characterized by a sound which is not found in any Algerian dialect except the ones influenced by the Jewish community, and this was the case for the Ksouria who were in a long term contact with some Jewish families living in Kenadsa until 1963. The two sounds /e/ and /e:/ are pronounced the same way like the French vowel “e” exactly like the pronunciation of Jews speaking dialectal Arabic, /e/ replaces the /o/ and /e:/ is uttered /u:/ in D2 and D1, the long vowel /e:/ is no more used by youngsters while the /e/ still exists in their speech here are examples of some nouns :

D2	D3	
[bhu:t]	[bhe:t]	(hypocrisy)
[ʒu:d]	[ʒe:d]	(stick)
[xobz]	[xəbz]	(bread)
[ku:rsi]	[ke:rsi]	(chair)

The plural of some nouns in D2, and in many Algerian dialects is formed by inserting /u:/ to the singular, whereas in D3 we insert /e:/ like in :

D2	D3	
[mʃu:ʃ]	[mʃe:ʃ]	(cats)
[hu:t]	[he:t]	(fish)
[ləʒtu:r]	[ləʒe:r]	(spices)

In some cases the variant /e/ replaces the phoneme /a/, it is easily noticed in the Ksouria’s dialect. With some old speakers the /e/ is pronounced rapidly giving the impression that /a/ was omitted, like in:

D2	D3	
[qar3a]	[qər3a]	(bottle)
[ħaʒra]	[ħəʒra]	(stone)
[bagra]	[bəgra]	(cow)
[məɣrəb]	[məɣrəb]	(sunset)

One wonders if these few examples of a sound change are good enough to get a general view of when and where exactly these phonological changes take place.

4.2.3 Variable /t̚/:

D3 is also characterized by the pronunciation of the emphatic /t̚/ instead of the plosive /t/ in some words. What is difficult to find is the setting of phonemes which transforms /t/ to /t̚/, or when exactly this transformation takes place, here are some examples:

D2	D3	
[ʒ̣itiha]	[ʒ̣i̯ti̯iha]	(you gave her)
[ħamaðtiha]	[ħamə̯ti̯iha]	(you made it acidic)
[mʃạteti]	[mʃə̯ti̯]	(you brush your hair)
[ʒ̣ə̣art]	[ʒ̣ə̯art̚]	(you stumble)

One of the common characters between these examples is that variation occurs in the /t/ used to conjugate verbs in the past simple with “you” in the feminine and the masculine like in [kla] (to eat), [kliti] (you ate –S F), [klit] (you ate- S M).

More than ten persons aged between 40 and 70 years old were asked about a particular rule they trust to indicate where the plosive /t/ is replaced by /t̚/. No one knows why or where exactly this change takes place, most of them told me that it depends on the “rhythm”, and that “they learnt it this way”.

4.3 Morphological variables

4.3.1 Variable {u:} vs. {ah}:

Among the morphological features characterizing D3, the suffix morpheme {u:}. It has a very high functional weight, and it plays an important role, for it is used in the third p. S. M; both as possessive adjective, as in [daru:] “his house”, and object pronoun as in [bədlu:] “he changed it”, this is a common characteristic with all the Urban dialects like in the illustrations the second chapter.

In reality, two distinct Cl. Ar morphemes have collapsed into one reduced form in the low varieties: the first one, which we will name /u:/1 (poss. adj.) comes from the possessive suffix {hu:} (“his” in contrast with {ha} “her”) in Cl. Ar, where it always appears in pause form as {h} with the drop of the vowel, as in [daru:h] “his house”.

Like D3, many Arabic dialects go on to further reductions: phonologically speaking, the final “weak” consonant {h} is lost to give [daru:], but in D2 and many Bedouin dialects the preservation of final {h} is favoured to give the form [darah]; most probably, a similar phenomenon happened with the object pronoun that we name here /u/2, like in the Cl. Ar [baddalahu:] “he changed it” which becomes [baddalah] in pause form, and is realised in D2 as [bədlah] like in most of Bedouin dialects, here are some examples illustrating variation between D2 and D3 :

D2	D3
[ʒarah]	[ʒaru:] (his neighbour)
[bəntah]	[bəntu:] (his daughter)
[ʒablah]	[ʒablu:] (hi brought to him)
[baʒlah]	[baʒlu:] (hi sold to him)

4.3.2 Variable {hu:} vs. {hu:m}

Another morphological feature of D3 is the suffix morpheme {hu:}, which functions as a possession definer for the 3rd p. pl, like in [darhu:] “their house”, and as an object pronoun as in [bədəlhu:] “they changed them”. This feature could be found in many Urban dialects in Algeria, in this case there is a sort of reduction if we compare it to the Cl. Ar morpheme {hum} as in [darohu:m] “their house”, but in D2 the final /m/ is reserved giving the form [darhu:m], the same fact occurred with the object pronoun like in the Cl.Ar [baddalu:hu:m] “they changed them” which is [bədlu:hu:] in D3, and [bədlu:hu:m] in D2, the following examples give a clear idea of variation between D2 and D3 :

D2	D3
[ʒarhu:m]	[ʒarhu:] (their neighbour)
[bənthu:m]	[bənthu:] (their daughter)
[ʒabəlhu:m]	[ʒabəlhu:] (he brought to them)
[baʒəlhu:m]	[baʒəlhu:] (he sold to them)

One important remark in this subtitle about morphological variations is that the sound /u/ in D3 which is normally /e/ or /e:/, is here presented according to the way the majority of speakers including young ones utter it, it means that /u/ in these examples could be heard /e/ like explained above in phonological variations.

4.4 Lexical variation

Variation in lexis in today's speech community of Béchar is not at all less important than phonological and morphological variation; there is a good number of lexical synonymous pairs that almost each speaker learns from his or her elders, or mainly the tribe he belongs to. The point in here is to show who uses what and when, in this research and as we explained earlier, we are focusing on variations between D2 and D3. As a result of the co-existence side by side of two main different varieties, the speech community of today in Béchar appears to be characterized by an increasing number of speakers who have acquired a high degree of bi-dialectal communicative competence this fact facilitates the creation of the elaborated code or D1.

The data is obtained from recorded conversations involving different speakers in age, gender, cultural status, and mainly different tribes; the context of the conversations also differs, it is sometimes a chat in a shop, in the bath, at the university, at the railway station, or even in a wedding, here is a list of synonymous pairs:

D2	D3	gloss
[məftəh]	[sarut]	(key)
[ʔobsi]	[ɣtar]	(slate)
[moɣroʃ]	[mʒəlqa]	(spoon)
[msalħa]	[ʔataba]	(sweep)
[bidu:]	[sʔəl]	(can)
[zrodia]	[xizzu:]	(carrot)
[molais]	[mzæh]	(medlar)
[səntu:r]	[səmʔa]	(belt)
[xənʃa]	[ʃkara]	(bag)
[sbi:b]	[zaʒka]	(tail)
[ʒdila]	[dfira]	(braid)
[faðða]	[naqra]	(silver)
[gasʒa]	[qəsrija]	(a big traditional dish)
[ɣorfija]	[mʃi:rba]	(bowl)
[ħwala]	[mmaʒin]	(clothes)
[lħaf]	[mddarba]	(linen)

Apparently the most important factor of lexical variation in Béchar is ethnicity; in fact in any interpretation of a variation we discover that it is a result of belonging to different tribes. The examples above are nouns of objects used in daily life, precisely in the kitchen, like the spoon, the slate and the can, and vegetable and fruits, names of these objects are “familiar” to any Algerian speakers, but the names in D3 seem “strange” and particular.

In D3 some verbs are lexical variables of other verbs in D2, but to a particular extent, in a way that some verbs in D2 have different meaning according to the context, the same verb in D3 has a particular term for each context, this illustration may clarify the task:

[sələm] in D2 and like many Algerian dialects means “kiss” or “send regards” like in [sələm 3lih] or [sələm3lihu:m] in D3 [sələm] is used just for sending regards but for “kiss” Ksouria use [həbb] like in [həbbilha] (kiss her), [hda] in D2 means “keep calm” or “stop” or mainly “stop moving”, in D3[hda] is used to mean “keep calm” whereas for “stop” there is the word [rsa].

The difference in speech between the Doui Mni3 and the Ksouria is a result of the different natures of the two tribe, one being typically Bedouin living with domestic animals in farms and having less interest in culture (the Doui Mni3), and the Ksouria who care a lot about it and live in an urban milieu. Proverbs could serve as a simple illustration in this point, for example, in D2 if you want to insinuate with a proverb that someone, after learning or studying a lot, is not working and doesn't help his family you may say [g3adlaina γa ki lbaw] or “he is like a small camel” in fact this animal is always sitting with an opened mouth and moves rarely even if he knows how to walk or eat independently from his mother. In D3 and for the same situation the Ksouria say: [hasəlka ga3da hdə lkane:n], “here is the holy Koran sitting next to the brazier”, it means that next to a brazier a man is always sitting with no work even if he learnt by heart all the Surahs of the holy Koran or like it is said in Béchar [xatəm əssəlka].

Because of ethnicity, which is the main cause of sociolinguistic variations in Béchar, some words exist in one dialect but have no synonyms in the other dialects, because the named objects or activities do not exist in the other tribe. While looking for synonymous pairs between D2 and D3, this phenomenon was discovered, these words have a relation with the places the Ksouria or the Doui Mni3 live in or wear or even celebrate; [dərɓ], [du:kana], [zqaq] and [dwirija] are words designating special lanes in the Ksar ;on the other hand, in D2 the word /3oʃa/ is a small tent settled just for guests not very far than a bigger tent to live in.

For the Doui Mni3 [ʃnin] is a natural yoghurt melted with water, for the Ksouria this word doesn't exist and we were told that they never add water to yoghurt. The Ksouria have [xəbz lfrina] which is a kind of bread cooked in [lfrina] a traditional oozy cook, which the Doui Mni3 don't know.

Lexical variation in Béchar goes beyond this comparison between D2 and D3, if we take in consideration some new terms used by the youngsters, which may have origins from one of the existing dialects but received some changes, by adopting words from French or even from Shelha, here also the different origins of the Ksouria and the Doui Mni3 are confirmed. What is astonishing in this research, is the large number of words derived from Cl Ar in D3, while D2 was expected to contain a larger number of these words, because of the purely Arabic origin of Doui Mni3, this fact is the result of the strong interest of Ksouria and Moroccan Mourabtin in religion, Islam and certainly Arabic.

4.5 Age grading

The phenomenon of ‘age grading’ (Hockett, 1950) has often been taken into account as an essential factor in sociolinguistic analysis, and many investigations have shown that speakers of different ages tend to use different sorts of speech for different conscious or unconscious reasons: e.g. approval of prestige standard characteristics vs. devotion to peer-group linguistic characteristic. In a try at indicating the age at which adult-type patterns of sociolinguistic variation become recognized, Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973) suggests in an investigation in Glasgow that: “ the pattern is by no means clear at the age of ten, although fairly- well established at fifteen ..” (1973:83)

This suggestion corresponds with the form proposed earlier by Labov (1964) who says that for a child at the ‘third stage’: “the social significance of the dialect characteristics of his friends becomes gradually apparent to him as he becomes exposed to other speech forms, even while he himself is still confined to the single style of his own vernacular” (Labov, 1964:91)

Labov states that the stage at which “the child begins to learn how to modify his speech in the direction of the prestige standard in formal situations” (id. p. 91) is not attained until early adolescence. On the other hand, the results of the investigation undertaken by Reid (1976) with sixteen eleven-year-old boys in Edinburgh, suggest that sociolinguistic progress of this kind may in fact take place at the pre adolescent stage.

In the speech community of Béchar, and on the basis of the data collected from different age-groups, it clearly appears that age grading is an important factor in sociolinguistic variation.

a) Age group data

Again to get a natural speech and objective results, the data are based on recordings or speech situations that involve different age groups. Speakers being recorded in here are native speakers of Béchar but from all the existing tribes, and in different speech situations: friends or acquaintances talking about different topics, students in the university, a taxi driver with old women, in the bus. In a wedding, the style in the conversations is regarded as informal, the variables investigated here are mainly lexical ones.

b) Quantitative analysis of variables

The variables are simply counted down from the recorded tapes of discussions in which different age-groups took part, the scores and percentages are listed in tables, what we can readily claim about the results is that the most salient thing about the linguistic behaviour of young native males, is their tendency to shift to the elaborated code with its simpler phonemes and expressions. Younger generations, usually associate rural speech characteristics with toughness and masculinity, in fact a number of adolescents avoid the pronunciation of /q/ or /e:/ because they consider these sounds as features that characterize woman's speech. Obviously the setting has a lot to do with such linguistic attitudes, most of the boys who often use D1 when interacting with street friends, may be observed to switch back to D2 or D3 when talking to their family members.

In our research work concerning the speech community of Béchar, variation in everyday speech has apparently nothing to do with the dichotomy standard/non standard; it has relation with what may be called the street culture.

4.5.1 Phonological variable /e:/ in D3

Age	14 / 20	20/ 35	35/ 55	55/80
/e: /	10	15	25	40
/u: /	90	85	75	60

Table (4.1): Group scores of variable /e:/ in % - co-variation with age.

The scores in table1 reveal clearly the degree to which young Ksouria switch to D1 features: the weak long vowel /e: / which is typical to the Ksouria is replaced by /u: /. Taking in consideration the fact that the subjects being recorded are all Ksouria, one wonders about the obvious decrease of /e:/, especially among young speakers. In the first group the only two speakers who use the /e:/ were from the Mrabtine or the very conservative families whose children are educated by their grand-parents; these two speakers make the exception since other young Mrabtine exhibit less use of the /u:/ as they grow older; this shift is caused by particular attitudes towards D3 features which were explained previously.

4.5.2 the morphological variable {u:}:

Age	14/20	20/35	35/55	55/80
/u:/	10	15	35	70
/ah/	90	85	65	30

Table (4.2): Group scores of variable /u:/ in % co-variation with age

The scores obtained for the variable /u:/, which is a feature of D3 and Urban dialects generally (i.e, the 3rd p.m. sg. either the object pronoun suffix morpheme as in /3alu/ “he gave him”, or the possessive adjective suffix as in [taqtu] “his window”) as opposed to the rural suffix morpheme /ah/, allow us to see that the rate of occurrences of /u:/ is low with youngsters, then it starts increasing in accordance with age-grading to reach an almost exclusive use of /u:/ with the oldest speakers. Unlike the phonological variable /u:/, we can clearly observe that the morphological variable {u:} is widely used by old people, and the 30% of old speakers are mostly from the Doui Mni3 who don’t have this feature in their original speech. The Youngster’s attitude towards /u:/ (Even if it represents an urban characteristic) is not a satisfactory one they think it is an old rural way of speaking and for the boys it is a feminine feature.

4.5.3 Lexical variables

Like the majority of the dialects in the world, the dialects of Béchar vary according to age but not to the same degree, the difference is in the use, more than in lexis. Teenagers and young people use some expressions and words which form a slang. In all the dialects of Béchar, the old generation which is represented by people between 60 and 80 years or more does not use the same words to refer to new objects or activities as the ones used by the middle or new generations. Sometimes they name them according to their shape or use, or they keep the same word with a different pronunciation; examples:

In the dialects of Béchar except “Shelha” an old person never says “flexily” or “Dj” or “climatiseur” but [3amarly] and [lyanaja] and [rrawaha], [lkazi] is said to refer to “casier judiciaire” by middle or new generations, old people name it [kaɣət ləwsax]. Speakers of D3 from old and middle generations often use words an expressions like [wil lə3da] (malediction will be on the enemy) or [xra] for (another one) while

youngsters use [wili] and [waḥdoxra], an old person also couldn't say [kəlb] for (dog) but [lqanə3].

” Shelha”, according to a study done by Mouili.(2010), is no more used by the new generation, while old people are the only reference for research, middle age members know some words or proverbs and use “Shelha” just when speaking to older persons.

In D2 differences are not several, the youngsters use the same dialect of older generations but they don't often use some expressions like [ja wil mattək] (pay attention), or [bəlḥag] (really).

The new generation of the Doui Mni3 keeps its speech, but becomes more intelligible for speakers of other dialects, for example an old speaker of this dialect would say to complain that “the kid was sitting next to the door and was just eating a sweet but you came and beat him! what do you have against him” [tfail ga3əd fi 3taibti jmasmas fi ḥlaiwtu: maḥadak manadak zaṭ faṭ 3ṭaiṭu: Inadru: aḷ binək wə binu:], with the number of speakers who shifted to D1 from different tribes, it is indispensable for the young DouiMni3 to converge to a simpler or a more understood speech.

Generally speaking and like all speech communities youngsters and teenagers have a slang which is common between all the speakers of the five dialects here are some examples:

D1	Slang
[kirak kaḷ jdid]	[lbaraka kaḷ ḥaraka] (how are you? Are there any news?)
[kidaira ḥala]	[waḷ ḥala səbaṭ wəlla n3ala] (how are things with you?)
[ru:h təmḷi]	[xwi ṭakss] (get away?)

4.6 Gender

Speech variation at the level of gender in Béchar is not well noticed as age, there is a low percentage of variation between men and women. In D2 variation does not occur because the DouiMni3 represent a typically Bedouin community where women are not really superficial in their speech. Socially speaking, the first impression a visitor has about women in Béchar what ever is their age, is that they are not really feminine in their speech. Linguistically speaking they don't care about using a different speech from men, or some polite expressions, and a woman who has a "better" way of speaking is from Ksouria, for the Doui Mni3 this behaviour is expected, Bedouin women don't have a very different way of speaking then men; in fact for them speech has nothing to do with femininity.

Maledictions like [wil matək], [wilək] or [wilatək], are good illustrations in this point, what is expected is that [wil matek] is not widely used by women, because it is said to be somehow "vulgar", here are results of a simple questionnaire where the 40 informants are DouiMnii and aged between 40 and 80 years old, 20 are men and 20 are women, this questionnaire took place in "Bouhlal" a very old poplar market:

	[wil matək]	[wilək]	[wilatək]
Women	80	15	05
Men	90	10	00

Table (4.3): Group scores of lexical variable in % co-variation with sex in D2

As expected, women like men prefer to use [wil matək] more than any other malediction used in Béchar, because the term is typical to (art.) Doui Mni3 who are known with great solidarity. The Informants were asked first about the tribe they belong to, and for them it is a pride to say that they are from the Doui Mni3, and so they must say [wil matək] and nothing else. A conviction of the correctness of the results comes from hearing women using [wil matək] in every context, and this was the reason for our choice of the variables.

In D3 women use words for colors, rarely used by men, for example: a man would describe something as being "red" with [hmar], but a woman would precise with [3akri] for "dark red" and [ward bən 3mam] for "light red" and [3alk h̄mam] instead of [zrag] for "dark blue". Women in the Ksouria's community are very

careful about their appearance they put on special jewelries and have names for each one, like [zərru:f] and [ləxlal] .

Politeness could be studied as a relevant dimension of variation, but what is remarkable in Béchar speech community is that polite expressions are more used by women than men; this does not mean that men are not polite but they don't express it with special expressions. The difference is very significant in D3 for instance when some one asks a man to send his regards to someone else he may answer: [jəblay], or simply [saħa] “ok”; while a woman answers [mərħba bəslamək] or [bəlfarħat wə sa3dat]. When a person asks for permission to enter someone else's house he says:[?a mali:n dda] “oh owners of the house!”, women got the habit to answer with [mu:laha llah wəntu:ma djafu:] (God is the owner and you are his guests) whereas a man answers [waʃta](what), or [ʃku:n](who); from a man this is an acceptable answer, but from a woman it is not.

Another malediction typical to Ksouria was used in a questionnaire, [wil lə3da] (may malediction be on the enemies) is used just by Ksouria; it is supposed that women use it more than men and here again we asked 20 men and 20 women in the “Ksar” of Kenadsa; the place where Ksouria live and it is there where you can hear a pure D3, the same instruction of the first questionnaire with D2 were used, and the results are presented in the following table:

	[wil lə3da]	[wilək]	[wilatək]
Women	100	00	00
Men	70	00	30

Table

(4.4): Group scores of lexical variable in % co-variation with sex in D3

Women, mainly old ones, prefer to use [wil lə3da] the answer of the question “why?” was the same for all the 20 women, they said that: when you say [wili] or [wilək] you pray for maledictions on someone or on you, and it is very bad sometimes the prayer is rapidly accepted, so to avoid this you have to say [wil lə3da] and this way you pray on the enemies”. Unexpectedly, [wil lə3da] is widely used by men or exactly men aged between 40 and 80 years old, and the reason was the same like for women, the small percentage of men who use [wilatək] said that [wil lə3da] is more feminine then other maledictions.

Talking about D5, men seem to use “Shelha” more than women since the former are able to gather with new people every day while women rarely do. Most of the people living in the Southern Ksours are farmers, who are mostly males, women do not use the same lexical items related to agriculture like man. On the other hand, handicraft includes women more than men, so the latter do not use the lexical terms related to this field as women, men especially young ones use deviant words, slang, and taboo expressions which are not used by women.

4.7 Language shift

It is easy to observe that the majority of speakers in Béchar shifted to D1, the new generation represents one speech community except the DouiMni3. Nowadays it is hard to guess the speaker's tribe from his way of speaking, which was something easy to find few years ago.

D3 is hardly used by the new generations except in proverbs which they learned from their grandparents; example :(he shouted on me) it is said in D1 [bahdalni] or [ɣsəlni], while in D3 it is [xdit maxda tɔəl nhar lɔid] or [twadit fi kas]. The use of proverbs in D3 is remarkably persisting, even with the clear shift to D1; middle aged persons use D3 when speaking to the members of their speech community, otherwise they shift to D1.

Old persons still maintain the dialect, for them it is a sign of civilization and good education compared to other varieties. Middle aged and young people from Ouled Jrir also shift to D1, to not feel a certain inferiority compared to the DouiMni3, words which differentiated D4 from D2, like: [zəgdu:] and [lgarg] are used just by old persons who want to confirm their entity (being from the Ouled Jrir).

In spite of the high status that “Shelha” acquired in the community of Béchar, it is facing a loss at least among two different groups; the first one is the new generation that ignored its use in any type of circumstances, and the second group which is the population that leaves southern Ksour and goes to live in the cities generally in Béchar, and according to Mouili (2010) all these families have forgotten most of their Berber speech. the new educational system and the contact with different speech communities, became a handicap for “Shlouh” to communicate that is why they shifted to D1, the only source of information about “Shelha” is the old generation who is still using it and regretting that there is no written form for this dialect to be preserved at least for research .

“Language death” was the end of a dialect which goes beyond this research; the dialect disappeared with the death and departure of the speakers who were the Jews of Béchar speech community. The Jewish language is not the one meant but it is a dialect they created to communicate mostly with Ksouria, with whom they were in contact. The dialect was a mixture of D3 and some southern dialects of Morocco with some differences in pronunciation like the sound /s/ which was replaced by /ʃ/. Example: [sidhu: i:ʃhak] (Sir Isak), is said [ʃidhu: i:ʃhak], collecting data about this dialect was difficult, except some words and expressions used in folk songs.

4.8 Language maintenance

D2 is an example of language maintenance, it was preserved and few changes occurred it, the new generation like the old one, uses this dialect in their every day conversations and sometimes at work. Some previous studies said that D2 is not widely used by the new generation, but in daily contacts you can easily observe that the only persons whose origin is clear from their speech are the DouiMni3, this means that young people still use D2.

People in Béchar, have a particular attitude toward the Doui Mni3, they are considered to be rude and offensive, and these are Bedouin's characteristics. This attitude is the same toward the Doui Mni3 dialect, however, D2 was maintained and the new generation uses it to express solidarity and ethnicity, belonging to the Doui Mni3 who nowadays present a social and economical power in Béchar. Just two generations before as an example, in the educational system they were not more than six Doui Mni3 teachers at the primary schools, now they represent most of the educational staff at the university.

Most of the rich families in Béchar are DouiMni3 but they preserve their Bedouin manners and traditions and of course their dialect, solidarity between them may be the main factor leading to their resistance to the effects of dialect contact and language shift, to express solidarity, they use some expressions. For example: for salutation they say [lə3moum] (uncles or cousins) and whenever they meet someone from their tribe they directly ask [mnajnak men laxu:t] or (to which tribe do you belong?), the term [wəld 3ami] is used to address any man from the Doui Mni3.

4.9 Diglossia in Béchar

As pointed previously, in Béchar Classical Arabic is in contact with Colloquial varieties, which are presented in this work as the spoken dialects in the region, and here we may speak about diglossia.

Each variety has a particular function, in diglossic situations according to Ferguson (1959), the fundamental distinction between two languages or two varieties is in what he calls “high” and “low” uses of language. As its name suggests the “high” form is regarded as superior and having more prestige than the “low” form. MSA is considered as the official language of Algeria, it is used in political speeches, in religious activities and in the media; the low form on the other hand, is the mother tongue of Algerians and is used constantly in all ordinary and daily conversations and in Folk literature.

In Béchar religious speeches in mosques are said in MSA, to clarify things the Imam switches to D1, in *Kenadsa the Borda*¹⁷ and many other religious writings are read or sang in MSA. Béchar regional radio, also presents most of the programs in MSA except those related to traditions and Folks, and for sympathy with auditors the radio presenter switches sometimes to D1. In their daily conversations speakers of all the varieties in Béchar use dialects, mostly D1 but they shift to MSA at work, university, or primary, complementary and secondary schools.

¹⁷ A long praise on the prophet Muhammad

4.10 Conclusion

The diversity and complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in Béchar creates a considerable number of variables at different levels. The choice was very difficult since variation occurs within and between dialects. “Shelha” or D5 was excluded from this analysis because of the lack of documentation and the deficiency of informants rarely found in some regions. Variation is represented in a significant way between D2 and D3 which are clearly different from each other. What is confusing is that the two dialects are mutually intelligible, the Ksouria know a lot or may be everything about D2, the Doui Mni3 also know how things and actions are called by Ksouria, and in spite of a long term contact between the two tribes, results of linguistic contact are not evident. In fact the Doui Mni3 keep on using their dialects and Ksouria prefer to shift to D1 rather than D2, even if Doui Mni3 represent nowadays a social and economical power in Béchar. Variation occurs also in Béchar at the levels of gender and age to a limited extent, this research comes at a very important period of time in a way that it was not difficult to collect data and to do questionnaires about D2 and D3 thanks to the existence of a large number of speakers even if they are old. However one can not be sure that this data will be available after twenty years, especially with the wide spread of D1, and in that case to study variations in D2 and D3 will be with the same difficulties of studying D5 nowadays.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In the present research work dealing with the speech community of Béchar, we have seen that the speech community of Béchar like Arabic speaking communities uses only the low variety in everyday conversation. An Algerian speaker does not normally switch to the prestigious language which is MSA or Cl.Ar, as an English speaker, for instance, does in certain formal situations. Socio-cultural constraints on speech that make Western speakers vary their verbal behaviour according to the addressee, the setting, the topic, the age and so on, are not similar to those involved in the sociolinguistic variation in an Algerian speech community.¹⁸

Variation in the speech community of Béchar is not very related to socio-economic status of the speaker; people speak more or less the same way, whatever is their social status, in fact variation operates on other dimensions: ethnicity, age and sometimes gender.

The data obtained in this research work allows as drawing a picture of the sociolinguistic situation in Béchar:

- ❖ An increasing number of young speakers shift to D1, the new elaborated code which offers a better mutual intelligibility, whereas old people keep on using their original dialects.
- ❖ D1 is a collection of all the existing dialects features, and contains many borrowed words from French and Berber, however D3 with its urban characteristics, presents the highest percentage of the collection.
- ❖ While age has proved to be a social variable that is tightly related to the linguistic behaviour of the Ksouria, the Ouled Jrir and the Shlough, the Doui Mni3 data show an almost exclusive use of the native dialect (D2) features whatever the age may be.
- ❖ At the level of gender, the investigations show that female speakers behave linguistically like males, variations at this level can be observed in D3.
- ❖ D5 like all the Berber varieties in Béchar, according to many studies, is used just by old people.

Some of the several questions that remain to be answered, nevertheless, concern the well established dichotomous verbal behaviour in the actual Béchar speech community. Among all the existing dialects, D2 is the only one still used by young speakers; will this dialect gradually impose itself, as it appears in many contexts? Or

¹⁸ Dendane.Z (1993)

will D1 overcome? Will Shelha disappear completely from the linguistic scene in Béchar? Or will other facts lead to reuse of Berber varieties in the region? Only a general review with extensive data and deeper insights in sociolinguistic situation in Béchar, both in real and apparent time, can perhaps provide satisfactory answers to these questions.

Appendix

English	MSA	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5
all	ku:ll	ga3	ku:ll	kaməl	ga3	Qa3
and	wa	u:	u:	u:	u:	end
animal	hajawan	bhima	zajla	dabba	zayla	zayla
ashes	ramad	rma:d	rma:d	rma:d	rma:d	rma:d
at	3inda	3and	had	3and	had	ell
back	ðahr	dhar	ðhar	dhar	dhar	tadwat
bad	moðir	ʃi:n	jðor	jadi	jðor	halənf
bark	qiʃra	gəʃra	ʒəʃa	gəʃra	gəʃra	qeʃret
beat	daraba	drab	zda	drab	drab	iwaθ
because	liana	laxatər	laxatər	laxatər	laxatər	axater
belly	batn	kərʃ	kərʃ	kərʃ	kərʃ	tadsi:t
berry	tu:t	tu:t	tu:t	te:t	tu:t	itu:t
big,	kabi:r	kbi:r	kbi:r	kbi :r	kbi:r	amoqran
great	tair	ti:r	tair	ti :r	tair	ti:r
bird	ja3odd	j3add	j3að	j3ad	j3að	ntar
bite	aswad	kħal	kħal	kħəl	kħal	abərkan
black	dam	ddəm	ddam	ddəm	ddam	idamən
blood	yahob	jsoʃ	jhab	jsoʃ	jhab	itsatt
blow	3aðm	3dam	3ðam	3dam	3ðam	ighas
bone	yatanaffa	tnəffəs	tnaffas	tnəffəs	tnaffas	itnaffes
breath	s	təhrag	təhrag	təhræg	təhrag	jehrqat
burn	jahtariq	wəld	tfol	dərri	tfol	la3wert
child	tifl	ləyjam	ləyjam	ləyjam	ləyjam	ləyjam
cloud	yoju:m	ʒa	hdəf	ʒa	xlat	ju:sset
come	ʒaʔa	barəd	barəd	barəd	barəd	jəssmed
cold	ba:rid	gəʃʔa3	gʃa3	qass	gəʃʔa3	nkad
cut	qata3a	nhar	nhar	nhar	nhar	ass
day	jawm	twəfa	mat	twəfa	mat	ymu:t
die	jamu:t	ħfar	ħfar	ħfar	ħfar	hfer
dig	ħafara	mwəsa	mwəsax	mwəsa	mgarʃə	ma3fu:n
dirty	wasix	x	kalb	x	l	əjdi
dog	kalb	kəlb	jəskaħ	kəlb	kalb	isswu
drink	jaʃrob	jəʃrob	jabes	jəʃrob	jəʃrob	jequr

dry	jabis	na əf	γobra	na əf	jabəs	iyabret
dust	γoba:r	γabra	lawðan	γbar	γobra	tammzuy:t
ear	uðon	lwdən	larð	lowdan	lawðan	tamu:rt
earth	ard	lard	kla	lard	larð	itʃu:
eat	?akala	kla	lbaið	kla	kla	tamalalt
egg	baið	lbaid	3ain	lbi:d	lbaið	tit
eye	3ain	3i:n	təzdah	3i:n	3ain	jawda
fall	saqata	ʃah	b3i:d	təslaʃ	tərdax	ib3ad
far	ba3i:d	b3i:d	dhan	b3i:d	b3i:d	udi:
fat, oil	zait	zzi:t	baji	zzi:t	dhan	pa:
father	abi	ba	xaf	ba	ba	yeggud
fear	xafa	xaf	raiʃa	xaf	xaf	riʃt
feather	ri:ʃa	ri:ʃa	ʃwi	ri:ʃa	raiʃa	afu:h
few	qalili	ʃwia	l3afja	ʃwi	ʃwi	inemsi
fire	nar	nnar	xamsa	l3afja	nar	xamsa
five	xamsa	xamsa	warda	xəmsa	xamsa	wardat
flower	warda	warda	ta:r	warda	warda	yu:fi
fly	ta:ra	fərr	ðbab	ta:r	fərr	dbab
fog	ðobab	dəban	kra:3	du:bab	ðbab	da:r
foot	rijl	rjəl	ʒaməd	rjəl	kra:3	yequ:r
freeze	ʒamid	ʒaməd	mməd	ʒaməd	ʒaməd	u: ʃ
give	a3ta	3ta	zain	3ta	mməd	osbi:h
good	ʒajid	zi:n	hʃi:ʃ	zi:n	zain	hʃi:ʃ
grass	haʃi:ʃ	hʃi:ʃ	xðar	hʃi:ʃ	hʃi:ʃ	azizaw
green	axdar	xdar	ʃ3ar	xdar	xðar	ixef
hair	ʃa3r	ʃ3ar	laid	ʃ3ar	ʃ3ar	fu:s
hand	jad	li:d	hu:wa	li:d	laid	ntta
he	huwa	hu:wa	ra:s	hu:wa	hu:wa	aqelqul
head	ra?s	ra:s	tsanat	ra:s	ra:s	itsSELLa
hear	sami3a	sma3	gelb	smə3	sma3	u:l
heart	qalb	galb	θgi:l	qelb	gleb	izay
heavy	θaqi:l	tqil	hnahawai	tqi:l	θqi:l	da:
here	huna	hna	n	hnaja	hna	itaf
catch	?amsaka	ʃəd	gbað	ʃəd	kəʃ	məʃ
how	kaifa	kifaʃ	ki:f	ki:f	ki:f	sajjed

hunt	sa:da	sajəd	sajəd	sajəd	sajəd	nteʃ
I	ana	ana	ana	ana	ana	talʒ
ice	θalʒ	təlʒ	θalʒ	təlʒ	θalʒ	mta
if	iða	ila	ila	ila	ila	i:
in	fi	fi	fi	fi	fi	inghu:
kill	qatala	ktəl	ktal	qtəl		isenn
know	ʒarafa	ʒraf	ʒraf	ʒraf	ktəl	gəltət
lake	bohaira	gəлта	gəлта	bhira	ʒraf	dəss
laugh	dahika	dħak	ðhak	dħak	gəлта	warqət
leaf	waraqa	warga	warga	wərqa	ðhak	fu:sazəlma
left	aljusra	li:sra	laisra	li:sra	warga	d
leg	sa:q	sa:g	sa:g	sa:g	laisra	da:r
lie	ittakaʔa	twakka	twarak	tməd	sa:g	tawrak
live	ʒaʃ	ʒaʃ	ʒaʃ	ʒaʃ	twarak	ʒaʃ
man	raʒol	raʒəl	tərras	raʒəl	ʒaʃ	argaz
many	kaθi:r	bəzza:f	kθi:r	jassər	tərras	xi:rlah
meat	lahm	llham	llham	llhəm	kθi:r	aisu:
mother	ʔomm	lomm	lomm	lomm	llham	jəmma
mountain	ʒabal	ʒbəl	ʒbal	ʒbəl	lomm	adrar
	faar	fa:r	fa:r	fa:r	ʒbal	yaarda
mouse	fam	fu:m	fu:m	fem	fa:r	imi:
mouth	ism	ssmia	asəm	ssmia	fu:m	smiyat
name	ðajjiq	dijaq	mðajəg	maʒsor	asəm	dyyeq
narrow	qari:b	gri:b	gri:b	qri:b	mðajəg	saddu:
near	raqaba	ragba	ragba	rəgba	gri:b	manji
neck	ʒadid	ʒdi:d	ʒdi:d	ʒdid	ragba	taʒdi:dt
new	lail	li:l	lail	li:l	ʒdi:d	keid
night	ʔanf	ni:f	naif	ni:f	lail	fonzer
nose	qadi:m	qdi:m	gdi:m	qdi:m	naif	aqdi:m
old	wa:hid	wahəd	wahəd	wahəd	gdi:m	idʒen
one	dafaʒa	dfaʒ	dfaʒ	dfaʒ	wahəd	dfaʒ
push	aħmar	ħmar	ħmar	ħmar	dfaʒ	azzugay
red	sahi:h	sah	sah	shi:h	ħmar	nifan
right	wa:d	wa:d	wa:d	wa:d	shi:h	wa:d
river	motaʒafi	xamər	xaməʒ	xamər	wa:d	jəxmer

rotten	n	məlħ	məlħ	məlħ	xaməʒ	tisent
salt	milħ	gal	gal	gal	məlħ	ini:
say	qa:la	bħar	bħar	bħar	gal	bħar
sea	bahr	zəri:3a	bəðra	bədra	bħar	zeri:3et
seed	baðra	qsi:f	gsi:r	qsi:f	bəðra	uqsi:f
short	qasi:r	g3od	ʒləs	gləs	gsi:r	qjəm
sit	jalasa	ʒəld	ʒald	ʒəld	g3od	ʒəld
skin	ʒild	ʃəmm	ʃəmm	ʃəmm	ʒald	ʃəmm
smell	jaʃu:m	doxa:n	doxa:n	dəxa:n	ʃəmm	doxa:n
smoke	doxa:n	lhi:h	lhaih	lhi:h	doxa:n	di:n
there	huna:ka	hu:ma	hu:ma	hu:ma	lhaih	itmi:n
they	hom	xʃi:n	θxi:n	xʃi:n	hu:ma	azewar
thick	θaxi:n	tlata	θlata	tlata	θxi:n	tlata
three	θalaθa	ʔsəl	ʔsal	ʔsəl	θlata	issəri:d
wash	ʔasala	lma	lma	lma	ʔsal	ama:n
water	ma?	ħna	ħna	ħna	lma	nəʃni
we	naħnu:	winta	waiwak	fiwək	ħna	melmi
when	mata	ləmra	ləʒjal	hija	winta	ihani:n
wife	zawʒa	ri:ħ	raiħ	ri:ħ	ləʒjal	ʒʒaʒ
wind	ri:ħ	ʒnaħ	ʒnaħ	ʒnaħ	ri:ħ	ʒnaħ
wing	ʒanaħ	m3a	3ma	m3a	ʒnaħ	akəd
with	ma3a	mra	mra	mra	m3a	taməttot
women	imra?a	du:da	du:da	du:da	mra	tastʃa
worm	du:da	ntu:ma	ntu:ma	ntu:ma	du:da	ʃni:m
you	antu:m	3a:m	3a:m	3a:m	ntu:ma	asokas
year	sana, 3am	Sfar	Sfar	sfar	3a:m	awray
yellow	asfar				sfar	

QUESTIONNAIRES

Part One: this part of questionnaires is reserved to ask about the history of the tribes and the origins of its inhabitants. It involves interviews rather than questionnaires; and most of these interviews are done with old people and some experts, here are some questions:

a) Questions for the Doui Mni3

- 1- what does the word Doui Mni3 mean?
- 2- from where did they come?
- 3-when did they come?
- 4- did the “ Khmous” come from the same place, or from different places?
- 5-when and how was the tribe founded?
- 6-why did the Doui Mni3 form an alliance with the Ouled Jrir?
- 7- how many years did it last?
- 8-where do the Doui Mni3 live now?

b) Questions to the Ksouria:

- 1-from where did Ksouria come?
- 2-when did they come?
- 3-when when and how was the tribe founded?
- 4-are the Ksouria of Béchar and the ones of Kenadsa the same?

c) Questions to the Ouled Jrir

- 1-who is “Jrir”
- 2-from where did they come?
- 3-when did they come?
- 4-why did the Ouled Jrir form an alliance with the Doui Mni3
- 5-how many years did it last?
- 6- where do Ouled Jrir live now?

Part Two: this part involves questions about the phonological and lexical characteristics of each dialect. About D1, the questions are given to young people, some are students at the university, others are day-labourers, and others met in the town hall, or other public places whereas for D2, D3 and D4 questions were given to old persons, the Doui Mni3 living in “Béchar El Jadid”; the Ksouria in Kenadsa’s Ksar, and Ouled Jrir in “Gouray”. It seems that this part includes questions about lexical features more than those of phonology. The phonological aspects which are analyzed in this research work are all noticed and concluded from the spoken form.

a) questions to young speakers

- 1- years ago people could discover the tribe you belong to by the way you speak; do you think it's the same now?
- 2- why do we speak the same way in Béchar nowadays?
- 3- which dialect is the nearest one to the new dialect spoken in Béchar?
- 4- what is the difference between /nəktəb/ and /kanəktəb/?
- 5- what do you say for malediction?

b) questions to the Doui Mni3

- 1- do you think that your dialect is close to MSA?
- 2- what are the causes?
- 3- from where do these words originate [nahu:] [waiwak] [hnahawain] ?
- 4- can you site some proverbs ?

c) questions to Ksouria

- 1- do you think that your dialect is similar to Moroccan ones ?
- 2- what are the causes?
- 3- what is the prular of /mu:ʃ/ (cat)
- 4- do have synonyms for these words in Arabic (sonnette) (surveillance) (porte monnaie) (la cantine) (mineur) ?
- 5- how do you say (j'ai donné) (I gave)?

d) questions to the Ouled Jrir

- 1- do you think that your dialect is similar the the Doui Mni3's one?
- 2- if yes, what are the causes?
- 3- if not are there any differences?

Part three this part is reserved for questions about speech variations between D2 and D3, and variation at the levels of age, gender, and ethnicity. Questions are given to different categories of people according to each factor such as: olds, youngsters, boys, girls, the Ksouria and the Doui Mni3, the whites and the blacks. At the top of these questionnaires, informants are asked to mention their age and gender and the tribe they belong to.

a) questions to the Doui Mni3

- 1- can you cite some terms typical to your dialect?
- 2- how do you call a small chair?
- 3- do you use [wilak] for malediction?
- 4- do you use MSA in your daily life? when exactly?

b) questions to the Ksouria

- 1- can you cite some terms typical to your dialect?
- 2- how do you call a small chair?
- 3- do you use [wilak] for malediction?
- 4- what is the plural of [mu:ʃ](cat)?
- 5- when do you use /ʃ/ instead of /t/ like in [ʃʃiħa] (you gave her)?
- 6- what can you say instead of “his car” [loʃo ntaʃtu:]?
- 7- do you use MSA in your daily life? when exactly?

Note: Shelha was beyond the questionnaires, data and characteristics about this dialect where taken from a specialized study already done by a native speaker.

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