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Dialectal Bedounity in Frenda Speech Community:

Variation and Change

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Dedications

I dedicate this humble work to :

My dearest mother who always supported me with her prayers along my path to success.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

NORM : Non-mobile Old Rural Male

FSA: Frenda Spoken Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

SVO: Subject Verb Object

VSO: Verb Subject Object

B.C: Before Christ

A.D: Anno Domani

CS: Code Switching

ADA: Algerian Dialectal Arabic

L: Low

H: High

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

Phonetic Symbols

Vowels

Symbol	Example	English Gloss
[a]	[*gla*ʕ]	Remove
[a:]	[*ʕa:m*]	Year
[*ə*]	[*χə*dma]	Work
[*u*]	[*gutlah*]	I told him
[*u:*]	[*mahbu:l*]	Crazy
[*i*]	[*χali*]	my uncle
[*i:*]	[*ji:t*]	I came
[a*j*]	[*lqajt*]	I found

Consonants

Symbol	Example	English Gloss
[*b*]	[*bujji*]	my father
[*f*]	[frənda]	Frenda
[*ʒ*]	[ʒəbs]	Plaster
[*dʒ*]	[*ʒʒ*a:*ʒ*]	Chicken
[*ʃ*]	[*ʃi:r*a]	Girl
[*tʃ*]	[*tʃi:n*]	Orange
[*z*]	[*zu:ʒ*]	Two
[*h*]	[*huww*a]	him/he
[*ħ*]	[*ħummən*]	Heat
[*ʂ*]	[*ʂaʒr*a]	Tree
[*χ*]	[*χuj*a]	my brother
[ʕ]	[ʕa:*m*]	Year
[*ɣ*]	[*ɣali*]	Expensive
[*j*]	[*jʃu:f*]	See
[*w*]	[*wqən*]	Ear
[*k*]	[*kl*a]	Eat
[*q*]	[*qr*a]	Read
[g]	[*g*aʕ*əd*]	Sat
[*m*]	[*mm*a]	my mother
[*n*]	[*sn*a]	this year
[*d*]	[*dw*a]	Medicine
[*q*]	[*qfur*]	Nail
[*s*]	[*sm*a]	Sky
[*ʂ*]	[*ʂa:bu:n*]	Soap
[ʔ]	[ʔ*amana*]	Duty

Abstract

The focal aim of the present dialectal investigation is shed light on the linguistic features that characterize the speech community of Frenda a region situated in the west of Algeria 300 kilometres far from the Algerian capital. Accordingly, it examines phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic features. This study is couched under the Labovian paradigm that examines the dynamics of language variation and change as motivated not solely by mere linguistic factors but also extralinguistic factors. The current research employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection. To collect data, we opted for triangulation through the use of anonymous observation, sociolinguistic interviews (structured and unstructured) supported by the "narrative technique", and administered and online questionnaires to examine speakers‟ languageattitudes. The total study population selected for analysis was 284 random samples whom were local speakers, born and raised in Frenda. Results of data analysis showed that the dialect of Frenda is exposed to variation at the aforementioned level. Quantitative analysis of certain salient selected variables revealed that speakers‟ linguistic use correlated with social variables namely gender, age and level of education. Speakers‟ attitudes, ecology, social structure and history of Frenda seem to be motivating factors for variation and change.

Keywords: Frenda Speech Community, Variation, Change, Language Attitudes, Bedouinity

General Introduction

General Introduction

Overview

The variationist paradigm was a major event that marked the starting line for study of language during the sixties via emphasizing on possible correlations between language use and social variables such as age, gender and education. This paradigm has been pioneered by the work of Labov (1963, 1966) in his analysis of sociolinguistic variation and change in Island Martha Vineyard and New York City. Results of these two pioneering studies stressed the idea that speakers‟ variable linguistic use is not only a matter of free variation but is driven by social parameters and psycho-cognitive factors that lead speakers to change and adapt their speech according to favourable attitudes. Analysis of psycho-cognitive factors to account for dialect variation and change, though few, has proved that attitudinal reasons influence speakers‟ linguistic behaviours. In this respect, speakers may wish to adopt other linguistic practices which they regard as favourable to them and drift away from their local norms which they consider as socially marked, stigmatised and stereotypical. Relatively, the two works done by Giles (1970) and Trudgill (1986) conducted under the accommodation theory paved the way to the interpretation of variation and change as either related to convergence or divergence. Tendency to adopt other non-local dialectal features is known as accommodation in the sense that speakers adapt their speech according to that of other speakers. Speakers can diverge by adapting speech to shift away from the local linguistic norms of their speech community or converge by seeking approval from other interlocutors. The construct of identity stands at the heart of the variationist paradigm as it provides us with a clear understanding of the mechanism of variation as speakers wish to demonstrate their social belonging to a particular social group or regional locality. Conservation of one‟s own local dialectal features stems from the feeling of belonging and that it is a marker of a speaker‟s personal identity. From a different perspective, Ibn Khaldun hypothesises that speakers are divided into (*hadhr*) and (*mudun*) and both exhibit several dialectal differences based on their life styles and the ecology of their place of residency.

Frenda, an urban province situated in the western part of Algeria far from Oran by 200 kilometres, Saida by 90 kilometres and Mascara by 110 kilometres. The area rests on top of a rock-strewn mountain which is part of „*les hauts plateaux*‟ with an altitude of 1260 kilometres above sea level. The region is considered as a vital trade route which connects the west to the south. The ecology of the region is diverse in which we differentiate four distinctive ecological areas; mountainous area, plateau area, rocky slope and low ground of Oued Taħt. This diversification was the result of climate

conditions in the region which is characterized by wet cold weather during winter and hot dry at summer. The social system of the region is predominantly based on "*leʕrach*" which represents tribal associations that originated from genealogical (blood) relationships. The ecological construction of Frenda altered over time and shifted from a tribal organisation into social homogeneous community which shares the same cultural customs and traditions. During political instability of the nineties, the region witnessed rapid urbanisation particularly when thousands of rural inhabitants fled terror caused by armed groups and settled inside the city. Additionally, the socio-economic status in Frenda progressed as thousands of jobs were available such as commerce and industry. In the course of time, these new rural in-migrants settled in the region where they intermingled and intermarried with local urban inhabitants. This had sociolinguistic outcomes on the local dialect were urban and rural dialectal forms were employed in the speech of Frenda speakers. Frenda represents a trade route that connects the west to the south of the country which makes it accessible to western regions. As a result, long-term and short-term contact brought about dialect accommodation between local Frendi and other non-local speakers. Through years, the socioeconomic status of Frenda downgraded and lots of middle-age speakers are jobless. Several families decided to in-migrate to other adjacent western cities particularly Oran, Sidi Belabbes and Tlemcen. This had noticeable outcomes at linguistic level as speakers started to drop various local features and adopt other non-local forms. The absence of a university inside Frenda and the absence of several specialties at Tiaret University obligated Frendi students to enrol in other universities. As a result, Frenda speakers started to accommodate to other more urbanised dialects and diverge from the local speech of Frenda. All of the above scenarios resulted in dialect variation and change in the dialect of Frenda.

Statement of the Problem

The rationale behind conducting this dialectal investigation is to enrich the local and supralocal academic bibliography of dialectological studies with a variationist investigation of dialect variation and change in Frenda speech community. When we first decided to conduct a dialectological study on the spoken dialect of Frenda, we bumped into the fact that few previous extensive and focused studies were carried out on dialect variation and change except for the pioneering work made by Cantineau in 1940 that was undertaken under the umbrella of traditional dialectology. Based on Cantineau‟s (1940) classification of Algerian bedouin dialects at the department of Oran, this study challenges his labelling of Frenda‟s dialect as a transitional zone which connects bedouin dialects of (B) with bedouin dialects of (D). The way he labelled the present dialect as bedouin is based on mere geographical comparisons

with other regions in the same department of Oran and separated by isoglossic lines. The following thesis attempts to exhaustively describe the linguistic features of FSA and the ones that are undergoing variation.

Objectives

Based on the literature review that we consulted (e.g; Cantineau, 1940), few subsequent studies were concerned about examining dialect variation in the speech community of Frenda. Throughout this study, we wish to:

- Delve deeper into exploring the linguistic features that characterize the dialect of Frenda and highlighting the features that are undergoing variation and change.
- Highlight the dynamics of dialect variation and change in the speech community of Frenda.
- Uncover the socio-psychological factors that affect speakers‟ dialectal use.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Formulating the appropriate questions reflects the critical thinking of the fieldworker, the way he better manipulates his topic and paves the way to make a good research design. This study targets to address the following general questions:

- ❖ Does Frenda‟s dialect exhibit variation and change?
- ❖ If yes, what are the social factors accountable for dialect variation and change in the speech of Frenda?
- ❖ How are Frenda speakers‟ psychological attitudes toward their speech community and dialectal use?
- ❖ To address the above questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:
- ❖ Frenda‟s dialect is undergoing on-going variation at phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic levels. Dialect variation and change in Frenda spoken dialect is not a matter of free random variation but driven by social factors particularly age, gender, and education. Other factors seem to indirectly intervene the process of dialect variation and change. In addition, The scoio-historical and cultural background of the region implements dialect variation.
- ❖ Speakers of Frenda demonstrate negative attitudes to their place of residency which on its part affect their dialectal use. For example, several Frenda speakers show negative attitudes when

using the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside their speech community with non-local speakers while they simply use it inside Frenda.

Significance of the Topic

The fact that we are native local inhabitants born and raised in Frenda provided us with an in-depth understanding of the dialect in question and through conducting informal observation inside the speech community over a period of four years (2016-2020). We have noticed that several Frenda speakers started to change certain features in their dialectal speech based on their underlying social traits such as age, gender and education. Particularly, pragmatic markers have been extensively examined from pragmatic or semantic perspectives. Less attention has been paid to this kind of variables from a sociolinguistic stand point as few studies have been interested in examining this kind of variables. Exceptionally, the studies conducted by Moussadek (2013) on the Mascarian dialect and Boukhachba (2019) on the dialect of Meni‟a about the pragmatic marker [*wa*] represent one of the few works that quantitatively analyse pragmatic markers from a variationist perspective. A bulk of sociolinguistic studies on dialect variation and change in the Arab world concentrated on the examination of phonological variables mainly interdentals as they change into interdentals. Also, we have observed that fewer studies correlated linguistic use with speakers‟ personal attitudes. This study is different as it attempts to analyse pragmatic markers from a sociolinguistic and psychological bases through scrutinizing the processes of variation and change that manifest in the so-called dialect in the use of this marker. It attempts to divulge the psychological reasons that push several speakers to converge or diverge from the use of this marker.

Structure of the Study

This thesis is divided into five interrelated chapters. The introductory chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the study and the literature review related to our topic of investigation. Accordingly, we sketched out the key concepts of dialectology and marked out the diachronic advances of the field from traditional dialectology into urban dialectology. The second chapter was devoted to the historical description of the main efforts made by early Arab scholars in the study of dialect variation and change. Also, we summarised the proposed classification of Arabic dialects based on geography and genealogy. The third chapter provides a thorough description of the context of the current investigation from historical, ecological, socio-cultural and linguistic basis. Additionally, it offers us with a clear overview on the methodological framework of the study and the major sociolinguistic methods to data collection. The fourth chapter is practical in nature and intends to

quantitatively analyse the selected variables and their frequency of occurrence in correlation with parameters of gender, age education. It is also concerned with the analysis of speakers‟ judgmental attitudes toward their place of residency and dialectal use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] as a case study. The fifth last chapter wraps up the whole work by correlating theory with quantitative results in an attempt to interpret dialect variation and change in the dialect in question. In particular, the chapter provides a general portrait of the sociolinguistic situation in Frenda and the outcomes. Finally, the entire thesis is wrapped up by putting forward a set of suggestions and insights for future academic studies on the dialect of Frenda.

Chapter One

Review of the Literature

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

1.1 Introduction

The study of dialects went through several stages that paved the way to systematic study of variation. The field of dialectology has benefited from the technological development that occurred in the field of sociolinguistics. Later, the study of language variation shifted from considering variability as a matter of free variation into a systematic phenomenon that is constrained by social parameters like age, gender and education. Accordingly, the emergence of the concept "linguistic variable" has revolutionised the study of sociolinguistic variation. This present introductory chapter deals with the review of literature related to the topic under investigation. Particularly, it focuses on the roots of variation-related studies and the key concepts related to the variationist approach which forms our research theoretical framework. In addition, it highlights the concept of the linguistic variable which is the basic concept in the study of language variation and its variants based on their social significance. Based on our rationale, the chapter is wrapped up by explaining the concepts of language attitudes and accommodation and their relationship with dialect variation and change.

1.2 Impetus of Dialects Study

Until the latter half of the nineteenth century dialect descriptions were inadequate, intuitive and casual simultaneously to advances achieved by philology and other social sciences like sociology and anthropology. Generally, European scholars collected data from local and regional varieties to establish language families and trees "…from nationalistic rather than purely scientific motives." (Hornsby, 2008, p.223). Nineteenth‟s century linguistic studies attempted to systematically study language change were purely based on the pioneering works of the German scholar George Wenker (1876) on German dialects and the French one Julles Gillieron‟s first attempts during the last decade of the nineteenth century to study French dialects. Chambers and Trudgil (2004) report that "observations of dialect differences are so common that it is perhaps surprising to find that the major thrust towards studying dialects systematically begins only in the latter half of the nineteenth century" (p.13). For example, in their famous book entitled "Dialectology", Chambers & Trudgill (2004) writes that the first systematic observations of dialect divisions dated back to the first attempt made by the French poet Bernard d‟Auriac (1284) who coined terms of *langue d"oil* and *langue d"oc* to refer to dialect split between dialects of North and South of France.

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

1.3 The Regularity of Sound Change

The Neogrammarians, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, composed of young German scholars working in the field of linguistics including Karl Brugmann, August Leskien and others. Following estimable advances in comparative philology and other language studies, this group of scholars attempted to develop and systematize observations of dialect difference since former characterizations were plainly intuitive and casual. Chambers and Trudgil (2004, p.14) state that "the Neogrammarians, whose study of classical languages led them to revelatory discoveries about the interrelationship of many modern and classical languages, began the search for general principles of language change".

These scholars (Neogrammarians) adopted the famous slogan „sound laws suffer no exceptions" or in other words, as Osthoff and Brugmann, (1878) wrote that „"Every sound change, in as much as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exceptions. That is, thedirection of the sound shift is always the same for all the members of a linguistic community except where a split into dialects occurs; and all words in which the sound subjected to the change appears in the same relationship are affected by the change without exception."" (Osthoff and Brugmann, 1878; cited in Campbell, 2007, p.8).

The Neogrammarians" claims for the regularity of sound changes were directly extracted from Verner"s Law that studied the phonological conditions that determine the relationship among Indo-European languages. Campbell (2013) states that "regularity for them meant that every instance of a sound changes mechanically, irrespective of particular words in which it is found, that is, it affects every word in which the sound occurs in the same phonetic environment" (p.196). Said differently, when change occurs within a particular sound in a phonetic environment, it affects the adjacent sound as well. On the one hand, Grimm"s Law (named after Jakob Grimm and Rasmus Rask) succeeded at some extent to explain sound correspondences among Germanic languages namely Latin, Sanskrit and Non-Germanic languages in terms of their sound changes derived from Indo-European languages. For example, considering Grimm"s sound change law, Indo-European voiceless stops [*p, t, k*] become fricatives in Germanic [*f, θ, x*/*h*], but this regular sound pattern was not attested in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit unless is to be explained by other laws (Verner"s Law for example), analogy or borrowing (the

process by which speakers adopt new linguistic features from another language into their own). However, this genetic relatedness between sounds of Indo-European and Germanic languages had some exceptions and was taken into account by the Neogrammarians to establish their grounded claims for the exceptionlessness of sound laws. The ideas brought by the Neogrammarians led to the emergence of a new orientation to studying and categorizing dialects under the new model of traditional dialectology. In the same vein, Wenker‟s survey on German dialects revealed some complex linguistic discrepancies in which he found that one of the linguistic features namely mediaeval German /*u:*/ witnessed a change to modern German /*au*/. Based on this difference, he found that areas of southeast, northwards and westwards form a single isogloss excluding areas north and southwest which were unaffected by change

1.4 Roots of Dialect Variation and Change Research

For centuries, the phenomenon of language variation and change was a central issue that preoccupied many scholars primarily traditional dialectologists and structural linguists. Later, with the advent of traditional dialectology, sociolinguists (including urban sociolinguists) and variationists these approaches endeavoured to interpret variation as a systematic process that is governed by extra-linguistic factors. These approaches include ethnographic, variationist and social-networks approaches. Through adopting a Labovian variationist approach, the dialect of FSA will be put under scrutiny to explore mechanism of variation and whether it leads to subsequent change. We shall make reference solely to the approaches relevant to our study and fulfil our objectives in this study. Referred to also as dialect geography, regional dialectology or simply dialectology, it grew up as an independent subfield of linguistics and is predominantly concerned with observing and studying regional dialects across separated and remote geographical areas. Dialect geographers travelled through remote wide geographical zones to collect dialect data and search for pure and conservative varieties. Also, they relied on geographical maps to draw dialect forms in which each form represent a single geographical area separated by linguistic boundaries called isoglosses. Wardaugh argues that:

> One basic assumption in dialect geography is that regional dialects are really quite easy to sample: just find one or two people in the particular location you wish to investigate, people who are preferably elderly and untraveled, interview them, and ask how they pronounce particular words, refer to particular objects, and phrase particular kinds of utterances (Wardaugh, 2006, p.139).

The same author explains that this type of sampling helps the dialect geographer to easily figure out major linguistic differences among various locations across a wide geographical area. The dialect geographer is able to draw linguistic boundaries when a feature is present in one area but absent in another. These two areas represent two separate dialects of the same language. Jules Gilliéron (1854–1926), a famous French dialectologist and the author of the "Atlas Linguistique de la France" between 1902 and 1910, was among the first of several scholars who opposed the regularity of sound laws claimed by former scholars working under the paradigm of comparative philology mainly the Neogrammarians. He adopted a different slogan from that of his predecessors in which „*each word has its own history*". In other words, Chambers and Trudgill (2004) point out that the results was dialect geography with its methodology employed for gathering data about dialect difference systematically. They stressed that the results of the dialectologists demolished any claim of the exceptionlessness of sound changes as they revealed heterogeneity beforehand. Milroy and Gordon (2003) posit that on their part, dialect geographers distrusted any linguistic theorizing claimed by the field of general linguistics and they overshadowed any variability in dialect study. Clearly, linguistic theorizing was inaugurated with the advent of modern linguistics led by De Saussure and later by Chomsky.

Simultaneously to the development of dialect geography, the advent of modern linguistics during the first part of the 20th century was a major event that marked the shift from the historical orientation to the study of language change towards synchronic or descriptive linguistics and marked the end of the Neogrammarians" leadership on the general linguistic scene. Linguists" common and primary aim was to develop rules that govern the appropriate use of language system. In his "Cours de Linguistique Generale", Saussure (1916) made a distinction between „Langue" as a cognitive system of rules and conventions which is socially shared by members of the speech community whereas „parole" referred to actual oral and written realizations of these grammatical rules by speakers in their use of language. Particularly, Saussure was more interested in Langue rather than Parole. Partly inspired by the work of his predecessor, Chomsky (1965) reformulated Saussure"s dichotomy in his paramount work "Aspects of The Theory of Syntax", in which „competence" is defined as the unconscious knowledge of language speakers possess that are used to understand and interpret utterances they hear. „performance", on the other hand, refers to actual realizations of this unconscious knowledge to speak language. In the same vein, Chomsky stressed on interpreting this unconscious knowledge as a psychological fact which is part of individual"s thinking. However, this emphasis on "competence"

overshadowed "performance" that was treated a simply a matter of free variation and should be put aside. To put it differently, speakers often make speech errors in relation to their performance which, in a manner or other, cannot influence their linguistic competence. For Chomsky, "linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community…" (Chomsky, 1965, p.3).

In addition to De Saussure and Chomsky, linguists of the twentieth century were more interested in studying stable features within the language system via generating rules, hypotheses and theories that describe the system of language. The interest of nineteenth century dialect geographers in searching for variable features in language systems obliged twentieth century linguists to "search for stable, but to elude variable, cases." (Labed, 2015, p.13). In other words, Homogeneous features were of central concern for linguists that exhibit stability and have their own rules. However, heterogeneous features require linguistic theorizing to describe their variability. Thus, investigating heterogeneous features of language were the main task of the field of traditional dialectology under which variability was rendered systematic and governed by social factors. Instantly, scholars working under the field of traditional dialectology adopted the same methodology used by other branches of linguistics. Methodologically, Chambers & Trudgill (2004) criticise the rationale hold by dialect geography and describe it as simple and principally adopted by other branches as it focuses on a linguistic variety that exists in a certain locality.

1.5 Synchronic Variation Vs Diachronic Change

Historically, linguists had believed that language change can be studied once it happened at a particular time known as synchronic variation, "but Labov"s methods have established that there is a robust connection between the variation found in any community of speakers at a given point in time and the long-term processes of change studied by historical linguists" (Meyerhoff, 2007, p.22). In this respect, Labov (2006) disregards Saussure"s enunciation that "synchronic structural systems and diachronic [historical] developments must be studied in isolation" (p.7). Said differently, understanding variation occurring at different points in time is important to map out diachronic change and this can only be realized through correlating linguistic with extra-linguistic variables in which:

> Speakers may consciously or unconsciously select among a number of linguistically equivalent variants. Said differently, language variation is not random, but rather strictly

> controlled, often by extra-linguistic factors, and the specification of these factors may help us account for change (McMahon 1994, p.226; cited in Jonathan, p.5).

In the same context, Albirini (2016) states that by studying the mechanisms of language variation and change, we can better understand the interrelationship between social dynamics and power relationships in relation to the social cohorts. However, the examination of language variation and change cannot be achieved without taking into account the sum of social, historical and cultural factors. Thus, examination of dialectal variability calls for accounting not only internal or linguistic factors, but also external or social ones that prompt variation and change. Referring to his sociolinguistic works (Martha Vineyard, 1963; New York, 1966), Labov departed from previous traditional methods of dialectology and sociolinguistics to use statistical analysis in an attempt to quantify features of variation and change through the use of technological materials in recording informants‟ language use. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) say that "it was not until the latter half of the twentieth century that diachronic and synchronic linguistics were truly brought together, with the pioneering work of Uriel Weinreich and William Labov and the advent of modern variationist sociolinguistics" (cited in Shilling, 2013, p.4). The dialectal study at hand will focus on both diachronic and synchronic approaches to examine processes of dialect variation and change in the dialect of Frenda.

1.6 The Urban Turn in Studies of Language Variation and Change

Among the horrific outcomes of World War II is the tremendous destruction caused by war machines that left the infrastructure of many large cities very fragile. Inhabitants were forced to leave their properties for search of security and work. The advent of the industrial revolution mainly in Europe and deliberation of various economic systems led to enormous increase in the number of in-migrants towards urban zones. Arab cities were not prone to waves of urbanisation and followed western cosmopolitan cities in the increase of inhabitants' number inside urban centres and their boroughs. Miller (2004) states that "urbanization has been one of the greatest social changes of the last century in Arab countries" (p.177). Many Arab cities were founded after officialising their independence from the colonisation and after a lapse of time, cities like Cairo, Nouakchott and Algiers witnessed a rapid growth of population mobility mainly from rural suburbs. People moved to cities to seek for security and better work opportunities. This demographic thrust is known as urbanisation. The opposite is counter-urbanisation when urban inhabitants move to rural areas. Till the twentieth century,

Arab population was largely rural. Internal migration was the major factor for this urban growth inside cities and is principally dependent upon every country. The increase in population did not solely encompass Gulf States, Iraq and Lybia as being melting pots for regional and international movements for their oil industries. During the first periods of urbanisation, migration was directed towards economically-developed cities to reach other regions and suburban urban centres. Traditional dialectologists were severely criticized for ignoring variation manifesting in urban zones wherein they missed a considerable mass of linguistic data that could be extracted from mobile, young, and urban females and other social stratums such as ethnic groups. Urban zones are seen as prevalent areas where "at some periods, cities are seen as essentially places of cosmopolitanism and corruption as opposed to the rural simplicity and honesty. At other periods, cities are epitomized as places of civilization, refinement, dynamism and modernity as opposed to the backward rural areas" (ibid, 2007, p.7). Britain (2003) argues that:

> Since other social factors have perhaps seemed more pressing than geography-class, ethnicity, gender- and since random sampling has often been used (and consequently there has been a desire to hold all other external factors constant to allow for the careful control and analysis of the chosen variable social factors), spatial variation within the city has been ignored (Britain, 2003, p.228).

Simultaneously, technological advancements and the subsequent development in quantification methods were quite beneficial for fieldworkers leading to smooth statistical processing of linguistic data. Under these circumstances, "urban centres were seen as the places where one could gain access to the most fluid and heterogeneous communities, and therefore to tackle the issue of the social embedding of linguistic change „where it"s all happening"" (Miller, 2007, p.1; cited in Britain, 2009, p.227). Later, Sociolinguistics was established as a semi-autonomous discipline with a unique methodology and a theoretical framework based on the major work of William Labov entitled "The Social Stratification of English in New York City" published in 1966. The Labovian paradigm aimed, not only to develop an understanding of linguistic variation and how it leads to language change via correlating linguistic variables with social factors. This time, Labov conducted his investigation in an urban area different from his earlier work in rural Martha Vineyard in 1963 in an attempt to develop a dialectology of urban centres that account for variation as it manifests inside urban zones. As far as this

present investigation is concerned, it is conducted in an urban area namely Frenda, a west Algerian region (50) kilometres far from Algiers. In view of that, Miller (2007) states that "like any other social science, urban sociolinguistics balances universalism and localism, generalization and particularism. In this respect, investigating non-Western urban settings might help to identify both universal trends and more specific local issues" (p.1). To achieve this objective, the two fields of dialectology and sociolinguistics went line in line to examine dialects variation and change in rural and urban zones.

1.7 Bridging Paradigms: Dialectology and Sociolinguistics

Considering only variation as a geographically-based process by traditional dialectologists led, at a great extent, to the exclusion of variation manifesting inside urban zones and to relating speakers‟ dialectal discrepancies to spatial differences rather than being constrained by some social factors such as age, gender, education, ethnicity, social class. The advent of sociolinguistics during the second half of the nineteenth century and the discovery of new quantitative instruments for data collection rushed rural dialectologists to adopt the same methods used by sociolinguists to quantitatively describe language variation and change. Methodologically, "though traditional dialectology was inevitably also interested in differences in pronunciation, it was largely the invention of portable recording equipment in the form of the desk-sized tape-recorder that marked the birth of sociolinguistics" (Llamas et al, 2007, p.xv). Traditionally, linguistic geographers examined variation manifesting from one region to another making a dialect continuum while modern sociolinguists, keeping the variable of geography and along with other social variables, they correlated it with individual variation which occurs from one speaker to another. Accordingly, Chambers and Trudgill claim that "dialectologists long ago established that language varies from place to place. Sociolinguists have emphasized that language can also vary from person to person in the same place" (2004, p.70). This led to the exclusion of social dimension of dialect variation as they principally focused on spatial dimension of a particular dialect in a specific geographical location. Relatively, Chambers and Trudgill (2004, p.45) says that "to some, this was felt to be a deficiency, since social variation in language is as pervasive and important as regional variation". Both disciplines seem to agree on the task of correlating linguistic variables with other non-linguistic factors to interpret and understand the process of variation.

Additionally, the exclusion of urban zones from traditional dialectological studies was motivated by the assumption that "urban dialects were felt, correctly, to be less conservative. They

tended to be relatively new, often resulting from immigration from surrounding rural areas, and were therefore less interesting for philologists" (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004, p.46). The meeting point between both fields is the development of sociolinguistic dialectology as a newly heterogeneous field which is built up of rural dialectology, urban dialectology and sociolinguistics. Labed notes that:

> Obviously, urban dialectology has remarkably got inspired from the disciplines of sociolinguistics and rural dialectology which both have and follow different ways when approaching language. Notwithstanding their contrasts, they are still complementary scientific fields since thorough language understanding is not achieved without their combined effort. (Labed, 2015, p.17)

The author summarizes the interrelationship between both fields as a process of exchanging data , methods and techniques in which "sociolinguists use dialectological data for their analysis and dialectologists make use of modern sociolinguistic methods and techniques for data collection" (Labed, p.18). In the same stream of argumentation, Dendane posits that "a fundamental goal in sociolinguistics has been to reassess the methods of linguistic investigation by including socially relevant data, a sine qua non condition for the improvement of a global linguistic theory"(2007, p.10). Also, Hudson (1980) remarks that a linguistic theory that is devoid of the analysis of contextual and social factors governing language variation and change and that overlooks language use is incomplete. The following table summarises the main differences and meeting points between traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics.

Table 1.1 ***Traditional Dialectology Vs Sociolinguistics.***

	Traditional dialectology	**Sociolinguistics**
Location	Rural	Urban (and rural).
Representativeness	NORM (Non-mobile, Old, Rural,Male).	NORM and MYUF (Mobile,Young, Urban, Female).
Sample size	One or two speakers per locality	A representative sample.
Survey methods	Written questionnaire and interviews.	Natural spontaneous speech, Observation (Apparent-time and real-time), sociolinguistic informal interviews, anonymous

		and rapid surveys.
Type of language variation	Free (random use of alternativevariants).	Systematic variation based onsocial differentiation.
Context	Formal where only standard linguistic forms are employed.	Formal/ informal.

The following study is a dialectological investigation framed under the field of sociolinguistics and particularly the variationist paradigm in an attempt to find correlation between language behaviour and social factors. For this, we will discuss the main

1.8 The Dynamic Approach of Language Variation and Change

Labov (2006) criticizes Martinet‟s (1955) statement when the latter claims that „„the linguist should not use non-linguistic data to explain linguistic change““. The same author argues that this view turned away linguists‟ attention from taking account social factors that could result in language change. Albirini (2016, p.175) argues that "beginning in the 1960s, variationist studies started to approach language variation in terms of a correlation between specific linguistic forms and static social categories, particularly demographic variables such as social class, gender, and age". Researches under the variationist model started until the latter half of the twentieth century based on the pionnering work of George Wenker and William Labov. The study of Labov (1963) on the rural Island of Martha Vineyard is the first pioneering work to be conducted under the inauguration of variationist sociolinguistics. Though attentive to diachronic change in language, the central interest of variationist studies during their first years circled around treating synchronic variation and how it leads to further change. In the same vein, Shilling (2013) posits that variationists are primarily concerned with the synchronic study of on-going language change at a certain period of time. Shilling further extends her opinion to say:

> Crucially, in order to fully understand language change (and linguistic systematicity), we must investigate variation as it patterns according to both linguistic and social

> factors. And the social context of language variation is not limited to its patterning across geographic space but extends also to its patterning across social groups (e.g. age groups, social class groups, ethnic groups) as well as to its social meaning for both groups and individuals (e.g. a particular linguistic feature may be seen as a marker of regional identity or associated with a particular character trait) (Shilling, 2013, p.5).

Since variationists target studying variation as it manifests across a large social scale, their population tends to be larger in which variables of age, gender, education, ethnicity , socioeconomic status and regional origin are to be correlated with linguistic variables. Unlike historical linguists and traditional, dialectologists focused on diachronic forms of language change whereas variationists search for ongoing synchronic change occurring at a particular period in time. Also, their studies tend to be conducted inside urban rather than rural zones and take younge-age speakers as their study population. Among the famous western variationist studies include Labov‟s (1966) study of New York City English; Wolfram‟s (1969) study of African American English in Detroit, Michigan; Cedergren‟s (1973) study of Spanish in Panama City; Trudgill‟s (1974) study of Norwich, England; and Macaulay‟s (1977) work in Glasgow, Scotland; Montreal French (Sankoff, Sankoff, Laberge, and Topham 1976; Thibault and Vincent 1990; Vincent, Laforest, and Martel 1995) and Philadelphia English (Labov 1994), as well as re-studies of Martha‟s Vineyard (Blake and Josey 2003; Pope, Meyerhoff, and Ladd 2007), Panama City (Cedergren 1973, 1984), Norwich (Trudgill 1988), and New York City (r) (Labov 1994). In addition, a number of recent studies on variation and change are taking place in urban locations covering processes of language and dialect contact such as Horvath‟s (1985) study of the socioethnic varieties in Sydney, Australia; Kerswill‟s (Kerswill 1996, 2013; Kerswill and Williams 2000, 2002) studies of dialect contact, dialect leveling, and new dialect formation in southeast England; and Walker and Hoffman‟s (Hoffman and Walker 2010) studies on multiethnic and multilingual city of Toronto, Canada. Based on theoretical background of the variationist model, Frenda spoken Arabic is put under scrutiny in an attempt to correlate linguistic with social variables to account for variation manifesting within its speakers and whether they lead to sociolinguistic change.

The field of sociolinguistics is interested in delineating a tight relationship between language and society. In doing so, we are able to observe language in its social context where language functions a medium that establishes communication, solidarity and mutual understanding between members of

the speech community. This leads us to question on whether is language is what really defines a speech community or not? If not then what could define it? Are there any other criterion apart language that could define it? Abboud-Haggar writes that "a speech community is a group of individuals who are potentially able to communicate by their knowledge of language varieties and speaking rules" (2006, p.436; as cited in Labed, 2015, p.23). Clearly, this view is inspired by Chomsky‟s famous competence-performance dichotomy as it considers the shared knowledge of language among speakers of the community. However, Abboud-Haggar does not mention that speaking rules can be different among speakers especially in a matter of stylistic variation. Labov (1966) contends that a speech community is defined by the same shared common variables that demonstrate differences between its speakers. This definition seems to us a relevant and appropriate since it focuses on attitudinal factors those members of the same speech community hold toward their linguistic use. Labov‟s work in New York considered intra-lingual variation as being intertwined with speakers‟ underlying social class. For instance, high-class speakers do not use prevocalic /r/ in their speech, whereas middle and low-class speakers tend to preserve it. In a different view, Milroy (1987), based on her study in Belfast of three different social groups, posits that a speech community comprises of cohesive groups which individuals consciously belong to. This view clearly inspired by Chomsky‟s cognitive aspect of language implies that language faculty is one and the way is employed is different from one speaker to another. These groups are located inside the speech community and establish their territory which differentiates them from other social groups. Milroy's definition focuses on the geographical aspect that labels speech communities. Crystal (2008) considers a speech community as "regionally or socially definable human group which can be identified by the use of a shared spoken language or language variety" (2008, p.46; as cited in Boukhachba, 2018, p.8). This definition seems to ignore the linguistic inconsistencies that occur from one speaker to another even if live in the same speech community. Another definition is put forward by Lyons (1970) as he states that a speech community includes all people who use a given language or dialect. Lyon‟s definition considers only interlingual linguistic relationship between speakers as members of the same community but it overshadows individual speakers‟ intralingual variation in the sense that language use may vary from one speaker to another. Gumperz (1971) considers a speech community as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Gumper‟s definition emphasizes on the factor of frequent interaction which builds up

social relationships among speakers, however interaction can be hindered by some factors and thus is interrupted. Labov (1972) suggests another definition as he sees that participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. This definition is convincible to a great extent as it drives the attention to language as an observable group of shared linguistic norms. The following sections are devoted to expounding the notion of social variable and its main types suggested by Labov (1972) namely markers, indicators and stereotypes.

1.8.1 Linguistic Variables

Analyzing linguistic variables is crucial in defining the mechanism of language variation and change and plays an important role in conducting variationist research. Labov (1972, p.72) enumerates three main steps dialectologists and sociolinguists (also variationists) rely on to analyze variation:

-enumerating the range of contexts in which the variable occurs.

-distinguishing as many phonetic variants as is reasonably possible.

-assigning each variant a quantitative index.

The last step reflects the development of methodological tools of sociolinguistic research following Labov's pioneering works (1963, 1966, 1972a, 1972b) and the introduction of quantitative sociolinguistics as a new discipline in the study of language variation and change. Principally, the task of variationist sociolinguists and modern dialectologists is to search for any possible correlations between linguistic variables and non-linguistic or external factors to interpret the mechanism of language change. Tagliamonte makes it clear that "variationist sociolinguistics is most aptly described as the branch of linguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other, linguistic structure and social meaning. Those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation" (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.5). In the same vein, Holmes (2013, p.12) enumerates two main steps to conduct a variationist study:

1. To identify clearly the linguistic variation involved (e.g. vocabulary, sounds, grammatical constructions, styles, dialects, languages).

2. To identify clearly the different social or non-linguistic factors which lead speakers to use one form rather than another (e.g. features relating to participants, setting or function of the interaction).

Holmes (2013) adds that we can look for patterns and arrive to some explanations of why people use one feature over a set of other features in certain contexts and not in others. The notion of linguistic variable coined and used by Labov in his earliest study on Martha Vineyard (1963) and later in his pioneering work in New York City (1966) and by many scholars; Trudgill (1974), Detroit (1968), Wolfram (1969)….etc.) . Labov‟s concept of linguistic variable seemed to demolish the old assumption that any kind of variation within speakers‟ speech is only a matter of free variation. In this respect, Wardhaugh (2006) argues that the linguistic variable reflects a methodological shift from old techniques used within the paradigm of dialect geography to quantify and systematically interpret processes of language variation and change. Many of these derive from the pioneering work of Labov, who, along, with other sociolinguists, has attempted to describe how language varies in any community and to draw conclusions from that variation not only for linguistic theory but also sometimes for the conduct of everyday life[…] (Wardhaugh, 2006, p.149). Meyerhoff (2006) explains that "this is because since the 1960s sociolinguists have amassed considerable evidence showing that speaker variability can be constrained by non-linguistic factors (things external to the linguistic system) as well as by linguistic factors" (p.10). A linguistic variable can be defined as "a linguistic item which has identifiable variants, which are the different forms which can be used in an environment" (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015, p.149) and the different realizations of one linguistic variable are called variants. For example, in words like singing and fishing, we can find one common linguistic variable which is the final sound namely [ŋ] which has two different realizations [*ŋ*] and [*n*]. Labov (1964) says that "a linguistic variable in its most basic definition is two or more ways of saying the same thing" (Labov, 1964, p.166; cited in Tagliamonte, 2016, p.1). To illustrate, speakers may use one linguistic variable over another variable or variables in different ways. In the same context, "linguistic variables can often be regarded as socially different but linguistically equivalent ways of doing or saying the same thing, and occur at all levels of linguistic analysis" (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p.50). Linguistic variables fall under the following types:

-**Lexical variables**, for example, using two different words “elevator” and “escalator” to refer to the same object, but both words are used differently by Americans and British speakers respectively. In MSA, speakers use (*dar)* and (*manzil)* to refer to the same place.

-**Phonetic variables** refer to two or more phonetics variants of the same phonological pattern. To illustrate, Labov noticed that the use of non-prevocalic (r) by NYC speakers has two different variants (r)-0: [O] and (*r*)-1: [*r*]. In ADA, we notice the use of two different variants namely the velar plosive /*g*/ and velar /*k*/ in words like [*gu:l*] and [*qu:l*]. In DjiDjeli dialect, the phoneme /*g*/ is pronounced as /*k*/ in a wordlike [*gælbi*] vs [*kælbi*].

-**Phonological variables** exist when the same lexical pattern has different phonological structures. The word „cilivisation“ is distinctively pronounced either as /*sivəlaizəiʃən*/ and /*sivilizəiʃən/* by American and British speakers respectively. To add another example, Bouhania (2007) makes a phonological contrast between variants /*g*/ and /*q*/ as being two distinct phonemes and not as allophonic realizations of the same phoneme via establishing minimal pairs. For instance in words like [*warqa*] and [*warga*].

-**Morphological variables** are two or more variants that have different morphological structures and could co-occur simultaneously or interchangeably in someone“s individual speech. For instance, in the standard form (*Bokmål*) of Norwegian the plural form (horses) is (*hestene*) whereas (*hæstan*) is reserved as the local form (*Ranamål*) (Holmes, 2013).

-**Pragmatic variables** exist when a variant have distinct uses within speakers individually or socially. The term „pragmatic marker“ was introduced to describe a class of short, recurrent linguistic items that generally have little lexical import but serve significant pragmatic functions in conversation (Anderson, 2000, p.38). For example, the English intensifier „really“ carries multiple functions. It can be used as an exclamatory (really!) marker or an intensifier (i.e., I am really sorry). In Mascarian dialect, Moussadek (2013) remarks that the pragmatic particle [*ma*] serves two main different pragmatic functions and thus is assigned different uses. It is employed as a negative particle equivalent to standard Arabic negative particle [*lajsa*] (to be not) or has the function of a tag question. Relatively, we will dedicate a section to the analysis of speakers“ attitudes toward the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*].

-**Semantic variables** are found when two structurally similar variants carry different meanings. For instance, in dialects of the western Algeria, the same word [*jaqli*] has two distinct meanings; the first one (to fry) whereas the second one is (to lie).

-**Syntactic variables** are used to refer to the same meaning via employing different syntactic structures, in American English speaker would use „I have got a watch" whereas a British English speaker would rather use „I have a watch" and both serve to convey the same meaning.

Linguistic variables fall under different types on the basis of their social values and meanings to speakers in which they represent either their social affiliation, group membership or considering them as stigmatized linguistic features and thus receive certain social comment. The following section is dedicated to describing main types of linguistic variables proposed by Labov.

1.8.2 Types of Linguistic Variables According to their Social Value

Labov (1972) distinguished between three main types of linguistic variables that represent different social values namely markers, indicators and stereotypes. In his book entitled "Principles of Linguistic Change: Linguistic Factors", the same author further explains that:

> Some variables are the overt topics of social comment and show both correction and hypercorrection *{stereotypes)',* others are not at the same high level of social awareness, but show consistent stylistic and social stratification (*markers*); still others are never commented on or even recognized by native speakers, but are differentiated only in their relative degrees of advancement among the initiating social groups (*indicators*). (Labov, 1999, p.78)

Adopting Labov"s categorization, linguistic variables fall under three main categories namely markers, indicators and stereotypes and will be sketched in the following three sections.

1.8.2.1 Markers

Language speakers belonging to particular social classes or ethnic groups can be identified by their use of certain linguistic variables which they are commonly aware of. Since markers show high degree of social and stylistic variation, these variables carry some social significance to speakers in the

sense that they demonstrate their social or ethnic affiliation. For example, in New York, Labov found that speakers who frequently use non-prevocalic /r/ in their speech desire to appear more prestigious and belong to a higher social class other than speakers whom prefer not to use it to appear more conservative in their speech and belong to a lower social class.Markers can identify speakers‟ social group whereby theytend to detach themselves from other co-existing social groups and impose their social status in the speech community.

1.8.2.2 Indicators

Indicators, on the other hand, serve to indicate different social groups in a given speech community and to differentiate themselves from other existing groups. Racz (2013) postulates that "an indicator is a variable the speakers discard when positioning themselves socially" (p.5). These types of indicators are not regularly commented on giving the fact that most speakers seem to be unaware of them. Certain types of indicators are used to indicate speakers‟ regional origin. When indicators are exposed to negative comments and attitudes within a speech community, they are called stereotypes.

1.8.2.3 Stereotypes

Speakers can have positive or negative attitudes towards the use of some linguistic features especially those features regarded as stigmatized and salient in public scene. These features are generally recognized by speakers and highly being commented on. Dendane (2007) concludes that the glottal stop [ʔ] is regarded a sociolinguistic stereotype as it is locally stereotyped as a characterzing feature of female speech. In accommodative situations, stereotypes are characterized by a degree of extra-salience and thus are avoided mainly in face-to-face interaction. Having explained the different types of linguistic variables and their social nature, we will shortly and particularly explain the social variables that we will be analyzing in the practical part.

1.8.3 Social Variables

Interpreting language variation and change in a given speech community entails establishing correlations between linguistic and social variables. Following the advent of Labovian sociolinguistics, language change is no longer a matter of free variation, but a structured process that is administrated by a variety of social factors or variables. Studies employing the linguistic variable are essentially correlational in nature: that is, they attempt to show how the variants of a linguistic variable are related to social variation (Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015, p.161).

Aitchinson illustrates that:

> Like a road accident, a language change may have multiple causes. A car crash is only rarely caused by one overriding factor, such as a sudden steering failure, or the driver falling asleep. More often there is a combination of factors, all of which contribute to the overall disaster. Similarly, language change is likely to be due to a combination of factors. (Aitchinson, 2004, p.134)

The emergence of sociolinguistics in general and variationist sociolinguistics in particular led scholars to interpret language variation and change as systematic processes that are governed by certain social forces. Labov (1970) defines 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, p.66). In this light, a speech community is characterized by a degree of heterogeneity where different languages or dialects co-exist and speakers do not use language in the same way and each individual speaker possesses his own idiolect or speech style. As far as this study is concerned, social variables namely gender, age and education will be outlined shortly and be later tested for any possible correlations with linguistic use in the speech of Frendi speakers.

1.8.3.1 Variable of Gender

One of the linguistic consequences of gender differentiation in language seems to be linguistic change. Certainly, differences in women‟s and men‟s language are regularly associated with changes in language (Coates, 2013, p.171). Eckert (1997) sustains that "like age, sex is a biological category that serves as fundamental basis for the differentiation of roles, norms, and expectations in all societies"

(p.213). Eckert (ibid) holds that the social construction of sex that is gender is constructed with these norms and expectations. The same author reports that "Labov"s and Trudgill"s studies in New York and Norwich respectively found emphasized that the community prestige norms were found responsible for the different linguistic behavior of men and women" (Eckert, p.214). To put it differently, men and women may decide to use conservative forms that are considered as socially stable stigmatized features in the local speech community or may use prestigious forms that are favored by the entire speech community. In the same vein, Cameron defines gender as "the cultural traits and behaviors deemed appropriate for men or women by a particular society" (2006, p.724). In many early and recent variationist, sociolinguistic and dialectological studies speakers" gender proved to be highly influential in language choice and clearly correlates with their linguistic behavior. Gender can be used to refer to biological or physiological classification of humans as either male or a female which is generally referred to as sex and can be identified through differences manifesting in sex genitals. From a socio-cultural perspective, gender refers to a social category of individuals as social members of a community which they acquire through the process of socialization. Sociolinguistically speaking, for example in Japanese, the first personal pronoun „I" is referred to by males as /*bo:ku*/, whereas female speakers use a different feature that is /a*ta∫i*/. In most Algerian Arabic dialects, a women is addressed by the pronoun [*nti*], whereas a man with [*nt*a]. Exceptionally, in Algerian Tlemcen Arabic, women are addressed by the pronoun [*nt*a], whereas men by [*ntin*a]. The same phenomenon is attested in Annabi dialectal Arabic. As a matter of prestige, it is assumed that women are linguistic leaders by their use of prestigious forms of language more frequently than men do and:

> In all the cases examined, it has been shown that, allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men Trudgill (2000, p.70).

Gender as a social category can be investigated in relation language as a grammatical category which focuses on the masculine-feminine dichotomy in language and how this division can be sometimes biased and be the outcome of possible sexist or ideological practices. For example, in Arabic there is no a feminine gender for word-related occupations like [*ʒ*a*zz*a:*r*] (butcher), [*ţajj*a:*r*] (pilot), we cannot say [*jazzara*] or (*ţayar*a). Feminine gender is seen as a marked form because

feminine words are generally derived from masculine counterparts (Hachimi, 2007; cited in Albirini, 2014, p.191). To illustrate, Arabic feminine words like [*muħamiy*a] (lawyer) or [*wazir*a] (minister) are derived from their masculine counterparts [*muħami*] or [*wazi:r*].

A second trend of research in gender and language variation is concerned with revealing differentiated language practices among men and women usually covered with a feminist predisposition that search for instances where women are overshadowed or stigmatized. Furthermore, it highlights the role of language ideologies in establishing and reinforcing linguistic overlaps among men and women. Since women are given limited access to many life domains that are dominated by men like religion, politics and sports, they have limited linguistic choices, i.e. Religious term [*muftija*] (Female religious legislator) is absent in women‟s everday language usage. With respect to sports, we have only the masculine word [*muʕallik*] (commentator) and not a female equivalent [*muʕallika*]. In general, women‟s lack of access to the spaces of power limits their linguistic choices or dictates upon them particular language usage (Albirini, p.191). Additionally this trend focuses on the different naming and addressing forms used with women and men. For example in Spanish, a woman is addressed with „*mujer*‟ and a man with „*hombre*‟. In MSA, [*raʒulun*] is held for a man and [*ʔimraʔatun*] for a woman. Also, many studies concentrate on aspects of politeness used in women and men‟s language and how these reflect their social status in their speech community. Therefore, women are said to use more polite forms than men do in search for social acceptance and to show their alignment with others. Another key topic in the study of gender-related language studies is concerned with the analysis of women‟s language as a discursive practice and is intended to uncover sexist language, stereotypes, gendered/domestic violence in language, conversation styles, speech acts, communicative practices, dominance tactics, discursive politeness, speech performances, gender positioning, ideological practices of language and power-related discursive features that show women as oppressed individuals and men as dominant.

A third line of research that constitutes the main focus within our current study is the interrelationship between gender as a social variable and linguistic variation among men and women. Among the significant results western scholars accomplished within this trend of research are the assumption that women are more inclined to the use of socially acceptable standard features that tend to be positively evaluated by majority of speakers, whereas they avoid using non-standard overtly

stigmatized variants used by men. Dendane (2007) reports that Tlemcani women use frequently the glottal stop /ʔ/ to mark their femininity instead of /*g*/ that is reserved for men as a marker of masculinity. In the same context, and in an earlier study on Jordanian Arabic dialect, Abdel-Jawad (1981) reports that men use the standard feature /*q*/ whereas women use the urban one /ʔ/. In a different study, Daher (1998) investigated language variation in the speech of twenty-three men and twenty-three women in Damascus. Daher selected three standard phonological variables /θ/, /ð/ and /*q*/ and their local counterparts /*s*/, /z/, and /ʔ/ and correlated them with variables of sex, age and education. He concluded that variables of /θ/and /ð/ are frequently used with educated speakers especially men. Moreover, he observed that men use the phoneme /*q*/ more frequently than women. However, considering the glottal stop /ʔ/ women frequently use it as a marker of urbanization and progress. In terms of prestige, many studies (i.e. Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974) showed that the range of women use of prestige forms is higher than that attested in men speech and highly characterized by conservative features. To argue, women prefer urban supralocal variants compared to men who prefer Bedouin local features. This linguistic behavior is motivated by the attitude that varieties used in urban cities are viewed as the national standard norm and preferred to communal or regional languages or dialects. Thus, gender-based studies of language variation in Arabic contexts were and are still undertaken in the lens of the Western standard model. Investigating non-western contexts would deliver different results. Another variable namely age will be explained in the following section.

1.8.3.2 Variable of Age

Age is a very significant individual construct that is acquired as we are born and is not particularly related to the number of years a person has, but is socially acquired through interaction, social relationships in society. According to Llamas:

> Our age determines whether we can vote, drive, marry; whether we go to school, go to work, go on a particular holiday. It can influence what types of clothes we wear, places we go, and, importantly, ways we speak. Our age is clearly more than a number – it marks our position in and our movement through the trajectory of life, which is seen in relation to societal norms of behaviour, obligation and responsibility. It therefore impacts considerably on how we are perceived and how we are treated. Likewise, it

> affects how we perceive and treat others, all of which is mediated through language (Llamas, 2007, p.69)

Cheshire (2006) claims that language variation in relation to age is examined from two perspectives; change of language across the life of an individual or in relation to age groups within the same speech community. The first approach is age-specific use of language while the second stands for generation-specific use of language that constitutes our main focus within this variable. Eckert (1997) distinguishes biological age that refers to the number of years an individual has since his birth and *social age* as being tied up to one's life events (such as marriage, birth of first child). Sociolinguists in general and variationists particularly are interested in observing substantial differences between the speech of young and old individuals for the objective of interpreting processes of variation and change. Taking age as a social variable, we can notice clear linguistic discrepancies between a youngster and an elderly person in their use of language. For example, In TSA the English form of „*I go*", an old man may use the Bedouin feature [*nuʁda*], [*nrawwah*] or [nʃawwar] while a youngster would rather use the sedentary equivalent /nruħ/. The language of adult develops through time in response to unavoidable life events that clearly affect their social relations and attitudes. To be clearer, adults' language experiences more variation and change than younger-generation and older speakers in response to the sociocultural and ecological changes taking place in the speech community they live in. In view of that, Labov developed new quantitative methods to collect data on age-based linguistic differences mainly among young and old speakers. He suggested two main methods that are apparent-time and real-time observations to explain linguistic change on the basis of variation exhibiting among different age groups. Using an apparent-time observation, the fieldworker is able to extract variable cases by building up a synchronic comparison between the speech of young and old speakers, while adopting a real-time observation, fieldworkers may observe variability in the speech of age groups through a diachronic study of the speech of age-groups at two synchronically distinct periods in time. Accordingly, apparent-time approach is employed in this thesis. Probably one of the most consistent findings in Arabic variationist research is that young people lead language change; they often adopt novel and innovative forms that deviate from the established linguistic norms of their speech communities (al-Rojaie, 2013; Al-Wer, 1991; Dendane, 2007; Ismail, 2007; Jabeur, 1987; Miller, 2004; Walters, 1989; cited in Albirini, 2012, p.209).

1.8.3.4 Variable of Education

Basically, education as a social variable refers to level of literacy individuals acquire as a result of academic teaching received at local or private schools. In western socially-stratified communities individuals do not have the same quality of academic teaching and this could be easily observed in their linguistic behavior. For example in England, "Upper-class people had an upper-class education, and that generally meant a public (i.e. private!) school where they learned to speak RP" (Holmes, 2013, p.139). Sometimes, the socioeconomic status of speakers is judged by speakers‟ literacy and ability to attend schools. Differently, we adopt education as an independent variable as social classes are non-existent in the Algerian society. Education can be the result of experience-based knowledge and be of less importance for scholars since it is informally and individually-acquired and thus difficult to measure. The interrelationship between education as a social variable and language variation and change caught the interest of many scholars working under a variationist paradigm. Several western studies have proven a consistent correlation between education and language variation and change (i.e. Labov, 1966, 1972a; Trudgill, 1986; Milroy, 1986). Like their western counterparts, language variation in an Arab context is also administered by speakers‟ level of education and educated individuals lead most of language variation and change. Variationist studies based on the examination of education as social variable dated back to the work of Hassan (1962) and Badawi (1986) on Egyptian Arabic. Al Badawi distinguishes five levels of Arabic. Al-Wer (2002) states that correlation of the level of education with social factors shows the nature of a speaker‟s social contacts whom they regularly interact with.

> In Arabic speaking communities, it is not level of education per se which correlates with linguistic usage, rather that level of education is actually an indicator of the nature and extent of the speakers‟ social contacts. It just so happens, that, in the Arab world, access to education, especially at the higher level, and often even beyond primary schooling, involves significant alternations to individuals‟ socialisation patterns. It involves leaving one‟s own town, changes in familial links, expansion in social contacts, interaction with speakers of other dialects, exposure to different social values, shifting of one‟s loyalties and attachments to various social groups, changes in priorities and ambitions, etc. All of

> these, and others of a similar nature, are important factors in shaping individuals‟ linguistic behaviour (Al-Wer, 2002, pp.4-5; as cited in Dashti, 2017, p.21).

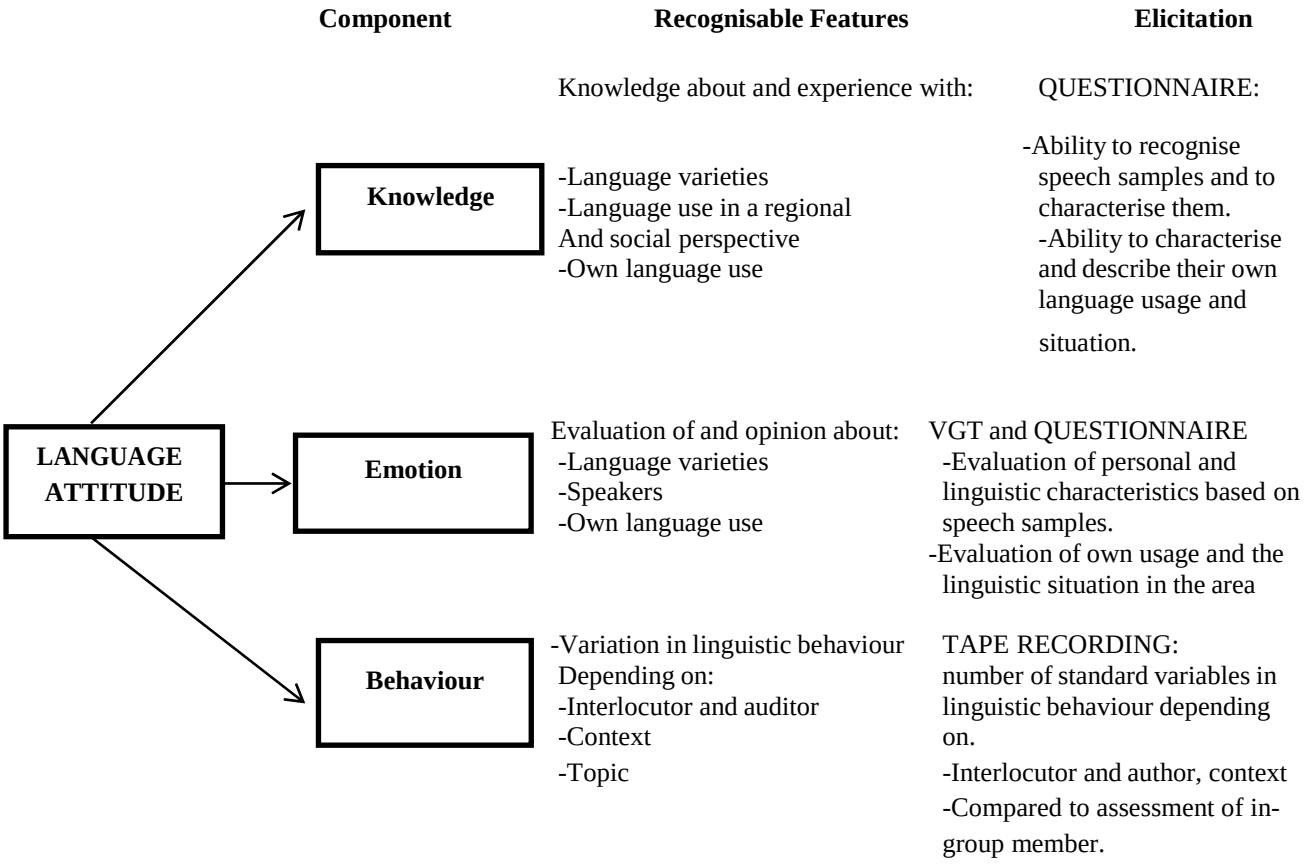
The above quotation illustrates the complexity of education as a sociolinguistic variable as it encompasses other internal components which make the analysis of this variable a difficult task for the sociolinguist. For this, we are going to consider the level of education as part of a speaker‟s academic level and speakers will be categorised as either educated or non-educated. Studies carried out in western societies showed a tight correlation between speakers‟ linguistic usage and level of education. Accordingly, educated individuals are observed to favour standard linguistic features which they acquired through academic education received at school.

1.9 Language Attitudes and Dialect Change

Ever since the implementation of the notion of attitudes in the stream of sociolinguistics, numerous studies was devoted to examine the interplay between language variation and speakers‟ attitudinal reactions towards language varieties and speakers as well. Language attitudes-related studies were initiated by social psychologists among them Lambert (1967) and his associates and later in Labov‟s studies (1966, 1972a) and Giles (1982). It is worth to mention the study of language variation and change achieved by Labov in New York City in which speakers‟ attitudes played a central role in implementing change. This concept had been extensively employed in sociolinguistics literature to study how speakers adjust their speech based on certain evaluative characteristics which they may observe in their own variety or others‟ varieties. The following figure illustrates the main components of language attitudes, their recognisable features and how to elicit them:

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

Figure 1.1 ***Language Attitudes (Kristiansen, 1991, p.46; in McKenzie, 2010)***



The above figure represents a methodological framework for fieldworkers to define the three-fold components of attitudes and methods to elicit data related to each component. Following data demonstrated in this figure, we will deal the three components namely knowledge, emotion and behaviour to correlate speakers‟ attitudes with their linguistic behaviours.

Language is not only a means of delivering content but also is loaded with identity-related messages that determine speakers‟ social belonging and background. McGlone and Giles (2011, p.218) say that “speakers‟ identities are encoded in their voices. And listeners hearing their speech can, without training, do a remarkable job of decoding this identifying information (in Giles and Rakic, 2014, p.12). By speaking one‟s own dialect, a person demonstrates his own individual identity. Peterson (2020) considers language attitudes as “(a related concept to language ideology) beliefs or judgments people have about certain social styles of language, features of a language, or varieties of a language” (p.8). In a different view, Labov contends that attitudes-related research in sociolinguistics

attempts to correlate "a record of overt [and covert] attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes" (1984, p.33; cited in Kherbache, 2017, p.179). The concept of language attitudes does not solely circle around people‟s reactions toward the variety (ies) spoken by other people as part of their linguistic behaviour, but is also related to the set of ideas and assumptions built up on certain observable personal and behavioural traits that distinguish speakers. Said differently, people may construct ideas on speakers themselves rather than their own language or dialect based on their personae. To illustrate, British speakers of RP are stereotyped as having an apple stuck inside their throats when using the glottal stop in their speech. Ideologically speaking, Walters (2006b, p.651) argues that "language attitudes are psychological states related in complex ways to larger abstract language ideologies" (cited in Bassiouney, 2004, p.204). This view points out to the idea that attitudes could develop into ideology-based views that may affect peoples‟ ideas or personal judgments constructed on language itself or speakers of a given variety. Attitudes are usually related to linguistic stereotypes people construct as part of their reactions toward specific language behaviours which they regard as non-standard, Bedouin or conservative. Giles and Rakic argues that "people not only use language to communicate with others but also to make sense of them, personally and socially" (2014, p.12). This view highlights the social function of language by which we can build up social and personal relationships with other speakers. Sociolinguists are not solely interested in studying linguistic factors but also search cognitive factors that may cause language change. In his book "Language Change: Cognitive Factors" Labov (1972) draws the attention to the importance of considering cognitive factors in examining language change.

According to Campbell-Kibler:

> In addition to understanding how people use language, sociolinguists often want to understand what people think about language they use or that other people use. People‟s beliefs and feelings are related to their linguistic behavior, and feelings about language forms impact people who use those forms (2013, p.142).

In the same idea, Trudgill (2000) states that linguists study subjective attitudes towards language to examine linguistic change and explain why and how dialect changes happen. The concept of language attitudes joins two completely diverged disciplines namely sociolinguistics and social psychology. While the former deals with the study of language variation and change in relation to certain social forces, the latter studies the cognitive basis of language as a mentally-based phenomenon.

Language attitudes constitute an interesting area of research in relation to variationist sociolinguistics which had received increasing interests during the last decades as language is viewed as a precursor of ideological connotations which can only be observed through the set of attitudinal reactions held toward a language variety or speakers of that variety. Among the pioneering works that examined language attitudes as a motivating factor to language change is Labov‟s (1963) study in Martha Vineyard. The author revealed that the main reason behind speakers‟ centralisation of diphthong /*ay*/ is initially constrained by their attitudinal reactions toward their variety and their wish to stay in their home town. In his second study in New York, Labov used self-evaluation test to examine attitudes of New Yorkers toward their own speech and report their own use. Results revealed that there is a tight correlation between speakers‟ use of rhetoric /*r*/ and their attitudes toward their dialect. Moreover, non-native speakers show variable attitudes towards the same dialect and the way New Yorkers pronounce some words. In an Arab context, attitudes are responsible for a considerable amount of sound change which is widely displayed in the use of three interdentals. In Jordan, Al Wer (1986) reveals that language attitudes play a direct role in the use of glottal stop /*ʔ*/ in favour of /q/ and /*g*/. In Tlemcen speech community, Dendane (2007) observes that speakers‟ attitudes govern their linguistic behaviour in which they prefer to use Bedouin voiced velar /g/ in favour of sedentary glottal stop and voiceless /*q*/. In a different study, Moussadek (2013) shows a direct correlation between the use of linguistic particle /*ma*/ and speakers attitudes. Following a dialect-contact perspective, Kherbache (2017) notices that attitudes of Beni Snous speakers are responsible for dialect change in the valley as local Bedouin speakers adopt non-local sedentary features /*t*/, /*d*/ and /*ɗ*/ in favour of their Bedouin ones /*ɚ*/, /*ḍ*/ and /*ɵ*/. Considering the sedentary-bedouin dichotomy which characterise Arab dialects, numerous dialectal studies demonstrated that people show favourable attitudes toward sedentary linguistic features rather than bedouin ones. For instance, switching into dentals rather than interdentals is principally based on speakers‟ attitudes to sedentary features. In this thesis, a self-report written questionnaire is designed to ask respondents to reflect on their own linguistic behaviours and self-report their speech.

1.10 Identity and Dialect Change

Norris (2007, p.657) argues that “identity is constantly interactively constructed on a macro level, where an individual‟s identity is claimed, contested and re-constructed in interactions and in relation to other participants” (in Kaid, 2019, p.123). Socially speaking, people belong to different social groups which they wish to be identified with. For example, a younger-age speaker wishes to

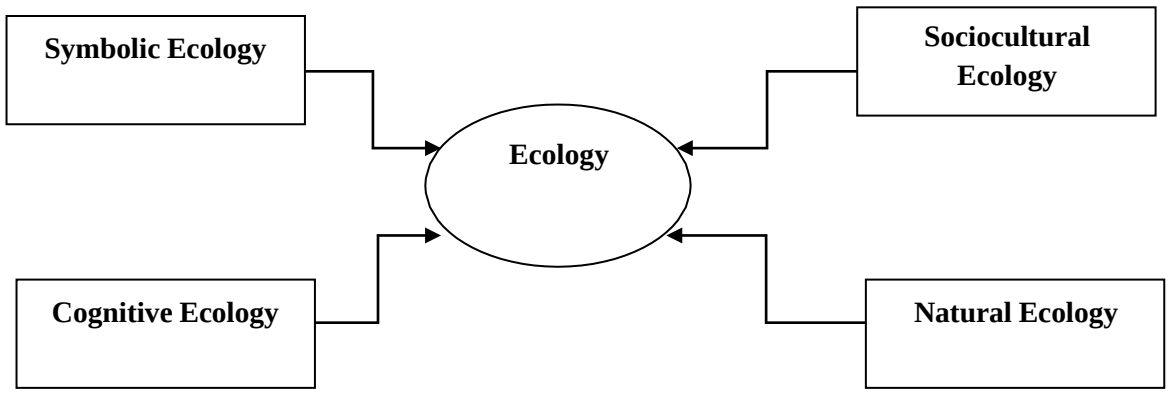
belong to the social group of young individuals. Other speakers may wish to be identified with other social groups different from their own groups. Speaking a particular dialect marks a speaker‟s individual identity as he perceives his belonging to a particular speech community and social group or wish to be labelled and integrate with another linguistic group. Brahmi (2019) argues that an individual‟s membership to a certain group will influence his linguistic choice. For example, a rural speaker who wishes to belong to an urban group will deliberately adapt his speech according to that of the other group. This status is highly instigated by attitudes towards dialectal features in one‟s own local dialect and other features that belong to non-local speakers. Thus, speakers may feel uninteresting in their local dialect and decide to adopt another one. Meanwhile, they are gradually exposed to losing their social belonging to their prior social group.

1.11 Urbanisation, Ecology and Dialect Change

Socio-demographic change plays a vital role in the modification and complexification of language use as speaker**.** The demographic growth of small towns into large populated cities lead to the heterogeneity of its residents as speakers of different regional origins and genealogical roots merge together. Urbanisation is primarily measured by the economic conditions in which speakers search for favourable living conditions outside their area of residence into more urbanised centers. This expansion results in the diffusion of heterogeneous linguistic practices due to dialect contact between local and non-local speakers. Ecolinguistically speaking, language is a formal and structural entity which exists in the minds of its speakers and shapes the way individual speakers perceive the world. The German biologist Haeckel (1866) defines “ecology as the total science of the organism‟s relations to the surrounding environment to which we can count in a wider sense of all conditions of existence” (Haeckel, 1866, p.286); cited in Vork Steffensen 2007, p.5). This conception of ecology was later adopted by Haugen to employ it in the field of language. In this respect, Haugen defines the ecology of language as “the study of interaction between any given language and environment” (2001, p.57). Steffensen & Fill (2014, p.7) identify four different interpretations of ecology that lie behind the different approaches. The first approach sees language as existing in a symbolic ecology, where different languages interact with each other in a given location. The second approach sees language as part of a sociocultural ecology where it shapes societies and cultures. The third approach is concerned with cognitive ecology and how the cognitive capacity of organisms affects how they adapt to their environment. Finally, there is a natural ecology which is concerned with the relationship of language to

its biological and physical environment (cited in Stibbe, 2015, p.8). These approaches are represented in the following figure:

Figure 1.2 ***Steffensen and Fill's Four Approaches of Ecology.***



In this study, we will focus on the sociocultural and cognitive ecologies in an attempt to delineate the relationship between language and the ecology where a variety is spoken by a group of individual speakers. Interest in examining the impact of ecology on Arabic varieties was pioneered by F. J. Cadora in his contributable paper entitled "Bedouin Village and Urban Arabic: Ecolinguistic Study" published in 1992. Studying Arabic dialects under an ecolinguistic approach is explained by the ecological development of Arabic speech communities from tribal and subtribal bedouin groups to urban socioeconomic groups. This division is the result of various sociocultural differences among Arab speakers. Ibn Khaldun referred to this as the change of people"s life styles initially sprung out from a rural (ħadari) to urban (madani) society.

1.12 Accommodation and Dialect Change

Regional dialects may come into contact whereby linguistic isoglosses dissolve and linguistic boundaries vanish. Trudgill (1986) argues that similarly to that found between neighboring different regional dialects, accommodation can be attested also in regional accents in the short and long terms. The concept of accommodation was primarily borrowed from social psychology and implemented into

language studies of contact with the pioneering seminal work of Trudgill „Dialects in Contact‟ published in 1986. The term of accommodation was coined by the social psychologist Howard Giles and his co-workers and was initially referred to as "Speech Accommodation Theory". This theory focuses on speech, discusses and attempts to explain why speakers modify their language in the presence of others in the way and to extent that they do. It also examines the effects and costs of this type of modification (Trudgill, 1986, p.2). Within his earlier version, Gile proposes terms of "accent convergence" (the process whereby speakers adopt their speech to that of their interlocutor to seek their acceptance) and "accent divergence" (the process a speaker use to reduce some phonological differences in their speech in order to disassociate himself from his addressee). Gile and Powesland (1997) mentiones that "accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of a speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed" (p.233). Though the process of accommodation is studied by both linguists and social psychologists, both have different objectives and each focuses on a single type of accommodation. As a matter of difference, social psychologists are more interested in short-term accommodation to answer question of who accommodates to whom. For linguists, long-term accommodation is of a paramount importance since it answers questions of how one accommodates his individual speech to another speaker. The situation gets problematic when individuals accommodate to regionally mobile speakers or minority groups. Speakers adopt features that are neither present in their individual linguistic repertoire nor in the immediate speech context that they might accommodate to, but decide to adopt features of other dialects which they wish to accommodate to. Trudgill (1986) posits that:

> Greater awareness attaches to forms which are overtly stigmatized in a particular community. Very often, this overt stigmatization is because there is a high-status variant of the stigmatized form and this high-status variant tallies with the orthography while the stigmatized variant does not (Trudgill, 1986, p.11).

Subsequently, speakers avoid the use of certain linguistic features that create negative images or stereotypes on their and their interlocutor‟s local dialect. A common example of this model is Coupland‟s (1984) study of speech accommodation by a travel agent assistant to her clients in Cardiff. She reveals that the assistant adopts her speech according to that of her customers for social purposes in order to gain their approval. Following theoretical background of dialect contact, we will explore Frenda speakers‟ tendency to diverge from the Bedouin selected variables towards other sedentary

features.

1.13 Conclusion

Variation was considered as a free matter which occurs without factors and the main intereset of early dialectologists was to describe “pure” dialects and record the linguistic consistencies that join between geographically-distant dialects. The advent of variationist sociolinguistics and the concept of “linguistic variable” made a considerable shift in the study of dialect variation and change as it proved that variation is not a trivial matter of free variation, but a systematic process which is driven by several social factors. Social factors conglomerate to influence the phenomena of variation and change. Accordingly, this investigation is couched under the Labovian paradigm that examines language variation through exploring possible correlation between speakers‟ language use and social parameters such as age, gender and education.

Chapter Two

The Study and Classification of Arabic Dialects

Chapter Two: The Varieties of Arabic.

2.1 Introduction

Dialect variation was a focal interest for early Arab scholars who considered this variation as a threat to the purity of Arabic language as the language of Quran. However, several efforts were made by some Arabicists to study and examine speakers‟ variables dialectal behaviours modern Arabic dialects since these dialects were descendants from the standard Arabic language. This second chapter endeavours to present the efforts made by Arab scholars in the study of Arabic dialects. Moreover, it details the major classifications of Arabic dialects based geography and genealogy. In the same vein, it highlights the salient dialectal features that characterise each type of the dialects including the Maghrebi dialects which represents our main interest in this study.

2.2 Early Arabic Investigation of Variation

For a long time, Arabic dialects didn‟t enjoy the same amount of attention that standard Arabic and modern standard Arabic which had by Arab and western scholars because these dialects were considered as corrupted versions of classical “pure” Arabic and were first overlooked. Albirini (2016) holds that linguistic interest in Arabic revolved around only on language forms of reading and writing of standard Arabic for the objective of understanding historical and religious texts.

Early Arab geographers and travellers themselves included in their books different pronunciations and lexical variations in the places they visited. First contributions made by Arab scholars in the light of traditional dialectology dated back to the Arabic grammatical tradition initiated during the 7th Century by famous Arab grammarians such as Abu „l-Aswad ad-Du‟ali (died ca.688), Sibawayahi (died 804) in his „„‟Kitab‟‟‟, al-Khalil (died 791) and others for the objective of preserving language of Qur‟an from corruption and for didactic reasons to teach Arabic to non-Arabophones. After the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632, certain Arabs turned their interests to spreading Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula together with the Arabic language across new territories. They enforced inhabitants of conquered areas to speak Arabic initiating what was called "Ridda wars" (series of wars against rebelled tribes to spread Islam after the death of the prophet) inside the Arabian Peninsula and areas outside it. Versteegh (2014) reports that „‟the initial motive behind the conquests may have been the idea that all Arabic-speaking peoples should be united under the banner of Islam, while the conquest of the neighbouring sedentary areas occurred more or less as an afterthought‟‟‟. Arab grammarians were interested in studying pre-Islamic variation and they occupied themselves in

collecting variants for what they believed to be „‟pure‟‟‟ Arabic speech. Although they recognized variation and varieties of Arabic, they didn‟t developed a conceptual framework explaining the functional co-existence and of linguistic interrelationship between these varieties, nor their historical development (Owens, 2001, p.422). On the one hand, Owens (2001) confirms that „‟…the Arabic grammatical tradition itself gave explicit recognition to the existence of linguistic variation in the language, a variation which was tolerated, legitimized or proscribed according to social and political institutions with which the variation was associated‟‟‟. However, they ignored urban dialects which they considered as erroneous and deviating from the norm represented by Classical Arabic. Many new converters to Islam were said to made grammatical mistakes known among grammarians as (نطاد انئح) when speaking Arabic, this led to the invention of grammar of Arabic in the first Century of the Hijra. Subsequently, "the first Arab grammarians were called upon by the rulers to „‟protect‟‟‟ the pure Arabic language from influence". (Versteegh, 1997, p.3; as cited in Miller, 2007, p.5). Furthermore, the subjects that were claimed to have captured the interest of these early scholars, namely, the three parts of speech (Verb-Subject-Object) and the particles that govern nouns and verbs, are strongly connected with laḥn and argue that early grammatical activity aimed primarily at adherence to "correct" usage and avoidance of error (Balbaaki, 2013, p.88). For instance, Al-Du‟ali authored a whole book to address the issue of laħn that was very common in Arabic at that period when he heard his daughter uttered *mā a-šadd-u l-ḥarr-i* instead of an exclamatory utterance *mā a-šadd-a l-ḥarr-a*. Shah (2014) argues that:

> "working toward a detailed description and study of the language of the Arabs, the earliest generations of grammarians explored a range of linguistic sources. These included the Qurʾān together with its qirāʾāt; the speech conventions of the Bedouin; the poetry of the Arabs; and proverbs and idiomatic expressions" (p.3).

Variation in Arabic was attested by Arab grammarians long early before western scholars made their first attempts to develop its theoretical approaches during the 1960s with Labov‟s revolutionary work in variationist sociolinguistics and "though the western dialects have been the subject of intensive investigation more than the Arabic ones, Arabs had an earlier awareness of linguistic variation in their speech". (Kherbache, 2017, p.32). The study of variation was done under religious reasons to preserve the language of Qur‟an from corruption. The famous Arab grammarian Sibawayhi (Father of Arabic grammar) is considered to be the pioneer to make some observations and notes on variation manifesting the Arabic language after the period of Islamic conquests in which the purity of CA was under threat due to contact with non-Arabs. Arabs spoke a language which was totally deviant from

Chapter Two: The Varieties of Arabic.

Classical Arabic. Arab scholars themselves, for instance al- Hamaḍāni in the fourth century AH, demonstrated an awareness of dialectal differences between, for instance, Himyar and other Arabic speaking tribes (Al Sharkawi, 2010,p.32). This view is entrenched by the perception hold by Arab grammarians when they proposed the terminological distinction between 'luğa' (dialect) and 'lisan' (language). Early Arabic dialect-related studies focused on accumulating linguistic differences among Arab tribes. For instance, Ibn Fāris (d.395 AH) studied differences in vowels, gender marking, differences in assimilation and differences in plurals (in Al Sharkawi, 2010, p32). Ibn Yũnus Ibn Habib's (d.172 AH) study of pronunciation differences. Other Arab scholars were preoccupied with genealogy-based studies of dialectal differences such as al F-arrā (d.207 AH) and Abū 'Ubayda (d.210 AH). The Quran was also a fertile setting for the study of Arabic dialects and foreign words inside it. The famous scholar to conduct such studies was Ibn 'Abbās in his book entitled Kitāb al –luğāt fi al-Qur'an. These observations were far from being considered as systematic and methodological approaches to account for variation. Among the most common observations of variation were found in the Quranic reading traditions known as Quranic variants (*quira"a:t)*. Owens (1998) affirms that even if Quran was revealed in Arabic only, the prophet transmitted it in different recitations. He writes that:

> The Qur'aan was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad in Arabic. It originally was not written down, being instead transmitted through recitation and memory. The Prophet himself was, of course, the first transmitter and it was said that once a year he recited the Qur'aan (as much as had been revealed) twice in the same way. At the same time he would also recite parts of it for various Arabian tribes, and he would do so in the local dialect of the tribe. (Owens, 1998, p.5)

Variations were exaplained as either due to the weak memory of those who recitated Qur‟an or

He further explains that "variations could thus arise from two sources, the faulty memory of those who heard the standard recitation, and the variants associated with different tribes" (Owens, 1998). After the death of the prophet Muhammad, although a number of reading variants were allowed in the Quraysh dialect, it was Ibn Mudjahid (425-324/859-935) that put a limited number of readings known as „*al-qiraḍaat al-sab*‟. Based on these Quranic variants, In his „al-Kitab‟ published during the eighth-century, Sibawayhi drew a phonetic comparison between sounds of Arabic dividing them into

two subcategories which can be used in reciting Qur‟an or reading poetry and used by someone whose Arabic is not good or corrupt and can neither be used in reciting Qur‟ran nor in reading poetry and used by someone whose Arabic is dubious. Based on this phonetic subdivision, Sibawayhi categorized variation into internal and external variation. The first type of variation is based on his linguistic theory whereas the second was put to refer to linguistic overlapping according to tribal categorizations of Arab groups. This comparison implies that Arab early grammarians acknowledge variation in the Arabic language, however not completely, they did not develop a methodological framework that systematically account for variation and subsequent change.

2.3 The Linguistic Situation in the Islamic Empire

Although the period after the death of Prophet Muhammad in 10/632 witnessed an enormous widespread of speakers of Arabic inside and outside the Arabian Peninsula, Arabic did not have a prestigious status among non-Arabs outside the peninsula until the eruption of Islamic conquests leading a process of Islamicisation and a later Arabisation, but there still a great dispute among scholars on which process predates the other as there are no enough data about the dialects that preluded Islam.

Accordingly, Versteegh (2014) argues that Arabicisation went at a faster pace than Islamicisation even when Arab conquerors dispensed the "poll tax" and non-Arabs‟ loss of their minority status as *dimmi* (new convertor to Islam) after converting to Islam.

2.4 Diglossia

Arabic is classified as a Semitic language that is part of the Afro-Asiatic (or Hamito) family that also includes Hebrew, Syriac, South Arabian and Aramaic. According to the traditional classification, Arabic was part of the West Semitic that on its part sprung into South-West Semitic and includes also South Arabian and Ethiopian. This classification was made only from a historical-genetic or a typological-geographical basis in which only common features were recorded between these languages without any reference to their source of derivation. Hertzron (1974, 1976) proposes another classification for Semitic languages that is genealogically-based in the sense that Arabic is a central Semitic Arabo-Canaanite Language. It is the noble language in whereby the holy Quran was revelated to the prophet Muhammad.

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Considering Arabic legal position, the linguistic situation in Algeria had been described as diglossic due to the co-existence of two mutually intelligible varieties of Arabic language namely MSA and Colloquial Arabic in which the former is described as High variety and the other as Low variety and includes other dialectal varieties. In his article, Ferguson (1959) uses the term of diglossia to refer to linguistic situation where "two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions […] with each having a definite role to play". In more details, he defines it as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard form or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson 1959a, pp.244-5)

The High variety is represented by MSA or *fusha* as the norm and is widely used in formal writing and speech, education, media and government. The Low variety being described as Algerian Spoken Arabic (*'ammiya* or *darija*) is colloquially used by Algerians and includes a number of non-standard regional spoken dialects across the country. In terms of their use in the Arab world, we could clearly observe some discrepancies in which both varieties are used interchangeably in various situations. To illustrate, colloquial Arabic is mixed with MSA in some speeches of parliament and mass media. Ferguson draws the attention that if a society is exposed to linguistic change and diglossia is being left aside, this would cause overlaps in functions of both varieties.

Based on language attitudes, the use of MSA in informal contexts where colloquial Arabic is the medium of communication, speakers would have negative attitudes if one speaker uses it especially in group conversations. Its use is favoured when discussing religion-related topics in inter-group talk.

Kouloughli (1996) criticizes William Marçais's model of diglossia and argues that "lorsque William Marçais (1930) introduit, pour la première fois dans les études arabes, le terme diglossie pour caractériser la situation linguistique du monde arabe, il le fait dans un contexte lourdement grève par les intérêts coloniaux français au Maghreb"(p.1). The author further adds that "le ton de l'article de

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Marçais, violent, polémique, insultant même, ne laisse guère subsister de toute quant a ses intentions, au point qu'il parait aujourd'hui difficile d'admettre, a sa lecture, qu'il faille le considérer comme la première pièce a verser au dossier de l'étude, scientifique de la réalité sociolinguistique arabe moderne" (Kouloughli, 1996). In terms of their use, Ferguson summarises the main situations where both varieties are employed. For the H variety, it is used in:

-Sermon in church or mosque

-Speech in parliament

-Personal letters

-University lectures

-News broadcast

-Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture.

-Poetry

The L variety is used in the following situations:

-Instruction to servants, waiters, workmen and clerks

-Radio soap opera

-Caption on political cartoon

-Folk literature

However, in an Arab contexts diglossia was severely criticized by many scholars whom propose the stratified model. Blanc (1969) in his article "Stylistic Variation in Spoken Arabic" proposes four different styles that descends from SA based on a corpus of conversation spoken among cultivated Arabophones, we mention “modified classical Arabic”, “semi-literal Arabic”, “dialectal "Koine" “ and “pure dialect”. Badawi (1973) introduces five levels of Arabic: Traditional Classical Arabic (fushat al turat). It is a written language that represents Arabic literary and Qur‘an heritage. Contemporary classical Arabic (Fushat al 'asr). It is widely acknowledged as MSA that is a modification of CA.

Cultivated dialectal Arabic (Ammiyat al-mutaqqafin). This variety is a mixture of dialect and MSA. Literacy dialectal Arabic (Ammiyat al-mutanawirin). This is the dialectal variety used by educated speakers in everyday conversations. Dialectal Arabic of illiterate (Ammiyat al-ummiyin). This form is widely used in Arabic speech communities by illiterate speakers and is characterised by the absence of MSA. Meiseles (1980) proposes four different types of contemporary Arabic namely "literary Arabic", sub-standard Arabic, cultivated spoken Arabic, pure dialects (or basic dialects).

These classifications, even though appear to be based on intra-speaker variation, confirmed that the general linguistic scene in nearly all Arab speech communities is complex and require more attention and careful study. Bouamrane (1986) observes that the descriptions introduced by Ferguson (1959a) and Marcais (1930) do not accurately reflect the sociolinguistic situation that exists in Arab speech communities. Also, Benali-Mohamed (2007) comments that each investigation was "what holds true at a certain period of time does not necessarily reflect the realities of a different period" (p.19). This idealized dichotomisation suggested by Ferguson did not take into consideration speakers‟ stylistic variation which could vary according to setting, topic, linguistic skill, speaker‟s emotional state, the number of participants in the discussion, discourse function, the personal relationship with the audience (Abbou-Haggar, 2006); in Labed, 2015). Bouamrane (1986) proposes another description of diglossia in Algeria and Arab world. He uses the concept intralingual diglossia when two genetically related varieties are alternatively used as with the case of Colloquial Arabic and MSA. However, in the case of genetically unrelated varieties such as French and Colloquial Arabic, he employs the concept of interlingual diglossia.

2.5 CA/ MSA/ Educated Spoken Arabic/ Vernacular Arabic Dialects

Nowadays‟ Arabic is unquestionably not the same with that of the seventh century as it underwent many changes at phonological, morphological and lexical levels. These changes were principally fuelled by the diglossic situation which occurred after independence as different levels of Arabic were alternatively used by speakers. This leads to questions the first source of this diglossic diversification and linguistic relatedness between these levels of Arabic. Many sources seem to agree that the source of MSA and modern dialects dates back to CA which represents the old, pure and sacred language of Quran and Poetry.

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The situation of diglossia has given birth to various genetically related, structurally similar but functionally and contextually dissimilar varieties. The situation got more complex when more than two varieties overlap in terms of structure and function. This led to a phenomenon best described as multiglossia. The latter refers to the co-existence of more than two diglossic varieties in the verbal repertoire of speakers. CA stands at the top of this pyramid as being the holy language of the Qur‟an and old pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. It is usually referred to as „Old Arabic‟ which has been codified by early Arabic grammarians and represented the literary and cultural language of the Arab-Islamic Empire. After the conquests, Old and New Arabic coexisted in a sociolinguistic relationship that is usually called „diglossia‟ (Versteegh, 2014, p.132). The use of CA is restricted to the religious domain in which speakers make use of its features to recite Qur‟an (Tajweed) through careful attention to the pronunciation of sounds in their correct way. The spread of MSA led to gradual degradation of CA which is currently limited to countless contexts (religion and classical literature). This deprivation can be easily observed in the written system of CA which lost many of its native linguistic features and has been replaced by simplified ones.

During the end of the eighteenth century time, Arabic was contemporaneous with the concept of universal education, the beginning of journalism, and exposure to Western writing practices and styles such as editorials, short stories, plays, and novels (Ryding, 2005, p.4;as cited in Moussadek, 2013, p.11). MSA is a divergent linguistic form from CA which is highly characterised by many new foreign features called *dakhil* (Badawi, 1973). These features include many transliterated lexical units such as technology-related expressions (television/Computer كومبيوتر/تلفزيون). MSA is being adopted as the language of education in which students learn its phonological, morphological and lexical basics in the course of their educational careers. Moreover, MSA is written and is widely utilised in written media such as newspapers, magazines, periodicals, etc with rare uses of Colloquial Arabic. In oral media, this variety is extensively used along with colloquial diglossic code switchings.

Colloquial Arabic is the variety which used in everyday speech by Algerian speakers. It is referred as Algerian Arabic (AA) and includes other mutually intelligible regional dialects which are disseminated across the geography of country. Though it is an oral variety and has no written system, Colloquial Arabic is used in some literary works, broadcasting forecasts, TV interviews, etc. In terms of prestige, though AA is structurally a Low variety, it enjoys the same prestige with the H variety which is MSA.

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2.6 Theories about the Emergence of Modern Arabic Dialects

To explain the complex sociolinguistic situation in the Arabic world subsequently after Arabic Islamic conquests and the process of Arabisation, a number of theories were developed from the 1960s onwards by western scholars working on new dialects of Arabic. Theories of monogenesis, convergence and divergence will be sketched out shortly.

2.6.1 Theory of Monogenesis

In his view, Ferguson (1959b) suggests that modern Arabic dialects diverged from of a process of koinesation where speakers of pre-Islamic dialects mingled in military camps. Contact between these groups of speakers led to the formation of a military koine in which common features between these dialects were developed and shared among speakers. Cohen (1970) rejects Ferguson's explanation of the origin of dialects and was followed by Versteegh (1984) who claim that Arabic dialects descended from a uniform linguistic entity which he called "The essentially uniform language of the "Jâahiliyya".

Ferguson‟s theory received criticism in which resemblances between these dialects were interpreted as “either the product of a general trend, or as the result of a latter process of convergence that homogenised the dialects of the various areas” (Versteegh, 2014, p.139). Still many researches (e.g., Eksel, 1995; Owens, 2006, cf. Already Nobbers 1906; cf.Watson, 2011, p.851) refuting the view that modern Arabic dialedts descended from CA in the sense they reflect the same linguistic system of CA. A number of features which characterise modern dialects were not used in spoken classical dialects of Arabic. For instance, the dual in pronouns neither occur in ancient Arabic dialects nor is lost in modern dialects because it had never been possessed by them. Another group of scholars (e.g., Corriente 1975, 1976, 1978; Brown 2007; Diem 1991) suggest that some linguistic changes in the system of modern dialects existed long before in ancient Arabic dialects.

Brockelman's argument on the emergence of modern Arabic dialects is principally based on contact between Semitic languages that demonstrate degrees of similarity among their linguistic systems. Furthermore, the Semitic languages are so similar to one another, that a geographically-based classification of the languages, presumably rather than one based on shared innovation, is the best approach to summarising them (Brockelman, 1908, p.6; as cited in Owens 2006).

Cohen (1970) takes an opposing view suggesting that the development of modern Arabic dialects was primarily motivated by a process of convergence. In the same context, he reports that Arab armies consisted of a mixture of different tribes in which certain linguistic differences were leveled out. In a different view, Fuck's (1950) interesting reference 'Arabiya' provides an attempt to explain the dichotomy of old-new Arabic that led to the emergence of modern dialects. According to him, rate of contact between Arabs and non-Arabs in the first century of Arabic conquests was a salient reason to grammatical simplification between various varieties of Arabic. A second significant interpretation provided by Fuck is that a class-based difference was observed between Arab-upper and non-Arab lower and middle classes (1950, pp.5-7; as cited in Owens, 2006, p.44). His data were gathered from Literacy sources (e.g., Book of al-Bayaan wa al- Tabyiyn written by Al Jahid in the ninth century).

Blau (2006) claims that Middle Arabic was the missing link in the transition from old to neo-Arabic, emerging in the early Islamic era as the result of contact between Arabic and non-Arab speakers. Blau (1981, p.4) defends his view by saying that "middle Arabic is the language of medieval Arabic texts in which classical, post classical and often also neo-Arabic and pseudo-correct elements alternate quite freely" (in Owens, 2006, p.46).

2.7 Classification of Modern Arabic Dialects

Embarki and Ennaji (2011) stress the inadequacy of early phonological classifications of Arabic dialects and state that:

> The classification of Arabic dialects, as it has been conducted, appears unfortunately to be somewhat arbitrary. The choice of some phonological features could construct borders of isoglosses. These borders could be deconstructed immediately and give arise to a different background if the features are taken from the lexical component. (p.x)

To put it differently, classifications of Arabic dialects were principally based on phonological consistencies that created isoglosses, but these boundaries vanish at the lexical level. Later, classifications of Arabic dialects were based on two criteria namely geographical and genealogical.

2.7.1 Geography-based Classification

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Geographically speaking, modern Arabic dialects are classified into Western and Eastern based on a number of shared linguistic features.

2.7.1.1 Western Vs Eastern Dialects

The linguistic division between Western and Eastern dialects is based on isoglosses which mark linguistic boundaries suggested by the field of traditional dialectology. Geographically speaking, Eastern area extends from the Arabia peninsula (that is, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates) across Mesopotamia (that is, Iraq), until Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Sudan whereas the Western area covers Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. Differences between Eastern and Western dialects can be attested at all linguistic levels; phonology, morphology and lexis. Behnstedt (2013) argues that main differences between both dialects are of mutual intelligibility in which speakers of eastern dialects find difficulties in understanding those of western dialects and these differences are more found at the lexical level. For example, the Maghrebi Arabic word [*xallas*] "to pay" is differently understood by Easterners as „to finish"; the Maghrebi word [*mahallāt*] for „shops" can be understood by an Iraqui speaker as „quarters of a town"; Easterners will have difficulty in understanding the Algerian Arabic word [*buʃî*] which stands for „butcher". Behnstedt (2013) explains that "the reasons for the lexical bipartition Maghreb – Mashreq are multiple. Amongst them has to be mentioned the role of different linguistic substrata, superstrata and adstrata" (p.237). The role of substrata can be clearly observed via manifestation of Berber in the Maghreb, Coptic in Egypt, Aramaic in the Levant, South Arabic and Iraq, African substrata in Chad, Sudan and Mauritania. Superstrata, on the other hand, refer to the transplanted colonial languages (such as French, Spanish and Italian…etc) identified by a degree of loanwords found especially in Maghrebi dialects. Linguistic adstrata refer to languages that influenced the Arabic language in general and Arabic dialects in particular like Persian and Turkish.

2.7.1.2 Versteegh's Typology

The appropriate typology that we believe is relevant and provides a clear classification of Arabic dialects is the one proposed by Versteegh (2014). He proposes four types of Modern Arabic dialects:

- Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. This group consists of North-west Arabian dialects, North-east Arabian dialects, South Dialects and Hijazi dialects (also Western Arabian) (Palva (1991); Ingham (1982)).

- Syro-Lebanese dialects and include Lebanese/Central Syrian dialects, Palestinian/Jordanian dialects and North Syrian dialects.

- Mesopotamian dialects and encompass Muslim Baghdadi, Christian Baghdadi [*qeltu*] and Jewish Baghdadi [*gilit*] (Blanc, 1964).

- Egyptian dialects contain dialects of Delta (Eastern Vs Western), Upper Egyptian dialects (from Asyut to South), Cairo dialects and Middle Egyptian dialects (from Gizeh to Asyut) (Owens, 1993).

- Maghreb dialects which represents our main interest in this thesis. They include two types; Eastern pre-Hilali dialects spoken in Lybia, Tunisia and eastern Algeria and Western dialects of the Hilali tribe spoken in western Algeria and Morocco.

In this study, special focus is directed toward western Maghrebi dialects given the fact that the dialect of Frenda falls under this last type.

2.7.1.3 General Traits of Maghrebi Dialects

Maghrebi dialects are the type of dialects spoken particularly in the western area known as the Arab Maghreb which encompass Moroccan dialect, Tunisian dialect, Algerian dialect and other two dead dialects known as Andalusian and Siculo-Arabic (Jondi, 2018, Sayahi, 2014; cited in Khaloufi, 2021). These dialects are characterised by mutual intelligibility due to the fact that a large portion of speakers can understand one another. Many of these dialects share several lexical similarities

2.8 Genealogy-based Classification

Arabic dialects have been classified according to the blood-based relationships between speakers who spring out from a single family tree. This view is proposed by Ibn Khaldun. In the course of this thesis, we will test the validity of Ibn Khaldun‟s hypothesis in relation to dialect variation that exhibits in the dialectal speech of Frenda.

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2.8.1 Sedentary/ Bedouin Dialects

Categorizing Arabic dialects as either bedouin or sedentary (rural or urban) respectively had its origins in the history of the Islamic conquests initiated in North Africa. Arabisation took place in two historically separated stages; the first stage took place during the second half of the seventh century and resulted in sedentary dialects brought by a small group of invaders. These dialects were used in urban areas or inside the military camps, however the countryside still Berber-speaking. The second stage, led by Banu-Hilal, started in the tenth and eleventh centuries where Arabic reached the countryside and was used in all aspects of the Arabic world.

The famous non-Arab historian Ibn Khaldun has been the first to put this typology when he referred to differences between people living in the city and those living in the countryside in his „*Muqaddimah*‟ (prolegomena). He refers to these two groups as “hadari” and “madani”. The former stands for inhabitants who commute the countryside whereas the latter signifies people who live in urban places. Early before Chomsky coined his well-known dichotomy that is of competence and performance, Ibn Khaldun is said to be the first to use this term when he mentioned the corruption of Arabs‟ "linguistic competence" represented by Classical Arabic due to contact with non-Arabs during the Islamic conquests. Ibn Khaldun backs his claims on the posteriority of bedouins over sedentary people by saying that most of inhabitants of cities have Bedouin origins referring to their genealogical trees.

In terms of their economic activities, bedouins are distinguished from sedentary in the sense that sedentary people don‟t prefer frequent migration and usually live on agriculture and cultivation. Ibn Khakdun (1377) adds that these sedenatry people dwell small communities, villages and mountain regions and include non-Arabs and Berbers. On the other hand, bedouin inhabitants are those who prefer to travel round to search for pasturage and live on raising animals. A third sub-group lives by raising camels and penetrate deeper into the dessert where they look for new green pastures. In the following section, we highlight the major controversies founded upon the sedentary-bedouin dichotomy. Linguistically speaking, Ibn Khaldun sets outs a number of linguistic discrepancies that distinguish between (hadhr) and (mudn). To avoid any possible further confusion, we will refer to dialects as either bedouin or sedentary and speakers as either urban or rural.

2.8.2 Controversies of the Sedentary and Bedouin Dichotomy

This typology has long posed many controversies among various scholars and received criticism in the sense that these labels are far from being neither sociological nor sociolinguistic that distinguish dialects of the city and countryside. Accordingly, Versteegh (2014) considers labels of „sedentary" and „bedouin" as based only on the history of migration of both groups (bedouin and sedentary) and can be neither used as sociological nor as sociolinguistic labels that distinguish people living in cities and those of the countryside.

Adopting the same argumentative view, Miller quotes that "the linguistic basis of the urban/rural/ bedouin typology led to many controversies, i.e. few features distinguish all bedouin dialects from all sedentary dialects" (Holes 1996; Ingham 1982; in Miller, 2007, p.5).
If we look back to the history of migration before Islam, Bedouin groups tended to migrate on a regular basis for different reasons. Among various outcomes of such Bedouin migratory movements, the process of Arabisation succeeded to reach the countryside as a major outcome of mobility as Versteegh claims: "In all such cases, the Bedouin immigration set in motion a process of Arabisation in the countryside". (ibid). In addition, Britain (2009) puts forward:

> The main argument is that while there may be tendencies for urban areas to show certain social, economic, geo-graphical, historical characteristics more frequently/intensively etc than rural areas, all of these are quantitative tendencies rather than absolute differences, and are simply triggered by causal processes which have had spatially uneven consequences, thereby affecting urban areas more than rural. (p.230)

In a different view, Cadora (1992) proposes a linear development of Arabic dialects which was based on ecological development of Arab centres. He puts forward the following lineage:

Bedouin ⟶ Bedouin-Rural ⟶ Rural ⟶ Rural-Urban ⟶ Urban

This view was challenged and criticised as there are many Arabic dialects are still being exposed to a process of later Bedouinization. In this respect, Cadora (1992) further suggested another classification:

Bedouinite ⟶ Bedouinite ⟶ Ruralite ⟶ Ruralite-Urbanite ⟶ Urbanite

This led us to argue that migration is not a fundamental factor in implementing change given the fact various types of urban vernaculars emerged and this subsequently resulted in variation.

Moreover, many dialects witnessed a later bedouinisation process and display both bedouin and sedentary dialectal features in their speech as in the case of Oran and Tlemcen speech communities where speakers show the use of both bedouin and sedentary features particularly in the use of inter/dentals. The following sections are devoted to geographically and genealogically classifying Arabic dialects into Bedouin and Sedentary.

2.8.3 Bedouin Dialects

Bedouin dialects are sub-categorized into western and eastern. The present investigation will be undertaken on FSA which is a bedouin-type dialect.

2.8.3.1 Characteristics of Bedouin Dialects

Bedouin dialects are characterised by their conservative linguistic features as speakers are geographically separated and prone to any external impact. Versteegh (2014) enumerates the following linguistic bedouin traits:

-Preservation of the classical interdentals /*ṯ*/ and /*ḏ*/ as in [*ṯaːləb*] and [

-The realisation of the voiceless uvular /*q*/ as voiced velar /*g*/.

-Gender distinction in the second and third person plural is maintained.

-The third person singular masculine of the pronominal suffix is /*-ah*/ or /*-ih*/.

-Extensive use of the dual in the nouns.

-The genitive exponent *d-* in (*dyal*) is dropped particularly in western bedouin dialects of North Africa into (*nta''*).

2.8.3.1.1 Eastern Bedouin Dialects

Versteegh (2014) states that this group is localised in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf States, the Syro-Mesopotamian desert, and South Jordan, the Negev and Sinai. These dialects form a continuum that makes it hard to distinguish discrete dialects through geographical maps. The reason behind such phenomenon is due to continuous migratory movements across many regions.

2.8.3.1.2 Western Bedouin Dialects

Dialects belonging to this class are largely spoken in the north of Africa and are divided into two groups. The first group being of Banu Sulaym including Lybia, Tunisia and Western Egypt. The second group, being our focal interest, encompasses dialects brought by the Banu Hilal and spoken

mainly in Western Algeria and Morocco. Unlike Eastern dialects, these two groups do not form a continuum due to the chronological divergence between first and second periods of conquests. Also, these dialects are characterised by their high degree of conservatism as they still maintain their beouin dialectal features such as the velar voiced [*g*], intedentals /*ḍ*/, /*ɵ*/ and /*ɔ*/. This division seem to be the same as proposed by Palva (2006). He writes that "the western dialects can be divided into two major groups: the so-called pre-Hilali sedentary dialects and the Bedouin dialects. [...] In the 11th century the originally Najdi tribes of Banu Sulaym and Banu Hilal and the southern Arabian tribe of the Ma'qil moved westward and occupied the North African plains and steppes".

Bedouin dialects in Algeria constitute the largest number and are spoken by a considerable number of populations in all the Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria, Lybia, Tunisia, Mauritania and Western Sahara). Kherbache (2017) reports that studies during colonial occupation of Algeria (e.g., Cantineau, 1937, 1938, 1940; 1941; Mangion (1937); Millon (1937); Marcais (1960)) and a number of studies conducted after the independence (Bouamrane, 1989, 1990; Bouhadiba (1992); Caubet (2000, 2001) and Pereira (2011)) all classified Bedouin dialects in Algeria into five groups:

- The eastern group spoken in Constantine.
- Central and Western groups spoken in Oran County.
- Central Algeria and the Sahara.
- Tell and the Algero-Oranese Sahel.
- High Plains in Constantine.

In view of that, we will be interested in the fourth dialectal group spoken in the Tell and the Algero-Oranese Sahel given that FSA is geographically located in the eastern part of Oran and part of "Les Hauts Plateaux" and "La Commune Mixte".

2.8.4 Sedentary Dialects

The existence of sedentary dialects in Algeria dates back to the first Arabo-Islamic conquest of sedentary centres during the mid-seventh century to the tenth century. These tribes were accompanied with Arabo-Islamic armies for the objective of transmitting Islam and Arabic language to North of Africa. Sedentary dialects are also subdivided into urban (city) and bedouin dialects (village) since they were spoken inside villages and outside in the peripheral areas in the countryside. This division was mainly the result of emigration and the diffusion of bedouin inhabitants toward cities. Consequently,

the socio-demographic structure of Arab cities changed as living conditions become favourable for Bedouin residents to move and reside inside cities. Ibn Khaldun argues that:

> "The Arabic language became corrupt through contact with (foreign languages) in some of its rules and through changes of the word endings, even though it remained unchanged semantically. (This type of Arabic) was called "the sedentary language" (and was used) in all the cities of Islam" (Ibn Khaldun, 1377.p.477).

Ibn khaldun considers urbanization as the key motive for bedouins to emigrate to sedentary areas searching for a luxurious life. The same author makes reference to language accommodation as bedouin speakers adapt to the linguistic features of the new dwelling area. As claimed in the above quotation by Ibn khaldun, sedentary speakers are not inclined to leave their urban dwellings toward the desert and bedouin life. After the conquests, emigration was soon prohibited by an order from the Prophet. Both Historical and linguistic studies have shown a tight relationship between sedentary and bedouin dialects as both types impact each other.

2.8.4.1 Characteristics of Sedentary Dialects

This type of dialects is characterised by its innovative nature as it is highly spoken in urbanised centers where there is constant demographic and social renewal as well as linguistic contact with other speakers from several localities. Sedentary dialects are characterized by the following noticeable features:

-The preservation of the standard uvular /*q*/.

-The process of stopping in prevalent in the shift from bedouin interdentals /*ṯ*/, /*ḏ*/ and /*ḍ*/ into dentals /*t*/ and /*d*/.

-The exponent genitive /*d-*/ is maintained in the use of *dyal*.

2.9 Sedentarisation and Bedouinisation

The socio-demographic image of several Arabic cities has drastically changed over the last twenty years as speakers of distinct regional origins come into contact. Bedouinisation stands for the permeation and penetration of Arabic bedouin inhabitants into urban areas. Rosenhouse (1984, p.3) asserts that Bedouin Arabic forms "the cornerstone" of Modern-day Arabic dialects (in Yasseen Ahmed, 2018, p.69). From a linguistic perspective, this impact has left noticeable traces on the linguistic scene of numerous Arabic dialects which demonstrate bedouin dialectal traits. Bedouin speakers are attached to their conservative dialect which is a marker of their bedouin identity.

Sedentarisation, on the other hand, refers to the shift from a tribal social organisation that is principally based on blood relationships between speakers that inhabit a particular area.

2.10 Conclusion

Efforts made by early Arab scholars have successfully paved the way to many western sociolinguists and dialectologists to initiate further studies that examine variation and change in modern Arabic dialects. Later, several attempts have been made to describe and classify the evolution of modern Arabic dialects based on the history of Arabic. The typology proposed by Ibn khaldun during the fourteenth century divided Arabic dialects into (*hadhr*) and (*mud*) which stands for bedouin and sedentary respectively has been based on blood relationships among Arab tribes and the ecology of Arabic cities whose social structure was primarily tribal and shifted to

Chapter Three

Context of the Study and Methodology

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3.1 Introduction

After introducing the main theoretical concepts related to the topic at hand, the following step is to describe the context where the study is being carried out. This chapter aims to provide a detailed overview of the geographical and social scene of the present context of investigation and the main linguistic features of the dialect under investigation. After that, an extensive description of the study methodology and design are provided to guide our analysis of the variable selected.

3.1.1 Geography of Frenda

The region is situated in the west of Algeria about (50) kilometers far from the main city of Tiaret, 200 kilometres from Oran and 300 kilometres from the main capital Algiers. It is administratively integrated to the main city of Tiaret and considered as the first largest region with a superficial of 139297 square kilometres extending from Takhmaret and Ain Hdid in the West suburban to Mascara and Saida to reach Ain Kermes and Medrissa to the South suburban to the region of El Bayyad. Following 2019's recent administrative split Frenda becomes a sub-wilaya. The following figure illustrates the geographical situation of Frenda as shown in highlighted in orange.

Figure 3.1 ***Map of Tiaret and the Location of Frenda Province. (extracted from Wikipedia)***

Administratively, Frenda appends four main subdivisions namely Ain Kermes (20 kilometres to the Southern East), Takhamaret (fourty kilometres to the West) and Ain Hdid (seventeen kilometres to the West) and Medrissa (40 kilometres to the Southern West). It was inaugurated as a Daira (county) relatively to "*la loi de cadre*" issued on the 31th 1957 and was called "*La Commune Mixte*" and governed by French administration. In 2020, Frenda was promoted into a sub-wilaya. The region stands in the middle of mountainous belt known as "*Les Hauts Plateaux*" which is surrounded by Jbal Mʿaskar (Mountains of Mascara), mountains of el-gaʕda and Boughachoua.

3.2.5 Demographic Growth and Urbanisation

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Genealogically, various tribes labeled as laʕrach (tribes) and descended from Banu Hilal inhabited the rural outskirts of Frenda. Each single tribe inhabited a limited geographical area where it owns a land for agriculture. These tribes used to live on farming wheat and raising animals such as sheep, cows and horses. After Independence, the region witnessed an increasing growth in the demographic number of its population through several stages affected primarily by urbanization subsequent to several waves of in-migration from rural suburbs like Sidi Bakhti, Sidi Amar, Reusfa, Ain Kermes and Ain Hdid. These waves erupted to Frenda due to the terror caused by terroristic groups to rural inhabitants during the black nineties to search for better job opportunities in order to enhance their life conditions. Consequently, various rural inhabitants abandoned their activities in agriculture in the countryside to start new jobs inside the town. In-migration played a considerable role in shaping the rural-urban demographic structure of the region. According to demographic statistics of 2019, the number of Frendi population was estimated by 120.000 inhabitants.

The architectural image was completely modified due to the constructions of edifices, new administrations and services. However, many places inside the city are still maintaining their oldrural origin demonstrated by their scarlet brick and other buildings that follow French architecture. It is generally composed of few originally bedouin inhabitants who inhabit the old neighborhoods of the town like Hamdouch, Bab El-Kbir and L‟batoir and some old residents in Cha‟bet Arbiyya. Farmer residents install in the outskirts such as Quayer, Jbabra, Esoualem, Ltat, abid. Originally Berber speakers constitute the minor portion of Frenda's population and in the course of time, they succeeded to mingle with local inhabitants. The majority of them settled in old colonial neighborhoods and inhabits houses that belonged to French. Frenda was constructed as a fortress that contained three main entrances known as abwab (doors); bab sog, bab lkbir, and bab Bou‟ar‟ara. The history of Frenda is affluent and dates back to the second century (172 A.D) after unearthing the remnants of jewelry, earrings, necklaces, and fictile utensils discovered by French Lieutenant Fort in 1883 in the boroughs of Frenda mainly in Ain Sbiba, Lejdar, Taoughzout and others (Benasla, 2017). This view was confirmed by the discoveries made during the end of thirties of the squared Berber tombs used to burry dead bodies in the area of el-qwayer near Frenda. Frenda witnessed a rapid demographic growth over the last 30 years mainly during the period of the black nineties when inhabitants from rural suburbs erupted to the city.

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3.2 Frenda: A Glimpse of History

In this section, we will sketch out a detailed description of the history of Frenda and the various civilisations that embarked in the region.

3.2.1 Phoenicians

They reached Frenda during the second half of the 12th century. In this period the region witnessed a new historical era in which inhabitants accommodated their religious and architectural lives to the new Hilali settlers. They started abandoning their primitive habitats to build modern homes

These houses constituted the Casbah of Frenda which was a sort of fortified citadel that circled theregion.

3.3.3 Romans

Under the lead of the roman emperor Septime Severe (193-211), Frenda was occupied by Romans during 72 century B.C due to its abundant water resources that installed in the mountains of El Gaada. This geostrategic location was favored by the Romans to embark their garrisons at the top of its suburban mountains mainly in Taoughazout and Ain Derhem. These mountains represented a strong defensive wall against enemies of Oued El Taht. For the Romans, Frenda represented one of the significant citadels that constituted the so-called "Limes" line that extends from eastern (Tebessa) to western (Maghnia) borders. During the Roman rule, a great number of populations converted to Christianity under the edification of Sen ou Cen Chapel. The Tudjinides conquered the Tell and were after replaced by the Idlelten whom installed at El Djabat and Taoughzout. The Idlelten were ruled by Nasr Ben Sultan Ben Aissa who died and was substituted by his son Menad who on his part left the rule to his brother Ali Ben Nasr. Brahim the son of Ali Ben Nasr received the rule after the death of his brother Salama. Thanks to efforts made by Ali Ben Nasr and the construction of Taoughzout, the tribe of Idlelten made strong reputation among other tribes.

3.3.4 Vandals

The Roman rule fell in the hand of the Vandals in year 430. They are referred to as „Les Goths". Ibn Khaldun mentions that they were known as Sissinians back to the land they inhabited in the East between Persia and Greece. They succeeded to invade Algeria (Mauritania and Numidia) in two years after they opened Buna which become their capital. In year 533 the Roman Byzantine come to Ifriqia to invade Carthage and succeeded in entering it. After a three-day siege of the Berber town Medins, the last vandal leader Jalmir surrendered in year 534. Their rule lasted 104 years.

3.3.5 Byzantines

After the fall of Carthage, the Romans were greedy to conquer many parts of Algeria. The Roman leader Blisir invaded Buna and Qaysariya, however, they encountered a great defence from Berbers. Romans and Berber lived together but they did not completely mingle. Bouamrane (1986)

reports that Latin was the official language among the Berbers especially in urban centers, but was not spread outside these towns especially in mountains and steppes. Romans weakened after the death of Yastinyan in year 565 and completely collapsed after the attack of Arabs in year 647. The Roman dynasty lasted 113 years.

3.3.6 Arabs and Arabic

In 669 A.D Tripolitania was conquered by Islamic armies led by Uqba Ibn Nafaa and later adopted Qayrawan as the capital of the Islamic empire in 670. This was a driving force to conquer North Africa. The conquerors were sedentary tribes that inhabited urban cities in the Arabian Peninsula. The first wave began in the mid-7th century to implant Islam in non-Arab and Berber-speaking territories. During this period, chaos and turmoil spread in North Africa and Berber inhabitants welcomed the arrival of Arabs as they consider Islam as a religion of mercy. The first wave primarily aimed to unite people of these territories under the banner of Islam and arabise their speakers. Al-Mili argues that the maintenance of Phoenician in the speech of Berber speakers facilitated the process of learning Arabic. Still, indigenous Berber inhabitants who live in remote Saharan and mountainous areas strongly opposed the idea of conversion to Islam or adopt Arabic as their second language. Soon, Arabic become the vernacular language of North Africa and native speakers were obliged to learn it as a second language to communicate with Arabs and to perform Islamic rituals. This marked the separation with the Western world and the beginning of a new era in which Arab-Islamic identity is the new norm. Boukhachba (2019) says that endorsing a new religion was tremendously influential mostly on the linguistic level of the entire region. The second wave started between the 11th and 12th centuries witnessed the arrival of Bedouin tribes namely the Najdi Banu Hilal, Soleim and Maaqil who moved westward of North Africa. These waves represented a radical change in religious, linguistic and socio-cultural life of North Africa and particularly Algeria.

3.3.7 Rostomids (909-776)

Originally descendants from the Hilali tribes, the Rostomids founded the first Rostomid Realm in Tiaret by the famous leader *Abd Errahman Ibn Rostom*. Ibn Rostom is the first founder of the theocratic government known as *Tihert*. The origins of Ibn Rostom are disputed among various historians; Al Bakri and Ibn Hazm view that he belongs to the Persian Akkasira Sassanian kings, Ibn Khaldun mentions that he is one of the sons of Rostom who weas the famous leader of the Persian

Army. Yakut Al Hamawi views his origins to Otman Ibn Affan. The Rostomid dynasty ruled a vast territory from parts of the mid-west, Tripoli and Al Jarid area. It extends from the mountains of Tlemcen west to the southern oasis in Algeria. Historically, during the Omayyid dynasty a number of oppositions erupted against the Abbassid rule, Abd Errahman Ibn Rostom was among those who opposed the Abbasids and flew from Qayrawan towards Tihert in the mid-west. The Rostomid dynasty collapsed in 909 after the last rule of Youkdan Bnu Mohammad.

3.3.8 Turkish Dynasty

During this era, the Oran district was inhabited by more than 219 migrant tribes who constituted a tribal union known as Confederation. Turks reached Frenda during the beginning of the eighteenth century in which they legislated a tax called 'raya'. Inhabitants of Frenda refused to pay this tax and initiated a number of individual and collective revolts under the chief of Sidi Abd El Kader El Frendi. This religious and military leader was a descendant from Darkaouas revolted against the Turkish troops led by the Bey of Mascara. The Turkish existence in the region of Frenda had noticeable impact on the linguistic repertoire of speakers as shown in the below table. Most of words borrowed from end in the suffix {-ʒi}.

Table 3.1 ***Turkish Words in the Dialect of Frenda.***

Turkish Words	**English Gloss**
[*qahwaʒi*]	Waiter
[*babu:r*]	Boat
[*ħmamʒi*]	a man works in a Turkish bath
[*suʕaʒi*]	man of watches

3.3.9 The Spanish

The collapse of Andalucía in 1492 paved the way to European greediness to conquer parts of North Africa and a new era in the Spanish expansion. The Spanish coloniser reached Algeria during the fifteenth century and was the first to conquer different coastal parts of the country especially western regions like Oran, Ain Temouchent, Tlemcen, and Mostaganem. This historical effect can be easily

observed in the speech of coastal speakers who use more spanish words more that non-coastal speakers. Frenda is not far from some coastal parts such Oran (200 kilometres) and Mostaganem (210 kilometres) and was not prone from the Spanish extension towards internal regions. These regions played a vital role in the diffusion of Spanish towards western willayas. Linguistically, a small portion of spanish words survived and maintained the same original morphological structure of the target language. We mention the following:

Table 3.2 ***Spanish Words in FSA Vocabulary.***

Dialectal Words	**Original Spanish Gloss**	**English Gloss**
[fi:ʃʈa]	fiesta	feast
[kʊzina]	cocina	kitchen
[farʃiʈa]	forqita	fork
[ʈɔzzi:na]	docena	dozen
[gi:rra]	guerra	war
[sandala]	sanda	sandal
[la:mba]	lampa	bulb
[partijja]	partida	match

3.3.10 French Colonization and “La Commune Mixte” (1880)

Following the fall of Algiers in 1830 by the French colonization, Frenda's tribes rushed to pledge alligience to Emir Abdelkader against the French. This acknowledgement helped Emir to appoint Tagdamt as his capital in 1836 which represented a depository for food, weaponry and a factory of weapons. For Emir, Frenda was a passageway where he subjoined tribes of frenda under his banner. Despite the strong resistance shown by El Emir, French authorities obliged him to withdraw with the help of some local betrayers. French authorities aimed at administratively dividing a large number of large territories into "communes mixtes" where each commune is ruled by a French governor. The primary aim was to isolate a maximum number of regions to cut communication and

supplies on Mujahiddin. Frenda was appointed as a "commune mixte" in 1880 and was composed of a number of Douars, namely Ghronadis, Houaret and Medroussa. The French administrator met leaders of tribes (Ouled Zian Cheraga, Ouled Haddou and Ouled Sidi Khaled) to negotiate the cession of parts from their communal lands for the French starting from 1840. After, European colonial migrants including French and Spanish settled in Frenda where they bought lands and started farming raisins,

fruit trees and raising sheep and pork. Not long after Emir's resistance, Bouamama took the lead with the help of local Frendi inhabitants in 1880, but French took it back in 1881 and became a 'commune mixte'. A number of local resistants initiated rebels against the French such as Hadj Bachir Ben Khalil in 1889, Serada Morsli in 1920. In 1958, Frenda was administratively integrated to the region of Tiaret. The archaeological structure of the Casbah preserved its Bedouin type till the beginning of the eighteenth century that witnessed the arrival of French colonizers to Frenda from 1850. Consequently, the region's archaeological shape changed to a more European-like in which they constructed villas of three or five floors especially in the eastern part of the town. Other French colonizers built individual houses with roofs made of baked brick and small gardens. The French adhered to split Frenda into old and new neighbourhoods. Old neighbourhoods were reserved for the locals whereas the new ones were for the indigenous. Jews were part of the local inhabitants and owned commercial shops during the eighteenth century. Additionally, they created small units for the industry of tannery made of goats' and sheep's leather. This period witnessed also the in-migration of rural residents to settle in parts abandoned by the French due to their harsh natural form such as Hamdouch and Keryel that stood at the top of rocky and high hill. The French left a tremendous impact on the dialects of Algeria as well as of Frenda as shown in the table below:

3.4 *French Borrowings in Frenda's Dialect.*

FSA	**French Original Words**	**English Gloss**
[*tip*a*n*a]	petit pein	Bread
[*lɔʧɔ*]	Automobile	Automobile
[*pili*]	Pilier	Pillar
[*d*a*l*a]	Dalle	Roof
[*məʃw*a*r*a]	Mouchoir	paper towel
[*mnərvi*]	Enervee	Nervous
[*ʈabl*a]	Table	Table

Chapter Three: Context of the Study and Methodology

3.4 Dialect of Frenda

Before we have approached the linguistic description of the dialect in question, we searched for any previous linguistic studies conducted on the present dialect. However, we weren‟t able to find any previous conducted studies and this investigation represents a pioneering work on the present dialect. Still worth to mention that many previous socio/linguistic studies on Algerian dialects tended to generalize the linguistic features as being shared by various dialects even those geographically distant. These views are principally based on purely historical perspectives that label dialects as forming a continuum. Fieldwork studies proved the opposite as many dialects are historically interconnected yet linguistically distinct. Following Cantineau‟s (1940) classification of Algerian sedentary/bedouin dialects, FSA belongs to bedouin dialects as part of the department of Oran during French colonisation, but is considered as transitional zone between dialects of „B‟ and „D‟. As for the communes of Mascara, Cacherou (now Sidi Kada) and Frenda, they form a transition zone between the B-dialects and the D-dialects, as the latter dialect groups display important lexical differences (Cantineau 1940, p.223; cited in Raoud, 2016, pp.61-62). According to Cantineau‟s classification of bedouin dialects, the dialect of Frenda shows the following salient features:

-Voiced realization of uvular /*q*/ as velar /*g*/.

- Presence of interdentals /*ḍ*/, /*ɵ*/, /*ɔ*/.

- The use of fricative /*ʒ*/.

- Use of pronominal suffix /-a*h*/ instead of /-*u*/ in the third person masculine singular.

Additionally to the above mentioned salient linguistic features, we initially relied upon the unstructured/informal observation to explore the dialectal features of Frenda‟s dialect.

3.5 Phonological Features

Vowel System

In align with Bouhadiba (1986) phonological characteristics of ORD, the vocalic system of FSA lost its unstressed short vowels in open syllables as in [*dim*a*:ɣ*] vs. [*dm*a*:ɣ*], [*kit*a*:b*] vs. [*ktab*], [*nuʒu:m*] vs. [*nnʒu:m*]. The three CA vowel /a, *u, i*/ have their long counterparts /a*:*, *u:*, *i:*/ in the dialect

of Frenda as displayed in the following instances: [*kl*a] (ate) vs. [*ga:l*] (said) [*jakul*] (eating) vs.[ʒa*bu:h*], [*jɣanni*] (sing) vs. [*mi:ti:n*] (two hundred). An exception is observed in mid-central vowel /ə/ which doesn‟t have a long form in Frenda‟s dialect.

Interdentals

Similar to many Arab bedouin dialects, Frenda‟s dialect is phonologically rich and demonstrates a number of bedouin linguistic traits. The linguistic description of Arabic dialects is not void of considering the three interdentals /ɵ/, /ḍ/ and /ɔ̛/ as an inseparable part of the linguistic repertoire of any dialect. The dialect of Frenda shows the use of the three interdentals.

/ɵ/

This voiceless interdental is a CA feature. It has two reflexes /ɵ/ and /t/. In his pioneering work on the phonological system of ORN dialect, Bouhadiba (1986) describes it as a Bedouin form. Ferguson (1957) reports that this phoneme is pronounced as /z/ in Damascus Arabic. In urban speech of Algiers, Tlemcen, Oran, Sidi Belabbes, Ain Temouchent, this interdental is stopped into /t/.

/ɔ̛/

The CA voiceless interdental fricative is a characterising feature of FSA. It is realised as either [ɔ̛] or [*t*]. Brahmi (1986) reports that several linguists disregard the occurrence of this interdental in sedentary dialects as the result of maintenance but as restoration due to the bedouin impact. In ORD and SBA bedouinised dialects, this interdental is stopped into /t/. This same interdental is maintained in rural dialects of sedentary speech communities.

/ḍ/

In CA, the phoneme /ḍ/ is either pronounced as a plain interdental or emphatic mufaχχam (emphatic). Arabic dialects seem to lose the emphatic variant which merged into plain interdental. Bouhadiba (1986) argues that the ORD completely lost the /ḍ/ in addition to several urban dialects in the North of Africa. Similarly to the other two interdentals, this feature went through a process of stopping and changed into voiceless stop /d/ in urban dialects. Rural western dialects as TRTand FSA still preserve the use of /ḍ/.

Chapter Three: Context of the Study and Methodology

Uvular /*q*/ vs. Velar /*g*/

The voiceless uvular stop /*q*/ has three distinct variants across urban dialects including voiced velar /*g*/, glottal stop /*ʔ*/ and voiceless velar /*q*/. The Bedouin /*g*/ is a reflex of sedentary /*q*/. The variant /*q*/ is regarded as a genderlect as it is highly used by female speakers. Rural speakers in Palestine show two other variants of /*q*/ namely /*k*/ and /*ʧ*/ (Bahloul, 2007). In Cairene Arabic, /q/ is pronounced as /ʔ/ and is regarded as prestigious feature while in rural areas /g/ is preferred. In urban regions of Lebanon and Syria, /*q*/ is used while /*g*/ is reserved for rural places. In Algerian dialects, /q/ is regarded as sedentary and is predominantly used in urban centres while /g/ is Bedouin and is used in rural regions. Watson says that "certain religious and Standard Arabic words are pronounced with a voiceless uvular stop" (2002, p.17). In Djijeli Dialect, the /*q*/ has the reflex /*k*/ as in [*ka*l*b*] instead of [*qa*l*b*] (heart).

Fricative /*ʒ*/

Though Frenda is geographically adjacent to Tiaret and is only 50 kilometres far from the main city, it is doesn"t share much of the dialectal traits with TRT and its neighbouring dialects. Among these discrepancies, we mention the fricative /*ʒ*/ which is pronounced as /*dʒ*/ in the centre of Tiaret and several regions of Tiaret including the ones that are near Frenda as Medrissa, Kermes Reusfa, and Sidi Abderrahmane. Brahmi (2021) says that this fricative is a characterizing feature of Tiartian speech as well as some nearby regions as Sougeur, Mellakou, Machraa Sfa, Rahouia, Dahmouni. Cantineau (1940) describes bedouin dialects of zone (B) in the department of Oran as characterised by the use of *ǧ* du *ǧîm*. Vicente (1998) writes that this "de-affricated pronunciation of /*ʒ*/ is pronounced in Hilali dialects" (cited in Brahmi, 2021, p.85). This MSA consonant is pronounced as /*g*/ in Cairene Arabic. Though Frenda is classified by Cantineau as purely Bedouin dialect and the use of /*dʒ*/ is present in most Bedouin dialects, the reflex /*ʒ*/ is prevalent in FSA.

3.6 Morphological Features

Pronominal Suffix [-*ah*]

Cantineau (1940) argues that the suffix of the third singular masculine /-*ah*/ characterises the dialects of Ulad Brahim. He describes Frenda as the transitional zone from which this suffix shifted into /-*u*/. The use of this feature shifts into /-*u*/ when we pass the region of Medroussa west of Frenda.

This suffix has the variant /-*u*/ and is used in sedentary dialects such as Tiaret, Relizane, Algiers, Djijel, Tissemsilet, Chlef and Mostaganem.

3.7 Pragmatic Features

Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*]

Frenda speakers are regionally known by their extensive use of the pragmatic marker [*j*aʕa*jji*]. This marker is morphologically composed of three distinct particles [*j*a] which is similar to the Arabic particle حرف ذاء and the noun [ʕa*j*] and the possessive suffix of personal masculine and feminine [*ji*]. This marker has various usages according to the context.

Discourse Marker [*bħa:l*]

This marker is a distinctive feature of Frenda‟s dialect and it is derived from the CA form باي حال in which the short vowel [*i*] of the preposition [*bi*] and the particle [a*jj*] are dropped to merge into one word. It‟s equivalent in English is (for example).

3.8 Lexical Features

3.8.1 Rural Vs. Urban Features

The region witnessed an extensive rural migration from the speakers residing the rural regions inside Frenda. During the political instability during the nineties, waves of rural migrants escaped to search security and find jobs inside Frenda. Through years rural speakers intermingled with urban local speakers. This had noticeable outcomes on the linguistic repertoire of the speech community as both rural and urban speakers come into contact. These rural features are highly used by older-age male and female speakers.

3.8.2 Bedouin vs. Sedentary Features

The geographical location of Frenda as a meeting point that joins regions of the west with those of the South and East. Short-term and long-term contact between local Frenda speakers and other non-local speakers led to the dissemination of sedentary features to their speech. It can be described as „melting pot‟ where both bedouin and sedentary dialectal features are on the play.

The co-existence of sedentary and bedouin forms are richly observed in the lexical level as illustrated in the following table below:

Bedouin	**Sedentary**	**English Gloss**
[*lg*a]	[*lq*a]	Find
[*gri:b*]	[*qri:b*]	Near
[*ɵuqb*a]	[*tuqb*a]	Hole

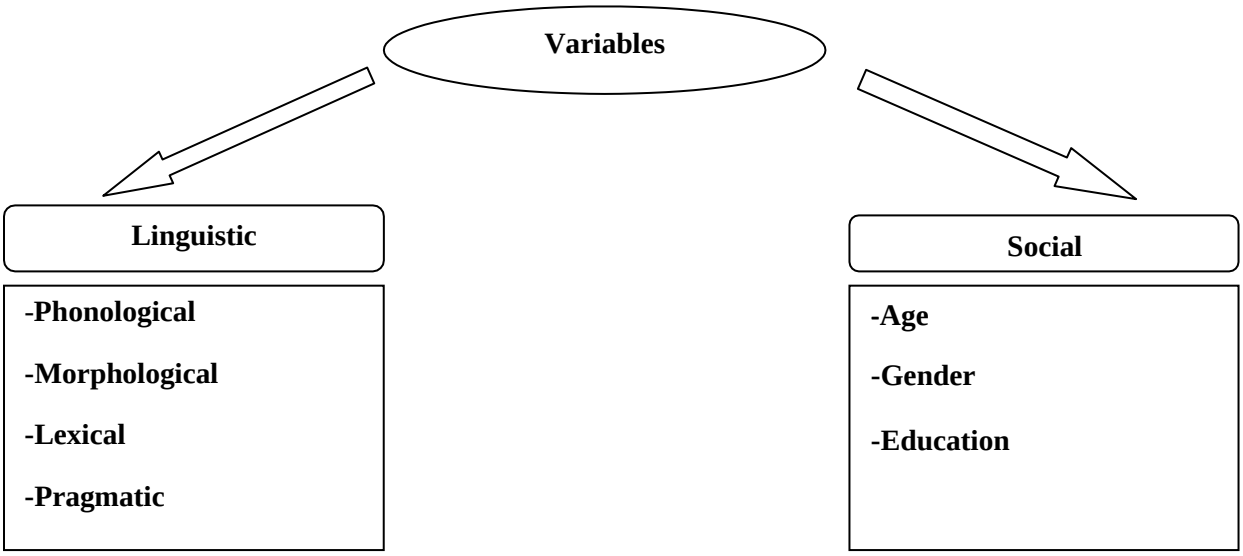
3.9 Selected Variables for Analysis

Uncovering quantifiable variables is very challenging to variationist sociolinguists. Wolfram (2013) mentions two common methodological challenges usually encountered in the course of uncovering linguistic variables. The first challenge is finding a "readily quantifiable variable that illustrates extraction and coding challenges" (2013, p.21) while the second "that is more elusive, rarely occurring form that presents a primary qualitative challenge" (ibid). Studies employing the linguistic variable are essentially correlational in nature: that is, they attempt to show how the variants of a linguistic variable are related to social variation in much the same way that we can show how children"s ages, heights, and weights are related to one another (Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015, p.161). Meyerhoff (2007) acknowledges that Labov succeeded to correlate linguistic variables with social factors to explain variation as a systemic process rather than a simple matter of free variation. She sums:

> In short, by combining the linguistic facts with the social facts he had learnt about the island, Labov was able to argue that the variation was not free and unconstrained. He argued that the intraspeaker variability reflected and constructed an underlying social opposition: an opposition between locals and non-locals. Linguistic differentiation seems to serve the purpose of social differentiation (Meyerhoff, 2007, p.21).

The following figure shows the variables that we selected for careful analysis.

Figure 3.7 ***Linguistic & Social Variables.***



To accurately identify and isolate the linguistic salient linguistic variables to be examined thoroughly, Trudgill (1986) sets out the following steps:

1. The variable (i.e. variable feature) has at least one variant (realization) which is overtly stigmatized;

2. The variable has a high-status variant reflected in the orthography;

3. The variable is undergoing linguistic change;

4. Variants are phonetically radically different;

5. Variants are involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts in the accommodating speaker‟s variety (in the case of a speaker attempting to acquire another variety). (Trudgill, 1986, p.11; cited in Kerswill, Chap 16, pp.10-11).

Uncovering social variables is also challenging as they represent the bedrock for controlling linguistic variables and systematically interpret language variation. Sanford (2013) suggests the following to easily determine social variables:

1- Be engaged with the community and personally involved local life as much as possible. This would certainly help the fieldworker to recognize local social meanings and get a thorough understanding of linguistic behaviour via ethnography.

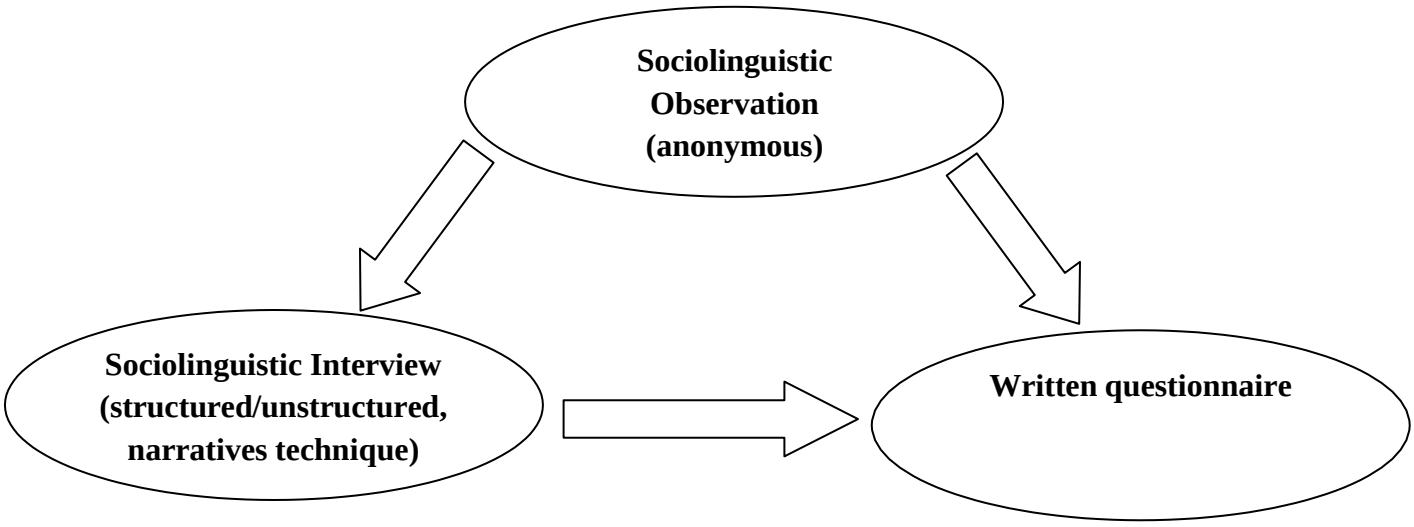
2- Let go of prior assumptions.

3- Depend on the insights of cultural insiders. Language consultants shall not be only treated as subjects of sociolinguistic research, but rather as a source of learning in which the sociolinguist learns more about their cultural knowledge inside their community.

3.10 Data Collection Tools

Collecting speakers' spontaneous, natural, vernacular and everyday speech is not an easy task that every fieldworker can easily perform. Thus, any fieldworker may come across of the so-called "observer's paradox" when attempting to get access to his targeted population's natural speech. To overcome or at least to decrease the effect of this paradox, the fieldworker has to appropriately select from the most effective sociolinguistic methods. On our part, even though we attempted to decrease the observer's paradox as much as we can, we could not fully overcome the fact that some of our informants were directly influenced by the presence of a tape recorder. Though, we relied on a variety of methods consisted of participant observation, sociolinguistic interviews (structured and non-structured) and written questionnaires. Selecting a research method over other methods is highly governed by research questions provided by fieldworker. The aim is to achieve validity that assures examining a phenomenon worth of research and common to the speech community and reliability that assures objectivity and consistency of actual language use. Among the difficult tasks sociolinguists come upon is the way to convert language use into numbers. Efforts made by Labov paved the way to following sociolinguists to quantitatively analyse language use by means of statistical tools that would certainly render their task easy. All empirical studies make use of statistical tools to test their experimental hypotheses which they must test before data are collected. Despite the fact that the hallmark of variationist studies is to quantitatively examine and analyse language use, it is of a paramount importance to consider qualitative data as they could be helpful in interpreting a great deal of variation and change. The primary reason for following a qualitative approach is to gather speakers‟ language attitudes towards their linguistic use.

Figure 3.8 ***Research Sociolinguistic Methods.***



Sociolinguistic research during and after 1960 took advantage of the technological advances achieved in various scientific fields such as mathematics, biology, natural sciences. These advancements were the result of the development of research tools based on newly-created quantification tools (e.g. recording materials, corpus analysis equipments) and laboratories that would help better examine and analyse linguistic data rapidly and effectively. Bell (2005) remarks that the practice of quantifying language into numbers threatens to distance research from real language utterances. The current research employs various sociolinguistic methods and techniques to collect extensive natural vernacular speech. We shall make use of Anonymous Apparent-time observation, sociolinguistic interview (backed up by narration technique), and written questionnaire.

3.10.1. Observation

Identifying the quantifiable linguistic variables which are undergoing variation is challenging to sociolinguists as they may not be able to find the variable feature in all recorded words and thus arrive to a dead-end in which they may not find an enough-occurring quantifiable. To better determine the salient variables for analysis, we selected the observation as the initial research tool. Observation involves a careful examination of speakers' linguistic behavior by observing and hearing as they naturally interact in different contexts. In his article entitled "Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology", Labov (1972) employs the concept "**PRINCIPLE OF THE VOCAL MAJORITY**" which he puts to refer to "many speak but few elicit. The objective behind opting for this research

method is to get an easy access to the speech community and targeted population without influencing the context of study. More importantly, we opted for the anonymous observation as the initial research method is to better define and isolate the linguistic variables that are undergoing variation in the present dialect. Milroy and Gordon argue that:

> Anonymous observation allows, more particularly a novice sociolinguist to be able to easily access the most natural type of speech produced by speakers. In this approach, known as the rapid and anonymous survey, the investigator seeks to elicit a set word or phrase in entirely naturalistic conditions (2003, p.56).

A common example that employed this method is Labov‟s (1972b) study known as „*fourth floor*" in New York department stores. Labov examined the pronunciation of prevocalic /r/ by employees of three stores based on their socioeconomic status. He asked the employees about the place of an item which is already known to him and then pretended to misinterpret them to repeat their pronunciation. He observed that prevocalic /r/ is used in two different phonetic environments namely pre-consonantal in fourth and word final in *floor*. This method is known as exploratory observation in which the researcher conducts an observation before delving into thorough experimental fieldwork with the objective to work out his hypotheses and find a focus for his rational which helps him to effectively find correlation between social characteristics of his informants and their linguistic use.

Given the fact that this study is exploratory in nature, we relied on unstructured observation to explore the features of the dialect of Frenda and its variable features and to record abundant data. Methodologically speaking, we carried out our observations as people naturally speak inside homes, shops, coffee shops, markets, town hall, urban taxis, stadium, houses and libraries. Data were collected using note-taking. Also, being an active element of the observation provides the researcher with a thorough understanding of the linguistic behaviour of the speech community under investigation.

3.10.2 The Sociolinguistic Interview

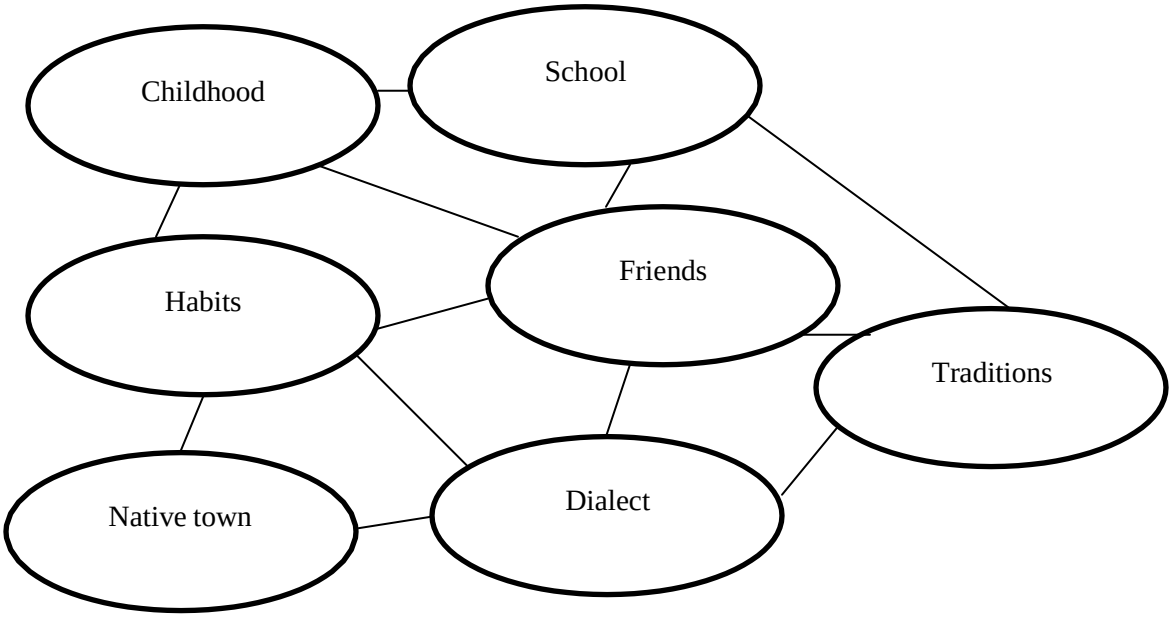
The interview is a face-to-face technique which is widely used by variationist sociolinguistics to elicit casual speech. Interviews can be distinguished from survey as they are more flexible in the sense that they provide informants with more freedom to produce naturally-occurring speech, while survey-based questions are predetermined and provide only categorical bits of speech. Shilling (2013, p.93)

claims that “the chief goal of the sociolinguistic interview is to elicit lots of talk rather than specific forms and features, and interview questions are purposefully designed to steer attention away from language itself toward topics of interest to interviewees”. Initially, we decided to record our informants as they interact in groups, however "one critical point is that if a speech event can be defined as something other than an interview, it is very likely that group members will talk to each other rather than adopt the role of respondents" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.67).

One common hindrance that may influence the quality and quantity of data collected is the "observer's paradox". This paradox results from the status of the researcher as an outsider to the speech community he examines. While the aim is to get the most naturally-occurring speech, the researcher may run the risk of not being able to record this type of speech in which informants are directly influenced by the presence of a tape-recorded. This would make informants uncomfortable and pay more attention to how they say what they say. This status is known as audio-monitoring. The time we started our recordings, the corona pandemic (covid19) hit the world in general and Algeria in particular and due to compulsory social distancing followed by individuals, it was difficult for us to conduct our recordings with many individuals lest they catch the virus. Despite all these unexpected circumstances, we made extra efforts to reach the possible number of population. Recording observation is among the many concerns that leave fieldworkers hesitated on the best way to not miss every piece of speech produced by speakers. Despite the fact that “narrative and descriptive recording is mainly used in qualitative research but if you are doing a quantitative study you would record an observation in categorical form or on a numerical scale” (Kumar, 2013, p.135).

As for the recording instrument, we decided to use a smart phone to record people‟s speech lest they get directly influenced by the presence of a Dictaphone that is not usually common among people and thus would drive away their attentions. Using the structured interview helped us to easily elicit lexical variables as informants were asked to select from a set of words they frequently use. Unstructured interviews were suitable for stimulating the elicitation of phonological variables as they require more amounts of time. Considering topics of interviews, we assured that we ask interviewees about topics they are more interested in such as sports, politics, habits, education, etc. However, many of our samples were uncomfortable about some suggested topics such as love relationships and asked for topic change.

Figure 3.9 ***Topics of Sociolinguistic Interview***.



In addition, "a related problem particularly associated with data collected by means of interviews is that the effects of speaker correction of socially stigmatized items are often indirect, and can also give a misleading impression of phonological structure" (Milroy and Gordon, 2013, p.64).

3.10.3.1 Narratives Technique

Getting people speak for long periods is exigent for variationist sociolinguists who always search to emotionally engage their study population in the recording process and to collect the most natural data they seek to elicit. Narration is an elicitation technique that requires speakers to retell an incident or a happening in their lives. This worked well with old speakers who showed much collaboration in narrating their own lives and old memories in Frenda. However, some younger speakers were uneasy with this technique as they felt it as a sort of meddling.

To gather reliable data and to avoid influencing the study‟s context, recording informants' natural speech was undertaken inside homes with informants‟ permission, streets, workplace, and shops. We used a smart phone as our recording equipment to have a good sound quality and to not confuse our interviewees if we use a Dictaphone.

The length of recordings is directly influenced by many factors such as speakers' willingness to collaborate due to their personal opinions from recording and their psychological discomfort when being recorded by the fieldworker. The average length for most of our recordings is two (02) minutes per speaker. However, the length of some interviews was longer than two minutes because there were samples that we personally know who felt comfortable talking to us and continued to produce natural extended speech. In addition, some suggested topics motivated our informants to produce extensive speech such local traditions between past and present, politics, sport, local issues, etc.

3.11 The Questionnaire

Both dialect geographers and sociolinguists employ the questionnaire as a data collection tool, however both apply them differently. In this respect, Milroy and Gordon (2003) writes that “In keeping with their general orientation, sociolinguists strive to survey a sample that is more representative of the social diversity in a given population than the NORMs (non-mobile, older, rural, males) surveyed by dialectologists” (Chambers 1994). Mindful of our research hypotheses, the third data collection tool to be used is the sociolinguistic questionnaire. It aimed to collect data related to speakers‟ attitudes toward their speech community and dialect. In this study, we divided the questionnaire into two parts; the first part was dedicated to collect attitudes towards the speech community whereas the second was devoted to speakers‟ attitudes toward dialect variation in the dialect of speech.

3.12 Sampling in Relation to the Rationale of The Study

Sampling is highly interconnected with the researcher‟s questions and objectives. The researcher should be careful when selecting a sample which is representative of community general speech and one which allows him to generalise his results over the large population. Ever since the pioneering work of Chomsky, sociolinguistic research focused on examining language that is actually produced by speakers rather than their underlying competence. The focus on speakers‟ performance will determine their linguistic behaviour and the variable features in their speech.

Having previously and thoroughly defined the theoretical framework of our study including the constructed hypotheses and the selection of the variables for analysis, the following step is to decide on a sample that would be representative of the total population. A genuine sociolinguistic research certainly reflects a lucky selection of a representative and unbiased sample. Indeed, achieving

representativeness is most challenging when studying a highly diverse population such as is typically found in urban settings (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 26). There are procedures researchers must take into account before opting for a sample to avoid further bias which by all means would distort the entire investigation. Milroy and Gordon (2003) detail three decisions sociolinguists must take into account before deciding on a sample:

-Defining the sampling universe by delineating the boundaries of the speech community. These boundaries are generally geographical and describe the residents of a particular locale or members of a social group. Accordingly, we decided to select native residents whom live in Frenda and were born and raised in the same area of residency and do not frequently move outside it for long periods. Payne (1980) and Trudgill (1983, 1986) show that the definition of a native speaker is problematic in a manner critical for sociolinguistic analysis (in Milroy and Gordon, 2003) since

-Considering the social dimensions of variation. Sociolinguists should take into consideration the social cohorts (age, gender, ethnicity, education, social networks, etc) that build up the stratification in the speech community and whether they affect language use or not.

-Determining the sample size.

We shall shortly employ these steps to better design and organise our sample.

Deciding on sample size will unequivocally determine the aspect of representativeness for research as the fieldworker will be able to build up a coherent sample that represents the entire population. Many variationist studies use small samples; Labov used eighty eight (88) speakers in New York while Trudgill used a sample of sixty (60) speakers in Norwich. Sampling process is influenced by a number of factors that influences the final size of the sample. First, the type of data to be collected by the researcher rules the possibility to determine a limited portion of population that assures the criterion of representativeness. Second, number of selected social variables included in the study will oblige the researcher to extend the process of sampling and reach many samples. The total population selected in this study was 284 speakers born and raised in Frenda.

Having previously determined the main methodological framework of the study, the next step is to decide on a study population that would represent the entire speech community and its categorical linguistic behaviour. Another critical aspect of sociolinguistic research is sampling: finding a

representative group of speakers (Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015, p.159). They further state that conclusions we build on the behaviour of the sample under study reflect the final conclusion we construct on the entire population. A genuine sample reflects one which is representative of the entire population and void of bias. In the same idea, Milroy and Gordon (2003) emphasize that any scientific study must take into consideration the issue of representativeness when a pre-selected group represents the entire population. Alternatively, Shilling (2013) posits that during sampling, the fieldworker wants to select a representative sample so that findings can be generalized to the entire population.

When reaching sampling phase, fieldworkers find it challenging to get access to the population and select the most representative and categorical sample that would help in collecting extensive linguistic data. Thus, sampling bias would emerge when the fieldworker finds him/herself working with people he knows well. This would deprive the research process away from its ethical pathway and run the risk of losing credibility. Random sampling assures that every individual that makes up the population has an equal chance of being selected for the study. The objective of this type of sampling is to minimize sampling error that refers to "error in the findings deriving from research due to the differences between a sample and the population from which it selected" (Bryman, 2012, p.187). Another major objective for deciding on random sampling is to observe linguistic divergences that occur between its speakers in a general term without attempting to interpret these variations in correlation to social variables. Random sampling is dedicated to quantitative-based researches in which fieldworkers tend to select a representative sample which could be generalized to the larger population. The random sample size was (300) speakers selected from various neighborhoods in the city.

Getting access to language consultants may sometimes be challenging in variationist sociolinguistic research as the fieldworker may not arrive to reach the maximum number of populations and would consequently run the risk of losing representativeness. Even though the fieldworker is a native speaker and member of his community, he may not be able to record other speakers as they consider him/her as a stranger and refuse to collaborate or be faced with some unexpected circumstances that could prevent him to reach more consultants. In this idea, Milroy and Gordon (2003) observe that this technique reduces the rate of participation decline and introduces the fieldworker as a friend of a friend more than an outsider.

Chapter Three: Context of the Study and Methodology

We opted for a snow-ball technique that would certainly help us in reaching the possible number of interviewees. It is also called friend-of-a-friend technique that entails recording a limited sample which on its part volunteers to invite other members to participate in the process. Inviting these social cohorts is highly defined by some criteria that characterise the first preselected sample and is shared by both groups. The advantage of this technique lies in the researcher‟s ability to easily reach other possible participants. The reason behind selecting this technique lies in the fact that in the course of selecting samples we encountered difficulties in finding female due to the conservative nature of the speech community. For this, we have decided to recruit some of the samples to reach some of the samples they closely know. This technique was of great advantage to us as speakers would feel comfortable when being interviewed.

3.13 Ethical Considerations of Sampling

Sociolinguistic research is classified under the umbrella of social sciences that employs people as human subjects that are worth of study. The human subjects concerns that sociolinguistic research raises are generally much milder than those stemming from, for example, medical research (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.79). Preserving Anonymity is challenging as this protects informants from any suspicious violation of their speech production for illegal uses. In this respect, Shilling (2013) says that "a good researcher is always an ethical researcher" (p.18). A good researcher is a fieldworker who pays more attention to ethically collect his data without distorting a good relationship with his samples. It is of a natural assumption that informants would feel suspicious about the final destination of their recorded speech. Commitment towards them requires fieldworkers to maintain their ethical nature of their researches. Protecting informants‟ private identity is very essential to us as we decided not to reveal their true names in the phase of analysis. Most of our samples particularly females recommended us not to reveal their true identities in the analysis and on our part we assured our commitment to do what they want.

3.14 Conclusion

The examination of dialect variation and change is a complex process which requires not only the linguistic profile of the speech community under investigation but also its socio-historical, ecological and cultural to better understand the mechanism of variability. This chapter shed light on the

sociolinguistic situation of the context of study as it provides insights of dialect variation and change particularly for Frenda‟s speech community. Also, it described the linguistic features of the dialect under study in an attempt to define and isolate the set of features undergoing variation and change.

Chapter Four

Results of Data Analysis

Chapter Four: Results of Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The work of Labov successfully paved the way to successive sociolinguists to systematically measure language use through correlation between speakers‟ linguistic behaviour and social parameters such as age, gender, education, ethnicity, etc. In this fourth chapter, we will introduce the main results of the linguistic analysis of variable features gathered by means of unstructured interviews. Analysis was carried out at phonological, morphological, pragmatic and lexical levels. Moreover, we present a quantitative analysis of some selected salient features.

4.2 Analysis of FSA Variable Features

The following sections are devoted to describe the variable features in the dialect of FSA. Data were recorded by means of unstructured interviews. The fact that I am a native speaker, born and was raised in Frenda, it was easy to get access to the speech community of the region and to easily observe the variable dialectal discrepancies in the speech of individuals. Shortly, we will present a detailed description about the phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic variable features of the dialect under investigation.

4.3 Phonology

4.3.1 Interdentals

The study of language variation and change in the Arab world have principally focused on examining the process of stopping that is manifested by the substitution of CA phonemic features namely interdentals [ذ], [ث], and [ظ] with their stopped variants /d̪/, /d/ and /t/. Raoud (2015) conducted a similar study on stopping in the dialect of Sidi Belabess. Recent studies examined the three interdentals based on the dialect-contact perspective simultaneously focusing on the impact of internal migration as a driving force to this type of variation. In his article entitled “Language as a Marker of Identity in Tiaret Speech Community”, Brahmi (2019) examined the process of speech accommodation in Tiartian speech community and variation that exhibit in the use of the triad interdentals /ث/, /ظ/ and /ذ/. These phonemic features are preserved in FSA. The three phonemes are markers of Frenda‟s dialect and demonstrate its bedouin type. Shortly, we will introduce linguistic analysis of the three interdentals /ظ/, /ذ/ and /ث/.

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Interdental /ɵ/

This phoneme /ɵ/ is realized as an interdental in the following phonetic environments:

FSA	English Gloss
[*ɵəmm*	the
a]	re
[*ɵu:m*]	gar
[*tləɵa*]	lic
[*ħra*ɵ]	thr
	ee
	plou gh
[*ɵəni*]	also
[*tʔa*ɵɵar]	get influenced
[*ɵmənʧaʕəʃ*]	eighteen
[*ɵmanja*]	eight

The interdental was also preserved in borrowed words from CA as in the following: [*ɵawra*] (revolution), [*maɵalan*] (for example), [*ɵanawijja*] (lycee). This same variable is stopped into /t/ particularly by younger-age and middle-age female speakers in the following specific instances:

Local Variants	Non-local Variants	English Gloss
[*ɵəmma*]	[*təmma*]	there

Bouhadiba (1986) writes that interdental /ɵ/ occurs in ORD in [*ɵaʕba:n*] (snake) and in rare cases of classicism as in [*ɵala:ɵ*] (divorce). This interdental is assimilated to /ɵ/ into /t/ when followed

by unstressed short vowel /*a*/ and alveolar /*t*/ as in [*bʕat*] (send), [*ħrat*] (plough).

Interdental /*ḍ*/

The phoneme /*ḍ*/ is an interdental sound that is originally a CA consonant which characterized pre-Islamic Arabic and is preserved in nomadic/rural dialects. It is known as *ħarf mufaχχam*. It becomes a merger and was reduced to plain /*d*/ and lost its emphatic nature. In Maghrebi dialects, /*ḍ*/ is

realized as a merger from the two classical phonemes plain /ḍ/ and emphatic /ḍ/. The same phenomenon is attested in Algerian dialects and Frenda‟s dialect as well. This phoneme is realized as plain /ḍ/ in the following words:

FSA	English Gloss
[ḍarw	Now
ək]	nail
[ḍfur]	light
[ḍḍaw]	invit
[ʕraḍ]	e
[graḍ	break
]	dust
[jenfu	off
ḍ]	hyae
[ḍbaʕ	na
]	guest
[ḍajf]	
[larḍ]	land
[baʕḍhum]	some of them
[ḍrab]	hit
[nəḍḍarbu]	quarrel
[ḍhar]	back

[*ḍalma*] darkness

[*nḍarri:t*] I got sick

This same variant assimilates to /t/ when followed by alveolar /t/ in final closed syllables as in: [*mrɔt*] from [*mrɔḍt*] (got sick), [*ʕrat*] from [*ʕraḍt*] (invite), [*grat*] from [*graḍt*] (broke). In the recordings, we observed that the phoneme /*ḍ*/ is stopped into /*d*/ in the following word: [*darwak*] (now). It also

realized in CA borrowed words such as: [*ḍama:na*] (security), [*ʔiḍra:b*] (strike), [*ḍuruf*] (circumstances). We also observed that /*ḍ*/ is stopped word-initially in the adverb of time [*darwak*] (now).

Interdental /ɚ/

Frenda speakers were observed to preserve this interdental in various phonetic environments as follow:

FSA	**English Gloss**
[*ɚəban*	fly
a]	call
[*jʔaɚə*	fox
n]	sha
[*ɚi:b*]	me
[*ɚəll*]	slaughter
[*jəɚbaħ*]	
[*haɚi*]	this (feminine)
[*haɚa*]	this (masculine)
[*haɚu:k*]	those
[*ɚa:b*]	melts

The interdental /ɚ/ is stopped into /*d*/ when used in the following demonstratives [*hada*] (this), [*hadi:k*] (that), [*hadu*] (these), [*hadu:k*] (those).

4.3.2 Glottalisation of [ʕ]

This phoneme is a Saharan feature that is used in Saharan dialects like Leghouat, Djelfa,

Ghardaia, and Ouaregla. Historically, this feature was particularly brought to southern regions of Frenda namely Medrissa, Ain Kermes and Sidi Abderrahmane (known also as Oulad Jrad). In the

speech of some outskirts of Frenda like Medrissa and Ain Kermes the phoneme [ʕ] is glottalized to /ʔ/ particularly after short and long vowels in open syllables as shown in the table below:

/ʕ/	**/ʔ/**	**English Gloss**
[*ʕamm*	[*ʔamm*	(fill
ar]	*ar*]	in)
[*ʕajjaʈ*]	[*ʔajjaʈ*]	(call
[*ʕawən*]	[*ʔawən*]	)
		(help)
[*lʕab*]	[*lʔab*]	(play)
[*dallaʕ*]	[*dallaʔ*]	(watermelon)
[*ballaʕ*]	[*ballaʔ*]	(close)
[*glaʕ*]	[*glaʔ*]	(remove)

4.3.3 Diphthong [*aj*] vs. Long Vowel [*i:*]

Youssef (2013) argues that "the MSA diphthongs /*ay*/ and /*aw*/ correspond to the long mid vowels /*e:*/ and /*o:*/ in most dialect groups of Arabic" (p.186). The diphthongs are kept in Yemeni Arabic (Watson, 2002) and Lebenese Arabic while in MA (**Maghrebi Arabic**) they generally surface as /*i:*/ and /*u:*/ respectively (Kaye, 1997, p.98; Maamouri, 1967, p.87). Iványi (2012) states that not uncommonly the diphthongs have been partly retained: $aw > \tilde{o}^{w}$ and $ay > \tilde{e}^{y}$ or $aw > o^{u}$ and $ay > e^{i}$. Such partly retained diphthongs are found with nomadic people, but also in the northern parts of Algeria and Morocco, and Malta (in Philippa, 2017, p.624). Philippa (2017) posits that the process of monophthongization in western dialects resulted in /*ū*/, /*ī*/ and /*ē*/. This feature characterizes many bedouin Algerian dialects in the west (South of Tiaret and Taguine, Ksar Chelala, Mahdia, Ain Dheb and Ain Zarit) and was diffused from sub-saharan and Saharan rural dialects such as Djelfa dialect,

Laghouat dialect giving the fact that these regions have geographical borders with Tiaret. Both rural dipthong /-*aj*/ and urban short vowel /-*i:*/ are preserved in the following instances:

/-*i:*/	/-*aj*/	English Gloss
[*lqi:t*]	[*lqaj*	Found
[*ʃqi:t*]	*t*]	went
[*bǧi:t*]	[*ʃqaj*	wanted
[*ʕţi:t*]	*t*]	gave
[*bri:t*]	[*bǧa*	recover
[*qri:t*]	*jt*]	ed
[*bţi:t*]	[*ʕţaj*	studied
[*χţi:t*]	*t*]	be late
[*ħṣi:t*]	[*bra*	kept away
	jt]	remembered
	[*qra*	
	jt]	
	[*bţaj*	
	t]	
	[*χţaj*	
	t]	
	[*ħṣajt*]	
[*bţi:t*]	[*bţajt*]	become late

The above results show an interdialectal mixture of diphthongs and monophthongs as the diphthong /*aj*/ is a bedouin feature whereas long vowel /*-i:*/ is sedentary and both are used interchangeably. Cantineau (1941) claims that diphthongs generally appear next to pharyngeals /ħ/, /ʕ/,

and /χ/. In addition, they are absent in the environment of plain sounds due to their bedouin and salient feature. Brahmi (2021) reports that "the bedouin diphthongal markedness paves the way for [*i:*] and [*u:*] (unmarked diphthongs) to win out inthis context at the expense of [*aj*] and [*aw*] respectively" (2021,p.92). Accordingly, Bouhadiba (1986) set up the following rule to describe the change of diphthongs into long vowels:

/*aj*/ → [*i:*]

/*aw*/ → [*u:*]

We can also notice that the diphthong /-*aj*/ is extensively used with imperfect verbs whereas the long vowel /-*i:*/ is used with nouns. The diphthong /-*aj*/ is exclusively realised in the following nouns:

FSA	English Gloss
[*bbaj*	eggs
ḍ]	good
[*xajr*	bird
]	sum
[*ṭaj*	mer
r]	wall
[*ssa*	sham
jf]	e
[*ħaj*	thre
ṭ]	ad
[*ʕajb*]	bod
[*χajṭ*]	y
[*gajm*	the mother
a]	
[*mulat lχajma*]	

The second diphthong /*aw*/ was recorded after pharyngeals /*ʕ, ħ, χ*/ as in [*ʕawm*] (swimming), [*ʕawd*] (horse), [*ħawʃ*] (house/yard), [*ħawma*] (neighbourhood), [*χawf*] (fear), after voiced emphatics as in [*ʂʂawṭ*] (beating), after emphatic velar /*q*/ as in [*qawm*] (people).

4.3.4 Allophones [*q*] and [*g*]

In Arabic phonology, this process is known as *al „ibdal* or *„al qalb"* (substitution) that is

represented by the substitution of a phoneme with another one. Ibn Jinni (14th A.D) argues that it is the process in which a phoneme is alternatively used instead of another one. He also claims that these two phonemes share the same articulation and meaning. Niloofar Haeri (1991) labels the distinction that exists between velar [*q*] and uvular [*g*] as "diglossic variables" for they demonstrate the split between standard and non-standard varieties and prestige and non-prestige. Adopting another view, Owens and Bani yasin (1991) attributes parameters of 'power' and 'solidarity' to differentiate them. Dendane (2007) draws the attention that the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ to replace the uvular stop /g/ is a marker of feminity and is stigmatized by men whom use /*g*/ to index their masculinity. Haeri (1991) explains that /*q*/ marks a 'genderlect style' which is frequently used by Arab women. These two sounds are realized

as two allophones of the same standard phoneme /*q*/ and appear as part of free variation in the following instances:

[q]	**[g]**	**English Gloss**
[*lqa*]	[*lga*]	Find
[*lsaq*]	[*lsag*] and	Stick
[*fəllaq*	[*lzag*][*fallag*]	Slice
]	[*gamra*	moon
[*qmar*]	]	soon/n
[*qri;b*]	[*gri;b*]	ear
[*jəqrəb*	[*jəgrəb*	relativ
li]	*li*]	e
[*qarrab*]	[*garrab*]	approach

Both reflexes are realized as different phonemes and constitute minimal pairs. We recorded the following instances:

/*q*/	**/*g*/**	**English Gloss**

[*qarqa*	[*garga*	shake/dri
b]	*b*]	nk
[*teqle*	[*tegle*	stink/fol
b]	*b*]	d
[*qla*]	[*gla*]	fry/grill
[*qabəl*	[*gabəl*	agreed or confront/sitin front
]	]	of me
[*qarbaʕ*]	[*garbaʕ*]	shake/drink
[*fqar*]	[*fgar*]	become poor/cut open

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Still, standard [*q*] is preserved in CA/MSA borrowed words as in: [*qurʔa:n*] (Quran), [*lqanu:n*] (law), [*qawm*] (people). In the region of Takhmaret 40 kilometres from Frenda, /*q*/ is realized as /*k*/ in one phonetic environment of [*ka:ʕ*] in opposition to [*ga:ʕ*] used in FSA and the other regions.

4.3.5 Phonemic Contrast Between /ɣ/ vs. /q/

Following Arabic phonology, both sounds are realized as distinct phonemes that are phonetically produced in a different manner. In her study of ORD, Labed (2015) suggests that /ɣ/ and /*q*/ are phonemically in contrast and considered as allophones of the same phoneme /*q*/. Thus, allophones constitute minimal pairs as in the following instances:

/q/	**/ɣ/**	**English Gloss**
/*bqa*/	/*bɣa*/	remain/ want or love
/*tastqal*/	/*tastɣal*/	get independent/ observe or listento
/*lqa*/	/*lɣa*/	find/call
/*qla*/	/*ɣla*/	fry/be
/*qri:b*/	/*ɣri:b*/	expensive near/stranger

In some of the outskirts of Frenda such as Ain Kermes, Rusfa and Medrissa, [ɣ] Vs [*q*] are realized as allophones of the same phoneme /*q*/.

[ɣ]	**[q]**	**English Gloss**

[*ɣunya*]	[*qunya*]	a song
[*muɣruf*]	[*muqruf*]	a spoon

[ɣ*abba:r*]	[*qabba:r*]	dust
[ɣ*i:r*]	[*qi:r*]	only
[ma*ɣra*	[*maqra*	Maghr
b]	*b*]	eb
[ɣ*ali*]	[*qali*]	expensiv e
[ɣ*abi*]	[*qabi*]	deep

4.3.6 Free Variation: [*s*] vs. [*z*]

The alveo-dental fricative [*s*] is substituted by voiced affricate [*z*] after the vowel [*a*] as in the following instances:

FSA	**English gloss**
[*lʂag*] and [*lzag*]	stick/stuck

4.3.7 Fricative [*ʒ*] and Affricate [*dʒ*]

Phonetically, [ʒ] is a palatal-alveolar fricative that characterizes Arab sedentary dialects. It has two variants namely fricative [ʒ] and affricate [*dʒ*]. Cantineau (1940) classifies the affricate [*dʒ*] as bedouin while [ʒ] as sedentary. However, we can find the use of [*dʒ*] by sedentary speakers as well as [ʒ] by bedouins. Locally, Frenda speakers preserve the fricative [ʒ] and we recorded its occurrence in the following instances: [ʒ*ina*] (we came), [ʒ*dida*] (new), [ʒ*abtah*] (I brought it), [ʕ*zuʒ*] (old woman), [ʒ*amaʕ*] (mosque), [ʒ*emmaʕ*] (sit), [ʒ*a:ʒ*] (chicken), [ʕ*waʒ*] (bent), [*lamʒi*] (clinic), [*saʒida*] (traditional gown for women), [*rʒaʕna*] (we came back) as well in CA borrowed words as in [*taχarruʒ*] (graduation), [*lahʒa*] (dialect), [ʔ*iʃtimaʕ*] (meeting). The affricative [*dʒ*] has been attested in the speech of some old speakers whose regional origin is rural in final syllables that contain the fricative [ʒ] in initial position as in: [*lʒadʒ*] (chicken), [*lʔʒa:dʒ*] (windstorm). The majority of Frenda speakers demonstrate negative attitudes toward the affricate [*dʒ*] used by Tiartian speakers as being bedouin and usually stereotyped.

4.3.8 Substitution of /*n*/ and /*l*/

The voiceless nasal consonant /*n*/ and voiceless plain alveolar /*l*/ are viewed as different phonemes as the substitution of one of them gives a different meaning. This is recorded in the use of the French borrowing *cinema*. It is realized as /*sinima*/ meaning (cinema theatre) and [*silima*] (chaos/beautiful).

4.3.9 Phonological Processes

Data showed several phonological processes occurring in the dialect of Frenda and are introduced as follow:

4.3.9.1 Phonological Reallocation: [*q*] and [*g*]

In interdialectal situations, particular phonological items are levelled out by speakers and tend to be used by the majority of speakers. These features are said to be neither part of the speech repertoire of the present dialect nor the other dialect(s) accommodated to. The dialect of Frenda is of a bedouin type and is typically characterised by the presence of the bedouin voiced velar [*g*] and standard uvular [*q*] which are two variants of the standard uvular form /*q*/. We recorded an increasing use of sedentary lexical item [*lqa*] instead of bedouin [*lga*]. This could be interpreted by the fact that the bedouin variant is socially stigmatised. The occurrence of [*q*] instead of [*g*] is phonologically conditioned by the occurrence of the emphatic vowel /*a*/as reported by Brahmi (2021). We will analyse the occurrence of both variants as used in the imperfect verb [*lqa*] (find) and the preposition of place [*qri:b*] in co-variation with social variables of gender, age and education.

Table 4.1 ***Phonological Reallocation and Gender.***

Variants	Male	Female	Total
[*lqa*]	42.42 %	9.09%	100%
[*lga*]	3.03 %	0%	
[*qri:b*]	0%	0%	100%
[*gri:b*]	57.57%	42.42%	

The table 4.1 above demonstrates the co-variation between two variants namely voiceless uvular [*q*] and voiced velar [*g*] as both variants are manifested in the imperfect verb [*lqa*] and [*lga*] and

in the preposition of place [*qri:b*] and [*gri:b*]. The results showed that male speakers lead variation towards the standard form [*lqa*] with a score of 42% whereas female speakers score 9%. For the case of the bedouin variant [*lga*], female speakers drop the use of this variant as the [g] is stigmatised while 3% of male speakers preserve it in their speech as it marks their masculine style of speaking. Results of the second variants revealed that both male and female drop the standard [*q*] while both speakers favour the bedouin form [*gri:b*] in favour of the standard one. Males lead variation with 57% while 42% of females prefer to use the bedouin variant. The results showed lexical variation towards the bedouin verb [*ʂa:b*] as (11) female speakers use it in comparison to (04) male speakers.

Table 4.2 ***Phonological Reallocation and Age.***

Variants	**6-15**	**16-40**	**41-60**	**61-80**	**Total**
[*lqa*]	21%	36.36%	0%	0%	100%
[*lga*]	0%	0%	0%	0%	
[*qri:b*]	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
[*gri:b*]	24.24%	36.36%	27.27%	12.12%	

Results showed that variation is led by middle-age speakers between 16 and 40 towards the standard form [*lqa*] with a score of 36% whereas 21% of younger-age speakers favour the same variant. The four age groups drop the bedouin form [*lga*] due to its stigmatised nature as a rural form. Instead, nine (27%) speakers between 41 and 60 years old use the bedouin verb [*a:*]. Older-age speakers drop both variants and preserve their rural form [*ʂa:b*] which marks their rural origin. Opposing to the results of the first variable, speakers are observed to completely drop the standard form [*qri:b*] and maintain bedouin [*gri:b*]. Middle-age speakers lead variation with 36% followed by those aged between 41 and 60 with a score of 27%. Older-age speakers score 12% as the preposition refers to bedouin speech and contains the velar /*g*/. The four age cohorts show a tendency to use the Bedouin preposition [*gri:b*] in which speakers aged between 41 and 60 lead lexical variation towards this variant.

Table 4.3 ***Phonological Reallocation and Level of Education.***

Variants	**Educated**	**Non-educated**	**Total**
[*lqa*]	54.54%	0%	100%
[*lga*]	0%	0%	
[*qri:b*]	0%	0%	100%
[*gri:b*]	78.78%	21.21%	

Considering the first variable, educated speakers stand at the lead of variation towards the

standard variant [*lqa*] which they already acquired at school as [*laqija*] with a score of 54%. Non-educated speakers seem to favour the bedouin rural verb [*ʂa:b*] as they drop both variants in their speech. Relatively, (11) educated speakers preserve the variable [*ʂa:b*]. Eleven educated speakers with a score of 33% favour the bedouin verb [*ʂa:b*] which they acquired during childhood from their parents whose origins are rural whereas four speakers (12%) preserve the same variant. For the second variable, again, educated speakers lead variation towards the bedouin variant [*gri:b*] as they score 78% while the non-educated group score 21%. None of the two groups seem to use standard form [*qri:b*] and employ [*gri:b*] instead.

4.3.9.2 Socio-Stylistic Reallocation

Particular linguistic features are socially-conditioned as they are stylistically levelled out based on certain social contexts where speakers select speech styles based on their social relationships, daily cultural activities and routines. Reallocation is discussed in the use of uvular [*q*] and velar [*g*]. Data showed that Frenda speakers modify their speech style using [*g*] to discuss their daily routines as in [*gəlli*] (he told me), [*gʕad*] (sits), [*gəddəm*] (approaches], [*ɻlag*] (release), [*gwejmi*] (my body parts), [*lgalb*] (courage), [*graq*] (break), [*fallag*] (break into pieces).

Data also showed that Frenda speakers use the voiced velar [*g*] to demonstrate their bedouin background and belonging as in [*gajɻu:n*] (tent), [*gaʕda*] (meeting), [*glaba*] (ploughed land), [*gləb*] (plough), [*gandura*] (traditional gown), [*guffa*] (bag), [*ɻallag*] (to divorce), [*ɻla:g*] (divorce), [*lgərba*] (water skin).

On the other hand, uvular [*q*] is particularly used to describe topics related to religion and classicism. Data showed the following results:

[*lqaḍi*] (judge) and [*lqaḍijja*] (case), [*qdar*] (prestige), [*lqa:nu:n*] (law), [*qraja*] (learning), [*qa:ri*] and [*qarja*] (educated), [*qdi:m*] (old).

4.3.9.3 Metathesis

The substitution of one sound with another in the same sentence is known as metathesis or *iqlab ħarfi* in Arabic. The following are instances of metathesis:

FSA	English gloss
[*gḍab*] vs. [*gbaḍ*] or [*gbat*]	Ho
[*fʕas*] vs. [*ʕfəs*]	ld
[*saʒra*] vs.	du
[*ʃaʒra*][*ʃəms*]	mp
vs. [*səmʃ*]	tre
[*ʕʒu:z*] vs.[*ʕzu:ʒ*]	e
	sun
	old woman

In the following section we illustrate the phenomenon of metathesis.

4.3.9.4 Quantitative Analysis of Metathesis: Case of [ʕʒu:z] vs.[ʕzu:ʒ] and [saʒra] vs. [ʃaʒra]

In this section special focus has been paid to the examination of metathesis in the use of [ʒ] and [z] and [ʃ] and [ʂ] in correlation with the variables of gender, age and education.

Table 4.7 ***Metathesis and the Variable of Gender***

Variants	Male	Female	Total
[*ʂaʒra*]	27.27%	21.21%	100%
[*ʃaʒra*]	30.30%	21.21%	
[*ʕzu:ʒ*]	9.09%	3.03%	100%
[*ʕʒu:z*]	39.39%	33.33%	

As the table displays, the results are approximate between males and females in the use of the two variants. The highest rate is 30% and is scored by male speakers in favour of the standard variant [*ʃaʒra*] which they acquire at school. However, 27% of other male speakers tend to use the bedouin form [*ʂaʒra*]. Female score the same rate of 21% for both variants speakers. Again, Male speakers are observed to lead variation for the second variable as 39% of them use the standard form [*ʕʒu:z*]

whereas 33% females prefer to use the same variant. Both genders are observed to avoid the use of the non-standard bedouin form [*ʕzu:ʒ*]. Other (06) speakers by a rate of 18% prefer to the other bedouin addressee form [*ʃibanija*].

Table 4.8 ***Metathesis and Age***

Variants	6-15	16-40	41-60	61-80	Total
[*ʂaʒra*]	12.12%	12.12%	15.15%	9.09%	100%
[*ʃaʒra*]	9.09%	24.24%	18.18%	0%	
[*ʕzu:ʒ*]	24.24%	21.21%	21.21%	6.06%	100%
[*ʕʒu:z*]	0%	12.12%	0%	0%	

The above table describes the co-variation between two phonological variants emphatic [*ʂ*] and affricate [*ʃ*] as both occur interchangeably in two different phonetic environments. Results demonstrate that the highest rate (24%) is scored by middle-age speakers between 16 and 40 in the use of the standard variant [*ʃaʒra*] which suggest that individuals of this age cohort drop the non-standard bedouin form [*ʂaʒra*] when they reach this age through a process of hypercorrection. Speakers aged between 41 and 60 swing between the two variants and use the bedouin noun [*ʂaʒra*]. Older-age speakers preserve the non-standard bedouin variant [*ʂaʒra*] which marks their rural origin and illiteracy. In the second variable, younger-age speakers between 6 and 15 score the highest rate of 24% as they use the non-standard bedouin addressee form [*ʕzu:ʒ*] and drop the standard one. Two older-age cohorts aged (41-60 and 61-80) completely drop the standard addressee form [*ʕʒu:z*]. The same two groups show a use of the bedouin addressee noun [*ʃibanija*]. Three speakers (9%) aged between 16 and 40 and two speakers (6%) aged between 41 and 60 preserve this bedouin addressee variable.

Table 4.9 ***Metathesis and Education***

Variants	Educated	Non-educated	Total
[*ʂaʒra*]	33.33%	15.15%	100%
[*ʃaʒra*]	45.45%	6.06%	
[*ʕzu:ʒ*]	12.12%	0%	100%
[*ʕʒu:z*]	54.54%	18.18%	

The above table summarises the process of metathesis and the variable of education. Results show that 45% of educated speakers lead variation towards the standard variant [*ʃaʒra*] which they acquired at school. However, 33% of this group still preserve the bedouin non-standard variant [*ʂaʒra*].

Clearly, 15% of the group of non-educated speakers favour the bedouin and non-standard form whereas 6% use the standard form. Again, 54% of educated speakers lead variation towards the standard variant [ʕʒuːz]. Unpredictably, none of non-educated speakers use the bedouin non-standard variant [ʕzuːʒ], however, 18% of this group use the standard variant. Five of educated (15%) speakers drop both variants to use bedouin addressee form [*ʃibanija*].

4.3.9.5 Assimilation

We have recorded several instances of two sounds being influenced by each other as part of assimilation (progressive and regressive). We recorded the following instances:

[*t*] vs. [*d*]

[*tzawwaʒ*] vs. [*dzawwaʒ*] (get married).

[*ɣ*] vs. [*χ*]

[*ɣsal*] vs. [*χsal*] (wash).

This same result was reported by Brahmi (2021) in TRT dialect. He argued that [*ɣsal*] is Bedouin whereas [χsal] is sedentary.

[*ʈ*] vs. [*t*]

[*sraʈʈah*] vs. [*srattah*] (ate it), [*naʃʃaʈah*] vs. [*naʃʃatah*] (made him active).

[*ɖ*] vs. [*t*]

[*nfaɖttah*] vs. [*nfattah*] (I bleached it), [*ħfaɖtah*] vs. [*ħfattah*] (I learned it by heart)

4.4 Morphology

4.4.1 Pronominal Suffixes [-*ah*] vs. [-*u*]

The pronominal suffix [-*u*] that is a characterising feature in Tiaret province and many parts surrounding it but is realized as [-*ah*]. This suffix is also salient in western Bedouin and sedentary dialects such as Oran, Saida, Mascara, Sidi Belabbes, Tlemcen and Naama.

FSA	English Gloss
[*ruħlah*]	go to him
[*gullah*]	told him
[*jibah*]	bring
[*ʃri:tah*]	him/itI
[*ʈalhgah*]	bought it
[*galuhala*	released
h][*ħaʈʈah*]	him they
[*ʒabuhala*	told him
h]	put it
[*taʕah*]	they brought it to him
	his

In interviews, we didn‟t record any use of [*-u*] which suggests that this suffix is a salient feature in FSA and is socially-stigmatised by Frenda speakers.

4.4.2 Arabic Duals

Versteegh (2014) states that the use of the dual in nouns is more common in Bedouin dialects than sedentary dialects. Duals for months and days are expressed in the following two constructions. They are formed with the dual marker [*zu:ʒ*]+ plural noun.

FSA	English Gloss
[*zu:ʒ ʃhur*]	two months
[*zu:ʒ ijjem*]	two days
[*zu:ʒ smana:t*]	two weeks

Duals for other nouns are formed in the following ways:

FSA	English Gloss
[*zuːʒ*	two
bzawəz]	children
[*zuʒ djaːr*]	two
[*zuːʒ*	houses
ktuːba]	two
[*zuːʒ smanaːt*]	books
[*zuːʒ biːbaːn*]	two
[*zuːʒ ʃiraːt*]	weeks
[*zuːʒ*	two doors
χwatam]	two girls
[*zuːʒ*	two rings
lwaːn]	two
[*zuːʒ tjuq*]	colours
[*zuːʒ nsa*]	two
[*zuːʒ hzaːb*]	windows
	two
	women
	two hizbs of Quran

The same morphological construction is observed with other nouns such as:

*Singular noun + dual suffix [-*i:n*]

[*ʃahri:n*] (two months)

[*ju:mi:n*] (two days)

[*ʕami:n*] (two years)

4.4.3 Analysis of Dual Forms: Case of [*saʕti:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*] and [*jumi:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒijjam*]

This section is devoted to the analysis of morphological variation particularly in the use of dual form to describe hours and days. In view of that, we shall examine the co-variation between the dual

suffixes [*-i:n*] and [*zu:ʒ-*]. We have selected the dual CA forms [*saʕatajn*] (two hours) and [*jawmajn*] (two days).

Table 4.4 ***Variation in*** **[*saʕti:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*] and [*jumi:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒijjam*]** ***According to Gender.***

Variants	Male	Female	Total
[*saʕti:n*]	30.30%	27.27%	100%
[*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*]	30.30%	12.12%	
[*jumi:n*]	24.24%	12.12%	100%
[*zu:ʒijjam*]	36.36%	27.27%	

Results revealed that scores of this variable are converging as 30% of male and 27% of female speakers prefer to use the urban form [*saʕti:n*] in favour of bedouin [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*]. Noticeably, only 12% of females are observed to gradually drop the bedouin form while 30% of males preserve the same feature. Considering the second variable, the same score is observed as male speakers lead variation towards the bedouin form [*zu:ʒijjam*] by a score of 36%. In contrast, only 12% of females tend to use less of the urban form [*ju:mi:n*] as they favour the bedouin one. An overall observation suggests that both variables are in a state of competition in Frenda dialect.

Table 4.5 ***Variation in*** **[*saʕti:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*] and [*jumi:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒijjem*]** ***According to Age.***

Variants	6-15	16-40	41-60	61-80	Total
[*saʕti:n*]	0%	21.21%	27.27%	6.06%	100%
[*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*]	24.24%	18.18%	0%	3.03%	
[*jumi:n*]	0%	21.21%	12.12%	3.03%	100%
[*zu:ʒijjam*]	24.24%	21.21%	12.12%	6.06%	

The above results describe co-variation between morphological variables and speakers‟ underlying age. Age group aged between 41 and 60 lead variation towards by a score of 27% followed by 24% of young-age group between 6 and 5 who use bedouin [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*]. Middle-age speakers are observed to completely drop the bedouin form in their speech whereas young-age speakers drop the urban one. On the other hand, younger-age speakers seem to lead variation in the second variable considering that 24% favour the bedouin dual form [*zu:ʒijjam*] whereas middle-age speakers between 16 and 40 score the same frequency between both variants. Old-age speakers tend to maintain their bedouin dual form by a score of 6%.

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Table 4.6 ***Variation in*** **[*saʕti:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*] and [*jumi:n*] vs. [*zu:ʒijjam*]** ***According to Education.***

Variants	Educated	Non-educated	Total
[*saʕti:n*]	39.39%	18.18%	100%
[*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*]	39.39%	3.03%	
[*jumi:n*]	24.24%	9.09%	100%
[*zu:ʒijjam*]	60.60%	6.06%	

Results displayed in the above table show that educated speakers favour both variants as they score 39% for each variant given the fact the standard form is acquired at school whereas the second one is acquired from parents and other speakers of Frenda dialect. Peculiarly, 3% of non-educated speakers tend to drop the bedouin form]*zu:ʒ swajaʕ*/ to use the standard variant [*saʕti:n*]. Results of the second variable clearly reveal that 60% educated speakers lead variation as they preserve their bedouin dual form [*zu:ʒijjam*] while they score 24% in the use of the standard variant. Non-educated speakers are observed to use less of the two variants to favour the French code switch (deux jours) to appear educated and prestigious.

4.4.5. Subsitution of [*h*] with [*w*] in [*rah*] and [*rahi*]

Frenda speakers tend to drop the [*h*] in [*rah*] and replace it with [*w*] as in:

-[*raw rajaħ*] (he is going), [*raw ʒey*] (he is coming), [*raw hna*] (he is here), [*raw jakul*] (he is eating).

-[*raj takul*] (she is eating), [*raj taqra*] (she is reading/studying), [*raj hna*] (she is here)

4.4.6 Question Words [*ʕla:h*] vs. [*lijjah*]

The interrogative form (what+sentence) in FSA is composed using the urban/sedentary question word [*ʕlah*] in opposition to the rural/bedouin word [*lijjah*].

4.5 Lexis

4.5.1 Pragmatic Markers

Several variationist studies particularly focused on studying phonological and morphological variables with less attention to examining pragmatic variables. Though, some recent researchers

focused on shedding light on this type of variables as Moussadek (2013) in her unpublished magister dissertation on MSC dialect and the study of Boukhachba (2019) in his unpublished doctoral dissertation on dialect variation and change in the speech of Meni‟a, Adrar. The dialect of Frenda is characterised by a considerable mass of pragmatic markers and will be displayed shortly:

4.5.1.1 Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*]

This feature is a salient linguistic feature that characterizes the bedouin-type dialect of Frenda and marks speakers‟ regional origin. It marks the regional affiliation of Frenda speakers and is socially stereotyped by non-local speakers and avoided by local speakers outside Frenda. It is used as:

-an interjection particle which signifies surprise [*jaʕajji ʃarah jgu:l*] (what is he saying!).

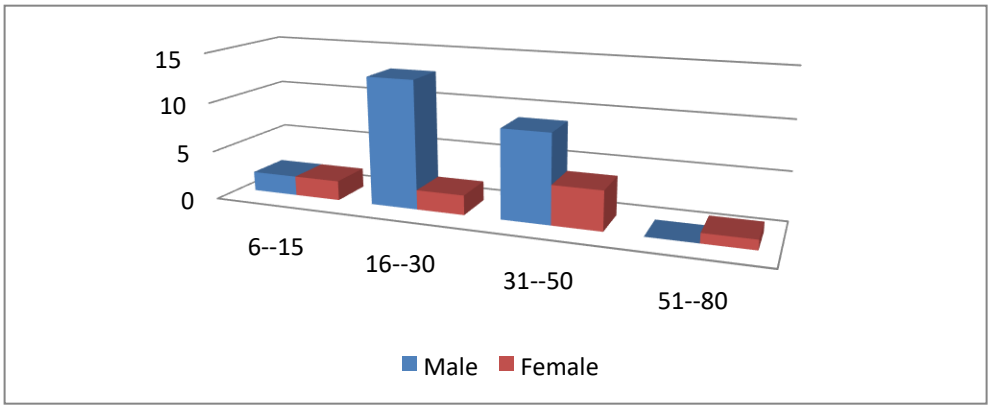
-It expresses shock, [*jaʕajji ma:t*] (Oh my god, he is dead!).

In chapter five, we will examine the extent to which this feature is undergoing variation and change based on speakers‟ attitudes.

4.5.1.1.1 Quantitaive Analysis of [*jaʕajji*]

From the total number of samples, we selected (48) speakers to interview for the objetive of analysing the use of the pragmatic marker in relation to social variables of age, gender and education.

Figure 3.8. The Use Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*] According to Age and Gender.

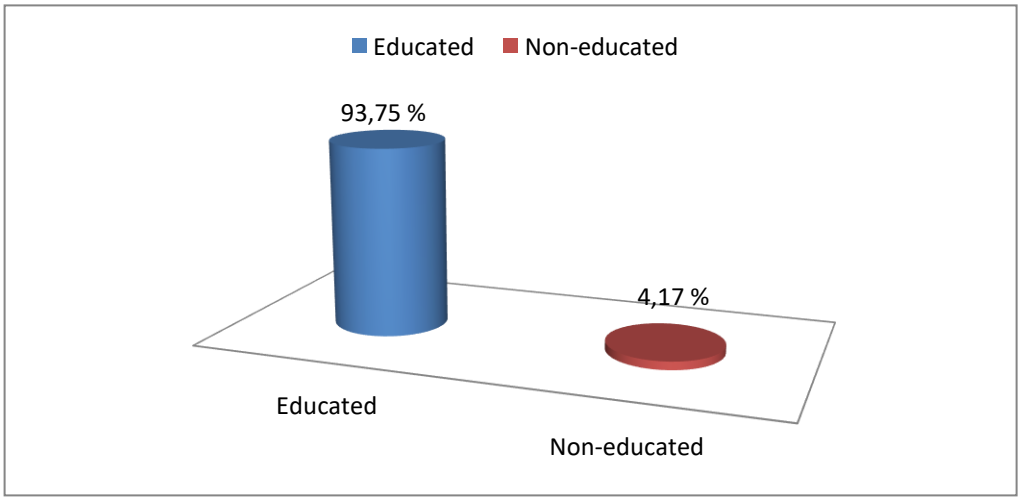


The above graph demonstrates the use of the pragmatic marker according to speakers‟ age and gender. Seemingly, middle-age male speakers aged between 16-30 use the marker in their dialectal

speech with a score of 30.23 % which suggests that this feature is a marker of younger-age speech. Female speakers seem to score less than males as they avoid the use of this marker as being salient and stigmatised.

4.5.1.1.2 The Use of [*jaʕajji*] According to the Variable of Education

The below figure shows the frequency of the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] in correlation to the variable of education.



According to the above graph, there is a clear correlation between the use of /*jaʕajji*/ and the variable of education. Accordingly, 93,75 % of population have been observed to use the pragmatic marker. On the other hand, non-educated speakers score 4,17 % as they avoid the use of this marker and have been observed to use other variants such as [*makanʃ mənha*] , [*ja hawʒi],* [*mən nijtək*]. Other pragmatic markers have been observed and exposed to variation and change particularly in the speech of younger-age speakers but still preserved by older speakers and certain middle-age speakers such as the following: [*bħa:l*] (for example), [*məħsu:b*] (as if), [*jaħah*] (unbelievable).

4.5.1.2 Lexical Feature [*bħa:l*]

This lexical item is initially derived from the MSA expression [*bi ajji ħa:l*]. It stands for English gloss „as if". This feature is being substituted by the urban/sedentary item [*zaʕma*] or [*ki ʃyul*].

4.5.1.3 Pragmatic Marker [*ha*]

This feature is considered as a marker of Frenda dialect and it has a bedouin-type origin. It is used before imperative constructions as in [*ha rwaħ hna*] (come on, come here), [*ha ruħ*] (come on, go), [*ha gul*] (come on, talk). This form is derived from CA/MSA form [*hajja*]. It‟s used to attract other interlocutors‟ attention during face-to-face interactions.

4.5.1.4 Pragmatic Marker [*ma*]

This feature is also a salient in Mascarian dialect and is often used by Frendi speakers and we believed that this feature was diffused to Frenda‟s dialect via in-migration that led to dialect contact. It is similar to Arabic negative marker „ma‟. Moussadek (2013) examined the use of this feature in MD. It is used in two distinct pragmatic environments:

Negative marker: [*maʒitʃ*] (I did not come)

Discourse marker: [*ha gul ma*] (come on speak)

4.6 Lexical Variation

A great deal of lexical variation has been recorded in the dialect of Frenda and is based on the bedouin-sedentary dichotomy as well as urban-rural one as shown below:

Table 4.10 ***Lexical Variation in FSA***

Bedouin forms	**Sedentary forms**	**English gloss**
[*huwwad*] [*ħaddar*]	[*hbaţ*]	Descend
[*bħəl*]	[*nzal*]	For
[*lammə*	[*zaʕma*]	example
d]	[*lam*]	Collect
[*gʕar*]	[*ɵqub*] and [	pinch
[*ʃawwar*] [*rawwaħ*]	*tqab*][*jruħ*]	Leave
[*χzer*]	[*jʃu:f*]	Look /see

[*wall*	[*kɜ:s*]	Cup
al]	[*bell*	Close
[*ʁla*	*aʕ*]	Childr
g]	[*ɵrari*]	enSit
[*bzawaz*]	[*ʁrawi:n*]	down
[*lbaz*][*gʕad*]	[*ʒammaʕ*]	Listen
[*rijjaħ*]	[*smaʕ*]	Go
[*tsannat*]	[*wəll*	back/return
[*rʒaʕ*]	*a*]	Give
[*ʕʈa*]	[*mad*	Grab/take
[*ʃadd*]	*d*]	Be able
[*ha:k*]	[*gɖab*]	to/canthink
[*ʈi:g*]	[*qdar*]	quar
[*χammə*	[*fakka*	rel
m]	*r*]	find
[*tfatan*]	[*ddab*	bird
[*ʂa:b*]	*az*]	keep
[*wʕal*]	[*lqa*]	away
[*waχχar*	[*ʈajr*]	lips
]	[*baʕʕa*	I can

[*ʃwarab* *d*]

] [*ʃnaja*

[*naʒʒam*] *f*]

[*naqdar*]

4.6.1 Urban vs. Rural Variable Features

Rural migration into Frenda played a major in the diffusion of rural features into the speech of Frenda speakers. We recorded the following variable features:

Urban	**Rural**	**English Gloss**
[*lqa*]	[*lga*]	find
[ra*ːħ*]	[*ʃawwar*]	leaving
[*huwwad*]	[*ħaddar*]	go down
[ra*jaħ*]	[*mrawwaħ*]	go
[*ʃaːf*]	[*ʂaħħaħ*] [χzar]	see
[*χrəʒ*]	[*mrag*]	go out
[*qaraʕ*]	[*rajjaq*]	wait
[*naqdar*]	[*nʈiːg*]	be able
[*bəllaʕ*]	[*ɣləg*]	close
[*garrab*]	[*gəddəm*]	approach
[ʕa*jʈ*a]	[*bəzzaf*]	many

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4.7 Social Change and Ecolexical Variation

The interplay between environment and language use gave birth to several linguistic practices that become apparent in the daily speech of speakers. Given the fact language is a living organism which lives and dies via its speakers, speakers are directly influenced by the surrounding environment they live in. To put simply, speakers adopt their individual speech according to the social, economic and ecological development around them. Data showed that this impact is very apparent at the lexical level in the following items:

Tent: [*χajma*], [*gajʈuːn*], [*la ʈɔnt*] (la tente/FR). The item [*χajma*] described the primitive life in Frenda in the sense that aboriginal speakers used to live inside small tents known as [*χjam*]. This same is form was also used to celebrate local engagements, weddings and funerals and changed into [*gajʈuːn*] and [*gwatiːn*]. The French borrowed word [*la ʈɔːnt*] appeared and was used to celebrate local weddings.

Veil: [*ħajek wal ʕʒaːr*], [*niːqaːb*], [*ʒəllaba*], [*ħiʒaːb*]. Frenda women used to wear a traditional yellowish white cover known as [*ħajek*] around their bodies from top of head to the bottom of their legs. They accompany it with a small item known [*ʕʒaːr*] to cover their faces from strangers. After the accidents of 1986 and the political instability during the nineties in Algeria, several women felt obliged to wear [*niːqaːb*] to avoid any disturbances by extremist groups. Trade with Morrocco helped women to wear the morroccan [*ʒəllaba*]. Males wore tradtional [*ʒəllaba*] which is made of wool and originated from sub-saharan regions such as Djelfa and Msila.

Bread: [*lkəsra*], [*lχubz*]. The word use of the lexical item [*lkəsra*] described the weak social economic conditions during the nineties and the shortage of first materials as flour. This abliged many Frenda families to prepare this small type of bread at home while the item [*lχubz*] described the period when families started to depend on bread from bakeries.

Father/Mother: [*bujji*], [*ʃibani*]. The bedouin addressee term for father [*bujji*] was employed to describe the close-fitting structure of the Frendian family as the father was considered as the pillar of the house and the one who gives orders and warnings. The loosening familiar structure where the role of the father was overshadowed and relegated social position led to the diffusion of the lexical item [*ʃibani*] that depicts him as weak and old. The same was phenomenon was noticed in the lexical items that a describe the mother [*mma*] and [*ʃibanija*].

Wife/Husband: [*mu:lat lχajma*], [*mmra taʕi*], [*dda:r*]. The woman enjoyed an ascending then descending social status in the community of Frenda. She was considered one of the pillars of the family. After, with the increase of women‟s rights, the woman started to gain more social freedom and dependence from the man and house. The man also enjoyed the same significant status as the woman in the Frenda Family and was described as [*mul lχajma*] (the owner of the house) or [*mu:la bi:ti*] or [*raʒli*] (my man) which is a neutral term for (my husband) along with the other item [*mula dda:r*]. The above lexical items depict the richness of variable features in the dialect of Frenda as influenced by the eco-social structure of the region.

4.8 Analysis and Results of Speakers‟ Attitudes

In this section, we will attempt to examine Frenda speakers‟ attitudes towards their place of residency and then shift to examine their attitudes towards the use of the pragmatic marker /*yaʕayyi*/.

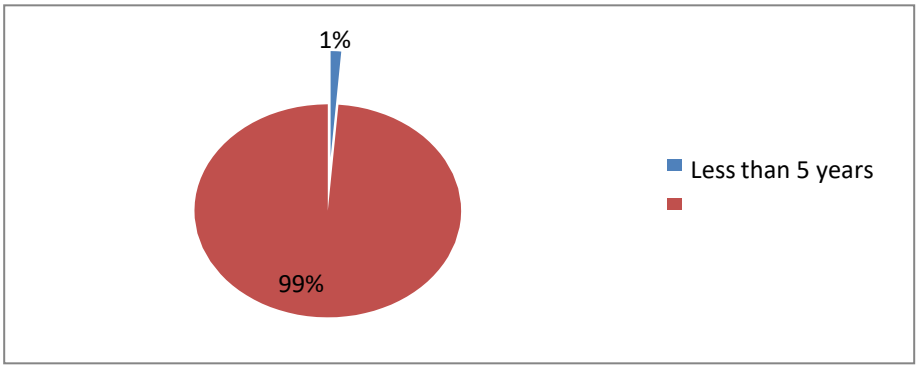
Question 01: For how long have you been living in Frenda?

The period of living in Frenda is significant as it determines speakers‟ familiarity with the dialect in question and its related linguistic practices which is prevalent in individuals‟ dialectal speech. Also, this gives individual speakers the ability of developing stereotypes upon the dialect in question.

Table 4.7. ***Period of Living in Frenda.***

	Period of Living in Frenda	
	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years
Number of population	01	77

Figure 4.1. ***Respondents' Period of Living in Frenda.***



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According to the above pie chart, 99 % of respondents live in Frenda for more than five (05) years while 01 (1%) respondent lives in the region for less than five (05) years. Including non-native speakers is helpful in determining their individual attitudes toward Frenda‟s dialect. Out of (80) Frenda-born speakers, twenty one (21) respondents are born in the surrounding areas of Frenda (Tiaret, Ain Hdid, Ain Kermes, Medrisa, Sidi Ali Mellal, Medghousa (known also as Louhou) and Sougeur). Only one (1) speaker who is born in Sidi Ali Mellal spent less than 05 years in Frenda.

Question 02: What is your parents‟ regional orgin?

Some dialectal features are acquired during childhood via parents. Parents‟ regional origin provides helpful insights about the origin of some features and their social significance in the speech community.

Table 4.8. Respondents‟ Parents‟ Regional Origin

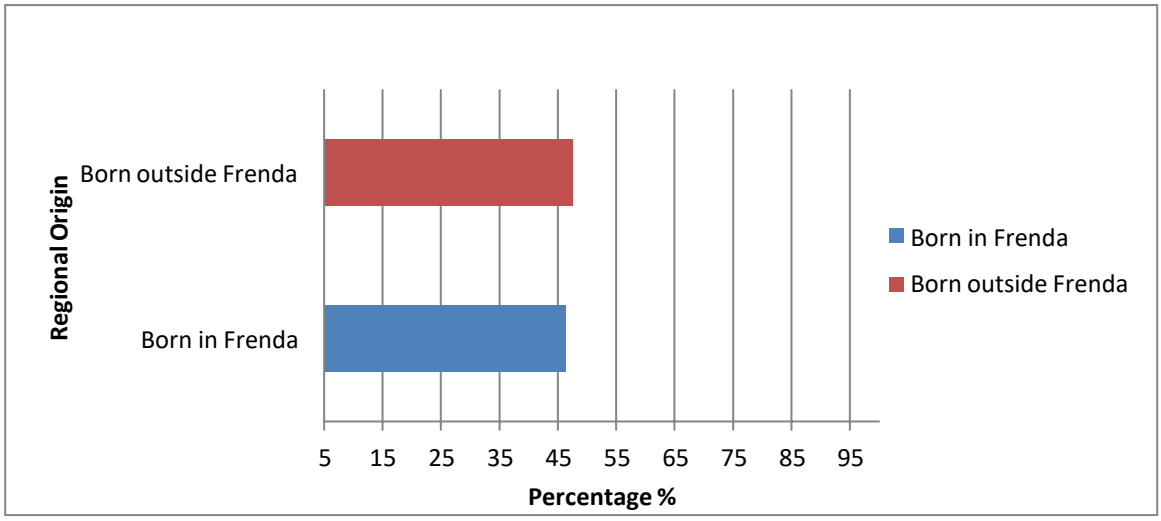


Figure 4.2. Parents‟ Regional Origin.

The above figure represents parents‟ regional origin. Accordingly, thirty seven (37) respondents are native residents who are Frenda-born with a percentage of 46.25% whereas 47.5% are born outside Frenda mainly in the adjacent rural region of Medrousa. Most of our samples declared that their parents are regionally originated from Medrousa or its rural suburbs during the black nineties migrated and settled in Frenda. Other respondents are born in regions of Sidi Bakhti, Sidi Ali Mellal, Medrissa, Ain

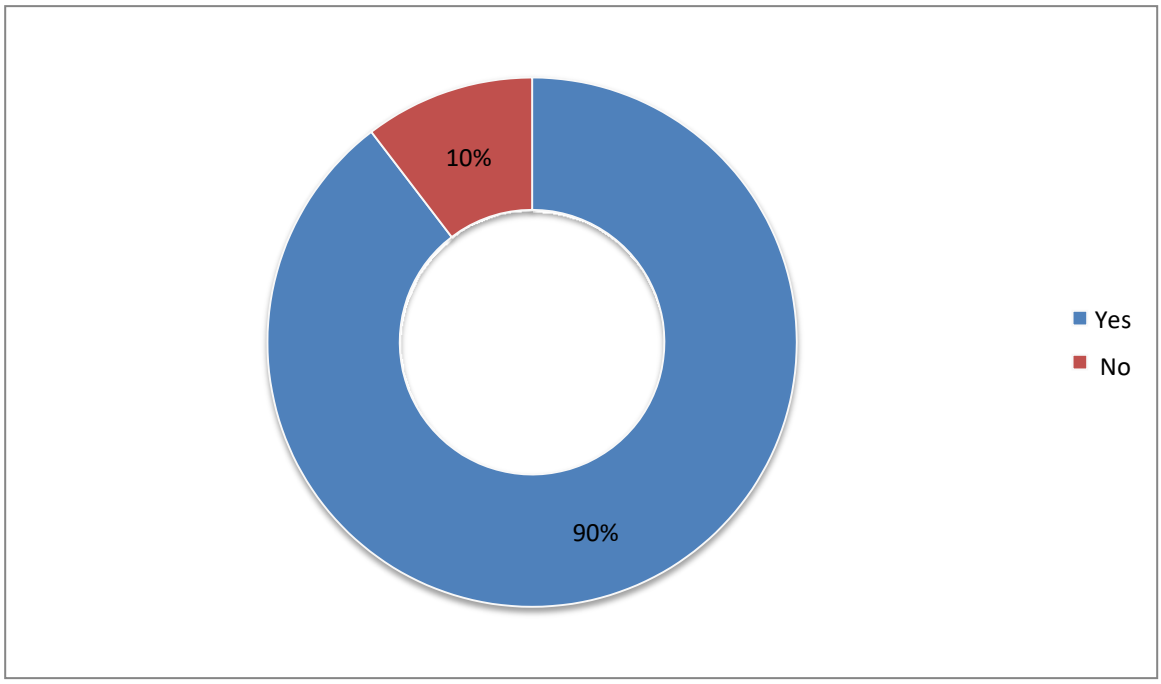
Kermes, Medrousa and Mascara. One can notice that these regions are bedouin-type. They added that they carried their primary education in Frenda at the age of five as their rural birth place doesn‟t have a school.

Following the sampling frame of our study which typically takes account of native Frendi speakers, joining non-native respondents is supportive to our research hypotheses and demonstrates a considerable amount of linguistic data that would contribute to stimulating validity of the general results and deliver promising outcomes. Four (04) respondents didn‟t provide answers.

Question 03: Do you feel belonging to Frenda?

Speakers may be attached to their place of birth which would have an indirect impact on their linguistic use. This may either implement or hinder intraspeaker and interspeaker variation.

Figure 4.9. ***Respondents' Sense of Belonging towards Frenda.***



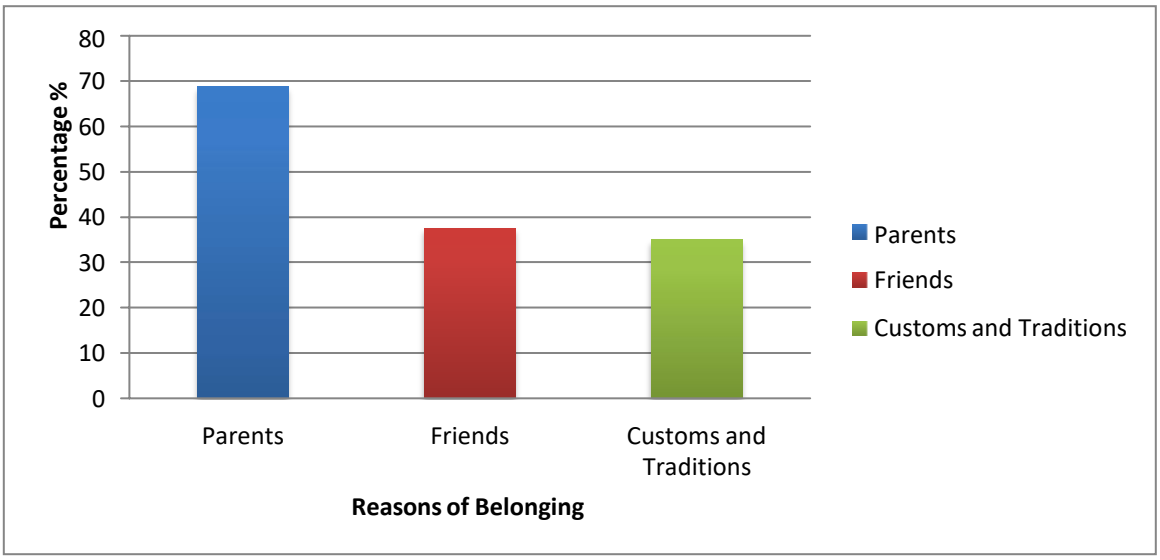
The above figure illustrates the sense of belonging towards Frenda as their birth and residency place. Sixty nine (69) respondents are attached to Frenda with a proportion of 90 % of the total population. On the other hand, only 10% (estimated 68 respondents) declared that they don‟t feel a sense of belonging to Frenda as they are not born in the region and is considered only as their place of

work or are married in the region. Unpredictably, some respondents who are non-native Frendi speakers avowed that they feel belonged to Frenda due to the long period of staying in the region.

Question 04: Why do you feel belonging to Frenda?

Feeling of belonging is prompted by various socio-cultural factors that intervene with speakers‟ linguistic use. In this question, respondents were not only given with three multiple-choice answers, but also asked to provide their own reasons to better understand their social background.

Figure 4.10. Reasons for Feeling Belonging to Frenda



According to the bar graph above, fifty five (55) respondents which make a proportion of (68.75%) feel belonged to Frenda as they are attached to their parents which suggest that Frenda‟s social system is principally based on family ties. A number of thirty (30) individuals stated that friends are the reason which makes them feel belonged to Frenda. This choice was mostly recorded by middle-aged speakers. This result can be interpreted that many social relationships are built up upon dense and tight social networks which characterise the younger-age group of speakers. Twenty eight (28) respondents with a proportion of 35% stated that customs and traditions are what make them feel belonged to Frenda. Although they are not born in Frenda, non-native inhabitants indicated that they

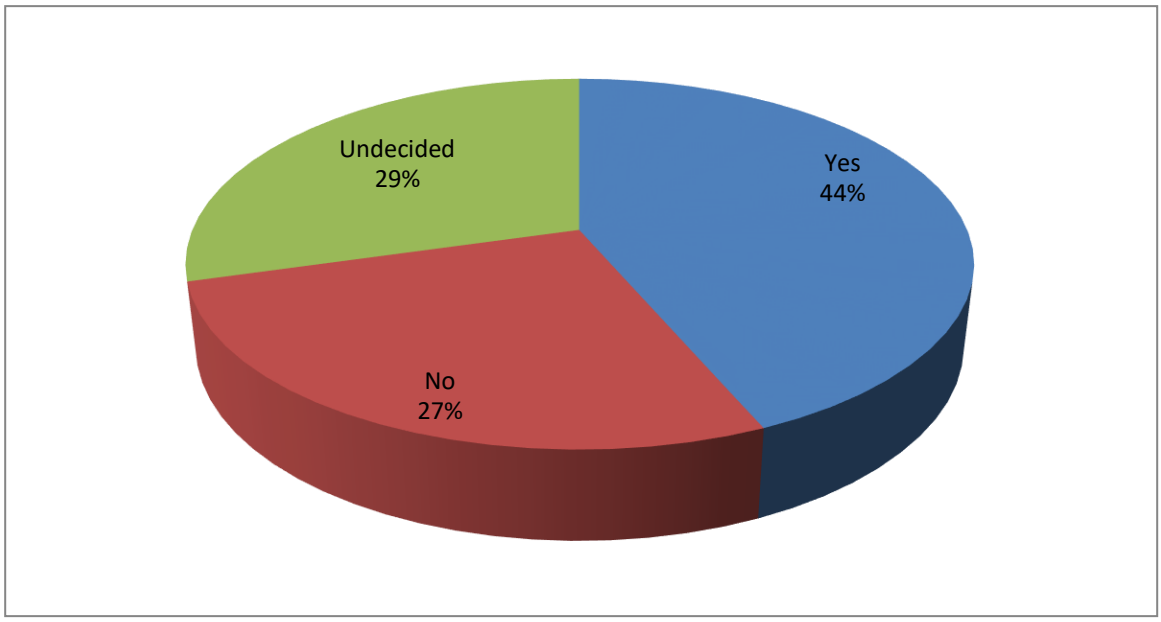
feel belonged to Frenda for reasons of marriage, relatives and work. Some respondents have friends in Frenda and started to gradually integrate with Frendi speakers. We left total freedom for respondents to add their own reasons to better understand their motives.

Respondents‟ answers were abundant. As shown in the table, eight (08) respondents stated that their relatives are the reason which makes them feel belonged to Frenda who share a genealogical relationship with them even those who live outside the region. Three (03) respondents for every option stated reasons of childhood memories, studies, origin and ecology. Three (03) respondents feel belonged to Frenda as they are still attached to their childhood memories which they experienced in Frenda. Three (03) other participants stated that their studies in Frenda keep them attached to their natal region. Other three (03) respondents mentioned that they feel belonged to Frenda as they are proud of their origin. Three (03) other speakers answered that appropriate ecological condition is what make them feel belonged to Frenda.

Chapter Four: Results of Data Analysis
Question 05: Do you intend or plan to leave Frenda in the future?

This question was principally designed for native speakers who are born in Frenda. The aim was to explore their intentions to leave their birth and residency place.

Figure 4.6. ***Thinking to Leave Frenda.***



Opposed to results showed in **figure 4.3**, the pie chart demonstrates that although a considerable number of respondents are attached to Frenda, 44% of population (37 respondents) have the intention to leave Frenda. Remarkably, even non-native respondents stated that they think to leave Frenda. The same observation was remarked with individuals who are out-migrants who evidently demonstrated their intents to leave Frenda. Twenty three (23) respondents with a ratio of 27% don‟t have the intent to quit Frenda as they find it suitable to settle in the region while 29% (20 respondents) are hesitant whether to leave or stay in the region.

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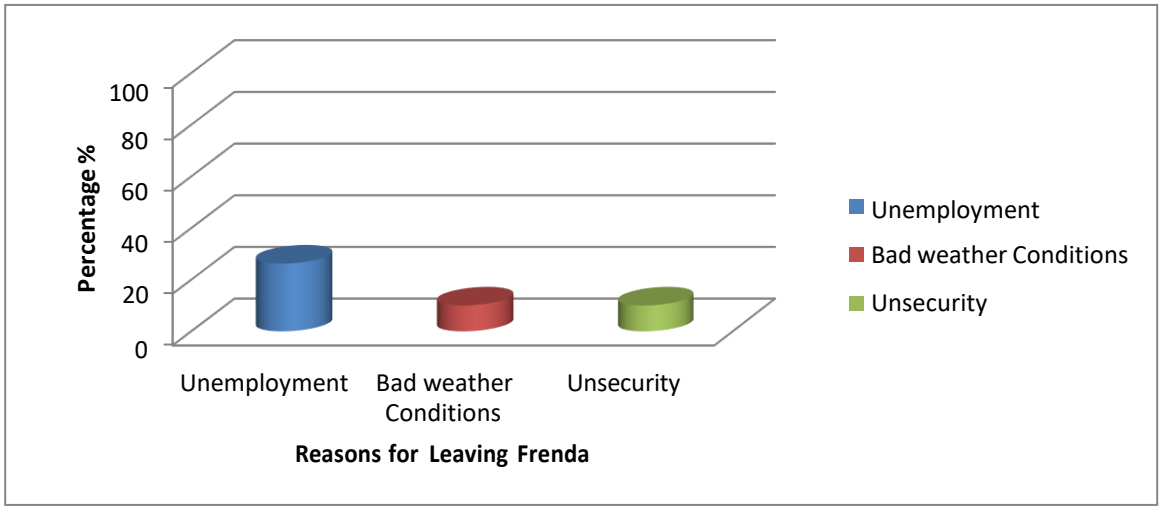
Question 06: Why do you intend or plan to leave Frenda?

Participants‟ hindrance to afford answers was apparent in this question as 50% of respondents didn‟t opt for any option. This questions targets elicitation of respondents‟ opinions about their motives to leave Frenda.

Table 4.13. ***Reasons for Leaving Frenda***

	Reasons		
	Unemployment	Harsh weather conditions	Insecurity
Number of population	21	08	08

Figure 4.7. ***Reasons for Leaving Frenda.***



Again, respondents‟ redundancy was apparent in this question as half (40 individuals/ 50%) of the total respondents didn‟t pick any option from the ones provided in the question. This question addresses respondents‟ reasons to leave Frenda. With a score of 26.5 % (21 respondents) who stated that unemployment is the major reason which make them want to leave Frenda. Considering bad

weather conditions which characterise Frenda which is very cold during winter and hot at summer, 10 % stated that bad weather conditions make them think to leave the region. The other 10% answered that Frenda become an unsecure place to live in and thus prefer to leave it.

Initially we considered those respondents who are favourable to leave Frenda. One participant who is a married woman and don‟t have the intent to leave Frenda is bound by her husband‟s workplace. The leading reason according to respondents‟ answers is that three (03) samples stated people‟s mentalities is a direct reason which make them want to leave Frenda. Another intriguing reason is that two (02) respondents stated that they want to leave Frenda to other more urbanised city. Other two (02) participants said that they experience bad living and work conditions and have the intention to leave the region to enhance livings outside the region. Results from the above graph and table plainly suggest that most of frendi residents have the intention to leave Frenda and part with their birth place. In the course of this investigation, speakers may be inclined to leave their Bedouin culture,

life style and customs which they were loyal to for several years. This second part of the questionnaire is concerned with examination of respondents‟ general attitudes towards their own Frenda‟s dialect and to reflect upon their dialectal use. This part consists of (14) questions that range between open-ended and close-ended questions. Taking into account the ideological implications of attitudes-related questionnaire, a number of questions (questions from 7 to 14) were included for the objective of stimulating respondents‟ answers and not to raise any kind of communal mocking against the underlying dialect or their speakers.

5.3. Attitudes Toward the Dialectal Speech of Frenda

In This second section, we directed our analysis toward unveiling Frenda speakers‟ attitudes toward their dialectal speech.

Question 07: How do you consider your dialectal speech?

This question seeks to discover native Frendi speakers‟ attitudes towards their dialectal speech. Speakers are required to self-report their own dialectal speech as well as that of those they hear around in their speech community.

Table 4.15. Respondents‟ Attitudes towards their Dialectal Speech.

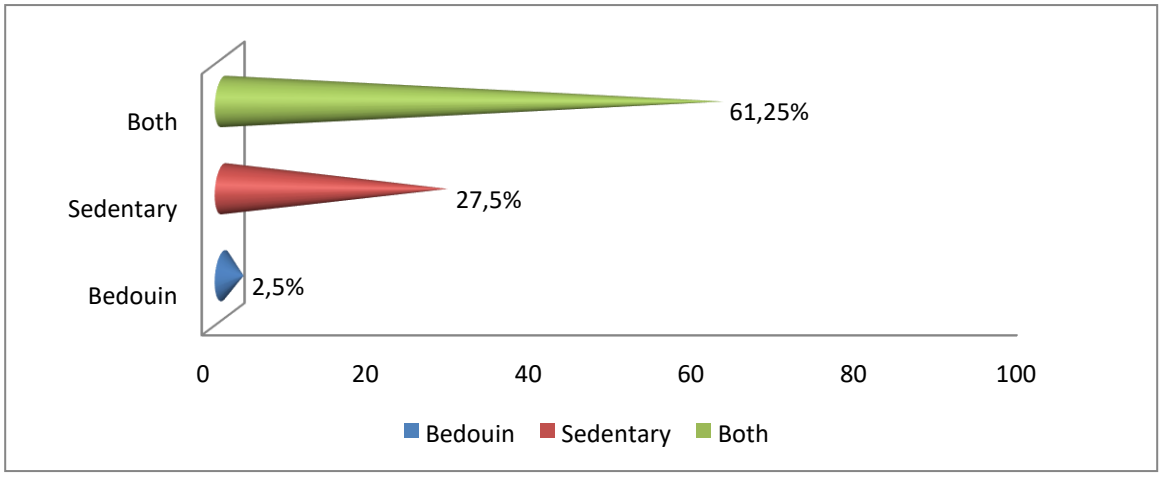


Figure 4.8. Respondents‟ Attitudes towards their Dialectal Speech.

We cannot confirm that respondents‟ answers really reflect their own free choices as this question may seem misleading and they indirectly covertly report their answers based on the meaning of each option. As the above histogram represents, (49) (61.25%) respondents reported that their dialectal speech is both sedentary and Bedouin particularly based on what they hear around in their speech community. A number of (22) individuals with a proportion of 27.5% reported that their dialectal speech is sedentary. This result may reflect their positive attitudes towards their own dialectal speech which they consider as innovative and prestigious rather than Bedouin and conservative. Only two (02) respondents with a ratio of 2.5% labelled their speech as Bedouin. This is possibly reported based on others‟ dialectal speech in which they avoided reporting their own use and thus evaded being stereotyped or mocked or based on their rural birth place.

Question 08: Do you desire to change your dialectal speech?

We were concerned about the fact that respondents would consider the question as provocative and thus disguise their opinions. However, respondents‟ answers were productive. In addition, we didn‟t identify to them the target dialect which respondents could accommodate to.

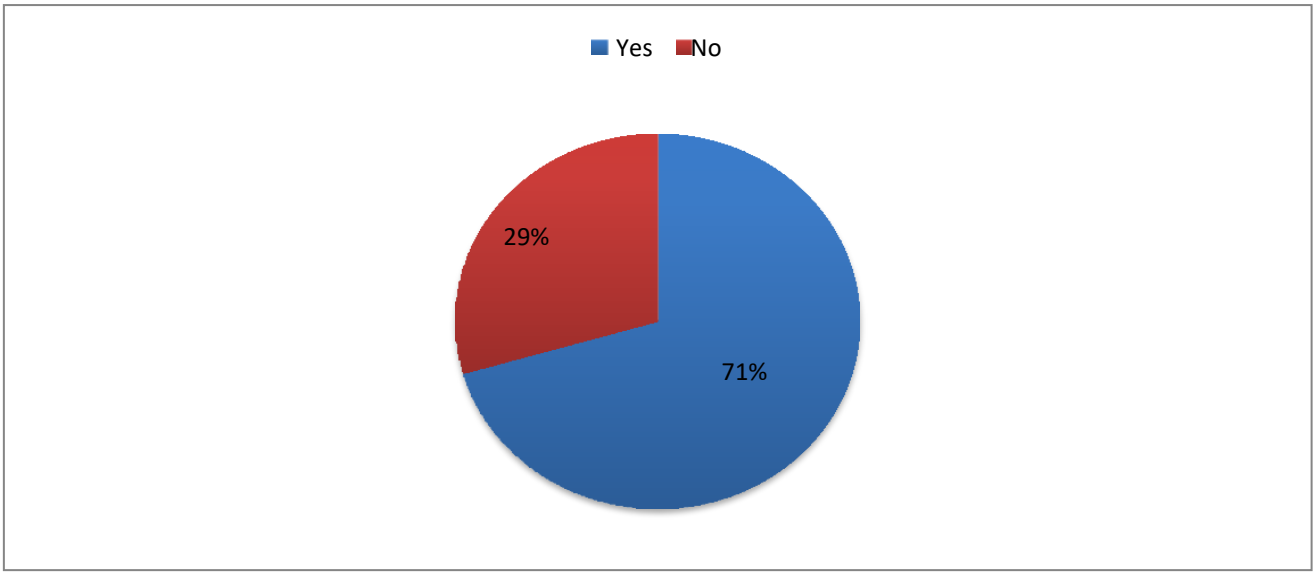


Figure 4.9. Respondents‟ Desire to Change their Dialectal Speech.

The above **figure 4.9** illustrates Frendi speakers‟ inclination to change their dialectal speech. We didn‟t mention to respondents the dialects that they may change or adapt their speech into to avoid any subjective opinions towards theses varieties.

71% of respondents directly declared their willingness to change their individual speech as they indirectly demonstrate their negative attitudes towards their dialect in the first place. 29% of participants stated that they don‟t have the intention to change their dialectal speech due to their favourable opinion upon their dialect. We have noticed that even non-Frendi speakers acquiescently express their uncomfortable attitudes towards the speech of Frenda which they find it variable and levelled out in comparison to their own dialect. Speakers desire to shift away from their speech lies in their unacceptability of the old bedouin linguistic norms which they acquire during their childhood.

Question 09: Why do you desire to change your dialectal speech?

This question is free in nature which is meant to stimulate respondents‟ answers about the reasons which push them to change their dialectal speech. Again and again, respondents‟ reluctance emerged when giving suggestions.

Three (03) respondents stated that they prefer to merge their individual dialectal speech with MSA to increase the prestige of their speech and seem educated. Other respondents mentioned that they deliberately don‟t like their speech and are inclined to change their Frendi dialectal speech.

Surprisingly, some participants declared that they want are obliged to accommodate to other interlocutors‟ speech when interacting in intergroup conversations. This interprets their negative attitudes toward their dialect which they view as Bedouin or non-prestigious and hypercorrect toward other sedentary ones. One respondent noticeably held that he wants to level his accent toward other accents which suggests that he holds a negative attitude toward some features in his Frendi accent. Another respondent expounds that he has the intent to change his dialectal speech to be achieve mutual intelligibility. One respondent answered that he is obliged to change his dialect according to the area he works in response to his work missions to different regions. Two other respondents claimed that they have a desire to change their dialectal speech as they want to be culturally toward other regional cultures and thus are obliged to adapt or converge their speech according to that of their interlocutors.

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Question 10: Do no-local speakers identify your regional origin based on your dialectal speech?

Study samples are asked to report whether other non-Frendi speakers can identify their regional origin based on their dialectal speech. This question is significant as it allows individual speakers to report others‟ own opinions about the dialect of Frendi speakers when they are outside the region and identify its saliency.

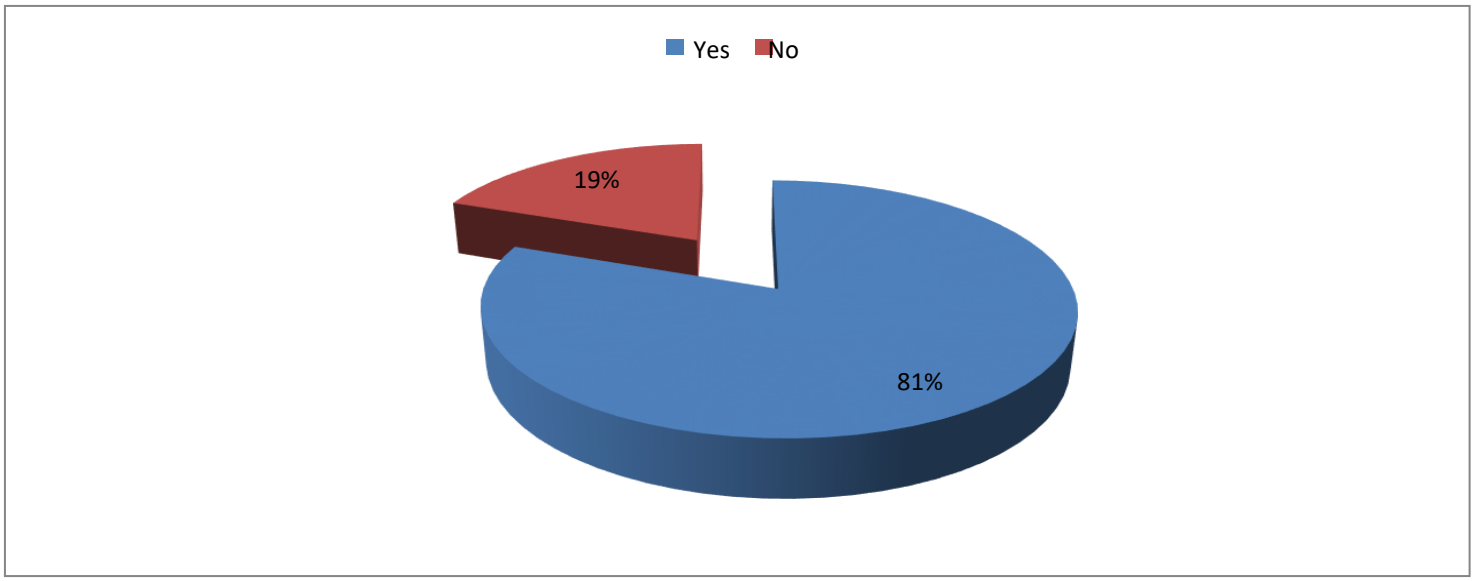

Figure 4.10. Frendi Speakers‟ Identification based on Their Dialectal Speech.

Results were noticeable in this question. The above figure represents that 81% with total number of 63 speakers reported that non-Frendi speakers can easily identify their regional origin as Frenda‟s dialect is regionally and linguistically salient. Saliency become apparent as Frendi speakers demonstrate regionally stigmatised Bedouin features that are stereotyped in other regions particularly sedentary ones or those who speak a koine. On the other hand, 19% of population stated that other non-Frendi speakers cannot recognise Frendi speakers‟ regional origin and may identify them as belonging to other western regions when in eastern cities. Two (02) respondents didn‟t provide an answer for this item.

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Question 11: Do your parents speak differently from you?

At an early age, speakers acquire some of the linguistic features from their parents via the process of socialisation. Accordingly, respondents are asked to report their personal opinions about their parents‟ dialectal speech and compare it with their own use. The aim behind this question is to identify speakers‟ attitudes towards their parents‟ dialectal use and the extent to which they may converge or diverge from it.

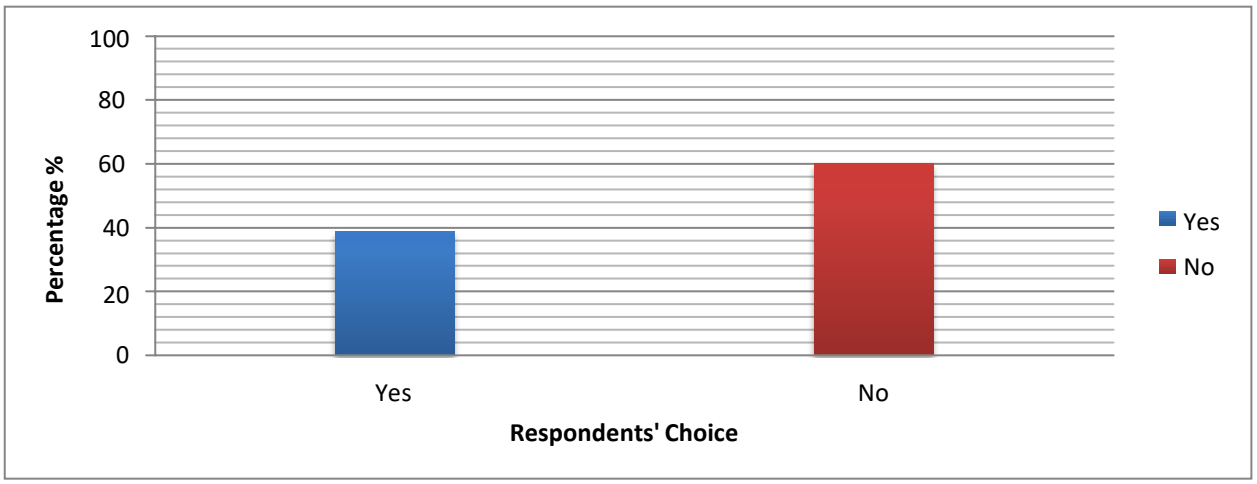

Figure 4.11. Respondents‟ Views about their Parents‟ Dialectal Speech.

According to the above graph, 60% of population stated that their parents‟ dialectal speech isn‟t distinct from their own use which they labelled as both bedouin and sedentary. A proportion of 38.75% mentioned that they find it similar to their dialectal speech which may suggest to us that a considerable number of linguistic features are shared between both age groups which were acquired during chaildhood. Only (1) respondent didn‟t express his opinion.

Question 12: In terms of what is your parents‟ dialectal speech different from yours?

As far as this study is concerned, this question targets elicitation of respondents‟ attitudes toward their parents‟ dialectal speech which is helpful to understand the linguistic behaviours of speakers.

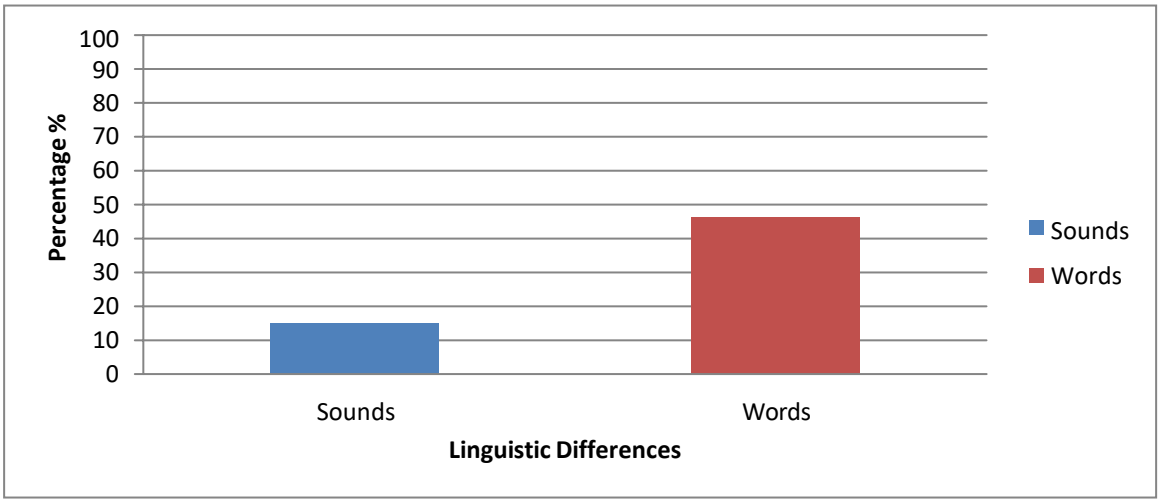

Figure 4.12. Respondents‟ Views about Differences in their Parents Dialectal Speech.

The above graph illustrates respondents‟ opinion about the nature of dialectal differences that they may observe in their parents‟ speech in comparison with theirs. However, 46.25% of speakers said that they consider these differences to be phonological as sounds are salient phonological features which can be easily identified.15% of respondents reported that their parents‟ speech is different from theirs in terms of lexical units namely vocabulary. Expectedly, (31) respondents were reluctant to provide answers for this item.

Question 13: How do you consider your dialectal speech?

During early childhood speakers acquire some of the dialectal features from their parents, but when they reach adolescence speakers develop attitudes toward their parents‟ speech.

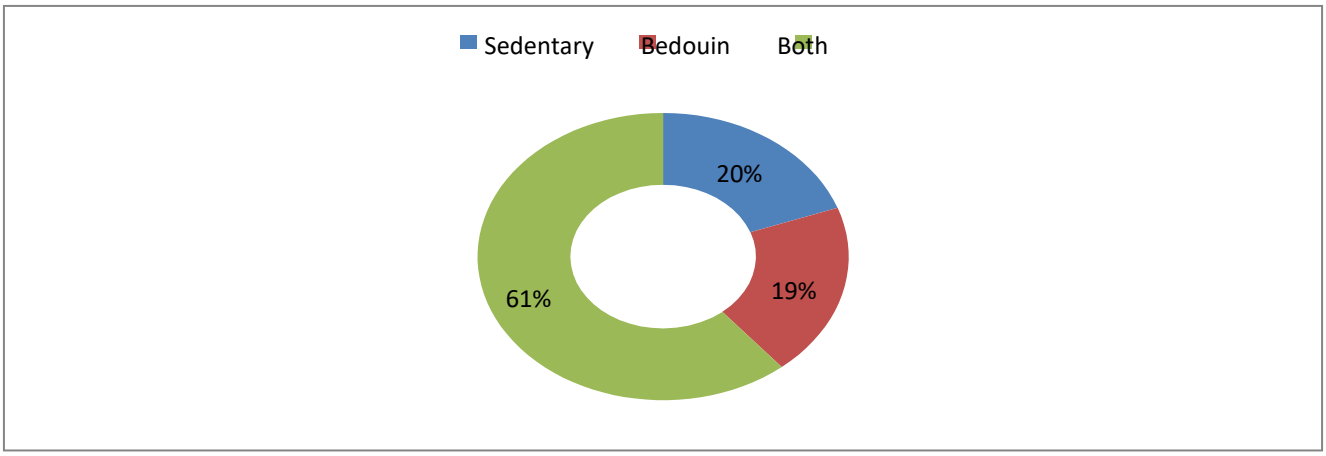

Figure 4.12. Respondents‟ Attitudes toward their Parents‟ Dialectal Speech.

According to the pie chart above, 61% of respondents stated that their parents‟ speech is both Bedouin and sedentary which aligns with their previous answers introduced in **figure 4.8**. Their answers suggest that their parents were rural inhabitants and in-migrated to Frenda at an early stage in which they acquired some urban features in addition to their old Bedouin ones. 20% described their parents‟ speech as sedentary as their parents were born in urban Frenda. 19% identified that it is Bedouin based on their parents‟ regional origin and birth place in which they were born, grew up and lived in a rural area far from Frenda. Two (02) respondents provided no answer.

Question 14: Have you ever heard a frendi speaker changes his dialectal speech?

Respondents were very productive in this question as the nature of it stimulated them to report their attitudinal attitudes toward other Frendi speakers who may be observed altering their dialectal speech in their speech community.

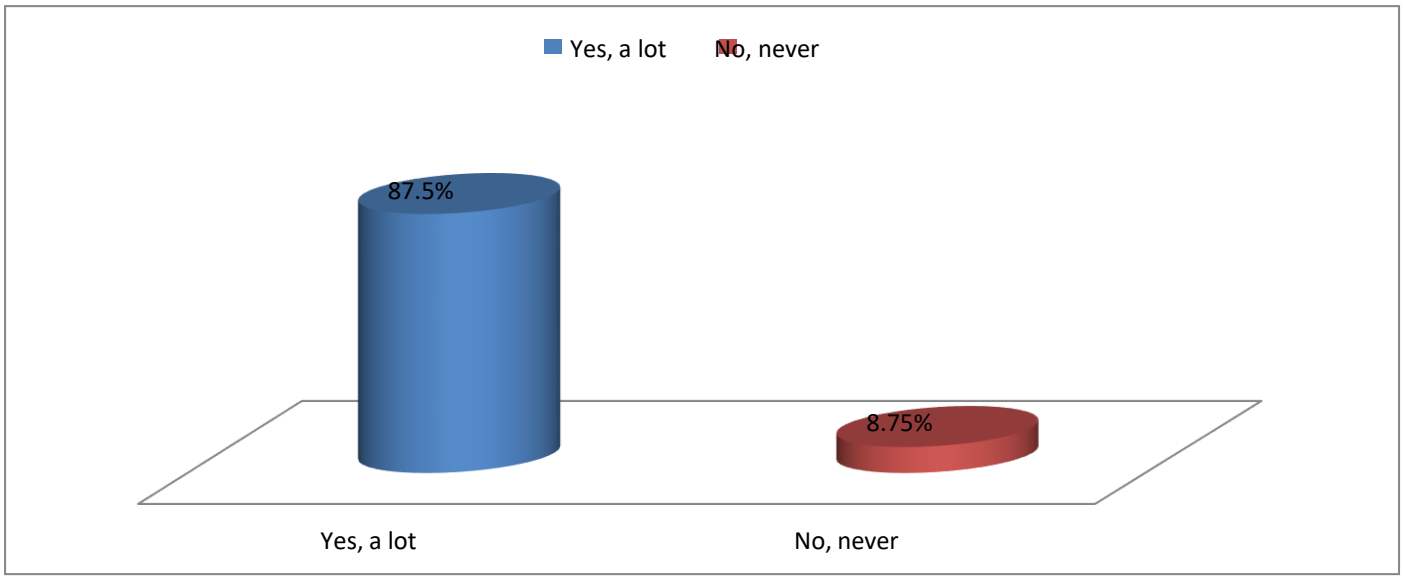

Figure 4.13. Attitudes toward Frendi Speakers Change their Dialectal Speech.

The above bar graph shows that (71) respondents reported that they frequently hear Frendi speakers change their speech inside Frenda which suggests that variation is intra-level based while (07) other respondents mentioned that they never heard a frendi speaker changes his speech. Remarkably, even non-native who are in-migrants in Frenda explicitly stated that they frequently heard frendi speakers change their dialectal speech particularly in inter-group conversation based on the dialect of

their interlocutors. This same phenomenon is frequently observed when a bedouin non-native speaker interacts with a Frendi speaker in which the latter intentionally alters his speech and diverts from the speech of his interlocutor and adopts another dialectal speech. On the other hand, most Frendi speakers adapt their speech according to the one of speakers from Oran to avoid any possible face threatening. Two (02) respondents were reluctant and didn‟t answer the question.

Question 15: How do you feel when other frendi speakers change their dialect?

Respondents are asked to report their personal attitudes toward Frendi speakers who change their dialectal speech and adopt another dialect.

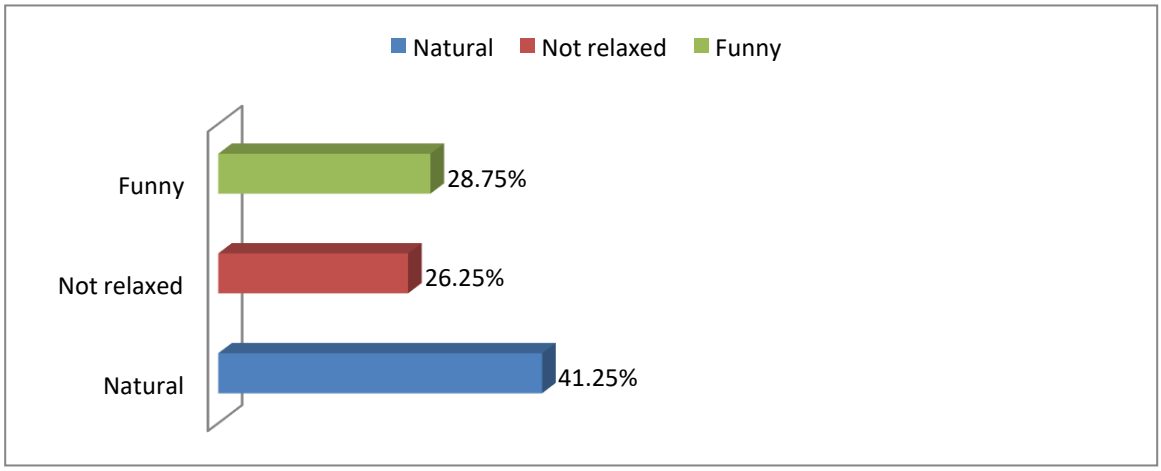

Figure 4.14. Respondents‟ Attitudes toward others Change their own Dialectal Speech.

Results displayed in the above graph shows that 41.25% of the selected population demonstrate a natural attitude when they hear a frendi speaker changes his speech maybe because they covertly display the same linguistic behaviour which may seem natural to them or haven‟t been reported by other frenda speakers before. A proportion of 26.25% speakers mentioned that they don‟t feel relaxed when hear a frenda speaker changes his individual speech which could interpret their discomfort of the linguistic features they use in their speech that don‟t belong to their dialect. Also, it suggests that Frenda speakers have a problem of linguistic identity as most of them wish to adopt another identity which is favourable to them. 28.75% of population consider it a funny way and even disguisedly laugh when they hear a Frenda speaker uses another feature which is not present in their linguistic repertoire. They even consider them as boosters. Three (03) speakers didn‟t answer the question.

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Question 16: Do you think Frenda dialect is stereotyped?

Respondents are asked to decide whether Frenda‟s dialect is stereotyped or not by other speakers.

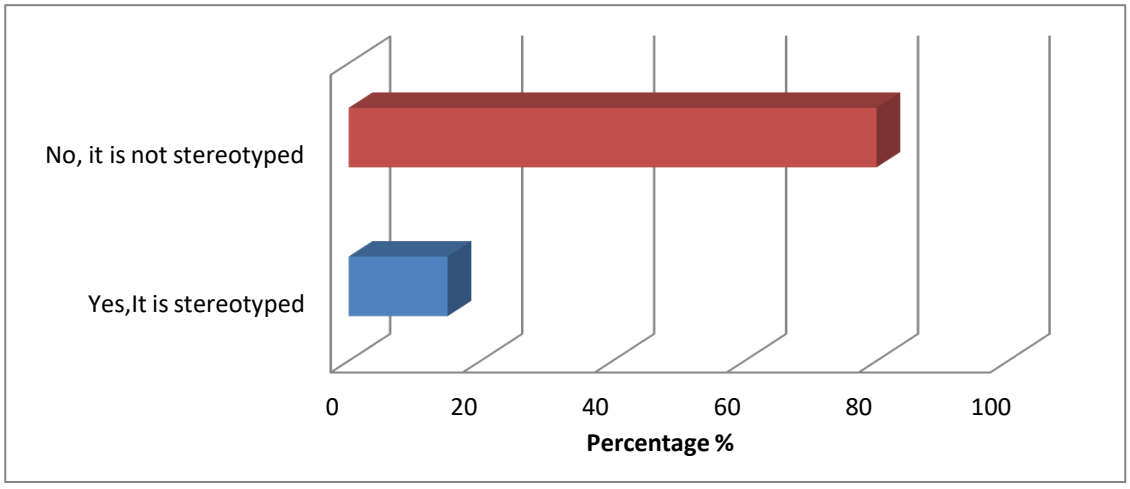


Figure 4.15. Respondents‟ Attitudes towards Frenda‟s Individual Dialectal Speech.

According to the figure above, (64) respondents answered that Frenda‟s dialect is never stereotyped by other speakers outside Frenda. This may suggest their hesitation to report the fact that their speech is stereotyped by other speakers particularly speakers who use sedentary features. Frendi speakers are aware of the linguistic variables which are subject to stereotyping outside the region and stigmatisation inside the region and thus attempt to hide them. Twelve (12) respondents clearly state their Frenda‟s dialectal speech is stereotyped by other speakers outside the region particularly in Oran. Even most Tiartian speakers and neighbouring towns consider Frendi speakers as imitators of Oran‟s speech and stereotype them. Two (02) respondents didn‟t answer the question.

Question 17: What stereotypes have you heard about the dialect of Frenda?

Opposed to respondents‟ answers to the previous question, when speakers were asked to indicate the stereotypes constructed on Frenda‟s dialectal speech they were able to provide a variety of

answers. Answers are summarised in the following table accompanied with the number of population for every single answer.

According to the results displayed in the above table, (17) respondents reported that the linguistic particle (*yaʕayyi*) reflects a negative stereotype which characterises Frendaʻs dialect and is overtly stigmatised by non-frendi speakers. Another common stereotype which is particularly shared by frendi and non-frendi speakers is the fact that speakers who change their speech and accommodate to another dialect are regionally described by the stereotype (31.5 trente et un et demi). This number is composed of (31) which is the matriculation of Wilaya of Oran while (demi) refers to Frendi speakers who adapt their speech according to the one of Oran. Another stereotype is (*wharna sghar*) which stands for Frendi speakers who imitate Oranee speakers. In the same idea, two respondents reported two lexical units (*ʃawela*/*zaʕma*) which donʻt belong to Frendaʻs dialect but are prevalent in the speech of many of frendi speakers. Both words are the result of dialect contact particularly with Oran speakers. One respondent reported that he has been stereotyped as (ʕrubi) which carries a negative connotation for a person who lives in the countryside, uncivilised, stubborn, and illiterate. As far as this study is concerned, one person stated that he was stereotyped based on his (g) sound which carried a bedouin implication. Three (03) respondents show reluctance to answer this question which may suggest their intention to skip such provocative questions.

4.9 Attitudes Toward the Use of The Pragmatic Markers: Case Study of [*jaʕajji*]

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*]**.** Data for this variable were collected by means of a self-filling questionnaire designed via google forms and administered online. The questionnaire was distributed to a total population of (97) individual random speakers living in Frenda.

Chapter Four: Results of Data Analysis
Respondents‟ Use of The Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*]

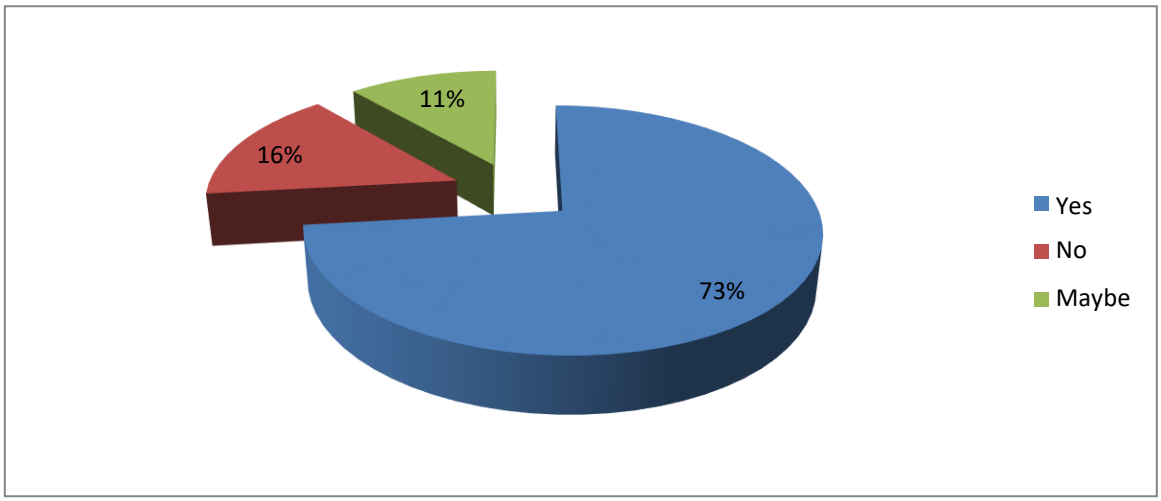


Figure 4.17. Respondents‟ Frequency of Use for [*jaʕajji*].

The above pie chart shows that 71% of respondents use the pragmatic marker in their dialectal speech which represents their native feature while 16% reported that they don‟t use which they may substitute with another item. 11% of respondents are hesitant whether they use in their speech or not.

Use of /*yaʕayyi*/ According to Gender

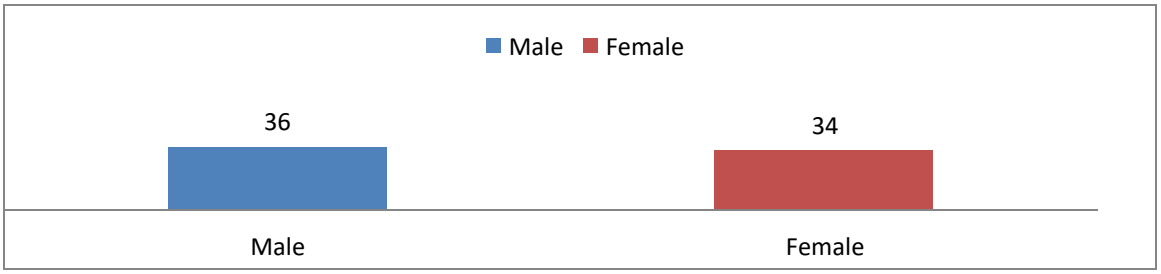


Figure 4.18. Use of [*jaʕajji*] According to Respondents‟ Gender.

From the above figure, we can noticeably say that the use of the pragmatic marker is almost equally shared by both males and females and isn‟t related to a single gender. A number of (36) male speakers use the item while (34) female speakers also use it in their speech. In this question, we didn‟t take into consideration respondents who were uncertain about their use of the same item.

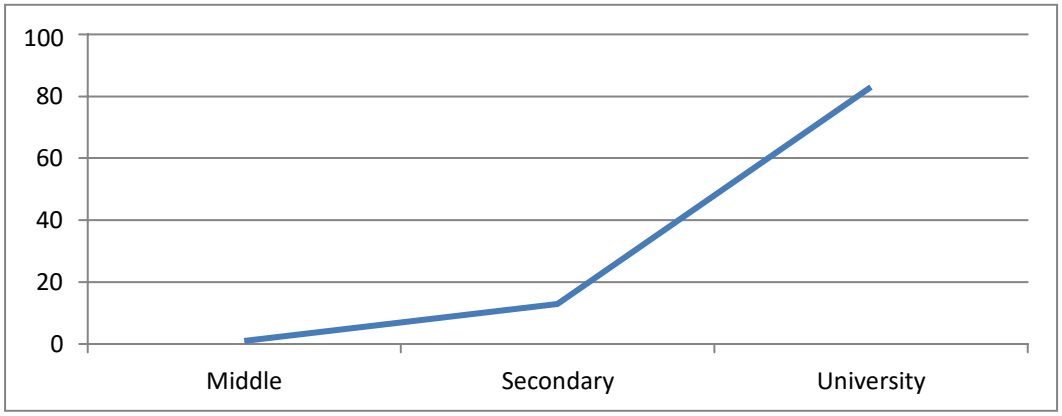
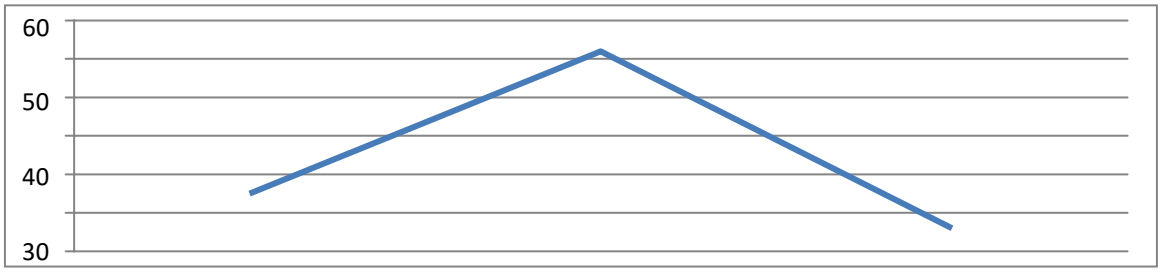


Figure 4.19. Frequency of Use for [*jaʕajji*] According to Level of Education.

Results of the above line graph show a climbing pace for the use of the marker [*jaʕajji*] across the three levels of education. The line slowly ascents between speakers whose level is middle represented by one speaker who uses the marker and speakers with a secondary level introduced by (13) respondents. From secondary level, the line rises gradually towards speakers with a university level of education which can be interpreted by their desire to mark their regional belonging and show their identity to Frenda outside the community as they study far from their place of residency. However, when university-level speakers avoid its use outside Frenda with non-Frendi speakers as they diverge from it.

The Use of [*jaʕajji*] According to Respondents‟ Age.



+ **1 5**	**+25**	+ **4 5**
1 5	52	0 6

Figure 4.21. Frequency of Use of [*jaʕajji*] According to Respondents‟ Age.

The above line graph shows clearly that the age parameter is of a paramount importance and highly influences the use of [*jaʕajji*]. The line shows a varying ascending among the three age-generations. The first age groups includes (15) respondents use the marker in their speech whereas the second age groups scores the highest number of use with (52) respondents which suggests that the marker is a distinctive feature of younger middle-age speakers. The line dramatically drops as it reaches older-age speakers with a number of only (06) respondents use the marker. Most of them are female speakers. This latter result can be interpreted as old-age male speakers shift away from this marker and highly use religious Arabic borrowings such as *„allahu akbar* or *ja ħafidh*.

Question 1: Do your parents use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?

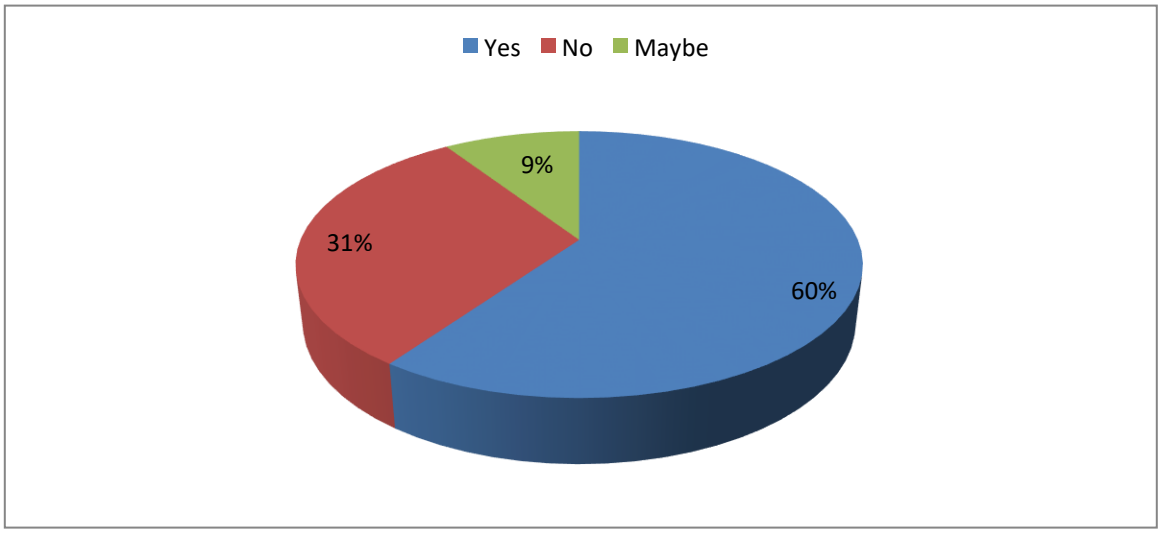


Figure 4.23. Respondents‟ Parents Use of [*jaʕajji*].

The pie chart above demonstrates that 60% of the total population say that their parents exhibit the use of [*jaʕajji*] in their individual speech from whom they acquired during their childhood while 31% of population reported that they didn‟t notice their parents use the marker. A proportion of 9% stated that they are not aware that their parents use the marker in their speech.

Chapter Four: Results of Data Analysis

Question 2: How do you feel towards the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?

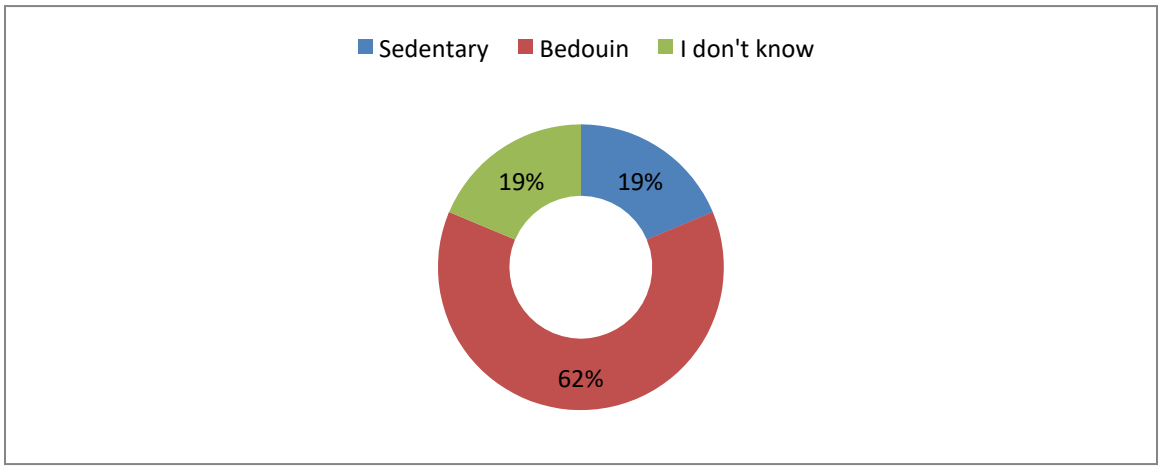


Figure 4.20. Respondents‟ Attitudes Towards the Marker [*jaʕajji*].

The above figure displays that 62% of population label the marker as bedouin that noticeably explains its stigmatised nature by several speakers inside and outside the community. This choice is related to attitudes of non-local speakers towards the item as a stereotypical one which receives social comment and is regionally marked. A proportion of 19% labelled [*jaʕajji*] as a sedentary feature which is derived from MSA and represents urban talk while 19% says that they neither can label it as bedouin nor sedentary regarding its complex grammatical structure.

Question 03: Do you know the origin of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?

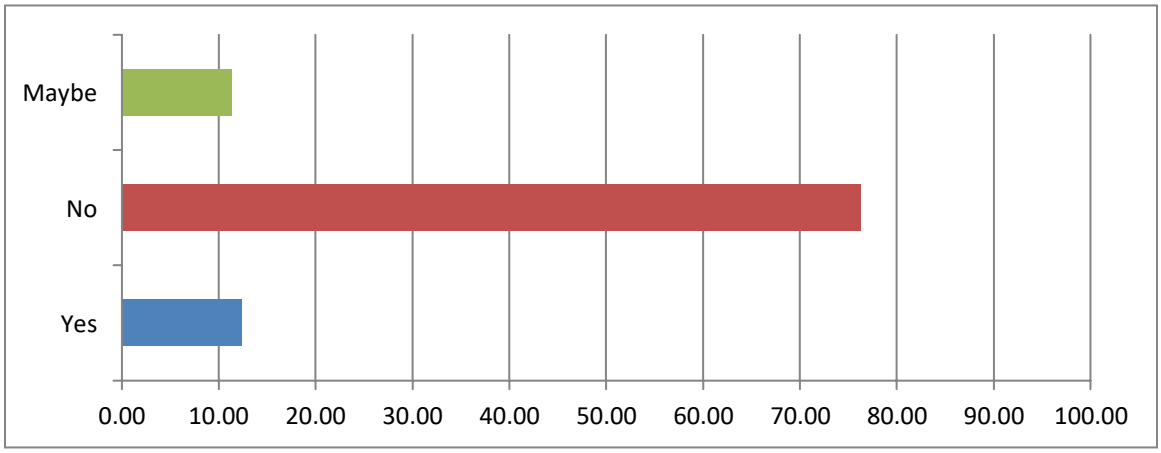


Figure 4.21. Respondents‟ Answers towards the Origin of [*jaʕajji*].

According to results demonstrated in the above figure (74) individuals reported that they don‟t know the origin of the marker [*jaʕajji*] which they consider as a non-native item whereas (12) respondents says that they know its origin as a standard Arabic item item which is derived from MSA. On the other hand, (11) speakers stated that they doubt its origin.

Question 04: How often do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?

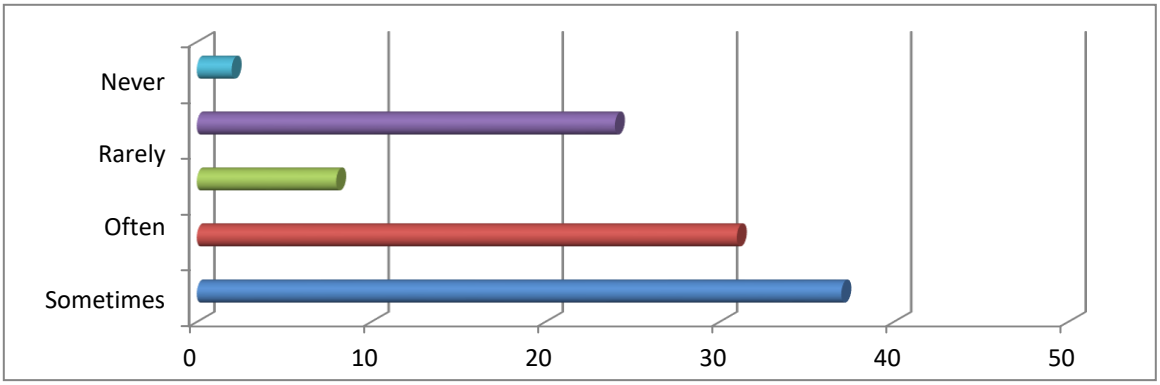


Figure 4.22. Frequency of Use for [*jaʕajji*].

According to results above, (37) respondents always employ the marker in their daily speech as part of their local dialect. Another (31) speakers says that they sometimes use this item in particular situations. Though a local and regional feature, (24) individuals reported that they rarely use it which they may shift away from it and replace with another item. Two (02) respondents say that they never use the marker which suggests that they avoid its use in their dialectal speech.

Question 05: whom do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] With?

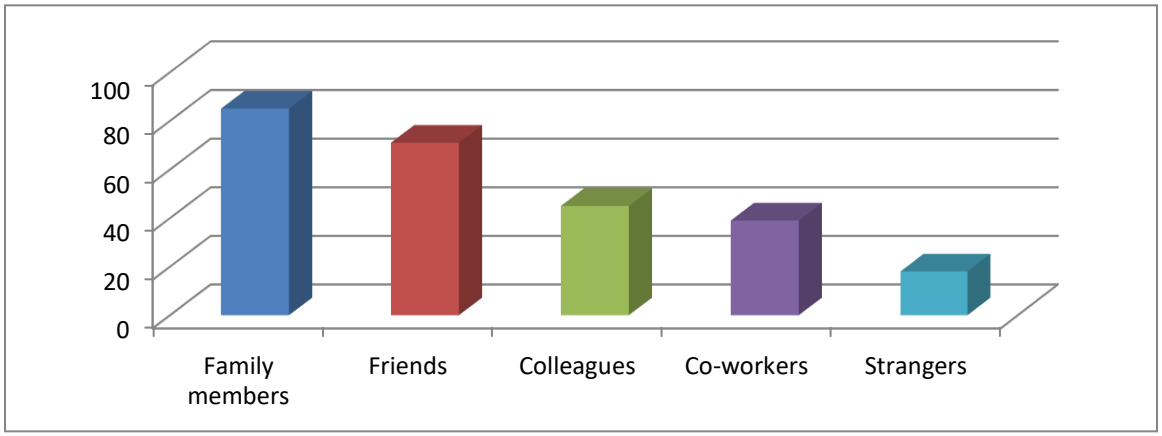


Figure 4.23. Interlocutors Whom [*jaʕajji*] is used With.

Figure 4.23 above shows the frequency of use of [*jaʕajji*] according to the interlocutors. Result show that the marker is employed with a variety of interlocutors in various contexts. The major number represented by (85) respondents use the marker with their family members whom they acquired from during childhood. Number of (71) individuals frequently employ the marker when they interact with friends as dense social networks. Small number of (18) speakers mentioned that they naturally use the marker with strangers from outside their speech community which explains that the item represents their local identity which they are inclined to reveal in face-to-face interactions.

Question 06: In what situations do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?

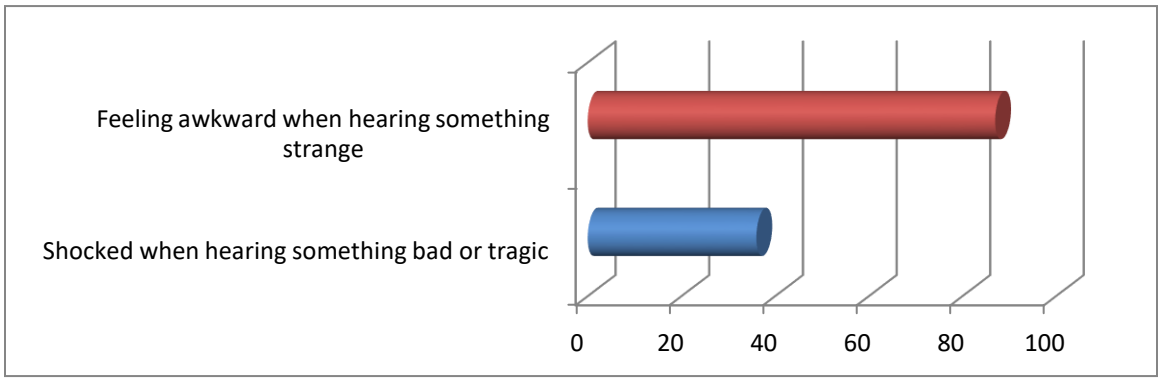


Figure 4.24. Functions of [*jaʕajji*] According to Contexts of Use.

The bar graph above shows that the pragmatic marker /*jaʕajji*/ serves two different functions. Most of our samples (87 respondents) use this item when they feel awkward about hearing something strange or unusual. Thirty six (36) of respondents reported that they use the marker when being shocked about hearing something bad or tragic such as someone‟s death or sickness.

Questions 07: How do you feel when you use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] inside Frenda?

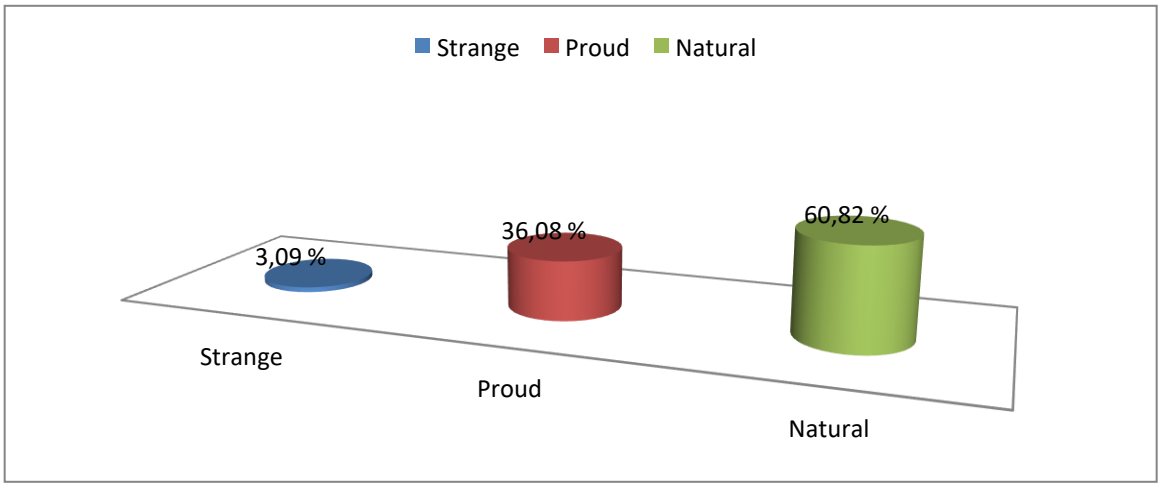


Figure 4.25. Attitudes Towards the Use of [*jaʕajji*] Inside Frenda.

The bar graph represents respondents‟ attitudes towards their use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] inside Frenda. A rate of 60% from respondents reported their natural feelings when they use the marker inside Frenda which suggests that they consider it as part of their native local dialect and tend to use in a natural way. The second group represents 36% feel proud when using the marker which they consider as part of their identity and regional origin. Remarkably, this portion represents middle age educated speakers. The third group (03%) feel strange when using the marker as they consider it bedouin and non-prestigious.

Question 08: How do you feel when you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda?

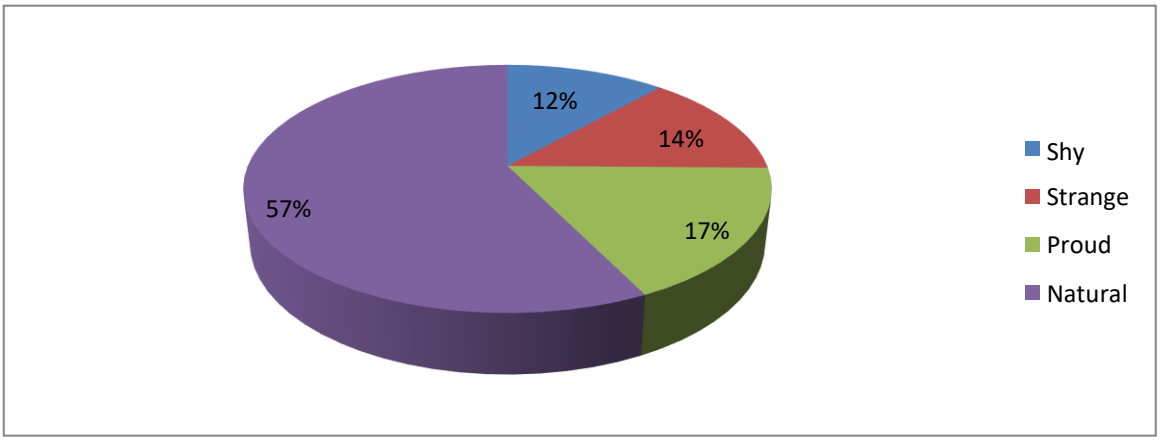


Figure 4.26. Respondents‟ Attitudes Towards their Use of [j*aʕajji*] Outside Frenda.

Results above shows that more than half of the samples selected (57%) mentioned that they feel natural when they use the marker outside the region. This result was unexpected due to the stigmatised

nature of the marker outside the speech community due to the fact that local speakers may feel natural when using the marker in suburban regions where the item is not considered as non-prestigious and stigmatised. 17% of respondents feel proud as they consider [*jaʕajji*] as a marker of their regional origin and identity whereas 12% feel shy as they avoid negative social comment upon the item. A proportion of 14% feel strange based on the negative reaction of their interlocutors upon the marker.

Question 09: Do you avoid the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda?

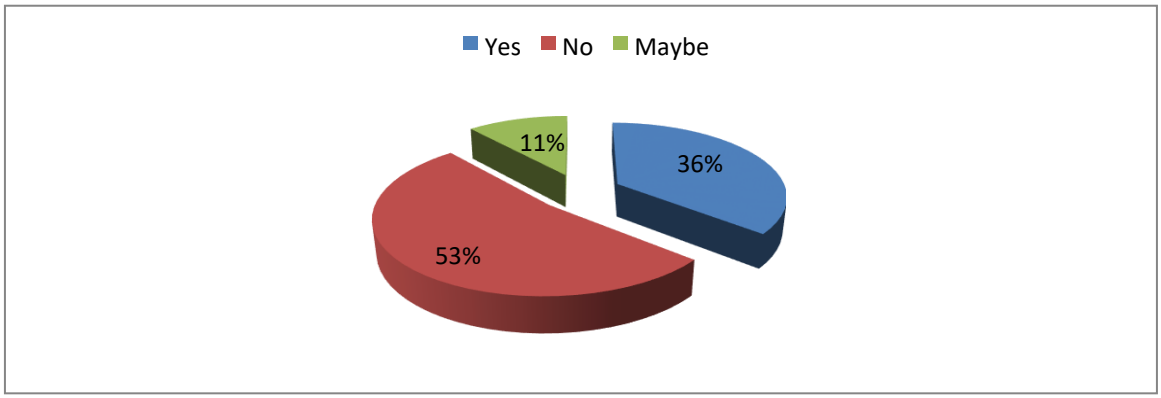


Figure 4.27. Respondents‟ Avoidance the Use for [*jaʕajji*] Outside Frenda.

The above figure shows that 53% of respondents are not inclined to avoid the use of [*jaʕajji*] which is part of their local dialect. A total of 36% of respondents stated that they tend to avoid the marker which is highly stigmatised outside the speech community of Frenda and receives negative comment particularly in face-to-face interactions whereas only 11% feel hesitant to opt for either option.

Question 10: Do you think the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] is a marker of Frenda‟s regional origin?

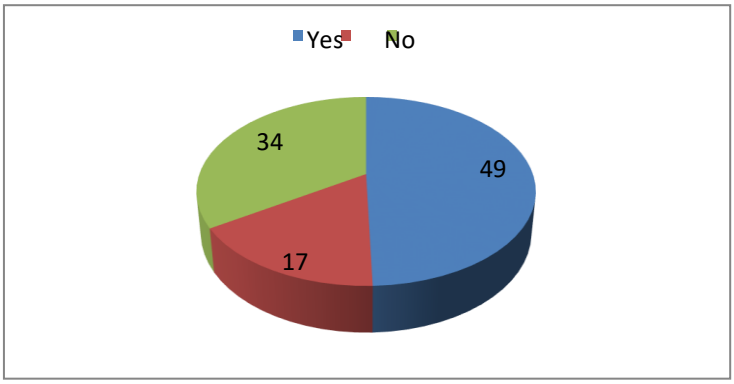


Figure 4.28. Identification of Frenda‟s Regional Origin Based on The Use of [*jaʕajji*].

The above chart introduces the respondents‟ answers on whether non-local speakers can identify Frenda speakers‟ regional origin based on their use of [*jaʕajji*]. For instance, if you ask a Tiartian speaker or speakers from suburban regions they will directly refer to this marker as a marker of Frenda‟s dialect and speakers. According to results above, 49% of population says that non-local speakers can easily recognize their regional origin once they use the marker which suggests that [*jaʕajji*] marks Frenda speakers‟ regional origin. On the other hand, 17% stated that non-local speakers cannot easily recognise them based on their use of the item as consider it as particular dialectal feature of that area. A fraction of 34% mentioned that they cannot agreeably identify that non-local speakers can identify their regional origin.

Question 11: What are non-local speakers‟ attitudes towards the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda?

Respondents were asked to report non-local speakers‟ attitudes when they hear Frenda speakers use the pragmatic marker outside their region.

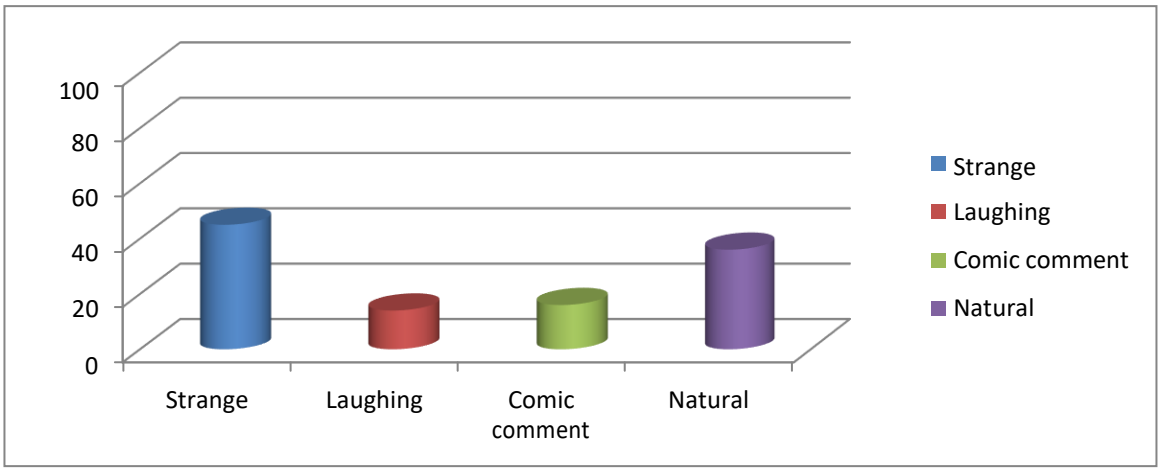


Figure 4.29. Non-local Attitudes Towards The Use of [j*aʕajji*].

According to the figure above, (45) respondents reported that non-local speakers feel strange when they use the marker as this item isn‟t part of their speech repertoire. Thirty six (36) respondents reported that non-local feel natural when Frenda speakers use [j*aʕajji*] in face-to-face interactions. Sixteen (16) respondents reported that they heard non-local speakers comment in a comical manner at them as they use the marker. They would call them as „*ʕrubiyya*‟ or „*sħab douar*‟. Other (14) individuals say that non-local speakers laugh at them due to the complex grammatical structure of the item.

Chapter Four: Results of Data Analysis

Question 12: What variants are used by Frenda speakers to replace the pragmatic marker [j*aʕajji*] ?

To identify the variants of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] respondents were asked to cite the words and expressions they use to substitute the marker in question.

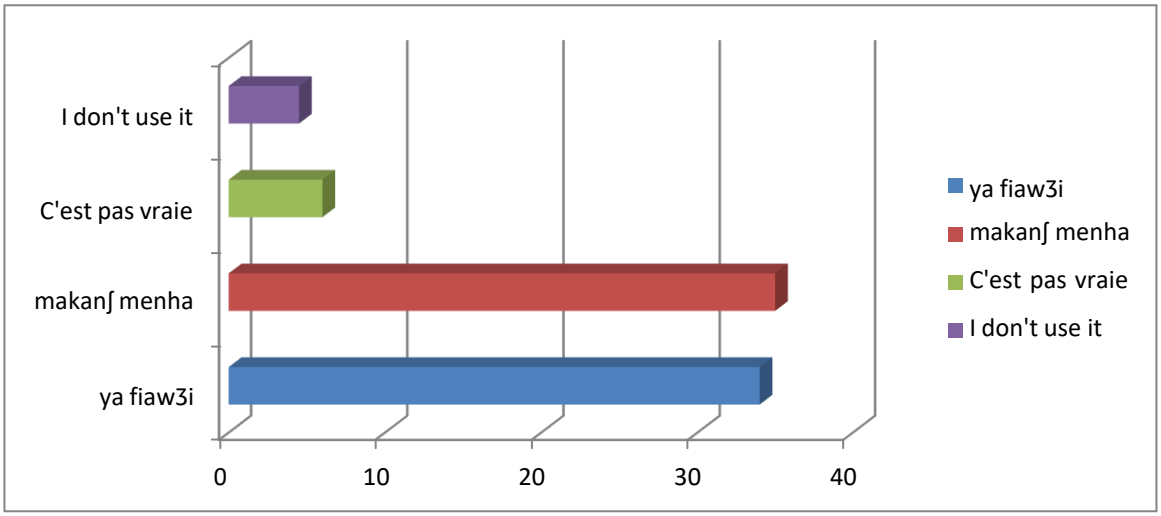


Figure 4.30. Variants Used to Substitute the Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*].

As the figure represents, (35) respondents mentioned that they substitute the marker with the variant [*makanʃ manha*]. Another group includes (34) substitute it with the Arabic expression [*ja ħawʒi*] which is extremely used by female speakers. Six respondents employ the French borrowing (*c"est pas vraie*) to sound more prestigious and identify themselves as educated. The last group (09 respondents) reported that they preserve the marker and don"t replace it with any of the variants. Thirteen (13) respondents added other variants they use to replace the marker. Six (06) respondents use (*ya!* Or *aya!*), Six (06) respondents use [*bəssaħ*], two (02) individuals use [*aw*] and other (02) speakers use the Arabic borrowing [*ja ħafiːḍ*].

Question 13: Is the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] undergoing change?

Aware of the fact that speakers are acquainted with the linguistic practices prevalent in their speech community we asked them to report whether the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] is undergoing change or not from the speech repertoire of Frenda speakers.

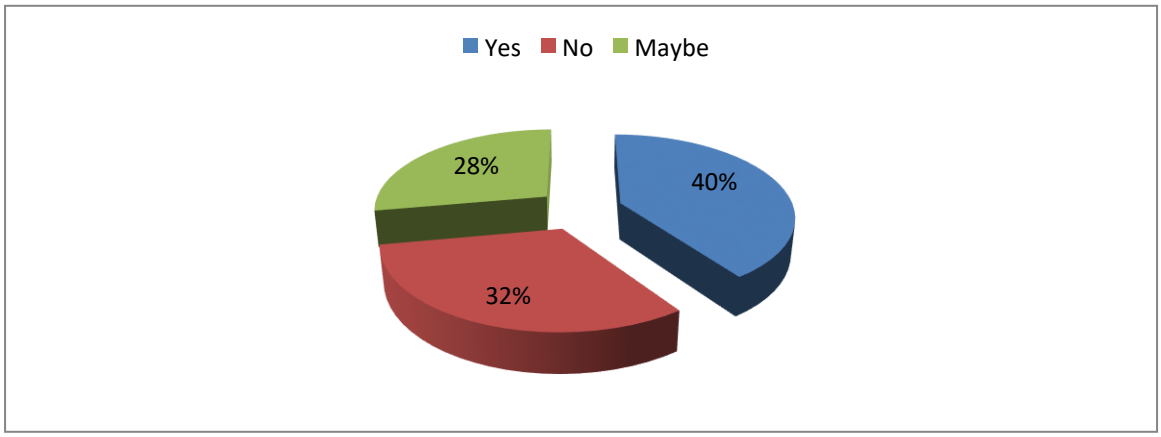


Figure 4.32. Pragmatic Marker [j*aʕajji*] is Undergoing Change.

We addressed respondents to provide their opinions on the possibility that the pragmatic marker is undergoing change or not. According to the above figure, 40% of population speculated that the pragmatic marker is undergoing change and is gradually disappearing in the speech repertoire of Frenda speakers which suggest that they are gradually losing it in their dialectal speech. The second portion of 32% respondents stated that the marker is not undergoing change as many Frenda speakers still use it and feel proud. The third portion of 28% from the total respondents demonstrates their uncertainty on whether the marker is undergoing change or not which may suggest that they don‟t use in their daily speech.

4.10 Conclusion

This third chapter was devoted to reporting the main results of analysis via reporting the phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic variable features in addition to quantitative analysis of certain salient selected variables. Additionally, we introduced the analysis of language attitudes-related data collected by means of the online questionnaire for the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] which was selected as a case study. Results showed that Frenda dialect exhibits variation at the three levels and quantitative analysis revealed that it is constrained by social factors namely age, gender and educational level. Speakers‟ individual attitudes correlated with their variable dialectal use as they show negative attitudes toward their speech community, dialect and other speakers who adapt their use.

Chapter Five

Implications of Dialect Variation and Change in Frenda Speech Community

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5.1 Introduction

Several socio-cultural, ecological and psycho-cognitive factors conglomerate to complexify the sociolinguistic image of Frenda‟s speech community and lead to variability in its spoken dialect at various levels. More importantly, the ubiquitous image of the city has long been a major motivation to us to examine the process of dialect change. Thus, the linguistic scene becomes complexified. After introducing main quantitative results for the selected variables including their occurrence and repetition in correlation with social variables, the following step is to introduce explanations and interpretations for variability and change in the spoken dialect of Frenda based on previous theoretical framework. The present fourth chapter will exhaustively provide a detailed discussion of the accumulated data in the previous chapter by building up comparisons between quantitative results and theory introduced in the literature review. First, it highpoints the interplay between urbanisation, demographic, ecological, socio-economic backgrounds and language change. Second, it reviews the significance of social variables of age, gender and education in causing dialect variation and change. Third, it highlights the interplay between individual speakers‟ attitudes and dialect change. Furthermore, it endeavours to review the already constructed hypotheses and identify the direction of change.

5.2 Social Factors Leading to Dialect Change in Frenda Dialect

The last step is to demystify the major motives responsible for dialect change in Frenda speech community by bringing together all the possible factors that directly or indirectly affect speakers‟ dialectal use. The results showed various factors that intermingle in the direction of complexifying the processes of dialect change in the dialect of Frenda.

5.2.1 Socio-Economic Change and Urbanisation in Frenda

Frenda witnessed a rapid demographic growth over the last 30 years mainly during the period of the black nineties when inhabitants from rural suburbs erupted to the city. The distribution of population in Frenda is influenced by various factors as displayed in the following table:

Table 5.1 ***Development of Number of Population According to Ecological Structure. (Source:*** دنادس الوم اطغ اد(2008 ركذاد.

Chapter Five: Implications of Dialect Variation and Change in Frenda Speech Community

Topographic unit	Number of population in1998	Proportion %	Number of population in2008	Proportion %
Mountainous area	220	0.46	420	0.78
Plateau area	1893	3.99	2258	4.17
Rocky slope	43989	92.60	49998	92.38
Low ground of Oued Taħt	1400	2.95	1448	3.68
Total	47502	100.0	54124	100

The above table summarises the interrelationship between demographic structure of Frenda and the ecological diversity in the region. The number of population differs across the four areas. The favourable area to inhabit is the rocky slope which witnessed an increasing number of inhabitants between 1998-2008 from 43989 to 4998 inhabitants. This is due to availability of favourable living conditions and jobs.

Table 5.2 ***Urbanisation in Frenda.***

Agglomeration	Number of Population					
	1966	**1977**	**1987**	**1998**	**2008**	**2012**
Principal	12478	18044	30640	43000	49339	51339
Secondary	0	0	0	785	1265	
Mixed	5237	6556	7175	3717	3520	4974
Total	17715	24600	37815	47502	54124	56263

According to statistics displayed in the above table, the demographic structure of Frenda is condensed and categorized by three demographic agglomerations namely principal, secondary and mixed. The principle agglomeration witnessed a continuous growth of population to reach 51339 inhabitants in 2012 while the mixed agglomeration which joins local and non-local inhabitants witnessed a dramatic decline from 7175 in 1987 to 4974 inhabitants in 2012.

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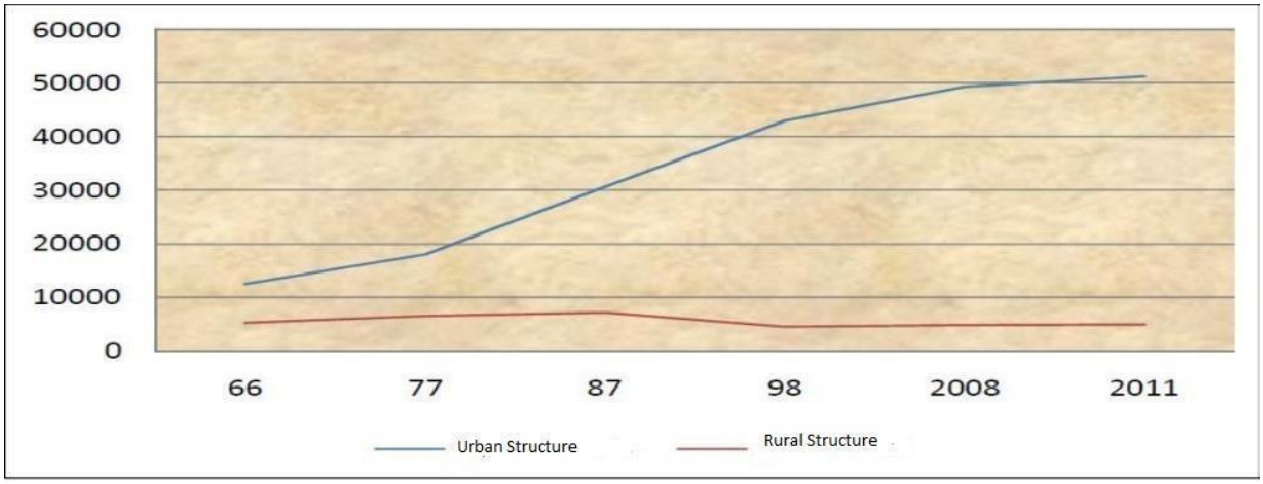
Figure 5.1 ***Demographic Structure of Urban and Rural Inhabitants in Frenda (adapted from the original source in Arabic).***



The above figure shows the urban-rural structure of demographic development in Frenda. The blue line which represents urban population increased sharply from 1966 to 2011 with 10000 to more than 50000 inhabitants. The red line represents the number of rural population which increased gradually from 1966 to 1987 to decline between 1987 and 1998 as rural inhabitants escaped terrorism to settle in urban Frenda. The line stabilised again between 1998 and 2011 which signifies social and security stability in the region. The crucial question to ask: Does long-term urbanisation lead to the development of a new urban dialect and the diffusion of variation and change at all linguistic levels? In the same idea, Miller (2007) questions the extent to which urbanisation in the long-term can lead to levelling or koinesation which on their part lead to the emergence of new dialectal constructs associated with age, gender, education and social classes. Urbanisation in Frenda resulted in various sociolinguistic outcomes that altered the linguistic landscape of the speech community. After independence, rural inhabitants who settled at the outskirts of Frenda were purely bedouin peasants who in-migrated to the region. They intermingled with the old urban residents and become local speakers. At first, these inhabitants were stigmatised by local Frenda speakers and called [*sħa:b barra*] (inhabitants of countryside) or [*ʕrubijja*] (primitive people of the countryside). The socioeconomic status during the nineties attracted peasants from neighbouring rural regions to work in SONIPEC which is a national factory that manufacture all kinds of shoes. Peasants were obliged to abandon their

fields and adopt new livings especially during the eighties due to drought. This led to the continuous increase of rural population particularly elder age groups which represented the working-hand at the factory. Other inhabitants engaged in commercial activities such as selling goods and vegetables, manufacturing wool, etc. Members of their families particularly children were easily exposed to education and started attending schools. In the recent years, the economic status in Frenda started weakening and living conditions began to be challenging particularly for middle-age group who, particularly males, suffered with unemployment. This condition pressed many Frenda speakers to in-migrate to other regions in pursuit of better life conditions. Western regions, in particular Oran and not to mention others, attracted numerous inhabitants from Frenda to relocate and settle inside the region. Pressed by short and long-term contact, several speakers began to gradually accommodate to Oran dialect and progressively started to diverge from their own local dialect. During interviews several speakers reported their intention to leave Frenda and settle in another a more urbanised Wilaya where life and work conditions are more favourable. Other speakers have claimed that they would not favour living in Frenda as the economic situation is worsening inside the region caused by unemployment.

5.3 The Socio-Cultural System of Frenda

The social system of Frenda is primarily based on genealogical relationships that link its members to form a set of social networks known as „*leʕrach*" (tribes) in which every single „*ʕarch*" represents an individual social entity. Members of a single „*ʕarch*" bear different family names but they share the same tribal origin. The following figure illustrates the common tribes settled in Frenda:

Figure 5.2 ***The Main Native Four Tribes (ʻaʕrach) of Frenda.***

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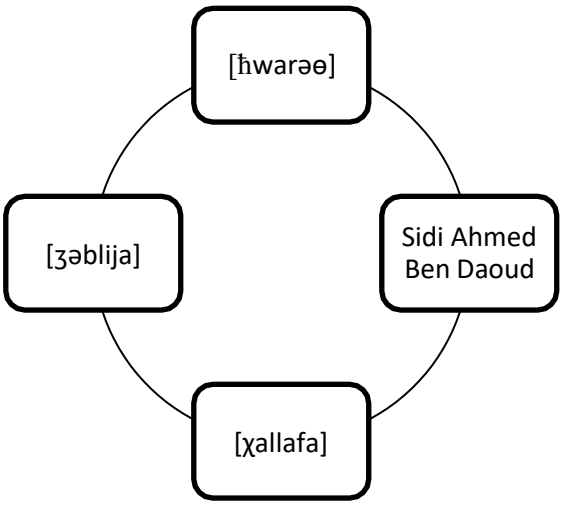

The figure above shows the main four tribes that built up the social system of Frenda. Every single ʕarch settled in a particular area and owns a private land. "Khallafa" descended from the tribe of Malik which stemmed from Banu Hilal. Their territory extends from the river of „*Lwu*" in the southern east to the region of Medghousa. The tribe inhabited Frenda during the end of the 12th century.The tribe of ħwareth descended from the tribe of [*ħarith*] which originated from Banu-Hilal and BanuSulam and immigrated to the Maghreb. jebliya (from CA/MSA item [*ʒabal*] inhabitants of mountain)are originally descendants from the suburban region of Ain Hdid and are said to inhabit the mountainas their name implies. The fourth ʕarch of Sidi Ahmed Ben Daoud represents the minority in Frenda, they arrived to the region during the 8th century.

Most of these leʕrach inhabited the adjacent rural areas of Frenda and were known by loyalty to the tribe. They claim their origin as descendants from ouali salaħ who they claim loyalt to. Marriages were allowed only between the descendants of a tribe that originates from a single genealogical tree. However, their social ties loosened due to inter-tribal marriages and long-term contact with local urban speakers of Frenda.

Linguistically speaking, each tribal group shows a number of rural distinctive dialectal features in their speech such as the use of the fricative [*dʒ*], [*q*] instead of [*ɣ*], [*mr*a*ww*a*ħ*] instead of [*r*a*jaħ*] (be going). Several of these tribes enjoyed a superior social status inside Frenda giving the fact that they claim being offsprung from pure Arabic aboriginal tribes related genealogically to the Prophet Muhammad and have been the first settlers inside the region. These tribes had constant contact with

other urban speakers outside the community and their children benefited from education and other advantages such as apartments and flourishing commerce. Later, rural-urban in-migration played a vital role in implementing dialect variation as speakers abandoned their rural dialectal features and adopted urban features. In the recent years, these blood-based relationships began to dissolve due to the consistency that characterises the social organization of the speech community. The idea of ʕarch began to disappear and speakers abandoned the old norms and started to adopt other new linguistic features. This dialectal change is due to the vanishing of tribal identity that was prevalent in Frenda for years and made the speech community linguistically heterogenous. Accordingly, both rural and urban dialectal features are still on the play as the use [*-aj*] and [*-i:*] in imperfect verbs.

5.4 Frenda as a „Dialectal Melting Pot"

Following urbanisation and the increasing in-migration from rural suburbs which interspersed with the local urban speakers of the region, Frenda becomes a melting pot as it brought together urban and rural speakers in the same speech community. The conceptualisation of the city as „ a melting pot" creating new urban identities, not related to primordial affiliation (tribe, ethnic group, etc.), has been for long a dominant thesis of urban sociology (Grafmeyer & Joseph 1979; cited in Miller, 2007, p.14). The best scenario to characterise the situation in Frenda is that the old bedouin dialect becomes non-prestigious as population is in constant state of renewal. Through several years, Frenda witnessed continuous and rapid demographic movements of in-migrants from rural suburbs to the outskirts of the region. These new comers exhibit rural features in their local dialect. They soon intermingled with urban speakers and adopt the dominant dialectal norm inside the region. Many of their rural features were preserved in the speech of Frenda particularly at lexical level.Successive generations who were born in Frenda acquired both rural and urban features, but as they become middle-aged most of them leaned toward urban forms and rejected old rural dialectal features.

Notwithstanding the interference of dialect contact among Frenda local migrant speakers and out-migrant speakers particularly to the region of Oran and local speakers with non-local speakers, accommodation is not inevitable as speakers were observed to favour dialectal features associated with sedentary speech. Reallocation stands at the preamble of accommodation between bedouin and sedentary dialects

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5.5 Frenda: a Transitional Dialectal Zone

In his magister thesis entitled „Le Dialecte Arabe des Ulad Brahim de Saida", Cantineau (1940) classifies Frenda as a transition zone which joins bedouin (D) with (B) dialects. Cantineau argues that :

> A l"ouest cette zone est bornée par la limite de la prononciation [*ǧ*] du [*ǧîm*], également caractéristique des parlers B, qui suit à peu près la frontière ouest et sud de la commune mixte de Frenda ; cette ligne est suivie d"assez près par la limite est de [*ƀƀwa*] « mon père », caractéristique des parlers D. La ligne qui marque la limite est des fromes du type [*tensi*], [*yensu*] traverse la zone, dans une direction nord-ouest sud-est (Cantineau 1940, p.229).

According to Cantineau, both subgroups are distinct in three significant linguistic traits namely [gîm] which changes to [*ž*] as in the case of [ʕgu:ž] which shifts to [ʕžu:g], the suffix of the third person singular masculine (-ah) instead of (-u) or (-o) and (D) forms [*tensu*], [*tensi*] and [*yensu*] instead of (B) forms [*tensaw*], [*tensay*], [*yensaw*]. In addition to these three main discrepancies, other linguistic traits are highly distinguished in terms of vocabulary.

Dialect contact between dialects of zones (B) and (D) led to the vanishing of this transitional line that separates Frenda and other dialects in this zone. The geographical location of Frenda, construction of routes and the constant exchange of commerce between other adjacent urban cities like Saida, Oran, Sidi Belabbes, Mascara and Tlemcen led to dialect contact as motivated by short-term and long-term contacts. Out-migration from Frenda also played a major role in shifting away from local Bedouin/rural dialectal features into sedentary/urban ones respectively. Thus, the speech repertoire of Frenda speakers demonstrate both rural/bedouin and urban/sedentary dialectal features such as /*q*/ and /*g*/, /*aj*/ and /-*i:*/.

5.6 The Salient Nature of the Linguistic Variables

Linguistic variants are not solely formal features but they significantly possess a social connotation inside the speech community where they are employed by members of the speech community. Speakers are often aware of the social implication of the linguistic features particularly salient ones which are either adopted or rejected. The results revealed that several variants are known

by their social significance inside the speech community. The pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] is a marker of Frenda‟s regional speech and its bedouin-type. Based on speakers‟ personal attitudes the marker is a sociolinguistic stereotype which is predominantly stigmatised by non-local speakers in face-to-face interactions. The marker in question is becoming a peculiar masculine feature as it is widely employed by male speakers. This same feature is undergoing a process of change in progress in younger-age female speech as this indicator has an overt social prestige inside and outside the speech community. Accordingly, it becomes a linguistic stereotype as it receives social comment mostly by non-local speakers. Local Frenda speakers avoid the use of this marker outside their speech community mostly in situations where dialect accommodation occurs. Several speakers claimed that they disguise the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] when they speak with non-Frendi speakers as they are highly stereotyped by the use of the pragmatic marker. Another salient feature avoided by Frenda speakers is the use of the [*-i:*] instead of the Bedouin feature [*-aj*] in imperfect verbs.

5.7 Dialect Change and Gender

The crucial questions to be asked is (who introduce language change, men or women? what factors lead either gender to prompt change?). Unlike western speech communities, the complex sociolinguistic situation in the Arab world and Algeria in particular resulted in distinct sociolinguistic outcomes when compared with western contexts. The social position of women in Frenda was rigid for many years due to the limited social roles they are attributed inside the community. The Frendi woman gets married at an early age and is expected to stay at home to take care of children. The conservative nature of several frendi families obligated women to quit school and get married at a younger age. During years, this picture changed as women rebelled against these norms and began to gain social power in competition with men. They graduate in all levels of education to go to university to find a job. Linguistically speaking, women drop the Bedouin rural dialectal features associated with their parents and adopt more urban, standard froms. This shift is strengthened in inter-dialectal situations where high frequency of dialect accommodation is noticed. Results showed that both male speakers lead variation and change in Frenda in the direction of urban and sedentary features. Some features in sedentary and urban dialects are highly related to feminity and thus intentionally avoided particularly by male speakers. Contrary to the previous hypotheses, female Frendi speakers were observed to preserve some of their local bedouin and rural forms. This dialectal shift can be depicted as a linguistic

rebellion against bedouin norms which they acquired during childhood. Labov reports that "the basic finding can be formulated in two complementary ways: men use more nonstandard forms, less influenced by the social stigma directed against them; or, conversely, women use more standard forms, responding to the overt prestige associated with them" (1990, p.210).

5.8 Age-based Dialect Change

Western apparent-time studies achieved significant results in the examination of age-based language variation and change as it revealed discrepancies between the speech of younger-age and older-age speakers. Studies (e.g. Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974) conducted in western speech communities revealed that younger-age speakers lead variation and change toward standard urban forms and are viewed as linguistically innovators. On the other hand, older-age speakers have been observed to preserve conservative forms which demonstrate their regional belonging and local identity. Analysis shows that variation is initiated by two age groups namely middle-age and younger-age speakers. The former age group rejects old bedouin local dialectal norms maintained by their parents, particularly aged ones, and adopt new features while the middle-age group have been in a constant state of influence from the young generation. This same group has been in a state of pressure from the younger-age generation and have been obliged to cope with the norms of the young generation in their style of clothing, behaving and speaking. Older-age speakers have been observed to preserve the old rural/bedouin traits in their speech and are prone to the pressure made by other age-groups.

5.9 Education-Based Variation and Change

Universally speaking, educated speakers are inclined to exhibit standard forms in their speech whereas non-educated individuals lean toward non-prestigious vernacular forms and reversly. The above scenarios suggest that "the language change is not uni-directionally from dialects toward MSA but also from the sub-standard colloquial variations to urban/regional standard. In the case of dialectal contact, speakers that had features close to MSA might drop them and acquire non MSA standard urban/regional features in some context" (Miller, 2004, p.3). The fluidity of the variable of education is explained by Al-Wer (2002) as it intermingles with other corresponding variables such as individual"s relationships within their community and with non-local speakers outside the locality. Various Frenda speakers have carried out their university studies outside the region in Oran, Algiers, Mascara, Sidi

Belabbes. Long-term contact made many Frenda educated speakers drop certain of the local features, particularly stigmatised ones, and adopt local forms of the receiving locality. After they finish their studies, they prefer to be recruited in their hometowns where they build up their future social and professional relationships. After they settle again in their hometown, they find themselves pressed by the local dominant speech but they preserve dialectal features adopted outside Frenda. This could be easily observed in their use of rural-urban forms.

5.10 Language Attitudes

Speakers tend to adapt their dialectal speech on the basis of their attitudes towards constructed on specific linguistic features used within the variety of others. These features are either publicly stereotyped or stigmatized and thus receive negative comments. For instance, Dendane (2007) observes that male Tlemcan speakers have negative attitudes toward the glottal stop /ʔ/ which they consider as a stereotype and a feminine feature. Thus, they tend to use /g/ instead. In some parts of Tiaret and particularly rural suburban regions to Frenda, speakers who use the feature /q/ instead /ʁ/ are stereotyped as (*ʕrubiyya"*) or (*„gbela"*) (residents of countryside or mountains). If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect, […….] the accommodation may in time be permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable (Trudgill, 1986, p.39). For example, if a speaker holds negative attitudes toward certain features, he/she may be observed changing his individual speech and accommodating to a more standard variety or he/she tends to accommodate to the target variety if he/she holds positive attitudes toward it. Additionally, language as a semiotic system which is composed of a set of linguistic signs is what defines an individual‟s own identity. It is what makes us who we are based on how we consider ourselves and how others expect us to be. People seemed to feel that by altering his accent the speaker was misleading his listeners about his „true‟ identity (Holmes, 2013, p.249). Considering language attitudes required us to ponder the interloping relationship among three interrelated parameters namely dialect contact, accommodation and dialect change. Many Frenda speakers were observed to engage in both short-term and long-term contact with Oranee speakers. In this respect, Trudgill (1986) argues that accommodation may not only occur between regionally-distinct yet socially-distinct accent but also between speakers who speak regionally-dissimilar varieties. What is central about long-term contact between two regionally different dialects which involve in long-term contact is the question of how speakers accommodate,

direction of accommodation, and types of accommodation involved. Attitudes are a key component in the attempt of examining dialect variation and change. They provide a macro understanding of reasons that lead why speakers tend to show a particular linguistic behaviour. The results showed a tight correlation between Frenda speakers‟ individual attitudes and judgmental reactions based on their dialectal use. We examined the following:

- ✓ Attitudes towards living in the region of Frenda.
- ✓ Attitudes towards their own dialectal use and dialect change in Frenda.

According to results of the first part collected from the self-filling questionnaire, Frenda speakers demonstrate the following attitudes:

-Frenda speakers are highly inclined to leave their local place and settle in a more urbanised region for better living and work conditions as they do not show a strong feeling of belonging toward Frenda.

-The majority of Frenda reveal their willingness to change their dialectal speech as they don‟t want to be recognised as locals. For reasons best known to them, speakers often desire not to sound too local in their speech. Taken collectively, whole groups in society often prefer to be too easily recognised as from a specific locality (Hickey, 2003, p.351; in Kherbache, 2017, p.276).

-Frenda local speakers are aware that Frenda‟s dialectal speech is stereotyped particularly outside the region for instance in Tiaret, Oran, Mascara. Thus, they intentionally diverge from their local dialect and accommodate to others dialectal speeches favourable to them.

-Several Frenda speakers reported that many Frenda speakers intentionally change their speech inside and outside the region as they demonstrate negative attitudes towards the dialect of region. Some speakers declared that they find it bizarre to hear Frenda speakers changes his speech specially if they he/she adopts the speech of Oran.

The stereotypical nature of Frenda‟s dialect based on speakers‟ attitudinal judgments generated a set of ideological implications based on the structure of the dialect itself, its speakers and their dialectal use. In this context, Britain and Cheshire (2003) hold that “local ideologies are manifested in a number of other ways, most obviously as reactions and attitudes to the linguistic varieties or forms imagined as characteristic of socially salient groups” (p.162).

Chapter Five: Implications of Dialect Variation and Change in Frenda Speech Community

5.10.1 The Pragmatic Marker [*jaʕajji*] as a Sociolinguistic Stereotype

Examination of speakers‟ attitudinal reactions toward the use of this item showed that a marker when has an overt prestige inside the speech community is open to social comment due to its stigmatised nature in the speech of individuals. Several speakers reported that they are gradually giving up the use of this marker particularly when they are interacting with other non-local speakers outside Frenda. This behaviour, motivated by accommodation, can be interpreted by the fact that speakers intend to converge from the use of this local bedouin item as it is stereotyped by outer speakers. Frenda several local speakers, particularly old-age speakers, still preserve the use of this marker which they label as a one which marks their local and regional identity.

5.11 The Interplay between Identity, Culture and Dialect Change

A dialect is the mirror which carries speakers‟ individual identity on the basis of its social connotation among speakers of the speech community. It defines who we are. Joseph (2004) maintains that identity determines who we are, how we speak and what to speak. In the same vein, Edwards (2009) states that:

> A language or dialect, though it may be lacking in general social prestige, may nevertheless function as a powerful bounding agent, providing a sense of identity. Indeed, it is a social and linguistic fact that *any* variety can be the voice of group identity, a central element in the revitalised „consciousness‟ of nonstandard-dialect speakers. (Edwards, 2009, p.96)

Speaking about identity required mentioning the concept of culture which is found to be an overriding factor in the process of dialect change. A culture is what defines a speaker. Cultural identity marks speakers‟ belonging towards a particular social group. In Frenda, only older-age speakers seem to be strongly attached to their rural/bedouin culture whereas young-age and middle-age speakers wish to adopt other urban/sedentary cultures. Several speakers reported that they want to adopt another manner of speech which is more accepted particularly outside the speech community by non-local speakers. Identity-based dialect change has been clearly noticed in the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*]. Frenda speakers avoid the use of this marker outside their speech community and use other

variants that are socially-accepted by the majority of speakers. Speakers who avoid the use of this marker outside Frenda are incline to disguise their regional origin and adopt a new identity different from their local bedouin one. Speakers who use the marker argue that it reflects their bedouin identity and pride in their regional origin. Though attached with their local identity, younger-age speakers tend to avoid using the marker in question when they move to other regions to avoid being stereotyped and mocked.

5.12 Accommodation as a Motive for Dialect Variation and Change

If one asks a speaker from Frenda about the region he favours and desires to live in or the dialect he wishes to accommodate to, he/she will probably mention the Wilaya of Oran. Various Families in Frenda have several relatives in Oran. Frenda students prefer to study in Oran after they succeed in the baccalaureate exam. Results from the administered questionnaire showed that many Frenda speakers show an increasing tendency to leave Frenda and settle in Oran which they regard as a favourable place for living, working and one which provides more chances for a better life. Frendi speakers, particularly university students at Oran, Sidi Belabbes, Mostaganem and Tlemcen, converge and accommodate to the target dialect. Once they finish their studies and return to their home town, they find it difficult to reintegrate with the local speakers and maintain their adopted speech. The paramount reason behind local speakers‟ accommodation towards other more non-local features is their wish to diverge from their local dialect as it contains bedouin and regionally-stereotyped features that result in negative comment from non-Frendi speakers. In accommodative face-to-face situations, several Frenda speakers, particularly middle-aged speakers are highly observed to avoid the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] and other phonological features such as interdentals /đ/, /ɵ/ /ð̠/ and accommodate towards stops /*d*/, /*d*/ and /*t*/ respectively. This view is confirmed by Trudgill (1986) as states that “during accommodation to speakers who are members of the same immediate speech community, speakers modify their pronunciation of linguistic variables that are markers within the community” (p.12). The main reason that leads Frenda speakers to change their speech mostly female educated middle-aged groups is the wish to gain approval and search for identification and integration with other non-local speakers. Most of them initiate accommodation to the target dialect based on their favourable judgmental and personal attitudes towards the linguistic features in question.

Chapter Five: Implications of Dialect Variation and Change in Frenda Speech Community

5.13 The Impact of Ecology on Dialect Use

The environment impacts the way people live, dress and eat. More importantly, it impacts the way they use language. Language as a living organism is the result of speakers‟ accommodating to the environment they live in. The ecology of language adopts a functional perspective in the sense that speakers are motivated by the communicative uses which they apply in the appropriate environments. To put it differently, languages are not autonomous entities but dynamic which are directly influenced by the physical environment and culture they occur in. Dialects as linguistic systems are exposed to the pressure of environment as speakers adapt their speech according to the environment they exist in and the culture they posess. Ecological change in Frenda played an influential role in shaping how speakers use their dialect. The shift from a purely rural region into a more urbanised one contributed in the loss of rural features that are regarded as conservative and bedouinised and the diffusion of other more urbanised forms.

5.14 Evidence of Change in Progress and Completed Change

Studies conducted under the umbrella of an apparent-time observation aims to highlight the key linguistic discrepancies recorded across age groups particularly younger-age and older-age groups at a specific point in time. Results from this kind of studies would provide us with an in-depth understanding of diffusion of innovative features and the regression of conservative structures. The selection of an apparent-time hypothesis in this study is driven by our interest to synchronically interpret the mechanism of change at a certain point in time. This “synchronic approach” to the study of sound change has proved to be an excellent strategy for attacking three of the fundamental problems of language change-the transition, embedding, and evaluation problems-and thus has provided crucial insights into the actual mechanism of change (Bailey, Wikle, Tillery and Sand, 1992, p.242).

Speakers may intentionally give up using certain features in their dialect and adopt other features which they favour based on their social affiliation inside the speech community. Features with a high frequency of use are predictably irresistant to dialect change while those with a low frequency of use are in a state of complete change and absent in the speech of that community except for occasional situations.

Chapter Five: Implications of Dialect Variation and Change in Frenda Speech Community

5.15 Conclusion

In this last chapter, processes of variation and change in the spoken dialect of Frenda are of a complex nature and are the outcome of various socio-histotrical factors. The socio-historical background of the speech community and the socio-demographic and ecological structure which remarkably altered during the recent 30 years had resulted in dialectal variability and change at phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Language attitudes, at the heart of this study, stimulate variation and change toward other non-local, urban and socially-accepted features away from old, local, bedouin and rural stigmatised forms. Analysis revealed that speakers change their dialectal speech based on the attitudes they hold toward their place of residency as they wish to leave it. Socio-demographic and ecological development in Frenda has contributed in implementing dialect change as urbanisation modified the image of the city from tribal into urban and homogeneous speech community. Through years, these tribal relationships which are genealogically-based melted due to intermarriages and contact between local and non-local inhabitants. Subsequently, a new social layer has been introduced in Frenda which joins both rural and urban speakers. The weakening socio-economic situation in the recent years of the region forced several Frenda speakers to in-migrate to other regions particularly Oran to search for better life conditions. Driven by short and long-term, Frenda speakers diverge from stigmatised and rural/bedouin-type dialectal features and accommodate to urban/sedentary-type and socially-accepted forms.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The present dialectal investigation fell under a variationist paradigm which tried to quantitatively correlate speakers‟ dialectal use with social variables. It attempted to provide a thorough examination of the processes of dialect variation and change in the speech community of Frenda, an urban region situated in the west of Algeria. We tried to divulge whether Frenda‟s dialect exhibited variation in correlation with social variables of age, gender and education. Also, we explored the possibility of whether speakers‟ personal attitudes towards their place of residency and linguistic use led to dialect variation and change. We hypothesised that Frenda‟s dialect shows on-going variation at phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic levels. In addition, Frenda speakers showed negative attitudes towards their speech community and thus changed their dialectal speech. Data were collected by means of triangulation using sociolinguistic observation carried out anonymously, sociolinguistic interviews supported by the narratives technique to allow more comfort on the part of the samples and extract natural speech and finally the administered and online questionnaires. Speakers were selected using a variety of sampling techniques including random and stratified sampling of speakers who were native inhabitants, born and raised in the region of Frenda. This thesis comprised of five chapters. The introductory chapter summarises the literature review related to the study by highlighting the main concepts related to language variation and change. The second chapter sketches out the efforts made by Arab scholars to the study of dialect variation and the proposed classifications of Arabic dialects. The third chapter describes the context where the investigation is conducted. It presents the methodological framework of data collection and analysis. The fourth chapter is practical and is devoted to the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the sociolinguistic observation, interviews and questionnaire. The fifth chapter recapitulates the main findings through comparison of theory with practice, interpretation and presentation of the main outcomes of this variationist study.

The sociolinguistic situation in Frenda is complex given the fact that various factors were remarkably noticed to affect the nature and direction of dialect variation and change. The study was carried out in an urban region which is regarded by Cantineau (1940) as a transitional zone that connects two bedouin dialectal zones (B) and (D). Understanding the mechanism of change calls for considering social, historical, demographic and ecological background of the speech community in question. The social structure is principally based on the concept of tribal genealogical relationships known as „*leʕrach*‟. These groups inhabited the rural suburbs of Frenda in dispersed groups and later

in-migrated and urbanised it. They descended from Banu Hilal in and use rural dialects. Through years, the concept of (*ʕruchiya*) began to gradually disappear inside the community and intermarriages have been occurring among these groups. The social structure of Frenda altered from rural into urban.

During the French colonisation, Frenda was labelled as a mixed commune (Commune Mixte) and was inhabited by indigenous speakers whom speak a mixture of Arabic and French. The black nineties marked the migration of rural inhabitants who flew terroristic groups to search for security. This movement contributed in the diffusion of some rural features to the urban speech of Frenda. The new settlers intermingled with local residents and adopted their urban dialect. In the meantime, they lost many of their rural dialectal features.

On the hand, urbanisation of Frenda played a vital role in altering the socio-demographic image in the recent years. On the one hand, In-migration of rural speakers during the nineties and twenties contributed in the bedouinisation of the region as rural speakers from suburban regions relocated in Frenda to search for security and better living conditions. Urbanisation has been executed in three different stages. The first stage witnessed in-migration of rural inhabitants to the suburbs of Frenda from rural places particularly from Medroussa to the outskirts of the region. The second stage marked the settlement of these rural tribal groups inside the community and intermixed with local urban individuals to search socio-economic stability and flee terror caused by terroristic groups. The third stage had been characterised by out-migration of local inhabitants to other more urbanised regions particularly Oran for purely socio-economic factors. Out-migration of local inhabitants into other more urbanised regions, to mention Oran in particular, resulted in dialect contact as speakers accommodate to Oran spoken dialect based on their favourable attitudes towards the target dialect. Younger-age educated female speakers are observed to converge to the dialect of the (other) as they wish to be socially aligned with other speakers. Contrary to western studies that show female speakers to be innovative, quantitative analysis of the selected variables revealed that change is primarily triggered by male younger-age and middle-age speakers. Female speakers lead variation not only toward standard but also non-standard forms. It has been showed that middle-age educated female speakers lead change regarding their social position inside the speech community where they were no longer viewed as care-givers but gradually mounted the social ladder to more advanced positions.

Results also revealed that the variable of education is not significantly pertinent in this study as educated speakers favour both urban and rural forms in their dialectal speech. This change is primarily driven by judgmental attitudes towards salient and stigmatised dialectal features that mark Frenda‟s regional dialect. In this respect, both male and female speakers exhibit a high tendency to shift their speech and accommodate to other non-local dialects as they avoid the use of rural forms and adopt urban ones. It has been shown that older-age speakers preserve their old rural forms which represent the linguistic norm and mark their old local identity. This result suggests that old speakers are not pressed by the linguistic norms of younger-age norms.

Processes of variation and change are triggered by social factors as quantitative analysis showed clear-cut correlations between linguistic choice and social parameters namely age and gender except for the variable of education as educated speakers have been observed to exhibit the use of both urban and rural dialectal features in their speech. Examination of the selected variables revealed that Frenda speakers are aware of linguistic markers which identify their bedouin and regional origin. Having said that, speakers avoid features which are socially-stigmatised and adopt other urban forms which later change into linguistic stereotypes particularly outside their speech community. Thus, socially-stigmatised forms are highly avoided by Frenda speakers in accommodative situations. Analysis of language attitudes showed a tight correlation between dialect change and speakers‟ individual attitudes which they demonstrated toward features in their dialect and those of other dialects which they wish to adopt. Results showed that speakers are aware that Frenda‟s spoken Arabic is undergoing change and they are inclined to change their dialect.

Regarding the stigmatised nature of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*], analysis of this form was conducted via an online self-filling questionnaire to overcome the problem of occurrences and the difficulty of extracting valid data in casual speech. Results indicated that the pragmatic is undergoing variation as Frenda speakers are gradually losing it in favour of other forms. They even labelled this feature as rural which express their negative attitudes toward the marker. The marker becomes a sociolinguistic stereotype and is being avoided in face-to-face interactions outside the speech community.

Accommodation has been noticeably observed in the present study stimulated by dialect contact between local Frenda speakers and Oranee speakers. Educated young and middle-age male and female

speakers showed a high tendency of accommodation toward features employed in Oran spoken dialect which are favourable and socially-accepted. Dialect convergence occurs as speakers wish to align with other interlocutors whom they want to accommodate to. Identity has been an intervening factor that leads Frenda speakers to change their speech. On the one hand, speakers who adopt non-local features and diverge from local ones wish to adopt another identity and switch away from their local identity. On the other hand, speakers who preserve their local urban or rural dialectal features wish to preserve their rural identity and demonstrate their sense of belonging toward the region of Frenda. This study shall open gates in front of future researchers to

Research Difficulties

Any academic work is not totally void of shortcomings and difficulties that the researcher would encounter during fieldwork. The period of the COVID-19 pandemic was a real challenge to us as we couldn‟t conduct face-to-face interviews especially inside public institutions as several speakers refused to collaborate. For this, we relied on speakers that we personally know to collaborate. Finding samples was also a major hindrance to the fieldworker. Using the snowball technique, we decided to recruit some samples to invite other samples they personally know to collaborate. The conservative nature of the speech community in question hindered us from conducting face-to-face interviews with female speakers and we relied on telephone interviews. During the interviewing process, we encountered the "observor‟s paradox" as several speakers started to monitor their speech since they suspected the entire process and demonstrated style shifting towards standard Arabic. We urgently recommended them to speak naturally using their dialectal speech.

Recommendations and Insights for Further Studies

In the course of sketching out the quantitative and qualitative results of this investigation, a number of intervening factors were detected that calls for future consideration and reflection to better understand the mechanism of dialect variation and change in Frenda. The abundance of variable data in the dialect in question entails turning the wheel of analysis towards examination of other variables. Rates of out-migration have increased during the recent years as individuals travel across the neighbouring regions particularly Oran. Inter-dialectal contact is an inevitable as the Frenda speech community is in the prelude of contact with other suburban regions. Processes of short/long-term accommodation have given birth to significant dialectal differences and this requires a thorough

analysis of change in the lens of dialect-contact. Meanwhile, dialect contact steered dialect levelling as moving populations are still at flux outside the region as Frenda speakers find themselves in face to face with speakers of other speakers of other varieties. Examination of dialect levelling will serve to understand the phenomenon of dialect change in the speech community.

The social hierarchy of Frenda is of a paramount importance, primarily based on family ties and suggests turning the attention to studying social networks introduced by family as the kernel of this change and communities of practice. Ecological development in Frenda and the sociocultural shift and dissolution of tribal connections into a homogeneous social system that joins all social groups in the same speech community regardless of their regional and communal origins. This complex situation calls for future ecolinguistic analysis by highlighting the interplay between ecology and language change. After several years, studies under the real-time hypothesis can be undertaken to compare current study with other future synchronic studies to see whether the selected speakers will resist change or not. The socio-demographic structure of Frenda is composed of a minority of Berber speakers which, in the long term, amalgamated with local speakers and resulted in dialect contact. This contact has been observed in one direction as Berbers adopted and speak the local dialect but are till loyal to their ethnic variety which they use in inter-familial contexts. Examination of ethnic-based variation in Frenda will certainly deliver significant results. The form [*jaʕajji*] is a discourse marker may inspire future researchers to scrutinise the so-called marker under the frame of interactional sociolinguistics which could reveal other significant results based on intercommunication inside the speech community. Frenda is a sub-wilaya and integrates other regions such as Medrissa, Ain Kermes and Sidi Abderrahmane. These regions demonstrate different dialectal uses if compared with it and are invulnerable to variation and change. These locations represent raw materials for dialectological and sociolinguistic researches.

Appendices

Appendix A
Unstructured Interview

Part 1

*what is your name?
*When and where were you born?
*What do you do?
*Are your parents originally from Frenda?
*If not, from which region are their origins?
*When did your parents settle in Frenda?
*What do you feel of being a native resident of Frenda?
*Do you think that the socioeconomic conditions are favorable in Frenda to start a life here?
*Had you had the chance to change your place of residency to other regions?
*Why?
*How is life in your region in comparison with the past?
*Could you tell about your regions' traditions and customs?
*Is it true that Frendi speakers imitate Oran's dialect?
*based on your way of speaking, is it true that you are mocked as ʕrubiyaʔ

Part 2

Can you tell me about your favorite sport/habit?
Do you have a favorite football team in your town?
How do you consider their outcome this year?
In addition to your favorable football local team, do you prefer a foreign football team

Appendix B

Reallocation Process

*When you find are looking for something you lost or you are looking for and suddenly you see it, what do you usually say?

*Which one is far from Frenda, Tamanrasset or Mascara? What about Mascara?

Morphological Variables

*If it is 10:00 now, how many hours are left for 12:00?

*If we are on Monday today, how many days are left for Thursday?

Metathesis

*What do you see in picture **01**?

*What do you see in picture **02**?

Appendix C

Sociolinguistic administered questionnaire

Attitudes towards Frenda **االحساس اتجاه فريدة**

-For how long have you been living in Frenda? **هل هنى تعيش في فريدة؟**

Less than 5 years ☐ **اقل هي 5 سنوات** more than 5 years ☐ **اكثره ي 5 سنوات**

-What is your parents' regional origin? **هي اي منطقة يحدر والديك؟**

Born inside Frenda ☐ **داخل فريدة** Born outside Frenda ☐ **خارج فريدة**

-Do you feel belonging to Frenda? **هل تحس باالنتماء اتجاه فريدة؟**

Yes ☐ **ال** No ☐ **عن**

-Why do you feel belonging to Frenda? **لماذا تحس باالنتماء اتجاه فريدة؟**

Customs and traditions ☐ **العادات و التقاليد** Family ☐ **العائلة** Friends ☐ **االصدقاء**

Other reasons **اسباب اخرى**

-Do you intend or plan to leave Frenda in the future? **هل تفكر في مغادرة فريدة في المستقبل ؟**

Yes ☐ **نعم** No ☐ **ال** Undecided ☐ **لم اقرر**

-Why do you intend or plan to leave Frenda? **لماذا تفكر في مغادرة فريدة ؟**

Unemployment ☐ **البطالة** harsh weather conditions ☐ **المناخ صعب** insecurity **عدم وجود االمن** ☐

Other reasons **اسباب اخرى**

Attitudes Towards Frenda's Dialect and Frenda Speakers **االحساس اتجاه لهجة فريدة و المتكلمين**

-What do you think of Frenda's speech? ما هو رأيك بلهجة فريدة؟

……

……

-How do you consider your own speech? كُِف دسي لِجدك؟

Bedouin ☐ ةدوُح Sedentary ☐ حضسّح

-Have you tried to change your speech? ِل جسةد اٌ دئُّس لِجدك؟

Yes ☐ ٌعو No ☐ ال

-If Yes/No, Why**?** ؟ ارا ُعو او ال لوارا ؟

……

…………………………………………………………………………………………

-What particular things about it? ؟ وا اليىُّص نُّها ؟

……

……………………………………………………………………………

-Have you travelled outside Frenda? If yes, did people pick you up from your speech as Frendi? عّدوا دئادس خاسج نسَّذح ِل ُعسفك الّٰاط وٌ لِجدك؟

Yes ☐ ُّكِ No ☐ ال

-Do you see that our speech is different from that of your parents and friends**?**

ِل دسي اٌ لِجح والدُِّك وخدلذح عٌ لِجدك؟

A lot ☐ كُسِّا A little ☐ ملّال No difference ☐ ال ُوجد اخدالف

-How do you consider your parents" speech? كُِف دعِّس لِجح والدُِّك؟

Bedouin ☐ ةدوُح Sedentary ☐ حضسّح

-Do non-local people usually stereotype your speech? ِل ُكوٌ الّٰاط خاسج نسَّذح نكسح ُيظُّح عٌ لِجدك؟

Yes ُّكِ No ال

-Is Frenda"s ☐ h stereotyped by other ☐ ocal people? ِل ُكوٌ الّٰاط ئُّس الوحلُِّّ نكسح ُيظُّح عٌ لِجح نسَّذح؟

Yes ☐ ُّكِ No ☐ ال

-If yes, what common stereotypes you heard before? ارا ُعو وا ِّ االنكاس الُّيظُّح الدٌ طوعدِّا وٌ مقل حول لِجح نسَّذح؟

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

استبيان شخصي

ع بين يديكم هذا الاستبيان الشخصي لغرض جمع معلومات حول الاستعمال اللهجي بمدينة فرندة.إجابتكم ستتم معالجتها بطريقة سرية من اجل ث الاكاديمي و المساهمة في تطوير المعرفة حول الاستعمال اللغوي. ستأخذ الاجابة دقائق قليلة فقط من وقتكم. ارجوك كن حرا في الاجابة على ع الاسئلة.

حظة: الرجاء وضع علامة (x) في الخانة المناسبة.

لومات شخصية

مكان الميلاد	المستوى التعليمي		الجنس		السن	
	غير متعلم	متعلم	انثى	ذكر	5-12	
.....					13-20	
					21-30	
					31-40	
					41-50	
					51-60	
					60+	

ور الاول: المسئلة حول لهجة فرندة

ل ولدت في فرندة؟

لا

ذكر مكان ولادتك.....

ذ متى تعيش في فرندة؟

من 5 سنوات اكثر من 5 سنوات

ل ولد والداك في فرندة؟

لا

ا أجبت ب(لا) اذكر مكان ولادتهما.....

ل تحس بالانتماء الى فرندة؟

لا

ا الذي يجعلك تحس بالانتماء؟

دين الاصدقاء العادات و التقاليد

اسباب اخرى.....

ل تفكر في مغادرة فرندة؟

لا لم اقرر

اذا؟

الة المناخ قاس غياب الأمن

اسباب اخرى.....

ع الثاني: الاحساس اتجاه لهجة الشخص

-كيف تعتبر طريقة كلامك؟

بدوية ◯ حضرية ◯ مزيج بينهما ◯

-هل جربت ان تغير طريقة كلامك؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-اذا اجبت ب(نعم) لماذا؟

.....

.....

-عندما تسافر خارج فرندة, هل يعرف الاخرون اصلك من لهجتك؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-هل تعتقد ان طريقة كلامك مختلفة عن تلك لوالداك؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-في اي ناحية هي مختلفة؟

الاصوات ◯ الكلمات ◯

-كيف تعتبر لهجة والداك؟

بدوية ◯ حضرية ◯ مزيج بينهما ◯

-هل سبق و سمعت شخصا من فرندة يغير طريقة كلامه؟

نعم كثيرا ◯ لا ابدا ◯

-كيف كانت ردة فعلك؟

عادية ◯ متضايقة ◯ مضحكة ◯

-هل طريقة كلامك مجلبة لسخرية الاخرين؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-هل لهجة فرندة مجلبة لسخرية الاخرين؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-ما هي عبارات السخرية التي سمعتها من قبل؟

.....

.....

-هل تتعمد عدم استعمال لهجتك خارج فرندة؟

نعم ◯ لا ◯

-لماذا؟

.....

.....

شكرا لمشاركتكم

Appendix D

Language attitudes

Gender الجّس : Male ركش ☐ Female ًٔي ☐ **Age العور** ……………

Level of education المسٌوى الذراسي : Primary ☐ الاةزائٍ Middle الودوطط ☐
Secondary ☐ الأٍوّ University ☐ جبيٍ

-Do you the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*]? ؟ٍّ ؟ًٍّٔع ًٔع عةاسح دطدعول لِ
Yes ☐ ٍّع و No ☐ ال Maybe ☐ سقوا

-Do your parents use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ?؟ٍّٔ ًٔع عةاسح والداك ًطدعول لِ
Yes ☐ ٍّع و No ☐ ال Maybe ☐ سقوا

ال -How do you feel towards the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ? ؟ٍّٔ ًٔع عةاسح الطدعوالك ًال حس دگع ًٍف كٍ
Bedouin ☐ ةٌو ًح Sedentary ☐ حضسٌح I don"t know ☐ اعسف

- Do you know the origin of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ? ؟ٍّٔ ًٔع عةاسح أصل ف دعس

لِ yes ☐ ًكى no ☐ ال

-How often do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ? ؟ٍّٔ ًٔع عةاسح دطدعول كى

ًاذ always ☐ داٌئوا sometimes ☐ اًٌا often ☐ اًٌى Rarely ☐ اًدسا never ☐

- With whom do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ? **هع هي تسٌعمل عبارة ٍعٍي؟**

☐ friends اصذقاء ☐ colleagues هوالء ☐ co-workers هوالء عول strangers ☐ سقاء

- In what situations do you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] ? ؟ٍّٔ ًٔع عةاسح دطدعول اد ًٍعضو أ ًٍ

ًكٌوا Shocked when hearing something bad or tragic happened ☐ ٍّٔ حسة خةس طواع وًٍ كٌ ًذٍ ي

Feeling awkward when hearing something strange ☐ اكٌعس ةالئساح وًٍ طواع كٌ ًٍّع

- How do you feel when you use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] inside Frenda? ك ًٍف دگع س عذوا دطدعول
عةاسح ًٔع ٍّٔ داخل نسًذح؟

strange ☐ الئساح proud ☐ الفخس natural ☐ احطاط طةٌٍع

-How do you feel when you use the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda? ك ًٍف دحط عٍوا دطدعول عةاسح
ًٔع ٍّٔ خاسج نسًذح؟

shy ☐ الخجل strange ☐ الئساح natural ☐ طةٌٍع proud ☐ الفخس

Do you avoid the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda? خاسج ُعُ حساعة اطدعوال ةُدجد لِ -
نسَذح؟

yes ☐ ال ☐ maybe ☐ سقوا
ٌعو no

- Do you think the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] is a marker of Frenda‟s regional origin? حساعة ٌ اي سي لِ
ُعُ ٌ دل علي اصلك و ٌ نسَذح؟

yes ☐ ٌع و no ☐ ال maybe ☐ سقوا

كٌف سي -What are non-local speakers‟‟ attitudes towards the use of the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] outside Frenda? ؟ ُعُ حساعة لاطدعوالك حول ٌ الىٌس وحل ٌ الودحدس نعل سدح

Strange ☐ الىسناة laughing ☐ الضحك comic comment ☐ دعلٌم وضحك natural طقٌع ☐

- What variants are used by Frenda speakers to replace the pragmatic marker [j*aʕajji*] ? العقاساد ٌ ِ وا
الدٌ دطدعولِا نٌ وكاٌ عقاسح ُعُ ٌ؟

Ya ħawji ☐ *makanch menha* ☐

C‟‟est pas vraie ☐ ال ٌوكٌ I don‟‟t substitute it ☐ ال انٌسِا

- Is the pragmatic marker [*jaʕajji*] undergoing change?؟الخدناء و الدىٌس مٌطس نٌ ُعُ حساع ٌ اي سي لِ

yes ☐ ٌع و no ☐ ال maybe ☐ سقوا

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Summary:
This study aims to shed highlight the linguistic features that characterize the speech community of Frenda, west of Algeria particularly the phonological, morphological, lexical and pragmatic. It also examines the dynamics of dialect variation and change through correlation of linguistic variables and social variables of gender, age and level of education. The total number of samples under investigation was 284 speakers. The findings showed that historical, social and ecological factors motivated the phenomena of variation and change in the dialect of Frenda. In addition, analysis of speakers' language attitudes was observed as a motivating factor for dialect change.
Keywords: Variation, Change, Dialect of Frenda, Language Attitudes

الملخص:
تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى ابراز السمات اللغوية التي تميز الجماعة اللغوية لفرندة في غرب الجزائر بالتحديد السمات الفونولوجية والمورفولوجية والمعجمية والبراغماتية. تعالج أيضا ديناميكيات التنوع و التغير اللغويين عبر إيجاد الترابط بين المتغيرات اللسانية والمتغيرات الاجتماعية كالجنس و السن و المستوى الدراسي. العدد الكلي لعينات الدراسة هو284 متكلما. أظهرت النتائج أن العوامل التاريخية والاجتماعية و البيئية حفزت ظاهرتي التنوع و التغير للهجة فرندة بالإضافة إلى ملاحظة أن مواقف المتكلمين كانت عاملا محفزا للتغير اللهجي.
الكلمات المفتاحية: التنوع ,التغير, لهجة فرندة, المواقف اللغوية

Résumé:

Cette étude vise à mettre en évidence les caractéristiques linguistiques de la communauté linguistique de Frenda à l'ouest de l'Algérie à savoir les caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques, lexicales et pragmatiques. Aussi, il examine la dynamique de la diversité et du changement linguistique tient compte de l'interconnexion de variables linguistiques et sociales comme le sexe, l'âge et le niveau scolaire. Le nombre total d'échantillons d'étude est de 244 locuteurs. Les résultats ont montré que des facteurs historiques, sociaux et environnementaux ont stimulé les phénomènes de diversité et de changement de dialecte de Frenda, ainsi que l'observation que les positions des orateurs étaient un catalyseur de changement dialectique.

Mots-clés: variation, changement, dialecte de Frenda, attitudes linguistiques.