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The Dialect(s) of Sidi Bel-Abbes :
Variation, Accommodation and Change

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Declaration

<u>Declaration for *Doctorat ès sciences*</u>

I undersign that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part by any other person. I also certify that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of any author has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

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October 2016

The Dialect(s) of Sidi Bel-Abbes: Variation, Accommodation and Change

Abstract

The present research deals with contact-induced dialectal variation and change among Belabbesi speakers of rural origin and, to a lesser extent, among those of Tlemceni origin, thus raising issues relating to the formation of new dialects, the question of prestige dialects and the direction of change in the new urban vernacular of Sidi Bel-Abbes. In addition to the phonological level -interdentals/dentals, namely- on which several contemporary studies have previously focused, this work attempts an analysis of other linguistic level features: morpho-syntactic and semantic features. The data collected during over 7 years are based on analyses of interviews and life accounts by more than 300 speakers, of which the speech of 125 consultants is further scrutinized. To investigate dialectal change, two approaches are adopted: real-time and apparent-time observations. The corpuses collected on the field are constituted of notes and diaries based mainly on participant observation, recorded face-to-face and telephone conversations with speakers by means of indirect, semi-directive and directive interviews as well as large-scale and small-scale surveys.

Investigations on the field reveal that the question of the development of the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes is not a straightforward one: on the one hand, the inhabitants use a relatively "uniform" dialect, with its regional features; on the other, they display speech characteristic of urban places. Because of the complex situation of Arab (and Arabic-speaking) countries, studies on dialectal contact in these situations have suggested various scenarios as to the direction of the change. In this study, variation and change were first handled within a variationist framework, which proved insufficient in explaining variation and change. A three-generational model of migration time was then tested, and there again, both inter-personal and intra-personal discrepancies sprang out, as other factors were responsible for variation and change in Sidi Bel-Abbes. These factors pertain to social networks and communities of practice, in addition to context of situation, attitudes, and representations, whereby speakers -irrespective of their communal origin- are seen to take different trajectories, evidence of the need for a more complex, anthropological/ethnographic analysis.

In this thesis, the findings -based on analyses of 13 linguistic features- unveil that a new urban dialect is emerging in Sidi Bel-Abbes, with the 20-29 year-old educated speakers in the lead, though neither education nor young age *per se* promotes dialectal change. Rather, it is a combination of factors that come into play to enhance or inhibit dialectal change in Sidi Bel-Abbes.

Acknowledgements

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Key to abbreviations and acronyms

-	Morpheme boundary
/	Or
Adjt/s	Adjunct/s
Agr.	Agreement
CA	Classical Arabic
CAP	*Certificat d'Aptitude Primaire,* equivalent to a Certificate of Qualification.
Dipht.	Diphthong/isation
ESA	Educated Spoken Arabic
Eg.	For example
Fem.	Feminine
Imp./s	Imperative/s
Imperf.	Imperfective
Indep.	Independent
Interd./s	Interdental/s
Interrog.	Interrogative
Masc.	Masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
Neg.	Negative
N./s	Noun/s
NSA	Nonstandard Arabic
ONS	*Office National des Statistiques*
Partic.	Participle/s
Pers.	Person
Pl.	Plural
Pr.	Pronoun
Rec.	Recording
SA	Standard Arabic
SBA	Sidi Bel-Abbes
Sch.	School
Sing.	Singular
SK	Sidi Khaled
SL	Sidi Lahcen
V/s	Verb/s
Vow./s	Vowel/s
Vs	Versus

Phonetic symbols

Consonants

IPA	Arabic	Example	Gloss	IPA	Arabic	Example	Gloss
ʔ	ا	ʔɑna	I, me	ḍ	ض	ḍɑrwɑk	Now
b	ب	bənt	A girl	ṭ	ط	ṭrɛ:g	A road
t	ت	tʰrɔ:ɦ	You go	ḍ	ظ	ḍɑlmɑ	Darkness
θ	ث	θʊ:m	Garlic	ʕ	ع	ʕalama	Great
ʒ	ج	ʒa:t	She came	ʁ	غ	ʁa:di	Be going to
ɦ	ح	ɦdi:d	Metal	f	ف	fənn	Art
x	خ	xwata:t	Sisters	q	ق	qrɑ:t	She studied
d	د	da:r	A house	k	ك	kʰa:ʁəṭ	Paper
ð	ذ	ðʊ:k	Those	l	ل	lɦi:ɦ	There
r	ر	rɑ:ɦ	He went	m	م	mrɑ	A woman
z	ز	za:d	He was born	n	ن	na:s	People
s	س	sɔʁr	Youth	ɦ	ه	ɦa:da	This-masc.
ʃ	ش	ʃʊ:f	Look!	w	و	wɑ:ɦ	Yes
ṣ	ص	ṣɑbr	Patience	j	ي	ja:məs	Yesterday
g	ڨ	ga:l	He said				

Vowels

Short	Example	Gloss	Long	Example	Gloss	Diph--thongs	Example	Gloss
ɪ/ɛ	nti/ntɛ	You-fem.	ɪː	miːl	Lean (V.)			
a/ə	ma/əll	He grew tired of	aː/ ɛː	maːl/mɛːl	Treasure			
ʊ/ɔ	kʰʊll/kɔll	Every/ each	ʊː/ɔː; uː	kʰʊːl/kɔːl; ʔʊːd	Eat-imp. A twig	aw	ʔawd	A horse
ɑ	bɑẓ	A child	ɑː	ṭɑːṛ	He flew	aj	ṭɑjr	A bird

In memory of Pr Ali Bouamrane and Dr Rachid Benali-Mohamed

General introduction

This study proposes an analysis of dialectal development in Sidi Bel-Abbes, a city in northwestern Algeria, with particular focus on migrants living in Sidi Lahcen, a suburb about 10 kilometres away from the city centre. Sidi Bel-Abbes has known an important internal migratory flux not only from the neighbouring rural areas but also from various towns and cities, namely, Oran, Mascara, Saida and Tlemcen. Although no direct description of the earlier dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes is available, it is known from the works of early dialectologists that it belongs to the bedouin (nomadic) group (W. Marçais 1938; Ph. Marçais 1940) - itself divided into the A-dialects, B-dialects and D-dialects of Algeria (Cantineau 1940). These bedouin dialects are distinguished from the sedentary dialects of the old city centres of Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen. The latter group display significant discrepancies between the dialects of the old city centres and the rural dialects of the surrounding villages while the distinction between the bedouin and the rural dialects in Sidi Bel-Abbes is not attested; thus, in the present study, the terms "bedouin/nomadic/rural" will be used interchangeably as concerns the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes. Conversely to other Arabic-speaking situations (see Miller 2007: 6), and though many bedouin dialects share important aspects -a conclusion drawn from the literature on Algerian folk tales, namely that by Bourayou (1993)- tribal or genealogical (bedouin/sedentary) affiliation is generally less relevant in categorising Algerian dialects than regional/geographical membership. The old bedouin dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes shares several characteristics with one of the dialects in use in Oran, that is the bedouin dialect of the "*département*" (county) of Oran, classified as a D-dialect by Cantineau (1940, 1960). Today, urbanisation, the growing mobility of the Algerian population, and the influence of the media (television, mainly) have brought in contact people of diverse origins, leading to much uniformisation across mutually intelligible varieties of Arabic but also a high degree of variation between inhabitants of the same city, town, village, community and even between members of the same family. Some linguistic features show great instability and correlate much more with age, gender and social and communal origin than with geographical factors. For example, dialects now spoken in urban settings display some of the features characteristic of bedouin speech; the same process seems to apply to bedouin dialects, which have incorporated many of the features typical of sedentary varieties. However, as will be shown in the present work, the situation is not that straightforward, and appeal to investigations beyond the purely socio-linguistic level is necessary.

Why a study of the dialect(s) of Sidi Bel-Abbès?

Apart from Cantineau's monographs, namely on Oran (1940), to which I shall refer at different stages in this study, there are few works on the Algerian dialects, in general, and on the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes, in particular. Sidi Bel-Abbes is known for fostering literary and artistic creation, as many plays are written and performed in the local dialect. It was in Sidi Bel-Abbes that the *Nedjma* novel writer Kateb Yacine -one of the outstanding figures of Algerian literature- put on *Mohamed, prends ta valise* ("Mohamed, pack up"), a play about the hardships of Algerian migrants in France. It is also the city of the cartoonist Slim with his endearing characters *Zina*, *Bouzid*, and the *Gatt mdigouti* [the depressed cat] (Cf. Lakhdar-Barka 1999 for an analysis of the issue of interlanguage, namely).

This variety, bedouin and rural at the same time, and like other dialectal varieties of the Algerian speech repertoire, has for long been stigmatised and its usage continues to be subjected to negative attitudes on the part of those who forget that it is a variety of Arabic that has inspired a number of Belabbesi poets, for example, Mestfa Ben Brahim[1] and Ahmed Benharrath (Dellaï 2003: 143-152). The former, the 19th century bard of the *shi'r el Melhun* (folk poetry as opposed to (written) classical poetry) (cf. Tahar 1975), is known for having composed about fifty poems on his beloved woman *Bakhta,* some of which are superbly interpreted by one of the best-known and most talented singer, Ahmed Wahby; and the poet and singer Abdelkader El Khaldi.

Sidi Bel-Abbes is also the birth place of bedouin poetry and rai music (cf. Daoudi and Miliani, H. 1996), some of whose representatives bear such mythical names as *Raina Rai* -known for their top hit "*Ya Zina! diri l*a *t*a:*y* (Hey, Zina! Make tea!) and Rimiti – nicknamed the "*rai granny*", whose *Saîda* is a planetary hit, and all those who have contributed in propelling rai music on the international scene and, by way of consequence, in making this variety of Arabic known, with its accent and lexical idioms some of which now characterize the speech of many Algerian youths. It is also the language of the heart, of the proverbs and sayings of all those- literate and illiterate- that share it and enrich it day after day; it thus deserves all our respect and attention.

Sidi Bel-Abbes is neither the capital nor the economic city of Algeria. However, a study of its linguistic situation is important for many reasons. The first one is due to the appearance of new varieties of vernacular Arabic, as the former regional distinctions are fading away, subsequently to the various movements from rural to urban settings in most Arab countries,

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1 Cf. Azza 2011.

and in Algeria, for our present purpose. The second reason is its complex linguistic situation, where at least two main distinct dialects coexist: several varieties of bedouin origin, spoken by the Bellabesis themselves and migrants from the surrounding cities and towns (Saida, Mascara, Oran, etc.) and of rural areas, and a number of varieties of sedentary descent spoken mainly by first, second, and third (and subsequent)-generation speakers of Tlemceni origin. The third reason lies in that it may be enlightening in our quest for change in progress, to examine not only such phonological features as interdentals/dentals (interdentals/stops) -most studies being restricted to a few phonological features- but also morpho-syntactic and semantic variants.

Due to the dialectal contact resulting from a massive migration from different parts of Algeria, the Arabic variety of Sidi Bel-Abbes variety is undergoing change; this work is thus an attempt to understand the impact of urbanisation and contact in this city upon the traditional bedouin/sedentary dialect distinction. It thus raises two important issues: the first examines what linguistic features are most involved in this change; the second one is whether change in progress is the result of social variation, koineisation, accommodation, or other factors. In the context of Arabic dialects, various hypotheses have been put forward to explain the direction of and the factors responsible for dialectal change: they are said to be of a communal, historical, demographic, and ideological order, namely. Trudgill's (1986) seminal work on dialects in contact posits that when speakers of different varieties of a language meet in a new town, a new form emerges; furthermore, he states that this *new dialect* -a koine- is stabilised after three or more generations of migrants. This koineisation process, which involves the disappearance of some of the features of the contributing dialects (levelling out) and emergence of some new ones, is supported by Al-Wer (2007) on Jordan, where "a kind of standardized koine Ammani vernacular is expected to stabilize and to represent the local identity, in spite of the continuous influx of foreign migrants"; Pereira (2007 a, b) on Lybia, and others, who claim that urban Arabic dialects are heading for a common shared vernacular, thus erasing many local/regional features (Miller 2007: 29). This view is challenged by Siegel (1993), who maintains that Arabic dialects cannot be said to have undergone such levelling, as distinct varieties may be preserved to mark segregation of space, community, and society (cf. Miller 2007: 7). Because of the complex situation in which language change is taking place in Sidi Bel-Abbes (and in many Arab cities), due mainly to a diglossic and multilingual context and a rapid urbanisation, the present project thus proposes a complex, trans-disciplinary study of contact-induced dialectal change in Sidi Bel-Abbes. First, it involves not

only the language varieties themselves but also their speakers, with their personal stories, their cultures, as well as their social motivations; this work is meant to analyse processes of dialectal variation and change among inhabitants of Sidi Bel-Abbes, who, at various periods, have come from surrounding cities, towns, and rural areas. Secondly, previous studies on language variation and change having focused mainly on phonological features -for example, interdentals and dentals- this study attempts an analysis of dialectal features at all linguistic levels: phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical. A study concentrating mainly on phonological variants such as interdentals and stops may not prove very productive for at least two reasons. The first one is that such change may be internally-conditioned, i.e., caused by universal natural phonetic constraints. The second reason is that an examination of further linguistic-level features may prove useful as a complementary, cross-comparative tool of investigation.

Theoretical framework and methodology

At the theoretical level, the choice of a complex approach is motivated by four major reasons. The first one involves the necessity of interdisciplinary research in a domain where language is at the crossroads of culture and society. Edgar Morin (1991: 162) introduces the third part of the fourth volume of his "*méthode*" [method*]*, titled "*Les idées"* [Ideas] by a reflection on language, stating that "chaque énoncé témoigne de spécificités propres à la cohérence linguistique de chaque langue, de spécificités subjectives, de spécificités culturelles, sociologiques et historiques" [each utterance attests of specificities proper to the linguistic coherence of each language, of subjective specificities, of cultural, sociological and historical specificities], adding further (ibid., 163) that "le langage dépend des interactions entre individus, lesquels dépendent du langage. Il dépend des esprits humains, lesquels dépendent de lui pour émerger en tant qu'esprits humains" [language depends on interactions between individuals, which depend on language. It depends on human minds, which depend on it to emerge as human minds].

The second reason for the choice of a complex approach, largely discussed by Blanchet (2007), is of an epistemological order, and it relates to the radical divergence between "*structuro-linguistics*" and sociolinguistics, resulting in the hegemony of "*hard core*" linguistics, and the relegation of sociolinguistics to a marginal position, not to mention the other crisis which shook the scope of ethno-linguistics, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language. In this respect, signs of pluralist evolution are, happily, gradually showing on the scene of language studies from the viewpoint of a constructive/constructivist "confrontation" of traditionally distinct disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and sociology (Blanchet

2000; for a hegemony of another type (ie. colonial), see Calvet 1988).

The third reason pertains to a theoretical and methodological framework, wherein appeal to an interdisciplinary model implies that the complexity of the task should require methods of research whose aim is to examine the multi-faceted aspect of human linguistic interaction.

The methodological framework of the present thesis has extensively drawn on Blanchet's (2000, 2007) works, based on an empirico-inductive qualitative method as *a* "*linguistics of complexity*" which reconciles two methods formerly considered incompatible: the hypothetico-deductive methods and the empirico-inductive methods; such a choice is motivated by the fact that neither method alone is capable of capturing the complexity of human interaction. On the one hand, variationist models, for example, following the techniques of sampling of modern sociology in using statistical analyses, have succeeded in showing how linguistic variables correlated with measurable social variables, a contribution which has had a tremendous impact on the study of language, in general, and, in particular, on the status of stigmatized minority linguistic varieties, illustrated by the works of William Labov on African American Vernacular English (1972, 1976, 1978). The efficiency of such quantitative methods in analysing actual processes of interpersonal communication is questioned by Blanchet (2000) for their exclusive reliance on quantitative results, thus often reducing human interaction to mere figures, though, as he suggests, quantitative analyses, despite their minor role, are nonetheless integrated within his "*ethno-sociolinguistics*"(Blanchet 2000) as a "*complementary modality*" (ibid. 2012). On the other hand, qualitative approaches have been criticized for the multiplicity of factors and their inability to capture certain regularities, and thus Blanchet (2000) pleads for an empirico-inductive, interpretative, "qualitative" approach, which, relying on contextualized corpuses collected on the field, will try to "understand" the phenomena under study (for a detailed account of Blanchet's approach, see Raoud 2010).

The fourth reason for a complex approach is ethical. According to Calvet (1994), research on languages and language varieties, which is first and foremost a study of the people who speak them ("*les gens qui les parlent*"), requires a posture where human dignity is at stake, a posture that avoids *voyeurism*, so that, instead of satisfying a mere mundane social need, the researcher's contribution -no matter how modest- becomes an act of citizenship or a human act (Calvet 1994).

Data collection

The data come from fieldwork research which I carried out between December 2007 and September 2013 among over 300 speakers- including over half the number for short anonymous interviews and longer interviews with 125 speakers -52 males and 73 females. The youngest speaker is 8 and the oldest is 86. Contact with the informants has been facilitated by the fact that I am originally from Sidi Bel-Abbes, as well as by the "snowball effect" (Milroy and Gordon 2003) subsequent to the family ties and the friendship network woven in the course of this project. This, I hope, has kept to a minimum the "observer's paradox"(see section 3.3.3.1). To complete this study, a commutation test relating to pronunciation has been established, as the recordings, though lengthy they might be, are not likely to cover all the phonetic and the phonemic oppositions between two (or more) features. The first speakers in this study are members of the eldest group, the first of whose is 86 year-old El-Hadj. The first young speakers in this investigation are college pupils (pupils in a *CEM, Collège d'Enseignement Moyen "*Middle School" in Sidi Lahcen; eventually, it became possible to "approach" older members of their respective families. The materials analysed are recordings of conversations and life accounts as well as direct and indirect interviews. For deontological reasons, the names (and, in some cases, the exact places of residence) of the consultants have been changed.

Interviews and speaker selection

The main methodological tools used in the present research are participant observation and interviews. Prior to any recorded material, my frequent visits and stays over a few years in Sidi Bel-Abbes were meant to have a relatively clear picture of the linguistic and cultural situation of Bellabesi society. In order to avoid a priori judgements which might have seriously jeopardized this field work, I deliberately went there with no pre-conceived hypotheses, to avoid being influenced by theory x or y -with some relative knowledge of Arabic dialectology, though. Once I had become familiar with the linguistic and social practices of Belabbesi speakers, I undertook a study of the various trends within Arabic sociolinguistics. As for the corpuses collected on the field, they are constituted of 1) notes and diaries based mainly on participant observation, 2) recorded face-to-face and/or telephone conversations with speakers either by means of semi-directive and directive interviews, and 3) directive surveys. To do so, I relied partly on methods suggested by Blanchet (2000) and

Milroy and Gordon (2003); as for my preliminary investigations on the speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes and that of Sidi Lahcen, I opted for a random sampling for the choice of the speakers to avoid any initial bias in the collection of the data; this was then completed by notes, transcription and analyses.

From among the 300 overall consultants, a random sample of 125 speakers was studied for the treatment of stopping. Thus, in addition to the eight age categories suggested by Labov (1994), two other categories were added: the 8-12 and the 76-86, thus bringing the number to ten categories: 8-12, 13-14, 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70-75, and 76-86, subsequently to the quantitative results obtained. This division is necessary for at least three reasons:

1. to have a clear picture of the speech of the locality of an earlier period on the basis of the *time-apparent hypothesis*; that is to say, to compare the speech of older speakers with that of younger speakers in order to track new features or features having disappeared;

2. new features are found to occur in the speech of age groups only a few years younger than another category;

and,

3. as scientific evidence in language acquisition theories has shown, for instance, some phonological variants are not conditioned by social parameters but obey natural laws and thus are not acquired before a certain age (see Ferguson 1978: 437; Labov 2010: 311). Therefore, cautious analysis was made of the speech of pre-adolescents and very young speakers.

For a finer analysis, a quota sample of 78 speakers was extracted, and the speech of an equal number of speakers representative of their age range, education and origin was analysed. Subsequently, 17 speakers displaying differences in age, sex, education and of migration to Sidi Bel-Abbes, wherein analysis of 13 dialectal features were tested for change at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels.

Chapters content

The present work comprises four chapters. Chapter One discusses the question of the emergence of the modern Arabic dialects and the different approaches suggesting explanations of the diglossic situation that resulted. The first part of Chapter One deals with the beginnings of Arabic dialectology and, in particular, the works of French dialectologists

on Algerian dialects across two different periods: those of the early 20ᵗʰ century until the 1960's as well as those of later dialectologists and sociolinguists. The second part of Chapter One offers a panorama of studies in sociolinguistics, including more recent developments in Arabic sociolinguistics, namely, variationist as well as contemporary post-independent sociolinguistic studies in in the Middle-East, and North Africa (MENA). Sociolinguistics represents an important advance in the field, although there is no doubt that without the works of dialectologists, sociolinguistic research would not have been possible. A shift has taken place from when dialectologists would track the *NORMS*, i.e. the non-mobile, old, rural, male speaker using the typical dialect of a particular region (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1988), to sociolinguists, who are now showing interest for all varieties and variations, including those spoken by both rural and urban dwellers, perhaps with more emphasis on the latter, under the label *urban sociolinguistics*. The final parts of this chapter involve a brief introduction of contact-induced dialectal change among speakers of different communal dialects, and questions relating to the relation between education and the status of some variables are raised.

Chapter Two provides a brief overview of the linguistic situation in Algeria, setting the stage for discussion of the linguistic situation of Sidi Bel-Abbes, and a comparison of three Algerian dialects: old Sidi Bel-Abbes, old Tlemcen and old Algiers.

In Chapter Three, I embark on a description of the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes, on the basis of two related approaches: *real time* observation and observation in *apparent time*, with the first part of this chapter addressing the issue of language change according to Labov (1994) and Arabic specialists working within this theoretical and methodological (variationist) paradigm. Then a general picture of Sidi Bel-Abbes Arabic -as opposed to other varieties of Algerian Arabic- is drawn, presenting the main phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features characteristic of this speech. In the second part, a number of linguistic features are tested within the variationist approach. The second part of Chapter Three deals with the question of koineisation, as presented within the models of Trudgill (1986); Kerswill and Williams (2000), Kerswill (2002), and Kerswill and Trudgill (2005) with more focus on immigrant koines. Finally, Trudgill's three main stages of koine formation -mixing, levelling, and simplification- are tested against the linguistic change taking place in Sidi Bel-Abbes.

In Chapter Four, a complex study of language variation and change in Sidi Bel-Abbes is proposed, wherein a substantial part is devoted to the relevance of accommodation, maintenance, and levelling within a more qualitative framework.

One of the recordings on which the analyses in this study are based may be found in the sound archives of the *Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme* (MMSH) *médiathèque* of Aix-Marseille University (under the title ELHADJ RAOUD). Transcribed excerpts of some speakers' conversations are in Appendices 1, 2 and 3. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are mine; they are in square brackets, including those of long occurrences in French by the consultants. Because two or more distinct lexemes would have been phonetically confused in the varieties of Arabic which I purport to describe, and to ensure a more accurate reading of the actual pronunciations, I have used the phonetic symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (I.P.A.) mostly, in addition to some other Arabic Doulos SIL phonetic symbols. Consonants and vowels are presented below.

Table 1: Consonantal allophones (in brackets) and phonemes of SBA speech[2]

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Labio-velar	Pharyng-al	Laryng-al
Plosives (stops)	Simple	b			t d		k g	q			
	Emphatic				ṭ ḍ		(G)				
	Labialised	(bʷ)									
Fricatives	Simple		f	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	x ʁ			ɦ/h ʕ	ɦ
	Emphatic			ḍ	ṣ (ẓ)						
	Labialised		(fʷ)								
Nasals	Simple	m			n		(ŋ)				
	Labialised	(mʷ)									
Liquids	Simple				l						
	Emphatic				(ɫ)						
Approximants (Vibrants)	Simple				r						
	emphatic				(ɾ)						
Semi-vowels						j			w		

The vocalic system of SBA comprises short and long vowels as well as diphthongs.

Short vowels:

/**a**/ has the variants [a, ə, ɛ] : mall, məll, mɛll « he is fed up ».

/**i**/ has the variants [i and ɛ] : nʒi ou nʒɛ « I come ».

/**ʊ**/ has the variants [ʊ and ɔ]: kʊlʃ(i) ; kɔlʃ(i) « all/everything ».

/**ɑ**/: ṣɑb(b) "he poured".

Long vowels: i: mi:l "lean"; **a:** ma:l/mɛ:l "treasure"; "what is the matter with" "; **ɑ:** ṣɑ:b "he found"; **ɔ:** ṭɔ:l/ṭʊ:l "length".

Diphthongs: aw: ʕawd "horse"; **ɑj**: ṣɑjf "summer".

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2   The phonemic and allophonic inventory has followed Trubetzkoy's method (see Troubetskoï 1986), namely.

Chapter One: Arabic dialectology and sociolinguistics

1.1 Introduction

Arabic belongs to the Semitic languages, members of the Afro–Asiatic (Hamito–Semitic) family of languages, which, in their turn, are said to descend from a common root, namely a proto-Semitic branch. The most recent discovery of the earliest record of the Arabic language is an inscription dated between 469-470, made by Frédéric Imbert in 2014 (France-Diplomatie 2014). The question of the number of Arabic speakers is very difficult to pin down, due firstly to the significant discrepancies between survey sources and, secondly, to the Arabic standard and non-standard varieties in use, as some figures estimate Standard Arabic speakers to 206 millions (SIL, cf. Calvet 2007: 36); therefore, the issue of the number of speakers of nonstandard Arabic remains problematic, as Calvet remarks (ibid., 38), though *Ethnologue* estimates it to 242 millions scattered across 22 countries!

Three forms of the Arabic language are distinguished: Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic, and the modern Arabic dialects. Classical Arabic is the language of pre-Islamic poetry and of the Qur'an. As to the term Middle Arabic, it is "not unequivocal" (Blau 1982:188): initially defined by Blau as "constitut[ing] the missing link between Classical Arabic and modern dialects"(Blau 1966-7: 1, 36, in Versteegh 2001: 114), it was subsequently characterised as a "mixed language of mediaeval texts, containing Standard Arabic, Neo-Arabic, and […] pseudo-correct features..."(Blau 1981: 219-22, in Versteegh 1984: 3). Modern Arabic dialects, which constitute the mother tongue of about 250-350 million people (Caubet and Miller 2010: 238) throughout the world -concentrated mainly in the Middle-East and North Africa- are in continuous change and exhibit a high degree of variation.

This chapter reviews the question of how modern Arabic dialects (i.e. post Arab conquest) and the diglossic situation emerged. Arabic sociolinguistics has studied the main factors of contemporary changes within dialects (this issue is discussed in Chapter Two); as to Arabic dialectology, various models of classification have been proposed, as we shall see in 1.4 below. A brief overview of some of the approaches on variation and change in Arabic dialects will be provided in this chapter, beginning with earlier as well as later developments of the concept of diglossia. Then more recent approaches to dialectal variation and change in Arabic-speaking contexts will be discussed, with particular emphasis on the Maghreb region, whose countries share socio-historical and linguistic features. Finally, issues relating to some of the most-widely studied variables in Arabic sociolinguistics -namely, the reflexes of interdentals and of *q*- will be introduced.

1.2 Dialect genesis

While there is consensus that the expansion of Islam in North Africa precedes its Arabisation, various approaches have been suggested to explain the emergence of modern Arabic dialects. Among these are the koineisation hypothesis (Ferguson 1959b), the language drift hypothesis suggested by David Cohen (1962) and Joshua Blau (1977) (cf. Belnap and Haeri 1997: 29), and the creolization /pidginization hypothesis (Versteegh 1984). For North Africa, a radically different view is held by Elimam on what he terms the *Maghribi* (Elimam 2003, 2009).

1.2.1 Koineisation

The concept of koineisation follows the Hellenistic tradition, which states that Arabic dialects have undergone a process of levelling, leading to the uniformisation of the Arabic dialects between themselves and with Classical Arabic (Miller 2007: 5). There are at least four types of koineisation in Arabic dialects: the first one refers to the diglossic situation in which a pre-Islamic koine emerged, as a result of contact between tribal dialects of the Arab bedouin and a supratribal variety used for poetry, while the second type refers to the military/urban dialect koine that emerged in the early centuries of the Muslim era. In an eponym article on the "Arabic koine", Ferguson (1959b) traces it as far back as the early centuries of the Arab conquest in 732 when, alongside a variety analogous to Classical Arabic used among Bedouins, a koine developed in the armies and in cities as a result of that contact:

> It seems highly probable that the beginnings of the koine already existed before the great expansion of Arabic with the spread of Islam, but it also seems probable that the full development of the koine coincided with this expansion, which brought about mingling of the original dialects, caused large numbers of speakers of other languages to adopt Arabic, and required intercommunication throughout the whole world of Islam. Also, it seems highly probable that the koine developed chiefly in the cities and in the armies and that its spread coincided roughly with the spread of urban Arabo-Islamic culture. (Ferguson 1959b: 617-8)

Ferguson lists 14 features having contributed in the formation of the new koine, chiefly constituted by the sedentary dialects (ibid., 620-30, adapted):

I.   Loss of the dual

II. *Taltalah*

III. Loss of final -*wjw* verbs

IV. Re-formation of geminate verbs

V.   The verb suffix -*l*- 'to, for'

VI. Cardinal numbers 3-10

VII.   /t/ in the numbers 13-19

VIII.   Loss of the feminine comparative

IX. Adjective plural *fu'al*

X.   *Nisbah* suffix -*iyy*

XI. The verb 'to bring'

XII.   The verb 'to see'

XIII.   The relative *'illi*

XIV.   The merger of ḍaḍ and ḍa:'

The third type of koineisation involves the inter-Arabic variety used between Arabic speakers of different countries (Versteegh 1993: 66-71). As to the fourth type of koine, it concerns the contemporary dialect koines that have emerged as a result of accommodation between speakers in the same country in a fast-growing mobility and urbanisation in many Arab cities. This fourth type of koineisation constitutes the main concern of the present study.

1.2.2 The language drift hypothesis

A different view from Ferguson's is held by David Cohen (1962) and Blau (1965, 1977) (Cf. Belnap and Haeri 1997: 28-9). Arguing that the 14 features presented by Ferguson are unconvincing, David Cohen (1962) suggests that, instead of a single koine, several koines developed, following a wave-like diffusion, and that "modern sedentary dialects developed from dialects quite similar to each other which spread outside the Arabian Peninsula both before and after the advent of Islam"(Cohen 1962, in Belnap and Haeri 1997: 28-9). Corriente (1976) argues that the dialects "did not develop diglossically but contributed to the development of Classical Arabic" (see Owens 2001: 424). Blau (1977) posits that an Arabic koine was the consequence of the changes in Arabic dialects and that "drift and contact between the dialects were responsible for the similarities" (Blau 1977: 21-5, in Belnap and Haeri 1997: 29). Fûck (1955) states that, up to the 9th century, the bedouin dialects served as the fresh everlasting source on which

grammarians and philologists drew their knowledge of the 'Arabiyya, of the correct language [l]es dialectes bédouins avaient été, jusqu'au 3e/9e siècle compris, la source éternellement fraîche à laquelle grammairiens et philologues puisaient leurs connaissances de la 'Arabiya, de la langue correcte" (Fûck 1955: 131).

1.2.3 The pidginization hypothesis

The pidginization hypothesis- is put forward by Versteegh (1984), who suggests how contact with non-Arabic speakers through marriages between Muslim Arab men and non-Arab women of the conquered lands might have resulted in a pidginized Arabic, with a creolized form spoken naturally by the children of those mixed marriages. Later, Versteegh (1993) states that the modern Arabic dialects being the result of a pidginization/creolization process, with the advent of education and therefore exposure to Classical Arabic, eventually underwent a process of decreolization (Versteegh 1993: 69).

1.2.4 The *Maghribi* language: Elimam

In North Africa, Abdou Elimam (2009) asserts that the major linguistic substrata are predominantly Punic and Lybic. While the latter idiom has served as a substratum to the contemporary Berber forms, the development of Punic through Neo-Punic to *Maghribi* is largely attested by the discovery of Punic inscriptions. Similarly to other Semitic languages -Aramean, Hebrew and Arabic- *Maghribi* existed long before the diffusion of Islam (Elimam 2003). Stressing the importance of the Phoenician and Punic influence on North Africa at the economic and cultural levels, Elimam (2009) illustrates his statements by a large linguistic corpus displaying significant similarities between Punic and *Maghribi*.

1.3 Early studies in Arabic variation

The history of the interest of Arabic studies in social correlations may be traced back to eighth-century grammarian Sibawayhi's *Kitab*, where linguistic heterogeneity is rendered explicit by the abundance of such categories as "tribal variation", "tribal variants", e.g. "Bani Sulaym", "Bedouins", "'Arab" (Owens 2001: 421). For Owens, variation in Arabic had been acknowledged long before sociolinguistics emerged. Evidence of this was the different Koranic reading traditions (or *qira'a:t*) and, in a context of socio-political tension, the

proscriptions to which Koranic readers such as Ibn Sanabud were subjected. Studies in variation by Medieval Arab grammarians were led mainly with the aim of prescribing the "most correct" forms and thus variation both within the classical Arabic forms and those of the dialects were ignored even by Western Arabicists (Owens 2001: 422-3). As for the modern Arabic dialects, Cadora suggests a linear evolution from bedouin dialects to rural dialects to urban dialects (Cadora 1992, cited in Miller 2007: 7) while Miller suggests that, despite the fact that many Arabic dialects later underwent a process of bedouinization, migration has not resulted in the emergence of a single urban vernacular that erases all previous dialects; rather, communal, ethnic and religious dialectal variation still prevails, with this difference that accommodation processes very often intervene (ibid.). Furthermore, in a study on Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo, Miller shows that the situation is not as straightforward: speakers are found to hesitate between "accommodation and resistance" (Miller 2005b). More recent findings are considering language change in complex situations such as those prevailing in Arab settings from several standpoints, namely, historical, anthropological, socio-cultural, and ideological (Miller et al. 2007).

1.4 The beginnings of Arabic dialectology

Many approaches and categorizations have been suggested to explain dialectal change; one of them is the bedouin/ sedentary distinction, epitomized in 14th century Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah,* between the so-called sedentary (*'Hadhari'*) dialects and the bedouin (*'Badawi'*) dialects. This distinction, which "can be traced back to some of the early Arab grammarians such as Ibn Jinni in the 10th century" (Larcher 2006, in Miller 2007: 4)*,* was used by the European dialectologists as early as the late 19th century until the middle of the 20thcentury (for an overview of the developments and approaches in Arabic dialects, see Miller 2004, 2007; Miller and Caubet 2010). A further division, within the sedentary dialects, was set for the first time between old city dialects ("*parlers citadins*") and village dialects ("*parlers villageois*") in 1925 by William Marçais and Abderrahmân Guida. Other distinctions are drawn between old city centres dialects ("dialectes citadins") and urban dialects ("dialectes urbains") (cf. Messaoudi 2002; Miller and Caubet 2010: 239). Examples of regional classification based on the bedouin/sedentary dichotomy include the *qeltu v*ersus *geltu* dialects in Mesopotamia, as well as *pre-Hilali-rural, Jbâla* and *city* dialects- versus *Hilali* dialects in North Africa (Miller 2007: 6; Miller and Caubet 2010: 240). Arabic dialects

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are also divided linguistically into two major regional areas: Eastern (or Mashreqi) dialects -characterized by the isogloss for the inflection of 1st person singular and plural aktib/niktibu « I write/we write », and Western (or Maghrebi) dialects -characterized by the n- isogloss: niktib/niktibu « I write/we write » (Palva 2006 : 605).

The Arabic dialects are also classified according to 5 major geographical zones (Versteegh 2001: 145):

I.   dialects of the Arabian peninsula

II. Mesopotamian dialects

III. Syro-Lebanese dialects

IV. Egyptian dialects

V.   Maghreb dialects

1.4.1 Bedouin-sedentary, rural-urban dialects

The bedouin/sedentary distinction was also used to explain the socio-historical division in Algeria between the so-called bedouin (or nomadic) dialects and the sedentary dialects, due to the two distinct periods of the Arabisation of North Africa (cf. W. Marçais 1961). The first one is characterized by the settlement of the military of the "Orient" in the 1st century of the Hegire/Hijra era corresponding to the VIIth century, where Tlemcen, Algiers, and Constantine and the adjacent villages, are islamized and arabized and where "le conquérant arabe installe des garnisons, répartissant des éléments du djund d'Orient à travers les contrées qu'il veut controller et administrer" [the Arab conqueror installs garrisons, allotting elements of the Orient soldiers regions he intends to control and administer] (Ph. Marçais 1940: 384-385). These dialects, known as pre-Hilalien- prior to the arrival of the Bani Hilal- are also called sedentary dialects. These sedentary dialects witnessed linguistic influences from non-Arabic speaking populations, namely Berber/Tamazight autochtons. Despite the fact that they came under the influence of Arabic, the regions of Nedroma (in western Algeria), Djidjell and Collo (in eastern Algeria) display specific features not shared with other Algerian cities. From the Vth/XIth century, the second period is marked by the settlement of the bedouin tribes of the Bani Sulaym, in Lybia, southern Tunisia, and northeastern Algeria, the Ma'kil in northwestern Algeria and Morocco, and in central Algeria, in particular, where the nomadic tribes of the

Banu Hilal find a familiar lifestyle in the flat grassy land and plains, then in the Tell and the Sahel: it is the propagation of the bedouin dialects, which continues until the end of the VIIIth/XIVth C (Ph. Marçais 1940: 384-390). This categorization has survived until now, though, as Miller notes,

> [c]ategorizing a dialect X as a bedouin-bedouinized dialect does not mean that the speakers pursue a nomadic bedouin way of life but that they display in their speech a number of features associated with bedouin dialects. (Miller 2007: 5-6)

For convenience, however, I shall refer to these dialects as "bedouin/rural" and "sedentary" throughout this work. The sedentary dialects share phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical characteristics between themselves; they are distinct from the bedouin dialects, which, in their turn, share many common features with one another. A detailed account will be provided in Chapter Two.

1.4.2 The early pioneers in Arabic dialectology

According to Miller and Caubet (2010: 239), the outstanding figures of Arabic dialectology are Barthélemy, Bauer, G. Bergstrasser, L. Brunot, G.S. Colin, J. Cantineau, M. Cohen, M. Feghali, G. Kampffmeyer, Landberg, W. Marçais, Ph. Marçais, and Spitta-Bey. In Algeria, the most influential works on Arabic dialects were carried out from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1960s, including monographs by William Marçais on Tlemcen (1902), on the Uled-Brahim of Saida (1908), on the old city dialects versus the village dialects (William Marçais and Abderrahmân Guida 1925) and on the Arabisation of North Africa (1938); J. Cantineau on the dialects of the "*département*" (county) of Oran (1940) and the "South Territories" of Algeria (1941), as well as studies in Arabic phonetics and linguistics (1960, 1960b); Marcel Cohen on the Jewish speech in Algiers (1912) as well as his linguistic questionnaire of dialectology (1951); Philippe Marçais (1956) on the speech of Djidjelli (the North Constantine region), his article on Arabic dialects in Algeria (1957) and Arabic diglossia «La diglossie arabe» (1961); David Cohen's (1970) *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe* (Studies in Semitic and Arabic linguistics) and his (1973) article *«Pour un atlas linguistique et sociolinguistique de l'arabe»* (for a linguistic and sociolinguistic Atlas of Arabic). Despite the fact that most dialectal descriptions were more concerned with delimiting geographical areas and identifying the isoglosses than they were with inter and intra-regional differences and, thus, less concerned with heterogeneity within the same

dialect, advances in sociolinguistics have been possible thanks to these early pioneers who paved the way for further investigation on language and dialect variation in Arabic urban sociolinguistics. The shift from interest in non-mobile rural speakers (*NORMS*) to interest on urban speakers corresponds to a shift of speakers to urban settings, where populations of various origins meet. More macro-level issues of linguistic situations were also raised, for example, diglossia and code-switching (see 1.4.3 and 1.4.5).

1.4.3 Diglossia

Although it is generally agreed that Ferguson is the pioneer of Arabic variation as an autonomous discipline, prior interest in such questions as diglossia had been expressed by such Arabicists as William Marçais on diglossia.

1.4.3.1 William Marçais

The term "diglossie" (diglossia) was introduced for the first time in 1930 by W. Marçais in a paper celebrating the centenary of the French presence in Algeria. Later, the term was applied to the Moroccan situation by G. S. Colin (1945), who stated that, similarly to all the Arabic-speaking world, both Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic were in use, with this difference that the latter was the only spoken form while the former was more or less known only by the educated. To this "critical" situation, Marçais decreed a solution, the generalization of French (W. Marçais 1930: 240, cited in Kouloughli 1996: 287-8).

A more significant contribution by William Marçais to Arabic dialectology is his 1938 article on the Arabisation of North Africa, where he states that it started when, having previously come from Syria and Arabia, XI th century Arab nomads had been dismissed by the Egypt Fatimide monarch to rid High Egypt from unwanted raiders (Marçais 1938: 186), the Hilal tribes, who penetrated Ifriqya in 1051, followed by the Beni Solaim. A few decades later, a group of Arab Yemenites, the Ma'qil tribes, headed southwards, reaching south Morocco and Western Sahara (Camps 1983: 16).

1.4.3.2 Ferguson

Ferguson defines diglossia 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: 244-5)

Not ignoring the simplistic bipolarity of this model, he adds that, in the case of Arabic

> a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semi-formal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary. (ibid., 240)

1.4.4 The stratified model

Ferguson's bipolar characterization of diglossia was challenged by many Arabic studies on the grounds that 1) in Arabic-speaking countries, more than two varieties are in use, and 2) the diglossic view that each of the varieties was assigned a particular number of functions or domains was soon refuted by Arabic sociolinguists working within the variationist model inspired by the works of Labov. Prior to examining the stratified model, it is necessary to define some of the terms relating to varieties of Arabic. For example, Classical Arabic is the language of pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur'an, characterised by case and mood inflectional markers, namely. It is often used interchangeably with Standard Arabic, the only differences lying in vocabulary, hence the label Modern Standard Arabic. In a study based on the analysis of a corpus of conversations between educated Arabophones, Blanc (1960) suggests a stratified model and sets five functional styles: Standard Classical, Modified Classical, semi-literary or high non-standard, dialectal koine, and pure dialectal Arabic (Blanc 1960, cited in Owens 2001: 425; Blanc 1960, cited in Kouloughli 1996: 3). In his 1973 work,

Badawi proposes five levels of contemporary Arabic in Egypt: Classical Arabic (*fushat al-turat*); Contemporary Classical Arabic (*fushat al-'asr)*, equivalent to Modern Standard Arabic), which Badawi describes as *"mostly written" and in complementary distribution with Educated Spoken Arabic* (Badawi 1985: 19, cited in Ryding 2006 *EALL Vol.1: 667);* Educated non-Standard Arabic ('*ammiiyyat al-muthaqqafi:n*); Enlightened non-Standard Arabic (or *'ammiyyat al-mutanawiri:n*); and Non-standard Arabic of the illiterate (*'ammiyyat al-'umiyyi:n*) (ibid., 17).

One of the objections made by Meiseles (1980) concerned the risk of having an infinite number of registers; instead, he suggested four: Literary (or standard) Arabic, sub-standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, and pure (or basic) dialects (Meiseles (1980, cited in Kouloughli, 1996: 4). Salib (1979) had formerly drawn a distinction between « Spoken Literary Arabic » (SLA), « Educated Colloquial Arabic (ECA), and « Colloquial Arabic » (ibid.).

Educated Spoken Arabic, a variety displaying mixed forms, an "interregional koine" consisting of elements from both Standard Arabic and native (non standard) varieties of Arabic, and typically spoken by educated Arabs, had been suggested by T. F. Mitchell in the mid-seventies, a concept based on studies by Mitchell (1976), El-Hassan (1979) and Sallam (1980) on speakers in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt (Owens 2001: 427). Blau (1981) distinguished three main levels of Middle Arabic, Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture, semi-Classical Middle Arabic and classicized Middle Arabic (Blau 1981: 25, cited in Owens 2001: 425-6). Basing his analyses on Blanc's model, Talmoudi (1984) worked on the speech of North African speakers from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (Holes 1987: 4-5), providing an adequate structural description of "classicization, interdialectalization and colloquialization of features" (Talmoudi 1984: 143, in Owens 2001: 427 ff).

1.4.5 The code-swiching/continuum model

Another model of Arabic studies views the situation as a linguistic continuum where the two extreme ends of Arabic -standard and non-standard- function along a continuum with continuous code-switching and mixing (Bassiouney 2006, Boussofora-Omar 2006, Eid 1988; Blanc 1960, Diem 1974, Mazrani 1997, Mejdell 2006, and Kaye 1994 (cf. Miller and Caubet 2010: 241). For Algeria, Bouhadiba refers to the complexity of the linguistic situation as a "language complex", "where the varieties of this language are sometimes difficult to delimit: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, Arabic-based dialectal varieties but where French is strongly implanted at the lexical level" (Bouhadiba (2002: 11).

1.5 Recent developments in Arabic sociolinguistics

Linguistic diversity in Arabic-speaking communities has attracted the interest of many dialectologists and sociolinguistics. However, as Miller rightly remarks, there was, in the past years, little contact between Anglophone Arabic specialists -who worked mostly within a diglossic and a variationist model- and their fellow Francophone sociolinguists, who adopted more historical and sociolinguistic approaches (Miller 2007: 9). Happily, not only is more contact being established but there have appeared several publications on Arabic linguistics, namely, the *EALL* (*Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics)*, edited by Versteegh between 2006 and 2008.

1.5.1 Variationist studies in the Middle-East

The works of the American sociolinguist William Labov have had a profound influence on sociolinguists working in various areas of the world, including Arabicists, who applied the quantitative variationist methods, which -following the model of leading American schools of sociology- tended to explain language variation and change by means of correlations between linguistic variants and social variables such as age, sex, and social class. One of the forerunners of the variationist approaches to Arabic is Al-Hassan (1977, 1978) (cf. Kouloughli 1996: 4), who suggests that what he termed Modern Spoken Arabic, Educated Arabic, and Non-standard Arabic constitute a continuum within linguistic variation in Arabic. The works of El-Hassan have influenced many linguists in Arabic studies, namely Sallam (1980), Owens & Bani Yasin (1991) and Tarrier (1993) (cf. Kouloughi 1996: 5), and one major finding -alongside the variationist theory- was that the more formal the situation, the more frequent the occurrence of the prestige variants; however, Kouloughli remarks that lack of information on sociological works on Arab/Arabic-speaking societies will not allow for a correlation between the social motivation of speakers and the linguistic variables under study (ibid.). As for the triglossic approaches, they refer to the emergence of a variety used among intellectuals and university lecturers between Classical Arabic and the dialect, termed "*arabe médian*"[middle Arabic], which, despite the similarities it bears with Classical/Standard Arabic, does not retain its case inflections. This is what Ferguson meant by *al-lugha el-wusta* [Middle variety], a form of Arabic that bears "highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial

vocabulary"(Ferguson 1959a: 240). In diglossic situations such as those prevailing in the "Arab world", the promotion of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) embodied in the convergence of speakers in these countries towards this prestige variety is enhanced by education and the spread of TV, radio and other mass media. Thus, among the much-documented works on Arabic variation and change is the influence of the classical feature *q*; however, this influence is said to be merely lexical, as Abd-el Jawad's (1981) study suggests, showing that the SA (Standard Arabic) phonological variant *q* strongly correlates with words belonging to the 'cultural domain' of Standard Arabic, for example, *qa:ʕa*, "lecture hall" (Abd-el Jawad 1981: 205, cited in Owens 2001: 431)**.** Further studies maintain that Classical Arabic influence is mainly lexical, evidence that the use of features of Standard Arabic is not due to literacy being that illiterate speakers can still produce standard forms:"Bahrain changes from a predominantly illiterate to a literate society [...] does not necessarily mean the supplanting of non-literary by literary forms" (Holes 1987: 17-18), which reduces the importance of the appeal to MSA by speakers of vernacular nonstandard varieties, and that the direction of the linguistic change is not necessarily towards the standard form of Arabic.

Haeri (1997) takes a more radical position when she states that "since Egyptians can and do employ Egyptian Arabic to discuss philosophy, literature, politics, as well as the more mundane matters of daily life, what they speak cannot be viewed as a "colloquial" language" (Haeri 1997: 226). Denying the existence of such entity as Educated Spoken Arabic, she posits that Egyptian Arabic constitutes a language in its own right: "The fact that speakers may employ all sorts of CA in their conversations does not cause a metamorphosis of E[gyptian]A[rabic] into another entity, but serves to widen its scope of variability" (ibid.). Devoting a whole chapter of her (1997) work to the q variant, in addition to another chapter to palatalisation, which, she insists, is not a feature of MSA, she states that "stylistic variation is a product of the simultaneous resources of the varieties in contact"(ibid.) and that, "in [her]data, for those speakers who used the resources of CA, the great majority employed only its lexical resources" (ibid., 227).

The importance of the contribution of Arabic dialectal varieties in the construction of urban vernaculars is overshadowed by the emphasis laid by many Arabic sociolinguistic works, on the Classical/dialectal dichotomy, and as Miller states, most of which "were not concerned by the dialectal diversity, which seems to have been considered as a secondary or a minor phenomenon" (Miller 2004: 17). Positions highlighting the importance of studying the Arabic dialectal varieties are taken by Ibrahim (1986), Abdel-Jawad (1986), Al-Wer (1997), and Gibson (2002) (all cited in Bassiouney 2009: 119), who argue that, because MSA is not a spoken variety, it is not Standard Arabic which is the target Arabic variety but rather the

prestigious vernacular of different countries, hence the importance of the distinction between standard and prestige variants (Ibrahim 1986, cited in Owens 2001: 437-8). Holes suggests that increased literacy and urbanisation in Bahrain do not necessarily trigger the use of classical features (Holes 1987: 18). In the same vein, Al-Wer states that phonological and morpho-syntactic data show that linguistic change in Arabic is not towards CA, but in the direction of the high spoken variety, and that the highly educated speakers appealed to stops rather than to interdentals (Al-Wer 2002: 46).

1.5.2 Dialectology/Sociolinguistics and urban studies in the MENA region

Contemporary sociolinguistics in the MENA (Middle-East and North Africa) region include, among others, studies on the Mashreq dialects by Lentin (1981) on Damas; Holes (1987) on Bahrain; Haeri (1997, 2003) on Cairo; Al-Wer (2002, 2007) on Jordan; and Germanos (2009) on Beyruth. While the Maghreb dialects are known through the works of Caubet on Morocco and the Maghreb (1998, 2001, 2002, 2004); Aguadé (2003); Aguadé, Cressier and Vincente on Morocco (1998); Messaoudi (2002) on Rabat; Hachimi (2007, 2011) on Fessis in Casablanca; Miller (1984) on Sudan and on Egypt (2005b); Miller et al. on Arabic urban vernaculars (2007); Bénitez et al. on Morocco (2013); and Miller and Caubet on Arabic sociolinguistics in the MENA -Middle East and North Africa- (2010). As for Tunisia, Shiri's (2002) study deals with accommodation to Cairene Arabic by Tunisian speakers working in London.

Among the linguists who have described the linguistic situation in Algeria are Belkaid (1976) on Ténès; Grand' Henry (1976); Ait Ouméziane (1981) on Constantine; Mairi (1981) and Boucherit (2004) on Algiers; Morsly (1996, 2012), Taleb-Ibrahimi (1997, 2004), Maougal (2000) and Dourari (2003, 2011) on the linguistic situation(s) of Algeria; Benramdane on names and identity (1999) and on Toponymy and anthroponymy (2005).

Studies on northwestern Algeria include Siagh (1976) on the northwestern dialects of Ghazaouet, Oran and Tlemcen; Dekkak (1979) on Tlemcen; Benrabah on Algeria (Oran and Ghazaouet (1994, 1999a) and on Algeria (1999b, 2009) ; Bouhadiba on Oran (1993, 1998, 2002); Dendane (1993, 2002, 2007) on Tlemcen; Boucherit (2004) on Algiers; and Madouni (1996), and Abdelhay (2008) on language and gender in Mostaganem.

In Oran, studies on Arabic dialects and post-independence dialectal descriptions include a series of journals on didactics, linguistics and dialectology under the title "*Cahiers de linguistique et de dialectologie*" founded in the eighties and nineties by Farouk Bouhadiba

(and others researchers at the University of Oran), comprising contributions by Farouk Bouhadiba (1993, 1998, 2002), Ali Bouamrane (1989), and others. Also of particular interest is the creation of the research laboratory *LINGUISTIQUE, DYNAMIQUE DU LANGAGE ET DIDACTIQUE* in 2000 at the University of Oran by the same team. Theses include Bouamrane's (1984) Ph. D thesis "Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria"; more recent work is Benali-Mohamed's doctoral thesis on code-switching by Berber speakers in Algeria (2007), and Chachou (2013) on Algerian Mostaganem.

In the Francophone domain of what has come to be termed urban sociolinguistics, it is worth mentioning Blanchet, Bulot and Lounici for the organisation and publication of "Les Journées Internationales de Sociolinguistique Urbaine"(Urban Sociolinguistics) in 2007 and several publications since. Khaoula Taleb-Ibrahimi is mainly interested in macro studies involving mulitilingualism and diglossia, and the status of standard and non-standard varieties of Arabic in Algeria (1997, 2004).

1.6 Dialects in contact and new urban vernaculars

Trudgill's works on 'new-dialect formation' set a theoretical model with the major stages of koineisation: mixing, levelling, simplification, focusing (Trudgill 1986, 2004), and reallocation (Britain and Trudgill 2005). In new towns (and cities), contact between speakers of mutually intelligible dialects undergoes both short-term and long-term accommodation, this latter usually resulting in dialect change Trudgill 1986: 3-21). Using Labov's (1972) concepts of indicators -variables that are subject to social class variation- and markers -variables which are subject to both social class and stylistic variation, Trudgill explains that, being "relatively high in a speaker's consciousness" (ibid., 10), markers are most likely to be modified by speakers in formal situations. Attributing to the social psychologist Howard Giles the origin of the concept of linguistic accommodation, Trudgill states that the same process applies in accommodation, whereby "in contact with speakers of other language varieties, speakers modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware"(ibid., 11). Trudgill suggests that the extra-strong salience of some markers (stereotypes) may inhibit accommodation. For example, the two different pronunciations ʊ and ʌ in such words as butter and æ vs. ɑː in words like "dance" are considered as stereotypes of "Southerners" and "Northerners", respectively. However, while the first pair of stereotypes (ʊ / ʌ) may be adopted by speakers of either region, the differences in the pronunciation of the other pair ae / a: in dance by speakers of Southern England as opposed to speakers of Northern England are,

from a psychological point of view, too strong (ie. too salient); therefore, speakers of either region are unwilling to level out their own regional forms (ibid.,18).

1.6.1 Accommodation and koineisation in Arab countries

Accommodation is not specific to Western societies, and the task of describing this process in many Arab or Arabic-speaking countries is rendered even more complex due to the diglossic and/or bi-/multi-lingual situations which characterize them, in addition to a rapid urbanisation, as is shown in figure 1 below (Miller 2007: 25-26 [source: Geopolis]):

Table 1.2 Population growth of 1st, 2nd and 3rd cities of each Arab country from 1860 to 2005

City	Country	1860	1920	1950	1980	2005
Algiers	Algeria	62,174	203,927	422,100	1,646,360	3,360,788
Oran	Algeria	28,330	135,070	253,282	532,763	754,023
Constantine	Algeria	38,365	61,172	88,514	374,634	480,278
Casablanca	Morocco	700	102,000	700,559	2,136,088	3,569,988
Rabat	Morocco	40,000	55,000	200,763	782,035	1,670,618
Fez	Morocco	88,000	71,000	177,578	420,232	983,751
Tunis	Tunisia	145,000	227,837	601,695	1,062,486	1,926,788
Sfax	Tunisia	3,000	37,149	75,237	317,328	485,294
Sousse	Tunisia	8,000	37,994	80,999	156,224	340,731
Nouakchott	Mauritania	—	—	4,812	184,139	628,814
Nouadhibou	Mauritania	—	—	685	29,165	77,901
Zouerat	Mauritania	—	—	—	19,834	36,385
Tripoli	Libya	40,000	70,000	105,741	771,928	1,595,490
Benghazi	Libya	15,000	36,000	55,989	348,445	638,050
Misrata	Libya	—	14,000	29,950	87,335	274,064
Riyadh	Saudi	—	23,664	97,892	1,054,529	4,241,543
Jeddah	Saudi	30,000	25,000	49,898	848,290	2,868,269
Damman	Saudi	—	—	—	430,475	1,616,266
Damascus	Syria	48,000	167,152	340,616	1,233,389	2,799,352
Aleppo	Syria	125,000	154,383	379,193	938,154	1,688,558
Hems	Syria	20,000	53,360	124,232	328,594	774,567
San°a	Yemen	—	23,000	85,000	256,819	1,790,275
Ta°iz	Yemen	—	—	25,000	86,739	623,317
Aden	Yemen	20,000	56,500	118,768	289,040	601,079
Cairo	Egypt	277,438	961,648	2,578,284	7,732,819	12,617,647
Alexandria	Egypt	184,447	456,672	1,025,943	2,409,472	3,340,353
Al-Mahalla Al-Kubra	Egypt	25,000	41,464	126,265	364,475	559,709
Amman	Jordan	—	—	89,860	747,481	257,0596
Irbid	Jordan	—	—	19,947	120,093	388,094
Aqaba	Jordan	—	—	2,186	27,926	81,533
Beirut	Lebanon	—	128,529	211,000	1,030,474	2,153,176
Tripoli	Lebanon	—	4,0449	100,000	441,170	558,519
Saida	Lebanon	—	12,000	20,000	120,630	207,366
Baghdad	Iraq		250,000	627,885	2,832,044	6,252,189
Mossul	Iraq		60,000	144,925	490,162	1,940,672
Basrah	Iraq		30,000	114,914	372,019	1,552,537

Figure 1: Population growth in Arab cities

Contact between rural migrants and urban dwellers, as well as between speakers from different cities within the same country, has resulted in the emergence of new dialects, called new urban vernaculars. Arabic urban sociolinguistics is concerned with the study of these new vernaculars, which, for most, have undergone a process of levelling -one of the stages of koineisation- whereby marked features of the local varieties in contact are erased and replaced by new features present in neither of the dialects. This type of accommodation -i.e., adapting to the interlocutor's speech- involves a degree of convergence towards features of the higher prestige or more valued dialectal variety. In so-called "monolingual" situations, it seems that the standard form bears more prestige than the non-standard forms, whereas in Arabic di/polyglossic or multilingual settings, one of the crucial questions lies in whether such accommodation is in the direction of Classical/Standard Arabic or whether it finds its resources in (other prestige) non-standard varieties of Arabic. The second related question is whether education plays a role in the direction of change. Some of the rare studies on accommodation and koineisation among Arabic speakers include Abu-Malhin (1991&1992), Walters (1991), Jong (1996), Lawson-Sako and Sachdev (1996), S'hiri (2002), Suleiman (2004) and Al-Essa (2008).

1.6.2 Accommodation between speakers of different Arabic countries

Studies involving accommodation between speakers of different Arabic-speaking countries suggest that the latter "codeswitch from their national varieties to MSA, to other prestige varieties and to foreign languages" (Bassiouney 2009:). S'hiri's (2OO2) study on Tunisian journalists who worked with non-Maghrebi Arabic speakers for radio and television stations in London reported that the Tunisians converged toward their Eastern colleagues, in whose presence they also avoided colloquialisms and bilingual code-switching into French, the latter being common practice among educated Tunisians in informal settings such as family and friends' gatherings. The Tunisians' convergence is purportedly due to their insecurity regarding their own Arabic variety, their Middle-Eastern colleagues having been reported to consider it as "corrupted by Berber and French", thus putting into doubt the Tunisians competency in Arabic and membership to the Arab identity (Shiri 2002, cited in Shiri 2009: 320). This convergence has also been observed among other Maghrebi speakers, reported to accommodate to their Middle-Eastern Arabic speakers when communicating with them, thus acknowledging their prestige status, due partly to their exposure to Mashreqi speech through widespread film industry, as is the case for Egypt, for instance (see 2.2.1.2).

1.6.3 Accommodation between speakers of the same country

In *Arabic in the City* (2007), a comparison between 13 Arab cities reveals very important discrepancies in terms of such contact-induced varieties as koines or new urban dialects (Miller et al., eds.). In Morocco, the Casablanca vernacular -a focused and stabilized koine, a mix of rural and bedouin features- represents the national Moroccan koine (Hachimi 2007). Following Eckert's (2000) theoretical model of variation as social practices, Hachimi finds out that linguistic levelling among Fessis in Casablanca correlates more with the social meaning of features than with the time of migration and that questions of context and identity are more relevant in accommodation processes (Hachimi 2007). For Amman, Jordan, Al-Wer (2007) points out that the issue of Ammani identity is very present in the koineisation processes. For Lybia, Pereira (2007) suggests that in Tripoli, the predominant dialect is bedouin, and that the presence of bedouin-sedentary koine is attested as early as the 19th century. As for Algeria, the question of the construction of a new urban vernacular remains open, "due mainly to lack of comparative studies between Oran and Algiers" (Miller 2007: 22).

1.6.4 Religious and communal dialects

The answer to the question of the direction of linguistic change is a complex one because, in diglossic contexts such as those prevailing in Arabic-speaking countries, prestige linguistic forms have not been found to be necessarily based on the standard/classical variety of Arabic but on other factors. Within the variationist model on language change, it has been found that, while in Western societies, social class, as one of the major social categories -the other two being age and sex- is a decisive factor in language change, it seems that, in "Arab" societies, it does not come first in the categorization of speakers because as such, social class is neither a "common" social feature nor a clearly-defined criterion. Instead, factors such as communal membership or religious affiliation are relatively more important, depending on the socio-political situations in which the dialects occur. For example, although Muslim, Christian and Jewish dialects of Arabic are attested in studies on Baghdad (Blanc 1964; Abu Haidar 1991, cited in Miller and Caubet 2010) and on North Africa (Cohen 1912), some dialectologists (e.g., Blanc 1964) seem to maintain that it was socio-spatial segregation -resulting from Jewish and Christian population movements- which was responsible for the differences rather than religious affiliation, though it is generally recognized that, in Mesopotamia and North Africa, Jewish dialects, for example, are closer to non-Hilali

sedentary *"qeltu"* dialects than to bedouin *"geltu"* dialects, in particular after the arrival of bedouin groups:

> It is the subsequent migration of bedouin groups coming from the Arabic peninsula and progressively settling and taking over political power in the 19th c. that led to a dialect shift among the Muslim groups adopting a geltu dialect while Jewish and Christians were keeping the former city dialect. (Miller and Caubet 2010: 240)

Other studies (M. Cohen 1912) question the homogeneity of Arabic Jewish dialects, suggesting that they bear regional features of the country, as is the case for the Jewish dialect of Algiers (cf. Miller 2004: 11). More recently, however, a gradual replacement of Jewish dialects by Muslim dialects is attested in Arab cities, the Jewish communities having left the countries. As for the Christian and the Muslim dialects, studies on Damascus (Lentin 1981), Baghdad (Abu Haidar 1991) and Aleppo (Behnstedt 1989) suggest the existence of important structural differences (cf. Miller 2007: 8).

In Bahrain, Holes (1987) highlights the importance of considering factors such as history, geography, ethnic-based grouping and religion. The Bahrainis are divided into Sunnis and Shi'is, with a further division within the Sunnis between the *'Arab* -who live in towns- and the *Hwala*. The Shi'i group is constituted of the Baharna group - "a sedentary group concentrated in Mananma and in small villages, and claiming to be the original inhabitants of Bahrain before "their invasion by the Arab *Al-Khalifa* branch of the *Bani 'Utub* (related to the ruling family of Kuwait, the *Al-SabaH*) in 1783" (Wilson 1954, cited in Holes 1987: 11), the Iranian *a'jam* group (Persians), and the *'Arab*, with "bedouin virtues of independence, manliness and self-reliance"(ibid., 12), many of whom considering as '*ayb* (shame and disgrace) such jobs as "selling, buying, barbering or tailoring" (ibid.).The *'Arab* prestige variants are still adopted by the *Baharna* together with SA variants, with education, mass media and social mobility, reducing segregation between these groups (ibid.,13). The Shi'i Baharna group adopts the Sunni 'Arab dialect in public space, due to the predominant power of the latter group; on the other hand, the 'Arab community of Bahrain, even when they find themselves "isolated among Baharna", do not move towards the features of the latter but towards those of CA" (ibid., 17).

1.6.5 Social networks, social mixing, and flexibility of variables

More recent work has been one based on "social networks" (SN), a concept imported from the works of Leslie and James Milroy (1978) and L. Milroy (1987) to characterize linguistic practices developing within groups of individuals interacting in daily life (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003). Applied to Arab (and Arabic-speaking) situations, social networks, resulting from economic, political and demographic factors -such as urbanisation- encourage social mixing, thus leading to linguistic change, precisely because of the "flexibility" of social variables such as social class and education, which enhance linguistic change from above; for example, a doctor of working-class origin may climb up the social ladder and acquire higher-class values and habits, including language ((Bassiouney 2009: 124). Related to SN analysis is the concept of community of practice, whereby fixed variables as religion, ethnic or tribal group membership, inhibit linguistic change; in other words, the individual, whose own status is dependant upon their tribe's status and/or religion, is unable to change their tribal affiliation or religion. Such fixed variables not only create the community of practice but preserve the communal dialect, as in the case for Palestinians in Lebanon or Syria (ibid.). Conversely, "social networks when loosened by different factors, such as economic or political ones or urbanization when it changes the structure of a community may lead to language change" (ibid.).

1.6.6 Education and communal dialects: interdentals and the q variable

The complexity and the diversity of Arab/Arabic-speaking communities adds a new dimension to the treatment of language variation and change. Thus, the correlation between literacy and exposure to MSA features in terms of the acquisition, maintenance or re-appearance of CA features has been the centre of much debate. Perhaps two of the most-widely studied features of Arabic linguistic change are the interdentals/dentals and q/g/ʔ variants. However, while the stopping process of interdentals has been attributed to universal natural changes (see 3.2.4), the outcomes for the q variables differ from one Arab region to another, due to complex local situations.

1.6.6.1 Interdentals

There is a huge body of research on the interdental/dental dichotomy in Arabic-speaking settings both in terms of their relation to Classical Arabic and in terms of the contact between bedouin and sedentary dialects in the construction of urban vernaculars. The

Classical Arabic phonological features constitute two distinct triads: that of the interdentals ḏ, ð and ɵ and that of the dentals d̪, d and t. This distinction has undergone two important changes: mergers and stopping. While in bedouin dialects, the two sounds ḏ and d̪ have merged into ḏ, in sedentary dialects, interdentals were replaced by dentals, with the merging of ḏ and d̪ into d̪.

Studies led by Parkinson (1991) involving linguistic attitudes and prestige varieties, revealed that "the ranking of the phonological variable far outweighs the other variables"(Parkinson 1991: 57, quoted in Haeri 1997: 236), where

> a text with all the correct case endings of FusHa, correct pausal forms, and correct pronunciation **except for interdentals** which were pronounced according to Egyptian rather than CA phonology, was judged as lower on the FusHa scale than one that had only partial case endings, incorrect pausal forms, but which had the *Classical Arabic interdentals.* (Haeri 1997: 236, emphasis mine)

In Amman, Jordan, Al-Wer (2000) notes that, although "written Classical Arabic suggests a phonemic distinction between /d/ and /ḏ/)" (i.e. ḍaḍ and ḏɑ:')… "none of the spoken dialects has maintained this contrast"(Al-Wer 2000: 7). A further development in the change of interdentals is the stopping process (i.e., interdentals becoming dentals) taking place in many Arab countries. One of the questions asked in the present study is whether the shift of interdentals to stops in the speech of a rising number of (usually urban young) Algerian Arabic speakers correlates with social variables (e.g., age, education) or whether it is more likely attributable to factors pertaining to origin and/or time of migration. Another question is whether and when speakers of different dialects make use of their respective communal features.

1.6.6.2 The q variable

The differences in the status and communal origin of *q, g,* ʔ and *k* across many Arab countries trigger different outcomes in terms of the maintenance or shift of this variant. Unlike the g variant, which serves as a feature of "bedouinity"('*ASala*) and "masculinity" in both the Middle-East and the Maghreb, there does not seem to be consensus about the status of q and that of ʔ both across and within theses regions. While ʔ is a national variant in many Middle-Eastern countries, because of its prestige position as a variant of the capital cities -for example, Cairo for Egypt and Beirut for Lebanon- it has remained a regional variant in the Maghreb cities of Tlemcen and Fes, not gaining prestige outside their communal sphere; more

than that, it is stigmatized in public speech among men while it is valued in the speech of Tlemceni and Fessi women, as we shall see in 2) below and in 4.3.2 .

1) **The q variable in the Middle-East**

After the merging of qaf with the glottal stop, the latter has until recently been a prestige national variant in Egypt even among educated speakers in formal situations; however, q is reappearing on the urban Egyptian scene (Haeri 1997: 154-6). Sallam states that speakers from Beirut display higher use of q than k when speaking to non-Lebanese speakers, thus avoiding their local k (Sallam 1980: 92, cited in Owens 2001: 429). Findings on many Arab settings reveal that the variant g is associated with "manlihood". Noting the competition between ʔ and g and the decline of k in Jordan, Abd-El Jawad points to the complexity of the symbolic and political values attached to each of them: while ʔ represents "Palestinian norms" -though it is modern and historically urban- "g is originally Jordanian, but also tough, slightly macho and rugged" (Abd-el Jawad 1981: 176, cited in Owens 2001: 437). The same evaluation characterises Sawaie's (1986) findings on Jordan, suggesting the prestige status of ʔ and the masculine way of speaking of g (Owens 2001: 455)**.** In his 1987 study, Abd-el-Jawad notes that, of the four-set variants q, ʔ, g and k, q is associated with Standard Arabic and urban speech, k with central Palestinian rural dialects, and g with other rural Palestinian and Israeli dialects and rural Jordanian. As for ʔ, "it was brought to Jordan largely by refugees from the Israeli-Arab wars" (Abd-el Jawad 1987: 361, quoted in Owens, 2001: 436)**.** In Bahrain, Holes (1987: 70) found out that while the dominant 'Arab group maintained their native g and ǵ, literate Baharna speakers with native k switched *to 'Arab g and* not to *SA q*. Owens (2001) notes that studies by Sallam (1980: 93), Abd-el Jawad (1981), Bakir (1986), Haeri (1991, 1998) and Daher (1998) revealed ʔ as a prestige variant among women while q was preferred by men.

2) The q variable in the Maghreb

In North Africa, the prestige status among women of q and the glottal stop ʔ is even more emphasised among communities of old city centres such as Algiers, Constantine and Bejaia for q and Fes and Tlemcen for ʔ.Thus, in Algeria, Dekkak's (1979) work on sex differences in the northwestern Algerian old city of *Tlemcen* confirmed women's maintenance of the glottal stop, unlike men, who preferred rural g. The same findings were noted in Dendane's **(**1993) study, in that "the glottal stop and some morphological and lexical items, sound 'effeminate' and are thus avoided by men in constrained interaction situations -and, increasingly, even

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in 'relaxed' "(Dendane 2007: 128).

A more recent development of linguistic change in the speech of Tlemceni men refers to the replacement of ʔ by q:

> ...not wishing to identify with a variety that has become strongly marked in its own environment, some native speakers of TA[Tlemcen Arabic] opt for the use of a variety that is neither typical of Tlemcen speech nor characterized by salient rural speech features. Such a strategy, particularly reflected in the use of qāf [q], as in [qalli] "He told me", instead of the usual [g] in [galli] that replaces the stigmatised TA [ʔalli], seems to allow such speakers to escape both negative comments on TA and giving way to rural Arabic. (Dendane 2007: 138)

Boucherit (2004: 10) notes a general quantitative tendency towards the bedouinization of urban dialects, reflecting a gradual proletarization of an increasing number of speakers, most of whom are of rural origin.

In Morocco, Hachimi's (2007, 2011) study of Fessis in Casablanca unveils that, contrary to former studies reporting a shift of old city dialects and a linear dialectal change, old city dialects are not dying out, as some linguistic variables are taking different trajectories. The prestige status of q is challenged by communal factors, for example, among Fessi women in Casablanca, for whom the glottal stop ʔ remains a marker of "noble" origin.

Furthermore, Miller's (2012) study on the attitudes regarding the dubbing of Mexican series in the Casablancan dialect suggests that the latter is neither the prestige nor the norm in Morocco (see also Miller 2008 on the decline of the dialects of old city centres).

1.6.7 Men, women, and dialectal change

Studies on Western communities which suggested that women were the leaders of linguistic change (Labov 2001; Haeri 1997) were initially challenged by studies in Arab countries which supported the opposite view (cf. Al-Wer 2002: 42). However, it soon turned out that it was (middle-class) women who were at the avant-garde of linguistic change, as differences in the findings were due to a methodological problem, for example, a confusion regarding the interpretation of the data, the target features having been wrongly considered to be features of Standard Classical Arabic (ibid.). While linguistic gender differences are quite relevant and tell us much about the given social situations in which they occur, their

interaction with communal norms and values may sometimes relegate them to a secondary position. In Algiers, studies reveal that the old city centre q and tˢ (affricated t) are maintained by (mostly old) women (Boucherit and Lentin 1989; Boucherit 2004). As for Tlemcen -the only Algerian city where the glottal stop is a locally marked feature- in addition to tˢ, a set of phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features seem to be characteristic of each sex group, with, for example, women maintaining ʔ *and men using it only in informal situations* (Dekkak 1979: 96, cited in Owens 2001: 444). More recent studies by Dendane (2007) suggest that Tlemcen local ʔ is being gradually supplanted in public space by g in the speech of men, who devote the glottal stop ʔ to in-group situations, unlike women, who maintain the glottal stop whatever the situation, as a symbol of their "aristocratic" descent.

1.7 Some "*scenarios*" for the development of Arabic urban vernaculars

The population of Arab cities has known a dramatic shift from a " predominantly rural population] in the mid 20ᵗʰ century, to a predominantly urban population" (Miller 2007: 1-2).What impact this fast urbanisation has on the correlation between the social changes and the linguistic outcomes constitutes one of the issues in language variation and change. Dialectal varieties are not only the result of geographical distance and historical events but their development also depends on the socio-political situation of each Arabic city or country, each with its social, ethnic, cultural and ideological factors. For Miller (2004), there are thus several "*scenarios"* as to the direction of change in each of the Arabic cities. The first one is that migrant speakers maintain their bedouin dialects, sweeping away the former sedentary dialects. The second possibility involves the maintenance of the separate vernaculars by their respective groups within the same city, as Boucherit (2004) seems to suggest. The third scenario might be that an urban koine, usually a blend of both bedouin/rural and sedentary dialects, might be used in public space, with the communal varieties limited to the private sphere (Miller 2004), as the "development of a koine in public space does not necessarily lead to the loss or attrition of the different communal dialects" (Miller 2006: 345).

1.8 Conclusion

The Middle-East and North Africa (henceforth MENA) represent complex situations from both a linguistic and a socio-anthropological viewpoint, and studies focusing principally on diglossia -whereby the prestige high variety is Classical/standard Arabic- may not reveal very enlightening. The reasons for this are multiple. In the MENA region, the prestige variants are not necessarily those of CA/SA, and this despite drastic social changes following urbanisation, education and the media. Furthermore, in the Middle-East, where old ethnic and communal differences such as those in Bahrain, Jordan, Iraq, etc., still prevail, and, in North Africa, where, in addition to a foreign language -French- imposed during the colonial period, and the presence of national languages other than Arabic (ie., Berber/Tamazight), studies on contact between the dialects and the status of the regional dialects, as well as between the national languages themselves, may be quite revealing. Arab cities have known dramatic movements of rural populations; migrants come not only with their culture, customs and habits but also with their language(s) or language varieties, which are likely to influence other varieties in place, be influenced by them, or both. As a result of socio-economic changes brought by migration, education and exposure to television and more present mass media, in general, studies both in the Middle-East and North Africa suggest that communal and, to a lesser extent, regional dialectal distinctions, seem to fade away, leaving place to more mixed types of dialect. In the next chapter, I shall deal with the linguistic situation in an Arab/Arabic-speaking context: the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, western Algeria.

Chapter Two: Setting the stage

2.1 Introduction

Setting the stage for detailed discussion of the speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes requires examination of the more general picture of the linguistic situation in Algeria not only with respect to Classical/Standard Arabic and the non-standard varieties of Arabic, but also in relation to other languages. The first section of this chapter begins with a brief description of the linguistic situation in Algeria, tackling the issue of language change and attempting a comparison between three Arabic regional dialects of Algeria. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 of this chapter will be devoted to the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes from the historical, geographical and linguistic viewpoints, with a presentation of the classification of the regional dialect(s) and a comparison with other regional and communal varieties, leaving to Chapter Three further discussion on the dialectal situation of present-day Sidi Bel-Abbes.

2.2 The linguistic situation in Algeria

Algeria is located in North Africa, between Tunisia in the East and Morocco in the West. According to the 1 January 2014 survey (ONS 2014), the population is estimated to 38,7 millions. The population of the capital city, Algiers, is estimated to 6 727 806 people in, with an urban population of 2 364 230 inhabitants (ONS 2008).

2.2.1 Languages in Algeria

It is difficult to know the exact number of Arabic, Berber, and French speakers. It has been suggested however that up to 85% Algerians speak Arabic while 15 to 30% speak Berber (Leclerc 2014), though the number of speakers of Classical Arabic and that of speakers of the dialectal varieties of Arabic is not yet known. What is certain is that Algerian Arabic is used as a lingua franca between Algerians. This -mostly spoken- variety is more and more used for everyday communication throughout the whole country, thus replacing, -in public space, mainly- the existing local non-Arabic languages.

2.2.1.1 *Ethnologue***'s list**

        Ethnologue lists no less than than 22 languages, including 18 "indigenous" and 4 immigrant languages, distributed as follows (*Ethnologue*, adapted):

1. Algerian Sign language.

2. Algerian Saharan Spoken Arabic

Classified as Afro-Asiatic Semitic, this language is spoken by a population of 100,000 mostly in the Algerian Atlas Mountains, northeast to Medea (south of Algiers), southeast to Righa Wadi, south as far as Plateau of Tademait, and some in Tamanrasset.

3. Algerian Spoken Arabic totals 20,400,000 speakers, and it includes varieties used in Constantine, Algiers, and Oran. Reference to these cities may mean that this variety is spoken in northern Algerian cities and adjacent towns and villages, the main representatives being these three.

4. Standard Arabic.

5. Chenoua, also sometimes referred to as Chenoui, is said to be spoken by the Beni Menacer population, estimated to 61,000, in Mount Chenoua. It is an Afro- Asiatic, Northern Berber language.

6. French.

7. Kabyle

This Afro-Asiatic, Berber, northern Kabyle language, whose population of speakers is estimated between 2,540,000 and 6,000,000, is used mainly in "Grande Kabylie" and "Petite Kabylie".

8. Korandje, a Nilo-Saharan, Songhai language, is spoken in the Tabelbala oasis.

9. Tachawit

Also known as Chaouia, Chawi, Shawia, Shawiya, Tacawit, this Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Shawiya language is estimated to 1,400,000 speakers. It is found in the *Aurès* Mountains, south and southeast of "Grande Kabylie".

10. Tachelhit

Of Afro-Asiatic, Berber, northern Atlas descent, this language is spoken in the Algerian border with Morocco, in the Tabelbala area, southwestern Algeria.

11. Tagargrent

 Spoken by 5,000, mainly south of Constantine, near Mzab, Ouargla and Ngouça, this

Wargla language includes such varieties as Ouedghir (Wadi), Temacin, Tariyit, and is related to Tumzabt, Temacine Tamazight, and Taznatit. It is classified as an Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, and Mzab-Wargla.

12. Tahaggart Tamahaq

With 25,000 speakers in Algeria, it is spoken in the South Hoggar (Ajjer) Mountain area, Hoggar, Tamanghasset area and south to the Niger border. Other names are: Tamachek, Tamashekin, Tomachek, Touareg, and Tuare.g., It is an Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Tamasheq and northern language.

13.Central Atlas Tamazight

Spoken mainly in the West Atlas moutains area, south near Morocco border, this South Oran language is Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, and Atlas.

14. Temacine Tamazight

This Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Mzab-Wargla language has 6,000 speakers in the Temacine, Tamelhat, Ghomra, and Meggarin areas; this language is also called Touggourt, Tougourt, Tugurt, and related to Tumzabt, Tagargrent, and Taznatit.

15. Tidikelt Tamazight

Spoken by 9,000 (1995), in the Tidikelt, Salah area, and Tit south, this is an Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Tidikelt language.

16. Tarifit

This Rif language is spoken along the coast, East Algeria to Arzew. It includes the dialects of Arzew, Igzennaian, Iznacen (Beni Iznassen). It is an Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Riff.

17. Taznatit

Found in the Timimoun Touat region and southwest of M'zab, this Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Mzab-Wargla language is said to total 40,000 speakers (1995), and includes the dialects of Gourara (Gurara), Touat (Tuat, Tuwat). It is r*elated to Tumzabt, Tagargrent, Temacine Tamazight, but not as similar as they are to each other. There is low intelligibility with other Tamazight speech forms, including Tumzabt and Tagargrent.*

18. Tumzabt

With a population of 70,000 speakers (1995), this Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Northern, Zenati, Mzab-Wargla language is spoken in 7 oases in the M'zab region, with Ghardaia as the

principal oasis, about 600kms south of Algiers. It is r*elated to Tagargrent, Temacine Tamazight, and Taznatit.*

In addition to the 18 local languages enumerated above, *Ethnologue* mentions the presence of 4 immigrant languages: Catalan-Valencian-Balear, Hassaniyya Arabic (150,000), Kidal Tamasheq, and Tadaksahak (1,800), without specifying where these languages are attested.

Several objections must be raised regarding the number of languages, in particular, the criteria for defining a language. Although I subscribe to the view that recognizing linguistic diversity is one of the signs of good political health in a country, one should not indulge in what I may term ethno-linguistic exotism, to the point of exaggerating the number of languages. In addition to Algerian Sign Language, Arabic and its varieties enumerated in *Ethnologue*, the list includes Chenoua, Kabyle, Korandje, Tashawit, Tachelhit, Tagargrent, Tahaggart Tamahaq (Tamachaq), Central Atlas Tamazight, Temacine Tamazight, Tidikelt Tamazight, Tarifit, Taznatit, and Tumzabt. One of the criteria for considering varieties either as belonging to the same language or constituting a separate language is mutual intelligibility, which I shall discuss first with respect to Arabic.

The second objection is that there should be a clear distinction between such notions as speech repertoire and verbal repertoire. While the speech repertoire refers to the sum of the language and language varieties used in a community, the verbal repertoire represents the languages and language varieties spoken by an individual (Richards *et al*.1985: 267, 306).

2.2.1.2 Arabic

To the question of whether speakers of Standard Arabic, speakers of the Mashreq, and speakers of Algerian Spoken Arabic mutually understand each other, many answers are possible. First, mutual intelligibility is a complex process not only for its varying degrees -and its being not always mutual (Trudgill 2003: 91)- but also its link to interdisciplinary parameters: psychological, when it involves speakers' attitudes to languages or language varieties and their willingness (or unwillingness) to understand them; historical, for the historical development of dialects, and hence, differences that arise as a result of this; and ethnic, for choices contingent on questions of identity, etc. For example, while most Algerian speakers do not find it difficult to understand their Cairene interlocutors, the latter state that they can hardly work out what Algerians mean. This may be due to a number of reasons. First, it is true that each of Algerian Arabic and Cairene Arabic belong to two distinct though

diachronically related dialects of the same language: the Mashreq dialects and the Maghreb dialects of Arabic, and, within each type, bedouin and sedentary dialects, which differ from each other on a number of features. Cairene has been, at least until recently, a much widespread variety of Arabic, due to the Egyptian film industry, having produced and distributed throughout almost all the Arab countries, the result of which is that any Arabic-speaking person is familiar with this variety. Conversely, Cairene speakers, not having been exposed to these varieties, are not familiar with Algerian, Tunisian Arabic, etc. The second related reason involves the question of prestige: studies revealed that Tunisians living in England accommodated to "Middle-Eastern" Arabic (Shiri 2002). However, accommodation to one particular variety is not necessarily a sign of deference. Rather, it may simply mean that for strategies of politeness, the speaker of a less-known variety may want to use a better-known variety, precisely because it is more widespread, though not necessarily considered as the/a prestige form. It is true that in the seventies, and due mainly to the "invasion" of Arab-speaking homes by Middle-Eastern films, and Egyptian ones, in particular, and before the advent of satellite channels, Cairene Arabic had an enviable position. Today, evidence that Cairene is no longer a prestige variety -in Algeria, at least- may be found in its use by some (older) Algerians in informal -humorous- contexts, and its replacement by other varieties having in their turn invaded Algerian households either via films or dubbing of films(e.g. Syrian -some South American and Chinese series are dubbed in Syrian and Lebanese Arabic). The Algerians' frequent code-switching and mixing between non-standard Arabic, Tamazight, and French may not place it as a prestige variety of Arabic. Being a prestige variety in Egypt for Cairene Arabic, or any other Arabic variety in any country, does not entail having the same status in other Arab countries -though it is undeniable that the Mashreq dialects generally have prestige among the Maghreb Arabic speakers- may be due to less code-switching and the relative degree of stability and focusing that the Mashreq dialects- Cairene Arabic, in particular- have attained. Nevertheless, speakers of different varieties of Arabic may reasonably be said to understand one another, though to varying degrees, from mutual to unilateral comprehension. If we turn to the number of languages given by *Ethnologue*, we may object that, although both Standard Arabic and its non-standard varieties are often used to perform different functions by different speakers in different situations, they are nevertheless part of the same language, Arabic. Having said that, it is true that speakers with no or little education in Classical/Standard Arabic have been reported to find the latter almost unintelligible.

2.2.1.3 Berber/Tamazight

The term Tamazight is sometimes used to refer to an ethnic group rather than to a linguistic language family though Chaker (2012) suggests that both Berber and Tamazight be used interchangeably; according to him, the principal Berber-speaking region in Algeria, Kabylie, includes the two thirds of the Berber-speaking Algerians. The remaining important Berber-speaking groups are the Chaouias in the *Aurès*, the Mozabites in the M'zab, the Targuis in the region of Tamanrasset, and, with fewer speakers, the Chnaoui in the Tipasa region and the Shalhi (or Tashelhit) in southwestern Algeria, the latter two being supplanted by Arabic (Chaker 1989). The situation between the varieties of Berber/Tamazight is a little complex in that, while the varieties of Kabyle- the language spoken in both "*Grande Kabylie*", Tizi-Ouzou -with its neighbouring towns and villages- and "*Petite Kabylie*", Bejaia and the surrounding areas, including Aokas, Theniet-el-Had, etc.- are understood by the people in these regions, the latter find it hard to understand speakers of Tumzabt, Tachalhit, Temacine Tamazight, etc.. The question is: "What is the degree of inter-comprehension among speakers of Berber languages?" On the other hand, Korandje -spoken in the Tabelbala oasis in southwestern Algeria (about 400 kms south of Bechar)- was found to be unrelated both to Tamazight (or Berber) and to Arabic, although "12% of the Swadesh 100-word list is Berber and another 8%, from Arabic, may have been borrowed via Berber" (Souag 2010: 29).

Thus, five main groups may be distinguished, each characterized by mutual intelligibility within its sub-groups:

1. Kabyle, in the Kabylie region (Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaia) and, to a lesser extent in Bouira, Boumerdes, Setif, and Algiers;

2. Chaoui, covering important parts in Batna, Biskra, Oum El-Bouaghi, Aïn Mlila, Aïn Beïda;

3. Mozabite, spoken in Ghardaia and the neighbouring Ibadhite cities and towns.

4. Targui, written in the tamatchak alphabet, is a variety spoken in the South of Algeria, mainly in the Great South regions, namely, in Tamanrasset; and

5. Tashelhit in southwestern Algeria.

Though the use and teaching of Tamazight - Kabyle, in particular- are common, in many Amazighophone cities, these language varieties are now being gradually supplanted by Arabic and French or coexist with them (for Berber languages and varieties, see Chaker 1995, 2008; Naït-Zerrad 2004). All in all, there seems to be consensus, in Algeria, of the presence of 5 Berber/Tamazight language groups (cf. also Elimam 1986: 2).

2.2.1.4 French

Though non-standard Arabic and Berber were spoken in the Algerian homes, French was imposed as the only official language in Algeria during the colonial period. During the Arabisation era, it was officially relegated the position of first foreign language before regaining ground again, as it is now also extensively used by Francophone speakers -and to a lesser extent and less frequently, by many bilingual and Arabophone Algerians-in both formal and informal settings. Paradoxically, at the same time, there has been " une détérioration progressive des compétences scripturales chez une grande majorité d'élèves" [a gradual loss of writing competency among high school pupils] (Miliani 2002: 3).

2.2.1.5 The legal status of languages in Algeria

In *Article 5* of the 1963 Algerian Constitution, Classical/Standard Arabic is officially the only language allowed in administration, teaching and the media: *"la langue arabe est la langue nationale et officielle de l'Etat"* (cf. Algerian Constitution (the)). Tamazight is however recognized and is present in the preamble of the constitution of 1996 (modifying *Article* 3 of the February 1989 constitution), as a "*fundamental component*" of Algerian identity, with Islam and Arabity (ibid.). Despite the fact that the Arabisation policy had been pursued since 1963, the law n°91-05 of 16 January 1991 on the generalisation of the use of (Classical/Standard) Arabic is the most pressing; while in the preceding decrees, the use of French had been tolerated -*temporarily*- in the Parliament and for law-writing, *Articles* 5 and 6 of 16 January 1991 generalise the use of the "*national language* (ie., Classical/Standard Arabic) in all domains: public administration, justice (1966), education, public health, the media, the socio-economic sectors, etc. This law, fixing the 5 July 1997 as the deadline for total Arabisation the use of any "*foreign language*", under penalty of fines between 1.000 and 5.000 DA (Algerian Dinars). It was only in article 4 of the ordonnance n°3-09 of 13 August 2003 modifying and completing the 73-35 ordinance of 16 April 1976 relating to the organisation of teaching and training, where articles 8 *bis* and 8 *ter* are inserted, that the teaching of Tamazight was allowed and its cultural dimension taken into consideration in the (school) programmes.

In the light of these laws and decrees, it is difficult for an outsider to imagine a situation other than one where the use and teaching of two languages prevails: Classical/Standard Arabic and Tamazight, the legal texts concerning the use of the Arabic language referring exclusively to one variety of Arabic: Classical/Standard Arabic. What is the situation for the other varieties

of Arabic, generally called "*darjas*"? While the Classical variety of Arabic is devoted to education, the mass media, and religious practices such as the recitation and explanation of the Qur'an, Algerian Arabic refers to the sum of regional and communal varieties deployed in the quasi-entirety of daily activities: interpersonal communication, shopping in markets, buying stamps in the post office, etc. Today, in the Internet age and thanks to the emergence of social networks and other opinion-forming platforms, we witness more consciousness-raising and a re-appropriation of national cultures and languages, officially recognised or not.

Until the 1970s (and 1980s in some regions), the visitor who came to Kabylie was struck by the differences in the linguistic practices in public space between, on one side, the region of Oran -with predominance of dialectal Arabic- and, on the other side, the regions of Kabylie, in particular, in villages and mountainous areas, where Tamazight was in quasi-exclusive use, and where French (and not Arabic)served as a lingua franca between bilingual Berberophones (French and Tamazight) and between Berberophones and non-Berberophones.

Regarding the question of language planning, "Algeria remains one of the small number of countries where language planning is at its most extreme"[...]and where the "state-led reforms have frequently taken sides with lobbies...instead of a resolute approach to one of the greatest challenges the country has to face" (Miliani 2005: 138).

2.2.2 Linguistic diversity in Algeria

The presence of Arabic, Berber, and French makes Algeria a multilingual place. This language contact situation has resulted in such processes as code-switching (see Benali-Mohamed 2007), the use of two or more languages or language varieties within a talk-exchange or even a single utterance, and code-mixing, a process of mixing, as for example, in the use of the lexical term of one language and the morpho-syntactic construction of another, to the extent that it is not unusual to hear both in homes and in public places, Algerian expressions -at their most extreme pidginisation- unintelligible to (non-Algerian) native speakers of only one of the languages in contact. An illustration of this is found in expressions of the type *ma-jǝgzisti:ʃ* "It does not exist", formed by French "*exister*"[exist] and the non-standard Arabic double negative form *ma+verb+ʃ*. A visitor would find it hard to understand and follow certain conversations between Algerians, though this extreme mixing remains peripheral and in very informal situations between young speakers. Viewed from a monolingual 'outsider' point of view, such a mix seems chaotic; however, from a complex multilingual perspective, this is not only common and inevitable but also in harmony with the

expression of thought in multi-lingual and multi-cultural contexts, an issue extensively discussed by Robillard (de) (2007) on Mauritius Island and the Réunion.

The question of how many languages Algerians speak and/or understand cannot be answered in a straightforward way, for none of Arabic, Tamazight, and French is spoken by *all* Algerians in *all* situations. Rather, the distribution of the three languages involves a close examination of the historical, geographical, and ethnic origin as well as the educational, social, and communal membership. Thus, on the one hand, we find a(n) (older) generation of speakers whose mother tongue is Tamazight (or Kabyle, Tachelhit, or Taznatit, etc.) for the most part, who were born either in Tamazight-speaking regions or families and whose education -for those who received formal education- was in French; other (mostly younger) speakers, also of Tamazight/Kabyle 'descent', who, in addition to their mother tongue, Tamazight, were educated in both Standard Arabic and French. On the other hand, we find a generation of speakers whose mother tongue is non-Standard Arabic- who were educated in French- while other (usually younger) Arabic-speaking Algerians were educated in both Standard Arabic and French. Other quantitatively less important categories comprise 60 year-old and older speakers who are either bilingual in non-Standard Arabic and French or bilingual in Tamazight and French, both categories having learnt French at school (and, to a much lesser extent and a small portion, Classical/Standard Arabic in *Medersas,* schools delivering Koranic courses). The result of that is not only a discrepancy between what is referred to as the speech repertoire and the verbal repertoire but also the degree and quality of competency in each of those languages, illustrated in coordinate/subordinate bi/multi-lingualism and bi/ polyglossia. Thus, post-independence speakers of Berber/Tamazight descent who, having learnt Classical Arabic and French at school, non-Standard Arabic in public spaces, nonetheless speak Tamazight(i.e. Kabyle, Targui, or Tamzabt, etc.) at home and with their linguistic group members while Arabophone speakers (those whose mother tongue is non-Standard Arabic) follow the same pattern except that they do not speak Tamazight/Kabyle. As for those who pursued their education in Classical Arabic, a very small proportion -mainly, but not exclusively involving teachers, university lecturers of literary and, to a lesser extent, scientific subjects- is said to use a variety known as Modern Spoken Arabic (MSA) (for a definition of this term, see 1.4.4) in everyday conversation with peers (Taleb-Ibrahimi 2004).

Finally, we can say that, in Algeria, in addition to the verbal repertoire of speakers, there is a common linguistic situation in which non-standard Arabic is used in almost all the

situations except in academic lectures and classes involving both literary and scientific subjects in Arabic, though in many cases, the teachers/lecturers resort to explanations in non-Standard Arabic or, in the case of Tamazight-speaking regions, in Tamazight and sometimes Arabic, the use of the latter being probably due to the migratory waves from Arabophone regions to the Kabylie (and other, formerly non-Arabic speaking regions). This situation, where two language varieties coexist, is called diglossia (discussed in the previous chapter) whereby the classical/standard form of Arabic, called the High variety is used in formal settings such as news readings and education, coexists with other forms of non-standard Arabic, called the Low variety, used in shopping places, communication between members of the same family and in other informal situations. This having been said, speakers in Algeria have been observed to make use of several linguistic resources. Despite the official prestige status of Classical/Standard Arabic, many Arabic and Tamazight dialectal varieties, are, for various reasons, gaining the Algerian linguistic scene. French also now often plays the role of high-variety. For example, the same speakers may in a single day make use of their mother dialect (Arabic or Tamazight, Kabyle, Targui or Chaoui) when saying "Good morning" to their parent(s), a dialectal variety in greeting their elderly neighbour, and French in greeting their fellow workers. The dialectal variety itself may be modified according to whether one is addressing one's mother, socializing with others, or bargaining with vendors for various goods. A unique language variety, for example, a non-standard regional/communal variety of Arabic (or Berber) may however be used by an elderly person having received no formal education.

2.2.3 Language change in Algeria

Today a description of the linguistic situation in Algeria is rendered even more complex, owing to the influence of conflicting factors. On the one hand, exposure to satellite television and the internet most often leads to the use of French and nonstandard Arabic and, to a lesser degree, English. On the other hand, the growing influence of Arabic on Algerian homes via Arabic-speaking satellite channels, Algerian and others, has witnessed the rise of a new class of well-to-do speakers favouring the use of (new forms of) Arabic. A rising number of speakers is thus found to appeal not only to Arabic/French code-mixing: *bipi:li* (or even *pipi:li*) "beep me" but also to new pidginized forms such as pərdi:tʊ "I have lost it"; fərmi:tʊ "I have closed it" (a combination of French "perdre" (lose) and "fermer" (close) and Arabic

grammar), or even -in very closed teaching contexts- *∫ati:ta∫i dawn* (from English "shut down" and Arabic grammar). Conversely, speech with a lower degree of code-switching and code-mixing is attested among other (educated) speakers, due mainly to education and exposure to the mass media -in particular, television- with the reappropriation of formerly stigmatized forms but carrying strong connotations of authenticity (*'Asala*) and linguistic ego. The Mashreq Arabic varieties, via a fast-growing film industry, have also had an important impact on the verbal repertoire of many Algerians, whose speech, in its turn, and via rai music, has influenced, that of other Arab countries, particularly the adjoining regions of Morocco and Tunisia. These factors, and the present geopolitical world situation, are likely to trigger the uniformisation, or koineisation of their numerous dialects. These changes are not without consequences on the language practices of Algerians and the regional dialects of Arabic in Algeria. This study is concerned with dialectal change in the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, northwestern Algeria. In order to provide an understanding of the regional dialectal differences, a comparison will be drawn between a few distinctive features across three major Algerian regional dialect groups, focusing on a number of distinctive features (see 2.4.2.3). Prior to examining these distinct dialects, a brief survey of the region of Sidi Bel-Abbes and its dialects is presented below.

2.3 The city of Sidi Bel-Abbes

This section deals with the various historical periods of the region of Sidi Bel-Abbes from the autochtonous Berbers to the present city dwellers. The geographical situation of Sidi Bel-Abbes makes it not only an economic, social and cultural melting pot but also a linguistic hub. The arrival of the descendants of the Maghrawa and Mediouni Berbers, coming from the Zenata and the Sanhaja, the Blacks of the Touat and the Gourara, the Berbers of Morocco, the Mozabites, the Hmiyanes, the Tlemceni, the Mascari, and the M'cida Nedromi, all coming with their languages and language varieties, is not without consequences on the dialect of Sidi-Bel-Abbes.

2.3.1 Geography

At an altitude of 47O metres above the right banks of the Mekerra Oued (river) banks, stands the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes (henceforth SBA), a vast plain West of Algeria between the northwestern coastline of Oran and southwestern Naama, the latter's principal activity having been, until recently, sheep-raising and cereal-growing. Being the main city of

the *wilaya* (county) of Sidi Bel-Abbes, the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes is also bordered by Oran in the West, Saida in the Southeast, Mascara in the Northeast, Ain-Sefra in the South, Ain-Temouchent in the Northwest, Tlemcen in the Southwest, not far from the Trara Mounts, and further West, Maghnia, on the Algerian-Moroccan borderline. Originally an agricultural region, Sidi Bel-Abbes became one of the first towns to see, in the 1970s, the installation of *Sonelec*, a company for the manufacturing and assembling of electronic parts, followed by its restructuring in 1982 to become autonomous in 1989 (Taibi 2009), which had dragged a galloping rural migration to the city after the failure of the Agrarian Revolution initiated by President Houari Boumediène.

Figure 2: Sidi Bel-Abbes and the surrounding cities, towns and villages
[Source: *Annuaire statistique 2010 PDF]*

2.3.2 History

The city of SBA was built on the right bank of the Mekerra Oued (river) which crosses the valley. Adoue (1927) enumerates several peoples who dominated the region before the arrival of the French: the Berbers, the Romans, the Arabs, the Spaniards, the Turks and the French.

2.3.2.1 The Berbers

The first inhabitants of Sidi Bel-Abbes were Moors, tribes of Berber origin, cantoned in the Tell, who led a sedentary life devoted to gardening and cereal growing, hence their interest for water streams, as traces of Berber fountains were discovered when the city was founded. The Arab geographer El-Idrissi also signals the existence, in the 12th century, of an important Berber city near the Tessala Mountain (ibid., 17). As to the linguistic traces, they are still noticeable in the various toponyms and terms of agriculture (see 2.4.1 below).

2.3.2.2 The Romans

Being a relatively recently-founded city, Sidi Bel-Abbes *per se* bears no Roman traces, the closest fortress was installed on the *Tessala* Mountain, to "keep an eye" on the lower part of the mountain. The discovery of subways attests of the presence of agricultural farms in the lowlands and, in particular, in the Oued Sarno valley. Stones bearing Roman inscriptions, which were found in Hamma-Sidi-Ben-Youb, came from a Roman camp near Chanzy (now Sidi Ali Benyoub), a nearby municipality (ibid.,18).

2.3.2.3 The Arabs

In the region of Sidi Bel-Abbes, the Arab invasions occurred during the second wave, around 1060, when as a "hord of 250,000 nomads destroyed everything on their way"(ibid., 24). In the 14th century, SBA became the feoff of the powerful Hilalien Arab tribe, the Beni-Ameurs, who were divided into the major tribes: the Amarnas, who occupied the territory of the future city, the Hazedj, scattered from the Mekerra to the Tessala, and the Sidi-Brahim in the west of SBA, neighbouring the Hassasna tribe in Saida. The Hazedj later occupied the territories held by the Ouled-Abdallah -another Beni-Ameur tribe- who went to settle in the plain of Mleta, near Hamma-Bou-Hadjar.

The city of Sidi Bel-Abbes is named after Sidi Bel-Abbes, a Charif -a descendant of the

Prophet Mohamed- whose grand-father Sidi-El-Bouzidi left Mecca and, after several years across the Hedjaz, Egypt**,** Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Tunisia, arrived in Aflou, in the South of Algeria, where he married and died. One of his sons, also called Sidi-El-Bouzidi, followed a caravan heading for Fez and entered one of the renowned schools of the city. A few years later, the young student was solicited to teach in the renowned school of Tlemcen, where his son Sidi Bel-Abbes was born. The legend says that, at the age of twenty, Sidi Bel-Abbe had a dream, in which Allah told him to spread His message around him, which he did. When he arrived in Sidi Bel-Abbes, the Hilalian tribes, the Amarnas and the Sidi-Brahim disputed his presence. Finally, the victory went to the Sidi-Brahim. After a long life, around 1780, the saint man contemplated for the last time the marshes that spread in front of his house in Sidi-Amar. He is said to be buried there, as a *Koubba* (mausoleum) was built on the left bank of the Mekerra River.

The Beni-Ameurs, mobilised by the *jihad*, would often come to implore the Saint man's *baraka* (blessing) before going on campain. The Emir Abd-El-kader himself used the *koubba* of Sidi Bel-Abbes as a rallying point for his troops, as he stood, under the poplar, haranguing his companions for the holy war (ibid.).

2.3.2.4 The Spaniards and the Turks

The Spaniards took Oran in 1509 and dismissed the Zianide king Guelmous. In 1708, they abandoned the place after the uprising of the the Arab tribes led by the Dey of Algiers, after which the Bey of Mascara became Bey of Oran. In 1733, the Spaniards came back again and fortified Oran. However, the game was not worth the battle, as they could only getsupplied by sea and contact with the Arab tribes was made difficult. Moreover, the agreement passed between the governor of Oran and the Beni-Ameur to chase away the Turks was broken, as the Beni-Ameur turned to the "enemy". After the earthquake of 1791, the fortifications resisted the Turkish attack, but the king of Spain decided to call his troops back and, to the great joy of the Bey of Mascara, the Spanish troops embarked at Mers-el-Kebir in 1793 (ibid., 25-27).

2.3.2.5 The French presence

Western Algeria, and Oran, in particular, was occupied a few months after the French disembarked on the port of Sidi-Ferruch in Algiers on 5th July 1830. The Bey of Oran became vassal of France, who later asked to be repatriated to Syria (ibid., 37). In 1842, the Duke of Aumal, Louis-Philippe's son, took hold of the Emir Abd-El-Kader's *Smala*. As

Adoue (1929) points out, it was during that period that supply and support points for the expeditionary columns, some of which were built in Sebdou, Tiaret, Frenda, and Daya - called "postes-magasins" [store-posts], and one of the stops was in SBA, near the mausoleum of SBA on a hill dominating the Mekerra River. In 1840, the shelter had been made a terrain of bivouac and in 1842, a permanent post was created to watch and protect the armies. In 1843, a redoubt was built on the right Mekerra River bank, just opposite the Kouba of Sidi Bel-Abbes el-Bouzidi). A small village was created on very light constructions not far from the bridge that links the Faubourg Mascara to the Faubourg Thiers (ibid., 38-39). In 1849, four years after the attack of the Ouled-Brahim, the construction of a fortified city started. Four gates were erected: La Porte d'Oran (The Gate of Oran) in the North, the Gate of Daya in the South, the Gate of Mascara in the East, and the Gate of Tlemcen in the West. Streets and ramparts were built, followed by the military barracks and the hospital (ibid., 46-47). The population was then estimated to 431, to rise in 1859 to 5259, with 2157 Frenchmen, 2546 Spaniards, 147 Italians and 13 Anglo-Malteses. In 1873, a "*village nègre*" [a Blacks' village], was created, where Arabs were able to acquire lots to build (ibid., 51-53). The construction of the city continued until 1856. Some villages played an important role in the formation of the commune of SBA: Sidi Lahcen, Sidi-Khaled, The Trembles, The Tessala, Sidi-Brahim and its annexe "Le Rocher" [The Rock]. The village of Sidi Lahcen (henceforth SL) was created in 1852 when 30 German families disembarked in Oran and the commandant of the subdivision designated the territory of SL, previously allotted for the creation of a European centre (ibid., 65-66).

2.3.2.6 El-Emir Abd-El-Kader

The administration of the province was not an easy task for the French government of Louis-Philippe as the attacks of the Emir Abd-El-Kader (6 September 1808 near Mascara - 6 May 1883 Damascus) absorbed all their activity in the region from 1832 to 1847. In 1835, Mascara - the capital of the Emir- and Tlemcen- whose *méchouar* was held by the allies of the French -the *Kouloughlis*- fell in the hands of the French troops led by marshal Clauzel. The treaty of the Tafna was finally signed between the French and the Emir Abd-El-Kader on 30 may 1837, after French imperial forces sustained heavy losses in the Battle of the Macta on 28 June 1835 and the Battle of the Sikkak on 6 July 1836. In 1843 General Bedeau built a fortification on the Mekerra River opposite the *Kouba* (burial place) of Sidi-Bel-Abbes El Bouzidi, to contain the powerful confederation of the Beni-Ameur, who, under

the direction of the Emir Abd-El-Kader, attempted a courageous uprising between 23rd and 25th September 1845 against the 8th battalion of fighters during the Sidi-Brahim battles. After several attempts to relaunch revolts in the Kabylie region and in Djelfa, he took refuge in Morocco in 1847. On 24 December 1847, in exchange of the promise that he would be allowed to go to Alexandria or Acre, Abd-El-Kader surrendered to Generals Louis de Lamoricière and Cavaignac and Colonel Montaubon in the *marabout* (mausoleum) of Sidi-Brahim, a place that had witnessed his victories. Two days later, his surrender was made official to the French Governor-General of Algeria, Henri d'Orléans, duke of Aumale. The French government refused to honour Lamoricière's promise and Abd-El-Kader was exiled to France, then to Syria in1855.

2.3.2.7 Architecture

The origin of the city is said to date to 1842, when "[L]a création de Sidi Bel-Abbes s'inscrit dans cette logique de réseau qui sert en même temps d'observatoire pour surveiller le sud*"* (Adoue 1927: 22, in Bekkouche 2001: 2) *"et cadre avec le besoin de « protéger et ravitailler les troupes allant d'Oran ou de Mascara sur Tlemcen"* (Munoz 1931: 197, in Bekkouche, ibid.). [The creation of Sidi-Bel-Abbes is part a network scheme to watch the South and to protect and to resupply the troops]. Known as the city of the French foreign legion, Sidi Bel-Abbes, officially created by a decree dating from 5th January 1849, was built by the captain of the military, Prudhon, on a "grid-iron street system", following the plan of Paris, in a rectangular enclosure, surrounded by four walls indicating the cardinal points. First named Biscuit-ville" "Biscuit-city", it was nicknamed "Petit Paris" "Little Paris" (*Djamila*) because it reminded the then French colons of the French capital, Paris, for its archchitectual aspect, its large avenues, well-stocked shop windows, and its *café terraces*; then it was named Bel-Abbes-Napoléon in 1859, to be finally renamed Sidi Bel-Abbes.

2.3.2.8 Sidi Bel-Abbes today

The city of Sidi Bel-Abbes has witnessed the settlement of various communities across time : descendants of Maghrawa and Mediouni Berbers, of the Zenata and the Sanhaja; Blacks of the Touat and the Gourara, Berbers of Morocco ; Kabyles ; Mozabites; H'mianes; Tlemcenis; Mascaris ; Nedromi M'cirdis, each community dragging with it its culture and characteristic languages and dialects.

Sidi Bel-Abbes was from 1848 to 1956 administered by the military authority and the first agricultural centres were Sidi Lahcen, Sidi Khaled, *Les Trembles*, Sidi Brahim and its

annex, *Le Rocher*. During the colonial period, Sidi Bel-Abbes was part of the " *Département*" (county) of Oran); in 1972, ten years after Algeria's independence in 1962, SBA became the *chef-lieu* (county town) of the *wilaya* (county) of Sidi-Bel-Abbes.

With its 52 communes and 15 dairas, the *wilaya* (county) of Sidi Bel-Abbes is estimated to a population of 622 668, concentrated mostly in the Northwest (ONS 2OO8). As in many other Arab cities, the population of Sid Bel-Abbes has witnessed a drastic rural migration. While the commune of Sidi Bel-Abbes numbers 218 507, the population of the commune of Sidi Lahcen is estimated to 22 495, that is, about 10 times smaller. These two communes are of particular interest in the present study, as comparative surveys will be carried out in the coming sections. The urban population of the wilaya of SBA is estimated to 421.985 (67.77%) while the rural population represents 32.23%, with its 200.683 inhabitants (ibid.).
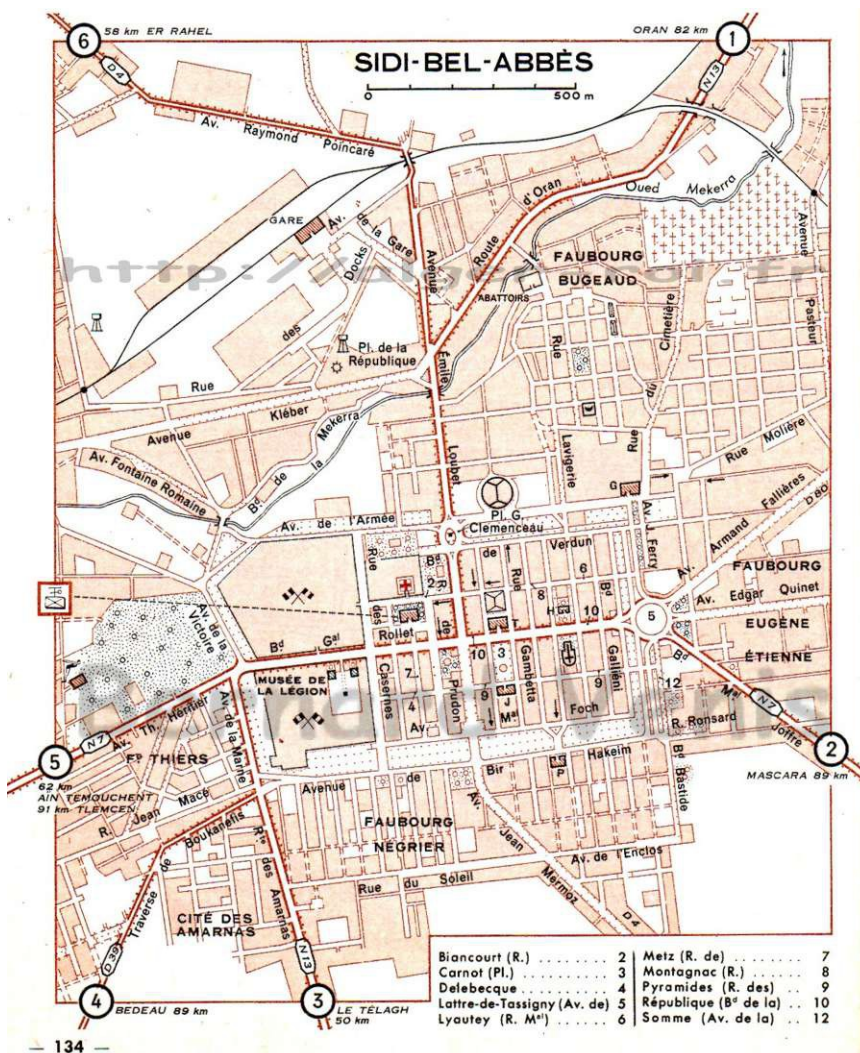
Figure 3: Major headquarters of the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes
[Source: http://alger-roi.fr/Alger/sidi_bel_abbes/pages/0_plan_ville_guide_vert.htm]

2.3.2.9 Sidi Lahcen

According to General Lacretelle (cited in Adoue 1927: 66-7), Sidi Lahcen was one of the first settlements of the foreign legion in 1852, when 30 German families disembarking from the port of Oran, were installed with tents and cooking facilities; they also received gifts from the local *"caids"*: domestic animals, wool, honey, butter, and other foods for the whole year to each household as well as manpower for labouring, sowing, and harvesting (Adoue 1902: 66-67). Sidi Lahcen became *Détrie* and a year later, the "*gourbis*" (shacks), built on their arrival, were replaced by nice "*maisonettes*" , and in 1865, the village of Sidi Lahcen had grown into a population of 635 prosperous (European) inhabitants, lodged in good houses, in the middle of meadows and rich lands (ibid., 67).

Old inhabitants of Sidi Lahcen recall times when Sidi Lahcen was constituted of two parts: The Novio and the village. Sidi Lahcen is thus not a new town, but since Algeria's independence in 1962, it has served as a new settlement, where successive waves of in-migrants coming from nearby towns and cities (Mascara, Saida, Tlemcen, Oran, etc.) and rural areas, have lived. Three post-independence migration periods may be identified: the first wave of migrants came to the "city" after independence; the second occurred with the implementation of *Sonelec,* a multinational created in 1978, after the failure of the socialist agrarian villages, known as "*coopératives agricoles*"; and the third rural migration fled from the insecure isolated areas during the 1990s "black decade" of terrorism. The communes of Sidi Lahcen, Amarnas, Sidi Khaled and Sidi Yagoub are part of the "*daira*" of Sidi Lahcen. The commune of Sidi Lahcen, now a small town of 88,92 kms2, is located in the extreme western end of the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, just after the closest city centre small commune "*Faubourg Thiers*" (on the bottom left side of map 4 above), at about 8 kms away from the "Koubba" (mausoleum) which bears the name of the *Sidi Bel-Abbes El Bouzidi* Saint.

2.4 The linguistic situation of Sidi Bel-Abbes

As in many cities in the world, contact in Sidi Bel-Abbes between speakers of different languages and language varieties -due mainly to greater mobility- has brought about significant changes in its dialect. Although formerly a rural place, SBA came to shelter various populations with their respective life modes. While in the outskirts of the city, we find people of different origins, overwhelmingly rural, people of higher economic standards have lived for generations in the city centre and, in particular, in wealthy neighbourhoods. Until

recently, the University of Algiers -founded in 1909- was the unique country's body, on which the university of Oran depended from 1965 to 1967, when it finally became autonomous. In Tlemcen, higher education in the exact sciences and biology began in 1974. The year 1984 saw the first promotions in the Humanities; in Sidi Bel-Abbes, higher education was pursued from 1978 to 1989, when both the Universities of Tlemcen and Sidi Bel-Abbes were officially created, with the department of English opening in Sidi Bel-Abbes in 2003.

2.4.1 The Berber substratum in SBA

At the linguistic level, and like many other cities and localities, Sidi Bel-Abbes saw Arabic gradually supplant autochtonous Tamazight/Berber, evidence of this is the presence of a whole lexicon of Berber origin, namely that related to agriculture and botany: «tasselgha», «tama», «salakhoun», «ed dis», «el ferias», the last two being part of a list of lexemes having undergone the effect of the Arabic definite article *al* (Ainad-Tabet 1999: 379). Berber traces may also be discernible in the toponymy of places and plants: "Boukort", "Tadmait" and "Tifiles" as well as places having some link with water: "*amen*" in Berber, for example," tatfamen", a place where waters gather; "magramen", a plant which grows near water; and tighamen "reeds" (ibid., 380). This being said, Sidi Bel-Abbes is part of a region where Berber occupies the smallest part (Cantineau 1940: 221), and where, in addition to SBA Arabic, two other varieties of Arabic are spoken: Tlemceni and Nedromi. Many generations of SBA inhabitants originally from Tlemcen speak a sedentary Arabic dialect as their mother tongue; it is the same for Nedromis -originally from Nedroma, a town west of Sidi Bel-Abbes- who have lived in Sidi bel-Abbes for generations, whose mother tongue is Nedromi, which, similarly to the dialects of North Constantine, Traras and Jbala, contains archaic Arabic elements and abundant borrowings from Berber, and where the influence of the Berber substratum is visible (W. Marçais 1961: 185). Unlike the Kabylie mountains, where Arabic did not replace Kabyle, the Traras inhabitants are reported to have adopted Arabic more rapidly (Ph. Marçais 1940: 385).

2.4.2 Bedouin and sedentary dialects in northwestern Algeria

The Arabic dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes belongs to the so-called bedouin (nomadic) dialects, which are distinguished from the sedentary dialects at all linguistic (phonetic, phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical) levels. The northwestern dialects, which I am

about to introduce, include not only sedentary dialects in use in the cities of Tlemcen and Nedroma but also D-dialects of bedouin descent found in Sidi Bel-Abbes, Saida, and Oran, the latter sharing a significant number of features with the other northwestern bedouin dialects, and, to a lesser extent, with the bedouin dialects of the North Constantine region ("le Nord-Constantinois"). Cantineau (1940, 1960) distinguished the Algerian dialects in terms of the traditional bedouin/sedentary categorization and, within each category, between regional dialect groups.

2.4.2.1 The sedentary dialects in the region of Oran/northwestern Algeria

During the colonial period, the "*département"* (county) of Oran subsumed Sidi Bel-Abbes, Tlemcen, Mascara, where both sedentary and bedouin dialects are attested. In order to have a clear idea about the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes, it is necessary to mention some of the distinctive features of non-bedouin dialects spoken in the adjacent cities and towns. For Cantineau (1940), the Arabic sedentary dialects, which are attested in the Oran region towns among the Muslims of Tlemcen and Mostaganem, and among the Israelites of Tlemcen, Oran, and Sidi Bel-Abbes, hold a less important place in the region of Oran than in that of Constantine though they are more widespread than in Algiers. However, they occupy an important place in the mountains north of Tlemcen, among the M'sirda and Trara mountaineers (Cantineau 1940 : 220-9). Cantineau distinguishes 3 main groups (Cantineau 1940: 221-229, adapted):

i). The S1 group, represented mainly by the speech of Muslims in Mostaganem, characterized by:

- The pronunciation of q, which often leaves place to nomadic g.
- The pronunciation of t, d, ḍ of the old interdental fricatives ɵ, ð, ḏ.
- A syllabic structure of the type *rkɔbti* "my knee", *mtarqa* "a stick" instead of the bedouin *rɔkkɔbti, maṭṭarga*.[3]
- The formation of verbs in iʊ, as in: nəmʃiʊ, nəbkiʊ instead of nəmʃʊ, nəbkʊ "we walk", "we weep", with a few bedouin verb forms, though.
- Plural nouns as brɑ:nəs, srɑ:dək instead of bedouin brani:s, sradi:k "burnooses" and "roosters".
- Colour adjective plurals are ɦɔmrɛ:n, ʕæmji:n as opposed to ɦɔmmɔr, ʔamji:n

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3   The attested SBA term for "a stick" is masculine: *maṭrag.*

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"red" and "blind".

-Diminutives: ṭfejjel "a little boy", g̱ṱejjeṭ "a little cat".

-Lexical items: jedd, əl-ba:raɦ instead of i:d, ja:məs "a hand", "yesterday".

ii) The S1' group, attested only in the speech of Muslims in Tlemcen, having:

-The pronunciation of the glottal stop ʔ instead of the q.

-The affrication tˢ in t and ɵ.

-The absence of masculine/feminine distinction in 2ⁿᵈ pers. singular of pronouns
   and verbs: the use of the masculine form prevails in verbs: tʃʊ:f: "you see"
   while the neutral independent pronoun is used: ntˢi:na "you-fem."

-Colour and other adjective plurals are: ɦɔ:mər, zœrrœʕ, ʕêwɛr "red", "blue",
   "one-eyed".

-Dual names of numbers, time, etc. are: alfajn "two thousands", jʊmajən "two
   days" when other dialects have alfi:n, jumi:n.

-Possession "of" is expressed by means of əddi or djal, more frequent than ta:ʕ.

-The presence of the 3ʳᵈ pers. masculine direct and indirect object pronoun suffix
   -u, though Tlemcen is surrounded by dialects with -ah.

iii) The S2 group, represented on one side by the M'sirda and the Trara mountain
inhabitants, and, on the other side the Jews of Tlemcen and Oran, with the following
features:

-Velar q becomes postpalatal k, while postpalatal or mediopalatal k has
   prepalatal realizations, as in kʸ, affrication tʃ (Israelites), or spirantization
   c (M'sirda and Trara).

-t is tˢ, tʰ, ⱦ.

-ɖ is ⱦ.

-dʒ is g when the word contains a sibilant: gəzzɑ:r, ʕgu:za, gləss "butcher", "old
   woman", "he sat down".

-Absence of gender distinction of 2ⁿᵈ pers. sing., as in Tlemcen.

-ⱦarbattɔ and jiⱦarbɔ in Msirda and Trara and ɖrɔbtˢɔ "she hit him"and n ɖarbɔ
   "we hit".

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-In names, "my knee" is rkabti (Israelites) and rakkabti and rkabti in Msirda and
Trara.

-Independent first person sing. "I, me" is ijana.

-Kinship and parts of the body such as "your father", your brother", your mouth"
are bbʷɑ:k, xaç, fâç.

-All the duals in Msirda and Trara have –a:jen ending: jʊmajən "two days" but
jedda:j "my hands" in suffix pronouns.

-Possession particles are used: di, ɛddi, djal "of": an indefinite article has been
created from the cardinal number « *one* »; the vocabulary displays a number of
idiosyncrasies several of which are Berber loanwords.

Cantineau further states that these sedentary dialects of the region of Oran pose the same problems as those of the region of Constantine, adding that these dialects have been penetrated by nomadic (bedouin) influences, like all the Algerian sedentary dialects. However, while the reciprocity holds for the region of Constantine, the sedentary dialects of the region of Oran have hardly influenced the nomadic dialects (Cantineau 1940: 225).

2.4.2.2 The bedouin dialects of the region of Oran

In Cantineau's classification (1940, 1941), the bedouin dialects of the region of Oran comprise the A-dialects, the B-dialects, and the D-dialects and the mixed dialects in the transition zones. All the bedouin dialects in Algeria are characterized by the interdental feature.

The A-dialects, attested in the "Territory" of Touggourt, the "Territory" of Ghardaia and the "Territory" of Ain-Sefra, are of a Maghrebi type (Cantineau 1941: 73). They are characterised by the following features[4]:

    i) Metatheses (or dissimilation) of ʒ with the fricatives s/z and ʃ/ʒ : zɑʒʒɑ:r
"butcher"; ʕzʊ:ʒ "old woman/mother-in-law"; zɛjʃ "army".

    ii) Passage from ʁ to q : qlam "sheep"; ma bqa:ʃ "he did not want to".

    iii) Absence of reflexive/passive n- and its replacement by t-: tba:ʕ "it has been
sold".

The B-dialects occupy an important part of the Tell, including the Tell *arrondissement*

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4 Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned concerning the -ah/ʊ dichotomy.

(borough) of Mostaganem, and they are characterized by the following (Cantineau 1940: 225-6):

i) dʒ remains dʒ : dʒazzɑ :r, ʕdʒu:za, dʒaɦʃ "butcher", "old woman", "little donkey".

ii) The 3rd pers.sing. masc. direct/indirect suffixed pronoun is -ʊ instead of -ah.

iii) tɛnsa:i "you-sing forget"; jɛnsa:ʊ "they forget"; nɛnsa:ʊ "we forget".

iv) g is g: gɑlb "heart"".

v) Reflexive-passive affixes in n, -t-, t- : ŋ-gɖabt "I was caught"; jətqaɦwɑ "he has (himself) coffee".

vi) Final *a* is kept without *imala* (but sometimes nasalized).

vii) Maintenance of old short vowels in open syllables by lengthening: ḍarba:tɔ, ʃadda:tɔ "she hit him", "she held him" or by gemination: rɔkkɔbti "my knee" and massɑɫɦa" "sweeper".

The D-dialects cover the "*arrondissements*"(boroughs) of Tlemcen, Oran, Sidi Bel-Abbes and the mixed *commune* (district) of Saida; they differ from the B-dialects in some features, namely the first four listed below:

i) ʒ, which, in the environment of a sibilant, undergoes the same metatheses or dissimilations as the A-dialects : zaʒʒɑ:r "butcher", ʕzu:ʒ "old woman" (W. Marçais 1908: 18-9).

ii) The 3rd pers.sing. masc. suffixed pronoun is -ah instead of -u/ɔ.

iii) Some verbal forms of the type tɛnsi, jɛnsʊ, nɛnsʊ "you forget", "they forget", "we forget" instead of tɛnsa:i, jɛnsa:ʊ, nɛnsa:ʊ of B-dialects.

iv) Some kinship, parts of the body, and animal terms are bbʷɑ instead of bʊjɑ/bʷɛjjɛ "my father"; xwa:t instead of xwata:t "sisters"; di:k instead of sərdʊ:k "rooster".

For Cantineau, these D-dialects of the Oran County may be considered as the eastward spearhead of the Moroccan dialects of Nomads *(Ces parlers D du départment d'Oran peuvent être considérés comme la pointe avancée vers l'Est des parlers de nomades marocains* (Cantineau 1940: 226-7).

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: 223):

Table 2: B-dialects and D-dialects

B-dialects	D-dialects	Translation
bbʷiji, bu:ya	bbʷa	My father
xwata:t	xwa:t	Sisters
sardu:k	di:k	Rooster
ḍɑrs	ḍɑrs	Molar
ʃa:rəb	ʃna:fa	Lip
mna:xər	xnɑ:fər	Nostrils

The dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes, said to belong to the D-dialects, has xwata:t, ʃa:rəb, and mna:xər, initially belonging exclusively to the B-dialects. Another significant point might be that while changes have occurred in words involving parts of the body, nothing of the sort has occurred in kinship terms such as *ħma:tɛ* "my sister-in-law" ; ʕzuʕʒtɛ "my mother-in-law". There are however expressions including the old D-dialect lexical item for lip(s): *ra:h lla ʃna:yəf wə qn*a*:jəʃ* "he is all lips and "qnayef" (meaning unavailable), literally meaning "he is upset", a metaphor illustrating the lowered position of the lips when one is upset".

We said above that Sidi Bel-Abbes was a city in western Algeria. This expression might lead to a number of misinterpretations, as the terms « Oranie », « West », Western Algeria », « D-dialects » as well as « dialects of the county of Oran », do not refer to a single homogeneous dialect, knowing that dialects are undergoing changes. In this respect, Cantineau (1940) made a number of predictions:

> Les parlers sédentaires de ce type sont en voie de disparition dans les villes du département d'Oran ; à Mostaganem, le parler des sédentaires est tout pénétré d'apports nomades : il parait devoir se perdre bientôt ; à Mazouna, je n'ai retrouvé que des traces infimes d'un ancien parler de sédentaires ; ces traces mêmes ont disparu à Mascara et à Oran où je les ai cherchées en vain : les apports nomades ont tout recouvert [The sedentary dialects of this type are about to disappear in the county of Oran ; in Mostaganem, sedentary speech is all penetrated by nomadic contributions : it is to disappear soon ; in Mazouna, I have found only minor traces of an old speech of sedentary people : these traces themselves have disappeared in Mascara and in Oran, where I looked for them, in vain : nomadic [features] have covered them all]. (Cantineau 1940: 223)

2.4.2.3 Some distinctive features of three regional and/or communal dialects

The comparative study between the three regional dialects, old bedouin SBA, old Tlemcen and old Algiers dialects (see table 3 below) is meant to throw some light on some of their major differences. Although acknowledgement is made here of earlier works on the Arabic dialects of the county of Oran by Cantineau (1940, 1960); the bedouin dialects of the North Constantine region (Ph. Marçais 1956) and the Maghrebi dialect (Ph. Marçais 1977); the sedentary dialect of Tlemcen (W. Marçais (1902) and the Arabic dialect of the Ulad Brahim of Saida (W. Marçais 1908); the sedentary dialects of Oran (Cantineau 1940, 1960); the sedentary dialects of Algiers (Millon 1937); the Arabic dialects of Constantine (Cantineau 1938); W. Marçais and A. Guiga (1925); Caubet's questionnaire (2002); and some of the features in de Jong's (2000) treatment of the bedouin dialects of the Sinai, this work is essentially based on corpuses gathered on the field and time-apparent dialectal descriptions collected through surveys as well as short and long interviews (see 3.3.3). Other features were discovered accidentally. Due to the complex expansion of Arabic as well as to other factors (see 1.2), the regional dialects in Algeria are not clearly delimited, and isoglosses cut across communal dialects. For example, although Tlemcen is located in northwestern Algeria, it shares very few features with the other northwestern dialects of the adjacent cities of Sidi Bel-Abbes, Temouchent, and Oran, namely.

Similarly to many Arab urban vernaculars (or dialects), the speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes -and that of other regions in Algeria- has undergone many changes; this characterization holds for the former dialects of Algeria, which are still attested among older speakers and other 'maintainers', as will be seen in Chapter Three. Due to the complexity of the linguistic situation in Southern Algeria and because such an analysis is beyond the scope of the present work, no mention has been made of the other Arabic dialects of southern and eastern Algeria (for an account of some Arabic dialects in Southern Algeria, see Grand'Henry 1976). Table 3 below shows the main characteristics of the old varieties of each of the northwestern bedouin dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes and the surrounding towns and cities (except for Tlemcen), the northwestern sedentary dialect of Tlemcen, and the sedentary dialect of Algiers.

Table 3: Some old features of three regional dialects: SBA, Tlemcen and Algiers

Features ↓	Regions →		
	Old bedouin SBA	Old sedentary Tlemcen	Old sedentary Algiers
Phonology			
1.g, G, q, ʔ: "Heart"	G[5]: Gɑłḅ	ʔalb	qalb
2. Interdentals/ dentals	Interdentals	Dentals/stops	Dentals/stops
3. œ vs. a/ɔ "You fall ill"	ɔ: *tɔmrɔḍ*	œ: *tœmrœḍ*	a: *tamraḍ*
4. Backing/ fronting: "take"	Backing: hɑːk	Fronting: haːk	Fronting: haːk
5. Affrication: tˢ "My daughter"	No: bəntɛ	Yes: bəntˢi	Yes: bəntˢɛ
6. Bedouin diphthongization "Better" "Measured"	*xajr* *mawzʊːn*	*xɛːr* *mʊzʊːn*	*xɛːr* *mʊzʊːn*
7. Sedentary diphthongization Dual:"two days"	jʊmiːn	jʊmajən	jʊmajən
8. Bedouin labialisation « You eat-fem. »	Yes: tʷakʷlɛ	No: taklɛ	Yes: taklɛ
9. Sedentary labialization: "as"	No: kima	Yes: kimʷa	Yes: kimʷa
10. Bedouin vowel maintenance vs. sedentary vowel elision: "in (Tlemcen)"	fi (tləmsaːn)	f (tˢləmsaːn)	f (tləmsaːn)
11. Sedentary Vowel bounce "My friend-fem." "Young age"	sɑħəbtɛ əs sɔʁr	sɑħəbtˢi əs sʁɔr	sɑħbəttɛ əs sʁɔr
Morpho-syntax 12. a.Verbs in ʊ/aw "You start"	jəbdʊ	jəbdaːw	jəbdaːw
b.Verbs in ɛ/aj "You walk"	tətməʃʃɛ	tətməʃʃaj	təmʃɛ

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5 See 3.4.2.1 for the phonetic realisations of g.

13. Verbs in ʊ/iw "They smoke"	jəkmʊ	jəkmiw	jəkmiw
14. Gemination and vowel length "I started"	bdi:t	bdi:t	bdi:t
15. Plural nouns "the roads/streets"	ət̪ t̪rɔgg	ət̪ t̪ærʔa:n	ət tɔrqa:n
16. Colour plurals "Green" "Black"	xɔḍḍor "green" kɔħħɔl	xɔ:ḍar "green" kʊ:ħəl	xḍɔ:ṛɑ kħʊ:la/kʊħəl
17. Broken plural adjectives "high"	fʷa:ga	fʊʔanijji:n	fʊqanijji:n
18. Negation in present verbs "I am not coming"	ma nʒi:ʃɛ	ma ndʒi:ʃ/ɛ	ma ndʒi:ʃɛ (+ affrication)
19. Negation in imperatives "Do not come"	la-dʒi:ʃɛ	ma-dʒi:ʃɛ	ma-dʒi:ʃɛ
20. Negation in participles "She is not educated"	ma qarja:ʃ/ɛ	maʃi ʔa:rjɑ	maʃi qa:rjɑ
21. Negation in (feminine) participles « I do not know-fem»	Neutral: ma-na:raff (ʃɛ)	mani:ʃ ʕa:rə/ʕa:rfa	mani:ʃ ʕa:rfa
22. 2nd pers. masc./fem in verbs to a female addressee: "Go and see"	ṛɔ:ħɛ tʃʊ:fi	ṛɔ:ħ tʃʊ:f	ṛɔ:ħɛ tʃʊ:fi
23. a. Reflexives "He has(himself) coffee". b. Passives "It gets slaughtered"	jətqahwa jənḍbaħ	jəstqaħwɑ jəndbaħ	jəstqawa jəttədbaħ
24. Suffix for object particle masculine pronoun: "to him" (in some verbs)	-ah	ʊ	ʊ
25. Bedouin fronting in ns followed by poss. suffix: "His	bbʷa:ħ ; xʊ:ħ	bbʷa:ħ ; xa:ħ	baba:ħ ; xʊ:ħ

father/his brother"			
26. 2ⁿᵈ pers. masc./fem. indep. pr. distinction: nta/ nti "you-fem/you. masc. vs. *ntˤi:na* for both masc. and fem.	nta vs. nti	*ntˤi:na* for both masc. and fem.	nta vs. nti
27. Marking for some feminine nouns: "My mother-in-law" (and metathesis)	No: ʕzuːʒɛ Metathesis	Yes: ʕzuːʒti Metathesis	Yes: ʕdʒɔːztɛ No metathesis
28. "I owe you"	t-saːl-ni	t-saːl-li	t-saː-li
Lexicon			
29. "Something"	ʃijj/ħajja	ʃijj/ħaːdʒa (+affrication)	ʃijj/ħaːdʒa (+affrication)
30. Suffixed forms « Them » "Today"	No: huːma ljʊːm	Yes: huːma ljʊːm	Yes: ħuːma ljʊːm
31. Reflexive pronouns: "by myself; I alone"	ərrɔːħɛ	bwaħdɛ	waħdɛ
32. Reflexive pronouns "Myself"	rɔːħɛ	ɑːsɛ	rɔːħɛ
33. Possession particle	taːʕ	djaːl ; taːʔ	djaːl
34. Go: "he goes"	*jɔʁda*	*jəmʃɛ*	*jəmʃɛ*
35. Call: "he calls"	jəlʁa	jʕijjəṭ	jʕijjəṭ
36. Be able to: "she can"	tnaʒʒəmm	tandʒəmm/ tʔadd	tandʒəmm/ taqdarr
37. Do: "we do"	ndiːrɔ	nəʕʕamlɔ	ndiːrɔ
38.Give:"they give"	jaʕṭɔ	iməddɔ	iməddɔ
39. "What"	ʃtaħwa	ʔaːsəm	waːʃnʊ
40. "How are you?"	kʰɛ ɑːk	kɛrɛːk	waːʃ ɑːk

41. "What's your name?"	ki səmmʊ:k	ki smək	wa smək
42. Sit : "she sits"	tʒəmmaʕʕ	tʰəgʔɔd	tɔqʕɔdd
43. Stay: "he stays"	tɔgʕɔd	jəbʔɑ	jrijjaɦ
44. Throw: "she throws"	tqɛ:s	tsajjəbb/tarmɛ	tarmɛ
45. "Where"	wi:n	fajən	fajən
46. "Behind": Space: ʃəgg /mɔ:r Time: mɔ:r/ baʕd	ʃəgg mɔ:r	mɔ:r	mɔ:r baʕd
47. Time adjuncts "Last year"	ʕam lʊwwəll	l ʕam li: fa:t	l ʕam li: fa:t
"This year"	əssna	ha:d əl ʕa:m	ha:d əl ʕa:m
"Tomorrow"	ʁədwa	ʁədwa	kədwa
"Today"	l jʊ:m	l jʊ:m	l jʊ:m
"Yesterday"	ja:məs	əl ba:raɦ	əl ba:raɦ
"Last night"	əl ba:rəɦ	əl ba:raɦ	əl ba:raɦ
48. "One time" "Many times"	xɑṭɽɑ xɑṭɽɑ:t	xɑṭɽɑ xɑṭɽɑ:t	mɑṛɽɑ mɑṛɽɑ:t
49. "Yes"	wɑ:h	jɛ:h	ɛ:h
50. "No"	lla	la:la	la:la
51. "Corner"	qɑnt	ʔant	ʃʊ:ka
52. "Straight on"	ni:ʃa:n	ni:ʃa:n	qba:la

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2.5 Conclusion

The Algerian linguistic situation is characterized both by the diversity of the languages in use (Arabic, Tamazight and French) and by the diversity of their dialectal varieties. Such contact has resulted not only in multilingualism and code-switching, but also in di/multiglossia and code-mixing and, by way of consequence, of language/dialect change. From the works of Arabicists and dialectologists on the development of Arabic dialects at different periods of the Arab conquests to more recent sociolinguistic studies, the general picture of Algeria shows that the linguistic boundaries between the Arabic dialects or even on the ethnic/genealogical bedouin/sedentary dichotomy inherited from Ibn-Khaldoun are gradually fading away (for Ibn-Khaldoun's distinction between bedouins and urbans, see Monteil (1997); 1992 إين خلدون). An account of dialectal change can only be possible if new forms are compared to old ones; in this sense, the precise earlier descriptions of regional dialectal varieties have proved very useful not only for an understanding of the dialects and their differences but they also constitute an invaluable source of inspiration for those now working within the domain of urban sociolinguistics.

Chapter Three: Variation and change in the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of dialectal variation and the direction of change in the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, as well as the criteria for deciding what the prestige features are and where they come from. Other relevant questions involve the methodological and theoretical approaches for understanding dialectal change. The first section starts with an account of universal factors responsible for linguistic change, as suggested by Ferguson 1978, with respect to spirantization and stopping, which I shall relate to change in Arabic dialects in Algeria. The second section tackles the issue of dialectal change in Sidi Bel-Abbes, within real and apparent time approaches, using methods based on quantitative surveys. In the last section of this chapter, I raise the question of koineisation, testing its relevance against the dialect contact situation in Sidi Bel-Abbes. I conclude with the difficulties in relying solely on the quantitative analyses of the features in the study of dialectal change in this city.

3.2 Universal factors influencing language change

One of the examples of Arabic dialectal change involves interdentals, in either what is referred to as the stopping (or ð→ d) process or the spirantization (d → ð) process. While Classical Arabic has retained the distinction between the triads of the interdentals ḏ , ð/, ɵ and that of the stops ḍ, d, t, in many dialects this distinction is either subject to much variation and/or merging or has disappeared altogether. For example, the old bedouin/sedentary dichotomy clearly shows a distinct distribution of interdentals and stops. On the one hand, at least until recently, some bedouin dialects have retained the Classical Arabic interdentals, but have merged ḏ and ḍ, therefore no longer distinguishing such (SA/NSA) phonetically (but not lexically) distinct pairs as: aḍ ḍawʔ versus aḏḏaw "light" and əḍ ḍaɫaːm versus əḏ-ḏalmɑ "darkness". In sedentary dialects, on the other hand, the interdentals have for long given way to stops, leading to the realization of Classical Arabic ḏ , ð , ɵ interdentals as ḍ d t dental stops. The situation is now changing, however: in Algiers, for example, and due to internal migratory waves, both processes are observed (Boucherit 2004: 35-6). The issue of language change has given rise to many theoretical paradigms, and a variety of factors -physiological, social and historical- have been suggested. Seen from a universal viewpoint, the processes of spirantization and stopping are considered by Ferguson as being determined by such conditions as "directionality", "inclusiveness", "favouring conditions", and "acquisition and pidginization" (Ferguson 1978: 403-438), each of these factors are discussed below.

3.2.1 Directionality

For Ferguson, despite the fact that both processes (i.e. d →ð and ð→ d) are attested in languages, each obeys a different rule:

> The stop→spirant process is essentially assimilating in nature and strongly context-sensitive, while the spirant→stop process is a context-free, segment simplifying process,|though, as he suggests, these fundamental phonetic characteristics may […] be modified by **strong social factors**. (Ferguson 1978: 433, emphasis mine)

In this respect, one can reasonably ask the question of the ð → d process as regards the Algerian Arabic dialects. Whether the merging of the CA ḍ ð ɵ interdentals to the ḍ d t is due to phonetic, social, or historical factors constitutes another issue regarding the development of Arabic dialects. The same may be asked about the bedouin dialects, which, after having kept the CA interdental/stop distinction (except that the voiced emphatic interdental fricative has merged with the voiced non-emphatic counterpart), are now undergoing noticeable shifts from interdentals to stops, in particular in the speech of youths. In the sedentary speech of the old Algerian city centres, Tlemcen, Constantine, and Algiers, namely, the CA interdentals have given way to stops, some of these changes being partly explained by phonetic causes such as simplification and partly by the historical events during which the Arabic dialects had expanded and the language contact situation in which the change took place. The bedouin Arabic dialects brought by the Hilali nomadic (bedouin) tribes, which settled in the Tell, did not spread in the same vein; as a result, two distinct dialects developed in Algeria: the sedentary dialects and the bedouin dialects (cf. William Marçais 1938; Philippe Marçais 1957).

3.2.2 Inclusiveness

Being part of larger schemata constitutes a determining factor for a language change process. Thus the shift from a stop to a spirant (fricative) "seems always to be part of a more general process of spirantization in the language, either the spirantization of voiced stops or all stops while the ð→d process" "seems to be either isolated or associated with a parallel process ɵ→t", "[c]haracteristically, these processes when operating diachronically end by merger of the original fricatives with other consonants" (Ferguson 1978: 435). This is the case for the Arabic dialects

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in Algeria: it is not just the interdental fricative *ð* that has become a dental stop *d* but all the interdental fricatives *ḏ ð ɵ* which have become dental stops ḍ, *d , t* not only in the regions where sedentary dialects prevail but also in many regions formerly known for their bedouin dialects.

3.2.3 Acquisition and pidginization

Evidence based on investigations on language acquisition attests of children's acquisition of stops before fricatives, making substitutions for fricatives, as in the speech of Spanish children, where the interdental fricatives ð and ɵ are replaced by the dental stops d and t, a process also valid for children in many languages (Ferguson 1978: 437).

3.2.4 Favouring conditions

Despite the considerable differences across languages together with historical and social factors, it is generally agreed that the shift from fricatives to stops is "favored by word-initial, post-nasal, post-liquid, and stressed positions while the spirant outcome is favored by post-vocalic positions including inter-vocalic, pre-consonantal, and pre-juntural", though other factors -stigmatisation, namely- may override such a process (Ferguson 1978: 435). As for lexical and communicative strategies, Ferguson suggests that change "from below" is more likely to coincide with "high-frequency and common words" whereas change "from above" correlates with the appearance of new lexical terms pertaining to fashion and culture and which are considered "as appropriate for public or formal use which form the change" (ibid., 436). The naturalness of some phonetic changes is also acknowledged by Trudgill (Trudgill 1986: 57, see 4.8.2.1).

In the case of Algerian dialects, the universal favouring conditions and contact between Arabic and other languages resulted in the stopping of interdentals in the sedentary dialects but their maintenance in the bedouin dialects; this is due to a combination of factors such as cultural solidarity and the extra-salient nature of some features.

3.3 Investigating dialectal change in Sidi Bel-Abbes

One of the ways in which change may be investigated is to draw a comparison between former speech -represented by the old age group speakers- and new features -present in the speech of youths. Prior to this, however, I shall give an account of the methods used to search for variation and change.

3.3.1 Approaches in investigating linguistic change

According to Labov (1994), the study of language change in progress requires observation of two states of a language, where the "observer may report that some element is present in the language that was missing before, or that something has disappeared that was present" (Labov 1994: 43). For example, in 1961, an alternation between the back centalised vowels diphthong [ʌʊ] and [aʊ] on Martha's Vineyard was observed while in 1940, the alternation had been observed between [æʊ] and [aʊ]. Labov (1994) suggests two ways of observing language change: observation in real time and observation in apparent time.

3.3.1.1 Real time observation

Observation in real time requires that the researcher should describe the speech of the same individuals at discrete periods of time as regards the use of variables. In other words, the sociolinguist "may return to the community after a lapse of time and repeat the same study" (ibid.,74); however, this is not always possible for various reasons, human and logistical, namely. Another way of observing the change of variables in real time would be to search the literature and "compare earlier findings with current ones: this is the normal procedure of historical linguistics" (ibid., 73-4).

3.3.1.2 Apparent time observation

Observation in apparent time involves the study of variables across age levels to trace linguistic change, not at individual level but by a group of speakers (ibid., 45-6). In other words, the distribution of variables across age levels and a correlation between age and the linguistic variable may be a sign of language change. In this type of observation, the analysis involves a study of the speech of both the oldest age group, people in their 70s-90s - "without physical deterioration that may interfere with their speech"- and that of the youngest age group- preadolescents and adolescents between 11(or even 8) and 19 "as the leading edge of

(sound) change" (Labov 1994: 47). However, as Hocket (1950) remarks, time-apparent observation runs the risk of representing "age-grading" (Hockett 1950, quoted in Labov 1994: 46). Age-grading is a regular phenomenon "of linguistic behavior with age that repeats with each generation, whereby distributions across age levels might not represent change in the community at all" (ibid.). In this case, "many well-established sociolinguistic variables exhibit such age-grading, where adolescents and young adults use stigmatized variants more freely than middle-aged speakers, especially when they are being observed" (ibid.).

As for age as a discrete variable, Labov sets it into 8 categories: *8-14, 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69* (Labov 1994: 60), suggesting that observation in both apparent time and real time be the basic method for the study of change in progress.

3.3.2 Observing language variation and change in SBA

There is no atlas of the regional dialects of Algeria and no attested work -for example, in the vein of Trudgill's (1979) *English Accents and Dialects*- on the former speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes per se, but descriptions of the Bedoun dialect of the "*département*" (county) of Oran (cf. Cantineau 1940, 1960) and data collected among old Belabbesi speakers show that it shares more features with the speech of Oran than with any other dialect, though each variety has its own distinctive features, and any claim that the Belabbesi speak like the Oranese should encounter strong but well-founded reservations. Today, however, in many Algerian cities, mobility and the media, television, in particular, have put in contact people of various origins. To trace older features of SBA speech and discover what features have changed (or disappeared), I appealed to three modes of investigation. The first one is represented by *Norms*, an acronym for non-mobile, rural, old male speakers (Chambers and Trudgill 1988). The second is based on both apparent time observation (i.e., variation across age levels), and the third involves one of the modes of real time observation, discussed above (3.3.1.1), carried out by searching in the literature of earlier dialectologists such as on the main features of the bedouin and the sedentary dialects of Algeria, and of the Oran region, for our present purpose (cf. William Marçais 1902, 1908; Cantineau 1940).

3.3.3 Data collection

Collecting data on particular language practices in any situation involves not only efficient ways of approaching people, selecting speakers, persuading them to agree to meet, making them speak about themselves or others in a trustworthy manner, but also methods and tools for gathering linguistic (and other) information as well as questions relating to the selection, description and analysis of variables by several means: surveys, interviews and telephone conversations. I shall discuss below the methodological and theoretical framework, concluding with a section on the research tools, speaker selection and variable selection.

3.3.3.1 Methods of research

The collection of data involved various methods: participant observation, direct and indirect interviews as well as questionnaires and surveys, written observations and survey sheets. Prior to elaborating any strategic methodology, my first investigations involved some relative immersion in the linguistic group which I purported to observe. Thus, in order to gain familiarity with the linguistic practices of my Belabbesi "hosts" and gather sufficient and relevant data, I adopted a participant observation posture and, when that was not possible -my place of residence being Algiers- telephone conversations. These telephone conversations proved very useful and sometimes more efficient than face-to-face conversations because of the reluctance in the latter situation of speaking with an *outsider* and the fear of judgement values that might have hindered the use of casual speech and inhibited my consultants from disclosing some private matters. Direct observation was of paramount importance to my research as I wished to avoid biased responses if I had asked them direct questions, thus running the risk of falling into the trap of what Labov termed the "observer's paradox" (Labov 1972: 61, 209), that is offering unspontaneous answers about their linguistic practices to please me or meet my expectations about their speech. As for reading lists, they were not used because 1) not all the speakers could read and write and 2) using reading lists even among educated speakers in a di/polyglossic context might not be very productive, this study involving variation and change in an unwritten vernacular and not a standard variety.

3.3.3.2 Speaker selection and interviews

The first elder speakers were interviewed in the winter of 2007 and investigations on the speech of youngsters started at about the same time, involving both macro surveys and short interviews of individual pupils inside the school and micro interviews in my family's home and/or in theirs. I thus initially adopted a qualitative approach through participant observation and analysis of everyday conversations both with and among the speakers. The total number of the people exceeds 300, but because I was unable to gather sufficient information on some of the participants (whom I interviewed on the street), for the quantitative analyses, I decided to limit the number to 125 speakers, 52 males and 73 females. The number of pupils in the Middle school for the preliminary investigations exceeds 200; however, the semi-directive interviews involved 49 speakers, 30 girls and 19 boys, aged 12-15 across three levels: 1st , 2nd and 3rd years, where they were encouraged to speak about such matters as love, friendship, parents, sports, teachers and human relationships, in general. When the pupils displayed differences in their dialectal features, further interviews were conducted to look for other factors of variation. The surveys and the interviews were carried out on many occasions; appointments were arranged for me by the then headmistress to see the gender-mixed classes of children, either as a whole class or in smaller groups. Based on the results of the surveys and interviews, further investigation was carried out among pupils according to their place of birth (Sidi Lahcen, Sidi Bel-Abbes, Tlemcen or elsewhere) and origin (urban or rural). When neither place of birth nor origin could explain the dialectal discrepancies, I looked for possible correlations with, age and/or time of migration; though the pupils were all teenagers, it turned out (and this is confirmed by research on the field) that younger adolescents were still reproducing their caregivers' speech, and further attention was paid to the pupils aged 12 and less. Finally, in addition to a quantitative analysis of the overall speakers, I proceeded to a distinct survey for each of the categories of age, origin, birth place and time of migration, following a discovery, heuristic procedure, with further filtering in an attempt to understand the processes of dialectal variation among the inhabitants of Sidi Bel-Abbes.

3.3.3.3 Speaker sampling

In sociological surveys, it is generally suggested that the samples depend on the size of the population; thus, Neuman (1997: 22, cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003: 28)

suggests a sample of 300 for a population under 1,000 while a population of 15,000 would require a sample of 1,500. However, linguistic practices are "not [as] subject to conscious manipulation [as] dietary preferences or voting intentions", and the samples are usually reduced (Labov 1966: 180-1, in Milroy and Gordon 2003: 28). Sankoff explains the efficiency of such a procedure:

> [...] even for quite complex communities samples of more than 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. It is crucial, however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalize. (Sankoff 1980a: 51-2, quoted in Milroy and Gordon 2003: 29)

Among the 125 people interviewed, 91 of them live in Sidi Lahcen and 34 in the city centre. As an initial step in the present project, I deliberately carried out quantitative analyses on a sample of 125 speakers on an almost random basis, with no tight representativeness whether in terms of age, sex or education. This was done in order to test for the change of features in general terms; furthermore, instead of presetting the social categories, I decided to proceed in a heuristic manner, as the aim was to discover precisely what parameters linguistically set the speakers apart. Eventually, when the results revealed correlations between the linguistic usages and the social variables, a quota sampling was undertaken. A quota -or judgement- sample is based on the researcher's a-priori selection of speakers fitting the specified social categories (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30). Thus, seeking for representativeness, I proceeded to the selection and analysis of a quota sample of 78 speakers (i.e. with an equal number of male, female, educated and non-educated, and rural and urban origin speakers). The age variable was subdivided into 5 categories, first to compare with other studies (e.g., Labov 1994), then 9 categories (data not visible in the present work): 70-86, 60-69, 50-59, 40-49, 30-39, 20-29, 15-19, 13-14, and 12 and under on the basis of the results obtained (see 3.5.5). A further age category divided the 76-86 and the 70-75 year old speakers, bringing the number to 10 age categories, as the oldest speakers displayed features different from their immediate youngsters. Origin was also a parameter that accounted for the linguistic discrepancies between the speakers.

3.3.3.4 Variable selection

The selection of variables was based partly on the linguistic discrepancies that sprang between the group of the old speakers and that of the youths; this is consistent with the view that search for linguistic change results from the observation that features present before come to be missing. The selection of the linguistic features was undertaken on the basis of the following 5 criteria, set after a period of participant observation and analysis of the corpus:

i) Absence, change or appearance of new features

The absence of a previous feature, its change or replacement by another feature is a sign of change and therefore of particular interest to the sociolinguist. In the present case, important phonological changes include the stopping of interdentals, diphthongization, and vowel elision.

ii) High frequency of use

Features which are frequently used in daily conversations are more easily noticed than less frequently-used features, for example, verbs such as "to go", "to call", "to be able to", "today", "tomorrow", "yesterday" and other time adjuncts.

iii) High occurrences in the interviews

Features which occur in a high number of occurrences are not only more readily selected for analysis but they are also more reliable than other features whose occurrences are less important in number. There is a difference between this third criterion and the second one in that, while lexical terms such as those enumerated in *ii)* above are usually frequent in daily conversations, some of the selected speakers may use only a few tokens of these. For this reason, there were features which, despite their usual high frequency of use, were not selected because their occurrences in the speech of the speakers selected were not sufficient.

iv) Inter-personal and intra-personal variation

Features which are subject to variation both at inter-personal and intra-personal levels have been selected. This criterion is particularly relevant for stylistic variation, where some speakers may use different variants in different situations.

v) **Markers**

Features which represent markers of regional dialects receive particular attention. As studies in language (and dialect) contact have revealed, speakers of different dialectal varieties usually adjust to marked features, or markers, of the varieties to which they are confronted (cf. Labov 1972, 1994). "Markedness" will be discussed in 3.6.2.3 below.

3.4 Time-apparent variation in Sidi Bel-Abbes

In this section, I shall deal with variation as shown by the two extreme ends of age groups: the group of the eldest speakers and that of the 20 year-old youths, in particular those displaying speech innovations.

3.4.1 The group of elder speakers

To trace older features of SBA speech, I adopted both real time and apparent time approaches (see 3.3.1), thus relying on earlier descriptions of the SBA dialect as well as on interviews among old and young Belabbesi speakers. Although the number of the old rural speakers is 8, the main interviews focused on 3 speakers of rural origin, one woman, Zahra, aged 86, and two men: Kaddour, aged 76 and El-Hadj, aged 86, the latter exhibiting features similar to those of several other male and female interviewees aged between 75 and 85, who were born either in Sidi Bel-Abbes or in a nearby village. A short biography of each of the three eldest speakers is provided below.

-El-Hadj, 86

In a face-to-face conversation in his home in December 2007, El-Hadj tells about kin and childhood recollections. Aged 86, he was born in Tessala -a rural area 10 kilometres west of SBA and has lived there until the 1950s, when he went to settle and live in SBA with his wife, their married son, his wife and their children. The analysis of his speech is based on the two recordings, in which he uses all the features of rural SBA speech, including interdentals; ʕ for ʔ; the *la*-(ʃ) particle for the negation in imperatives; the durative of verbs is: *(ᵊn-na:s)tətb*a:*ka; tətʒa:ra,* "(people) were crying/running". His speech is also punctuated by metaphors and other figures of indirect speech[6].

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6 The recording of the second interview with El-Hadj bears the title: ELHADJ RAOUD, and may be found in the MMSH *Médiathèque* in Aix-en-Provence, France. The phonetic transcription and translation of the first interview (*The family tree*) is in Appendix 1.

-Zahra, 86

Zahra was interviewed and recorded on several occasions, where she speaks about her health problems. She is the grand-mother of Mounir, one of the CEM (Middle school) pupils. She was born in Tessala, but she was 2 when, after her mother's death (in the 1920s), she settled with her father and his new wife, a Sidi Bel-Abbes dweller. Zahra now lives with her husband and their divorced daughter and the latter's 3 children in Sidi Lahcen.

Zahra uses all the rural features of old SBA: interdentals; diphthongisation, a frequent replacement of /θ/ by [h] in *θa:nε: ħa:nε,* « also », as well as the la-(ʃ) particle for negative imperatives.

-Kaddour, 76

The third speaker is a 75 year-old man, born in Sfisef (a rural commune East of SBA) who has lived in SBA since the late 1950s, when he lost his brother in the Algerian war. Kaddour married the widow Zahra in the 1960s and both went to live in a nearby village, to settle finally in Sidi Lahcen in the 1990s. Several of his conversations were recorded: alone, with his wife, with his daughter Souad, and with his grand-children (i.e. Souad's children). His speech displays the same features as those of El-Hadj and Zahra: interdentals, diphthongization, ʕ for ʔ (e.g. qɔrʕa:n "Qur'an") , etc.

3.4.2 The main features of old SBA speech

Some differences between the bedouin dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes, the sedentary dialect of Tlemcen and the sedentary dialect of Algiers are summarized in table 3 (for a detailed account of some features of the SBA bedouin features, see 2.4.2.2). The most prominent of the features observed among the group of old SBA speakers that I interviewed are listed below:

3.4.2.1 Phonology

i) The voiceless, voiced, and emphatic fricative interdentals, respectively:
/θ /: θma:nja "eight", /ð/: ha:ða:k "that-masc."and /ḍ̣/: xḍ̣ɑ "he
married".

ii) Diphthong maintenance: xajr "better"; ᵊl-kajf "Kif "; ad dawra "the turning";

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ta:wəʕ "of-pl.".

iii) The realization of ʕ for the glottal stop ʔ: əl-ʕiʃɑ:ra "the sign"; ᵊl-ʕamr "the order"; ᵊl-ʕawlijja "the first"; ləl-ʕa:n "up to now"; ᵊl-qɔrʕa:n "the Qur'an".

iv) Vowel maintenance

Unlike Algiers and Tlemcen speech, the vowel [i] is maintained in the preposition fi: « in », contained in prepositional phrases such as fi : *si:di bəlʕabba:s* , «in Sidi Bel-Abbes», as speakers in the former cities are heard to elide *i*, as in *f-si:di bəlʕabba:s* while old Belabbesi speakers say *fi : si:di bəlʕabba:s.*

v) No vowel bounce

I have translated William Marçais's term "*ressaut*" in his monograph on Tlemcen (1902), characteristic of Tlemcen speech into English "bounce", whereby words are pronounced sɑfibəttɛ "my friend-fem." and tbɑrkəɫafi "God bless you" instead of SBA sɑfiəbtɛ and tbɑrɛkəɫafi. In old SBA speech, no vowel bounce is attested.

vi) The voiced palato-alveolar [ʒ] is not affricated: ʒɑ:r «neighbour»; ʒa:t "She'come", unlike the sedentary dialects, where affricated dʒ is used, for example, dʒɑ:r «neighbour»; dʒa:t « she has come », etc.

vii) The velar stop g

a. While q is characteristic of sedentary dialects such as Algiers, for example, and the glottal stop ʔ in Tlemcen, the Algerian bedouin dialects display g, though there are many words with q in SBA.

b. g, G and q

In the speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes as well as in the other D-dialect members, not only is g used but it is realized g in "fronting"(non-velarizing) contexts as in [gal-li] "he said to me" but G (velarized g) in backing environments, as in [Gɑɫḅ] " heart"; mGaɱɱɑɫ "lousy"; Gɓɑɫ "before". In the bedouin dialect(s) of North Constantine, g is realized with a fronted g in all instances of g lexical items : gal-li "he said to me"; gəlb "heart"; mgəmməl "lousy"; gbəll "before". Furthermore, it would be inaccurate to state that, where bedouin dialects have g, sedentary dialects (except for

Tlemcen, where ʔ is used) have q; in both dialect groups, there are words which are always pronounced with q and others with g. In SBA, for example, a number of lexical items have kept the original CA /q/ pronunciation: jəqrɑ « he reads » ; warqa « a sheet (of paper) » ; qɔlla "pot", in addition to other words of foreign origin: qarʕa « bottle » ; qɑnt « corner » ; mɔqra:ʒ « boiler; coffee pot ».

Though q and g are generally mutually exclusive in old SBA speech, there are a few minimal pair exceptions: magli « grilled » and maqli « fried »; jgəwwəd "he takes (someone) by the hand" and its q counterpart, a taboo word meaning "he goes away" or "he reports". Conversely, the sedentary dialects of Algeria have kept the bedouin g pronunciation, in particular in words relating to animal-raising and pastoral life: bagra « cow », grɔ:n « horns », gərni :na "(milk) cardo", Gɑsbɑ "flute"; other words with g include loan Spanish (*cigarro*): gɑrrɔ "cigarette".

3.4.2.2 Morphology (and morpho-syntax)

i) Feminine gender case is not marked for a number of words: ʔzʊ:ʒ "old woman"; ḍɑrs "molar", etc. (as opposed to the bedouin North Constantine dialects and sedentary dialects, where it is: ḍɑṛsɑ "molar"; ʕzʊ:ʒa "old woman").

ii) Negation in indicative verbs with the negation particle ma-: ma nakɗabʃ "I don't lie".

iii) Negation in imperatives with the negation particle *la-*: *la-tadʕi:ʃ* "Don't curse".

iv) Negation in participles is formed with the participle preceded by ma- and ending in -ʃ: ma-qarja:ʃ "(she is) not educated".

v) Negation in expressions such as "I do not know" is ma naʕrɑff.

vi) The 3ʳᵈ pers. masc. objective/accusative suffix is -ah: [ʃa:f-ah] "he saw him", and not -u/o [ʃa:f-u/o] of the (sedentary) dialects of Tlemcen, Algiers, Constantine, etc.

vii) Broken (irregular) plurals include: trɔgg "streets/roads"; ʕba:bsa "Belabbesis".

viii) The preposition *w* "with" is used to express a joint action: rɑːɦət ɦiꞁjja wi jjaːɦa "She went with her".

ix) The durative form of verbs is attested in old SBA speech: ən naːs tətbaːka; ən naːs tətʒaːra "The people were crying/running".

x) Subject-verb concord
Singular verbs are used with some plural subjects: əl-ʁɑːʃɛː əl-ʁɑːʃɛ ʒa "the people came".

3.4.2.3 Lexicon

The lexical items of the group of the oldest speakers include:

i) "Something" is ɦ*ajja.*

ii) "Alone" is *ər-rɔ ːɦ* + agreement : *ər rɔːɦaɦ* « by himself » ; *ər-rɔɦɦɔm* « by themselves ».

iii) Reflexive pronouns are formed by the addition of the verb followed by *rɔ ːɦ* + agreement : ʃəft rɔːɦɛ "I saw myself"; ʃaːf rɔːɦaɦ "he saw himself", etc.

iv) "To go" is jɔʁda; jsɔḍḍ ; jʃawwɑr "he goes/leaves".

v) "To call" is jalʁa « he calls ».

vi) "To be able to" is *jnaʒʒam.*

vii) Time adjuncts: "yesterday", "this year", "last year" and "tomorrow" are jaːməs, əs-sna, ʕam lʊwwəll and ʁda, respectively.

viii) "Today" is l jʊːm.

ix) "Yes" is wɑːɦ instead of ʔɛːɦ/jjɛːɦ, the latter being typical of all the sedentary and

eastern bedouin dialects.

***x*)** "No" is *əlla* instead of sedentary(Algiers, for example) la:la.

***xi*)** "How are you-masc." is ki rɑ:k da:jər.

***xii*)** "People" is əd dənja ; ən na:s.

***xiii*)** "Children" is əl bɑzz.

***xiv*)** "Young men" is əl wa:ʁəʃ.

***xv*)** "Men" is now rʒa:l.

***xvi*)** "Girl" is *ʃi:ra.*

***xvii*)** "Corner" is qɑnt.

***xviii*)** "Straight on" is niʃa:n.

3.4.2.4 Lexico-phonetic differences

 ***i*) q versus g**

In bedouin dialects, in general, and in the speech of SBA, in particular, some
words containing q and others containing g stand in lexical oppositions:

a. *lqa « he found »* versus *lg*a " he waited (for someone) and welcomed them".

b. *wqaff* "he stood in a dream" *versus wgaff* "he stood up" (see 3.4.2.1
vii b above).

***ii*) Diphthongs *aww* versus long vowels ɑ: rɑwwɦɔ vs. rɑ:ɦɔ "they went"**

In one of the two interviews, El-Hadj, the 86 year-old speaker, seems to make a
distinction between rɑwwɦɔ "they went away" and rɑ:ɦɔ "they were lost". When he
means "they left/went", El-Hadj uses rɑwwɦɔ; when he speaks about the police
confiscating the driver's car documents, he says ᵊl-kwɑ:ʁəṭṭ rɑ:ɦɔ "the papers are gone
(i.e. they were confiscated and therefore considered as lost).

3.4.3 The group of young speakers

The young speakers interviewed are of different age ranges, sexes, social backgrounds and origins. No illiterate speakers aged 15 and less were found, the schooling rate being relatively high, at least among college pupils; the rate of 6 year-old schooled children is 99.15% while it is 92.57% for the 6-15 year olds. As for those aged 16-19, the rate of schooling is only 50.02%, due to the pupils' giving up school or dropping out (*Annuaire statistique* 2010: 115). A fuller account of data collection and methods of research is provided in 3.3.3.2, 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.4 above. Before making any statements about features present in the speech of youths, it is important to point out the fact that, unlike the rural speakers aged 76+, the remaining speakers interviewed do not display a homogeneous linguistic profile. Therefore, I shall first enumerate the new features which appeared in the speech of many (though not all) young speakers, then I deal with the process of stopping among the total number of (125) speakers in the first place, and, finally, I present the quantitative analyses of stopping of the mixed-origin quota sample of 78 speakers, followed by a quota sample of 63 speakers of rural origin.

3.4.4 Features of the group of young speakers

In what follows, I start listing some of the features which are present in the speech of youths and absent in that of the old speakers (76-86). Then I enumerate a few of the features which have not changed, giving a tentative answer.

3.4.4.1 Phonology

i) Interdentals have given way to dentals (or stops), as in ḍɑrwɑk, "now"; ha:da "this"; tla:ta, "three".

ii) A de-diphthongisation of the former SBA diphthongs is attested; instead of old SBA (sbɑħ əl-) xɑjr, "good (morning), young urban speakers use (sbɑħ əl-) xɛ:r.

iii) Vowel elision in prepositions beginning prepositional phrases, as in *fi: si:di bəl ʕabba:s* "in Sidi Bel-Abbes" are elided: *ʃ- si:di bəlʕabba:s.*

iv) Vowel bounce (see 3.4.2.1): sɑħbəttɛ and tbɑrkəłłɑħ are found in the speech of many Belabbesi youths.

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3.4.4.2 Morphology (and morpho-syntax)

i) Feminine case is marked: "my mother-in-law" is ʔzʊ:ʒtɛ, and not ʔzʊ:ʒɛ, as in
   old SBA speech.

ii) The particle for negation in imperative verbs is *ma-* : ma-dʒi:ʃ "don't come",
   instead of former SBA *la- : la-tʒi:ʃ/ɛ.*

iii) Negation in participles is formed by the invariable particle məʃʃi qa:rja "not
   educated-fem."

3.4.4.3 Lexicon

i) « Something » is ħa:ʒa

ii) "Alone is" waħid + inflection for person, gender and number: waħid -ɛ, "me/I,
   alone"; waħid-ah: "him/he, alone", etc.

iii) "To go" is jrɔ:ħ and jəmʃɛ.

iv) "To call" is jʕajjaṭ.

v) "To be able to" is jqadd.

vi) Time adjuncts: "yesterday" is əl ba:raħ "this year"is ha:d əl-ʕa:m; "last year" is
   əl-ʕa:mli: fa:t; and "tomorrow" is ʁadwɑ.

The 13 changes above having appeared in the speech of young Belabbesis have been retained for further study in 3.6.3.2, following a detailed account of koinéisation (3.6). Prior to examining these, a brief account of other dialectal changes as well as of the features that have been maintained will be presented in 3.4.5 and 3.4.6, followed by quantitative analyses of stopping (3.5).

3.4.5 Other dialectal changes

   In addition to the 13 dialectal features enumerated above, other changes having
   occurred in the speech of youths include the following:

i) De-diphthongisation in "to go": diphthongisation has also disappeared from verbs like
   rawwaħ; rawwħɔ, "it/s/he has gone". As to the lexical opposition between rawwħɔ
   and ra:ħɔ, "they have gone" attested in the speech of El-Hadj, the corpus of the speech
   of young speakers does not contain instances of these occurrences and therefore, there
   was no way of checking for this feature.

ii) Classical Arabic glottal stop *hamza* ʔ is ʔ: qɔrʔa:n, "Qur'an".

iii) Subject-verb concord: the use of plural verbs with words such as əl-ʁɑːʃɛː əl-ʁɑːʃɛ ʒaːw, "the people came". This might have some connection with the influence of SVO word order over the Classical Arabic VSO. While in Classical Arabic, the preferred word order is V S O, and verbs preceding even plural subjects are in the singular: ʒaːʔa ən-naːsu, "(lit.) came the people", in the speech of youths, alternance between SVO and VSO word order results in occurrences of both əl-ʁɑːʃɛ ʒaːw and ʒaːw əl-ʁɑːʃɛ.

iv) The durative: the durative form in verbs has disappeared from the speech of youths. Thus, forms like ən naːs tabkɛ/ taʒrɛ "the people cried/ran" have replaced ən naːs tətbaːka/tətʒaːra "the people were crying/running".

v) Negation in such expressions as "I do not know" is ma-+agreement+verb+agr. ma- niːʃ ʕaːrəf/ʕaːrfa.

vi) The preposition *mʕa* "with" is used to express a joint action: rɑːħət mʕa ħa "She went with her" instead of the old form: rɑːħət hijja wi jjaːħa.

vii) Regular plurals such as l fʊganijjiːn "high-masc."; ṭɔrgaːn "streets/roads"; ʕabbasijjjiːn "Belabbesis".

viii) "Today" is ljʊːma, unlike old SBA ljʊːm.

ix) Some lexical oppositions involving q vs. g are disappearing: lqa/lga "he found"/he awaited"; wqaff/wgaff "he stood in a dream"/he stood up".

x) "People" is əl ʁɑːʃɛ.

xi) "Children" is now əd-draːrɛ.

xii) "Young men" is now əʃ ʃaːʃra.

xiii) "Men" is now rʒaːl.

xiv) "Girl" is *bənɪ*.

3.4.6 Features maintained

i) The voiced velar stop *g: galli* "he said to me" (as well as emphatic g: G in such words as gɑłb, "heart").

ii) [ʒ] is [ʒ]: unlike Algiers dʒiːt, "you have come", SBA speech is not characterized by affrication: ʒiːt. All young speakers have maintained [ʒ], as in ʒiːt.

iii) The 3rd pers. masc. objective/accusative suffix is maintained -ah: [ʃaːf-ah] "he saw him".

iv) In indicative verbs, negation with ma- ʃ has been maintained: ma-nakðabʃ "I do not lie/I am not lying"

v) Reflexive pronouns such as "myself"; "himself", "herself", etc. have been maintained: jʃʊːf rɔːɦafɪ "he sees himself".

vi) "Yes" is wɑːh.

vii) "No" is əlla.

viii) « How are you?» is ki-rɑːk-daːjər.

ix) "Corner" is qɑnt.

x) "Straight on" is niʃaːn.

In 3.4.2 - 3.4.6 above, we discover that, among the 37 features present in the group of old speakers (see 3.4.2), 27 features have changed in the speech of young(er) speakers (see 3.4.5) while 10 old features have been maintained (see 3.4.6). A summary table below displays the dialectal changes in casual speech and their direction (i.e. towards CA or sedentary dialects, or both). By "sedentary" is meant the membership to the dialects of the old city centres of Algiers and Tlemcen; when the direction of the change involves only Tlemcen, Algiers, or Oran, it is specified.

Below is a table representing old and new SBA features in casual speech.

Features	Old speakers	Young speakers	Classical/Standard Arabic	Direction
1.Interdentals vs. Stops	Interdentals	Stops	Interdentals	Sedentary
2.Diphthongisation vs. Long vowels	Diphthongisation xɑjr	Long vowels xɛ:r	Diphthongization: xɑjr	Sedentary
3.Vowel maintenance vs. vowel elision	Vowel maintenance fi:-bəlʕabba:s *tbarɛk əɫ-ɫaħ*	Vowel elision f-bəlʕabba:s *tbarɛk əɫ-ɫaħ*	Vowel maintenance *fi:-bəlʕabba:s taba:raka əɫ-ɫa:ħ*	Sedentary
4. Bounce "My friend-fem." "Young age" əs sɔʁr "Her childhood" sʁɔrħa	No bounce sɑħəbtɛ əs sɔʁr	Bounce sɑħbəttɛ **but**: əs sɔʁr	Lexical change sɑdi:qati əs-siʁari/əʃʃaba:bʊ	Sedentary No change, but bounce in poss. :sʁɔrħa
5. Feminine marking "Old woman"	Unmarked fem. case: ʕzʊ:ʒ	Marked fem.case: ʕzʊ:ʒa	Unmarked feminine case without the *a* vowel fall and without metathesis: *ʕaʒʊ:z(ʊn)*	Sedentary
6. Negation in imperative verbs "Don't come" "Don't curse"	la-tʒi:ʃ la-tadʕɛ:ʃ	ma-tʒi:ʃ ma-tadʕɛ:ʃ	la:-taʔti la:-tadʕi:	Sedentary
7. Negation in indicative verbs[7] "I don't know"	ma-naʕraff	ma-ni:ʃ ʕa:rəf	la-ʔadriᵘː la-ʔaʕrif	Sedentary
8. Negation in participles "(She (is) not educated"	mɑ-qɑrja-:ʃ	məʃʃi-qɑ:rjɑ	lajsatt mʊtaʕallima (tʊn)	Sedentary
9. The prepositon mʕa "with"	rɑ:ħət ħijja wi jja:ħa	rɑ:ħət mʕa:ħa	ðaħabat maʕa:ħa	Sedentary/CA

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7   See Danks 2011 for negation in the Arabic verb.
8   For the difference between accomplished and inaccomplished verbs, see Djebli 1994.

10. "Something"	ħajja	ħa:ʒa	ʃajʔ(ʊn)	Mixed[9] with sedentary
11."Alone/lonely"	ər-rɔħ(ɛ)	waħid(ɛ)	bi nafsi "alone" waħi:dʊn "lonely"	Sedentary
12. "To go"	sˁadˁdˁ ʃawwar; jɔʁda; rawwaħ rɑ:ħ	rɑ:ħ mʃa	ðaħaba; ʁa:dara maʃa: ; rɑ:ħɑ	Sedentary Simplification /reduction
13. "To call"	lʁa	ʕajjatˤ	na:da ħa:tafa	Sedentary
14. "To be able to"	jnaʒʒəmm	jqadd	jaqdirʊ jastati:ʕʊ	Urban Oran
15. Time adjuncts "This year" "Last year" "Yesterday" "Last night" "Tomorrow"	əs-sna ʕam lʊwwəll ja:məs əl ba:raħ ʁda	ha:d əl-ʕa:m lʕa:m li: fa:t əl ba:raħ əl ba:raħ ʁadwa	ħa:ðihi ssana:/ as-sana:/al ma:dˌija ʔams əl ba:riħa ʁada:/ʁadan	Urban Oran/Algiers Sedentary Sedentary: Merger for "yesterday" and "last night" Sedentary
16. "Today"	ljʊ:m	ljʊ:m/a	al jawm(a)	Sedentary/CA
17. Diphthongization "He went"	rawwaħ	rɑ:ħ/rɑ:ħət	ðaħaba rɑ:ħɑ	CA
18. ʔ versus ʕ: Qur'an	ʕ: ʔ qɔrʕa:n	ʔ: ʔ qɔrʔa:n	qɔrʔa:n	CA
19. Subject-verb concord: sing. vs. pl. "The people have increased in number"	Singular əl-ʁa:ʃi qwa	Plural: əl-ʁa:ʃi qwa:w	Not applicable (VSO order)	New
20. Durative vs. simple	Durative tətʒra:ra	Simple təʒrɛ	tataʒa:ra	Simplification
21. a. "He listens" b. "Listen to me"	jəssanatt ssanti:li	jəsmaʕʕ ssəmʕi:li	jastamiʕʊ jansitʊ ʔistamiʕi/ʔɔnsɔti	Merger

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9   The form ħa:ʒa is a mixed form in the sense that it contains the sedentary lexical item ħa:dʒa without the affrication.

			ʔilajja	
c. "He hears"	jəsmaʕʕ	jəsmaʕʕ	jəsmaʕʊ	
22. "The people"	əd-danja	ən na:s əl-ʁɑ:ʃɛ;	ən-na:sʊ	CA
23. "The children"	əl bɑzz	əd dra:rɛ; lʊla:d	al aṭfɑ:lʊ al awla:dʊ að ðʊrrijatʊ	Sedentary
24. "The young men"	əl-wa:ʁəʃ əʃ-ʃa:ʃra	əʃ-ʃa:ʃra *lɛ ʒɛ:n (French "les jeunes")*	aʃ-ʃaba:b	New
25. "Men"	trari:s	rʒa:l	riʒa:l(ʊn)	CA
26. "Girl"	ʃi:ra	bənt ʃi:ra	bint(ʊn) but also ṭifla (tʊn)	Mixing of the two forms, though only *bənti* "my daughter" is attested in kin poss.

3.5 Quantitative analyses of stopping in SBA

Labov introduces his paper titled "Driving Forces in Linguistic Change" (Labov 2002)[10] by stating that linguists face two challenging tasks. The first one involves the discovery of what makes the language faculty common to all human beings. The second task is to find out the causes of linguistic diversity across the world's languages. While it is easy to understand linguistic differentiation between "sub-groups" by geographical distance, we must look for causes of diversity when these sub-groups are not separated: "[w]hen two groups are in continuous communication, linguistic convergence is expected and any degree of divergence requires an explanation" (ibid.,1). It is in this sense that I shall use the terms "old" and "new": while the former refers to features that were/are present in the speech of the oldest group of speakers, the latter refers to features that appear in the speech of younger speakers.

This variation between different groups is said to correlate with such social parameters as age, social class, and gender (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, Cedergren 1973, Haeri 1996 and 1997, Sankoff 2001, cited in Labov 2002: 5-8). For example, Labov's studies of the correlation of age and the fronting of *aw* in the Philadelphia Neighborhood study shows that the younger the speakers are, the higher is their use of the fronting of *aw*.

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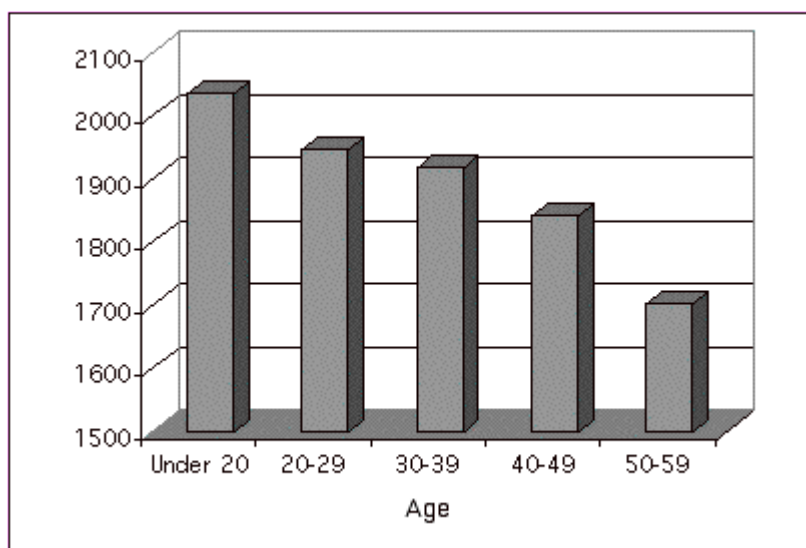
10 This paper, which forms part of the synthesis, is presented in the 3rd volume of Principles of Linguistic Change.

Figure 4: Correlation of age and the fronting of aw in the Philadelphia Neighborhood study
    [Source: Labov 2001, Ch.5].

Stopping, or the shift from interdentals to dentals, is one of the most remarkable changes that have occurred in the speech of Sidid Bel-Abbes youths. The quantitative analysis of stopping of a random sample of 125 speakers from both Sidi Bel-Abbes and Sidi Lahcen which I carried out displays the correlation of stopping with 5 age categories (from -20 to 59), as is shown in figure 5 below:
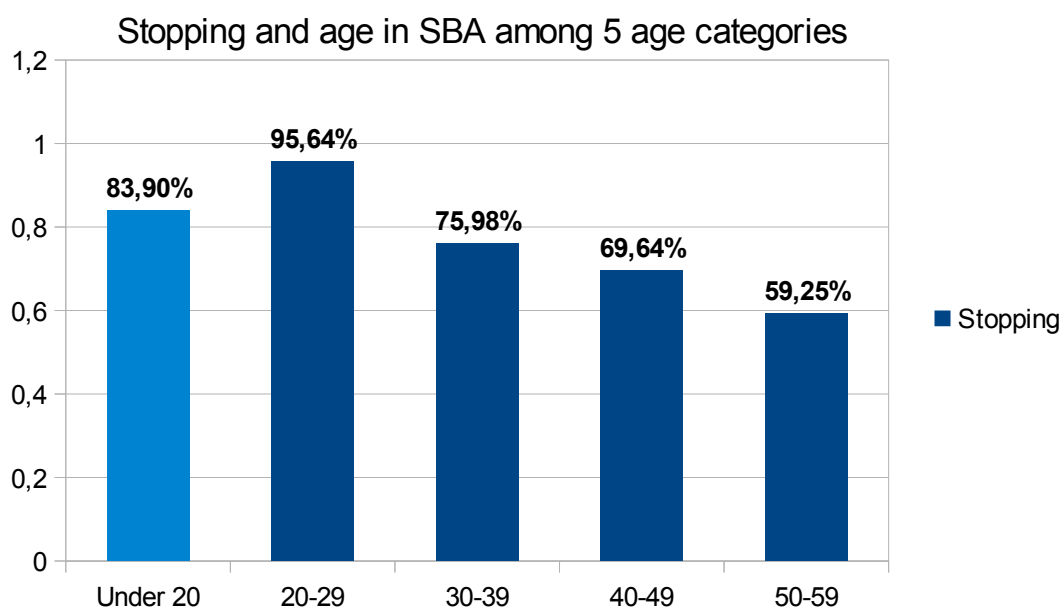
Figure 5: Stopping among 5 age categories in SBA

3.5.1 Stopping and age in Sidi Bel-Abbes - a random sample

On the basis of a mixed origin sample of 125 speakers living in Sidi Bel-Abbes and Sidi Lahcen, a quantitative study (see figure 5 above) reveals that stopping is highest among the 20-29 year-old speakers, increasing as the speakers get younger, except for the under 20. Prior to examining the causes of this fall, I proceeded to an examination of stopping across 10 age categories: 76-86; 70-75; 60-69; 50-59; 40-49; 30-39; 20-29; 15-19; 13-14; 12 and under (fig. 6). A subsequent survey reveals that speakers aged 12 and less score even lower than the 49-14 year old speakers. All these are highlighted in figure 6 below:

Stopping and age: a random sample
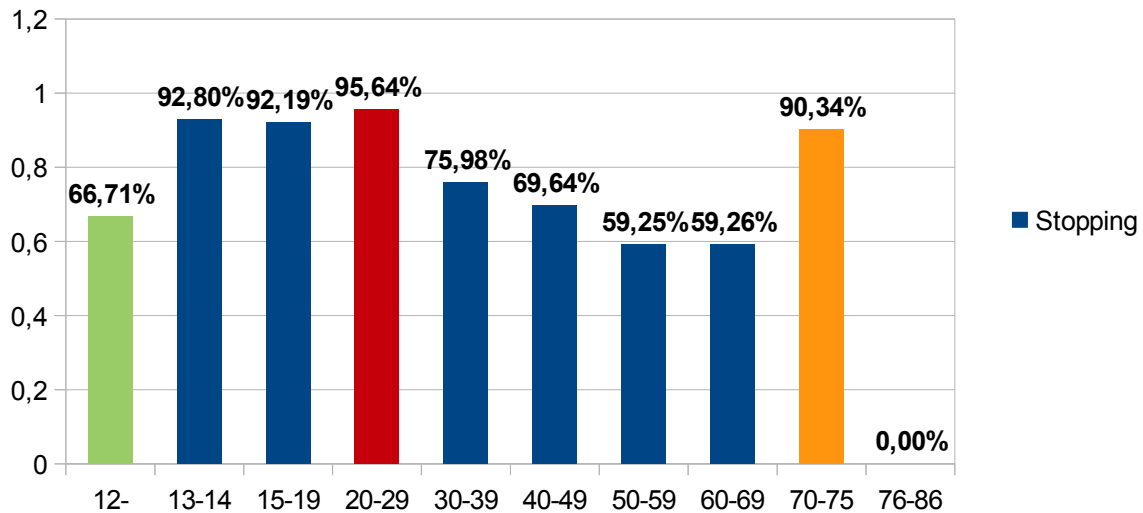
Figure 6: Stopping and age - a random sample

On further examination, the 70-75 year old group speakers showing the next highest use of stopping- are all *educated* and -except for 1 male speaker- of *urban* (Tlemcen and SBA) origin. As to the last age group speakers (12-), being under the influence of their (older) caregivers, they still produce their old features. It may be necessary, therefore, to look for other factors that may enhance (or inhibit) stopping: education and origin. I shall begin with education.

3.5.2 Stopping and educated speakers

The survey on the correlation between stopping and educated speakers among the 125 consultants may have been quite conclusive (cf. 3.5.3 and 3.5.4 below), revealing an overwhelming majority of speakers using stops, as figure 7 below shows:
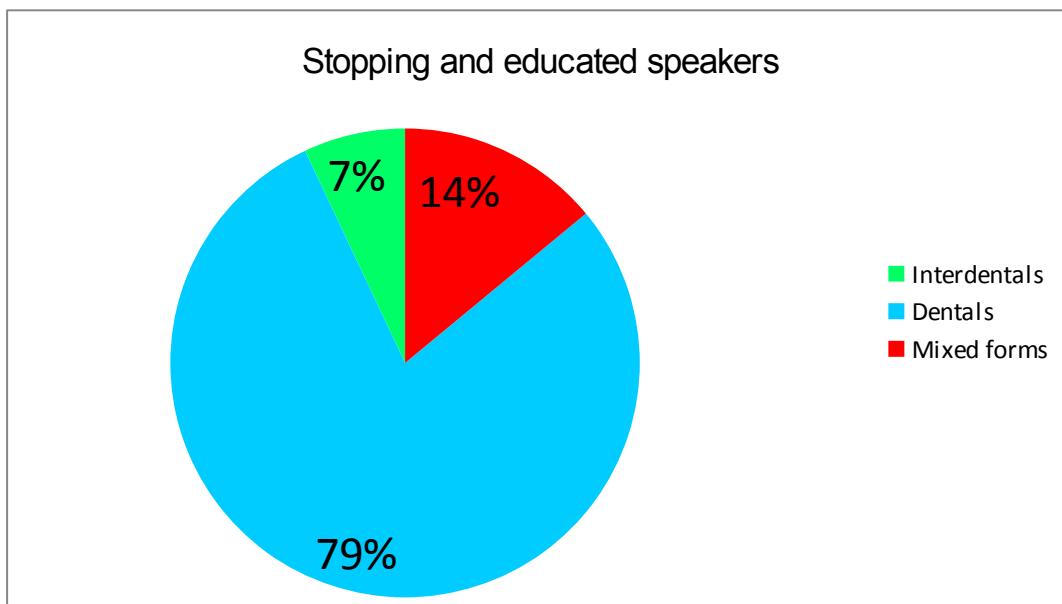
Figure 7: Stopping and educated speakers

3.5.3 Stopping and illiterate speakers

The high scores in figure 6 above of educated speakers might have led to the conclusion that illiterate speakers would display a reverse pattern: a majority of speakers using interdentals. It is not the case: only half of them do, as is shown in figure 8 below:

3.5.4 Stopping and urban origin

Perhaps more conclusive are the results of the correlation between stopping and speakers of urban origin in that almost all the speakers of urban origin (95.16%) use stops, as figure 9 below unveils:
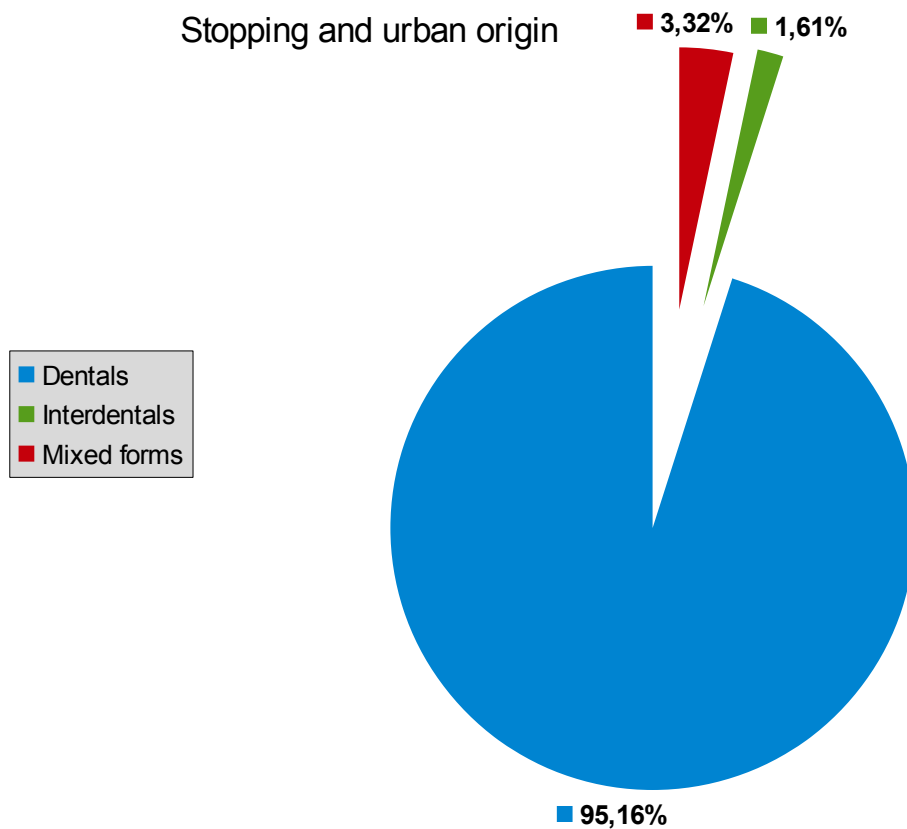
Figure 9: Stopping and urban origin

3.5.5 Stopping and rural origin

A statement that education enhances change to urban features (see 3.5.2) is hardly satisfactory given that despite the fact that many speakers are educated -in particular those aged 12 andless- they display little or no stopping. An answer might be sought in origin, as in figure 10 below, where only a third of speakers of rural origin display interdental use:

Stopping and rural origin

Interdentals 31,74%

Mixed forms 31,74%

Dentals 36,50%
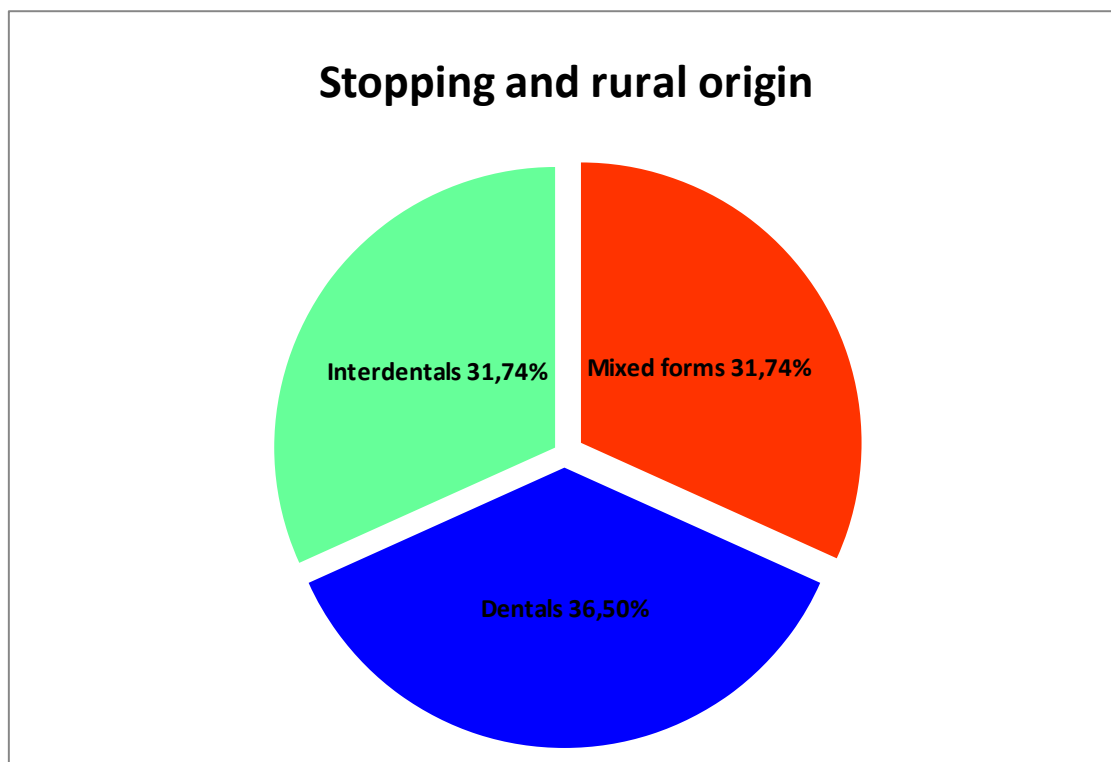
Figure 10: Stopping and rural origin

3.5.6 Results of stopping in age, education and origin - a random sample

Figures 7 and 8 above show that while 79% literate speakers use urban stops, only 12% of illiterate speakers use them; furthermore, the group of speakers aged 70-75 -who happen to be educated- display 90.34% of dentals (fig.6). As for origin -and irrespective of age- stopping reaches its highest peak among speakers of urban origin (95.16%) (fig. 9) while speakers of rural origin total only 36.50% of dentals (fig. 10). Stopping is generally quite high among young speakers, but it falls drastically among speakers of rural origin, in particular those aged 12 years old and less. A quota sample might be more enlightening.

3.5.7 Stopping and age - a quota sample

The results obtained in 3.5.1 - 3.5.5 were based on a random sample of 125 speakers. In order to obtain more reliable results, I selected a quota sample of 78 speakers, wherein equal (or quasi-equal) numbers of educated and illiterate, urban and rural, and male and female speakers are represented across 10 age groups. except for the 76-86 and the 70-75 year old groups, represented by 6 speakers in all 3+3), each age group has a sample of 8 speakers. This is shown in figure 11 below:

Stopping and Age: a quota sample
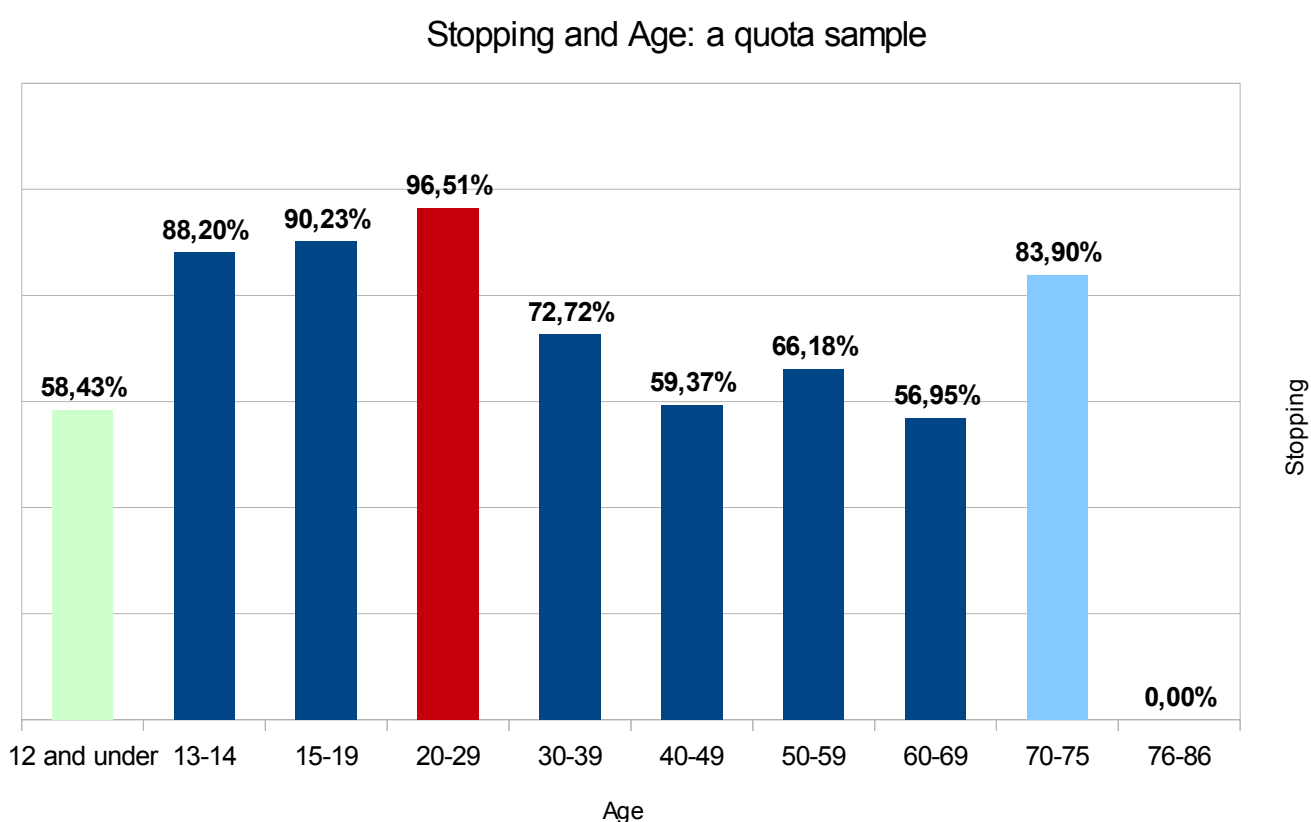
Figure 11: Stopping and age in SBA - a quota sample

If we compare again Labov's (2001) Philadelphia study (figure 4 above) of the correlation of age and fronting, we observe that, while in Philadelphia fronting increases with young speakers, in Sidi Bel-Abbes (in both the 5 age categories and the 10 age categories: figures 5 and 6), stopping (e.g., fig.6) is highest (95.64%) among the 20 year old speakers (and, to a lesser extent, among the 15-19 and the 13-14 year old groups), but, on the one hand, it falls dramatically (66.71%) among the 12 year old speakers and younger. On the other hand, the

70-75 year old group displays 90.34% of stopping, almost as high as the 20 year old speakers (and higher than the younger speakers in the 4 subsequent age groups - the 60-39 year olds).

3.5.8 Stopping and sex - a quota sample of 54 speakers

The curiosity for a more precise investigation of stopping between male and female speakers led me to carry out a further survey based on a quota sample of 54 speakers (27 men and 27 women), revealing an almost total equivalence between men and women, with men slightly in the lead for stopping, as shown in figure 12 below:
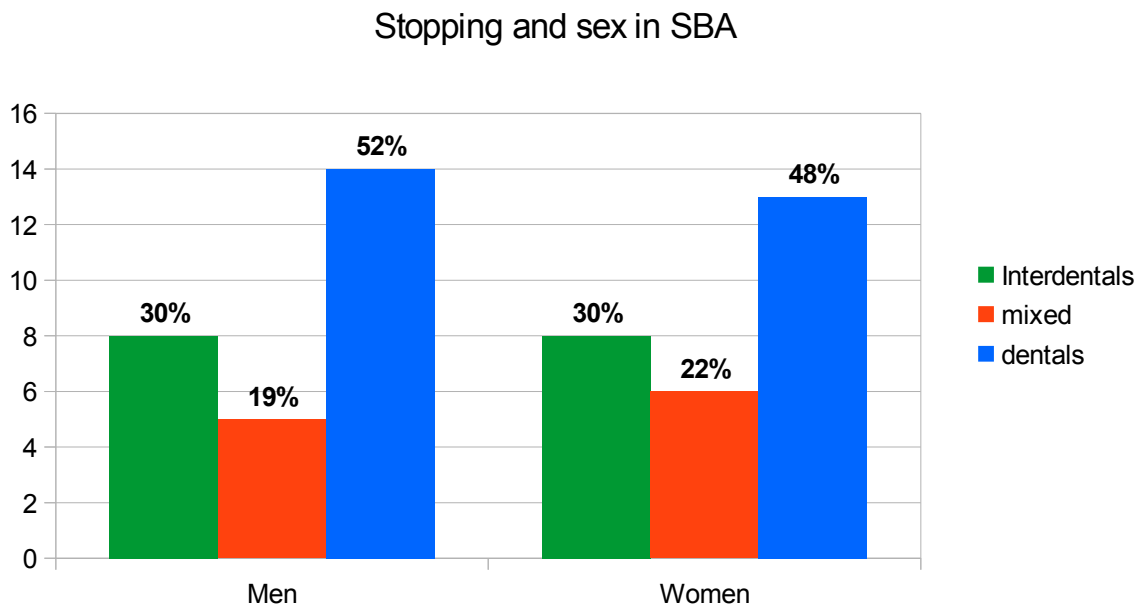
Figure 12: Stopping and sex in SBA

3.5.9 The significance of the results of the quota and random samples

In the quota sample of 78 speakers (fig. 12 above), stopping is very high among the 20-29 year-old speakers aged (96.51%); however, it decreases to 88.20% among the 13-14 year old speakers, to fall to 58.43% among the 12 year olds and less. Despite a high occurrence of stopping in general, the quantitative analyses of the process of stopping among the various categories of speakers in terms of age, sex or education reveal that neither age nor education *per se* determine the degree of stopping. While some elder speakers display a high degree of levelling, some other young speakers are still using the rural interdental features. The same may be said concerning education, which, *alone*, does not enhance the use of stops. Alhough- in the random sample- 79% of educated speakers use dentals, why do the remaining 21% ones use mixed forms and interdentals? What are the factors responsible for these dialectal differences between educated speakers, on the one hand, and, on the other, between speakers within the same age range? The results on origin are more revealing: stopping among speakers of urban origin is 95.16% while only 31.74% of the speakers of rural origin use rural interdentals, 36.50% use stops, and 31.74% use mixed forms. It turned out that the latter came at different times; some of them are settlers, others are first, second, third and fourth generation-born "children", and it is precisely this difference in the time of migration that seems to have an influence on the levelling out of the rural interdental features, their mixing with stops, or their replacement by stops; this is known as levelling. Levelling is one of the processes of koineisation, a model suggested in accounting for dialectal variation and change across generations of migrant speakers. Before testing the koineisation process in Sidi Bel-Abbes, I shall first define it in the section below.

3.6 Koineisation

The term "koineisation" has been applied to a process whereby language varieties in contact produce a new variety, a "koine", thus levelling out many of the features of the contributing varieties. Levelling, as a relevant process in koineisation, has been defined by many Arabic specialists as a process occurring in inter-dialectal communication, whereby some features from one of the contributing dialects are replaced by others from another contributing dialect with more prestige. The question of the direction of new koines in Arabic

dialects has given rise to a controversy between proponents of MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) as a target model and those who maintain that the target prestige variety is not necessarily the standard variety. For example, Versteegh (2001) insists on the crucial role of education for the promotion of MSA, which, as

> the only official and national [language variety]in the constitution, enjoys prestige and therefore serves as a model in the direction of which inter-Arabic dialectal communication will converge, thus exhibiting an increasing use of MSA features. (Versteegh 2001: 71)

The influence of Standard Arabic via the spread of education, religion and mass media such as television and radio on non-standard Arabic varieties is thus comparable to that of standard varieties on non-standard varieties of English, though it is limited to the lexical level in diglossic situations such as those prevailing in Arabic-Speaking countries, illustrated by Gibson's studies on Tunis (Gibson 2002, cited in Bassiouney 2009: 119). Furthermore, Bassiouney points that Ibrahim (1986), Abdel-Jawad (1986), Al-Wer (1997, 2002), and Gibson (2002) state that the reason why levelling is towards the prestigious vernacular of different countries and not towards Standard Arabic is due to the fact that MSA is not a spontaneously spoken variety (Bassiouney 2009: 119).

Various characterizations of koine are available in the literature of language contact studies; before tackling the question of the direction of the new dialectal variety, Siegel's characterization of koineisation will be presented. I shall then discuss in greater detail Trudgill's model of "new dialect" formation, testing it against the dialectal change in Sidi Bel-Abbes and Sidi Lahcen.

3.6.1 Siegel

According to Siegel (1985),

> [a] koine is a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties. (Siegel 1993: 5)

The origin of the term 'koinè' is Greek, meaning "common", initially used to refer to the variety of Greek used as a lingua franca during the Hellenistic and Roman periods as a result of a mixed vernacular following contact in Peiraieus, the seaport of Athens, between speakers of different varieties of Greek (Thomson 1960: 34, in Siegel 1993: 5). This koine is characterized by "reduction" and "simplification": while reduction refers to "a reduced vocabulary or fewer stylistic devices" (Kerswill 2002: 4), simplification involves "either an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness" (Mühlhäusler 1977, in Siegel 1985: 358). Simplification is of two types: the first is illustrated by "an increase in morpho-phonemic regularity", including "the loss of inflections and an increase in invariable word forms" (Mühlhäusler 1977, cited in Trudgill 1986: 103), in addition to "the loss of categories such as gender, the loss of morphologically marked cases, simplified morpho-phonemics, and a decrease in the number of phonemes" (Kerswill 2002: 4). Siegel (1985) distinguishes two types of koine: the regional koine -which does not replace the original dialects out of which it springs- and the immigrant koine -which becomes the established vernacular -and in some cases, the standard language -"like the original Greek koine" in the new settlement, such as a new town (Siegel 1993: 6-7). Between regional koine and immigrant koine, there stands "regional dialect levelling", one example of this being the outcome variety of the contact in many parts of Italy between a number of local dialects and the standard language; this regional dialect levelling is, in its turn, distinguished from "diffusion", which refers to "the spread of linguistic features across a dialect area" (Kerswill 2002: 5).

3.6.2 Trudgill: accommodation and levelling

Trudgill characterises koineisation, or "new-dialect" formation, as the end result of such contact-induced situations as "colonial situations", new settlements and "rapid urbanisation" (Trudgill 1998: 197). Koineisation is linked to two key concepts: accommodation and levelling.

A brief account of accommodation is provided in 1.6, which states that it is a process whereby speakers of mutually intelligible language varieties are found to accommodate, that is change their speech to make it sound more like or less like that of the people they are speaking with. Trudgill proposes an extension of speech accommodation theory to account for this process (Trudgill 1986: 1-4), suggesting that speakers "converge linguistically (and on other behavioural dimensions)" when they wish to gain "each other's approval, show solidarity", and "they diverge when they do not" (Kerswill 2002: 20; for a detailed account of accommodation, see Trudgill 1986). A process within accommodation -levelling- means reducing or erasing the

dialectal differences. Trudgill then distinguishes two types of accommodation: long-term accommodation and short-term accommodation. He sets short-term accommodation as an initial stage of koineisation, involving face-to-face communication during which speakers adopt features of their interlocutors. Long-term accommodation, announcing possible koineisation and itself the result of the repeated conversational acts of short-term accommodation, involves *semi-permanent changes* (ibid.) occurring in the speaker's speech after contact with speakers of other varieties, in that the dialect differences are subject to linguistic and social constraints:

> When people speak different varieties, as in a new settlement, the dialect differences are likely to be exploited -consciously or passively- as part of accommodation. Linguistic and social constraints may promote or inhibit the acquisition of particular features in a number of cases. (Kerswill 2002: 20)

3.6.2.1 Short-term accommodation versus long-term accommodation

In face-to-face conversations, speakers have been observed to accommodate to another variety by means of 3 processes: the "behavioral-frequency model", the "identity projection model" and the creation of "interdialect forms"(Auer 1998; Hinskens & Auer 2008, all cited in Kerswill 2002: 21). While in the "behavioral-frequency model" the features of the new variety are adopted by adult and children migrants, the features in the "identity projection model" do not correspond to actual addressees, "when [they are] at all present", but to "images, or stereotypes, of the group the interlocutor belongs to, or of a socially attractive group not actually represented in the immediate context" (ibid.). The third process is the creation of interdialect forms that are not present in the dialect mix. Coupland's (1984) study of speech accommodation by a travel agent to her customers illustrates the identity projection model, in that the speakers accommodate not to the speakers themselves but to their representations of the speech of the people they wish to adjust to (ibid.). An example of the 'behavioral-frequency model' is illustrated in Trudgill's account of his own accommodation to his Norwich interviewees (Trudgill 1986: 7-10), though the changes only took place in the case of markers (see 'salience' in section 3.6.2.3 below).

As for long-term accommodation, evidence that new dialect features are displayed in the original adult migrants is provided by the study of the speech of adult rural migrants in the city of Bergen in western Norway(Kerswill 1994a, cited in Kerswill 2002: 24-28), which is characterized by its "extreme variability"(Kerswill 2002: 26), as features from the two dialects

mix are not only present "within an utterance, but they also appear within a single word" (ibid.).

3.6.2.2 Salience as a factor promoting the acquisition of some features

In the light of cases of British speakers accommodating to American English, Americans in Britain, and Swedes in Norway, Trudgill suggests that there are factors which promote or inhibit the acquisition of particular features in long-term accommodation, enumerating a hierarchy in the ordering of the patterns followed by accommodation:

i) Phonetico-phonological changes, illustrated by the ease with which British people living in North America realize intervocalic t as [ɾ], found in such words as 'letter'.

ii) Substitutions of phonemes in lexical sets of the type [ɑ:] to [æ], as in *half* and *can't*, then from [a] to [æ - æ.], as in *last*, British people accommodating to US speech (Trudgill 1986: 18-9).

iii) Changes relating to

    a. the difficulty of reversing mergers, as in the case of Canadian children living in Britain, who fail to contrast '*tot' and 'taught*' (Chambers 1992: 687-8, cited in Trudgill 1986: 148).

    b. phonotactic difficulties relating to the speakers' native variety, for example, the failure of English migrants in the USA to acquire non-prevocalic /r/, as in "*cart*" before ten years or more. Another example is illustrated by the difficulty of using initial *ng*, as in Burmese Nkomo, though they can produce final *ng* foung in "sing" (Trudgill 1986: 15-6).

    c. the acquisition of complex processes such as those involving /ae/ raising or tensing and lexical exceptions, as in (close) *bad* vs. (non-raised) *dad* (Trudgill 1986: 36-7).

An example of the above is provided by Payne, who shows that her informants have variable success in acquiring the correct Philadelphia pattern of /æ/ -raising, success diminishing with age of arrival in Philadelphia (Payne 1976, 1980, cited in Trudgill 1986: 34). However, this hierarchy difficulty order -that the "psychologically 'easier'" the features are, the more likely they are integrated into the accommodation process- interacts with another factor, "extra-strong salience*"*, which may hinder accommodation (Trudgill 1986: 18-21, 125). Prior to

discussing extra-salience, I shall define salience as it relates to markers and indicators.

3.6.2.3 Salience (or markedness) as a factor promoting the acquisition of features

Within the same community, speakers more readily modify their pronunciation of the linguistic markers, that is variables of which they have a higher level of consciousness, and which are subject to social class and stylistic variation; conversely, indicators are not marked (Labov 1972, 1994). Trudgill provides an example from Norwich, where t is a marker. As for a:, it is not subject to accommodation, as speakers do not change their pronunciation because it is an indicator (Trudgill 1986: 10). Markedness stems from the salient nature of the variables; this salience is due to a number of factors:

i) The variable enjoys greater awareness on the part of the speakers, as the low-status variant is overtly stigmatized, and the prestige of the high-status variant is reflected in the orthography.

ii) Change in progress of the variable results in greater awareness by speakers.

iii) The variants are phonetically radically different.

iv) The variants permit the maintenance of phonological contrasts in the accommodating speaker's variety, for example, *u:* vs. *ju:*, as in *dew* vs. *do* (Trudgill 1986: 11, adapted).

Within the same speech community, the acquisition of salient features is enhanced; however, the same factor of salience may hinder the integration of features when speakers accommodate to a *regionally* different variety:

> Accommodation within the speech community, as in my Norwich interviews, involves altering the frequency of usage of particular variants of variables of which the speaker already has control. Accommodation beyond the speech community, on the other hand, may well involve the adoption of totally new features of pronunciation. (Trudgill 1986: 12)

3.6.2.4 Extra- strong salience as an inhibitory factor in accommodation

One of the most common ways of establishing the salient features of a variety different from one's own is by means of observations on what is imitated, as in the case of jokes or the

playing of roles by actors (Trudgill 1986: 12), because it is precisely these extra-strongly salient features which resist accommodation. Despite the presence of a and ɑ: in their phonetic inventory, English English speakers do not use æ in the "dance, last, ..."set when accommodating to US a; this is because, in this lexical set, the variant is *too* salient: "it sounds, and feels, too American" (Trudgill 1986: 18). Another case of extra-strong salience as an "inhibitory" factor invoked by Trudgill is illustrated by the reluctance of Northern English speakers to use the southern English variant ɑ: found in words such as 'dance', wherein the feature represents a stereotype, leading to avoidance, as "[m]any Northerners, it seems, would drop dead than say /dɑːns/: the stereotype that this is a Southern form is again too strong" (ibid.). On the other hand, Northern English speakers living in the South of England modify /bʊtə/ to /bʌtə/ because they are not aware of the existence of /ʌ/ in butter, this vowel not being part of their inventory: while they "are highly aware that Southern speakers say dɑːns because they themselves have /ɑː/ in "calm", "half", "car", "banana" (Trudgill 1986: 18-19). A further case of extra-salient feature involves the two vowels /ɐ/ and /ɐː/ found in the dialects of the rural hinterland of Bergen in south-west Norway, where they are viewed as being 'ugly' and are therefore discarded from urban speech use, thus confirming that regional differences and phonetic distance (ɐ and ɐː vs. ɔ and ɔː in the case of Norway and, in the case of England, the æ vs. ɑː contrast) may prevent a feature to be adopted in the koine (Kerswill 2002: 31). This is not the end of the story, though: while the objective factors -pertaining to language *per se*- relate to the linguistic criteria cited above, the subjective factors -those relating to social and psychological parameters- are also decisive in the accommodation process. For example, a man who had levelled out the USV (unstandard vernacular) features identified as salient recovered them after he lost his job (Auer et al. 1997, cited in Kerswill 2002: 34).

3.6.2.5 Three stages in the formation of a new koine

According to Trudgill (1986), in linguistic contact situations involving new settlements such as new towns, mixing the features present in the two (or more) varieties in contact is the initial stage, followed by another stage when speakers level out the distinctive features of their dialect, finally reaching a stage when simplified features of the dialects emerge, giving birth to a new dialect, a koine. He assigns three processes to koineisation: "mixing, levelling, and simplification", identifying three stages in the formation of a new koine, corresponding roughly to 3 (and sometimes more) generations of (in-) migrant speakers, as in the (adapted) table below (Trudgill 1986: 127, 1998: 197):

Table 5: Stages in the formation of a new dialect

Stages	Speakers	Degree of levelling
First stage	Adult migrants	Rudimentary levelling
Second stage	First generation-born speakers (or very young migrants)	Considerable variability (and further levelling)
Third stage	Third and subsequent generations	Focusing, reduction and reallocation

i) The first stage of koineisation

The first stage of koineisation, the "pre-koine" displays very little reduction in the speech of adult migrants in the number of marked variants of the two dialects "rudimentary levelling" (Siegel (1985: 373), characterized by mixing features of the input varieties and "the loss of demographically minority variants" (ibid., 363).

ii) The second stage of koineisation

Trudgill's second stage in the koine formation, which involves the first generation of children born in the new community, is characterized by "extreme variability" and "further levelling", tested on four cases by Kerswill (2002): Trudgill's (1998)'s study of New Zealand English; Omdal's (1977) study on the Norwegian city of Høyanger; Kerswill & Williams (2000)'s study on the speech of children in the English new town, Milton Keynes; and finally, Blanc's study on Modern Hebrew (cf. Kerswill 2002: 36-45). Kerswill's conclusions are that broad similarities are found among speakers of this generation, and that focusing usually belongs to the next generation (i.e. the migrants' grandchildren), with a few reservations that focusing may be precocious, delayed, or absent altogether. In the absence of a single adult or peer-group model, the children use new features, different from the input varieties, thus displaying extreme variability both in inter-personal and intra-personal communication (Kerswill 2002: 36). This extreme variability of the 2nd generation-born speakers is characteristic of new settlement places, where speakers are exposed to different dialect features: that of their parents as well as that of other speakers. More recently, Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 211) suggest that the social and geographical distances -resulting in a late focusing in New Zealand and Høyanger- set them apart from Milton Keynes, where there was less variability, due to the geographical position of Milton Keynes "between two regions

identified as the most dialectally levelled in the country, and most of the in-migrants also come from these regions"(ibid., 209).

iii) The third stage of koineisation

After the reduction in phonemes and morphological features of the contributing (input) dialects, the new koine undergoes no further (or very little) change: it is focused and stabilized. In some cases, the variants maintained in the previous mixing stage (i.e., stage 2) are given a second life by being reallocated to structural or stylistic functions (Trudgill 1986: 110). The third stage in koine formation reaches the focusing of new dialect features by the next generation (i.e., the immigrants' grandchildren).

3.6.3 Koineisation in Sidi Bel-Abbes and in Sidi Lahcen

In this section, I test the three-generational model of koineisation as suggested by Trudgill against dialectal variation among several families in both SBA and Sidi Lahcen.

3.6.3.1 Investigating stopping and koineisation among speakers of rural origin

After having studied the correlations of stopping with age, education and origin of speakers (discussed in section 3.5), I tested stopping within the koineisation model. Thus, 63 speakers of rural origin, living in Sidi Bel-Abbes and Sidi Lahcen were selected, where stopping was calculated for each generation of migrants: settlers, 1st , 2nd , and 3rd generation-born speakers, discussed below.

i) Stopping and the three-generational model

The analysis of stopping among the 3 generations of speakers of rural origin -including speakers aged 12 and less- revealed the results in figure 13 below:

Stopping in SBA
A three-generational model: 1
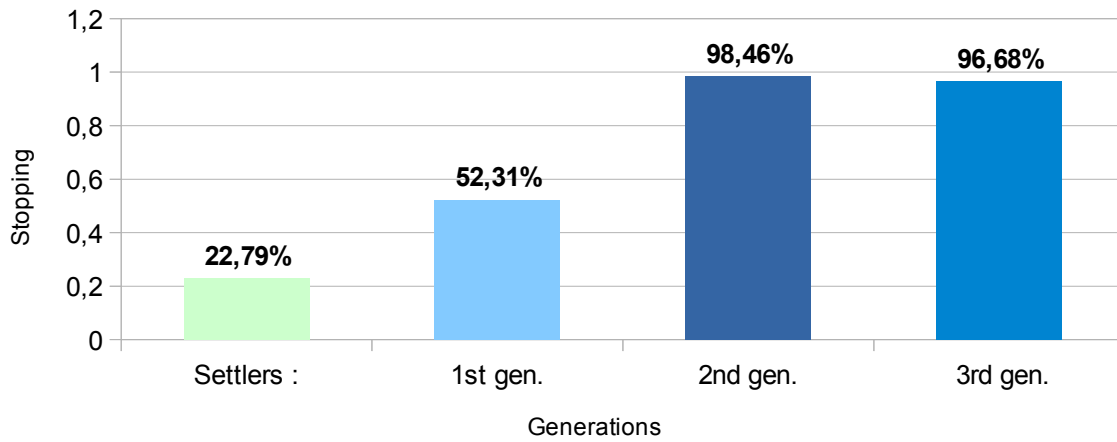
Figure 13: Stopping and the three-generational model in SBA 1

Figure 12 above shows that 3rd generation speakers total a lower score of dentals than 2nd generation ones. This may seem incompatible with the three-generational model of koineisation, which suggests that there is an increasing score from the 1st to the 3rd and the subsequent generations. In the data of the present work, it has been observed that the speakers who "lowered" the score of stopping are mainly those aged 12 and less.

ii) **Stopping and the three-generational model (excluding speakers aged 12 and less)**
After removing the speakers aged 12 and less, the quantitative study revealed the results in figure 14 below:

Settlers	22,79%
1st gen.	64,62%
2nd gen.	98,35%
3rd gen	100,00%

(12 and under   30,83%)
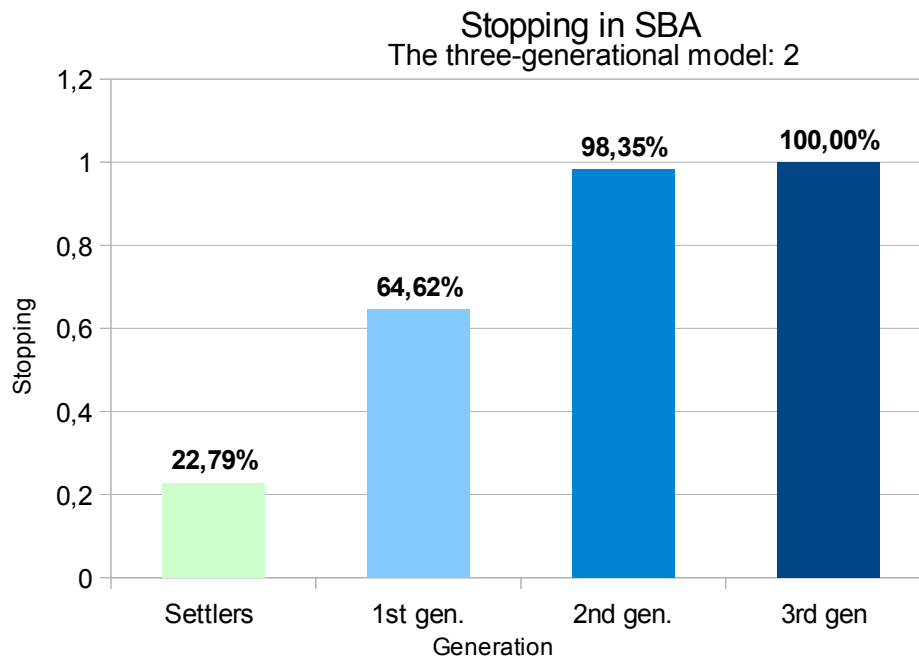
Figure 14: Stopping and the three-generational model in SBA 2

The 3rd generation-born speakers aged 20 and over all display a completed score of stopping: 100%; the groups of the 12 year olds and less score only 30.83%, despite the fact that some of them are 3rd generation-born children. Furthermore, within this last age group of 12 year olds and less), significant discrepancies exist within each of the 1st generation-born as well as 2nd and 3rd generation-born speakers: while some 3rd generation-born speakers display 0% of stopping, some other 1st or 2nd generation-born speakers display 100% stopping.

iii) The three-generational model: results

The increasing stopping of interdentals among children of rural origin may be indicative that the time of migration is decisive in the acquisition of urban features: from the total absence of dentals in the speech of 12 year-old Fatima (a 12 year-old college pupil who recently came to SBA) to the total dentalisation of Abassia (a 3rd generation-born pupil of 12), a 12 year-old 3rd generation-born speaker, who scores 100%, through the 90% focused urban speech of 14 year-old 2nd generation-born Nesrine, the results indicate that the three-generational model may account for variation and change in the speech of SBA. However, this explanation is only partial, as there are cases that do not fit this mould, for example, Houria, a settler, who presents near total dentalisation, characteristic of 2nd generation-born speakers. This leads us to the question of the *length* of the migration time: the more time

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spent in Sidi Bel-Abbes, the more rapidly the features are levelled. For example, Houria scores higher (93.5%) than 1st generation-born Omar (29.6%) and much higher than 12 year-old Fatima, who scores 0% of stops. This is attributable to the fact that Houria has lived in Sidi Lahcen/SBA longer than Omar and Fatima, who have not yet levelled out their rural features. Further evidence of the low degree of stopping among preadolescent speakers is that they acquire the linguistic features mostly from their parents, thus accounting for the low percentage of dental (and other urban dialectal) features among speakers such as Omar (29,6) and Amina (15,6), the slight difference between them being due to the fact that Omar was born in Sidi Bel-Abbes while Amina came there when she started junior school. As to Fatima, she is 12 and, having only recently arrived in SL and being in almost exclusive contact with her parents and her grand-parents -still living in the countryside- she scores 0% dentals.

Does the (relatively long) time of migration of speakers implicate that this age group is at the *avant-garde* of dialectal change? It is not easy at this stage to make such a statement on the basis of the sole change from interdentals to stops, in addition to the fact that using a stop instead of an interdental never (or very rarely) triggers lexical differences. This change might be a mere phonetic change due to the ease with which stops are pronounced. Resorting to other linguistic level features may prove enlightening; therefore, I proceeded to an examin--ation of other phonetic/phonological as well as morpho-syntactic and lexical changes.

3.6.3.2 A quantitative survey of 13 variants among 17 speakers

Among the initial 52 linguistic features that were selected for comparison between SBA, Tlemcen and Algiers (see table 3), no less than 23 old SBA features stood as having undergone changes within an apparent time observation framework, among which 13 features were selected for further study. One phonological change, the shift from interdentals to dentals, was already subjected to various quantitative analyses, as the interdental/dental variable was surveyed across 125 speakers (see 3.5 – 3.54 above).

The results in this section are based on a quantitative analysis of the longer, open, interviews carried out with 17 speakers, who were selected as representatives of their group of age, sex, origin, education, place of birth, time of settlement and place of residence in Sidi Bel-Abbes. All the interviews displayed several highly-frequent occurrences of 13 linguistic features, composed of 4 phonetic/phonological, 3 morpho-syntactic, and 6 lexical features.

A table summarising the speakers' profiles is provided below. The time of migration is signalled by values ranging from 0 to 4, where 0 represents settlers, 1 stands for 1st generation-born speakers, 2 for 2nd generation-born speakers, etc.

Table 6: Profiles of the 17 main speakers in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Speaker	Age	Sex	Education	Place of birth	Place of living	Family origin	Time of Migration
El-Hadj	86	M	Illiterate	Tessala	SBA CC	Rural	0
Zahra	86	F	Illiterate	Tessala	SL	Rural	0
Reqia	72	F	Primary School	Morocco	SBA CC	Morocco	0
Abdel-ghafour	68	M	High Sch.	SBA	SBA CC	Rural	1
Khdija	66	F	Illiterate	Belarbi	SL	Rural	0
Zoulikha	66	F	Illiterate	Sidi Brahim	SBA CC	Rural	0
Abdelkader	50	M	*CAP*[11]	Sidi Khaled	SK/SL	Rural	0
Jihane	47	F	Primary School	SBA	SL	Rural	1
Hajla	38	F	Illiterate	H'saiba	SL	Rural	0
Rachid	35	M	High School	SBA	SBA CC	SBA	3
Adel	32	M	High School	Tlemcen	SBA CC	Tlemcen	4
Houria	22	F	University	Sehala	SL	Rural	0
Farida	22	F	University	SBA	SL	Rural	2
Rayane	20	F	University	SBA	SBA CC	Morocco	4
Samir	20	M	University	Telagh	SL	Rural	0
Omar	15	M	Middle School	SL	SL	Rural	1
Amina	14	F	Middle School	Telagh	SL	Rural	0

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11 *Certificat d'Aptitude Primaire*, equivalent to a Certificate of Qualification.

On the whole, the quantitative results reveal that some age groups display similar speech styles, thus sharing the same variants. The analysis reveals a number of tendencies, among these an almost systematic linguistic division of speakers into 5 groups, with both sexes represented in each group.

The first group includes speakers aged 86: 2 speakers

The second group is represented by speakers aged 72-66: 4 speakers

The third group includes speakers aged 50-38: 3 speakers

The fourth group is constituted of speakers aged 35-20: 6 speakers

The fifth group is composed of speakers aged 15-14: 2 speakers

However, there are features where the first and second groups as well as the fourth and fifth groups meet, resulting -for some of the variants- in 3 major groups: the old, the middle-aged and the young speaker groups.

The new urban SBA features include : stops, long vowels, vowel bounce, marked feminine case, ma-V-ʃ in imperative verbs, negation in participles with məʃʃi, ɦaːʒa « stg », waɦidɛ alone », rɑːɦ « go » ʕɑjjɑṭṭ « call » qɑdd « be able to », and time adjuncts such as əl-ʕaːm liː ʃaːt "last year"; haːd əl-ʕaːm"this year" əl baːraɦ "yesterday/last night".

The overall percentage results of the new SBA features are given in table 7 below:

Table 7: 13 new dialectal features in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓	Stop	Long Vowels	Vow. elision	Vow. bounce	Marked Fem.	Neg. Imp.	Neg. Participles	Something	Alone	Go	Call	Be able to	Time Adjuncts
Hadj 86	0	0	0			0		75		72.7	0	0	0
Zahra 86	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	23.1	0	50	0
Reqia 72	100	100	33.3		50	100	0	100	0	43.2	0	100	
A-Gha 68	51.7	100	0			100			0	12.5			
Khdija 66	0	0	0		0	100	0	0	0	16.7	0	0	0
Zoul.[12] 66	55.6	55.6	0		0	100			0	33.3	0	60	50
AEK[13] 50	2.6	100	42.9			100		81.8	0	62.5	0	0	0
Jihan 47	75	100	100		100	100	100	100	0	35.7		75	25
Hajla 38	19.1	50		85.8	100	100	0	12.5	25	73.9	75	66.6	60
Rachid35	92.7	100	59.4	0		100	0	100	0	53.8	100	0	

12 Zoulikha
13 Abdelkader

Adel 32	100	100	50				0	100		76.9	100		100
Houria22	93.5	100					100	100	0	60	25	100	50
Farida 22	91.9	83.3	28.6	100		100	100	100	0	0		66.7	0
Rayane22	100	100	88.9				50	100	0	100	66.7	100	100
Samir 20	91.7	100	0				100	66.7	50	100	100		
Omar 14	29.6	100	0			100		0	0	100			100
Amina14	15.6	75	0				50	0	0	94.4			0

The quantitative study represented in table 7 is by no means intended to represent a large-scale analysis of the speech variants of the Belabbesi; rather, it is an attempt to spot the differences in the use of the 13 variants among 17 selected speakers differentiated according to age, sex, education, place of birth, place of living, family origin and time of migration. Therefore, in addition to stopping -previously surveyed among 125 speakers and now within a closer study of 17 selected speakers- 12 other features have been analysed to check for accommodation and koineisation in this dialectal change: diphthongisation, vowel maintenance, vowel bounce, unmarked feminine, negation in imperatives, negation in participles, "something", "alone","to go", "to call", "to be able to", and time adjuncts such as "last year", "this year", "yesterday". We shall begin with a comparative analysis of interdentals and dentals.

i) **Interdentals vs. Dentals**

Interdentals are used mainly by old, illiterate speakers of rural origin, with this important difference between young and old speakers with respect to origin, in that while youngsters generally display a high use of dentals, the speakers' maintenance or disappearance of interdentals correlate with origin and time of migration. Thus, both 72 year-old Reqia, and Rayan -a 20 year-old 4th generation-born girl- total 100% of interdentals while Amina, 15 and whose parents settled in SL, and Omar, 15 and a 1st generation-born boy, score 84.4% and 70.4% respectively. Moreover, Khdija and Zoulikha, the two 66 year-old illiterate women of rural origin do not display the same linguistic profile: despite the fact that they came to SBA at about the same age, Khdija uses 100% interdentals while Zoulikha displays only 44.4%. Having said that, it seems that older youths seem to be at the forefront of linguistic change since they display higher rates of linguistic change: this is the case for Houria, 22 and Samir,

20, who display 93.5% and 91.7 % of dentals, respectively, although neither of them was born in SBA. There is clearly a process of stopping (dentalization) taking place, ie. the time apparent replacement of interdentals by dentals, with the tendency that young age, insomuch as it reflects degree of literacy (people are more and more educated and therefore more youths than old people are educated), is directly correlated with the process of dentalization, with this difference however that younger adolescent speakers, and various studies have provided evidence of this, are still under the influence of their caregivers. On the whole, it may be said that, at the macro level and in public space, dentalization is right under way; urban dwellers use interdentals predominantly.

Dental occurrences are frequently found in demonstratives: ha:da/ɛ/ʊ; place adjuncts: təmma "there"; numbers: tla:ta "three", tmənja "eight"; and time adjuncts: ḍɔrk/ḍɑrwɑk "now". Whether the occurrences of interdentals for the same items above coincides with emphatic use is not yet confirmed (see 4.8.1.1 iv).

Table 8 below shows stopping among 17 representative speakers:

Table 8 : Stopping among 17 speakers in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Stops (t, d, ḍ)
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	100
A-Gha 68	51.7
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[14] 66	55.6
AEK[15] 50	2.6
Jihan 47	75
Hajla 38	19.1
Rachid 35	92.7
Adel 32	100
Houria 22	93.5
Farida 22	91.9
Rayane 22	100
Samir 20	91.7
Omar 14	29.6
Amina 14	15.6

ii) **Diphthongs vs. de-diphthongized vowels/long vowels**

On the whole, diphthongs seem to have been displaced by long vowels. A word of caution must be given, however: diphthongs have not disappeared completely but there is (unconscious) consensus among speakers as to what forms remain diphthongized and what others become long vowels. For example, the diphthongized forms include: ʕawd "horse; ḍajf "guest"; sajf "summer"; mʃajt "I went"while the formerly diphthongized forms having been "de-diphthongized/lengthened" [16] among young speakers include: xɛjr "better"(or "good", as in sbaħħ/msəl l xɛjr "good morning/afternoon); ᵊl-ləwwəl "the first"; ᵊd-dəwla

14 Zoulikha
15 Abdelkader
16 "De-diphthongization" and "lengthening" are terms I have coined to refer to the loss of aj forms in some words and their replacement by ɛ: or ɛj forms, as in xajr: xɛ:r/xɛjr.

"the government". These represent interdialect forms between the diphthongs characteristic of old SBA rural speech: əd-dawla "the State" and the long vowels found in sedentary speech: əd-du:la (also appearing in the speech of Belabbesi youths). Table 9 below reveals a dramatic shift from old to new (ie. young) speech toward a transitional stage of lengthening; despite a close correlation between dentalization and "de-diphthongization/ lengthening" of vowels, this change seems to be higher and more rapid than for interdentals.

Table 9 : De-diphthongisation in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Long Vowels
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	100
A-Gha 68	100
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[17] 66	55.6
AEK[18] 50	100
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	50
Rachid 35	100
Adel 32	100
Houria 22	100
Farida 22	83.3
Rayane 22	100
Samir 20	100
Omar 14	100
Amina 14	75

iii) Vowel maintenance vs. vowel elision

Vowel elision is emblematic of sedentary speech and more particularly of Tlemcen, for the present purpose; together with the glottal stop ʔ and affricated t: tˢ, th, they represent stereotypes. Vowel elision has become quite common among young urban SBA speakers.

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17 Zoulikha
18 Abdelkader

Thus, while vowel maintenance in prepositions (+ indefinite articles) + nouns, as in fi: +nouns: *fi: si:di bəlʕabba:s,* is displayed overwhelmingly in old speakers' speech, it becomes *f-si:di bəlʕabba:s*, in particular as a symbol of urban identity. This feature of vowel elision is almost completely absent in the speech of very young speakers of rural origin, evidence that it is a new variant, and that, being under the influence of their parents, they have not yet acquired it. Table 10 below illustrates vowel elision.

Table 10: Vowel elision in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Vowel elision
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	33.3
A-Gha 68	0
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[19] 66	0
AEK[20] 50	42.9
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	
Rachid 35	59.4
Adel 32	50
Houria 22	
Farida 22	28.6
Rayane 22	88.9
Samir 20	0
Omar 14	0
Amina 14	0

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19 Zoulikha
20 Abdelkader

iv) Bounce

Vowel bounce, as in sɑħibəttɛ "my friend-fem." and tbɑrkəɬɑħi "God bless you" instead of old SBA sɑħiəbtɛ and tbɑrɛkəɬɑħi (see 3.4.2.1), is also attested in new SBA speech, in particular among young urban and, to a lesser extent, SBA dwellers of rural origin families. The data being insufficient, no satisfactory statements may be made as to the quantitative analysis, though the two women (aged 38 and 22) show a predominant use of bounce while the 32 year-old man displays none, as the table 11 below shows.

Table 11: Vowel bounce in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Vowel bounce
Hadj 86	
Zahra 86	
Reqia 72	
A-Gha 68	
Khdija 66	
Zoul.[21] 66	
AEK[22] 50	
Jihan 47	
Hajla 38	85.8
Rachid 35	0
Adel 32	
Houria 22	
Farida 22	100
Rayane 22	
Samir 20	
Omar 14	
Amina 14	

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21 Zoulikha
22 Abdelkader

v) Marked feminine case

All the old age group speakers use the unmarked variant for the lexical item *ʕzuːʒ "old woman; mother-in-law"*, as in Classical Arabic *ʕazuːʒ*. In the speech of many relatively young "informants" (Jihane and Hajla), some words are marked for feminine: *ʕzʊːʒtɛ* "my mother-in-law". Other words having feminine case are however not marked with the feminine particle *-t*: səttʊːt "a mischievous woman (used with a pejorative meaning); ʕɑnqrɔːʃ "a mean/witchy-like old woman", etc., though, being only heard, they are not in the corpus gathered.

Table 12: Marked feminine case in Sidi Bel-Abbes : ʕzʊːʒtɛ

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Marked feminine case *ʕzʊːʒtɛ* "my mother-in-law"
Hadj 86	
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	50
A-Gha 68	
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[23] 66	0
AEK[24] 50	
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	100
Rachid 35	
Adel 32	
Houria 22	
Farida 22	
Rayane 22	
Samir 20	
Omar 14	
Amina 14	

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23 Zoulikha
24 Abdelkader

vi) **Negation in imperatives**

Negation in imperatives with la-ʃ(**la-**tədʕi:ʃ "don't curse") attested in the oldest group has disappeared in all the other age groups; it is now ***ma-verb-ʃ***.

Table 13: Negation with ma- in imperatives in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Negation in imperatives *ma-verb-ʃ* : ma dʒi:ʃ "don't come"
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	100
A-Gha 68	100
Khdija 66	100
Zoul.[25] 66	100
AEK[26] 50	100
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	100
Rachid 35	100
Adel 32	
Houria 22	
Farida 22	100
Rayane 22	
Samir 20	
Omar 14	100
Amina 14	

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25 Zoulikha
26 Abdelkader

vii) Negation in participles

The old form ma-qɑrja:ʃ "she is not educated" seems to resist change and "ignore" factors of age, education, social background, etc, as many youths –whatever their profile- still use it. For example, although Rayane seems to be the representative "par excellence" of young speech still "hesitates" between ma-qɑrja:ʃ and maʃʃɛ-qɑ:rjɑ as she scores 50% in each variant. As for Rachid, he too uses ma-qɑrja:ʃ. A lack of sufficient quantitative data is also due to the scarcity of the occurrences (one occurrence per speaker).

Table 14: Negation in participles in Sidi Bel-Abbes : məʃʃi + participle+agr.

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	Negation in participles *məʃʃi + participle+agr.* *məʃʃi qɑrja* "(she is) not educated"
Hadj 86	
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	0
A-Gha 68	
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[27] 66	
AEK[28] 50	
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	0
Rachid 35	0
Adel 32	0
Houria 22	100
Farida 22	100
Rayane 22	50
Samir 20	100
Omar 14	
Amina 14	50

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27 Zoulikha
28 Abdelkader

viii) **"Something" as ħa:ʒa**

All the 6 mixed-sex young group speakers (35-20) score 100% occurrences of ħa:ʒa, except for Samir, who scores 66,66%. This may be explained by the fact that, not having been born in SBA, Samir is on the way of acquiring the new urban variant and has not yet fully levelled out his rural variant ħajja. His younger sister, Amina and 15 year-old "neighbour" Omar use the old rural feature ħajja, which is not surprising, given their age and origin. The form ħajja is definitely disappearing in young urban speech, though. As for ʃajj, it is attested in the speech of Khalida; however, this feature is not exclusively Tlemcenian; it is used in the speech of the 86 year-old speaker Zahra, though for another use and with a different realisation (i.e in negation: ma-nəʒʒəmʃɛ: "I cannot").

Table 15: "Something" as ħa:ʒa in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	ħa:ʒa "Something"
Hadj 86	75
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	100
A-Gha 68	
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[29] 66	
AEK[30] 50	81.8
Jihan 47	100
Hajla 38	12.5
Rachid 35	100
Adel 32	100
Houria 22	100
Farida 22	100
Rayane 22	100
Samir 20	66.7
Omar 14	0
Amina 14	0

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29 Zoulikha
30 Abdelkader

ix) "Alone": *waħid* **vs.** *wħad* **vs.** *ər-rɔ :ħ + agreement* **"alone"**

This feature divides speakers into 4 main groups:

-the 50-86 year-old speakers, irrespective of (rural or urban) origin (with the exception of Tlemceni speakers, who are not represented in this survey) all use ər-rɔ :ħ + agɪ.

-the young speakers (38-20) use waħid +agr., except Hajla, who displays extreme variation, a sign of a koineising in progress;

-a third group, Omar, a first-generation born speaker, displays 100% of the urban variant; and

-a fourth group constituted of the brother and sister Samir and Amina, aged 20 and 14, respectively, neither of whom was born in SBA, display a mix of rural and urban variants.

The table below shows the percentage of the new variant for "alone".

Table 16: "Alone" as waħid+agreement in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	waħid + ah/di waħħadħa "Alone"
Hadj 86	
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	0
A-Gha 68	0
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[31] 66	0
AEK[32] 50	0
Jihan 47	0
Hajla 38	25
Rachid 35	0
Adel 32	
Houria 22	0
Farida 22	0
Rayane 22	0
Samir 20	50
Omar 14	0
Amina 14	0

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31 Zoulikha
32 Abdelkader

***x*) To go: sɑḍḍ ; ʃawwɑr; jɔʁda; rɑːɦ ; mʃa**

Old and/or rural speakers display a whole range of nuances for "to go": jʃawwɑr -from CA miʃwaːr "route/road"- is usually used by SBA speakers (of rural origin) to mean "go home"; jɔʁda means "to go" and has given ʁaːdɛ, as in rɑːnɛ ʁɑːdɛ "I am going to"; jrɔːɦ, or its more rural-marked diphthongized "equivalent" ər-rawwaɦɦ "to leave/go"; and jəmʃɛ, which also means "to go. except for Khdija and Zoulikha, the old feature *jsɔdd* is absent in the speech of all the speakers. On the whole, jrɔːɦ scores highest for all the age groups - with the young (35-14) group at the top, and with the exception of A.Ghafor and Farida, who make extensive use of *mʃa*. Whether *mʃa* is a rural feature or an urban feature is not very clear: on the one hand, many old (both urban and rural) speakers use it alongside jrɔːɦ and other variants; on the other hand, the highest rate of *jrɔːɦ* among all speakers is challenged by the use of *mʃa* by A.Ghafor: 87.5%; Rachid: 46.15%; and Farida: 100%. Knowing that *m(*a)*ʃaː/jamʃiː:* is a feature of Tlemcen speech, which also happens to be a feature of Classical/Standard Arabic, one might suggest that its absence (from the interviews that were recorded and analysed) in old (rural) SBA (i.e. among the oldest age group) and its presence in the younger old age group might not be consistent with the idea that it was present before, the limited number of speakers (two) not necessarily representing the old age group, though so far, the representativeness of the speech of the two oldest speakers in this sample has so far been consistent. Therefore, it is quite possible that this feature was not present before in old SBA speech. What is certain is that it is a Tlemcen feature since all the (older) Tlemcen speakers use it. Furthermore, its use by half the speakers -to varying degrees- with Abdelghafour, Rachid and Farida, the latter scoring highest, suggests that mʃa is used as a formal variant, but this argument is challenged by other speakers'use of *mʃa* in informal situations, for example, Reqia, Abdelkader, and Khdija), this latter using it with strong diphthongization, perhaps a reason why some speakers of rural origin avoid it (for the profiles of these consultants, see table 6 above). The percentages of the variants for "to go" are given below.

The percentages of the variants for "to go" are given in the table below.

Table 17: The variants for "to go" in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant → % Speaker↓Age	sɑdd "He went"	ʃawwɑr "He went"	jɔʁda[33] "He goes/will go"	ɾɑːħ "He went"	mʃa "He went"
Hadj 86		0	27.3	72.7	0
Zahra 86		0	76.9	23	0
Reqia 72		0	31.8	43.2	25
A-Gha 68		0	0	12.5	87.5
Khdija 66	11.1	0	55.5	16.7	16.7
Zoul.[34] 66	16.7	0	33.3	33.3	16.7
AEK[35] 50	0	20.8	8.3	62.5	8.3
Jihan 47	0	0	50	35.7	14.3
Hajla 38	0	0	0	73.9	26.1
Rachid 35	0	0	0	53.8	46.2
Adel 32	0	0	15.4	76.9	7.7
Houria 22	0	20	20	60	0
Farida 22	0	0	0	0	100
Rayane 22	0	0	0	100	0
Samir 20	0	0	0	100	0
Omar 14		0		100	
Amina 14		0		94.4	5.6

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33 No past form of jɔʁda is attested in SBA.
34 Zoulikha
35 Abdelkader

xi) "To call": lʁa vs. ʕajjɑṭṭ

Table 18 below reveals that all the older young age group speakers make exclusive use of the urban variant ʕajjɑṭṭ except for those of rural origin, for example, Houria, who shows "preference" for the old variant- and Rayane, who displays a semantic/ pragmatic distinction. When asked about the choice of either item, some of the young speakers responded that it depended on the situation, the addressee, and on the meaning and that they knew that each variant connotes of a particular speech style, "old" vs. "young" (i.e. rural vs. urban). Detailed discussion of this variant will be presented in sections 4.5.3.5.

Table 18: "To Call" as ʕajjɑṭṭ in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	ʕajjɑṭṭ "To call"
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	0
A-Gha 68	0
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[36] 66	0
AEK[37] 50	0
Jihan 47	
Hajla 38	75
Rachid 35	100
Adel 32	100
Houria 22	25
Farida 22	
Rayane 22	66.7
Samir 20	100
Omar 14	
Amina 14	

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36 Zoulikha
37 Abdelkader

xii) "To be able to":   jnaʒʒam ; jqadd ; jaqdarr

The old rural variant is jnaʒʒam while jqadd is a new variant feature (from Oran). As for jaqdarr, it is a new urban feature in Algiers, which has replaced former jəndʒamm. In the present study, the form jaqdarr is attested in formal style among many of the consultants. The occurrence of the old variant jnaʒʒam is higher among old speakers and jaqdarr is absent; however, we observe inter-personal variation among this group in that:

a. Zahra, who has lived in Oran for a few years displays equal occurrences of
  jnaʒʒam and jqadd. In Zahra's speech, jqadd already co-occurs with jnaʒʒam.

b. Reqia's speech presents exclusive use of jqadd (in casual speech)[38]
 Khdija displays exclusive use of jnaʒʒam.

c. The use of jnaʒʒam decreases and is replaced by jqadd as the speakers get younger (e.g., Rayane, a 4th generation-born urban dweller). Because Rachid's speech is intended to be formal, he scores 93.7% of jaqdarr but 0% of jqadd, with only a remaining 6.2% of jnəʒʒamm (table 19; see 4.5.3.6 for more detailed discussion on this variant). Middle-aged speakers display a mixed use between a) jnəʒʒamm and jqadd; b) jnəʒʒamm and jaqdarr ; and c) jqadd and jaqdarr (see table).

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38 This analysis is mainly based on casual conversations.

A full account of the percentage of the occurrences of *"Be able to"* as the three variants jnaʒʒam ; jqadd ; jaqdarr is provided in the table below:

Table 19: "Be able to" as jnaʒʒam ; jqadd ; jaqdarr "He can" in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variant % → Speaker ↓Age	jnəʒʒam	jqadd	jaqdarr
Hadj 86	100	0	0
Zahra 86	50	50	0
Reqia 72		100	
A-Gha 68			
Khdija 66	100		
Zoul.[39] 66	40	60	
AEK[40] 50	33.3	0	66.7
Jihan 47	25	75	
Hajla 38		66.6	33.3
Rachid 35		6.2	93.7
Adel 32			
Houria 22		100	
Farida 22		33.3	66.7
Rayane 22		100	
Samir 20			
Omar 14			
Amina 14			

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39 Zoulikha
40 Abdelkader

xiii) Time adjuncts: "Last year"; "this year"; "yesterday"; last night"

The time adjuncts ʕam lʊwwəll => əl-ʕaːm liː faːt "last year"; jaːməs => əl baːraħ ; "yesterday" => "last night" ; and əs-sna => haːd əl-ʕaːm "this year" represent no exception to the change that is taking place in the speech of young urban dwellers. The rural variant is exclusively used in the speech of speakers aged between 86 and 50; then it gradually decreases with young age and time of migration (4th generation-born Rayane totals 100%), as it is inhibited by rural origin, where speakers, depending on the time of migration, display varying degrees of mixing. This explains why Houria shows equal mixing between the two variants. As can be seen in table 20 below, this feature has not been accounted for Reqia because it does not show in the indirect, casual interviews; however, it is handled in 4.5.1.4 *ii)*. Apart from Adel, who is of Tlemceni origin and thus already has this variant in his communal dialect, and 4th generation-born Rayan, the acquisition of the urban variants of time adjuncts is relatively slow.

Table 20: New urban time adjuncts in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Variants % → Speaker ↓Age	Time Adjuncts əl-ʕaːm liː faːt "last year"; haːd əl-ʕaːm"this year"; əl baːraħ "yesterday/last night"
Hadj 86	0
Zahra 86	0
Reqia 72	0
A-Gha 68	
Khdija 66	0
Zoul.[41] 66	0
AEK[42] 50	0
Jihan 47	25
Hajla 38	60
Rachid 35	
Adel 32	100
Houria 22	50
Farida 22	0
Rayane 22	100
Samir 20	
Omar 14	100
Amina 14	0

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41 Zoulikha
42 Abdelkader

3.6.3.3 Results and tendencies

The results of the quantitative analysis of the 13 variants among 17 representative speakers have unveiled the following:

i) Speakers aged 86-66 except for Reqia, Abdelghafour and, to a lesser extent, Zoulikha- have the highest scores in

a. Interdentals, diphthongs, vowel maintenance, unmarked feminine, ər-rɔ :ɦ + agreement for "alone" or reflexive pronouns such as "my/your/his/her/self" or "our/your/them/selves, ɦajja, jɔʁda, jrɔ:ɦ /(ᵊr-)/rawwaɦɦ, lʁa, jnaʒʒam, əs-sna "this year", ʕam lʊwwəll "last year"and ja:məs "yesterday".

b. The *la*- negation form in imperatives, for example, in instances like *la*- *tʒi:-ʃ* "do not come" is used only by the 86-76 age group. It has disappeared from the speech of all the other groups and is now *m*a-*: m*a-*tʒi:-ʃ*.

ii) The young age group, ie. those aged 35-20 all share the following features and, on the whole, they score highest (some of them displaying exclusive use) in dentals/stops, long vowels, vowel elision, "alone" as *waɦa* +agreement, "something" as *ɦa :ʒa*, "he goes" as jrɔ:ɦ and jəmʃɛ, "he calls" as ʕajjɑṭṭ, "he can" as *jqadd*, "this year" as *ha:d əl-ʕa:m,*"last year" as əl-ʕa:m li: fa:t, and "yesterday" as əl-ba:raɦ. Though they show a rather slow change, the time adjuncts ha:d əl-ʕa:m "this year"; əl-ʕa:m li: fa:t "last year"; əl-ba:raɦ "yesterday" are seen to follow a normal focusing among young urban dwellers. There are, however, a few exceptions. For example, while she displays the same innovations as her peers in other urban variants, Farida uses 2 features against the trend: she shows exclusive use of *mʃa* instead of rɑ:ɦ and old rural time adjuncts.

iii) The younger youths of rural "origin" aged 15 and less also display the following traits:

a. They share interdentals, vowel maintenance and ɦajja, "something" with old speakers.

b. They share diphthongs, waɦid +agree ment "alone"and jrɔ:ɦ for "to go") with the 35-20 year olds.

c. In time adjuncts, there seems to be a clear discrepancy between (86-66) old speakers of rural origin who show exclusive use of the old rural variant, middle-aged speakers, who mix, and young urban dwellers, who have reached complete focusing.

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3.7 Conclusion

The random sample of the overall 125 SBA dwellers from both rural and urban origins reveals that the most homogeneous groups are the 76-86 year-old and the 20-29 year-old groups: while the former group displays 100% of rural interdental features (i.e.0% of dental urban features), the latter group displays 95.64% of urban dental features. The remaining age groups display a heterogeneous picture. In the 60-69 group, Khdija -who lives in Sidi Lahcen- scores 0% of dentals- while Zoulikha and Abdelghafour -who live in the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes- score 55.6% and 51.7%, respectively. But, as the results for the urban dwellers of rural origin -Amel (a 30 year-old woman working in a fast food place) and Fethi- show (they both display exclusive use of interdentals in spontaneous, casual speech), living in the city centre of SBA is not necessarily a factor promoting the use of urban features, though this low score might be attributable to their recent migration. The same heterogeneity is observed in the 50-59 group: some speakers score 100%, some 0%, and others speakers score mixed forms: the lowest score in dentals is 2.6% (ie. 97.4% interdentals) and the highest score in dentals is 85.7% (ie. 12.3% interdentals). The 40-49 group as well as the 30-39 group all show heterogeneous scores of stopping, as many speakers are settlers and therefore have very low scores of dentals. The 20-29 group is close to 100% of dentals; in this group, Houria, a settler, has a higher score than Khelifa, a 2ⁿᵈ generation-born speaker. The 15-19 and the 13-14 groups score less than the 20-29 group: just over 92%. The 12 year olds and under score 66.71%, and they present important discrepancies in the percentage of stopping: Fatima, Sheyma and Khaled all score 0% of dentals. These speakers, who are young recent settlers, have apparently retained the rural features of their caregivers (parents). On the other hand, Mounir scores 77.5% while each of Saida and Fayrouz score 100%. These last three speakers are 3ʳᵈ generation-born children.

As to the analysis relating to the correlation between stopping and rural origin, it reveals a three-generational model, where -as far as stopping is concerned- focusing is completed (100%) in the 3ʳᵈ generation. This means that 3ʳᵈ generation-born speakers aged between 50 and 13 score 100% of stops. Furthermore, it has been observed that, while some old speaker-settlers (or those who came at a very young age), now aged 70+, display little or no levelling out of their rural features (e.g., Kaddour), other speakers the same age display a medium percentage of stopping (e.g., Reqia). As to settlers aged 20-29, they have acquired much higher scores of stopping than younger speakers: 93.5% in the case of Houria. The fact that

the (86 year old) eldest speakers of rural origin use the old rural SBA interdentals exclusively while their younger counterparts (with the exception of those aged 12 and less) display higher scores of stops in their speech may be also indicative that the dialectal change in SBA -due to increasing human mobility and technological development- is relatively recent.

To conclude on stopping, it may be said that urban speech is right under way, where a variationist approach suggests that the innovators are young speakers, in particular those aged 20-29, scoring 95.64% of stopping in both the random and quota samples. As for the koineisation three-generational model, complete focusing is reached in the 3ʳᵈ generation-born speakers, and time of migration is significant in explaining differences between migrant speakers the same age, as 20 year-old settlers score higher in their use of the urban variants than their brothers and sisters because the former have been in SBA for a longer time.

In addition to stopping, acquired relatively rapidly by urban dwellers, other phonological features are making their way -though slowly- in the new urban dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes: de-diphthongisation, vowel bounce and vowel elision. At the morpho-syntactic level, marked feminine case and ma- negation have permanently displaced unmarked feminine case and la- negation in imperatives.

At the lexical level, many lexical items have emerged as urban variants; they are -in descending order- rɑːħ , which is clearly emerging as the new urban variant for "to go" and already appearing in the speech of the oldest consultants; qadd "be able to"; ʕajjɑṭ " to call", and ħaːd əl ʕaːm , ʕam liː faːt , əl baːraħ, these time adjuncts showing the slowest change among the lexical items selected.

As paradoxical as it might seem, the most problematic variants to capture and generalize about are the variants for "to go". While the form *mʃa* "to go" is an attested feature of Tlemcen (Marçais 1902) and also a feature of Classical/Standard Arabic: maʃaː: "he walked", "to go" in rural old SBA includes several nuances: sɑḍḍ, ʃawwar, jɔʁda (there is no past form) and perhaps even mʃa. In the speech of youths, rɑːħ is emerging as the new urban feature; however, the use of mʃa by both old and young speakers -even predominantly for some speakers (e.g., Abdelghafour, 68) and exclusively by others (e.g., Farida, 22) casts some doubt as to its status and that of rɑːħ. Because the latter is generally quantitatively increasing and focused in third and fourth generation-born speakers as well as in innovating speakers of rural origin (e.g., Hajla, Houria, Samir), it may be granted urban status.

Despite the fact that the results of the quantitative analyses do throw much light on the change of dialectal features, a variationist approach alone cannot handle dialectal variation

and change because age and education *per se* do not explain the discrepancies found between the speakers interviewed. Neither can a koineisation approach, as significant discrepancies were found between speakers who are the same age, between speakers of the same origin as well as between speakers of the same (migrant) generation. Other factors, for example, those pertaining to the speakers' social relations, may be responsible for such speech differences. This issue is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: A complex approach of variation and change in SBA

4.1 Introduction

…..........In Chapter Three, an attempt is made to explain that linguistic variation and change in Sidi Bel-Abbes correlate with age insomuch as the latter reflects education (and *vice versa*): the younger and more educated the speakers are, the more they are found to use the urban variants, with the innovating group among the 20-29 year olds. However, there are exceptions: dialectal change among several families lends itself more readily with the factor of origin: speakers of rural origin display less urban features than their urban counterparts. Therefore, an analysis of their speech is taken over by a koineisation model (see 3.6.3), where findings reveal that a koineisation process is right under way. There again, and despite a completed focusing in the 3rd generation among many speakers, others do not conform to a time-apparent three-generational model. For example, there are significant discrepancies between speakers sharing one or more social categories such as origin, age, and place of living. A close examination of the speakers' profiles indicates differences in their social habits, lifestyles, and networks. While education *per se* is not a factor of language change, speakers of different origins and backgrounds mingle with one another in settings where education takes place (e.g., the school, the university, etc.); they are thus likely to converge towards what seems to be the most prestigious variety of the vernacular of Arabic. In the absence of educational opportunities, the kinds of social relations that speakers knit in the course of their lives have some incidence on their speech; these social relations are labelled "social networks" and "communities of practice".

Before discussing their relevance to the situation in Sidi Bel-Abbes, I shall define "Social Networks" and "Communities of Practice", as a substantial part of this chapter will focus on understanding how maintenance, levelling out and accommodation reflect the speakers' social relations.When the features studied display important variation, namely in intra-personal speech, correlations between situation, topic, addressee and morpho-semantico-pragmatic "constraints" and the use of variants are investigated. Then variation and accommodation and how they relate to the speakers' linguistic practices, attitudes and representations towards the prestige (and non-prestige) variants and their social meanings in Sidi Bel-Abbes are discussed. Some of the examples illustrating my statements are too long to include in this chapter; they may thus be found (numbered) in the appendices. I shall end this chapter with an analysis of the types of dialectal change taking place in the speech of Sidi Bel-Abbes.

4.2 Linguistic contact and social relations

Linguistic contact between speakers sharing relations within social, educational and professional frameworks -for example, social networks and communities of practice- may result in maintenance, accommodation or levelling out of the linguistic features of the dialects in contact. I shall briefly define each of social networks, communities of practice and accommodation.

4.2.1 Social networks

James and Lesley Milroy, two pioneers of sociolinguistic studies in Social Networks, state that social network (SN) approaches are based on the social ties people -who know each other- engage in, such as between kin, close friends, neighbours and colleagues. In their Belfast study (1978) (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003), they suggested that maintenance or levelling out were very much contingent on the strength or weakness of the social network in local communities (cf. L. Milroy and M. Gordon 2003). Thus, the more dense (or stronger) the speakers' social network is, the less open they are to linguistic change; the less dense (or weaker) their social network is, the more rapid the linguistic change is. Network strength is in turn dependent on *multiplexity* and *density* of network ties. A multiplex tie involves a tie with, for example, someone who is a friend, a colleague and a neighbour, as opposed to a unilex tie, where only one type of social link holds, as in the case of neighbours only. As for density, if there are more ties between members in your network, the network is considered to be denser than if your ties are not acquainted to each other.

4.2.2 Communities of Practice

In her participant observation work one Belten High School in Detroit, Eckert (2000) studies the linguistic as well as the social and academic practices of two opposite young high school students: "jots" and "burnouts", in addition to a middle group. While burnouts are in networks that involve turning away from school, going cruising, indulging in drinking as soon as they finish school, and sometimes smoking hash in their self-reserved "*zones*" inside the school, jots are institutionally-oriented students who stay longer in school, prepare their careers, use different language styles, and practice school sports activities. Eckert's (2000) work on jots and burnouts in Belten High goes beyond the social networks to develop the idea of practices; it is within the interaction that we can interpret the meaning of variation. So in

her theory, there is a need to add origin (either social or ethnic), networks (open/closed) and practices; in other words, a speaker cannot be described through the use of a single variant linked to their social group and their network but can display several variants. And this means also that a variant might have different subtle social meanings.

4.2.3   Contact-induced dialectal accommodation, variation and change

In his 1986 seminal work (see 1.6), Trudgill suggests that, when dialects are in contact, the formation of a new dialect (or a koine) is likely to occur. Owing to the fast-growing mobility as well as to the widespread use of the Internet and satellite television in the last years in world-wide households, the spectacular urbanisation and contact between speakers of various language varieties have led to the emergence of situations where speakers communicate in varieties which are not entirely theirs but which facilitate communication with speakers of other varieties. This process is known as accommodation. Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), first introduced by Giles in 1973 "in a study in which he observed that interviewees adjusted their accent in order to sound more like their interviewers"(Shiri 2009: 320), was later designated as Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) by Giles, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson in 1987. Accommodation is hence defined as a change by a speaker toward or away from the language or language variety of the interlocutor; it may also be convergent or divergent, in-group or out-group, upward or downward, and verbal or non-verbal. Convergent accommodation occurs when speakers try to reduce the dissimilarities between them and their interlocutors -a strategy not only for gaining the listener's approval and friendliness but also for maintaining possible social identities. One of the variables for convergent accommodation is power, in that speakers of a subordinate group or status move toward the language or language variety of the dominant group, as in the case of Puerto Ricans with Blacks in New York City, a process which does not seem to be reciprocal (ibid.). Another type of convergence is "stereotypical convergence, whereby speakers converge toward the speech style they believe their interlocutors possess" (Shiri 2009: 321). Because convergent accommodation is "a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features..., phonological variants..."(ibid.), it may also involve some levelling. As for divergent accommodation (or maintenance), speakers either use their language -if different from that of their interlocutors- or exaggerate their accent if they speak a different (and sometimes low prestige) variety of the same language,

and this in order to mark their differences. For example, in studies involving accommodation, divergent accommodation may express a desire to affirm one's membership with a given group, as in the case of the group of Welshmen reported to appeal to code-switching to Welsh and exaggerate their Welsh accent in the presence of an Englishman (ibid.). In what follows, I shall discuss three types of consequences of dialectal contact: maintenance, accommodation, and levelling, highlighting each individual's specificity among Belabbesi dwellers.

4.3 The maintenance of communal features

Factors which contribute in the maintenance of the speaker's communal variety are quite complex; they relate not only to origin and time of migration but also to the social and cultural attitudes as well as the speakers' representations of the variants under investigation. This section is thus devoted to the maintenance of communal features among two groups of speakers: rural Sidi Bel-Abbes and Tlemcen speakers, with samples of speech from each category, followed by analyses.

4.3.1 The maintenance of old SBA features

Among the speakers of rural origin interviewed, the eldest group of speakers maintain the old rural SBA features (see 2.4.2.3, 3.4.2 for a list of rural features) while younger speakers display more variation. For this purpose, I have selected 4 representative speakers, with whom I had more contact and more frequent interviews: two speakers are 86, one is 66, and the fourth is 50. except for speakers who still live in rural areas (a 30 year-old female speaker whom I met at the taxi station and a 30 year-old male speaker, who display a quasi-exclusive use of rural features), young speakers living in SBA are not attested to be total maintainers of rural features; therefore, no example of maintenance among this age category is provided.

-El-Hadj, 86

Despite his having lived in the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes for over 50 years, 86 year-old El-Hadj displays the old SBA features (as can be seen in table 7): interdentals, diphthongs, vowel maintenance, and so on. Examples of these are underlined in the excerpt below:

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ət tɔrk ka:nʊ jəħħakmə/[l ʕrabb]jəħħaʐdə ləl ba:j/əl xɔrʃəff ta:ʕ əl ɣla ka:n jdɛ:r əl garnʊ:ʕa fi:ħa əʃ ʃawk/j sarrəbħa ət tɔrkɛ wṛa l ħassada/ər ra:ʒəl jaħsadˌ fi qməʒʒa/ əl li dgaʕʕaddˌ ʊ jətlaffət fə ttɔrkɛ ħa:k jəḍḍɔrbaħ b ði:k əl garnʊ:ʕa l əḍ ḍħaṛṛ/məkka:ʃ mə l li jətlaffətt/lli ra:ħ ħna wəlla ma ra:ħʃ ħna/ məlli jʒɔ ssba:ħ/ jətwaḍḍɔ məkka:ʃ məlli jətlaffət ə lli ra:ħ ʕassa:s wəlla ma ra:ħʃ ʕassa:s// [The Turks were ruling...They [The Arabs] were ploughing for the Bey...Wild teasels blossomed into archichokes with thorns.The Turk would rid them of thorns behind the plougher...the man'd plough in his shirt...whoever would stand up and turn round [to look at] the Turk would be hit with that archichoke on his back...there wasn't any one who'd turn round...who was [t]here or who wasn't [t]here. Ever since they come in the morning...they do their ablutions...there wasn't any one who'd turn round [to see] who was watching or not watching].

The details of the old SBA features displayed in El-Hadj's speech are illustrated below (chronologically, as they appear in the text above):

i.   Interdentals: *jəḍḍɔrbaħ* ; *b ði:k* ; *l əḍ ḍħaṛṛ* ; *jətwaḍḍɔ*

ii.   Diphthong maintenance: *ʃawk*

iii.   "Behind" *is wṛa*

iv.   "Like this" is   *ħa:k* (and not *ħa:kka)*

v.   "To turn round" *is   jətlaffət ɔl*

Other features of old SBA attested in the speech of El-Hadj include:

vi.   *ʕ for ʔ: ʒa l ʕamr ga:lʊ rawwħɔ* [The order came...they said they had gone]

-Zahra, 86

Zahra uses the same old rural SBA features as El-Hadj; however, they differ in that she uses dual inflection (e.g., *xaṭṭartɛ:n* "twice") and "to go" is *jɔʁda* and not *jrɔ:ħ*. Below are listed some of the features she uses:

i.Interdentals: *ħa:ðʊ:k liba:ri* [those shots]; *ḏaṛṛɔ:nɛ* [they hurt me];

        tləʕ kʷɔmmida:t [three gauze compresses.]

ii. The consonant h replaces θ in *θa:nɛ* "also" : *ħa:nɛ ra:ħɔm xədmɔ:lɛ*

                            [they also caused an infection].

iii. Diphthongs: *əd ḍaw∫ɛ* [You take a shower)] ; *ṛawwaħt* [I went].

iv."To go" is *jɔʁda: ajja ʊ ħijja ʁa:dja* [So this is how it's going].

v. Dual: *ʕandħa kɔll jɔ:m təḍrɔblɛ xaṭṭartɛ:n* [She would call me twice every day]

-Khdija, 66

      Khdija was born in a rural area called Tilmouni, at about 10 kms south of Sidi Bel-Abbes. She was10 years old when her family moved to the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes. When she married at 16, she went to live with her husband in Bas-Novio (Low Novio) - the agricultural part of Sidi Lahcen, then to the other end of the village, where they bought a piece of land to build their present house. At the time of the interview, she lived with her three sons and two daughters; one of her sons is married and has 4 girls, two of whom are twins. Khdija represents the "symbolic leader" of the household; even when her husband was alive, the family was living in a strongly conservative milieu: an extended 17 member family of rural working-class origin, where authenticity (ʔɑsɑ:lɑ) values are embodied in honesty and religiosity; this clearly shows in what Khdija says about her four sons, who, she says, have never indulged in drinking or stealing, even after their father's death:

i. Diphthongs: *ra:h m*a:*t ᵊl-maxlɔ:q/ wlạjdatah ma:hɔm sкajrijja/ma:hɔm jəxxawnɔ//*

[He is gone, dead, the brave man. His sons are neither drunkards nor thieves.]

She adds that her late husband had a great sense of humour but was quite strict when it came

to taking her out, allowing her however to travel to nearby towns with her sons:

ħmajda *galli ʔa: mʷa rawwaħt l maʁnijja/mi:n rawwaħ/ʒa:b əl-kisa:n/ʒa:b əl-mʷaʕi:n/gʊtlah təddi:ni/ħna ʕammak θa:nɛ ka:n mzajarr/zaʕma ma-jəṭlagni:ʃ//galli tɔʁdɛ/ət-tla:θa ʒ-ʒa:jja nɔʁdɔ ʃ əl-ka:r/ajja na gʊlt əl-ʕammak/gʊtlah ʔa wəddɛ ʔanara:nɛ ba:ʁ nɔʁda/ra:h ʁa:dɛ jəddi:ni ħmajda mʕa:h/w ra:nɛ ʁa:dɛ nɔʁda mʕa l majlu:d/gal-li rɔ:ħɛ//mni:n ʒa majlu:d/gʊtl-ah/galli ma-tɔʁdɛ:ʃ/galli lla ma-tɔʁdɛ:ʃ//*

[Hmida said: "Mum, I went to Maghnia". When he went, he brought glasses, he brought dishes. I said to him: "Will you take me?" Your uncle (Khdija is here referring to her own husband; it is very common among (usually) elder speakers to refer to husbands as the addressee's uncle) was strict: he would not let me go out. He said "Will you go? Next Tuesday, we will go by coach". So I said to your uncle. I said to him "Well, I would like to go; Hmida will take me with him. And I will also go with Miloud". He said "Go". When Miloud came, he said "Don't go". He said "No, don't go".]

Khdija thus uses the same old SBA features as Zahra: the interdentals; the velar stop *g;* diphthongisation; the -ah suffix for 3rd pers.sing. masc. direct and indirect object; *jɔʁda ;* other lexemes of « to go » include diphthongised : *rawwaħt* « I went »; *rawwaħ* « he went »; *ʔa wəddɛ* « oh, well », perhaps a lexico-phonological reallocated form of CA *ʔawaddʊ* « I would like to » or a contracted form of *ja wəldi* "oh, son".

-Abdelkader, 50

Abdelkader (also referred to as AEK) was born in Ben Badis (former Descartes) near Sidi Lahcen, where he came at a very early age and lived ever since. After various jobs and a two-month stay in prison for "*trabendo*" (illegal commerce), he became a taxi-driver then a driver for the Tlemcen (via SBA)-Algiers coach line . He is married to two women: one in Sidi Lahcen and the other in Sidi Khaled, a nearby semi-urban town. He is holder of a professional typist certificate (in French, "*CAP en dactylographie*").

During the interview, Abdelkader predominantly uses the rural SBA forms at all linguistic levels: interdentals and diphthongs as wellas syntactic and lexical features :

*ʕa:wətt **raw**waħt dərt ʕami:n ta:ʕ əl-ʕaskarr/xdəmt θa:nɛ f-lɛlɛktrisiti/f-əd̪-d̪aww/waħd əl-ʕami:n θa:nɛ wəlla ʃta d̪a:k/transport lourd ʊ ta:ʕ əl-ka:r/ʊ xamsa wə θmanji:n dxalt l-əl kɛra:n*

[Then I went again to do two years in the Army. I also worked two years in electricity, in electricity; also for two years or so in transport , trucks and coaches. And in 85, I went to work in the coaches.]

Speaking about his first wife, Abdelkader uses old SBA features:

əl-mʊhimm/tzawwaʒt ã 77/gʕatt deux ans mʕəl-mada:m/w rɔħt dərt deux ans ta:ʕ larmɛ//ʕami:n gʕatt-ha mʕa l-mra w rɔħt dərt ʕami:n//ʕandi wəldi lawwal za:jəd f-əθ-θmənja w səbʕɛ:n/ma:t əł-łah jaħmah/matu:li ga:ʕ əʃ-ʃa:ʃra [Anyway, I got married in 77; I stayed two years with the *Madame*. Then I went to do two years in the Army. I stayed two years in the Army, then I went to do two years...I have a first son, born in seventy-eight, who died, God rest his soul. All my boys died.]

When he mentions his (Tlemceni) second wife, he uses some urban (and sedentary) phonological: d̪arwɑk « now » and : lexical variants: *əð-ðra:rɛ*"the children":

wəz-za:wʒa ʕandi mʕa:ha tla:θa ta:ʕ əð-ðra:rɛ/zu:ʒ wla:d ʊ bənt

[And the second one, I have with her three children: two boys and a girl].

It may be necessary to note that, in addition to its pronunciation with the urban dental d (instead of the interdental ð), sedentary ᵊd-dra:rɛ "the children", and not ᵊð - ðra:rɛ, is opposed to its rural lexical SBA counterpart əl-ḫazz̪, which has almost disappeared from young urban SBA. In this case, Abdelkader has used the lexical item but superposed the old SBA interdental realisation.

What is perhaps quite significant about Abdelkader is that his use of swear words and other very *"virile"* expressions reflect a lifestyle almost exclusively among male speakers,

and this even when he recalls a day when he got home drunk and his father slapped his face although AEK was already married (to two women):

əlli ḍ-ḍɔrrɔkk/b-ənsa:ja zu:ʒ ḍrabnɛ b-ṣavʕa/martɛ wa:gfa/gʕatt əṛṛabṛaḅ/zi:d zi:d zi:d/

[What hurts you is that, with my wives (ie., despite my being married to two women), he slapped my face. My wife was standing there; I started to swear. On and on and on.]

əṭ ṭarṭagg b-əl-bka//ra:ʒəl ta:ʕ θawra// əʃ-ʃma:ta ḍɹabtah/

[He burst into tears. A man of revolution... "The coward, I beat him"]

ḍɾɔbb/təḍɾɔbb/təḍɾɔbb ʊ xalli:tah ʊ rawwaḥt

[Beat, you beat, you beat... and then I left him and went.]

The use of expressions describing swearing, for example, ᵊṛ ṛaḅṛaḅḅ, « I swear », which contains the word ṛaḅḅ « God », as much swearing involves offense to God, ie. repeating the words and expressions containing ᵊṛ ṛaḅ, "God".We also note the presence of terms denoting male chauvinism and showing off: *jbaẓẓaṭ* , "he shows off (by inventing)" ᵊl-bəbbu:ʃ "(lit-snails) unimportant"; denigrating people (including women): ṛasɑ, "a (bad) race" ; and describing types/means of violence: *dəgga:t* "stabbings".

Passive forms in n/ŋ-: ŋ-gḍabt [I was caught] of the verb gḍabt [I caught].

4.3.2 The maintenance of old Tlemcen features

The maintenance of old Tlemcen features is generally observed among old speakers and despite the long time spent in Sidi Bel-Abbes, 3rd generation-born woman speaker Khalida has maintained all her communal features. Ali, like Tlemceni men, has levelled out the glottal stop, but he has maintained many other features, at all linguistic levels. His son, Sid-Ahmed, who was born in Sidi Bel-Abbes, being more aware of the differences between the two communal dialects than his father, as the short excerpt below shows (see 4.3.2.3), has already begun levelling out (at least in public space). The 32 year-old coach conductor, Hamid, though a commuter, displays less maintained features. As for 4th generation-born Adel, he has levelled out the Tlemcen features; for this reason, discussion of his case is in 4.4.2 and 4.6.4.

Diphthongisation and vowel length represent two different processes depending on whether they refer to the Tlemcen variety or the SBA variety. For example, while Tlemcen diphthongisation involves such variants as mitaɪn « two hundreds », whose SBA counterpart is the long vowel mitiːn, Tlemcen long vowels in words such as xɛːɾ is realised in old SBA speech with a diphthongised vowel : xaɪr; in other words, these diphthongised forms are mutually exclusive: one communal feature occurs in one variety but not in the other variety, and vice versa.

-Khalida, 75

Khalida is a 75 year-old woman who lives with her husband in *Mon Plaisiɪ*, a relatively posh neighbourhood of SBA. She is the third generation-born «child» of a Tlemceni family, as her grand-father came to SBA in 1940, where he married her grand-mother, who was born in Oran and came to live with her husband in a nearby wealthy neighbourhood. She is educated (A-levels) and she enumerates all her relatives (including her own children) as people who have succeeded in their studies, with degrees in Medicine, Pharmacy, fields still considered as the prestige domains of study not only for their length but also because they offer higher and wealthier positions (though, in the capital city, Algiers, they are now being replaced by economics and especially marketing). She considers herself as coming from one of the oldest aristocratic families that « made » SBA.

The interview took place in her home in July 2012. She was introduced to me by her son, a "friend's friend", Mina, with whom I became acquainted via her sister, whom I met at the *Caroubier* coach station in Algiers.

Khalida's speech displays much code-switching between French and Arabic, and when she uses the latter, it is the Tlemcen variety exclusively:

   i. Dentals:

tlaːta	ħaːdʊ	jəʕʕardɔ baʕdɛjjaːtħɔm
Three	*Those*	They invite one another

   ii. The glottal stop: kʷœn tʔɛːsək əl ʔɔdra [If fate throws you there (ie., If you happen to

   go to Tlemcen)].

iii. Diphthongisation: mitajn   [Two hundreds]

iv. Vowel-elision: fkʊl (dʒiːɦa) [Everywhere]; fdʒiːɦa (xʷrɑ): [in a(n)(other) place]

v. Affricated ʒ: dʒː (fkʊl) dʒiːɦa [Everywhere]; fdʒiːɦa xʷrɑ [in a(n)(other) place]

vi. "Metathesis" in some constructions: rɛːɦa"she is" instead of SBA rɑːɦɛ

vii. The back ɑ vowel: b̞ʷɑːɦɔm, SBA b̞ʷaːɦɔm "their father":

    xlaː daːr əb̞ʷ b̞ʷɑːɦɔm   [God empty their father's house!]

viii. The œ vowel : *jɦæbb rœbbɛ əl klœːm əlɦlœw*   [God likes sweet words]

ix. Verbs in iːw (pl. imperf. verb suffix) instead of SBA ɔː jdʒiːw "they come".

 x. The -ʊ particle instead of the SBA -ah for 3rd pers. masc. direct or indirect suffixed pronoun: *ʃaːfʊ* "he saw him".

xi. No feminine marking for 2nd pers. *mukhatib*:

 ʃɔff/ kiː tœxrœdʒ tœmrœd /wəɫɫaːɦɛ la tœmrœd/ rɔːɦ tʃɔːf/

 [Look, when you go out, you get sick. By Allah, you get sick...Go (and) see.]

xii. *The p*lural for *əṭ ṭrɛːʔ is : əṭ ṭɔrʔaːn::*

əṭ ṭɔrʔaːn rɛːɦɔm ʕʷrɑːd̞   [The streets are wide]

-Ali, 65

Ali is a notary public, who has lived for 30 years in SBA , where his father is buried. Ali has maintained some of the features of Tlemcen:œ, mœʁriːb "Morocco"; long vowels: maʃiːn "(they were) going; vowel elision: *fla ʁœkonkista* "during the Reconquista"; diphthongisation: fajən "where"; vowel bounce and no gemination in words of the type: mʕaskrɛ "a Mascari man", maʃiː "not"; no assimilation of ɦ to n: mən ɦina "from here"; verbs in rɔːɦɔm/rɛːɦɔm "they are"; regular (i.e.Tlemcen) plural adjectives: l ʕabasijjiːn "Belabbesi people-masc."; djaːl/ək "your/s" (but *taːʕ* to denote provenance: əs sɑnʕa taːʕ tləmsaːn); waːʃ "what"; kismək "what's your name?"; naʕʕamlɔ "we do"; nəmʃɛ "I go"; mɑrrɑ "once". Below is an excerpt of his speech from a conversation on the making of

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pickled olives, where characteristic features of Tlemcen show:

> N. *: Vous mettez le gingembre ?*   [Do you put ginger?]
> Ali : *Non, non, non/n-a ʕ**ʕamlɔ**/j-ra**bbi:w** - ah/j-ra**bbi:w**-ah fəl bəsba:s w-ər-*
> *rand//w ha:**di** la technique/ha:**d** la manière de faire ʒa:jja m əl-mœʁɛ:b/w*
> *ḍarwak **ru:m** jəʕʕamlɔ ha:d əʃ-ʃi:/maʃi : kima: ʒdʊdna...*[No, no, no...we put
> it...they keep it...they keep it in fennel and bay leaves...and this technique...this
> way of doing comes from Morocco..and they do this thing...not like our
> ancestors.]

The other maintained Tlemcen features include the -ɔ/ʊ particle for 3rd pers.masc. direct/indirect object, ʊ/ɔ having predominance over -ah (2 -ah occurrences in the whole two-hour interview):

> **g**ɔtl**ah** tləmsa:n/**q**alli ɛ:h/ouais/**q**alli sidi laxdarr /**g**ɔtl**ɔ** wasmək ənta:ja/**q**alli
> ʔana:.../**g**ɔtl**ɔ** nta tləmsa:nɛ **q**alli lla/ʔa:na m əl-mdijja/[...]Je lui ai expliqué qu'il
> était de Tlemcen/**q**alli l marra lləwwla n-ətla:**g**a b ... /I said to him « [You're
> from]Tlemcen ?» He said to me « Yes »...He said to me « Sidi Lakhdar ». I said to
> him « What's your name ?» He said to me « I am... » I said to him « You're a
> Tlemceni ? » He said to me « No, I'm from Medea » [...]I explained to him that he
> was from Tlemcen. He said to me « It's the first time I meet... »]

Furthermore, Ali displays the Algiers use of g in such words as *n-ətla:ga* when in SBA, q is normally used, unlike his son Sid-Ahmed, who uses SBA g in this particular lexical item: *n-ətla:qa* (see below).

-Sid-Ahmed, 32

Sid-Ahmed is 32 year-old. He is a notary, like his father Ali, and his speech is characterised by code-switching between French and Arabic. Like his father, Sid Ahmed says that his use of the Tlemcen dialect is restricted to family and in-group interlocutors while the SBA variety is used in public space :

məʃʃi ا a dɛ mo kı glis/xa:ṭər ɔ̃ na gaʁdɛ da:jmənn f əd-da:r/ ɔ̃ paʁl əl laĥʒa/n-
ahhadrɔ b -əl laĥʒa ət-ta:ʕna//[It's not that words slip...because we have always
kept at home...the dialect : we speak in our dialect].

Both Ali and Sid Ahmed know what the variants of each of the communal dialects are, as when they exchange their thoughts about the variables "where"; "you are" and "go", in the question "Where are you going?":

…par exemple, ma-ŋgulʃ   <u>fiːn</u>   <u>rɑːk</u>   <u>maːʃi</u>/ wəlla wiːn rɛːk   <u>maːʃi</u>/

…for example, I don't say   where   (are)you   going   or   where (are) you   going

            SBA g   Tlem   SBA   Tlem   SBA   Tlem   Tlem

Sid Ahmed intervenes, rectifying: *wiːn*   *rɑːk*   *raːjaḥ*

                             SBA   SBA   SBA

Ali agrees, echoing: wiːn   rɑːk   *raːjaḥ*

                             SBA   SBA   SBA

As a 1st generation-born speaker, Sid Ahmed displays higher use of the SBA variants than his father; moreover, both the speech repertoire and the verbal repertoire of the father and the son are different: Ali lived during the colonial period, when the teaching of French was encouraged whereas Arabic was not taught in public schools but only in *Medersas* (Koranic schools), which Ali regrets not having attended.

-Hamid, 32

Hamid is a 32 year-old Tlemceni, who lives in Tlemcen and has been working as a coach conductor in the Algiers-Sidi Bel-Abbes-Tlemcen coach line since 2005. The reason why I included him in the present study is that he represents what is referred to as a linguistic missionary. Linguistic missionaries are generally defined as persons who regularly travel back and forth from their original city and may thus transport features of a language or language variety from one place to another. As such, Hamid has much contact with belabbesis and Tlemcenis (as well as with people from Algiers and other cities). Nonetheless, he has maintained some Tlemcen features, including the following:

***i*) Phonology**

Dentals, which are both Tlemcen (and urban SBA), are used all throughout the interview by Hamid, who, unlike some Belabbesi speakers of rural origin, has not shifted to interdentals.

***ii*) Morpho-syntax**

SBA *bdi:t*, "I started" is *bəddi:t*:   bəddi:t [əd dœɣa:n] l lɑ:ʒ dœ diz wit ɑ̃

[I started smoking at the age of 18]

SBA *ktabb* is *kəttab* :   wa:ʃ kəttablɛ rabbɛ   [Whatever God has decided; God's fate]

***iii*) Morphology (and morpho-syntax)**

Verbs in i:w (3rd pers. pl. imperfective):"to smoke" is jəkmi:w (SBA jəkmə)

Verbs in a:j (2nd pers. Sing. Fem. imperfective): "You walk" is tatməʃʃaj (SBA tatməʃʃi)

***iv*) Lexicon**

 In Hamid's speech, SBA *mʷa* "my mother" is *jəmma*; SBA b̥ʷa is *ba:ba*

SBA zɑjfɑṭ "to send" is bʕatt: rɑ:kɛ ba:ʕta rɑ:ʒəl, "You are sending a man".

4.3.3 Understanding maintenance of communal features

Among speakers of rural origin, total maintenance of the features of old SBA is observed mainly by the eldest group and, to a lesser extent, by others in their sixties and fifties. As for speakers of Tlemceni origin, and despite their statements that they feel Belabbesi, many say they maintain their communal dialect, with significant differences between women and men, the latter avoiding features considered too effeminate. Therefore, male Tlemceni speakers are generally not 'public maintainers'; however, they exhibit features which are neither Belabbesi nor Tlemceni, for example, q, characteristic of Algiers (and CA) speech. One might infer from this that the replacement of the glottal stop ʔ by Algiers q is justified by the avoidance of ʔ for reasons of "virility"; however, another feature - -ʊ instead

of SA -*ah* - might signal that the dialectal change among some Tlemceni speakers living in Sidi Bel-Abbes is in the direction of the Algiers variety.

All in all, it seems that, among SBA speakers of rural origin, a high degree of maintenance is observed among the 86 year olds of rural origin; younger speakers exhibit their communal features in-groups, but they go back to them as soon as they find themselves "at home". Because they are aware of the stigmatisation that characterises their communal variety, speakers of rural origin are the least maintainers, unlike the Tlemcenis, who are on the whole quite proud of theirs, with this difference that the greatest maintainers are women, with a few exceptions, for example Salima (see 4.4.2).

4.4 Levelling out of communal features

When faced with an interlocutor with a dialectal variety different from their own, speakers may drop their dialectal features for those of the another variety, may it be a prestige, new or local one. This is known as levelling.

4.4.1 Levelling out among speakers of (SBA) rural origin

On the whole, young(er) SBA speakers of rural origin are found to level out their features within a koineisation model (see Chapter Three) while speakers in their eighties and seventies are the greatest maintainers; however, there are exceptions. For example, among the elder speakers, Zoulikha, and within the young speakers, Houria, stand out as levellers. Zoulikha exhibits important variant discrepancies with Khdija despite their similarity in all of age, time of migration and origin (both are aged 66 and young settlers of rural origin): while Khdija has maintained her rural features at all linguistic levels (see 4.3.1.3), Zoulikha has attained a relatively important degree of urban speech. As to 22 year-old student Houria, she has levelled out many of her rural features despite her being a (young) settler.

-Zoulikha, 66

Zoulikha was born in Taibi Larbi- Mestfa Ben Brahim- a borough named after a well-known Belabbesi poet (see Azza in ff1) - which she left when she was 10 to go and live with her elder brother in the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes. She has now lived in a flat in Ben Hamouda –a new "*cité*" (a public housing neighbourhood) in the centre of SBA, with her

daughters and daughter's son for about ten years. Zoulikha has never worked or very rarely during the colonial period, and she has lived with her "nuclear family"-her husband and children- in Sidi Bel-Abbes, though when she was younger, and due to problems with her husband, she used to desert her house for weeks to stay at her cousin's in the countryside. She displays a mixed dialect at all linguistic levels. Thus, she uses a dental in *ma-nmattalha:ʃ,"she is uncomparable"*; an old SBA lexical item: *raqbijja* "brave"; and an old morpho-syntactic SBA construction of a *mubtada-khabar* type: l-ʕajn zarqa (literally, "the eye blue"), as in the excerpt below:

mmʷa ma n-mattalha:ʃ ʕla//mmʷa raqbijja /lʕajn zarqa/mʷa tətməʃʃa ʁɛ//
[My mother...she is incomparable. My mother is brave...the eye is blue. My mother walks just like...]

-Houria, 22

Houria was not born in SBA, and she comes from a background where the family ties are fundamental. She graduated with a B.A in Economics from the University of SBA. Though her style exhibits a mixed variety, from her ways, her dress, her speech, it is clear that Houria aspires to *urban* values, the acquisition of which may be found in her social network/community of practice, as her friends include former school and college "mates", most of whom come from families of relatively highly-educated parents, such as teachers. In "casual" situations, Houria has been observed to have fully acquired the dentals, but she exhibits a mixed style at the morpho-syntactic level (the presence of the preposition *ʕla* after the transitive verb "to call") and at the lexical level (lʁa for "to call"), and even more so in a conversation when she is asked to describe a situation of danger (or extreme worry), as when she recalls a day when her father fell seriously ill:

Houria: *lʁi:t ʕla ʒa:rna/ki: ʒa hʊwwa ʊ martah/da:rlah əl-məfta:h fi jəddah ʊ waxxarlah lsa:nah/wəlla ma-ni:ʃ ʕa:rəf/ʒa:mɛ wa:ħəd mrɔḍḍ gʊdda:mna kima nha:k/ma:ma ɾa:ħət/ mʕa:ħ ʊ ʒa:rna tani:k* [I called our neighbour. When he came with his wife, he put a key in his hand and put his tongue aside-or I do not know what...never had a person been ill before us like that. My mum went with him and so did our neighbour.]
N.: *ʃku:n əd-da:h l əs -sbɛṭa:r* [Who took him to the hospital?]

Houria: *ʒaːrna lli **lʁiːt**lah/gɔtlah rwaːɦ/əlli jəskənn ɦdaːna/ʊ ʕajjaṭna taːni l ʕammɛ/ jassəknʊ f z-zɔŋqa t-taːʕna/bəssaɦ/ajja **lʁɛnaː**lhɔm/ bəssaɦ **di**ːk əl-liːla/maniːʃ ʕaːrfa ha**da**ːk ən-nhaːr//*

[Our neighbour, whom I called; I asked him to come...the one who lives nextdoor and we also called my uncle; they live in our street, but.. Then we called them, but that night...I don't know...that day!]

-Rachid, 35

The 3th generation-born speaker Rachid is a civil servant in Sidi Bel-Abbes. I met him at the international diving exhibition in March 2012 in Algiers. When I went to SBA, he granted me with an interview about diving and ecological issues. He displays most of the prominent urban variants: dentals, long vowels, ɦaːʒa "something", waɦidɛ "I, alone",ʕajjaṭ "to call". He uses j*aqdarr* predominantly, a choice probably determined by the formality of his speech. Despite his (few) occurrences of the old SBA feature jnəʒəmm, his equal distribution between raːɦ and mʃa "to go" as well as between vowel maintenance and vowel elision -these features displaying much variation even among speakers having focused all their features- we may consider that he has (almost) completed his focusing.

4.4.2   Levelling out among speakers of Tlemceni origin

In public space, many Tlemceni men level out some of their communal dialect features, adopting those of Sidi Bel-Abbes. This process of accommodation is very common in situations of "contact between speakers of different regional varieties, and with regionally mobile individuals or minority groups who accommodate, in the long run, to a non-mobile majority that they have come to live amongst"(Trudgill 1986: 3). Among the levelled features is the glottal stop, considered too evocative of aristocratic speech and too effeminate for male speakers (Dendane 2002). The glottal stop ʔ is present in the speech of none of the Tlemceni male speakers interviewed, and, except for the exclusively g-users Adel and Bilal, they all exhibit extreme variation between sedentary q and SBA g.

As for women, various studies suggest that Tlemceni women maintain their communal features, both in public and the private sphere, considering them as prestige variants and a

symbol of their cultural heritage (Dendane 2002); this is illustrated by Khalida in the present study (see 4.3.2.1). However, other (mainly younger) women (e.g., Salima) are found to have completely levelled out their Tlemcen features. Some cases of levelling out are examined below.

-Ali, 65

Apart from the glottal stop, which has been completely levelled out, Ali's speech displays few SBA features, many of which -for example, SBA g- coexist with the Algiers q . Moreover, he uses g in all words normally containing g in SBA: tɔgʕɔdd ; ṭrɛ:g, except in *ga:l* "to say", where there is co-occurrence with q (see 4.5.2). Almost no levelling is observed at the morpho-syntactic level, as Tlemceni features are maintained. At the lexical level, a few SBA markers have been adopted, though there are still many Tlemcen lexical items (see 4.3.2).

-Sid-Ahmed, 32

In an excerpt where Sid Ahmed says he practices linguistic "segregation" even in public space, he exhibits such SBA features as q in *jgu:l* "he says" and SBA's rare occurrences of **q** (as in *jətla:qa* "to meet") ; the (**jə**)**n-** passive form:

[...]par exemple, des fois, nku:n avec ...j'ai des amis Belabbesiens...nku:n mʕa:hɔm... dès que nətla:qa un Tlemcenien, je change systématiquement de parler...jənxalʕɔ...jgʊl-lək j'ai rien compris...majaffahmɔ wa:lʊ// [...for example, sometimes, I am with…I have Belabbesi friends…I am with them…as soon as I meet a Tlemceni, I systematically change my speech…they are surprised…they say "I have not understood anything". They don't understand anything.]

-Hamid, 32

Among the Tlemceni speakers interviewed, Hamid (see bio in 4.3.2.4) is the one who exhibits the use of the SBA markers **g** and **-ah** the most. In the passage below, except for one occurrence of Algiers **qɔtlɔ**, all the instances of "I told him" are **gʊtlaɦ** a combination of the SBA g and -ah (see the full passage in Appendix 3):

gʊtl-laɦ	*wa:ʃ jxɔssba:ʃ jmaddu:ha*	[I asked him "what is needed to obtain it?"]
gʊt-laɦ	*ʔa:ɦ ka:jən pɔsι*	[I said to him "There is a post"]

-Adel, 32

There was no way I could investigate Adel's speech when he was young; therefore, the question of levelling out does not arise. Furthermore, being a 4th generation-born speaker in SBA, Adel displays none of the Tlemcen communal features.

-Bilal, 17

Bilal is a 17 year-old college young man of Tlemceni parents, who had come to settle in the nineties in Sidi Lahcen, where he was born. His father died and his mother is very sick. Bilal is usually found with his football playmates, an activity which may ease his anxiety about his mother's illness. I have not had the opportunity to observe Bilal's speech at home, but with his peers outside, his speech is characteristic of mixed (old and new) SBA speech, with no Tlemcen features:

1. Phonology

a. Interdentals:θ: ləθni:n, "Monday"; əθ-θmənja, "eight o'clock"

b. Dentals: ḍ: ḍɑrwɑk, "now"; bɑjḍ, "eggs".

c. Diphthongisation: bɑjḍ, "eggs".

   d. The velar stop g: gɔtlak, "I said to you".

   e. word-final j pronunciation in words ending in ɛ/i: sɦabɛj: rɑnɛ mʕa sɦabɛj , "I'm with my friends".

f. rɑ:ɦɑ (instead of Tlemcen rɛ:ɦɑ) "she is".

g. No vowel-elision in prepositions: fi:=> f: ranɛ **fi** bəl ʕabbɛ:s, "I'm in Bel-Abbes"; ɦijja rɑ:ɦɑ **f** bəl ʕabbɛ:s , "she's in Tlemcen", (though this vowel maintenance may serve emphasis).

2. Morphology (and morpho-syntax)

 - verbs in ɔ: ʁɑdwɑ manəqrɔ:ʃ, "tomorrow, we do not have class".
 - -aɦ particle for (direct and indirect) object pronoun: majjətt əɫɫɑɦ jərɦmɑɦ, "he's dead, God rest his soul".
 - Feminine marking: ʔɑrwɑ:ɦɛ, "Come" (you-fem.).

3. Lexicon

- Lexical markers of SBA: wɑ:ɦ "yes";əlla "no"; niʃa:n "exactly"; mʷɑ "mum"; xu:ja "my brother"; ʁɑ:ja "good/well"; nrɔ:ɦ "I'll go"; ʃtaɦwa "what-interrog."; ma ɦa:mɛ "hot water"; ɦabbsɛ "stop (imp. You-fem.)".

- New urban SBA lexical variants: *waɦdɛ* "by myself";   əl ba:raɦ "yesterday/last night ; ʕajjɑṭṭ "to call".

 -Salima, 42

   Salima is a 42 year-old who works for an automobile company whose headquarters are in Algiers, to which she makes frequent trips. She is a 2nd generation-born speaker of Tlemceni origin and has always lived in SBA. In addition to the glottal stop, which has been completely levelled out, Salima uses the urban SBA features: dentals, -ah, and the morpho-syntactic and lexical features of SBA. The excerpt below is taken from a conversation she had with a female colleague:

gʊtlaɦ jzi:dli baʃ nəʃrɛ la vwɑtyʁ   [I asked him to add money so that I could buy the car]

4.4.3 Understanding levelling among Belabessi dwellers

Levelling of either Belabbesi or Tlemceni features is not a straightforward issue. This is illustrated in the use of interdentals/dentals and the choice from among q, g and the glottal stop ?. Though, among Belabbesi speakers of rural origin, a gradual but sure shift in casual speech from interdentals to urban dentals is clearly observed, speakers of Tlemceni origin present a different pattern. Due to its prestige status in many Arab capital cities, the glottal stop enjoys a high variant position in many Arab countries (e.g., Egypt and Lebanon). The situation in Algeria is quite different, where the glottal stop is neither a prestige nor the capital city variant, despite its high prestige in Tlemcen among in-group members. In her 2007 and 2011 studies, Hachimi posits that among the Fessis in Casablanca, a new category of speakers has emerged, that of a hybrid Fessi-Casablancan identity, who use Casablancan g instead of Fessi q for ga:l "to say", while those claiming pure Fessi identity maintain the stereotypical Fessi variant q. This is somehow comparable to old male Tlemceni speakers living in Sidi Bel-Abbes, with this difference that the glottal stop is substituted to (Algiers?) q, and not SBA g, used mainly by younger male and female Belabbesi speakers of Tlemceni origin. Levelling is not found among elder Tlemceni women, who not only maintain the glottal stop but also strongly claim pure Tlemceni identity, both in public space and the private sphere in SBA.

4.5 Variation and accommodation among SBA dwellers

By the expression "SBA dwellers" is meant the people who live in Sidi Bel-Abbes, including both speakers of SBA (rural or urban) origin and speakers of Tlemceni origin. As for the term accommodation, it has in my view at least two different (though related) senses. The first involves the use of (usually but not exclusively) prestige or demographically majority (or local) features of a given dialectal variety, thus leading to a complete (but not irreversible) stage of focusing (see 3.6.2.5). The second sense of accommodation relates to dialectal style shifting, where the use of linguistic variants equates with such factors as syntactico-semantic constraints as well as situational parameters such as style (formal or informal), place, addressee, etc. It is in the second sense that I shall use the term "accommodation" in this section; it is, among other things, "how language can reveal social relationships, such as how each of us, as social beings, adapts our language to suit the situation and the audience" (Herk 2012: 3).

In Sidi Bel-Abbes, many speakers are observed to accommodate, that is to move back and forth between distinct variants, in this case between their original communal features and urban (and sometimes standard) ones depending not only on the (formality, namely, of the) situation in which they find themselves but also on how they wish to be perceived by their interlocutor(s). I shall call this type situational variation; however, this may compete with what I have termed *proximity series* variation(see 4.5.3.1).

In Sidi Bel-Abbes, intra-personal variation manifests itself in the use of a range of lexical items having the same sense but important nuances, but it may also display two variants of the same feature, as in the case of speakers alternating between q and g (or ʊ and -ah). I shall deal with an analysis of phonological, morpho-syntactic for the group of Tlemcenis and lexical variation for the group of Belabbesis.

4.5.1 Phonological variation

While few women of Tlemceni origin have been observed to display accommodation, their male counterparts accommodate -to a certain extent, namely in out-group situations. Phonological variation is illustrated by excerpts from conversations by 2 male speakers: Ali and Hamid.

-Ali: g and q

Ali's speech no doubt displays extreme variation, characteristic of first generation settlers; however, systematic changes in his use of several variants might also be interpreted as a case of accommodation or style shifting, perhaps led by socio-pragmatic principles. Ali speaks French, mostly – standard French, with rolled "*r*s"-, sometimes switching to the Arabic (mixed Tlemcen-SBA) vernacular. During the two-hour face-to-face interview, he does not use a single Tlemcen glottal stop ʔ, and the occurrences of q and g when he reports conversations with different people are distributed as follows:

i) When he reports an anecdote about a Frenchwoman civil servant, who, seeing that he was Algerian, finally acknowledged him after having snubbed him. Ali mixes g and q, as in ga:t-li and qa:t-li:

> *gʊttəlɓa vous n'êtes pas française d'origine/gatli d'après vous, d'où serais-je?"/gʊttəlɓa ʁʊmɛn/qatli comment avez-vous su que j'étais ʁʊmɛn?"/w gʊttəlɓa les seuls pays qui pourraient...//gatli ça y est, ça va, j'ai compris,*

*vous pouvez partir, Monsieur//****gatli*** *ça y est , vous pouvez partir/[...]****qatli****...*
*[...]****qatli/ ça y est, Monsieur, vous pouvez partir*

[I said to her : "You're not originally a Frenchwoman?" She said to me:
"According to you, where would I be from?" I said to her: "Roumanian". She
said to me: "How could you tell I was Roumanian?" And I said to her: "The
only countries that might..."//She said to me: "Alright, alright, I understand.
You may go, Sir"//She said to me:"Alright, you may go".[...] She said to me,
she said to me: "Alright, Sir, you may go".]

In the excerpt above, Ali's variation presents 3 occurrences of gʊttəlfia*;* 3 occurrences of qatli;
and 2 occurrences of gatli. This means that the use of q in qatli is not restricted to what the
woman says, and that this may be mere random mix; however, the same process repeats itself
when Ali recalls a conversation with a man from Tlemcen, but this time his use of q in qalli
may be interpreted in a more systematic manner below.

ii) With a man from SBA, Ali is shown to have adopted the SBA g in *galli* all throughout
this passage of the conversation (he displays exclusive use of the g variant in the 24
instances), however keeping the (Tlemcen/Algiers) ɔ/ʊ form: gʊt-lʊ "I said to him".

iii) Right in the middle of the interview, he alternates between g and q, and this time he
is reporting a conversation with a man he met in Tlemcen :11 g*ʊtlʊ,* 8 *qalli*, and (only)2 galli,
which means that (almost) every time Ali reports his own speech, he uses gutlu -a mix of
SBA g and Tlemcen -ʊ, and when he reports the other man's speech, he uses qalli, with 1
occurrence of galli occuring immediately after ᵊlla, the SBA variant for "no":

/g**ʊ**tlʊ wasmək əntaja/qalli ʔana.../gʊtlʊ nta tləmsani/qalli lla/ʔana məl
mdijja /gʊtlʊ lla/...mə tləmsa:n/*et je lui ai expliqué qu'il était de Tlemcen*/qalli
*la première foi*s/əl marra llʊwwla nətla:ga...//

[I said to him "What's your name?"He said to me...I said "You are Tlemceni". He
said "No. I am from Medea". I said to him "No, from Tlemcen". An dI explained
to him that he was from Tlemcen. He said "The first time..."].

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This type of variation (or accommodation) is obviously not random but may be attributed to Ali's representations of the variety of his male addressee from Medea, but, as the same process repeats itself when he reports his conversation with the Frenchwoman -who is not from Tlemcen- I might be tempted to suggest that, in the verb "to say", the predominance of Ali's use of q when reporting what other people (men and women) say to him (ie. qalli and qatli) and total absence of it when he reports what *he* says may indicate his avoidance of the variant q, while his use of q in his addressees' mouth is used to express more refinement than its *harsher* SBA counterpart g.

-Hamid, 32: When qalli "he said to me" goes with waːʃ "what"

When Hamid reports what the man said to him and what he replied, he uses gaːl-li/gʊtlʊ "he said to me/I said to him"; the only (2) q occurrences of "I said to him/he said to me": **qɔtlɔ/ qaːl-li** are preceded by waːʃ, a sedentary (Algiers) feature[43]:

waːʃ qɔtlɔ [What did I say to him?]

waːʃ qaːl-li [What did he say to me?]

4.5.2 Morpho-syntactic variation

Variation in morpho-syntactic features is not very common among SBA dwellers of Tlemcen origin, who either maintain or level them out. Hamid, the 32 year-old commuter, is the only example of this linguistic level variation.

-Hamid, 32

It was stated in 4.4.2 that Hamid exhibits a majority of g and -ah features. In an indirect interview, where he recalls the dishonest behaviour of a civil servant, he is found to alternate between SBA -ah and Tlemcen ʊ/ɔ and clearly switches from one variant to another depending on the person (and/or the place he is naming). Thus, he uses q and ɔ as soon as he

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43 See also Hamid's variation in 4.5.1.3

evokes Algiers even when he starts using g and -ah:

gʊt-lah l-*pɔst* rɑ:h ʒa:j ʕla ʔəsmɛ/   rɑ:h ʒa:j m-əd-dza:jər/   **wa:ʃ qɔtlɔ**

[I said to him "The post is intended for me. It's coming from Algiers. What did I say to him?]

4.5.3 Lexical variation

   I shall here consider each of the lexical variants "to go", "to call", "to be able to", and the time adjuncts "last year", "this year" and "yesterday", examining how they are distributed at an intra-personal level for each of the 21 speakers of both Sidi Bel-Abbes and Tlemcen origin, 17 of whose speech has already been described quantitatively (see 3.6.3.2 and 3.6.3.3 above).

4.5.3.1 Variation in "to go" among Belabbesi speakers

   In old Belabbesi speech, "to go" is realised sɑdd ; ʃawwɑrr ; *jɔʁda ; ra:ɦ* and *mʃa.* The three variants sɑdd ; ʃawwɑrr and *jɔʁda* are old rural features; *ra:ɦ is* urban SBA and *mʃa* is (old) Tlemcen.

   There are no occurrences of *mʃa* in El-Hadj's speech or Zahra's; instead they use *jɔʁda* and *ra:ɦ.* However, while El-Hadj exhibits predominant use of ra:ɦ with its morpho-syntactic variations (mostly diphthongized: rawwɦɔ rawwaɦ; rɑwwaɦna) for past reference, Zahra uses both variants.

1) Syntactico-semantic constraints on "to go" among Belabbesi speakers

   While, at one extreme end, old Belabbesi speakers of rural origin use a range of lexemes for "to go", at the other end, young urban speakers display total (or quasi-total) use of rɑ:ɦ In addition to the factors of age and migration accounting for variation among speakers of rural origin, there are other factors responsible for the use of one variant rather than another. This pertains to the syntactico-semantic constraints on a) jɔʁda (mostly in the speech of elder consultants), which is usually used for present, future and present/future conditional; on b) mʃa, used for present and past but not imperative; and on c) rɑ:ɦ, used for the past and the imperative. I shall discuss each of the cases of El-Hadj, Zahra, Reqia, Khdija and Rachid.

-El-Hadj, 86

i) rɑ:ɦ

The only occurrence of (de-diphthongized long vowel in) rɑ:ɦɔ coincides with El-Hadj's
 metaphorical use:

ə̩l kwaʁə̩ṭ rɑ:ɦɔ [The papers are gone].

When El-Hadj wants to mean "to go" or "to leave", he uses:

rawwaɦ :rawwaɦ ə̩l la:rmɛ " he went to do his military service".

ii) jɔʁda

In El-Hadj's speech, *jɔʁda* is used

   a. for future reference: tɔʁdɛ tzɔrɛɦa [Will you go to visit it?]; ʁadji:n//w nɔʁdɔ
 nətwaḍḍɔ [and go to do ablutions];

   b. for present (or present for past narrative): nɔʁdɔ lə3 3a:məʕ[we go to the mosque];

   c. in propositions of purpose: ba:ɦ jɔʁda jsɑɫɫɛ [...so that he would go to pray].

-Zahra, 86

   Zahra displays variants of "to go" that are quite similar to those of El-Hadj. While she
has no occurrences of mʃa, her uses of jɔʁda and rɑ:ɦ correspond more to semantic
constraints than to variation *per se*; while *ra:ɦ* is used for past, *jɔʁda* is used for future
reference.

   i) ɾa:ɦ   *l ʁda ra:ɦə̩t ə̩l waɦɾann*   [The following day she went to Oran...]

   ii) jɔʁda: *tɔʁdɛ ʁadwa*   [Are you going tomorrow?]

-Reqia, 72

i) jɔʁda

Irrespective of person and number, jɔʁda is exclusively devoted to future reference, which
 is not totally inconsistent with the widespread expression ʁa:dɛ "going to". Besides, there
is no past for jɔʁda in SBA (e.g., ʁda meaning "tomorrow") and –to my knowledge-
neither is there one in the remaining Algerian dialects.

ii) *ra:ɦ*

The verb *ra:ɦ* "to go" is used for all tenses, in particular, past, and all modes: indicative and imperative, as well as for positive and negative statements.

iii) jəmʃɛ

In Reqia's speech, mʃa is used almost exclusively for past, usually perfected, and 1ˢᵗ person singular and plural.

-Khdija, 66

i) **The variant tokens of "to go" in Khdija's conversation**

Khdija uses:

1 occurrence of mʃa;

3 occurrences of *ra:ɦ*: rɑwwɑɦna (including 1 instance for the imperative rɔ:ɦɛ);

3 occurrences of sɑḍḍ (including 1 metaphorical use for "to die");

10 occurrences of jɔʁda;

1 occurrence of dɦamna "we popped in"

ii) **The morpho-syntactic distribution of "to go" in Khdija's speech:**

  a. rɑ:ɦ and for the past with the 1ˢᵗ person plural: rɑwwɑɦna;

  b. rɔ:ɦɛ for the imperative;

  c. sɑḍḍ(ɛjt) for "to leave": 2 occurrences in the 1ˢᵗ person singular and 1 occurrence in the 3ʳᵈ person singular, with this further meaning of something final; and

  d. jɔʁda for all persons, affirmative: jɔʁdɔ and negative statements: ma-tɔʁdɛ:ʃ, but only for present of future reference or meaning "going to", as in: ʁɑ:djɑ "(she) was/is going to".

  e. jɔʁda is used neither in the past nor in the imperative, but like any other verb, it is used in the present for narration.

  f. As for *mʃa*, Khdija uses it when answering a question about the whereabouts of her fifty year-old daughter: mʃa:t taxdamm "she's gone to work" to my question, at the beginning of the conversation, knowing that in old SBA, the past form of rɑ:ɦ is rɑwwɑɦ/rɑ:ɦ

iii) The senses of "to go" in Khdija's speech

Using 17 occurrences of "to go", Khdija displays a rich lexical spectrum in the follow-
-ing chronological order in the conversation:

mʃaːt : this single instance of mʃa occurs at the beginning of the interview, when she

says that her daughter had gone : mʃaːt;

rɑwwɑɦna « we went »;

sɑdˤdˤ « he left »;

ma-tɔʁdɛːʃ « do not go », nɔʁdɔ « we shall go », ʁaːdja « (she was) going, jɔʁdɔ « they

will go », ma-nɔʁdaːʃ « we shall not go », ma-jɔʁdaːʃ « he shall not go », jɔʁdɔ « they

will go »; rɑwwɑɦna « we went »;

dhamna « we popped in »;

ʁaːdja « (she was) going;

sɑdˤdˤɛːjt « I left »;

ma-nɔʁdɔːʃ « we shall not go »;

sɑdˤdˤɛːjt « I left »;

(la-bʁajtɛ) tɔʁdɛ/ rɔːɦɛ « if you want to go, go ».

-Jihane, 47

Jihane was born 47 years ago in Sidi Bel-Abbes, but she went to live in Sidi Khaled until
1971, but she returned to SBA (*Faubourg Thiers*) to complete her education in primary
school, which she was unable to continue, as her parents had moved to Sidi Khaled. She
married in Sidi Lahcen, where she has lived with her in-laws for about 15 years. Jihane uses
the variant rɑːɦ when expressing the past: rɑwwɑɦt, "I went"; rɑwwɑɦ, "He went"; jəmʃɛ and
jɔʁda for present and future, with a tendency for the use of jəmʃɛ for present and habitual
actions (and also for past conditional) and jɔʁda for future reference, as the examples below
seem to suggest:

i) rɑːɦ/ rɑwwɑɦ

rɑːɦ/rɑwwɑɦ	[He went, he went].
rɑwwɑɦt mʕaːɦa	[I went with her].
milʊːd rɑwwɑɦ l əl bɦarr	[Miloud has gone to the seaside].

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ii) mʃa

To my questions about their going to the shopping city centre, Jihane replies:

wɑ:h/nəmʃɔ/nəmʃu:lha   [Yes, we go. We go there].

And about her husband's going to a nearby town, she uses:

wɑ:ɦ j-əmʃɛ   [Yes, he goes].

iii) jɔʁda

jɔʁda is used for

a. present/future conditional:

kʷa:n tku:ni ha:nja tɔʁdɛ r-rɔ:ɦək   [If you have time, you'll go (there) by yourself]

b. future reference (but also as a lexical infinitive verb for "to go"):

ʁɑ:dɛ jɔʁdɔ ləd-dza:jərr wə-j-ɦawwsɔ wi ʒɔ   [They're going to Algiers to have a nice time and come back]; and

c. past conditional: kʷa:n mʃi:t ʔana   [If I had gone myself"].

2) A proximity series distribution

During several interviews, speakers are observed to use a given variant and repeat it in a series of tokens all throughout some parts of the conversation, despite their use of other variants in other parts of their discourse. I have labelled this a "proximity series": some lexemes remain identical simply because they follow one another (and are thus in a proximity relation). This is illustrated by Reqia's speech.

-Reqia, 72

During the indirect, open interview, in which her speech displays a rather "stabilized" urban dialect, she shows extreme variation in her use of "to go". It is true that this lexical variable is undergoing change, with rɑ:ɦ scoring highest in the speech of young urbans.

In Reqia's speech, the 41 variants for "to go" are distributed as follows:

    i) jɔʁda: 9 occurrences
    ii) rɑ:ɦ: 19 occurrences
    iii) mʃa: 11 occurrences

The 40-minute face-to-face conversation was divided into 4 major chronological parts: the first part contains a relatively equal number of the three variants: 4 jɔʁda; 5 rɑ:ɦ, and 3 mʃa. The second part includes 2 jɔʁda; 4 rɑ:ɦ, and 2 mʃa. The third part displays 1jɔʁda; 10 rɑ:ɦ, and 1 mʃa. Finally, the fourth part shows occurrences of 2 jɔʁda; 1 rɑ:ɦ, and 6 mʃa. The use of each of the variants often coincides with some morpho-syntactico-semantic "constraints":

In the casual, indirect interview of 72 year-old Reqia, *ra:ɦ* is scattered all throughout the conversation (19 occurrences); nonetheless, it reaches a peak not only in the middle of the conversation but also shows the highest point (10 occurrences and not mere repetitions) when Reqia tells about some of her (Moroccan) relatives who (had been displaced almost against their will) from Algeria, an episode which might have been painful to her. More than that, the variant *ra:ɦ* totals 10 occurrences out of the 11 grouped occurrences in the same speech event, with only one occurrence of *jɔʁda*. The same process repeats itself when she starts using *mʃa*, resulting in a series of 6 occurrences of mʃa.

3. Stylistic variation and accommodation among Belabbesi speakers

Variation among Belabbesi speakers is not always handled by syntactico-semantic or serial proximity constraints. The formal or informal nature of a given conversation, the situation as well as the identity of the participating interlocutors, are found to yield different speech styles and thus the use of the corresponding speech variants. Two types of interview were conducted: some of them were formal while others were informal, which were not deliberate choices on my part; eventually and in order to check for variation, I decided to carry out indirect and direct interviews with the same consultant in different situations. This is the case for Reqia, with whom I conducted two types of interview: one during an evening that I spent among the family, where she recalled how her parents and her had been trying to survive during the 1950s and at the beginning of the 60s; the other interview was an "assignment", where she was asked to translate into Arabic -it was not initially specified what variety- a passage read to her in French (an English translation may be found in Appendix 2).

a. Informal style in indirect interviews: Reqia, 72

As shown in the proximity series distribution above, the casual, indirect interview unveils Reqia's extreme variation in her use of the lexical variants for "to go", displaying the three variants (jɔʁda, rɑ:ɦ and mʃa), but where jrɔ:ɦ is predominantly present, totalising half the occurrences for "to go" and the other half divided between *jɔʁda* and mʃa. Despite the morpho-syntactic constraints -at least concerning the variant *jɔʁda*, which -to my knowledge- generally does not accept past, and the variant *mʃa,* only used in (past) perfected forms in Reqia's speech, the urban form rɑ:ɦ -which bears no morpho-syntactic constraints (ie. accepts all tenses and aspects)- seems to be gradually entering the realm of Reqia's speech.

b. Formal style in direct interviews

-Abdelghafour, 68

The use of formal style may be found in an excerpt of a conversation with Abdelghafour, a singer, who claims Belabbesi descent: " from a Belabbesi father and a Belabbesi mother". Educated during the colonial period, Abdelghafour received a long training and worked for the rail company SNCF ("*Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer*"), after which he went to France for a few years. During the colonial period, he was a musician: he played the guitar and was considered as a promising baryton. After independence, he was a member of an orchestra. After a short "break" in the 1990s, he went back to singing again and recorded a number of albums.

Abdelghafour code-switches between Arabic and French and displays a mixed style: half interdentals (mostly time adverbs (ḏarwak/ḏɔkk, " now" and place adverbs (ɵəmma and ɵəmma:k), and half dentals (almost all demonstratives: ha:da, " this-masc." but also adverbs : təmma " there". He also uses both CA and the dialectal SBA variety, displaying a high frequency of mʃa (7 occurrences out of 8), and as his use of other formal variants and appeal to MSA and many expressions in Classical Arabic seem to suggest, he was clearly giving a formal (style) account of his musical experience, with artists of Tlemcen and SBA origin:

*Lorsque j'étais avec l'orchestre/j'ai participé au concours/à l'examen des amateurs/**mʃi:t** əl-wahrann/les paroles ət-t*a:wʕɛ/*j'ai pris l'arabe comme deuxième langue/les années cinquante six hagda:k/cinquante sept/l'arabe était une langue étrangère/mən θamm*a:*k dxalt naqra l-madrasa*

[While I was with the orchestra, I participated in the contest...in the amateur song contest. I went to Oran; the lyrics were mine -I had taken Arabic as a second language. In the years 56... about that time...57... from then on, [Classical] Arabic was a foreign language, I went to study in the *Medersa*.]

Recalling a day he was invited by a well-known Belabbesi singer to join his band, Abdelghafour also uses *mʃa,* while *ʁa:dɛ* expresses "to be about to/to be going to" :

*galli ʒa:rna ʕla:ʃ ma-tətʕallamʃ mʃa l-mqallaʃ/ j'étais à bərʃa:ŋtɔ [Barrio Alto] wəl-mqalləʃʃ f-ət̞-t̞ɔ:ba/xallu:ni nəbkɛ/ja-z-zi:na//ðɔkk ɦʃəmt/ga:l-li xalli:ni ʔana: **nəmʃɛ** ʕandah/j'étais timide(jeune)/ajja ki: **mʃa**/même pas un quart d'heure/gal-lək rwa:ɦ//gal-li ʁadwa ʔarwaɦ **ʁa:dɛ** trɛpɛ:tɛ mʃa:na* [Our neighbour said to me "Why don't you learn with El-Mqallesh?"I was in berianto (Barrio Alto) and El-Mqallesh in Toba. "Let me cry"; "ya Zina"...well Iwas embarrassed...He said let me go and see him. I was timid...young. So when he went...less a quarter of an hour later..."he asks you to come". He said "tomorrow, come; you are going to rehearse with us".]

Abdelghafour's unique occurrence of *ra:ɦ* (actually *rawwaɦ)* was when he recalls a day when he went to rehearse with the SBA singer, passing by a place that the interviewer happened to know:

*təmmaʕk əl maqqabra ki: kʰa:nət qdi:ma/ɦadi:k əs sa:gʃa/**rawwan** /ajja/təmma:k/ʕand lɛ zɔliviɛ/ɵəmma:k* [There, when the cemetery was old, that river...He went...so...there...near the olive trees...there].

-Rachid, 35

Though Rachid's speech displays an almost equal share between rɑːɦ and mʃa and his use of jrɔːɦ shows a similar tendency among other speakers (e.g., Reqia and Jihane) for present/ future reference and after subordinate and time conjunctions such as *lʷukkaːn* "if"; *ki* "when"; *wǝlla* "or") when mʃa is almost always used with reference to past (or even past conditional): mʃiːt; mʃiːna "I/we went" (Jihane) or- in some cases, present for narratives and habits: nǝmʃʊ "we go" (Jihane and others), his use of mʃa may also be related to the style in which he intends his "speech", knowing that his use of *mʃa* coincides with his use of the formal standard variant *l waːlɑ* for " father" **:**

> *kʊtt nǝbʁɛ l baɦr/**nǝmʃɛ** mʕǝ l **waːlǝd** ǝttaːʕɛ lǝl baɦr*
> [I enjoyed the seaside/I used to go with my father to the seaside]

His speech also exhibits switching as well as mixing of French and (the SBA) vernacular:

> *dɛ zɛspɛs ǝllʊwla trɔːɦ/ ddɛzɛkilibra/dɔk ɦna ɦadaː hʊwwa l/*
> [The first species go (disappear) and create an imbalance...so we...this is the thing that...]

4.5.3.2 Variation in the verb "to go" among speakers of Tlemceni origin

The variant *mʃa* is undoubtedly a Tlemcen feature, attested in Marçais's monograph (1902). Though elder Tlemceni women living in SBA have maintained mʃa (see Khalida in 4.3.2.1), this variant is now gradually shifting to rɑːɦ . For example, Khalida's son, Adel, is found to have almost focused his use of rɑːɦ when Hamid, a commuter, alternates between rɑːɦ and mʃa.

-Adel, 32

Adel is Khalida's 32 year-old son, the youngest of a four-generational family of Tlemceni settlers. He gave up school after he failed the "*Baccalauréat*" exam and now has a small grocer's shop next to his parents' house. He is single and lives in a flat in a new neighbouhood in *SBA*. He and his family also have frequent contact with relatives living in Oran and Algiers, as many Tlemcenis live there. Despite his comfortable life, he expresses his

fellow youths' absence of future perspectives and unequality in Algerian society.

During one of the first conversations, Adel totals exclusive use of (9) ra:ɦ occurrences; however, during a short telephone call when, while I was still in Sidi Bel-Abbes, I asked him if he was available, he uses *mʃa* when asking *me* if I was going back to Algiers but uses *jɔʁda* when speaking about what *he* was going to do :

A. rɑ:kɛ **ma:ʃja** l-ʔalʒɛ/ waqɛla   [You're going to Algiers, aren't you?]

N.: kʊtt ma:ʃja l-ʔalʒɛ/finaləmã/   [I was going to Algiers/on second thought]

ʒə vʊlɛ tə dœmãdɛ/ʒatnɛ une idée/   [I wanted to ask you/ I have an idea

ty ɛ libʁ sɛt apʁɛ midi   [Are you available this afternoon ?}

A. malœʁœzmã, ja: mada:m/   [Unfortunately, Madam,]

ʔɑ:nɛ **ʁɑ:dɛ** n-sɑjjad   [I'm going fishing]

N.: wi/rɑ:k **ʁɑ:dɛ** t-sɑjjad/ʔɛ̃   [You're going fishing, I see…]

A. ʔɑ:nɛ **ʁɑ:dɛ** l-la plɑ:ʒ avɛk dɛ zami// [I'm going to the seaside with some friends].

All of ma:ʃi/ma:ʃja (from mʃa) , ʁɑ:dɛ (from jɔʁda) and rɑ:jaɦ (from rɑ:ɦ) carry the meaning of "be going to/be about to"; therefore, Adel's use of ʁɑ:dɛ in the excerpt above cannot be considered as an instance of the old SBA variant jɔʁda but rather as an equivalent of of ma:ʃi/ma:ʃja and rɑ:jaɦ/rɑ:jɦɑ. This means that Adel uses rɑ:ɦ predominantly.

-Hamid, 32

Hamid (see bio in 4.3.2.4) generally uses *mʃa* for all the instances of « to go » in the past: ki: mʃi:t lʕand ʊ/gal-li jxɔssakk *la carte bleue* [When I went to (see) him, he said (to me) "you need the blue card"], except for one instance in the infinitive, where Hamid uses it in the mouth of the man: ajja nəmʃʊ "let's go". He uses *ra:ɦ* in the imperative (e.g., rɔ:ɦ) and for future reference, in particular when he reports the man's aggressive talk: win mʷɑ bʁɛ:t trɔ:ɦ rɔ:ɦ "wherever you wanna go, go" (ie, do whatever you wanna do; I'm not giving you the job).

His occurrences of "to go" are distributed as follows (see excerpt 12):

i.   In the passage where he reports *to me* where *he* went (he uses mʃi:na ,"We went"to mean *he* went, many occurrences of 1st pers. pl sometimes referring to the person), exclusive use of mʃa is made;

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ii. when he reports what *the man* said to him, he makes exclusive use of rɔ:ɦ.

iii. when the interaction becomes tense, Hamid uses the variant rɑ:ɦ in the mouth of the man; and

iv. when he uses *ga:l-li* "he said to me", he matches it with SBA *təbʁɛ* "you want" and trɔ:ɦ/rɔ:ɦ/*ra:ɦ "you go/he went/go"*.

Hamid's speech displays predominant use of *mʃa* used by both Hamid and the man whom he addressed to obtain a job; however, the last use of *mʃa* in the mouth of the man occurs when they are still in the office, after which all the occurrences of what the man said to Hamid are in rɔ:ɦ, which might be indicative of the use of more "virile" and aggressive style, adding to this, the use of SBA g in ga:l-li and təbʁɛ "you want" -as opposed to Tlemcen/Algiers tʃɶbb :

gal-li win mmʷa bʁɛ:t trɔ:ɦ rɔ:ɦ　　[He said to me wherever you wanna go, go]

4.5.3.3 Is *mʃa* a Tlemcen or an old SBA variant (or both)?

Farida's mother has many Tlemceni women friends and it is therefore conceivable that not only may *mʃa* be considered as a formal variant by 22 year-old Farida - she did not know me when she answered my call on her mother's telephone and, her mother not being at home, I was therefore able to interview her- but it may also be a subtratum of her communal rural dialect. The variant *mʃa* may also be seen as a prestige urban variant in casual speech since she also used it when she recalled her childhood and primary school memories later in the conversation after the ice was broken. The other question is whether mʃa is an old rural Sba variant which is disappearing, an old Tlemcen variant, a new urban variant which is (re)appearing, or all of these together. In addition to Farida and her mother, this use of mʃa as a prestige variant has also been observed in Jihane's speech, who claims Turkish ancestry (and therefore related to Tlemcen since many Tlemcenis claim Turkish origin). We observe that the same features are found in this type of "profile": phonological (e.g., high occurrences of dentals, long vowels instead of diphthongisation (and vice versa), vowel-elision, and *mʃa,* among other features. A further difficulty springs out as the use of mʃa is also observed in the speech of elder speakers of Belabbesi rural origin. Is it a coincidence that Abdelghafour, Rachid and Farida -all of Belabbesi rural parents and grand-parents- exhibit significantly high occurrences of ***mʃa?*** This question may be answered when further investigations have been carried out.

4.5.3.4 Concluding remarks on "to go"

The data unveil that the lexical variant mʃa is undoubtedly a characteristic feature of Tlemcen; while fourth generation-born speakers (e.g.,Salima and Adel), older speakers of Tlemceni origin that I interviewed use *mʃa* exclusively except when they report what is said to them by others, in which case they use *ra:ħ* , as in the case of Hamid, where again *ra:ħ* seems to be considered as an urban SBA variant. As for SBA speakers, the oldest group display a large spectrum of semantic nuances, as well as syntactico-semantic constraints.. Among the SBA speakers aged 40-86, except for 68 year-old Abdelghafour, who uses *mʃa* predominantly, the male speakers show higher occurrences of rɑ:ħ than their female counterparts, who exhibit higher use of jɔʁda. Younger speakers of SBA seem to prefer rɑ:ħ, some of them totalling 100%, with exceptions shown in the speech of 2nd generation-born Farida, who displays exclusive use of mʃa , knowing that the use of mʃa among many speakers of rural origin may be explained by the tight social relations that they maintain with Tlemceni speakers. The results for the oldest group of SBA show that mʃa is not attested in the oldest (86-75) age group, but it is found in the speech of the 60-70 year-old urban speakers Reqia and Abdelghafour; in that of the 66 year-old rural speakers Khdija and Zoulikha; it is also attested in the speech of middle-aged rural and urban speakers: Hajla, who totals 26.1% and Jihane, who scores 14.3%. While among the 30 year olds, Rachid and Adel use it as a formal variant, mʃa disappears totally from the speech of the 20-15 year olds except for the 14 year-old settler of rural origin, Amina, who scores 5.6% of mʃa. The question is: "Is *mʃa* a substratum of her rural origin or a new urban prestige feature that she is acquiring? Unlike her age group peers, Farida, 22, uses mʃa exclusively.When we consider all the results on the use of *mʃa*, it is not impossible that it is an old feature of *both* SBA and Tlemcen. Evidence that *mʃa* is an old feature of Tlemcen is provided by Philippe Marçais (1902); unfortunately, descriptive works on this feature in the old speech of SBA (or even Oran) is lacking.

4.5.3.5 "To call"; "to phone": lʁa and ʕajjaṭ

While *lʁa* is the old SBA rural variant, *ʕajjaṭ* is the new urban SBA variant, originally a sedentary Tlemcen (and Algiers) feature. The change of this lexical feature from **lʁa** to *ʕajjaṭ* first begins with extreme variation and accommodation (i.e. according to the in/formality of the situation), then comes the reallocation by some speakers of *lʁa* to mean

"to call/name someone"and *ʕajjaṭ* for "to call on the telephone", and finally the complete levelling out of the old rural feature *lʁa* and the focusing of the urban feature *ʕajjaṭ* for both senses (i.e. "call" and "phone").

i) Extreme variation and accommodation: Reqia, 72

Among the noticeable differences between the two types of interview, we find that Reqia uses the lexical variant *lʁa*, "to call" all throughout the indirect, open interview, but she uses both *ʕajjaṭ* and *lʁa* in the directive interview (see Appendix 2). She uses *lʁa* when she reports what the old woman says :

*ʒa:t hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja **lʁa:t** l mu:l əl-maħall/gatlah ʔarwaħ ʔa wəldɛ/lʁa:t l hada:k mu:l əl-qahwa[...]ba:ʃ n-**əlʁa** l wəldɛ*[44]

[So the old woman called the waiter/ and said to him: "Come, my son/she called the café owner[...] "to call my son?"]

However, when she reports what the young café waiter says, she uses *ʕajjaṭ :*

*mu:l/əl-qahwa:ʒɛ gallha ma-naʒʒəmʃ/tnaʒʒmɛ tɔxxɔrʒɛ barra wə tʃu:ɬɛ un taxiphone ʊ **ʕajjɬɛ** l wəldak mənnah*

[The waiter said to her:"I can't/You can go to a public telephone to call your son"]

Knowing that Reqia uses the two different variants of "to call" in the same excerpt further confirms that she makes a sharp distinction between the two variants, the choice of which is determined by her representations of the speech of each "character", young and old. It is clearly shown that the 3 instances of "to call" as used by the old woman are all old SBA ***lʁa*** while the single instance of "to call" by the young waiter is new urban SBA *ʕajjaṭ* :

*ʒa:t hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja **lʁa:t** l mu:l əl-maħall/gatlah ʔarwaħ ʔa wəldɛ/*
[The old woman called the waiter... she said to him: "Come, my son"...

***lʁa:t** l hada:k mu:l əl-qahwa/ga:tlah ʔarwa:ħ la-tnaʒʒəm nahdarr ʃ ət-tilifu:n ʕandak*
She called the café owner...and said to him: "Come, if you could (let me) use your phone...

*ba:ʃ n-**əlʁa** l wəldɛ/mu:l/əl-qahwa:ʒɛ gallha ma-naʒʒəmʃ/*
to call my son. The café owner said to her: "I can't...

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[44] The café waiter being young, Reqia addresses him with *ʔa wəldɛ*, "Oh, my son".

tnaʒʒmɛ tɔxxɔrʒɛ barra wə tʃu:fɛ un taxiphone ʊ ʕajjṭɛ l wəldak

You can go out and see a payphone to call your son"].

ii) Private and public space: Nesrine, 14

In public space and with her peers and/or out-group members, Nesrine, the 14 year-old college pupil, displays higher occurrences of urban features than her mother, Jihane, and her grand-mother Khdija. However, she maintains some of their features when she addresses her relatives at home. This is clearly displayed in the following two-part excerpt containing the two variants of "to call": she uses *ʕajjaṭ* when speaking to me and *lʁa* when addressing her younger sister:

ʕajjaṭ

fadɛ:la ʁɛ tsaqsɛ ʕli:k/la ʕajjatɛ// ma-ʕajjattɛlɛ:ʃ ʕandak fi ʃħa:l//

[Fadela is always asking about you.You have not called me for a long time.]

fadɛ:la ga:tlɛ la- ʕajṭatt ʕajṭe:lɛ   [Fadela said to me if she calls, call me].

Lʁa

When I asked her if her aunt Noria was there, she started calling: Noria, Noria, Noria. Then, receiving no answer -her aunt was downstairs- she addressed her younger 8 year-old sister Ryma with : *rɔ:ħɛ **lʁɛ**-lha [go call her!].*

iii) Semantic reallocation
-Samir, 20

Samir is a university student, who was born in Telagh, like his sister Amina. He says that he uses his community's (rural) variant *lʁa* at home and the urban variant *ʕajjaṭṭ* outside and with his peers. However, this is not that straightforward. During the direct interview, Samir's speech displays extreme variation: he sometimes uses both variants to mean "to call" and the urban variant to mean "to call someone on the telephone", though the latter meaning is also at times expressed by means of the rural variant *lʁa*.This is ilustrated below :

N.: *w əʃ ʃibanijja nta tgʊllħa lʁɛ l ʔamina wəlla tgʊllħa ʕajjṭɛ l ʔamina*
Samir: *əlla..ħa:kka ʃ əd da:r/ŋgʊllħa lʁɛ l ʔamina*
N.: *tgʊl lʁɛ*

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Samir: *wa:ħ f əd da:r ŋgʊl lʁɛ*

N.: *tsəmma f əd da:r taħdarr ħa:kka w mi:n tɔxrɔʒʒ ħadra waħid ɔxra*

Samir: *əlla/f ət tilifu:n ki: nəbʁɛ naħdarr wəlla f ət tilifu:n/ŋgʊl nʕajjaṭlaħ da:k əs sɛjjɛd*

N.: *saħħa/l sa:ħbak mi:n tɔxxɔrʒɔ trɔ:ħ əl da:rħɔm/tgʊlħɔm ʕajjaṭ l ə fla:n wəlla lʁɔ l ə fla:n*

Samir: *ʕajjṭɔ l əf fla:n/ʕajjṭɔ*

N.: *l ʕamina*

Samir: *əlla/des fois ŋgʊl ʕajjṭɔ des fois ŋgʊl lʁɔ...*

Translation of the excerpt above

[N.: And the old woman (Sid's mother), you say to her call [lʁɛ l] Amina or call [ʕajjṭɛ l] Amina?

Sid Ahmed: No, when I'm at home, I say call [lʁɛ l] Amina"

N.: You say [lʁɛ] "call"

Sid Ahmed: Yes, at home, I say [lʁɛ] "call".

N.: So at home you speak like that and when you go out, there's another way of speaking.

Sid: No, on the telephone, when I want to speak on the telephone

I say [nʕajjaṭlaħ] "I'll call that gentleman".

N.: OK. To your friend, when you go out...you go to his place...

You say to them [ʕajjaṭ] "call Mister X or [lʁɔ] "call Mister X"?

Samir: *ʕajjṭɔ* ("call") Mister X

N.: To Amina?

Samir: No, sometimes, I say *ʕajjṭɔ* ("call") and sometimes I say lʁɔ "call")....]

   -Rayane

       Rayane clearly distinguishes lʁa "to call out/yell" from j- ʕajjaṭṭ "to call on the telephone".Yet the question whether her use of lʁa is due to her representation of the old woman's speech or whether this use of lʁa reflects Rayane's variation remains open, due to insufficient data:

*hijja hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja **lʁa:t** əl hada:k əlli jaxdamm fəl qahwa*/

[That old woman **called** that (one) who worked in the café]

ət-tilifu:n ət-ta:ʕak ba:ʃ n- ʕajjaṭṭ ʔl wəldɛ   [your phone so that I call my son]

4.5.3.6 "To be able to": *jnaʒʒam*; *jqadd*; *jaqdarr*

The form *jnaʒʒam* is an old SBA variant; *jqadd*, whose origin is Oran, is now also characteristic of young urban belabbesis in casual speech; and *jaqdarr* coexists with the jnaʒʒam. The lexical regional discrepancies now tend to disappear, and although the form jnaʒʒam is used by both the old age group elder speakers -who make use of a variety of lexemes for "to be able to", showing refined nuances- and by less old rural speakers such as Khdija (66), many urban Belabbesi speakers seem to have adopted *jqadd*, but to varying degrees, as this variant coexists with the other two for both semantico-pragmatic and situational reasons, as shown in the 3 cases below.

1) Semantic variation: Reqia, 72

Reqia's casual speech in the indirect interview totals exclusive use of (ma-)jqadd(ʃ) for "can/cannot", but she displays much variation in the direct(ive) interview, where she was asked to translate a passage said to her in French (Appendix 2), as she uses three different variants of "can/be able to": the old SBA *j-naʒʒam*; the Oran *jqadd* and the Algiers (and a Classical/Standard Arabic form) *jaqdarı*. Thus, "mental" (in)ability and asking for permission are expressed by means of ma-n-əʒʒəmʃ "I can/not" while physical inability is expressed with ma-tqaddʃ "she cannot". As for the third variant ma-qadratʃ, it is equated with the formality of her style when she mentions the government:

> **a.** Mental (in)ability: ha:dik əl-ɦa:ʒa **ma-n-aʒʒəmʃ** kifa:ʃ nɑwsɑfha
>
> [That thing I cannot describe]

> **b**. Asking for permission:
> ga:tlah ʔɑrwa:ɦ la **t-naʒʒam** nahdar f ət-tilifu:n ʕandak
> [She asked him "if he could (let me) speak with his telephone"]

2) Stylistic variation
-Reqia, 72

Reqia's use of jaqdarr "coincides" with formalily when she mention əd-dəwla "the government", the latter term triggering more formal style. Thus, when she translates the

government's inability to help the old woman, she uses not only the more formal (mixed CA and Algiers) ma-qadratʃ "it could not" (instead of the more vernacular ma-naʒʒmətʃ) but also accompanies it with the CA tsaʕədnɛ "help me" (instead of tʕawwənnɛ):

əd-dəwla **ma-qadratʃ** ga:ʕ tsaʕədnɛ   [The government could not help me at all]

-Rachid, 35

Using the variant *jaqdarr* in formal situations is further confirmed by Rachid's speech, as he uses 93.7% of the formal (MSA) variant *jaqdarr* and 6.2% of the old SBA jnaʒʒam. Out of the 16 occurrences of "can/nannot", he uses 15 jaqdarr, a feature of Algiers and Classical Arabic feature, which may be further evidence that the formal prestige variant for "to be able to" is jaqdarr.

3) Accommodation: Jihane, 47

In casual speech, Jihane also makes use of the urban informal feature *jqadd* predominantly, except when she wants to accommodate to my speech (I used jnaʒʒam when addressing her), thus marking emphasis, as in the following exchange:

N.: Ɂana kʷa:n j-ʒi:ni n-nʕa:s wəɫɫah ʁɛ nərgɔdd   [If I coul fall asleep, I swear I'd sleep]

Jihane: *la mi:n wa:ləftɛ/ɦja:tək xadma/**ma-tqaddɛ:ʃ***   [It's only because you're used to it.

                                                [Your whole life is work; you cannot(sleep)]

Jihane: *fhamtɛ/ma-tnaʒʒmi:ʃ*   [You understand? You cannot]

Jihane: *kʷa:n gʕattɛ ʃhar wəlla ʃahrɛ:n fəd-da:r/twa:lfɛ/bəssaɦ ḍarwak **ma-tqaddi:ʃ***//
[If you had stayed at home a month or two, you might have got used to it. But now you can't.]

Jihane: *Ɂana wəlli:t kʷa:n ma n-nɦɔtʃ ra:sɛ sa:ʕa wəlla...**ma n aʒʒəmʃ** ndi:r ɦa:ʒa*
[Now if I don't put down my head (i.e. sleep) an hour or so...I won't be able to do anything].

4.5.3.7 Time adjuncts: "This year"; "last year"; "tomorrow"; "yesterday"

The old SBA variants for time adjuncts are: əs-sna "this year", ʕam lʊwwəll "last year", ʁda "tomorrow", and ja:məs "yesterday" while the urban variants are: ha:d əl-ʕa:m, əl-ʕa:m li:fa:t, ʁadwa, and əl baraɦ. There is no variation in time adjuncts in El-Hadj's and Zahra's speech; they use the old variants all throughout the interviews while other (younger) speakers display variation, for example, Reqia.

-Reqia, 72

What may be significant is that *əl ba:raɦ* occurs alongside *əʃ-ʃa:raʕ* (*the CA equivalent of the vernacular əʒ ʐɔŋqa* or *əṭ trɛ:g*) in Reqia's use of more formal style, thus providing evidence that the formality of the situation or of the style triggers the use of Classical/standard Arabic terms alongside urban variants. Further style-adjusting takes place when, confronted -in the telephone interview- with the two variables for "last year", she starts using the old variant *ʕam lʊwwəll*, immediately "correcting" with *əl-ʕa:m li: fa:t*. When asked what justified her hesitation and final choice, she insisted that she did not mean to use ʕam lʊwwəll , adding that it did not carry the intended meaning. Reqia solemnly starts using the urban variant əl-ba:raɦ for "yesterday" and the classical variant əʃ-ʃa:raʕ for "street". When asked to use the dialectal variants, she switches to ja:məs and əṭ-ṭrɛ:g/əz-zɔ̃qɑ. This means that she relates the urban variant with formality and the old rural variant with informality:

əl ba:raɦ /ki kɔnt n-ətməʃʃa/fə/fəʃ-ʃa:raʃ

N.: bəl-ʕarbijja ta:ʕ kəll jɔ:m

Reqia: bəd-dariʒa

N.: wɑ:h/bəd-dariʒa

Reqia: ja:məs/ja:məs/kima ŋgu:lʊ ɦna/ja:məs/lju:m wəlla ja:məs/ja:məs ki: kɔtt n-nətməʃʃa fəṭ ṭrɛ:g/ fəʒ ʐɔŋqɑ /kɔtt ma:ʃʃa l-dɑ:rɛ/ba:ʃ n-əmʃɛ ldɑ:rɛ//ʃɔft waɦid əl ɦa:ʒa/ma-ʕrɑftʃ kifa:ʃ nwɑsɑfhɑ/

Reqia's "choice" of different variants might reflect the idea that each variant is used in a particular situation and thus, a change of style -in as much as it is equated with a change of situation- yields a change of variant. However, during the telephone conversation, and when I asked which of the two variants she really uses (she used one, then she changed for another),

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she insisted on saying that she uses *əl ba:raɦ* :

N.: ʕamm lʊwwəl wəlla l ʕa:m li: fa:t	["(the) first year" or "last year"?]
Reqia: lla/əl-ʕa:m li: fa:t	[No, last year]
N.: wə ʕla:ʃ gʊltɛ ʕamm lʊwwəl?	[And why did you say " (the)first year"?]
Reqia: lla/əl-ʕa:m lʊwwəl/ŋgu:lɔ l ʕa:m li: fa:t	[No, first year...we say last year]
N.: bəssaɦ ʕla:ʃ gʊltɛ ʕamm lʊwwəl	[But why did you say "first year"?]
Reqia: L'année dernière hijja əl-ʕa:m li: fa:t	[Reqia: Last year (French) is last year]
N.: Hier?	[Yesterday?]
Reqia: *əl ba:raɦ*	[Reqia: *əl ba:raɦ* (yesterday)]

4.5.3.8 Urban and formal variants

Though the four groups of variants jɔʁda , *ra:ɦ* , *mʃa* "to go"; lʁa/ʕajjaṭṭ "to call"; naʒəmm/qadd/qdarr "be able to"; ja:məs/*əl ba:raɦ* "yesterday/last night"still belong to the verbal repertoire of many speakers of rural or Belabbesi origin, they are undergoing change. Thus in Sidi Bel-Abbes, the first stage of change is observed in the extreme variation and mix and rudimentary levelling. The second stage manifests itself in the levelling out of either a) *demographically minority* forms or b) stigmatised forms (e.g., SBA interdentals and Tlemcen glottal stop, namely), the simplification, and the regularisation of the features of the contributing dialects; this is followed by the semantic, stylistic and situational reallocation of the input dialect variants. The ultimate stage is the focusing of the new (urban) variants. However, the use of one variant in place of another may also indicate their social status. For example, the speakers' use of the variants *ra:ɦ ; ʕajjaṭṭ ; qadd* and *əl ba:raɦ* in public space for casual speech is evidence of their urban status; the use of *qdarr* and perhaps *mʃa* may be equated with more formal style. Further evidence is the total absence of *qadd in* Reqia's formal interview and her use of it in the informal interview, in addition to Rachid's exclusive use of *qdarr* in the formality attached to his interview.

4.5.3.9   Understanding variation and accommodation in Sidi Bel-Abbes

In a dialect contact situation such as that which prevails in Sidi Bel-Abbes, many speakers accommodate to what they think to be the prestige or appropriate features are; these features may be those of the place of contact or demographically a majority variant- group or

language variety. By powerful group is meant the group that has legitimacy of a territorial, socio-economic or cultural nature. For example, the historically oldest attested speech in Sidi Bel-Abbes being essentially bedouin, the dialect spoken there is more closely related to SBA than to Tlemcen, from where migrants set out. On the other hand, speakers are seen to adopt new urban features quite different from their old rural ones; some of these features are characteristic of sedentary or old city centre dialects such as Tlemcen and the capital city Algiers. Also, important discrepancies are found between the two communities when it comes to men and women. While all men and women of SBA rural origin accommodate to the new urban features, thus levelling out the features of their original dialect, among the speakers of Tlemceni origin, only men are found to accommodate and level out while women maintain their Tlemceni features unless there are very high constraints, in which case, they either switch to French or use the Algiers dialect, with which many of the Tlemcen consultants seem to be very familiar, as they happen to have either lived, travelled, or have relatives in the capital city. This being said, there are significant differences between the speech variants of the lawyer Ali, who lives in Sidi Bel-Abbes, and those of the coach conductor Hamid, who lives in Tlemcen. Even though both Ali and Hamid (as well as many other Tlemceni men) have levelled out the glottal stop ?, displaying co-occurence of q and g, they show other fundamental differences: Ali uses a few SBA morpho-syntactic features (e.g., bdi:t " I started") but fewer occurrences of g and -ah than Hamid, who displays predominant use of g but maintains some morpho-syntactic features such as verbs in -aj and -iw, labialisation, and (rural?) Tlemcen bəddi:t "I started". Other speakers of both Tlemceni and rural SBA origins display significant discrepancies; this is discussed below.

4.6 Education, social networks, and communities of Practice

Speakers living in Sidi Bel-Abbes are not all *equal* when it comes to dialectal variation and change. In previous section dealing with maintenance, levelling and acoommodation, it was stated -both from the quantitative and qualitative viewpoints - that the speech of Belabessi dwellers takes different trajectories as to the direction of their dialectal variety or the degree of change. The time has now come to deal with a description of these trajectories.

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4.6.1 Case studies: individual speakers and comparative descriptions

While among the SBA and SL speakers of the eldest group and that of the 20 year olds display homogeneous dialectal practices and other urban features, the other age groups differ greatly not only with respect to the time of migration and/or education but also their social networks and communities of practice (for a definition of these terms, see 1.6.5 , 4.2). Some cases will be discussed and compared: Ali and Hamid; Zoulikha and Khdija, Abdelghafour, Abdelkader, Adel, Farid, Bilal and Mounir.

4.6.1.1 Profession and workplace

- Ali versus Hamid

Hamid was born and brought up in Tlemcen, where he lives and spends most of his time when he is not working while Ali came to SBA some 30 years ago. Ali is educated whereas Hamid is not. They both spent some time in Algiers , Ali for his university studies and Hamid for professional reasons. Hamid works in a « virile » environment, and he has to deal with different types of people and "manly" behaviours; therefore, he needs to have the « appropriate » speech style in order to be respected, which makes him use some of the SBA (stereotypical) features (considered by many Algerians as unrefined and rural). On the other hand, Ali, though still showing the same avoidance as Hamid for the glottal stop, has replaced it by the Algiers (or CA) q. As for the -ah feature, Ali only uses it twice in the whole two-hour interview. Ali is able to monitor his speech because he is neither willing nor obliged to sound SBA.

4.6.1.2 Place of living and contact

- Zoulikha versus Khdija

Both Zoulikha and Khdija are 66 year-old illiterate women who came to Sidi Bel-Abbes at an early age; however, as mentioned in 4.4.1**,** they exhibit different speech features. While Khdija's speech has remained totally rural, Zoulikha is halfway towards achieving urban focusing. Khdija has lived in Sidi Lahcen with her husband and children with very little contact with urban people, and Zoulikha has lived in the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes with her daughters, two of whom have worked in Oran and Algiers, namely.

4.6.1.3 Contact and social networks

- Abdelghafour and the variant mʃa

In addition to his being received education and training as a railway expert and having lived in the city centre of SBA since his early childhood years, the story that 68 year-old Abdelghafour tells about how he had come to music unveils much about his network, as most of his music teachers /tutors and "classmates" were of (urban and) Tlemceni origin, a factor that may have contributed to the levelling out of some of his hitherto rural variants. While his speech exhibits a mix of interdentals and dentals, he presents quasi exclusive use of mʃa, with only a couple of occurrences of ra:ɦ.

4.6.1.4 A community of practice: Abdelkader and his coworkers

Abdelkader belongs to a strong community of practice of SBA male coach drivers: they work together, eat together, and sleep in the coach station when they arrive in the middle of the night, to resume work a few hours later. In addition to that, they sometimes spend their leisure time together outside their workplace.

4.6.1.5 A three-generational model and a social network: Adel

Unlike his brothers and sisters, who have all become doctors and pharmacists, to respect the family's tradition, Adel gave up school when he was a teenager; his social network is constituted of various acquaintances, among them older people already engaged in work. Though he is now 32, it is quite conceivable that, in his teens, -and according to a jot/burnout model- Adel was more of a burnout than a jot (see 4.2.2). This is particularly obvious in his speech, which is urban SBA with some Oran influences (e.g., Oran *jqa:raʕ* "he is waiting" instead of SBA *jəstanna*, the latter being gradually supplanted b*y jqa:raʕ* in new SBA speech), unlike the older Tlemcen speakers interviewed, who use j*əs/t/annaŋ* for example, Khalida, Ali, Sid Ahmed and, in particular, Farid, who is the same age (and origin).

4.6.1.6 A closed network of Tlemceni maintainers: Farid

Now living in a relatively posh neighbourhood, Farid is a 35 year-old pastry cook (and owner of a pastry-shop), who came from Tlemcen a few years ago. His speech, which he intends to be refined, is careful; his voice is soft, his manners are "studied". A factor which may have made him maintain his communal language may be that he has remained in a strong social closed network of Tlemcenis: he is married to a Tlemceni woman and has 2 children; he has Tlemceni friends; he is also keeping with the (Tlemceni) tradition, as he specializes in Turkish/Tlemceni pastry.

4.6.1.7 A community of practice and an open Tlemceni network: Bilal

When he addressed me in the presence of his (male) schoolmates, Bilal used mainly the variety he uses with them: the rural features, including the interdentals, which he realises as dentals when asked to repeat, as in the two excerpts below; for example, the lexical rural mʷa for "my mother" is also immediately "converted" into mɑ:mɑ. Whether he intended this correction as an attempt to adjust to his representation of my own urban (Algiers) variety of Arabic or to the SBA urban Arabic, this equally means that he considers the rural variety as less prestigious (and perhaps less intelligible or tougher) than the new urban variety. More than that, the fact that he uses rural SBA -and not urban SBA- may be further evidence that his playmates -with whom he constitutes a community of practice- also use rural SBA Arabic. Below are some examples:

Excerpt 1

N. winta taqrɔ l anglais	[When are you studying English?]
Bilal: nħar ləθni:n	[Monday('s day)]
N.: winta	[When?]
Bilal: nħɑr lətni:n	[Monday('s day)]

Excerpt 2:

N.: ʁadwa qajsa:ʃ təddɔxlɔ	[Tomorrow, what time do you start school?]
Bilal: əθ-θmənja	[Eight o'clock]

N.: qajsa:ʃ   [What time?]
Bilal: ət-tmənja   [Eight o'clock]
Excerpt 3

This excerpt might confirm the idea that he uses rural SBA with his peers

Bial: nrɔɦ mʕa mʷa   [I'll go with my mother]

N.: kifaɦ   [What?]

Bilal: mʕa mɑmɑ   [With my mother]

4.6.1.8 A burnout in the city: Mounir

When I first met him in 2008, Mounir was a promising 10 year-old teenager who was born in Sidi Lahcen. Grandson of Zahra (see her bio in 3.4.1), Mounir is Souad's son, 40, who had come to live with her parents after her divorce. In 2008 and until 2010, he was doing well at school, practising sports and theatre. Now Mounir is almost a dropout; due to social and health problems, he was unable to move up class twice. He is now mingling with young men older than him; he comes home very late; he is impertinent and temperamental with his mother and hates school and teachers.

i) Mounir in Sidi Lahcen in 2010

In a recording where Mounir explains why he does not like his new (Middle) school, he uses more dentals than interdentals, totalling 38 occurrences of dentals and 11 interdentals.

When he gets excited, Mounir sometimes uses interdentals:

   a. ʃtɛ ði:k əʃ ʃɪ:ra lli gɔtlak ʁɑ:dɛ n ʒi:bɦa/ɦallət ɦanʊ:t

[D' you remember that girl I said I was gonna bring her over here? She's opened a shop]

   b. xɑ:tər əl ʔʊstɑ:ða tɑ:ʕ ttarbijja madanija w ət tari:x w əʒ ʒɔʁrɑ:fjɑ...ɦɑ:ðɛ **tlɑ:ta** mawa:d tqɑrrɛ:ɦɑ

[Because the teacher of Civic Education and History and Geography...those (are the) three subjects she teaches].

c. When Mounir speaks about football, he uses both dentals and interdentals; however, he uses interdentals in his description of goal keeper football gloves that he wanted badly:

[…]ʕlaːɦ jdiːrʊ lɛgɔnaːt kima ɦaːðʊ [[This is] why they wear gloves like those]

ʊ ɦaːðʊːk lɛ gɔnaːt daˌjriːn kima ɦɑːk/wə ɦinaːja ʁʷɫɑːɖ

[Those gloves are like that...and here... they are thick]

d. Numerals and interdentals

In many recordings, Mounir uses interdentals and dentals in numbers:

ɦaːdɛ **tlaːta** mawaːd [These are three subjects]; **tlaːθa sɦɑːbɛ** [three of my friends.]

However, unlike old SBA speakers, including his grand-mother, who uses θmaːnja, "eight", Mounir says θmənja, an intermediate variant -shared by many 1st and 2nd generation-born speakers, though some of them use tmaːnja- which announces his near change for the urban feature tmənja, which he eventually acquires in 2013 (see table 21 below).

While in the first recording, interdentals and dentals co-occur for *ʔustaːd*, "teacher", the second recording (in his home and in the presence of two of his classmates) displays exclusive use of interdentals for this lexical item:

ʕandɛ ʁɛ **tlaːθa** sɦɑːbɛ (recording 2)   [I have only three friends]

ʔana zaːjəd f **əθ θmənja** w təsʕɛːn   [I was born in 98]

ii) **Mounir in Sidi Lahcen in 2011**

The data based on a conversation that Mounir had with his mother, his grand-mother and his grand-father about unfair teachers show that in 2011, Mounir's pourcentage of dentals drops, the high frequency of interdentals being due perhaps to his delight in describing the teacher' s misfortune (her fleeing from school) and thus the emphatic function of interdentals:

kiː daːrət ɦaːð əl ʔʊstaːða//rɑːɦət təӠrɛ [What did that teacher do? She ran away!]

As for "something", he uses ɦajja

In 2011, Mounir fell seriously ill and spent a month and a half in an Algiers hospital. Keeping diphthongization but displaying extreme variation in the use of *q* and *g* in "say" inflections, he is reporting what a girl he became acquainted with in the hospital said about seeing each other in the summer**:**

ljʊ:m wəlla ʁʊdwa trɔ:ħ   [She is leaving today or tomorrow]

qatlɛ fə sajf nʒɛ ʕandkɔm   [She said in the summer, I'll come to your place]

nʕajaʈlak ʊ gʊlli ʔama bħarr rɑ:k fi:ħ [I will call you, and tell me what

                                         beach you'll be on],

but still with some mixing: la:la/ twəlli sima:na [No, she will come back for a week]

iv) **Mounir in Sidi Lahcen in 2013**

a. Dentals

The excerpt below is from a 2013 conversation where Mounir says how he thinks teachers and educational supervisors can be unfair:

gʊtlaħ ʔa:/ki təmrɔḍḍ əl ʔusta:da   [I said to him : "well, when the teacher's ill]

t xarrʒʊ:ħa/bəssaħ ət tilmi:d ki jəmrɔḍḍ [you let her leave; when the pupil's ill]

ma j xarrʒʊ:ħ//j xallʊ:ħ jəqra/   [you don't let him leave. You force him to stay]

xaʈər ħʊma qra:w ʊ kəmmlʊ/   [because they (i.e. teachers) have studied and finished]

ħna ta:nɛ qrɛ:na w kəmmanna   [We, too, have studied and finished]

In 2013, Mounir had thus levelled out all the interdentals. He uses 100% of dentals, except for one occurrence of interdental to reply -in an emphatic manner- to his grandfather; the same lexical item is realised once with a dental and another time with an interdental, in a reply to his grand-father's blaming him for not respecting his educational supervisor:

jəḍɾɔbnɛ   [He beats me]

b. Diphthongization

While Mounir maintains diphthongization across the 3years, there are a few cognates that have undergone de-diphthongization; for example, (jəd̪d̪ɑrbɔ ʁɛ d̪d̪ɑrb)əʃʃɛːn [They beat only hard beating]. As for diphthongization in rɑːfi/rɑwwafi, it was leveled out completely in 2011, to reappear in 2013.

c. Lexicon

The variants wafidafi, "by himself/he alone" and fiaːʒa, "something" were already acquired in 2011; as for 2013, no data were collected on these particular variants and, therefore, there is no way of checking their maintenance or change.

Table 21: Mounir's dialectal change from 2010 to 2013

Features/Year	2010	2011 in SL	2011 in Algiers	2013
Dentals	77.55% Rec. 1	68.63%	100%	100- 96.00%
Merger (M): *Eight*	*M:ʕθmənja* Rec.2	Interd. : 31.37%	-------------------	*tmənja*
Going to: *ʁa:dɛ*	50%	-------------------	14.28%	------------------
Went: *ra:ɦ*	50%	100% (7)	85.71%	100%
Diphth. in past of "go": *rawwaɦ*	50%	0%	60%	50%
Diphthongization Long vowels	ma lqajtʃ əs-sʁɛ:ɾɑ	0% ʃwɑjja (əḍḍarb)əʃʃɛ:n	lqɑjt 2; sʁɑjjərr but: ʐɛfṭɔ:ɦ	gʷbɛjla 2
Find: Old SBA q:	təlqa/ɛ 2 (you find)	lqɑ:tɦɔm (he found them)	lqɑjt (I found) nəlqɑ (I find)	------------------
Algiers q in "he said": *qa:l*	-------------------	-------------------	52.63%	0%
g in "he said": ga:l	100%	100%	47.36%	100%
mʒəmmaʕ	mʒəmmaʕ 1	mʒəmmaʕ 2	-------------------	mʒəmmaʕ 1
Call: *ʕajjaṭṭ*	-------------------	-------------------	nʕajjaṭlak Reports what the girl had told him	ʕajjaṭṭ
Alone: waɦdɛ	-------------------	100% waɦdaɦ	waɦdɛ 2	------------------
Something: *ɦajja* vs. *ɦa:ʒa*	ɦajja (at home, in the presence of his classmates)	100% ɦa:ʒa (3)	-------------------	------------------
This year Last year	-------------------	ha:d əl ʕa:m əl ʕa:m li: fa:t	-------------------	------------------
Old SBA cognates	-------------------	sa:qərr (silent)	-------------------	------------------
Algiers cognates: She fled	-------------------	ɦɑrbətt	-------------------	------------------
Algiers Each other	-------------------	-------------------	Mʕa bɑʕḍɑ:ɦɔm	------------------
Algiers -ʊ	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	ʕandʊ
SBA Vowels in verbs	-------------------	-------------------	təskann	------------------

vi) **Mounir and Classical/Standard Arabic**

Mounir uses the dental merger d for d and ð when he reports his teachers' warnings in Classical Arabic words such as ʔinda:r, "warning"and taʔdɛ:b "discipline"which, in CA, are *ʕinða:ɪ* and *taʔdi:b* :

əl ʔasatiða lli rɑ:ɦɔm jqarrɔ:nɑ	[The teachers who are teaching us
ɦa:d əl ʕa:m nta:ʔ əl ʔa:m li: fa:t	[this year ('s teachers) are those of last year:]
nɑʕţɛ:k zʊ:ʒ ʔindara:t	["I'll give you two warnings]
wə ndillak taqrɛ:r	[and I'll write a report againt you]
ŋzˤaggɛ ʕlɛ:k zʊ:ʒ ɣaţrɑ:t	[I'll warn you twice
ʊ nɑʕţɛ:k taqrɛ:r	[then do a report against you"]
ʕa:wəd nafsəl ʔʊsta:ð:	[Again...the same teacher:]
"nɑʕţɛ:k zʊ:ʒ ʔindara:t	["I'll give you two warnings]
ndillak taqrɛ:r	[I'll do a report against you]
w əl maʒləss ət taʔdi:bi."	[and the discipline board"]

vii) **The impact of *burning out* on Mounir's language**

 The first observation in Mounir's speech is the reappearance of diphthongization in the verb *rawwaɦ*, "to go": in the 2011 interview in Sidi Lahcen, it had disappeared, to reappear in 2013. Furthermore, his stopping of interdentals might be considered too rapid for someone who lives with his grand-parents, who use interdentals predominantly. This is a sign that the time he spends with members older than him within his community of practice is more important both quantitatively and qualitatively than the time he spends with his family and, in particular, with his grand-mother, strongly present both physically and linguistically. Mounir has grown up too rapidly and very shortly, he will enter the world of work, more rewarding than the world of education, where "*pupils capacities are not aknowledged*"[45].

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45 This is one of the recurrent statements by some of the consultants (young and old).

4.6.2 Case studies: families[46]

4.6.2.1 A combination of factors: Nesrine's family

This family is constituted of 14 members, among them the grand-mother, Khdija, 66 (see her biography in 4.3.1 c); her two daughters Noria, 50 and Souhila, 32 ans, and her 47 year-old daughter-in-law, Jihane and her 14 year-old twin daughters, Nesrine and Mounia. Khdija's language displays exclusive use of rural speech at all linguistic levels, with hardly any levelling. She displays exclusive use of interdentals : jəḍḍaħkʊ "they laugh"; maðabijja " I'd love to"; ħaða:k/ħa:ði "that-masc./fem."; θamm and diphthongisation: məddajtħa "I have given her hand (ie. I have agreed to give her (hand to someone")). Her morpho-syntactic and lexical features are also rural. The situation for her daughters Noria and Souhila is quite complex.

Born in Sidi Lahcen in the 1960s, Noria works in a Middle school. Her speech displays stage 2 of koineisation, with an overwhelming majority of urban phonological variants, in which case the dentals replace the interdentals: tla:ta " three"» ; hadi:k " that-fem." ; ta:ni " also"; wəɫɫɑh-əl-ʕɑ: ḍɛm "I swear by Allah". She also uses mixed forms: tma:nja (a mix of old SBA θma:nja and new urban SBA tmənja "eight").

Souhila, her 30 year-old sister, born in Sidi Lahcen, is unemployed; she uses rural and urban forms at all linguistic levels: ram ḍɑ:n " Ramadhan "; ha:da " that-masc."; ma-nakðabʃ " I won't lie (to you)" and ħða:ja " beside me". After observation and a number of direct and indirect interviews on her linguistic practices and preferences, it seems that she speaks rural at home and urban outside. We conclude that, for Souhila, it is accommodation : unlike her elder sister, who has almost reached stage 2 of koineisation, she speaks mainly rural at home and urban during her rare outings, with her fiancé, essentially. Compared to that of her sister, her maintenance of many rural features might seem paradoxical given that her (young) age is a *moving force* in the linguistic change and that one would expect a more rapid and intense *urbanisation* of her speech than that found in her sister's. An explanation to this might be that, unlike her sister, Souhila seldom goes out and therefore hardly mingles with urban speakers; moreover, she is in permanent contact with her mother, Khdija. The same process has been observed in another family of migrants, where, born in Telagh of a first union and having *come with her mother* to Sidi Bel-Abbes, Ghalia speaks more rural than her brother and

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46 For a detailed account, see Raoud 2013.

sisters. Concerning Jihane, Khdija's daughter-in-law and the twin sisters' mother, she was born 47 years ago in Sidi Bel-Abbes and has remained there ever since, even when her family leaves Sidi Bel-Abbes to settle shortly in Sidi Khaled to return to Sidi Bel-Abbes (see biography in 4.5.3.1). Her speech presents extreme variability, where urban and rural forms coexist, with yet a clear preference for urban features, in particular when she claims her Turkish descent: ḍaṛwɑk/ ḍɔkk " now" ; ta:ni " also"; tla:ta " three" ; wa:ħəd wə-əmanji:n " eighty-one". However, during spontaneous exchanges, she often uses rural variants, as when, one day, as I dashed barefeet outside the house while we were having afternoon coffee with her mother-in-law, she exclaimed: d*i :ri ħajja fi kʷra:ʕək* "Put something on your feet".

Nesrine, the 14 year-old college pupil, and her twin sister Mounia, now in the *lycée*, speak a relatively focused koine, a form characteristic of many 3ʳᵈ generation speakers born in Sidi Lahcen/SBA, with this difference that Nesrine displays extreme variation between dentals and interdentals and more common features with her grand-mother : nakðabb " I lie"; əmanja "eight" while Mounia, even during her college days, displayed a more *precocious* urban development of her speech: əḍ ḍaww "the light" ; əl-ʊsta:da " the teacher". In this respect, two observations might be made. When I interviewed her for the first time in her home, Mounia clearly distinguished the speech she used in formal situations (she hardly knew me) -and which may be labelled MSA (Modern Spoken Arabic)- and the standard form of Arabic, in which she used interdentals. This phenomenon has also been observed in the speech of a number of other college pupils, one of whom, thinking that I had come as some sort of pedagogical "ministerial" investigator, welcomed me with: mɑrħba bi:k fi: mʊʔasasatina "you're welcome in our institution", and where she used dentals; then, switching to standard Arabic, she used interdentals, evidence that these speakers, in addition to the lexical and grammatical differences, distinguish the standard variety and the non-standard variety at the phonetic/phonological level.

4.6.2.2 Extreme variability: Omar's family

Mother of three children (including Omar), Hajla was born 38 years ago in a village in the outskirts of Ras el Ma –a very poor area about 70 kms south of SBA. When she married fifteen years ago and, before settling in Sidi Lahcen, she lived with her mother-in-law in a small farm near Sidi Bel-Abbes, which they left after a terrorist intrusion in their home in 1997. She has frequent contact with her sisters, one lives in SL and the other in Eastern Algeria. Hajla displays a relatively higher levelling than Khdija; in addition to the

interdentals: ha:ða " that.masc." ; ði « this-fem » ; ḍarwɑk « now »; nɑ:ḍ "he got up" ; ɦđa:ja "beside me", she uses a few dentals : hadi:k " that-fem."; ḍarwak "now"; bajḍ "eggs".

Hajla's speech morphology displays variability in plural formation: broken plurals (specific to old SBA): (əs-sənni:n) əf-fʷa:ga "the upper (teeth)" co-occur with (new) regular plurals: əl-ʕabbasijji:n (instead of the old SBA form əl ʕba:bsa) "Belabbesi people".

At the lexical level, both old SBA and new urban features coexist: lʊlʕa:m lawwəl "the year before last year"; lʕa:m lifa:t "last year"; əs-sna "this year" (old SBA); ɦa:ʒa "something". Furthermore, she uses many urban Algiers lexical features such as jrijjɦɔ "they stay" ; ki-ʃʁɔl "sort of/that is to say", while, as a hymn to hope, her use of lexical items of Modern Spoken Arabic combine with her vernacular morphologies and phonologies : *tɦasslɛ "you obtain"*; Ɂʊmni:ti " my hope", ət-taqa:fa " culture/education".

At times, she uses urban variants, almost against her will, but often, by her words, she claims the authenticity (and somehow, the rurality) of her dialect: *nah ḍaɾɻ ʕabba:si vrɛ* " I speak genuire belabbesi", and with her son, she refuses this linguistic change that brings them nothing. Furthermore, she frequently refers to her uncomfortable social position and justifies her children's failure at school and their unhappiness by their small and uncomfortable lodging (a garage).

Unlike older speakers, no metaphors and sayings are found in Hajla's speech; furthermore, she uses direct expressions to refer to her husband : rɑ:ʒlɛ "my husband", when older women (e.g., Khdija) use ʕammak "your uncle".

4.6.2.3 A three-generational model...so far: Mounir's family

Souad, who received very little education (6th level in primary school), works in a milk factory. Her speech is a mix of Algiers (she spent a few years there when she married) and Sidi Bel-Abbes, though it leans more towards the latter. Mounir's grand-mother, Zahra, aged 86, presents all the rural variants, with rudimentary levelling (as Khdija above), that is to say, almost no urban variants, at least at the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels. When I first met him, Mounir, displayed extreme variability. While he used dentals with *some* of his peers: nɑ:ḍɔ " they got up" ; waɦdaɦ "by himself" , his conversations with his grand-parents were often punctuated with interdentals : taḍɾɔbnɛ " she beats me"; ḍaɾbətt waɦd əl baẓẓa "she beat a little girl"; kəaɻɻ « more », etc. We saw in the previous sections (4.6.1.8 , table 21) that Mounir's speech took different directions; when he grew older, he dropped school and mingled with older peers.

4.6.2.4 A three-generational model and time of migration: Amina's family

Amina is a 14 year-old college girl, whose parents, both originally from Telagh -a rural nearby area- settled in Sidi Lahcen in the 2000s, when Amina was only 4. Her mother displays rudimentary levelling, characterized by variation between interdentals and dentals: mrɛɖɑ " ill"; tlaːɵa " three" ; wiraːɵa " heredity" but taːni/ɵaːni " also"; ḍɑrwɑk " now" while her father displays slightly more variation than his wife, with a few occurrences of urban speech. Although all the children were born in Telagh, Amina shows extreme variability, where rural and urban variants coexist: haːdʊ " those; haðɛːk " that" ; taːni "also" ; tlaːta/tlaːɵa " three" and ᵊnnɔːɖ " I get up".

As for her sister Feriel, an 18 year-old *lycée* (High School) pupil, she displays a mixed dialect, where urban variants prevail, including dentals : ṛam ḍaːn " Ramadhan" ; mrɛː ḍa " ill"; ḍɑrwɑk " now", etc. Feriel's speech is comparable to that of her 20 year-old brother Samir, a university student. Her 22 year-old sister Ghalia, however, displays speech that is neither like her mother's nor her sisters' and brother's: she uses stops almost exclusively, but her morpho-syntactic and lexical features have remained predominantly rural.

4.6.3 Results and findings

In 4.6.4, two speakers -Khdija and Zoulikha- diverged in their dialectal variants despite their age, their common (rural) origin and time of migration. This discrepancy cannot be attributed solely to their distinct places of residence (one in the city centre and the other in Sidi Lahcen), as several other old speakers of rural origin living in Sidi Lahcen displayed more urban variants than those of Khdija. Part of the explanation may be found in that Khdija has remained in her conservative (closed) social network while Zoulikha, who came to live in the city centre of SBA, has an open network. The latter has lived with her daughters since her husband's death and her daughters worked some time in Algiers and in other cities, mingling with networks of urban speakers. Her grand-son, having completed his stopping, may have been an additional factor in her relatively high degree of dentalisation.

We now turn to the question of the role of education in the speakers' levelling out of their communal features and adoption of new urban ones. So far, we have seen that both the time of migration and -to a lesser extent (and indirectly)- education may enhance dialectal change. In a "normal" koineisation process, it is only at the third generation, ie., the second-generation

born "children", that a new koine emerges (Trudgill 1986: 127, 1998: 197). However, Houria, who came to SBA when she was a young teenager, has obviously cut corners of linguistic change. Can the explanation be then found in education? Houria is educated, but other educated speakers of rural origin, who are her age do not exhibit such a degree of focusing. In her 2002 study, Al-Wer suggests that education may be a factor in language change, but it is not necessarily directly responsible for the acquisition of urban speech. Houria is young and educated, and although her rural origin often shows in some of her variants, her case somehow upsets the three-generational model because the urbanisation of her speech is more rapid than that of people with the same profile (age, origin, and level of education). Evidence of this is the maintenance of the interdentals by highly educated speakers of rural origin, for example, 43 year-old Lakhdar (from Tiaret) who came to study at the University of Oran in his twenties, and has kept his rural speech despite his having lived there ever since. What then distinguishes Houria from Lakhdar? The explanation might be found partly in social networks and communities of practice. It was stated above (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) that open social networks and communities of practice enhance dialectal change while closed networks maintain communal dialects. In the case of Houria, mingling with higher-class people has made her acquire the urban variants more rapidly; the case of Farida, 22, who, unlike her age peers, makes exclusive use of *m/a* also challenges generalisations relating to the emergence of rɑ:fi as *the* urban variant. As for Lakhdar, it is precisely because he has remained in a closed community of practice that his rural speech features have not been levelled out. Adel's everyday contact with mixed social and communal group individuals may have led him to give up his Tlemceni speech; an additional factor enhancing his communal levelling out is the fact that Tlemcen Arabic is considered by many as being effeminate, and thus, he may speak SBA to sound virile, to avoid being ridiculed or even assaulted. This having been said, Adel speaks Belabbesi for the simple reason that he is a fourth-generation born speaker, whose speech has attained complete focusing. As for education (or rather lack of it), it is not sure that leaving school necessarily leads one to abandon one's communal prestige dialect; this is the case for Farid, a pastry shop owner. The difference between Eckert's jots/burnouts and the present case is that leaving school for Farid has not made him give up his speech or even level out some of his distinctive Tlemcen features precisely because of his social networks and community of practice. Farid is a married, conservative pastry shop owner, with very well-to-do customers, many of whom live in the same posh neighbourhood and are of Tlemceni origin. This confirms the idea that,

while closed networks such as those illustrated by Khdija -in the case of rural speakers- and Farid -for Tlemceni speakers- maintain communal dialectal features, open networks such as those operating in the cases of Zoulikha, Adel and Houria enhance dialectal change. Young speakers with a relative degree of education display a high frequency of dentals in their use of the SBA vernacular.

For older speakers, Reqia represents an exception; she is the only 100% user of dentals in her 86-66 age group. Two factors distinguish her from them: education, time of migration and family origin factor for the acquisition of dentals, Abdelghafour, who is educated, would display a similar degree of stopping. On the other hand, if we consider the time Reqia has spent in SBA, about 70 years, her overall speech is consistent with the view that the time of migration enhances the acquisition of urban features. Nonetheless, except for very short stays in the countryside to flee the wartime violence, both Reqia and Abdelghafour have lived almost all their life in the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes, mingling with many other urban dwellers, but they differ in three linguistic features. The first one is vowel elision, which Reqia practises to the third (33%) while Abdelghafour does none. The second discrepancy is the inter-personal variation of "to go" that their speech displays: Reqia uses 43.2% rɑːħ of the 44 total occurrences of "to go", with the other half shared between jɔʁda and mʃa, whereas Abdelghafour uses 87.5% of mʃa and only 12.5% of rɑːħ. The third difference between them concerns dentals, where Reqia has attained total focusing (100%) while Abdelghafour has only 51.7%. Might an explanation be found in Reqia's and Abdelghafour's respective social networks and communities of practice? Due to lack of opportunities for obtaining further information on Abdelghafour, it was not possible to know more about his social networks and community of practice. The different trajectories that their respective dialects have taken might well be partly explained by their caregivers' transmission of their respective communal dialects.

4.6.4   From short-term accommodation to long-term accommodation

While the oldest age group speakers (86 years old and a few others in their sixties) use the old SBA features, irrespective of the context in which they find temselves, almost all younger speakers of rural origin display both short-term and long-term accommodation (see 3.6.2.1) to the new urban vernacular. Evidence of this may be found in the extreme variability of settlers, 1st and subsequent generation-born speakers, who use both the rural and urban variants together with new mixed forms, resulting in a new focused dialectal variety,

and corresponding -in Trudgill's model- to the various stages of koineisation leading to focusing. An attempt is made here to understand how short-term accommodation leads to long-term accommodation, resulting in the change of a number of dialectal features. When young speakers of rural origin are in out-group situations, many of them display short-term accommodation wherein they level out several of their communal features and adopt the new urban features. The case of Samir, a young settler, illustrates this gradual shift from long-term accommodation to total shift from rural features to urban ones.

N.: *ʕandak sħa:bək/təbʁɛ taħdarr mʕa saħbək f ət tilifʊ:n/*

[You have friends...you want to speak to your friend on the telephone...]

tgʊl nʕajjaṭṭ wəlla nəlʁa:lħ   [You say " *nʕajjaṭṭ* " I call or [*nəlʁa:lħ*] "I
                                               call him"?]

Sid Ahmed: nʕajjaṭṭlaħ   [" *nʕajjaṭṭlaħ*" I call him]

N.: ma tgʊlʃ ga:ʕ nəlʁa:lħ   [You don't say *nəlʁa:lħ*] "I call him" at all?]

Sid Ahmed: əlla/nʕajjaṭṭlaħ   [No, [*nʕajjaṭṭlaħ*] " I call him".]

To a lesser extent than speakers of SBA origin, shift and change in their speech is also observed among Tlemceni speakers. Thus, most men who state that they maintain their communal dialect do in fact level out some of the features of their communal dialect and adopt those of SBA speech, mainly: the 3rd pers. sing. masc. indirect object pronoun -ah; wa:ħ and əlla "yes and "no"; kin terms: mmʷɔk "your mother"; (fronted) bbʸa:k "your father" and other cursing expressions:

gʊtlaħ xlada:r bbʸa:k nta ʕarbɛ

[I said to him: "God ruin your father's house, you are an Arab"]

Speakers of distinct dialectal varieties finding themselves in everyday talk exchanges may resort to short-term accommodation, the latter resulting -in many cases- in long-term accommodation, which, in turn, brings about significant changes, namely the adoption of new features or features of one of the contributing dialects and the disappearance of features belonging to either dialet. Thus, even when they state they maintain their dialectalal variety, many changes have already taken place. In what follows, I shall proceed to a discussion of the main types of dialectal change taking place in Sidi Bel-Abbes.

4.7 Attitudes, representations and identity

Studies related to accommodation theory suggest that speakers' attitudes and representations regarding the status of features are quite often in accordance with their actual linguistic practices. These representations and attitudes largely contribute in dialectal change. As Van Herk states, "*society can treat language the same way it treats clothing, the arts, or business, as a thing to be debated and regulated*" (Van Herk 2012: 5). The dialectical relationship between language and society is also noticeable in the speech of the people in Sidi Bel-Abbes. In what follows, I shall expose some of the speakers' representations concerning each of old SBA, new urban SBA, Tlemcen, Algiers Arabic, and French, as well as their attitudes regarding rurality, urbanity, and identity.

4.7.1 Urban SBA as a prestige dialect

Whether from rural or urban backgrounds and irrespective of age, speakers originally from SBA are found to identify the new urban SBA variety as a prestige variety that supplants old (rural) SBA. Such representations are illustrated in excerpts from conversations with Abdelkader, Farida and Rayane.

-Abdelkader

When asked whether there was a difference in speech between the inhabitants of Sidi Lahcen and those of the city centre, Abdelkader says that the people of the city centre jəlʕbu:ha-margi:n,"they play it smart" and so they use xajji « my brother » much (instead of the less marked xu:ja). He adds that this is comparable to when some people from Algiers say «jɑ-xɔ "Hey, brother", considering themselves as "real urban Algiers dwellers when, in fact, they live in "slums", in the "outskirts of Algiers". He adds that anyone who does not adopt urban SBA speech is considered as "ʕrɔ:bɛ" "a peasant":

*huma jəlʕbu:ha margi:n/zaʕma comme quoi huma mə wl*a:*d la vi:l*

[They play it smart...because they are the guys of the city.]

N.: *zaʕma kifa:h jəlʕbu:ha hu:ma*   [What do you mean, "they play it smart"?]

AEK: ʕandah əl-manʈɑG ta:ʕ xajjɛ bəzza:f/ [He says xajjɛ ("my brother") a lot]

xajjɛ w kʊll kəlma b-xajjɛ   ["xajjɛ"...every word is accompanied with "xajjɛ]

N.: ʕla:h   [Why?]

AEK: ɛ:h/ha:kka/kom kwa wli:d la vi:l/kima jgu:lʊ pa:ʁ ɛgzãpl lɛ zalʒɛʁwa/malgʁɛ hʊwwa ma-jəskənʃ f-ə sãtʁə vi:l/jəskənn f-lɛ zãviʁã ta:ʕ alʒɛ/w-ə-jgʊl-lah ja:xɔ//nta sa:kən fi: bərra:ka zaʕma mənna ʕl-ad-dza:jər/wi:n təskənn/jgʊllah əd-dza:jər ja xɔ//ha:kka ɦna paʁ ʁapoʁ ləl fila:ʒ/xajjɛ zaʕma ŋgʊlu:ha/bəssaɦ qli:la ʕla wəld la vi:l/ wəld la vi:l mʕawwəd ʕli:ha/fi kʊll kəlma xajjɛ//zaʕma ki j-tawwəl kalmətt xajjiɛ wana: ma-nahdarʃ b-kalmət xajjɛ bəzza:f/ t-ba:llah ʔana ʕrɔbɛ/ kom kwa məʃʃi wəld la vi:l/ʕrɔbɛ//

[Yeah, just like that, because he is a guy of the city, as when we say, for example, the people of Algiers -despite the fact that he doesn't live in the city centre: he lives in the outskirts of Algiers and he says "jɑ:xɔ"(Oh brother). You live in a shed outside Algiers. "Where do you live?"He says in Algiers, oh brother". We do the same in relation to the village (ie, Sidi Lahcen): we say xajjɛ but less than the guy of the city. The guy of the city is used to it a lot: in every word, xajjɛ. As if when he lenghthens the word xajjɛ and I don't say the word xajjɛ, he thinks I'm a peasant, that is I'm not a guy of the city, a peasant.]

Abdelkader explains the scornful attitude of city dwellers by the fact that Sidi Lahcen is outside the city centre:

nba:nʊ ʕrɔbijja/ɦna barra/ lɛz ãviʁɔ̃

[We appear as peasants...we, who live outside/ on the outskirts]

-Farida

When asked about the difference between Sidi Lahcen and the city centre of Sidi Bel-Abbes, Farida says:

ʃwijja/malgʁɛ si:di laɦsən qrɛ:ba bəzza:f l si:di bəl ʕabba:s/zaʕma kima ŋgu:lʊ ɦna:ja/fila:ʒ jəbqa fila:ʒ// malgʁɛ ɦna:ja fi: si:di laɦsən ga:ʕ qarjɛ:n/baʕdakina

əz-zɔ̃qa ət-ta:ʕna ħina:ja/ga:ʕ qarjɛ:n/ga:ʕ qra:w f əʒ-ʒamiʕa/ga:ʕ waslɛ:n laba:s bihɔm/ ga:ʕ vɛikylɛ tsəmma/bəssaħ ʕandhɔm ʃwijja mãtalitɛ ta:ʕ fila:ʒ paskœ ʕajʃi:n fi: fila:ʒ [A little bit...despite the fact that Sidi Lahcen is very close to Sidi Bel-Abbes...that is to say a village remains a village[...]Despite the fact that we, in SL, are all educated...especially our own street: they are all educated; all went to university; all succeeded; they're alright; all are motorised...but they have a little of a "village mentality" because they're living in a village].

-Rayane: SBA dwellers vs. villager migrants

Rayane, an urban SBA speaker, says about rural, recently-arrived dwellers, that they are easily identifiable fromtheir speech, their inability to get around town, and their dress:

...bda:w jəddɔxlɔ lɛ vilaʒwa   [...the villagers have started to enter (the city)...]

...fəl ħadra   [...in speech...]

...ma jaʕʕarfʊ:ʃ əl bla:jəss ħadu:k... [...they don't know how to move around in the city...]

...bəssaħ jba:nʊ bəl ʕʒa:r w əʒ ʒəlla:ba... [...but they are spotted through the voilette and

the djellaba]

4.7.2 Tlemcen as a prestige dialect

Speakers of Tlemceni origin who were interviewed consider that the (new) SBA variety (together with the people who speak it) lacks the refinement and "nobility" of Tlemcen people, illustrated by statements by Khalida and Ali. Farida – a 3rd generation-born speaker of rural origin, points out the segregational communal attitude of Tlemceni people.

-Khalida

Khalida starts introducing herself (in French), stating that nobility is innate and not given to any one:

Quand on est noble, on ne peut pas avoir tout le monde comme nous [...]La noblesse, elle ne se vend pas et elle ne s'achète pas. Elle est née en nous-

mêmes[When we are noble, we cannot have all the people like us. Nobility cannot be sold and cannot be bought. We are born with it.]

When asked how she speaks with SBA people, she admits that she is aware of her speech distinctiveness and the attitudes of SBA speakers to it:

Je ne vous le cache pas/je ne…/ki: n-əbda nahdarr/j-əbda:w j- jəɖɖaħkɔ ʕlijja/Je ne vous le cache pas ; c'est pas que je suis raciste/mon langage...je suis fière de mes origines//

[Honestly, when I start speaking, they start laughing at me. Honestly, it's not that I am racist, but I am proud of my origins]

A further argument by Khalida that Tlemcen speech is considered as prestigious is illustrated below on the preference of Tlemcen fronted *a* even by SBA speakers, who normally use back *a* , as in Tlemcen ha:ki versus SBA hɑ:ki "take" :

əl-bənt əddi dʒi: t-ʕawwənnɛ tʔɔllɛ ʕɔ:lɛ lɛ ha:ki ha:ki məʃʃi ha:kɛ

[The girl who comes to help says : say "ha:ki ha:ki (take/take), not hɑ:kɛ (take)"]

Khalida expresses deep sadness and nostalgia when she recalls how SBA was before:

ka:nət dʒənna/mʷali:ha mʔaslɛ:n wə drifi:n//

[It was a paradise...its people were well-bred and gentle], adding

Je suis née à Bel-Abbès//Avant, c'était le pa/ʁa/dis/

[I was born in Bel-Abbes. Before, it was a pa.ra.dise]

ʊ bəl-ʕabbɛ:s məbnijja ʕla-tləmsanijji:n

[It is the Tlemcenis who have made Bel-Abbes]

When asked if her husband speaks like her*: əlla/ma-jahdarʃ bħa:li/kimʷa:na* [No, he does not speak like me]Here she uses the Algiers variant bħa:li, immediately "correcting" with the Tlemcen variant kimʷɑ:na, "like me" but still with the labialized mʷ.

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N.: Does he use g?

Khalida: *Un p'tit peu/oui, de temps en temps*   [A little. Yes, sometimes]

N.: And (does he use) q? Has he lived in Algiers before?

Khalida: *Oui, il travaillait là-bas*   [Yes, he used to work there]

-Ali

To the question of whether he considers himself as Tlemceni or Belabbesi, Ali, a 65 year-old notary public in the city centre of SBA, replies:

On me dit: "Vous êtes de Tlemcen ? » Je dis : « Oui, à l'origine, c'est vrai, mais je ne connais plus personne à Tlemcen…parce que …depuis trois décennies, je vis à Bel-Abbès/mes parents *sont enterrés à Bel-Abbès […] Donc/ je me considère comme belabbésien et je me sens très mal à l'aise maintenant à Bel-A…euh…à… Tlemcen…* [They say to me « Are you from Tlemcen ? » I say : « Yes, originally, that's true, but I don't know anyone in Tlemcen anymore...because...for three decades, I have lived in Sidi Bel-Abbes.[...] So I consider myself as a Belabbesi and I feel uneasy now in Bel-A...erm...in Tlemcen.]

However, when asked about what he thinks about the speech of SBA, Ali replies :

… le parler de Bel-Abbès est particulier, c'est guttural, c'est…on a l'impression que c'est paysan… on a l'impression que c'est la/c'est la/ c'est la campagne/des/c'est une campagne non cultivée/qui ont/ y en a certains qui ont beaucoup d'intelligence… et moi je ne dis pas/ y a des gens très bien mais ce n'est que maintenant que la culture se développe… ils ont conservé/et puis maint(e)nant ça se transforme/c'est incroyable…// […]…C'est un langage vulgaire/ C'est un langage très vulgaire//[…the speech of Bel-Abbes is special…it is guttural…we have the impression that it is rural…we have the impression that it is the…it is the…it is the countryside. It is a non-cultured [ie. ignorant]countryside. They have…some of them have much intelligence..and I'm not saying..some of them are very good, but it is only now that culture is developing…They have kept…and

now, it is changing. It's incredible...] [...] [...It's a vulgar language. It is a very vulgar language.]

-Farida

Although she has adopted almost all the urban features of SBA (including those of Tlemcen), Farida, the second generation-born young biology student of SBA rural origin parents distinguishes herself from Tlemceni girls when it comes to socialising.
She says that she mingles with girls from Mascara, El-Bayadh, Temouchent, but that Tlemceni girls are reserved:

ɦna mʕə-t-tləmsanijja:t manahadrɔ:ʃ bəzza:f/xa:ʈərʃ mani:ʃ ʕa:rəf/ət-tləmsanijja:t
məʃʃi kima l-ʕabbasijja:t/jaqrɔ mʕa:na fəl-ʒamiʕa/bəssaɦ tsɛbɛhɔm ʒabdi:n ərwa:
ɦɦɔmɔm/tsɛbɛhɔm ʒabdi:n ərwa:ɦɦɔmɔm/ma-taqqadrɛ:ʃ ət...
N.: *tsamma jəfrɛkɔnʈɔ ɓaʕ dhɔm ɓaʕ ḍ*
Farida: *ɛ:h/ɓaʕ ḍɛjja:thɔm//jamais ʕabbasijja mʕa tləmsanijja* [We, with Tlemceni women, don't speak much...because..I don't know...Tlemceni women are not like Belabbesi women. They study with us at the university, but they are reserved...they are reserved...You can't...
N.: You mean they mingle only with one another...
Farida: Yes, only with one another...Never a Belabbesi woman with a Tlemceni woman]

4.7.3 Algiers as a prestige dialect

From the youngest Middle school pupils to the oldest speakers, all the speakers interviewed maintain that, in general, old rural SBA speech is considered less prestigious than urban SBA, which, in its turn, is considered less prestigious than Tlemcen speech. Despite the positive status of Tlemcen speech, Tlemceni speakers also adjust to the speech of Algiers, considered by all -Tlemcenis and Belabbesis- as having the highest status. This hierarchical ranking is clearly expressed in their judgements not only on their own variety but also on other regional varieties.

-Khalida

The strong maintainer of Tlemceni speech, Khalida, says that after staying a few days in Algiers, she begins using q instead of ʔ. This may be indicative of the higher prestige status of Algiers speech even among Tlemcenis.

-Hamid

Hamid expresses the same feeling towards the speech of Algiers as Abdelkader towards the speech of urban dwellers of Sidi Bel-Abbes. It is also significant that he mentions the same stereotype as Abdelkader: "Hey, brother", "jɑ xɔ" in Algiers :

Hamid: *əl-lahʒa taʕ lɛzalʒɛʁwa/waːʃ ŋ-gʊl-lak/xaṭər ʁɛ l-ahʒa taʕ ɛzalʒɛʁwa fiha təlt lahʒaːt/kimmʷa taʕ ja xɔ ma-nabʁɛ-haː-ʃ/ja xɔ/*

N.: C'est leur façon, fina taːnɛ fi bəl ʕabbaːs ŋ-guːlʊ xajjɛ

Hamid: *waːh/xajjɛ//ʃɔ/kaːjən təlt lahʒaːt./kimmʷa hadi ja-xɔ taʕ z-zɔːx/ma-nabʁɛ-haːʃ*

N.: *ajja/wə-z-zaːwʒaʔ*

Hamid: *ə-z-zaːwʒa kaj j-gʊl-lah **waːʃ ɦabbiːt t-qɔːl**/kimmʷa ŋ-gʊl-lak...euh/**tqaʕʕad bijja**/kimmʷa fina ŋ-guːlʊ/**waːʃ jɦabb j-qɔːl**/hadi sa va bjĕ//*[Hamid: The accent of Algiers…How can I say that…because the accent of Algiers alone has three accents…like "jɑ-xɔ" (Hey, brother)…I do not like it… jɑ-xɔ" (Hey, brother).It is their way of speaking.

N.: We, too, in SBA, say xajjɛ (my brother).

Hamid: Yes, xajjɛ …there are three accents, this jɑ-xɔ is for showing off, I don't like it]

N.: [And the second one?]

Hamid : The second is « What do you want to say" and …um… « you're kidding me »…We say… :" what does he mean": this is alright.]

4.7.4 Prestige and stigma

In addition to Algiers Arabic, some speakers interviewed unveil their representations of the prestige status of French and the stigma attached to rural SBA.

4.7.4.1 French as a prestige language

To the question of whether social class and parents' socio-economic status is high and shows in a girl's langage, all of Farida (22), Fatiha and Dalila (14) give the following replies:

-Farida

ʃɔːfɛ/la maʒoʁitɛ lli tʃʊfiːha tahdarr ɹɔ̃sɛ ʊ mənna w ʕandha əl lɔ̃gaʒ mliːħ/ taʕʕarfɛ bəlli ʃ əd-daːr/ ʔimma bbʷaːha ʔimma mʷha ʔimma jkuːn ʊstaːd ʔimma ʊstaːda/ʔimma jkuːn qaːrɛ/malgʁɛ mʷha ma-tkuːnʃ taxdamm wəlla bbʷaːha ma-jaxdamʃ//[Look...the majority that you see speaking French and so on... and she has a good language...you know that at home...either her father or her mother is a teacher(mas.) or a teacher (fem.) or educated...even if her mother doesn't work or her father doesn't work.]

-Fatiha

To the question of what made them think that other girls were trying to sound "superior" to them, many responded like Fatiha (14), who said:

mniːn təlbass ʊ waħda tʃuːt ʕliːha məʃʃi laːbsa/təgʕɔdd təfriːmi ʕliːha/təgʕɔdd t-nabbarr ʕliːha/t-gullha ʕandki hadiːk məʃʃi laːbsa ʁaːja/tʃuːfha laːbsa sərwaːl m-gaṭṭaʕ/ t-gulləк ʔaː(li)kɛ hadiːk/sərwaːl-ha m-gaṭṭaʕ/ gʊllha ʃuːfi rɔːħak/ma-tʃʊfiːʃ fəl ʁaːʃɛ ʃaːhʊm labsiːn/saʕaː hadiːk balaːk fəl-ʕaqlijja xɛːr mən ha/kaːjl-li talbass ʊ kʊlʃiː-lha ʃbaːb/bəssaħ kʷaːn tʃuːfɛ ʕaqliːtha/waːlʊ/zɛro/kaːjn əlli təfriːmi/ʊ kaːjl-li tʕafriːha talbass ʊ kʊlʃɛ/təħħasbɛː ha mətkabbra/tʕafriːha nhaːr jʊmiːn/taʕʕarfɛːha bəlli mətwaː ḍʕa//

[When she dresses and another girl comes by who is not well-dressed…she starts showing off at her…She starts blowing her trumpet at her…She says "look, look, she's not well-dressed…she notices that she is wearing torn trousers…she says"Look! Her trousers are torn!"…I say to her "Look at yourself. Don't look at what others are wearing. Maybe the girl at whom you're showing off is better than her". And there are girls who dress well and everything (in her) is nice, but you see her mentality, there is nothing. Zero. Some girls show off, but some other girls you mingle with dress well and everything…you think she is arrogant…you live with her one day, two days, you realize she is modest]

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-Dalila

To the question"How do people speak when they want to show they are superior?", 14 year-old Dalila replies:

xaṭra:ı tʁajjarr əllahʒa tta:ꞒꞒa bəlꞒa:ni w tɔgꞒɔdd tahdarr ha:kka bəl frᴐ̃sɛ kima ha:kka/w xaṭra:t tɔgꞒɔdd təʒbadd ᵊd-dzirijja kima ha:kka/ʔana: hadʊ lli ma-nəbʁɛhɔhmʃ/kajni:n zu:ʒ ᵊhna:ja ʃətthɔm//[Sometimes she changes her accent on purpose, and she starts speaking French like this. And sometimes she starts speaking with the Algiers accent like this. I don't like that sort. There are two of them here that I have seen.]

4.7.4.2 Rural speech as a stigmatised variety

-Amina

Amina, 14 -and of rural origin- expresses the same contempt as Fatiha for people of rural origin who modify their speech (she was actually aiming at some of her classmates):

ʔanaja naꞒraff ʔaslꞒɔm/Ꞓrɔbɛjja/ma-jəʃqa:ʃ nəꞒki: lək/ajja hadu:k jʒu: jətkabbrɔ Ꞓlijja w jahhadrɔ lʊʁa:t/zaꞒma kiman ha:kka// kima xajra maʃaʔaꞀa:h/ ʔʊvɛrt/ tahdarr hadra nɔrma:l/mətwa: ḍꞒa/məʃʃi ṭa:lꞒa ra:nɛ ŋgullək//ʃi ʃira:t jʒʊ Ꞓandɛ/jɔggɔꞒdɔʷ/kɛskœ/ʊ mənna ʊ mənna/ ʊ wa:ʃ ra:kɛ/wa:ʃ Ꞓabbi:ti / ʊ mənna//
[I know their origin…countryside people…I needn't tell you about them. And then these come to show off at me and they speak languages …like this, you know. Kheira, for example[…]is open…she speaks normally/she's modest, she's not arrogant, I say. Some girls come to me and start "what's (in French)" and so on…"How are you" (with the Algiers accent)…"What do you want?"(with the Algiers accent) and so on]

When she was interrupted by a girl saying that she used the dialect of Algiers, Amina replied:

tu:ma dzirijji:n əl ʔasꞀ   [But you are originally from Algiers],

resuming what she was saying:

Ꞓrɔbijja ʒajji:n məlhɛ:h/jəggɔꞒdɔ jətkabbrɔ Ꞓlijja

[(They are) rurals, they come from there. They start showing off at me].

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The group of girls ended the interview by singing in unison singer Bilal's well-known song:

ḍarʒa ḍarʒa la bʁɛjt tərbaɦ   [Step by step if you wanna succeed]

ʕandak ʁɛ ṭṭɛ:ɦ   [Careful not to fall]

taɡḍab ʁɛ rrɛ:ɦ   [You'd catch only the wind]

təndamm nədma w taxsarr fi: lɑfɛ:r   [You'd regret and be a loser in the business]

-Ali

The stigma attached to the SBA variety is expressed in Ali's statement that it is sometimes used in Tlemceni homes, but for humour:

A la maison/le parler bélabbesien/c'est juste pour rigoler/par exemple/pour embêter la maman/ le g au lieu du ʔ/mais y a un fond qu'on peut pas changer [At home, Belabbesi speech is just for joking...for example, to annoy the mum, the g instead of the ʔ , but we cannot change the substance (of Tlemceni speech)]

4.8 Dialectal change in SBA: a qualitative analysis

The old dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes has undergone several changes, resulting in a new dialectal form : urban Belabbesi, constituted mostly of old SBA features, but sharing many of those of the sedentary dialects with which it has come in contact, whether directly of indirectly. In 1940, Cantineau made the statement that, in the county of Oran, the sedentary dialects have hardly influenced the Nomads (1940: 225) ; 36 years later, Grand'Henry observed that, with the generalisation of education and disappearance of nomadism, the bedouinisation of dialects is receding, leaving place to an urban koine (1976: 5). The dramatic changes that Sidi Bel-Abbes has undergone, both in terms of urbanisation, population movements, schooling as well as social organisation, have had a significant impact on its dialect.

The refinement that characterises sedentary dialects has made them good candidates for target prestige varieties towards which many Belabbesi speakers aim, though they have maintained features too salient and that identify SBA speech. In this section, an attempt will be made to understand why some features change while others are maintained.

4.8.1 Types of dialectal change

In dialectal contact situations, several types of linguistic changes are identified. This is the case for Sidi Bel-Abbes, where, in addition to the disappearance of a number of old SBA features and the acquisition of new ones, it is witnessing important simplication processes: reduction of complex forms, regularity, and reallocation (see 3.6.1; for a detailed account of these terms, cf. Trudgill 1986).

4.8.1.1 Reduction and Phonetic/phonological simplification

Reduction and simplification are closely related, in that reduction is one of the manifestations of simplification; this is illustrated in the SBA dialect, where a number of contrasts have been reduced.

1) Interdentals

One of the consequences of the change of interdentals into dentals (the stopping process) may be seen in the merging of t/θ; d/ð; and ḍ/ḍ̣:

***i)*The merger ḍ for ḍ and ḍ̣ versus the merger ḍ̣ for ḍ̣ and ḍ**

The speakers who use dentals in the SBA vernacular have merged the two phonemes ḍ and ḍ̣ into ḍ : ha:di r-rijjɑ:ḍ̣ɑ. When using Classical/Standard Arabic, some speakers use the merger ḍ for both ḍ and ḍ̣: ha:ðihi r-rɛjjɑ:ḍɑ. As for θ, it is still distinguished from t in their use of Standard/Classical Arabic,as in *tʊfi:dʊ ʒism[a]na kaθi:ran.*

***ii)*The merger t for t and θ**

While t is the merger of both t and θ in urban SBA speech, these two phonemes have not merged as much as ḍ and ḍ̣ in Classical Arabic; this may spring from the difficulty of distinguishing them in CA at the start. Among the maintainers, cardinal numbers and days (or other words) containing two θs have lost initial θ: tləθa "three"; ət-tla:θa "Tuesday" while in ordinals, initial θ is maitained: əθ-θalθa "the third".

***iv*) The emphatic function of interdentals**

The emphatic function of interdentals in the speech of young speakers of rural origin is observed on many occasions, namely, when they are asked to repeat a word, as in the following dialogue held between Nesrine and the interviewer:

N.: qajsaːʃ tət- tətsɑħɾɔ   [What time do you have "sħɔːr"(ie., the meal before

                                                  dawn during Ramadhan)?]

    Nesrine: ʕlə t-tlaː**ta**   [At three o'clock]

     N.: : qajsaːʃ?   [What time?]

     Nesrine: ət-tlaː**θ**a   [At three o'clock]

***v*) Intermediate forms of "eight" : dental+ short vowel or interdental+ long vowel**

While tmənja is the new uran feature, first generation-born speakers of rural origin display new, intermediate, forms belonging to none of the dialects coexisting in SBA. This is the case for "eight", where, between the old rural θmaːnja and the new urban variant tmənja, two new forms have appeared: θmənja and tmaːnja, displayed in the speech of Noria.

2) The merger q-g

All the dialects of Algeria (except for ʔ dialects) have mutually exclusive occurrences of q and g. With a few exceptions for minimal pairs, as in: qla vs. gla, "he fried" vs. "he grilled", there are no lexical counterparts of words such as q and g for qra and bagra: *gra, *baqra. Some words which -in old SBA- have q, are now used with g by urban speakers.

   Abdelghafour :   jətlaːga ħʊwwa wijjaːħ   [He meets him]

Furthermore, the q old variant in jqɑsɾɔ "spend the evening by staying up late (literally "shorten the night")" attested in the speech of Amina, 14, a young settler in SBA: mʷa rɑːħət hijja w xʷtɛ/ ʔajja/ rɑːħɔ jqɑsɾɔ bɑrrɑ   [Mum went with my sister...then...they went to spend the evening out] is now being supplanted by new urban SBA (and Algiers) jgɑsɾɔ, as in

Abdelghafour's and Rayane's speech:

Abdelkader: nba:tʊ saɦɪrɛ:n/mgɑsrɛ:n [We used to spend up at the night]

Rayane: jʒɛ jgɑsɑrr mʕa:na [He comes to spend the evening with us]

The realisation with q of jgɑssɑṛṛ "to stay up late" is disappearing in urban SBA, replaced by the g realisation, also found in Algiers. A large number of words which formerly had q in SBA now have g instead, for example, zṛɑqq/zɑṛqɑ → zrɑgg/zɑrgɑ "blue-masc./blue-fem."and jəlqa → jəlga "to find"; these realisations are also attested in urban Algiers speech. In an excerpt from a conversation about a song that he intended to perform during a contest in the 50s, Abdelghafour uses g, immediately correcting it into q; it is not clear whether it is an instance of accommodation (to my speech or at least Abdelghafour's representation of it) or the extreme mixing characteristic of 1ˢᵗ generation-born speakers:

ka:nət waɦida ʕəʒbatnɛ/jaɦidɑrr ʕlə l ʕajn əẓ ẓargɑ/ l ʕajn əẓ ẓarqɑ

[There was one (song) that pleased me...it is about the blue eye...the blue eye].

Another example of the shift from old SBA q to to new urban g is when Abdelghafour says how taking Arabic as a foreign language was useful to him:

əl ʕarbɛjja lgi:t ɦa [The) Arabic (language), I found it (ie. "it was useful".]

3) De-diphthongization

The new urban SBA dialect is undergoing an important de-diphthongization process: xajr<xɛjr<xɛ:r "good"; əd-dawla<əd-dəwla (but not (yet?) əd-du:la "the government". This diphthongization is also found in the "go" variant rɑ:ɦ < rɑwwɑɦ in that while both rɑ:ɦ and rɑwwɑɦ are found in the speech of (mostly old) SBA speakers, rɑwwɑɦ is not only becoming rare in the speech of urban speakers but it is absent from the speech of urban youths, in general, as its use signals rural origin. The same applies to "alone", wherein 1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ pers. pl. pr. "alone" takes two forms; one old form that is diphthongised: lɑrwa:ɦna/ər rwa:ɦna, "(by)ourselves"; lɑrwa:ɦkɔm/ər-rwa:kɔm "(by)yourselves"; lɑrwaɦɦɔm/ərrwaɦɦɔm "themselves" and one that is not diphthongised: ər rɔɦna, ər rɔɦkɔm ər rɔɦɦɔm, more and more frequently found in young speech.

4.8.1.2 Morphological simplification

Examples of morphological (and morpho-syntactic) simplification include:

1) Marked feminine case:

In Classical/Standard Arabic, there exists a number of feminine nouns that are not marked for the feminine: for example, ʕaʒʊ:z(ɔn), "old woman" is ʕzu:ʒ in old SBA, after having undergone phonological metathesis and vowel elision as well as disappearance of *harakat* ending, and been reallocated to mean "mother-in-law", where it is still not marked for the feminine in old SBA speech. In the new urban SBA vernacular, it is marked for the feminine: ʕzu:ʒa, like many feminine words. This is an example of simplication, involving not a loss of inflection but an "increase in regularity" (for types of simplification, confer Trudgill 1986: 103).

Simplification takes the form of the "regularisation" by feminine marking of forms such as old unmarked SBA (and Classical Arabic) nouns, as in səttʊ:t " mischievous/ witchy woman" and ʕzʊ:ʒ "mother-in-law", now səttʊ:ta and ʕzʊ:ʒa.

2) Negation

Negation is simplified in that all verb forms and, to a lesser extent, participle forms, are negated by means of the ma-verb- ʃ form:

a. Negation in imperative verbs: ma+verb+ʃ

Negation in imperatives with la-*verb*-ʃ, attested in the speech of the two 86+ speakers, has disappeared, replaced, in new urban speech, by ma-verb-ʃ, thus reducing the differences between the three types of negation: negation in verbs, negation in imperatives and negation in participles.

b. Negation in indicative verbs: ma-

Negation in indicative verbs of the type ma-verb-ʃɛ, as in ma-dart-ʃɛ "I have not done" amongst the oldest speakers (El-Hadj, Zahra, and Khalida, for example) has changed into a **ma**-verb-**ʃ** form, as in ma-dərt-ʃ, "I have not done". This is probably related to the disappearance of the old variant ʃajj "thing" (via reduction), as in the expression ma-dart-ʃɛ(jj), "I have not done a thing", still attested in the speech of old SBA speakers (El-Hadj and Zahra) and ma-dart-ʃɛ in old Tlemceni speech (Khalida), though more data are needed to shed

light on this process. What seems important is not so much whether Khalida's "ərraʒəl əlli ma-jaxdamʃɛ, "a man who does not work" is more interpretable as "a man who does not do anything" or an extention of the addition of the particle initially meaning "a thing" even in the absence of transitivity in the verb used. The second possibility is more likely, as occurrences of ma-verb-ʃ-ɛ constructions show: ma-tʒɛ:ʃɛ,"(you) do not come"; ma-nɔgʕɔdʃɛ, "I won't/don't stay" which, though they do not contain a transitive verb, still have the particle ɛ.

c. Negation in participles: co-variation

The treatment of the two variants for the formation of negative participles is quite complex in that both the *ma-participle-ʃ* (e.g., ma-qɑrja:ʃ ("she (is) not educated") and *maʃʃɛ+participle* (e.g., məʃʃi qɑ:rja ("she is not educated") forms are used, irrespective of age, educational level, and rurality/urbanity, showing almost no change in the speech of youths, but with a decrease in the occurrences of what might be the old SBA variant ma-participle-ʃ, as in ma-qɑrja:ʃ(i/ɛ) "(she) is not educated".

Perhaps the difficulty in adopting a single variant, maʃʃi/ɛ, for example, is due to the morpho-syntactic opposition between participles and adjectives, illustrated in such clear-cut distinctions between fixed negative participles (no other variants are possible, ie., *maʃʃi ʒa:jja is incorrect), as in: ma-ʒajja:-ʃ "it's not suitable" and negation in verbs, as in ma rɑɦɘtʃ "She did not go", and negation in adjectives, as in: *maʃʃi/ɛ-mli:ɦa* "(it/she is) not good"; maʃʃi/ɛ ʃba:b "(he is) not handsome". The co-variation of forms such as ma-qɑrɛ:ʃ and maʃʃi-qɑ:rɛ "(he is) not educated" may be due to the fact that participles of the type *qɑ:rɛ* may act as both participles and adjectives. Other forms are attested, such as ma-rafiɑ:ʃ "she is not going to", as in ma-rahɑ:ʃ ʒa:jja "she is not going to come" and ma-ʒajja:ʃ "It is not suitable". This means that, where the participle form acts as modifier (or adjective), the form maʃʃi/ɛ is preferred. The same applies to negation with place, time and manner adverbs, where the form maʃʃi is the only form used, as in maʃʃi/ɛ hna, "not here"; məʃʃi ljʊ:m "not today"; məʃʃi fiɑ:kkɑ "not in this manner". For these reasons, co-avariation of ma-participle-ʃ with məʃʃi+participle might be maintained for some time.

d. *Mubtada-khabar* vs. Subject verb object

The former SBA *mubtada khabar* construction: əl-ʕajn zarqa, "lit-the eye (is) blue, i.e., s/he has blue eyes" attested in the speech of several elder speakers (e.g., Zoulikha,

Abdelghafour, etc.) is now gradually being supplanted by more simple (and, in other cases, direct verbal constructions) as well as by more regularity (another type of simplification) in plural forms, as in ʕandaħ ʕajniːn səmm "he has poison (ie awsome) eyes", in the mouth of younger female speakers (e.g., Khadra about a football player).

4.8.1.3 Lexico-phonetic simplification

In the old SBA pair zarqa/zarga "blue", the opposition is not merely phonological; the two words stand in a functional lexical opposition: while zraqq/zarqa means "blue(masc./fem)", zragg/zarga means "dark-skinned/brunette"[47]. The two forms have now merged to form a single meaning only disambiguated by context, where both colour and complexion are referred to as zragg/zarga "blue-masc./blue-fem; "brunet/te".

4.8.1.4 Reallocated lexico-phonological mergers
1) "Alone";"by *agr.*+self/selves"

In addition to its meaning "special/unique", the form wħad-infl. (and not waħħadħa-as in ħiʝʝa wħad-ħa "she (is) special"; ħʊːma wħad-ħɔm "they are special"-) is now extended to mean "alone", thus replacing the old rural SBA ər-rɔːħ-infl., as in ər-rɔːħħa "she (is) alone"; ər-rɔːħħɔm "they (are) alone".The apparent-time variation among speakers displays the use of lɑrwaːħħɔm/ər rwɑːħħɔm by old rural SBA speakers while 1st -and in some cases-2nd generation-born speakers display extreme variation between ər rɔħħɔm and (sedentary) waħħadħɔm, resulting in the fuged/mixed form of ər rɔħħɔm and waħħadħɔm: wħadħɔm. In each of the excerpts below, Samir uses the same form [*wħadħa*] with a different meaning:

a. *wħadħa :* "special"

Samir: *waːħ/kima mʕa sħaːbɛ nəħħadrɔ ħaːk/ʊ f əd daːr ħadra **wħadħa**/ ʊ kiː ŋkʊːn mʕa la famille/ ħadra **wħadħa** [*Yes. For example, with my friends, we speak in that way and at home...a special (another) way of speaking...and when I'm with my family...a special (another) way of speaking.]

The excerpt above also shows Samir's use of a new form : wħadħa, neither rural : ər rɔħħa nor urban: waħħadħa. This variant here means " unique"; "special", as in Abdelkader's use of "wħadħɔm", meaning "special" when referring to his parents : əl waldiːn wħadħɔm,

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47 *mzarrga* "(she) has blue marks/bruises" usually means "she has been severely beaten".

" parents are unique" . It is important to note that **wħad** (ﬁɔm) has the same pattern as (ə) **rrɔfi** (ﬁɔmﬁ): CCVC

Another occurrence of *wħadﬁɔm* in Samir's speech confirms the emergence of this new mixed feature (see p. 211) :

b. wħad ﬁa : **"alone; just like that"**

Samir : xɑṭrɑ:t tʒɛ wħadﬁa [Sometimes...it comes alone (ie. just like that].

My use of waﬁﬁadﬁa in the question obviously did not refrain Samir from using wħadﬁa **;** this may indicate that the new lexical variant is partly influenced by the SBA phonetic metathesis waﬁd → wħad. Therefore, Samir's use of either the urban variant or the mixed variant is not conditioned by accommodation, as he uses the urban waﬁdɛ " on my own" right at the beginning of the telephone call, even before I myself use it in the interview :

N. : *ra:k ga:ʕəd ḍarwak mʕa sħa:bək* [You're hanging around now with your friends?]

Samir: *wa:ﬁ/ki: ŋku:n ga:ʕəd waﬁdɛ naﬁdaṛ mʕa:k*

[Yes...when I'm alone, I'll speak with you]

2) əl -ba:raﬁ **and** *ja:məs* : **" yesterday" and "last night"**

The two old SBA distinct forms əl-ba:raﬁ and ja:məs "last night" and "yesterday" have now merged into əl-ba:raﬁ, similarly to Algiers, where the opposition between əl-ba:raﬁ and ʔa:məs has also disappeared, the surviving merger variant being əl-ba:raﬁ .

4.8.1.5 Lexical reallocation

The number of lexical changes and reallocation processes is important in new SBA, with new forms appearing, as a result of influence from Oran and the surrounding cities (Tlemcen, Mascara, etc.) as well as from Algiers. The result is the emergence of new, reallocated terms, some of which are listed below:

jɔgʕɔd **and** **jrijjaﬁﬁ :** **sitting ; resting ; staying; not doing anything**

Table 22: Lexemes for "sitting", "staying" and "resting" in old and new SBA speech

	El-Hadj	Hajla	Hamid	Adel	Rayane
Sit	mʒəmmʕiːn "sitting"	mrijjħiːn "sitting"		*gaːʕəd /mriyyaħ* sitting/staying	nɔggɔʕdɔ ʕandaħ "we stay at his place"
Stay/remain/be unemployed	gʕadd "he remained"	----------	*mrijjaħ*	------------------	nɔggɔʕdɔ
Resit	---------------------	----------	-----------	*nrijjaħ* "resting"	---------------------

Old SBA mʒəmmʕiːn "sitting" is gradually being replaced by gaʕdiːn, the latter being an urban variant of Algiers coexisting with qaʕdiːn, meaning "sitting" and "staying". In old SBA, *gaʕdiːn* means "staying". Now it has the same meaning as in Algiers, ie., "sitting" and "staying". As for *mrijjħiːn*, it now means both "having recovered/healed up" in old SBA, "sitting/not doing anything" in new SBA and coexists with gaʕdiːn to mean "not doing anything".

Excerpts from conversations by Belabbesi speakers illustrate variation and change:

-El-Hadj, 86

jʒəmmaʕ = sit

mniːn jʒɔ l kʷbaːr jʒəmmʕɔ ʕandaħ   [When the old (men) come and sit at his place]

jɔgʕɔdd = stay

əlli ma ʕandaħʃ (ħarfa) gʕadd   [He who has no skill remains (ie. remains jobless]

-Abdelkader

jrijjaħ = rest

AEK: nʕaːwəd nrɔːħ l əd daːr nrijjaħ   [Then I go back home to rest]

-Hajla

jrijjaħ = sit/stay

Hajla: *jrɛjjħɔ barra taħt əl batɛma:t* [They sit/stay outside in front of the buildings]

-Adel

i. jrijjaħ = rest

Je prends mon mois de congé/nrijjaħ [I take my month's holiday to rest]

ii. mrijjaħ = sitting/staying

Ɂanɛ mrɛjjaħ f waħd əl bla:sa/ à côté de Bousfer Plage...[I am sitting/staying by Bousfer Beach]

iii. ga:ʕəd = sitting/staying

Ɂanɛ ga:ʕəd nʃʋ:f əs sɔʁr ətta:ʕɛ ki fəwwattaħ//kʋnna ndi:rʋ feu de camp...en famille... **ḍ**ɔkk gʕatt ənʃʋ:f əħmijja:n/les tables hadu:k/ta:ʕ əṭ twa:bəl/ta:ʕ əlli jəkrʋ f ən nħa:r [I am sitting, recalling my childhood, how I spent it. We woul light a campfire with my family. Now I am looking at *H'miyyaan[48],* with those tables, tables for a day-rent]

-Hamid

mrijjaħ = sitting; staying; unemployed

ra:ħ mrijjaħ [He is unemployed]

-Rayane

nɔggɔʕdɔ ʕandaħ [We stay at his place]

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48 This term is used in a derogatory sense to refer to wandering people, comparable to the Roms in France.

4.8.2 Understanding dialectal change in SBA

Contact-induced dialectal change involves not only the shifts that operate towards or away from one of the contributing dialect features but also their maintenance. These processes pertain to linguistic universal tendencies of a physiological type as well as to socio-economic and attitudinal factors such as education, communal consciousness and identity.

4.8.2.1   Interdental-dental mergers

The mergers for the interdentals in the new urban vernacular of SBA are discussed in 4.8.1.1 above. Merging is another example of simplication, and the physiological causes, the late acquistion, the absence of interdentals in many languages make them disappear more rapidly:

> […] there is a considerable accelerating influence of the high degree of naturalness of the loss of /θ/ and /ð/. Both are, of course, unusual in the world's languages, acquired late by children, and subject to loss or change in many varieties of English. They are phonologically marked, and good candidates for variable merger and eventual loss. (Trudgill 1986: 57)

The absence or scarcity of "*homonymic clash*" (ibid.) between dentals and interdentals in the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes is another argument for the loss of the latter. Indeed, there exists no opposition between such pairs as ɦaːdi and ɦaːði "this-fem"; θʊːm and tʊːm "garlic"; ḍɑlmɑ and ḍɑlmɑ "darkness" and the success of this merging is probably further enhanced by the relative proximity of interdentals and stops in the phonology of SBA Arabic.

4.8.2.2 Resistance of extra-strongly salient features

In 3.6.2.4, a statement is made that extra-strongly salient features (features too marked) are more likely to be maintained than (less) salient features (markers). This resistance to change is found both among rural SBA and Tlemcen speakers. The features maintained are too marked (they sound too Belabbesi or too Tlemceni) to be subjected to accommodation or change.

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1) Resistance of old features of Sidi Bel-Abbes

Among the features of Sidi Bel-Abbes that resist change, there are highly salient stereotypical features that cannot be levelled out; they are therefore maintained, the most outstanding of which are enumerated below:

***i*) Phonology** ɣ: gaːl "he said".

***ii*) Morpho-syntax:** -aħ: gʊtlah "I said to him"; "ʒəbtaħ "I brought it".

***iii*) Lexicon:** *waːħ* "yes"*; əl-la* "no"(for a comparative account of the features of the dialects of SBA, Tlemcen, and Algiers (see Table 3 in 2.4.2.3).

Despite changes in seveval features, urban speakers of SBA have maintained many features of SBA speech. Regarding g in such items as gaːlət "she said"; gʕadd "he remained", it may be suggested that such resitance is due to their extra-strong salience (or their very strong markedness). An illustrative example is the use by SBA speakers of q when mocking Algiers by means of an exaggerated use of q, or Tlemcen speakers by means of an exaggerated use of ʔ. This well-known *tongue-twister* illustrates the situation:

darbətt əl ʕaṭṭa bəl ʕarʔaːb fʊːʔ əl ʔ armʊːd [She hit the cat with the clog on the tiled-roof]

In SBA speech, it is realised as: *darbətt əl **g**aṭṭa bəl **q**aɪqaːb fʊː**g** əl **q**ɑrmʊːɑ,* where Tlemcen ʔ is realised as g in some words and q in others (see 3.4.2.1 for a detailed treatment of g, G, and q).

A further example is the resistance of SBA g to Algiers (and CA) q; the extra-salience of q as an outsider in SBA speech is found in the ironic expression containing not the SBA usual g but the Algiers q feature: *əl qiːl wəl qaːl* "the said and the saying" to express contempt towards gossip, the use of the q proably expressing (both cultural and geographical) distance from such practices.

As for the replacement of -aħ by -ʊ and that of wɑːħ by ʔɛħ, they are not attested in the collected data among Belabbesi speakers, not even as occurrences involving accommodation to the interviewer's (mixed) speech variants.

2) Resistance of Tlemcen features

The three-generational model of koineisation being attested only among a limited number of the speakers of Tlemceni origin who were interviewed, the remaining either maintain their communal dialect or adopt very few of the features of urban SBA vernacular. The Tlemcen features below are maintained, being indicators, below level of consciousness:

a. Phonology

ii. Fronting in some words: haːki "take (this)", instead of SBA *ħaːkɛ*.

ii. Backing in some words: bbʷɑːk "your father"; kimʷɑ "like-prep."(instead of SBA bbʷaːk ; kiːma).

Both Tlemcen fronting and backing are mutually exclusive with SBA fronting and backing; for example, while in SBA, fronted sounds in words such as kiːma "like-prep."; bbʷaːk "your father" are backed in Tlemcen: bbʷɑːk ; kimʷɑ ; *ʕʷraːḍ*, etc.; backed sounds in SBA words such as *ħaːkɛ* are fronted in Tlemcen: haːki

iii. Long vowels (ie., no diphthongisation): əs - sɛːf "summer", instead of SBA əs sajf ; maʃiːn "going-pl.", instead of SBA maʃjiːn. However, where there are long vowels in Tlemcem, there are diphthongised vowels in (old and new) SBA, and vice versa.

iv. œ instead of SBA a ; ɑ ; ɔ : əd draːrɛ nœʔla "children are seeds"

v. The use -in some words- of ə instead of SBA ɔ : mərr "bitter".

vi. Metathesis in some words: rɛːħɑ "she is", instead of SBA rɑːħɛ

vii. Vowel elision in prepositions followed by nouns or other words: **f** dɑrɔ "in his home", instead of (old) SBA **fiː** dɑrɑħ.

b. Morphology and syntax

i. Indirect and direct object pronoun is -ʊ , instead of SBA -ah:

ii. Verbs in iːw: jəkmiːw "to smoke" instead of SBA jəkmɔ.

iii. Verbs in aːj: tatməʃʃaj "you walk" instead of SBA tatməʃʃi.

iv. Some Tlemcen plurals seem to follow a regular pattern: ət ṭœrʔaːn "the roads";

əl ʕabasiʤʤiːn "Belabbesi people" while they are irregular in old and new SBA:
əṭ ṭrɔgg ; əl ʕbaːbsa.

c. Lexicon

a. nəʕʕamlɔ "we do", instead of SBA ndiːrɔ

b. jərdʒaʕ "he comes back", instead of SBA "jwəllɛ"

4.8.2.3 Education and the speakers' use of dentals and interdentals

Young urban schooled speakers display a distinction between interdentals and dentals. Thus, while interdentals may often be found in the Classical Arabic variety they use, dentals are not only a feature of casual speech in the vernacular but also a feature of formal spoken speech in what may be referred to as ESA (Educated Spoken Arabic). ESA is defined as a mix of colloquial and literary lexical items and vernacular phonology and morphology, the latter embodied in the absence of case and mood markers -i'raːb- (Ryding 2006 : 666). During the first interviews that I conducted in the college, several pupils used a formal variety of Arabic: between Classical Arabic and the vernacular. Furthermore, speakers may have varying degrees of proficiency in their distinction between ḍ and ḏ , at least in oral, spontaneous production, as some of them pronounce the two different phonemes (and Arabic letters) alike. More than that, some speakers use dentals even when they intend to speak Classical/standard Arabic either because they have already levelled out their interdentals in the dialectal variety or because they are confused about the differences in CA (both in terms of spelling and pronunciation).

-Sakina

In the excerpt below, Sakina clearly uses a mix of her SBA dialect and ESA, a mix of vernacular grammar and dentals together with CA lexical items:

ʔaːna smɛ sakiːna/ laːqbɛ [...]/fiː mʊʔassasat … … /ʕandɛ zuːʒ əxxuːtɛ/w anaː w xʷtɛ/ʕandɛ paːpa w maːma/paːpa jaxdəmm f ət taʕliːm/ʊstaːd/maːma maː kitatɔn f il bajt/

[My name is Sakina...my surname is [...]...in the institution of […]. I have two brothers and one sister/I have Dad and Mum. Dad works in teaching...[he is] a

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teacher. My mum [is] a housewife].

The passage below marks Sakina's clear switch to MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) : CA interdentals: kaθi:ran ; CA dentals : ʔʊfɑɖɖɛlɔɦɑ ; morpho-syntactic CA constructions: ʔʊfɑɖɖɛlɔɦɑ ; and CA lexical items : ladajja , rʊkʊ:b əl xɑjl ; and absence of i'ra:b(case and mood inflections) in *ɦʊwijja , rʊkʊ:b* and *əl xɑjl* :

> ladajja ɦʊwijja ʔʊfɑɖɖɛlɔɦɑ wa ɦijja rʊkʊ:b əl xɑjl liʔannani ʔʊɦibbʊɦɑ
> kaθi:ran/ liʔanna ʒaddi ʕindaɦʊ mazraʕatʊn wa ladajɦi xʊjʊ:l kaθi:ra// [I have
> a hobby that I prefer... and it is horse-riding because I like it very much because
> my grand-father owns a farm and he has many horses]

-Hind

Hind has levelled out and merged her interdentals completely in what seems to be a mix of her vernacular and ESA, where CA θ is replaced by t and CA ɖ remains unchanged:

> ʕandi rabʕə xwata:t/xʊ wa:ɦəd məl ʔabb/ ʊ ʕa:jʃa mʕa xwata:tɛj/wə mʕa
> ma:ma:/nəqra fəl CEM/ ət-ta:nja mʊtawassɛt//nma:rəs ər-rɛja:da [I have four
> sisters...one brother from the [my] father...and I live with my sisters and with my
> mother. I go to Middle School...2nd year Middle...I practise sports]

-Rachid

Rachid has not followed a classical educational path; he has taken several training courses (computing and English). Though obviously using CA when introducing himself -he intends his speech to be formal-, Rachid uses CA ɖ in ʔajɖɑn "also" (but a dental t for θ in *mitla* "such as"), and an emphatic fricative interdental ɖ instead of the CA emphatic fricative dental ɖ in the words əɖ-ɖaʁɑ:ʔɛb "taxes":

> wa **ʔajɖɑn** ʕandɛ katʕi:r mina ʃ-ʃahada:t/mʊtaɦassiɫ ʕala:ʃahada:t ɔxra **mitla**
> ʃahada:t fil-ʔixtisɑ:s əl-bi:ʔi/wa ʔajdan fil-lʊʁa l-ʔiŋglizija/wa ʔajdan fil-ʔiʕla:m
> əl-ʔa:lɛ// wa ɦa:lijan ʔaʕmalʊ fi: mʊdi:rijatt/maslaɦatt **əɖ-ɖaʁɑ:ʔɛb** ka
> **mʊwwaɖɖaʃ** ʔida:rɛ bi madi:natt si:di bəl ʕabba:s/ʔaʕzab// ʔasʔila/ [and I also
> have many diplomas: I have obtained other degrees like a degree in the speciality

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of environment and also in the English language and also in computer science. And presently I work in the managing department of...department of taxes...as a civil servant in the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes. I am single. (Any) questions?]

-Amina

Amina clearly intends to speak a formal variety of the SBA vernacular: she uses CA lexical items but dentals instead of CA interdentals:

ma:ma: ***ma:kita*** *ʃəl bɛjt//nəbʁɛ n-ʕɔ:m/xatˤra:t n rɔ:ħ ʔana w ʔabi ləl manɛ:ʒ//*

Mum is a housewife//I like swimming...sometimes I go with my father to the
merry-go-round.

-Khadra

i. Focused dentals in Classical Arabic or Educated Spoken Arabic?

In the passage below, where she explains why she likes practising sports, Khadra makes a distinction between dentals and interdentals in Classical/Standard Arabic, with an exception, however:she uses a dental in ʊsta:**d**a (CA ʊsta:ða) and she switches to an interdental in r-rɛjja:ɖˤa (CA ər-rɛja: ɖˤa) although she initially used it twice with a dental:

*ʔana: ʔʊħibbɔ mʊma:rasatt **ər-rɛja: ɖˤa** liʔannaha:/liʔannani ʔʊħibbʊħa wa hijja əl-hawijja l-mʊfaɖˤɖˤała: ladajja:/fa ʔʊħibbɔ ʔan ʔaku:na f-il mʊstaqball **ʊsta:da** mʊxtassa fi-r-**rijja:da**/wa ha:ðihi hijja hawijjati əl-**mʊfaɖˤała**/wa ʔatlɔbɔ min kʊlli man jʊħibbɔ ha:ðihi **r-rɛjja:ɖˤa** ʔann jʊma:risaha/liʔanna-ha: tʊfi:duna wa tʊfi:dʊ ʒismina **kaθi:ran**//* [I like practising sports because I like sports and because it is my favourite hobby; so I'd like to be a sports teacher in the future, and this is my favourite hobby. And I ask anyone who likes this sport to practice it because it is good for us and it is good for our body]

ii. gʊlifɑ b əl ʕarbijja t ta:ʕna "Say it in our Arabic (dialect)!"

When Khadra's classmates asked her to "translate" what she had said (above) into the (SBA) dialect, she uses dentals predominantly, with two occurrences of the interdental ð in the demonstrative masculine pronoun ha:ða "this-masc."and two occurrences of the dental d in the demonstrative feminine pronoun *ha:di* "this-fem.":

Ɂana: nəbʁɛ ər-rɛjɑ: **ɖ**a/nəbʁɛ ər-rɛjɑ:**ɖ**a/ nəbʁɛ s-spɔ:r/ ʊ nəbʁɛ nʃaɫɫah fəl-mʊstaqball n-ku:n Ɂʊsta:**d**a mʊxtɑssa fi ha:**ð**a l-maʒa:l/fi ha:**ð**a l-maʒa:l ta:ʕ ər-rɛjjɑ:**ɖ**a/w nabʁɛ kʊll wa:ɦəd mənna/ ʃi:r wəlla ʃira ka:n/j-ma:rəs ha:**d**i r-rijjɑ:**ɖ**a/j-ma:rəs ha:**d**i r-rijjɑ:**ɖ**a/liɁannahɑ:/ laxatɑrʃ hijja tfi:dna wə tfi:d əl-ʒəsm ət-ta:ʕna

4.8.2.4 The SBA variety in radio programmes

My conclusions upon observations of the linguistic practices of presenters on the Sidi Bel-Abbes radio channel are that the choice of variants from among Standard Arabic and the nonstandard varieties -either SBA or Tlemcen- follows essentially the same pattern as in formal spoken situations, in particular when the topic is about cooking or children-raising, where the preference goes, for instance, for dental stops and nonstandard morphology and syntax, but with more lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic. Furthermore, the radio hosts -women, exclusively- could easily be identified as being of Tlemceni or Belabbesi origin, which means that *a)* community vernacular segregation and identity are still important issues and *b)* dialectal change has not yet (?) attained a degree of levelling among women. As to the use of the vernacular, it has not encountered criticism; on the contrary, programmes of this sort are encouraged and broadcasted, to the delight of an audience with little or no education in Standard Arabic. Paradoxically, in situations which enjoy a significant promotion of nonstandard varieties of Arabic (cf. Haeri 1997), other studies maintain that the use of *'Ammiyya* in TV channels is not welcome (Doss 2010) and, in novels, has raised a few eyebrows among some literary circles, despite the fact that the novels received much success from the reading public (Abboud-Haggar 2010: 212).

In any case, as Moss (2010: 139) asserts, "the study of Arabic in media is of great interest and deserves much more research both in language and in discourse analysis."

4.9 Conclusion

In a contact dialect situation such as that which prevails in Sidi Bel-Abbes, the question of the outcome variety is not a simple one. One of the scenarios predicted by Miller (2004) is given full realisation in Sidi Bel-Abbes: *"an urban koine, a mix of both bedouin/rural and sedentary dialects, is used in public space, with the communal varieties limited to the private sphere"* (Miller 2004: 24), with this difference however that more and more of this blend is being used in homes, generally to varying degrees, the consequence of which will most probably lead to significant changes in the speech of migrants, leading to a koine. Migrant Tlemcen speakers -men, mostly- accommodate (in public space, at least) to the dialect of Belabbesis, who, in their turn, are influenced by sedentary speech coming from Tlemcenis and, to a higher extent, from Oran (due to the geographical proximity between Oran and SBA) and Algiers via the radio and the television but also via the linguistic missionaries commuting between and working in Algiers and SBA. Both Belabbesis of rural origin and Tlemcenis speak their dialectal varieties at home, but to varying degrees. As for the new urban SBA variety, it is acquired by 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation-born speakers of either community. However, the situation is not that straightforward, as several factors come into play in the emergence of a new urban dialect. Education *per se* is not decisive for the acquisition of the new dialectal features, but the opportunities it offers -for example, new social relations- contribute in enhancing the acquisition of new urban features. Opportunities for language levelling come also outside educational settings, for example, the place of residence, networks and communities of practice. Moreover, as L. Milroy (2002) suggests, strength in a social network inhibits linguistic change while weakness enhances it. As regards the situation in Sidi Bel-Abbes, and for a great number of speakers, it is not the weakness of their respective communities but rather the strength of the communities of practice they are engaged in that enhances their acquisition of the urban SBA features; in other words, they speak new urban SBA not because their social networks are weak but precisely because their communities of practice are strong enough to lead them to level out their in-group/home variety. This is illustrated -each in their own way- by Adel and Houria, who, though belonging to two strong conservative families, have both adopted the new urban vernacular of SBA.

In face-to-face communication, most young speakers of rural origin are found to accommodate to their interlocutors' urban speech. This short-term accommodation is often

followed by long-term accommodation, leading to changes in the new contact dialect. For example, Nesrine addresses her sister with the rural variant lʁa, "call": lʁɛ l-Noria "Call Noria" while in public space or when reporting her peers' speech, she uses ʕajjaṭ. More significantly perhaps is the transitional reallocation of lʁa, which equates with "to call" while ʕajjaṭ means "to call on the telephone", with this latter form gradually taking over to mean both "call" and "call on the telephone". The same is observed in the speech of Samir, who accommodates, to finally level out his rural features, replacing them by urban ones.

The media and education contribute not only in the promotion of some Algiers and Oran variants but also in the acquisition of some features of Classical Arabic, though this does not concern all the linguistic level features. For example, while many phonological changes have taken the direction of sedentary stopping, de-diphthongization and vowel bounce, the few lexical borrowings from CA involve mostly words having no other equivalent in nonstandard SBA, as when pupils use əl mʊʔassasa , əl tanawijja to refer to their junior high school. In our present case, when two or more variants coexist, they start competing, with each being used in a different situation -for example formal or casual. If the variant has a prestige status in Oran and/or Algiers, it gains its place as an urban variant in SBA, in a hierarchical scaling, with the Algiers variant winning, provided it is not too marked and is close enough to Classical Arabic, as is the case for *jaqdarɪ*. If the variant has no similar item in CA, a variant from Algiers takes the lead. Though *jqadd* is now the urban SBA variant, because it is too Oran marked (and perhaps acoustically "*harshe*r" than the other variants") and coexists (and competes with Algiers -and CA-) *jaqdarɪ*, it might only survive as an informal variant in the speech of SBA and Northwestern Algeria as a whole.

Large-scale sociolinguistic quantitative analyses have proved very useful to our understanding of dialectal variation and change in Sidi Bel-Abbes: they shed light not only on the degree of variation but also on the discrepancies that set speakers apart with respect to age, origin, and education; it is these quantitative discrepancies that trigger further investigations. For this reason, quantitative studies should be carried out carefully in terms of the types of interview and speaker selection; in spite of this, they may sometimes prove misleading and will therefore jeopardise theresults. It is thus necessary to carry out anthropol--ogical/ ethnological analyses -along the lines of Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1989)- as well as social relations as social networks and communities of practice; given the complexity of such a human endeavour, an understanding of these might be (partly) captured within small-scale ethnographic studies of speakers.

General conclusion

The present research, carried out for over 7 years and based on quantitative analyses of direct and indirect interviews and life accounts by about 300 speakers living in Sidi Bel-Abbes, as well as on qualitative studies, unveils dialectal variation and change in intra-personal and inter-personal communication according not only to social variables such as age, and education, but also according to origin and context of situation. In the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, contact between the local Belabbesis, the rural migrants from nearby villages, speakers originally from Tlemcen, and speakers from other towns and cities, has resulted in the emergence of a new urban vernacular, with a distribution of different dialectal variables among Belabbesi dwellers.

Quantitative investigations unveil that, on the whole, young educated Belabbesi speakers of rural origin exhibit higher scores of urban features than their elder illiterate counterparts. However, the former group of speakers do not offer a dialectal homogeneous picture, as their varying degrees of urbanised focused forms depend on the time these speakers have lived in Sidi Bel-Abbes. Unlike a variationist approach, a koineisation approach views language variation and change more in terms of the settlement time of migrant speakers than in terms of their age. This, however, does not mean that age is irrelevant: there is a growing speech urbanisation as the speakers are younger, with a clear-cut difference between the group of the eldest (80 and over) speakers and that of the 20 year-olds, the latter group displaying much variability. Children before adolescence, however, remain under the linguistic influence of their parents or caregivers, of which they free themselves as they spend more time with their peers and, in some cases, with those older. This point is important because it explains why some speakers of different age ranges use similar features while others the same age vary considerably; it was observed that, at equal ages, young speakers of migrant origin do not display an equal degree of dialectal focusing. For many young speakers, levelling out one's communal dialect features is enhanced by schooling, in particular by successful schooling, though it is not education *per se* that promotes change, but the contact opportunities it offers and the social networks and communities of practice within which they socialise with higher social class schoolmates.

From a methodological viewpoint, dialectal variation and change among Belabbesi speakers cannot be explained solely on the basis of quantitative correlations between such social factors as age and education and dialectal variants; appeal to extralinguistic factors

-namely, historical, demographic, and communal- is necessary. This being said, there are some reservations regarding the adoption of a framework that grants quantitative results a minor role; in the case of the work that I carried out, it was precisely the significant figures resulting from the quantitative surveys that triggered closer, more qualitative, research. Nevertheless, the latter constitutes a more thorough study of the complex dialect situation in the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes. Therefore, both the quantitative and the qualitative results in the degree of variation, mixing, and change in the speech of many consultants may be better understood within a more ethnographic study that echoes Fishman's (1965) "*who speaks what language to whom and when?*", thus taking into account such parameters as the speakers' background, their origin, their social networks, the context of situation, their attitudes and their representations.

Young urban Belabbesis in their 20s undoubtedly stand out as the innovators and vectors of dialectal change; however, despite their common origin, some speakers take different trajectories as to the direction of the change, precisely because of a combination of factors, including their social networks and communities of practice, quite decisive in the maintenance or levelling out of the communal features. Speakers of rural origin who remain in their communal closed network acquire the urban features less rapidly than speakers of rural origin who are in frequent contact with urban dwellers. When speakers are educated and involved in networks and practices of "urbaners", the levelling out of their rural features is even more rapid. Whether speakers maintain their communal speech or adopt the new urban vernacular also depends on their already existing verbal repertoire, their educational and socio-economic level. The immediate situations in which speakers find themselves trigger immediate (or short-term) accommodation to one another's speech, much of which is indicative of change in progress.

Apart from rare occurrences of Classical/Standard Arabic features such as jaqdarr used in formal situations by some speakers, the 13 features from old SBA have diverged either towards sedentary Algiers or (now) sedentary Oran. At the phonological level, the shift is from old SBA to sedentary speech (and not to CA): stopping, de-diphthongization, vowel elision and vowel bounce. At the morpho-syntactic level, there is a systematic regularisation of unmarked feminine to marked feminine and *ma-* negation forms for all verbal (and participial) forms. At the lexical level, lʁa "to call" is gradually being supplanted by sedentary (now urban) ʕajjaṭ and rural time adjuncts are slowly going urban. As for the lexeme "to go", we observe its shift from old rural SBA sɑdd, ʃɑwwɑrr, jɔʁda to urban

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rɑːɦ , now predominantly heard even nationally though it is neither a sedentary feature nor a feature of the capital city Algiers. These changes are indicative of a *reverse* direction of that which prevailed in the 1940's when Cantineau (see section 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.2.2) made the statement that in the county of Oran, the dialects of the sedentary have hardly influenced the Nomads (« ...dans le département d'Oran, les parlers de sédentaires n'ont que faiblement influencé les nomades... ») (Cantineau (1940: 225). Whether this change might be due to the rapid urbanisation or to a change of values, ie from rural/bedouin values of manlihood and toughness to more urban values of modernity and "refinement", remains to be more thoroughly investigated, though a tentative answer is provided in the present work.

One of the main shortcomings of some of the diglossic approaches is the emphasis laid on Classical/Standard Arabic as the prestige variety, relegating the vernacular dialects to a minorised status. Unlike western societies, where the standard variety is assigned prestige status, the linguistically complex -diglossic and multilingual- situation such as that which prevails in Arab (and Arabic-speaking) countries and in Sidi Bel-Abbes, in particular, makes the choice of a single prestige variety problematic. A further difficulty in assigning prestige to a single variety in Sidi Bel-Abbes stems from the significant discrepancies between the regional and communal bedouin/rural/sedentary varieties of Arabic in Algeria. In Sidi Bel-Abbes, speakers share knowledge and (relative) agreement about what the prestige dialects are, and there seems to exist -though not very well-defined- a hierarchy in the representations of the prestige dialectal varieties: Algiers, Tlemcen, Oran, and urban SBA, with Classical/Standard Arabic enjoying a particular status, in that its status shows in some restricted formal situations either because speakers have low or no competency in Standard Arabic or because they simply wish to express themselves in the formal variety/varieties of their respective vernaculars. This may be illustrated in the use of interdentals, which, despite their being part of the phonological inventory of Classical/Standard Arabic and of old rural SBA, have given way to stops in the new urban dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes. These stops -also a feature of sedentary dialects of old city centres and that of the capital city Algiers- have supremacy over the interdentals of Classical/Standard Arabic. Conversely, in many English-speaking countries (e.g., Britain), it has been suggested that stop realisations are usually associated with low prestige speech and therefore not valued precisely for their divergence from Standard English, a situation with which the Algeria therefore stands in total opposition.

Though education among young and even older speakers has contributed in the promotion of such lexical items as *əl muʔassasa* "the institution" *əl taːnawijja* "the *lycée*";

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awaddʊ *ʔan* "I would like to"; ʔʊriːdʊ "I want to" and the like, their target Arabic variety in casual or even formal speech is not Standard Arabic. Evidence that the direction of the change of Belabbesi speech is generally not towards the standard form may be found in the maintenance of some old SBA non-standard forms and the levelling out of other old SBA features originating from Classical/Standard Arabic. For example, in both formal and informal styles, though nonstandard old Belabbesi g and -ah have have been maintained, many other CA features have been replaced by urban (formerly sedentary) features. Firstly, sedentary dentals have displaced bedouin and Classical Arabic interdentals; secondly, all the *la-* negative verb forms (indicative, durative, and imperative) have merged towards the *ma- ʃ* forms: *ma- ʒaːtʃ* "she did not come", *ma- ʒajjaːʃ* "it is not appropriate"; *ma- tʒiːʃ* "do not come"; and thirdly, old rural SBA and CA unmarked feminine nouns have been regularised (and simplified) to marked forms in the new SBA urban vernacular: ʕzʊːʒ : ʕzʊːʒa "a mother-in-law"; səttʊːt : səttʊːta "a mischievous woman".

Young educated speakers are aware of and use different speech styles, formal and informal. For example, the use of dentals is attested in both semi-formal and casual styles of the vernacular while CA interdentals are only rarely used in highly formal situations even by educated speakers having focused their stopping when using Classical/Standard Arabic. The particular status of dental stops is quite interesting in that their use among Belabbesi speakers is also attested in what is commonly referred to as an ESA (Educated Spoken Arabic) form of Sidi Bel-Abbes, a mix of classical lexical items and (Sidi Bel-Abbes) vernacular phonology (the use of dentals and g) and morphology and syntax (the absence of case and mood marking, or *i'rab)*. It is precisely the maintenance of g (as opposed to CA q), the regional morpho-syntactic feature (e.g., -ah) and the lexical SBA features (e.g.,wɑːħ, niʃaːn, etc.) that mark the urban character of Belabbesi speech, in addition to stopping, though the latter is not specific to SBA. Some educated speakers do, however, use interdentals in formal situations; this may be indicative of their desire to keep the two varieties apart and acknowledge their competency in each. Further evidence of the prestige status of dentals may be found in the use, by some speakers with low or no competency in CA, of hypercorrected forms of dentals instead of the CA appropriate interdentals. Likewise, a higher level of education does not necessarily lead speakers to use more standard features; as in many Arab countries, the main borrowings from CA/SA involve the lexical level. In their daily conversations, SBA speakers having received little of no formal education do not often use CA/SA vocabulary, and frequently-used words lean more towards the Arabic variety of Oran (and, to a lesser extent,

of Algiers) than towards CA/SA features. However, when they intend to be less informal, most Belabbesi speakers -provided they are educated or, at least, have some notions of CA/SA vocabulary via television- appeal to CA/SA lexical items. Due to increased exposure to CA/MA features,, the number of CA/SA features will, in the long run, increasingly be incorporated into the speech of SBA (and that of other cities).

According to many studies, dialectal change in many Arab countries is heading not towards the classical/standard variety of Arabic but towards the dialectal variety of capital cities. It has been suggested, however, that in North Africa, each city or region has its own prestige variety. In Algeria, the dialectal distance and the extra-strongly salient nature of some regional variants does not make it easy to adopt the dialect of the capital city. As for Tlemcen, its prestige status as an old city dialect does not necessarily render it a target variety in SBA, due not only to the dialectal but also to the social and cultural distance between the two communities. Instead, the prestige target variety in informal speech is that of the urban dialect of nearby Oran -which is gradually (re)gaining national prestige- and the capital city, Algiers. The dialects of Oran and Sidi Bel-Abbes, not being fundamentally distinct, share several features: the phonological preference for *g*; the morphophonemic -*ah* particle; the form *n/ŋ-; tn- ; nt-* in passives; and a huge number of everyday, high-frequency, lexical items: wɑːħ əlla "yes/no"; niʃaːn "straight on", etc., and they stand in opposition with the dialect of Tlemcen. For example, while in the former dialects, an everyday expression of the sort "where are you going?" is *wiːn raːk raːjaħ* , it is *fajən rɛːk maːʃi* in the latter. In fact, the dialects of Sidi Bel-Abbes and Oran have for years been gradually merging to the point of becoming almost undistinguishable.

In Sidi Bel-Abbes, and this seems to be also the case in many cities of the Arab world, class consciousness is not comparable to that in western societies, though there are signs that new social dialects are emerging, thus partly erasing communal differences; one way this may be achieved is by the adoption of the Algiers urban vernacular, the latter having in its turn largely drawn on a number of regional dialects, due to contact resulting from large movements of populations in search of job opportunities in the capital city. Whether this will give rise to a new koine depends on more thorough studies on this issue, though changes have already been observed, in particular, as regards the use by many (old and new) settlers in Algiers of g instead of (Algiers) q and, to a lesser extent, of interdentals instead of (Algiers) dentals, which many end up losing. Regarding the status of each of q, g, ʔ and k, there are some marked tendencies in the development of many Arabic dialects. In the Middle-East, the

variant ʔ has for long enjoyed national prestige status, as in Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan; however, q is reappearing in the speech of Egyptians as a standard variant, a situation which seems to prevail in other other Arab cities. The status of g as a male feature and ʔ as an effeminate feature in some parts of the Mashreq is also dominant in the Maghreb, though the use of the glottal stop ʔ is limited only to the two old city centres, Fes in Morroco and Tlemcen in Algeria. In Algeria, at least four distinct and phonetically unrelated variants are attested: g, q, ʔ and k, and the complex status of some variants within and between the communities makes it difficult to generalise. In traditional dialectology, the presence of sedentary q is attested in Algiers and, with the exception of Tlemcen, bedouin g is used by speakers in many parts of western Algeria -North and South among Arabic-speaking communities. While q is considered as the prestige variant of the capital city Algiers, g now bears not only "authentic" values but also an urban way of speaking in many parts of Algeria, including Algiers, where it coexists with q. As for Tlemcen ʔ, its use is often governed by sex differences: while it enjoys high prestige among (Tlemcen) women, it is is avoided by (Tlemcen) men in public space because it "sounds effeminate", a reason why some adopt the g variant or alternate between the two. The q variant is attested among male Belabbesi of Tlemceni origin not wishing to sound too "*guttural*"; these neither have the desire of sounding effeminate nor too harsh and rural, either; for this reason, they opt for the use of sedentary Algiers (and CA) q. This having been said, it is important to have a clear understanding of what exactly is meant by "prestige variant". In the case of gender differentiation between g and ʔ, for example, men's preference for g does not necessarily make it a prestige variant. Rather, for a nmber of Tlemceni male speakers interviewed, it might be precisely that the priority of sounding "rough" when using an urban (formerly rural) feature is more important than sounding "soft" or "refined".

Many Western studies have claimed that, compared to men, women are at the avant-garde of linguistic change. Regarding the Belabbesis of rural origin, the present work unveils that more frequent outside exposure to the urban vernacular enhances the adoption of urban features by both educated and/or working male and female speakers more rapidly than their unemployed counterparts, who spend more time indoors or with their in-group and/or closed network members (usually housewives and men working in manly activities), and apart from few lexical items -mostly taboo and swear words restricted to same-sex speakers as well as voice and pitch quality, the present study unveils that differences between males and females in the urban vernacular of Sidi Bel-Abbes are not startling. Furthermore, the low prestige

status of former rural Sidi Bel-Abbes speech and, to a lesser extent, that of urban SBA, does not seem to have given rise to distinct dialectal sex differences.

In the light of the representations of the Tlemceni consultants in this study, the dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes is generally perceived as a "*tough*" way of speaking, which may explain why it is more readily adopted by (Tlemceni) men; conversely, sedentary dialects in general, and the Tlemcen and Algiers dialects, in particular, are considered more refined, a probable reason why they are maintained by Tlemceni women and levelled out by Tlemceni men. Contact-induced dialectal change results in changes below the level of consciousness; even though they claim that they have kept their dialectal variety, Tlemcen elder speakers who have lived in Sidi Bel-Abbes for some time do not realise that their speech exhibits changes in the direction of the local urban variety of Sidi Bel-Abbes, and this even when they think they speak Tlemceni. In their turn, a number of speakers (women, mostly but not exclusively) of SBA (rural) origin are found to adopt some of the Tlemcen (and/or Algiers) features, in their (unconscious) desire to identify with these prestige communities and their values, whereas others wish to sound neither too rural nor too "cute". Thus, the koineisation process among migrant speakers has given rise to variation according to the time of migration, with focusing as the last stage for speakers of rural origin and, to a lesser extent, by speakers of Tlemceni descent. The discrepancies observed between speakers with the same profile (for example, age and origin) are taken over by the social networks and communities of practice, as change "from above"(ie. towards the urban variety) is hastened as speakers of either (rural or Tlemceni) origin embrace linguistically more open networks.

Investigations on the field unveil significant discrepancies between the two main communities under study in this research. While holders of the rural SBA marked forms leave them for the private sphere, replacing them by new urban variants in public space, the situation for holders of the Tlemcen variants is a little more complex. In public space, many (mostly but not exclusively elder) Tlemceni women maintain their communal features, including the glottal stop and affricated t: tˢ as a sign of gentleness, while Tlemceni men level them out precisely because they are stigmatised in male's public space for their being too soft for a man to use. It is in this sense that social class, though rather difficult to characterise, is taken over by ethnic or communal origin. For example, holders of high prestige varieties maintain them while those speaking the low prestige ones level out theirs; for example, whether at weddings or in other social gatherings, ethno-linguistic segregation is maintained and sought for by Tlemceni women, as they wish to mark themselves off from the others, thus

trying to express their supremacy. Tlemceni men also pride themselves on their cultural and linguistic heritage in their maintenance of the morphophonemic -ʊ, common to both Tlemcen and Algiers dialects (instead of the Belabbesi marked -ah); however, unlike women, they use some of the Algiers features such as q (instead of Tlemcen ʔ and Belabbesi g). There are nonetheless features that resist both accommodation and change, wherein their extra-strong salience assures them maintenance; for example, SBA g and -ah being extra-strongly salient, speakers will not appeal to (though perhaps prestige) q and u, respectively, despite the fact that q is a standard (CA) feature and -ʊ a prestige variant of Algiers, where it is also an extra-strongly salient feature.

Other morpho-syntactic features are resistant to change in each of the communal dialects. For example, speakers originally from SBA have retained the verbs in u/i (e.g., jəkmʊ "they smoke"; tatməʃʃi "you walk") while Tlemceni speakers have kept many verbs in iw/aw (e.g., jəkmiw ; jatməʃʃaw "they smoke"; "they walk"), with this difference that the latter group is gradually adjusting to the urban SBA i/u forms, which implies that they will soon completely level out their ɪ/ʊ verbs forms in the public sphere once they have become aware of them.

What can be concluded from this study is that the linguistic level variants selected by speakers in Sidi Bel-Abbes are not always the same for each of the vernacular and the standard form of Arabic. The physiological natural ease with which stops are pronounced makes them a good candidate for their displacing interdentals; evidence of this is the rapid and widespread dentalisation observed among Belabbesis of rural origin; more than that, the use of dentals in the urban SBA vernacular and, when it occurs, the shift to interdentals when using a more careful, formal variety such as Classical/Standard Arabic serves as further evidence of this change. It seems that for Belabbesi dwellers of either rural SBA or Tlemceni origin, the phonological shift is more rapid than the morphosyntactic and the lexical ones; this is apparent in the rapid change of interdentals to dentals among speakers of rural origin and the use *in public space* of g by Tlemcenis, as well as the slow change or maintenance of the marked morphologies and lexical features (e.g., verbal forms and vocabulary terms) in each of the communal varieties.

Finally, to state that communal dialect segregation is still observed is to underestimate the drastic linguistic changes that have occurred in the former dialect of Sidi Bel-Abbes. Though, quantitatively, not many features of old SBA have been levelled out, the dialectal

changes are qualitatively significant. Evidence of the change in progress may be observed in a) the varying degrees of koineisation displayed by migrant speakers in Sidi Bel-Abbes across generations; b) the variation and mixing process of accommodation; c) intra-personal variation -according to context, addressee, degree of formality, and purpose, among other factors- and inter-personal variation with in-groups or out-groups and place of talk-exchange; and d) the rapid dialectal change of speakers engaged in social networks and communities of practice. This having been said, it may not be paradoxical to state that young Belabbesis' affirmation of identity is expressed by *both* the maintenance of some of the features of their communal respective dialects and the adoption of the new SBA urban features: the maintenance of the features of old SBA may be interpreted as a symbol of loyalty to their community while the adoption of the new urban features is a sign of modernity. This modernity is embodied in the versatility involved in the distinction they make between the various functional domains in which they find themselves, with this observation that dialectal change is nonetheless right under way, though some communal features have not (yet) totally disappeared precisely because they are reallocated as semantic, stylistic, or social/cultural markers.

Louis-Jean Calvet states that "*Les langues [...] changent sous l'effet de leurs structures internes, des contacts avec d'autres langues et des attitudes linguistiques*" [Languages […] change under the effect of their internal structures, their contacts with other languages, and the [speakers'] linguistic attitudes](Calvet 1993: 112). Speakers' representations and attitudes towards their own and others' communal features constitute a significant reference as to the status of these dialects. It is these representations and attitudes -based on shared knowledge about the communities living together- that play a dialectical relation with the actual linguistic (and dialectal) practices, in that both influence each other in assigning the regional and/or communal ranking of the existing dialectal varieties. Consequently, speakers in Sidi Bel-Abbes know the status of the variants at their disposal; they also know which of these features to use, when, to whom, how, why and for what purpose.

Appendices

Appendix 1: *The family tree*

Below is the full transcription of the recording of an excerpt from a conversation with one of the eldest consultants, Hadj, an eighty-six year old man (at the time of the interview), who was born in Sidi Bel-Abbes and has lived there all his life. In the interview from which this excerpt is taken, he is telling the interviewer some of his recollections and tales about the genealogy of some people with whom he has a kinship tie. An English translation of the excerpt follows.

[...]

El-Hadj : ħadʊ:k wla:dɔxt xdi:ʒa

Interviewer: wɑ:ħ

El-Hadj : məm baʕd ŋgɑtʕətt əz zərri:ʕa n ta:ħħa/bəssaħħ ʕa:qəl ʕlə s si:ma ki: tməʃatt/ħta rɑ:nɛ ki:f//daxlətt əʃ ʃi:ra ħna/bqajna n ħa/n sa:l ʕla//tɔ̣ħna fi sɔ:rət mɑrt wəld […]/mɑrt wəld əl ħa:ʒ/mɑrt əl ħa:g əʒ ʒilali

Interviewer : mɑrt əl ħa:ʒ/wɑ:ħ

El-Hadj : mɑ ʕrɑft kifa:ħ/əl ħadrɑ ba:nət/gal li/wak bəlħadrɛ wəld ʕammətħa//ʔaww bəlmimʊ:n ʔana naʕqall ʕla zʊ:ʒ nsa/naʕqall ʕla mṛa/ma naʕqall ħa:ʃ/xallət mərjəm//ʊ məm baʕd xd̪a xdi:ʒa/ma nəʒʒəmʃ ŋgʊl lək gədda:ʃ⁴⁹xalla/la zʊ:ʒ wəlla θəlθ əbna:t/ʃa:ʃra ma xalla:ʃ/ʃa:ʃra b ər rɑsmɛ ma xalla:ʃ

Interviewer: wɑ:ħ

El-Hadj : ħa:ð wla:d si:di mħamməd əl qa:d̪ɛ/xams əŋka:wi/ə.../səbʕa/təbʁɛ nʕaddħɔm lək kɔlʃɛ/nʕaddħɔmlək

Interviewer: wɑ:ħ/ maðabijja

El-Hadj: fi:ħɔm ənnakwa taʕ ma:lək/fi:ħɔm ənnakwa taʕ ʕabba:s/ħa:ðu wla:d si:di

⁴⁹ gədda:ʃ "how many" is not old SBA; instead, it is ʃħa:l.

mħamməd əl qɑ:ɖɛ/fi:ħɔm ənnakwa tɑ:ʕ naħħɑ:l/fi:ħɔm ənnakwa bəlmimu:n/waħid ɔxrɑ wɑħla

Interviewer: l waħla/wɑ:ħ/naʕqall ʕli:ħɔm ki: kʰɔtt sʁɛ:rɑ

El-Hadj: qwɑ:ɖɛ/ħa:ðʊ wla:d si:di mħamməd əl qɑ:ðɛ//fi:ħɔm ka:jən ħa:ʒa xʷrɑ/ka:jən səmm waħd ɑ:xɔṛ//ka:jən bəlʁaffɑ:r/ħa:ðʊ jgʊ:lʊ l ʒəddħɔm/ʒgʊlʊ:laħ bʊʕazza/ħaðʊ xfʷɑ:fṛɑ/ʔana naʕqall ʕla ʒadddħɔm/ʔana za:jəd mil nɔf sɔ l vɛ̃ do/fi ʃħarr θnɑ:ʕəʃʃ// tari!x/mni:n ŋgʊl lə mʷɑ t tari:x l fla:ni/tgʊl li ʕandak θəlθ əsni:n//maza:l nʕadd ki naʕqall ħɑ:k/rɑ:nɛ m kamməl xamsa wə θmanji:n ʊ rɑ:nɛ za:jəd...

Interviewer: tla:θa

El-Hadj : bala:k rɑ:nɛ fi ʃaħrɛ:n wəlla bə tla:θa

Interviewer : əɫ ɫaħ jba:rək

El-Hadj : ma zəlt naʕqall ʕla ttwari:x taʕ lawli:n

Interviewer :   wɑ:ħ

El-Hadj : nti rɑ:kɛ t ħawwsɛ b əl kamɛṛa/kʊnna n ħawwsʊ ʕli:ħa bə mxɑ:xnɑ

Interviewer :   wɑ:ħ

El-Hadj : mni:n jʒɔ l kʷbɑ:ṛ jʒəmmʕɔ ʕandaħ/ l kʷbɑ:ṛ mni:n jʒɔ jʒəmmʕɔ/ħnan ʒɔ ʃəgg əl ħajʈ ʊ n ətsɑntʊ/jəbqɔ ʒəʒʒəbdɔ ʕla lawli:n/fla:n qajz za:jəd/ki da:jər ət tari:x taʕ bəkrɛ/ʔaħ/ka ni ʔa:ni ŋgu:l mil nɔf sɔ/wəlla mil nɔf sɔ vɛ̃ dɔ/wəlla dɔ mil dɔ/wəlla// ɖɔrk əlla/jgʊllaħ ʕa:m əɖ ɖalmɑ/waħd əl ʕa:m ʒa:t əɖ ɖalmɑ/ʕana kɔnt kbi:r/ət tari:x əl fla:nɛ/jgʊllaħ wəʃta ga:l//ħaði maʕli:ʃ/naħdarr kɔlləʃ

Interviewer : bjɛ̃ syʁ/gʊ:l kɔlləʃ/ga:ʕ əlli...

El-Hadj : jgʊllaɦ bni ʊ ʕalli/w rɔːɦ ʊ xallɛ//

[...]
[El-Hadj : Those are Khdija's nephews.

Interviewer :Yes

El-Hadj : Then, their chain was broken, but I remember how their family tree continued until I became like...The young girl entered here, we carried on speaking...asking about....We brought up the subject of Zouggar's wife, the wife of El-Hadj's son...urm..Hadj Djilali's wife.

Interviewer: El-Hadj's wife...yes...

El-Hadj : I don't know how...it turned out that...She said : « Urm....By the way, Belhadri is her aunt's son ». Oh, Belmimoun ! I remember two women. I remember a woman...I don't remember her...She left Meriem. Then, he married Khadidja. I can't tell you how many [children] he left...if it was two or three girls. The boys, he didn't leave any. The boys, for sure, he didn't leave any.

Interviewer :Yes.

El-Hadj : Those descendants of Sidi Mohamed El-Kadi...Sidi M'hand...Sidi Mohamed El-Kadi... [they] have five surnames...urm...seven surnames. If you want me to enumerate them to you, I will.

Interviewer :Yes, tell me. I'd very much like that.

El-Hadj : There's the surname of Malek ; there's the surname Abbes. Among the descendants of Sidi M'hamed El-Kadi, there's the surname of Nahal. there 's Benmimun...another one...Wahla...

Interviewer : Wahla...yes. I remember them, I was young.

El-Hadj : The kwadi (pl. of Kadi), those are the descendants of Sidi Mohamed El-Kadi.

There's another thing...there's another name...there's Belghaffar. Those ones, their grand-father is called Bouazza. They are Ghfafra [pl. of Belghaffar]. I remember their granfather. I born born in 1922 of the twelfth month....the dates...When I said to my mother what date, she said you were 3 years old. I still count this way until now...I am 85 and...

Interviewer : Three   El-Hadj: And maybe two or three months more...

Interviewer : God keep you !   El-Hadj: I still remember the dates old people

Interviewer : Yes...   El-Hadj: You search with the camera [50] ; we used to search with our heads.

Interviewer : Yes...

El-Hadj : When old men came to sit at his place...old men, when they came to sit, we would stand behind the wall and listen. They'd start talking about the elders : « What's 'is name?" "When was he born ?" How were the dates before? Ah ! As I'm saying 1900 or 1902 or 2002. Before, no. They'd call it the year of darkness. The year when there was an electricity cut , I was big. That date...He said to him...What did he say ? It doesn't matter if I say everything ?

Interviewer: Of course not. Say everything. All that...

El-Hadj : The saying goes: " Build and raise; go and leave [everything]".

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50   It was a tape recorder.

Appendix 2 : l ʕɑrbijja ttaːʕna "Our Arabic"

Below is an English translation of the transcribed excerpts from recordings of Reqia and Rayane, who were asked to translate into their Arabic vernacular the passage that I said to them in French.

As I was walking yesterday/ in our street/ to go home/I saw something that I could not describe to you. Three boys(young men) and eight girls/who studied at the university/were having coffee together. Not far (from them)/there was an old woman sitting alone, who could not stand up/and before going/she asked them if they could help her stand up/. One of the boys said to her: "I can't"/. And one of the girls said:"I can't, either.So the old woman called the waiter and asked him if he could help her in using his telephone..urm...The old woman said: "Can I use your telephone to call my son?" The waiter replied: "The waiter said to her:"I can't/You can go to a public telephone to call your son".The old woman replied:"My husband did the Revolution [Here, the interviewer asks the interviewee: How do you say "My husband did the revolution?"How do you say "The revolution, the war"?]... to free this country/and the government does not even want to help me. I have registered to a course because I am not educated.

- Reqia

Reqia: əl-ba:raɦ/ki kɔnt n-ətməʃʃa/fə/fəʃ-ʃa:raʃ

N. : bəl-ʕarbijja ta:ʕ kəll jɔ:m]

Reqia: bəd-dariʒa

N.: wɑ:h/bəd-dariʒa

Reqia: ja:məs/ja:məs/kima ŋgu:lʊ ɦna/ja:məs/lju:m wəlla ja:məs/ja:məs ki: kɔtt n-nətməʃʃa fəṭ-trɛ:g/fəz-zɔŋqa/kɔtt ma:ʃʃa l-dɑ:rɛ/ba:ʃ n-əmʃɛ lda:rɛ//ʃoft waɦd əl ɦa:ʒa/ma-ʕraftʃ kifa:ʃ nwɑssafha/ha:dik əl-ɦa:ʒa ma-n-əʒʒəmʃ kifa:ʃ nwɑssafha//tla:ta ta:‖ lʊla:d ʊ tmənja ta:ʕ ləbna:t/jəqrə f əʒ-ʒamiʕa/kanʊ mʒəmmʕi:n fi: qahwa/jəʃʃɔrbə qahwʊ j-ətqahwɔ//ɦda:hɔm ka:nət mra ʃibanijja mʒəmmʕa/ga:ʕda ɦda:hɔm/ma-tqaddʃ məski:na ma-tqaddʃɛ tu:gəff/gu:lili la phrase ʊ məm baʕd...//gʊdda:m la təmʃɛ bʁa:t tsaqsɛ:hɔm jla j-nəʒʒmɔ jsaʕdu:ha ba:ʃ tu:gəff//gallha hada:k əl-wəld/wa:ɦəd m əl-lʊla:d/hdarr mʕa:ha gallha ma-naʒʒəmʃ/waɦda m əl-ləbna:t ga:ltalha ʔana ta:nɛ ma-naʒʒəmʃ//ʒa:t hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja lʁa:t l mu:l əl-maɦall/gatlah ʔarwaɦ ʔa wəldɛ/lʁa:t l hada:k mu:l əl-qahwa/ga:tlah ʔarwa:ɦ la-tnaʒʒəm nahdarr f ət-tilifu:n ʕandak ba:ʃ n-əlʁa l wəldɛ/mu:l/əl-qahwa:ʒɛ gallha ma-naʒʒəmʃ/tnaʒʒmɛ

tɔxxɔrʒɛ barra wə tʃu:fɛ un taxiphone ʊ ʕajjṭɛ l wəldak mənnah//hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja raddətt ʕli:h/ ra:ʒlɛ ka:n fi: ʒɛjʃ ət-taħrɛ:r/ʒɛjʃ ət-taħrɛ:r/ət-tawra t-ta:ʕna/tawratna ta:ʕ.../ət-tawra//ra:ʒlɛ ka:n tawrɛ ʕla ħaqq bla:dah/ba:ʃ jəddi l ħʊrijja//əl-ħʊku:ma/əd-dəwla ma-naʒʒmətʃ ga:ʕ *tsaʕədnɛ*/əd-dəwla ma-qadratʃ ga:ʕ tsaʕədnɛ//

- Rayane

əl- ba:raħ/mi:n kɔtt nəmʃɛ/mi:n kɔtt nətmaʃʃa...fi/ l/ z- zɔŋqa ət-taʕna/ba:ʃ n-rɔ:ħ əl-
[Yesterday, while I was walking (Algiers)..while I was walking (SBA)..on our street to go
da:rna/ʃətt ħa:ʒa l-li ma-ŋqadʃ/ma-ŋqadʃ nɔsəf-ha/ma-ŋqadʃ nənʕatha// [...]ʃibanijja
[home, I saw something that I can't..that I can't describe..I can't show you. An old woman]
mʒəmmʕa waħħadha ma-qaddətʃ tnɔ: ḍ//qball ma-trɔ:ħ/galt-əl-hɔm...galt-əl-hɔm la-tqaddə
ba:ʃ
[was sitting alone, and she could not stand up. Before going, she said to them(2) if you can]
tnaww ḍɔ:nɛ//wa:ħəd mən hadu:k əʃ-ʃa:ʃra ga:llha ga:llha ma-ŋqadʃ/waħd əʃ-ʃi:ra ta:nɛ galt-
əl-
[make me stand up. One of the boys said to her (2) I can't. A girl also said to]
ha/ galt-əl-ha ta:nɛ ma-ŋqadʃ ga:ʕ//hijja hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja lʁa:t əl hada:k əlli jaxdamm fəl
[her..she said to her I can't at all. That old woman called that (one) who worked in the]
qahwa/gatlah/gatlah la ŋqadd/ət-tilifu:n ət-ta:ʕak ba:ʃ nʕajjaṭṭ ᵊl wəldɛ//ha:dak əʃ-ʃi:r əlli
[café. She said to him(2) if I can..your phone..to call my son. That boy who]
jaxdamm fəl qahwa gallha ta:nɛ maŋqadʃ/gal-l-ha rɔ:ħɛ lət-ṭaksɛ fɔ:n ba:ʃ tʕajjṭɛ l-
[worked in the café said to her I can't either. He said to her go to the "taxiphone" to call]
wəldak//hadi:k əʃ-ʃibanijja ga:lət[...]wə ntu:ma ma-qadditu:ʃ mɛm pa tʕawnu:ni/əd-dawla
[your son. That old woman said […] and you can't even help me. The government]
mɛm pa ma-qaddatʃ tʕawwn-ni
[can't even help me].

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Appendix 3: *The blue card*

In the passage below, Hamid (see bio in 4.3.2) recalls his ordeals with a civil servant. A translation in English is underneath each line.

La carte bleue ta:ʕ t-taʃʁɛ:l// mʃi:t nʒi:b ha:dɛ *la carte bleue*//wa:ʃ qalu:-lɛ/
[The blue card is for recruitment. I went to get this blue card. What did they say to me?]

gʊt-lah ʕla *la carte bleue* mənna mənna//gal-li ma-naqqadru:ʃ nmaddu:ha ʁɛ:r ħakka:k/
[I told him about the blue card and so on. He said (to me) "we can't give it just like that]

gʊtl-lah wa:ʃ jxɔsˤsˤ ba:ʃ jmaddu:ha/gal-li/gʊt-lah ra:h ka:jən poste/gal-li ma-naqdarʃ naʕtˤɛ-ha-
[I said to him « What is needed to get it?"He said (to me)…I said to him there is a post.
He said (to me) I can't give it]

lək/bdi:t nħawwəs ʕl- *intervention*//ʒbart wa:ħəd/ʒbart wa:ħəd/ʒbart wa:ħəd/gʊtlah/mʃi:t
[to you. I started to look for interventions. I found someone (bis). I said to him. I went]

mʕa:h/mʃi:t/mʃi:t/gʊt-lah/gal-li/gal-li/gʊt-lah/gʊt-lah//gal-ha:-li/gal-li ajja nəmʃʊ nət-
[with him. I went. I went. I said to him. He said to me. I said to him. He said to me. I said to
him. I said to him. He said it to me. He said to me let's go and have]

qahwa:w/gal-li/gʊt-lah l-*poste* rɑ:h ʒa:j ʕla ʔəsmɛ/rɑ:h ʒa:j m-əd-dza:jər//
[coffee. He said to me. I said to him. The post is coming at my name. It's coming from
Algiers]

wa:ʃ qɔtlə
[What did I say to him?]

ʔanaja/gʊt-lah l-əd-dza:jər/gʊtlah wə n-ʒi:b l-*poste* ət-ta:ʕɛ/wa:ʃ qa:l-li/gal-li win mmʷɑ
[I said to him…to Algiers. I said to him, and I'll get my the post. What did he say to me?He
said to me wherever]

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trɔːɦ/rɔːɦ/gal-li win mmʷɑ bʁɛːt trɔːɦ/rɔːɦ //gʊt-lah c'est bon/gʊt-lah taʕ-ʕandmən ər rɔːɦ

[you go, go. He said to me wherever you wanna go, go. I said to him all right. D'you know where I'll go?]

ʕand rɑbbɛ/gʊt-lah haːdi ʊ məm baʕd /gʊt-lah kaːjn əl-muːt/gʊt-lah

[To God, I said to him. This and afterwards, I said to him, there's death, I said to him]

kʊlʃɛ/gʊt-lah/ məm baʕd ʃuːf ʔaːxrət-ha kifaːh//

[Everything, I said to him, afterwards, see what the end of this will be].

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لهجة/لهجات سيدي بلعبّاس
إختلاف، تسوية و تغيير

ملخص

إن إرتفاع التحرّكية و التحضّر السّريع و من ثمّ الإحتكاك ما بين سكّان من نواح أو أصول مختلفة أدّت إلى تغيير معتبر لدى اللّهجات في عدّة مدن عربيّة (و/او ناطقة بالعربيّة). تفحص هذه الاطروحة مسألة الإختلاف، التّسوية والتّغيير لدى لهجة مدينة سيدي بلعبّاس، شمال غرب الجزائر ،و بالخصوص التغيّرات في اللّهجة العبّاسية لدى سكان سيدي بلعباس الوافدين من الأرياف و إلى حدّ أقل التلمسانيّين القاطنين بسيدي بلعبّاس،و هكذا رفع قضيّة تشكيل لهجات جديدة، قضيّة الهيبة و إتّجاه تغيير اللّهجة/اللّهجات بسيدي بلعبّاس

مفتاحية كلمات: العاميّة العربيّة - الجزائر - سيدي بلعبّاس -تلمسان - لهجة - تغيير

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Le(s) parler(s) de Sidi Bel-Abbès
Variation, accommodation et changement

Résumé

A l'instar de nombreuses villes arabes (et/ou arabophones), la mobilité croissante et l'urbanisation rapide ont entraîné d'importants changements dans les parlers communautaires et régionaux à Sidi Bel-Abbès. Cette thèse examine la variation, l'accommodation et le changement du parler de Sidi Bel-Abbès, notamment parmi les Belabbésiens d'origine rurale et, à un degré moindre, ceux d'origine tlemcenienne, et ainsi, soulever la problématique de la formation de nouveaux parlers, la question du prestige et la direction du changement du/des parler/s belabbésien/s.

Mots clés : *Parlers arabes - Algérie - Sidi Bel-Abbès -Tlemcen- Changement dialectal - Variation – Accommodation*

The Dialects of Sidi Bel-Abbes: *Variation, Accommodation and Change*

Summary

The growing mobility and the rapid urbanisation in many Arab (and/or Arabic-speaking) cities have triggered significant changes in regional and communal dialects, and Sidi Bel-Abbes is no exception. The present research examines dialectal variation, accommodation and change in the city of Sidi Bel-Abbes, northwestern Algeria, focusing on contact-induced dialectal variation and change among Belabbesi speakers of rural origin and, to a lesser extent, those of Tlemceni origin, thus raising issues pertaining to the formation of new dialects, the question of prestige dialects and the direction of change in the new urban vernacular(s) of Sidi Bel-Abbes.

Key words: *Arabic dialects - Algeria - Sidi Bel-Abbes - Tlemcen - change - Variation – Accommodation*

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