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Sociolinguistic Variation in Tinerkouk Spoken Arabic: Age and Gender as Variables

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Dedication

"رب أوزعني أن أشكر نعمتك التي أنعمت علي و علي والدي و أن اعمل صالحا ترضاه"

This research paper is lovingly dedicated to the soul of my father and my respective mother who has been the constant source of my inspiration. She has given me the drive and discipline to tackle any task with enthusiasm and determination.

It is also dedicated to my dear husband; who supported me and prayed for me; to the source of inspiration; my sons Mohammed Elfateh and Abdullah,

to my sisters and brothers,

to my teachers,

to all people I love.

And to every person who seeks knowledge.

Your Sincere Roukayah.

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Abstract

The present research is set to investigate and analyse the sociolinguistic variation in Tinerkouk which is a small village in Timimoun, a province of Adrar. The main purpose of this research is to describe the salient linguistic features that characterise this speech community mainly the phonological, the morphological and the lexical. This research consists of two chapters. The first one provides an overview of the field of sociolinguistics by defining the main key concepts that we have dealt with. Then we give definitions of Arabic and its varieties i.e. CA, MSA and colloquial Arabic. The second chapter is devoted to test the correlation between the salient linguistic features of Tinerkouk spoken Arabic and the two selected social variables: age and gender. It also mentions a socio- historical overview of Tinerkouk. We used a quantitative method to collect data from the speech community under investigation.

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List of Phonetic Symbols

Alphabets	Phonetic Symbols	AA	GLOSS
B	/b/	[bæb]	door
D	/d/	[du:da]	worm
D	/d/	[drab]	He hit
Dh	/ð/	[ði:b]	wolf
F	/f/	[fælæh]	fa:rmer
G	/g/	[ga:{ə}]	cake
H	/h/	[hərras]	he broke
J	/dʒ/	[dʒədd]	grand-father
K	/k/	[kull]	all
Kh	/χ/	[xa:wi]	empty
L	/l/	[lu:n]	colour
M	/m/	[mra]	woman
N	/n/	[næklʊ]	we eat
*	/ŋ/	[ʃalləm]	he taught
Q	/q/	[qra]	he read
R	/r/	[ragba]	neck
S	/s/	[səllu:m]	ladder

Sh	/ʃ/	[ʃra]	he bought
T	/t/	[tra:b]	soil
T	/t/	[ʔa:b]	was cooked
Th	/θ/	[θəldʒ]	snow
Y	/j/	[ju:m]	day

Source: Boumaiza (2018).

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

TSA: Tinerkouk Spoken Arabic

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Language is the most fundamental means of communication in any speech community. Since the beginning of the past century, language studies have witnessed a remarkable progress. Later on, it began to be studied in relation to society. Language variation have attracted the interest of sociolinguists. They have tried to find explanations to the factors involved in such a phenomenon. Labov stepped up with the investigation of language variation. He found that language variation at the various linguistic levels is dictated by social factors like: age, gender, ethnicity...etc.

Numerous researches were directed to look at the variation among the different dialects in the Arab world just as in Algeria, which contains enormous number of dialects and varieties. The present research work aims at shedding the light on an Algerian dialect spoken in Tinerkouk, a small city in South Algeria. The focus will be on a dialect spoken by a tribe called "ElMeharza". We tried to disclose some linguistic features utilized among the speakers of this tribe and inspected these features in relation to two social factors: age and gender. So, the scope of the present research problem can be structured in the following research questions:

1. What are the different linguistic features of TSA?
2. Do age and gender of TSA speakers lead to variation in this speech community?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions, the following hypotheses have been established:

1. TSA speech community has its own linguistic behaviour and it is these features that differentiates it from the other dialects in the region.
2. TSA is different from MSA as well as the other Algerian dialect in terms of phonology, morphology and lexicons.
3. Age and gender cause language variation.

The data collected by means of personal observation and recordings were addressed to the inhabitants of Tinerkouk and its ksours in order to obtain reliable evidence, and thus check the validity of the suggested hypotheses.

The present research is divided into two chapters. The first one is theoretical and the second contains the practical study. Chapter one deals with literature review which provides a general overview the emergence of sociolinguistics as a field of study. In addition, it defines

some key concepts and provides fundamental aspects concerning language variation. It also sheds light on Arabic and its different varieties.

The second chapter highlights the salient linguistic features of TSA and the methodology that we follow examine their relation to age and gender. It deals with the methodology involved in the research and present the data collected in TSA speech community. Finally, the results are analysed, discussed and interpreted.

CHAPTER ONE:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC
CONCEPTS RELATED TO
LANGUAGE VARIATION

1.1 Introduction

Discovering the secrets of language was the main interest of linguists for many years. They try to investigate its complexity and thus researches were undertaken from different perspectives. Scholars like De Saussure and Chomsky studied language following a structural approach. They dealt with language as an abstract item. With the advent of sociolinguistic studies, language turned out to be undoubtedly a social phenomenon and it was William Labov who made the way for such a study.

Sociolinguistics is concerned with language variation in relation to social factors such as: gender, age, social class, etc. In addition, sociolinguists take into consideration the geographical region to which the speaker belongs. Arabic is spoken in a wide geographical area which implies the existence of a significant linguistic variation among its speakers. We will try to shed light on the different varieties of Arabic. Then, the focus will be on one of its dialects spoken in Tinerkouk, a village in Timimoun that is a province in the wilaya of Adrar, Algeria. In Addition, the present chapter is an attempt at giving a clear approach to the basic concepts in sociolinguistics which are considered as a platform in this research.

1.2 Sociolinguistics

Linguistics is the scientific study of language and its structure. It has several branches among which "sociolinguistics". This latter concerns the study of language use in society. It studies about how people vary in their language use and provides accurate explanations to their linguistic variation.

In this sense, sociolinguistics emphasises on the context in which language is used i.e. the speaker, the environment and the reason behind the use of a given linguistic form. Tagliamonte (2006) citing Chambers's (2003) definition of sociolinguistics as "*the correlation between the linguistic dependent variables with the social independent variables*" (p: 3).

In this regard, there is as it were a significant distinction known as micro- and macro-sociolinguistics. The former accounts for the way variables whether lexical, morphological or phonological can be or are influenced by social factors such as age, gender, social class and educational background. The latter, on the other hand, refers to the sociology of language which is concerned with the social interpretation of language.

Language is a mirror of the society. It is the reflection of our identity and this demonstrates the extent to which social factors do lead to language variation. According to Labov, the founder of variationist sociolinguistics (1960s), "*social pressures are continually operating upon language not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living present*" (Labov.1991.p:3) i.e. language varies as it changes. Consequently, terms like variety, language and dialect have emerged, and thus, need to be explained.

1.3 Language, Dialect and Variety

Language is known as the basic means of human communication. Although there are several ways through which we can express ourselves such as laughing to express happiness, smiling to express pleasure, or shrinking to express anger; yet the ideal communicative and expressive system is language. "The individual engages in language as both a speaker/listener and a writer/reader, and this engagement involves both acts of expression and communication" (Williams. n.d. p: 99). Therefore, we can imagine language as a readymade system that can interpret the thoughts, beliefs, opinions, and wishes we have in mind.

The term language is mainly used to refer to the standard variety used by a given community. This implies the existence of certain criteria such as: standardization, autonomy, reduction, and norms. French, for instance, is spoken by Frenchmen. That is, it is the language that French society agreed up on to be the language of education; media, official sectors...etc. In this sense, Holmes and Wilson (2017) defined language as a:

“Collection of dialects that are, usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups”.

Yet, this recognition of a certain dialect to be a language can be imposed by political power as well.

Language as being a social product, it is also an individual possession. Thus, some speakers can linguistically behave like other speakers. That is they share the same language or say the same dialect. Trudgill (1994) stated that *“ your dialect is a particular combination of ... words, pronunciation and grammatical forms that you share with other people from your area and your social background , and that differs in certain ways from the combination used by people from other areas and backgrounds ”(p:2)*

It is a variety of speech that differs somewhat from another variety of speech of the same language. The difference may occur at the level of grammar, phonology, or vocabulary or all of those. Sometimes dialects differ based on region or ethnicity. For instance, there can be two ethnic groups sharing the region but speaking different dialects for historical reasons or may be because of racism.

Taking into account that a language is a collection of dialects; there must be certain degree of difference or variety within every language and this what makes a language different from a dialect. So, one main criterion to differentiate the two notions is “mutual intelligibility”. That is the speakers of two varieties of a language can understand each other fully or almost fully. For instance, a speaker from Algeria can easily understand a speaker from Morocco.

However, the same speaker may find it difficult to communicate with an Iraqi though they share the same language, Arabic. Here comes another criterion: the written standard language which they can adopt to understand each other. And so it enables communication across dialects.

Linguists associate the term language with the standard language, and the term dialect with the non-standard or less prestigious varieties. Yet, there are certain cases of ambiguity in deciding whether two varieties are distinct languages or dialects of a single language. Sociolinguists introduce the term “variety”, also called “lect”, to refer to linguistic behaviour whose use is affected by situational variables. This may include languages, dialects, registers, styles or other forms of language which existence is dependent on variables like geography and history. Any variety is the result of change either in social or geographical space as well as time. So, there may exist new varieties as they may disappear.

1.4 Speech Community

Sociolinguistics is the study of language use within or among groups of speakers. However, it is not easy to define the term “group” when it comes to sociolinguistic issues. Thus, we can agree that a group must have at least two members, but there is really no upper limit for it. In this regard, people can be grouped according to the code they use, region, gender, ethnicity ...etc. Generally, sociolinguists deal with the kind of group called “speech community”.

Many debates arose about this latter. At first, we can say that a speech community is a group of people who speak the same language or dialect. For example, the Arab countries can be considered as one speech community as they share the same language; Arabic.

However, we cannot limit the concept of speech community in purely linguistic view ignoring the social aspects of language. For this reason Labov (1972:158) stated that:

“A speech community cannot be solely considered as a group of speakers who all use the same linguistic forms, but rather as a group who share the same norms in regard to language.”)

Emphasizing contact and interaction Swan et al. (2004:293) asserted that:

“A speech community comprises people who are in habitual contact with each other by means of language –either by a common language or by shared ways of interpreting linguistic behaviour where different languages are in use in the area.”

Linguists differ in deciding what criteria can define or determine a speech community. Criteria such as frequency of interaction, language use, rules of speaking, shared attitudes regarding language use, etc. are common among the different definitions suggested by

linguists. The definition of Hymes (1974:51) gives a clear view of speech community. He claimed that it is:

“... A community sharing knowledge of rules for conduct and interpretation of speech. Such sharing comprises knowledge of at least one form of speech, and knowledge of also its patterns of use. Both conditions are necessary.”

Discussing these conditions, Ahearn (2017:124) suggested that *“the members of speech community must share a “verbal repertoire” even though they may not all speak the same style, dialect, or even language”*. According to her, the criteria mentioned before in the different definitions are not enough to decide what a speech community is because she emphasizes the linguistic aspects.

In order to accept the last definition which focuses on a shared linguistic repertoire even if the language may not be the same, identity and identification are two other criteria by which one can conclude a clear conceptualisation of speech community. That is to say, the speakers identify themselves or are identified to be one speech community because of some social, economic or historical reasons.

Following these definitions, one can say that the Arabs believe that they speak the same language even though their language varieties may be structurally and functionally different.

1.5 Arabic and its Varieties

Arabic is the fifth most spoken language in the world with 293 million native speakers and 422 million speakers in total. It is an official language in 26 countries. This does not mean that it is the majority language in all of these countries, but it is one of the official languages. Geographically, it is spoken from Iraq in the eastern boundaries of the Arabian Peninsula to Morocco and Mauritania in the north west of Africa. It is also one among the six official languages of the United Nations. Arabic is the language of the Quran and the liturgical language of 1.7 billion Muslims around the world. Most of those people do not speak Arabic but many have some knowledge of Arabic for reading and for reciting prayers and religious study.



Map.1 Countries of the Arab world

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family which is part of the Afro-asiatic phylum. Arabic and other Semitic languages like Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician all developed from the proto-Semitic language. It forms one branch of central Semitic. Speaking about Arabic can be confusing because there are many different varieties of the language among which Old Arabic, Classical Arabic, Neo-Arabic or Middle Arabic, Modern Arabic and colloquial or dialectal Arabic (or *Amiya* in Arabic). Yet only the second and the last two varieties mentioned above still exist. Linguistically speaking, researchers in religious and historical issues focus on classical Arabic, whereas, academic researchers are interested in Modern Standard Arabic and finally colloquial Arabic is the main interest of sociolinguists and people who investigate Arabic in daily life use.

1.5.1 Classical Arabic

Before the rise of Islam, there were many dialects of Arabic spoken in the Peninsula. Yet, there exist a shared literary language used by the different tribes for poetry; a *koine* which was a compromise between the various dialects. The pieces of poetry written in this literary *koine* are considered as the earliest samples of CA.

In the 7th century, the Quran was revealed to Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) by the arch angel Jibreel AS (Gabriel) (PBUH), then, it was revealed during a period of 23 years. At that time, there were seven dialects of classical Arabic: Quraishi, Tamimi, Hatheel, Azad, Rabee'ah Hawazen and Sa'ad bin Bakr. The Quran was written in all of them but the Quraishi version became the standard and the text of today's Quran is based upon it. They differ in terms of pronunciation not in vocabulary or grammar.

The Islamic victories spread the Arabic language into new faraway lands during the life of prophet Muhammed continuing to the 8th.C., Holes (2018) confirmed that:

“The revelation of the Quran was one of the two events of the greatest linguistic significance in the history of Arabic, the other was the Arab conquests which began shortly after the death of the Prophet in 623 and were largely complete by about 715. The Arab armies of conquest and their camp followers exported Arabic to a vast region stretching from Spain in the west to central Asia in the east”(p:5)

Supporting the role of Islam in the spread of Arabic, Watson (2002:6) said that *“the rise and expansion of Islam was not only a religious, and hence cultural conquest, but also a linguistic conquest”*.

After the Islamic conquest, there was an important need to standardize Arabic because of the increase in the number of its speakers. This happened officially in the Abbassid era. Nevertheless, this variety remains very different from Modern Standard Arabic.

1.5.2 Modern Standard Arabic

During the 18th century, the Arabs were in a salient contact with the west. The influx of new concepts from the western culture increased the need for the language to be updated. The process of language reform began in the early 20th century by the regional academies of Arabic language. They focused on updating and expanding the vocabulary of the language. These updates are known as Modern Standard Arabic which is the official language in the Arab world nowadays. *“CA is different from MSA in not being simple in matter of grammar, morphology and lexicon. MSA is, in fact, a derived Arabic language the basis of which is CA. Its grammar is more simplified than that of CA; its morphology is reduced, such as the case endings, and its lexicon is open to foreign as well as to dialectal words and expressions”* (Bouhania, 2012:54)

MSA can be defined as the variety of Arabic that is used mainly in media (newspapers, broadcasting, magazines, etc), prose (novels and short stories), poetry and education. It is the variety of the official situations. In fact, MSA aims at unifying the Arab countries because of the large number of dialects that exist in the Arab world. Yet, it is not the mother tongue of any country.

1.5.3 Colloquial Arabic

The Arabic-speaking world covers a wide geographical area which consequently led to the existence of different language varieties, dialects and vernaculars. These varieties known as colloquial or dialectal Arabic are the mother tongues of the Arab citizens. They can differ quite significantly from country to country, and even from one place to another within a single country. Colloquial Arabic is used almost universally for daily conversation. Unlike CA and MSA, dialectal Arabic is learnt or acquired at home and not through formal teaching.

Despite mutual intelligibility among them, there is quite a lot of variation amongst Arabic dialects. How well two speakers understand each other depends on the geographical distance of their dialects as well as exposure to the different dialects. For instance, speakers of the Middle Eastern dialects tend to understand each other quite easily but most of the time the difficulty comes in understanding Maghrebi dialect. In contrast, the Maghreb region speakers find less difficulty in understanding and even imitating the Middle Eastern dialects due to media.

One of the reasons behind the gap between Maghrebi and Middle Eastern dialects is the influence of the colonization of French, Italians, and Spanish as well as the Turkish existence as protectors on the Maghrebi dialects. In addition, the Berber also resisted against Arabic. Though they accepted it as the language of Islam but not for daily life use. This can be clarified more by the table below:

Maghrebi Arabic	Origin	Gloss
ماكياج [makijjæj]	French	Make up
بالكون [balkoŋ]	French	Balcony
بسكليت [beskli:t]	French	Bicycle
زوالي [zawali]	Turkish	Poor
سيمانة [simænæ]	Spanish	Week
سومة [su:mæ]	Spanish	Price
قاوري [gəuri]	Turkish	European / disbeliever
بابور [babɔr]	Spanish	ship
قيرة [gi:rræ]	Spanish	War

1.1 Examples of some Loan Words Used in Maghrebi Arabic

Variation among the two Arabic dialect groups mentioned before occurs at the level of lexicon, morphology and phonology. The table below clarifies more this idea:

Maghrebi variety	Middle Eastern variety	MSA	Gloss
أنا نكتب بالستيلو [æna næktəb bæsti:llo]	أنا أكتب بالقلم [ʌne æktɪb bilqælæm]	أنا أكتب بالقلم [æna æktɔbɔ bɪ lqalæmi]	I write with the pen
غادي تمشي للجامع [ɣɑdɪ təmʃɪ lɪdʒæmʃ]	إنت رايح للمسجد [ɪntæ rɑjɪħ ɪlmasdʒɪd]	أنت ذاهب للمسجد [æntæ ðæħɪbɔn ɪlæ lmæsdʒɪdɪ]	I am going to the mosque
نبغيك بزاف يا ما [nəbyi:k bæzzæ:f jæ 'ma]	بحبك وايد يا إما [bəħɪbɪk wɑjɪd jæ jɔmma]	أنا أحبك كثيرا يا أمي [ɔħɪ'bɔkɪ kæθi:rən jæ ɔmmɪ]	love you so much mum

.12 Illustration of Variation between Maghrebi and Middle Eastern Arabic

In fact, there exist a significant variation even between the different Maghrebi dialects i.e. Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, Libyan, and Mauritanian. The difference also occurs at all linguistic levels. Here are some examples of words and expression that are used differently depending on the country. See the table below:

Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	MSA	Gloss
مليح [mli:h]	مزيان [məzjæ:n]	باهي [behi:]	جيد [jæjjɪd]	Good
دركا [dɔrkʌ]	دابا [dæbæ]	توا [təwwæ]	الآن [əlæ:n]	Now
كملت [kəmmelt]	سالييت [sæli:t]	خلصت [χælləst]	أنهيت [ænhertɔ]	I have finished
كيراك [kɪrɑ:k]	كيداير [ki:dæijer]	شنوا حوالك [ʃnəwwæ ħwælək]	كيف حالك [keifæ hæləkæ]	How are you?

1.3 Illustration of Language Variation between Different Maghrebi Dialects

The examples above illustrates the degree of variation that exists between the three speech communities though they belong to the same region; Maghreb. In addition, they clearly vary from MSA.

As far as Algerian Arabic is concerned, one can notice various linguistic features such as borrowing. Algerian Arabic is famous, among other Arabic dialects, of its huge borrowed repertoire of French words mainly, in addition to Turkish and Spanish words. Algerian speakers use the borrowed words as they are in the origin language or phonologically adapted. The table below illustrates the idea:

Borrowed words	Gloss	Phonologically-adapted words	Gloss
بورطابل [pɔrʔa:bəl]	Mobile phone	بنكا [bɛnka]	Bank
مادام [mɑdɑm]	Madam	شيفور [ʃi:fɔ:r]	Driver
بيس [bi:s]	Bus	فرجيدار [fɛrʒi:dær]	Fridge
مونطو [mɔ:nʔɔ]	Coat	بلوزة [blu:za]	Blouse
باتيسري [pɑti:sri]	Pastry	صالا [ʃa:la]	Living room
موتور [mɔtu:r]	Engine	طونوبيل [tɔnɔbi:l]	Car
دوسي [dɔsi:]	File	بوشطة [bu:ʃta]	Post office
فولارة [fu:la:ra]	scarf	فاليزا [fa:li:za]	Valise
		شارجا [ʃɑrʒa]	To load
		قارا [ga:ra]	To park

1.4 Examples of some Borrowed and Phonologically Adopted Words in AA

Actually, AA is spoken differently in the numerous regions of Algeria which geographically cover a wide area. Each region or even wilaya has urban as well as rural dialects. In addition, people of each wilaya speak in a way that is different from other wilayas, and so, this influences the degree of mutual intelligibility among speakers. The table below provides some examples:

Adrar	Algiers	Tlemcen	Annaba	Gloss
واش [wa:ʃ]	وشنو [wɔʃnu:]	أسم [ʒsɜ:m]	شنوا [ʃnəwwæ]	What
أش خبارك [æ:ʃ χbarək]	واش راك [wɔʃ ra:k]	كيريك [ki:ri:k]	شنو حوالك [ʃnəwwa ħwelək]	How are you?
راني ماشي [rani mæ:ʃi:]	راني رايح [rani rajəħ]	راني ماشي [rani mæ:ʃi]	راني مروح [rani mrawwəħ]	I am going

1.5 Linguistic Variation between Different Regions in Algeria

We notice from the table above that speakers from the north of Algeria use different words from those in the south, or in the east, or even in the west. This shows the richness of the AA repertoire and thus the deepness of Algerian culture.

1.6 Linguistic Variables and the Different Linguistic Levels

The linguistic variable is a set of language forms which have the same meaning and which correlate or vary according to social grouping of the speech community. It is central to the collection of sociolinguistic data and the first thing to be identified in any research in language variation. *“The definition of a linguistic variable is the first and also the last step in the analysis of variation. It begins with the simple act of noticing a variation- that there are two alternative way of saying the same thing.”* (Quoted in Taglimonte, 2006:70). These alternates are called variants which, according to many linguists, should have the same referential meaning. Actually, there are five levels of linguistic variation defined by linguists: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic. We will focus only on the first three ones.

1.6.1 Phonological variation.

Phonological variation refers to the existence of different realizations of a particular sound in a given speech community. It occurs through phonemic changes and other phonological processes such as vowel lengthening and deletion. One famous example in English is TD- deletion or the coronal stop deletion which is a process whereby final /t/ and /d/ in cluster are deleted in pronounced words like soft (soft- sof).

1.6.2 Morphological variation.

This type of variation occurs at the level of internal structure of words. The variable is identified by the grammatical function of the phoneme such as tense and plural. An example about morphological variation in English is the use of the past simple verb were with all personal pronouns in Northern England.

E.g.: I were happy but she were not.

1.6.3 Lexical variation.

The vocabulary of a language is called “lexis”, and these lexical items are one of the subjects of variation in language use. Lexical variation is the most frequent one and it can be easily recognized. It stands for the use of a linguistic element instead of another without

making change in the meaning. This kind of variation is noticeable basically between different geographical areas. In English for example, Americans tend to use the word *pavement* instead of *sidewalk* which British speakers use.

1.7 Social Variables

Our language use is affected by several factors some of which are social. Language variation takes place according to the social group to which the speaker belongs. Thus, linguistic variation is closely related to social variation, or say, it is due to social variation. Social variable such as: religion, education, age, gender, occupation, social class, etc. are significantly responsible for this variation. We will discuss only two variables, gender and age and investigate their correlation with the linguistic behaviour of speakers.

1.7.1 Gender.

Variation within the same language is a phenomenon that occurs on a number of levels among which the gender of the speaker. It is noticeable at some point that men and women with similar social background use language differently. At first, it is needed to be mentioned that gender is different from sex. The latter refers to the biological distinction between males and females while the former stands for the social and cultural elaboration of this distinction. Unlike sex, gender is not binary. Gender is contrasted by society i.e. feminine or masculine characteristics can be acquired interchangeably between male and female. In the matter, linguists tackled both sex and gender in relation to language. The first field is sex-related variability which is concerned with physiological, neurological and biological differentiation between men and women. The second one is called gender-related variability. That is, the difference between male and female speech behaviour in relation to socially constructed gender roles.

The present research is interested with the second field mentioned before. In fact, gender has entered into linguistic studies as a variable since early 1920s with the work of Jespersen (1922). Later on, some well-known linguists like Lakoff (2004), Tannen (1994) and Cameron (1999) explored the correlation between gender and linguistic variation. Besides, the French writer Rochefort (1965) noted that:

“The men have a great many expressions peculiar to them, which the women understand but never pronounce themselves. On the other hand, women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn. That it happens that in

their conversation it often seems as if the women had another language than the men” (quoted in Oancea 2016:12).

It is noticeable at some point that men and women with similar social background use language differently. Gender related variation can be marked at different linguistic features. In her book *Language and Woman's place*, Lakoff (2004) sets some assumptions such as the use of super polite form by women, tag question, empty adjectives, apologizing more than men, the use of hedges. In this regard, Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972) had also found in their studies that:

“Within each social class group, and across stylistic context studied, their female informants tended to use more ‘prestige’ or high status language features, and their male informants use more vernacular language features” (quoted in Rajend et al. 2004:214)

That is to say that women are more likely to speak in a more prestigious way. In western societies, women use more standard forms than men do. Trudgill (2004:83) said that: *“the normal pattern is for women to use, on average, fewer low-status forms than men”*. Trudgill explained this by proposing that *“women have fewer opportunities, still, for achievement, and are therefore more likely to signal their social status by how they appear and behave (including linguistically) than by what they do.”*(2004:84)

However, the situation is not the same in the Arab speech communities. Women use less prestigious form than men. That is to say, men tend to use the prestigious variants associated with classical Arabic, and women, in contrast, prefer to keep using the local variants associated with the colloquial variety.

The social role of men and women in the Arab world is thought to be different compared to the western culture. This accounts for the linguistic differences between men and women. Even if the woman is well educated in MSA, she doesn't have an opportunity to participate in public life. Men dominate the jobs which require active use of MSA.

1.7.2 Age.

Language is a dynamic phenomenon which varies all the time. Together with gender, age of the speaker is a very crucial variable in sociolinguistic studies. Age-related variation refers to the differences of speech habits within a society in relation to age. It occurs when speakers change their linguistic behaviour throughout their lives or in their current life.

For the sake of simplicity in deciding what exactly happens with language use in relation to age, linguists have classified speakers into young and adults. Unlike adults, it is common for young speakers to have certain variation in their speech. Chambers et al. (2004:157) explained this by saying:

“For an innovation to be purely age-based, it must involve the replacement of a linguistic feature by all younger speakers in a community regardless of their social class, sex, and other social characteristics”

That is to say, younger speakers push language change, they are considered to be the drivers of linguistic variation through bringing new words and new ways of using language. In contrast, adults tend to control standard language use. They try to keep the language and they consider themselves as guardians. Adults do not accept grammar rules to be broken or even new vocabulary to come into language. “Nevertheless, each generation of speakers modifies its linguistic behaviour at a particular stage in life, sometimes into adulthood.”(Ammour, 2012:32) Yet, this does not lead language itself to change across generations.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we tried to shed some light on language variability and the concepts related to this notion. We try to display the factors behind the variation of speakers' performance in a particular variety. The focus was on Arabic varieties MSA, CA and colloquial Arabic. We also mentioned some differences in AA at different linguistic levels. In addition, we discuss two important social variables and their effect on language use. All this will be tested upon the dialect under study in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC
VARIATION IN
TINERKOUK SPOKEN
ARABIC

2.1 Introduction

Language variation is a characteristic of all languages in the world. Thusly, it is the main interest of all sociolinguists. It refers to the way language varies from one region to another and how it differs among speakers. In addition, sociolinguists try to conclude the reasons behind language variation.

Algeria is characterised by the use of different dialects and varieties even within the same region. In our investigation, we shed light on one of these varieties spoken in Tinekouk. We noticed that this dialect is different from the other dialects in Gourara as well as in the other Algerian dialects. In this chapter we will examine the degree of variation in TSA by testing the correlation between the linguistic variables and the social variables. We collected data from native speakers in order to get reliable information.

2.2 Research Methodology

The nature of this research is related to the sociolinguistic variation in Tinerkouk. So, in order to have a deeper view on the extent of variation in this speech community, we have examined the salient linguistic variables mentioned in the following sections by following the Labovian hypothesis which emphasises on two social variables; age and gender. To achieve this goal, two data collection tools were undertaken: personal observation and recordings.

Living within the target society for six years has facilitated the data collection process. As for the first instrument, we gathered data by taking notes during conversations with TSA speakers in different situations. In addition, some notes were taken just by listening to the speakers without any engagement in the conversation. We tried to emphasise more on the salient linguistic variables in TSA. Actually, we chose the observation to be covert rather than overt to make sure that the speakers use their dialect naturally without any pressure. Another reason was that we assumed that the participants are not accustomed to such kind of research and that they may refuse to be observed or recorded.

The second instrument we used is recordings. We recorded TSA speakers in different contexts using mobile phones. We chose to add this method in order to be able to analyse as many participants as possible and to have access to men's speech.

In order to cover different contexts, we gathered data in different places like school, during travelling by car, shop, familial occasions and at home. As for the number of population we get access to, we chose 25 persons from different age groups and gender. We couldn't have access to more people because of the exceptional situation of Covid-19's quarantine.

<i>Age</i>	<i>12-30</i>	<i>30-70</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Male</i>	6	6	12
<i>Female</i>	7	6	13
			25

2.1 Sample Distribution by Age and Gender

We chose to analyse the data we collected from personal information and recordings at once. The focus will be on four variables the substitution of [d] for [d̥], the substitution

of [um] for [u:], [ʔijjəh] vs [wah] and [əjfa] vs [waʃ]. The analysis of each variable is done through two factors: age and gender.

2.3 Geography of Tinerkoug

Tinerkoug is a district in the state of Adrar in south Algeria. Adrar is composed of four regions Tinzerouft, Tidikelt, Touat and Gourara respectively from the south to the north of the state. Tinerkoug is part of the Gourara region. It is situated in the north east of the state with an area of 20131 km² and a population of 17000 inhabitant (in 2015). It was established in 1984 from the following ksours: Zaouiet debbagh, Taantas, Tablkouza, Tazliza, Ain Hammou, Fatis, Oudghagh and Benzita.

Tinerkoug is a set of Saharan oases, 1300 km far from Algiers. It is the linking point between Adrar and the north through the state of El-bayadh. It is limited to the north by the Occidental Erg, to the east by El Golia and to the south by Timimoun.

The climate is cooler compared to the other places in the state but still hot in summer (from 50° to 55°) and very cold in winter (-2° to 6°).

2.4 Socio-historical Overview of Tinerkoug

The Arabs of Gourara came to the region during the 12th century. *Elmeharza* was the first Hilalian tribe to come to the region in 1120. The name of Meharza stands for the name of their father Mahraz bnu Hamza Bnu Oubaid. They first nomadized in the surroundings of the ksour of Ouadghagh and Elmabrouk and then dominated the people of these ksour and forced them to pay the tribute. In fact, Oudghagh was inhabited by the Zenete who founded it in the 10th century. By mid-12th century, El Meharza founded other ksours in Tinerkoug like Tablkouza, Zaouiet Debbagh, Tazliza, In Hammou, Taantas, Fatis and Oulad Ayyash. Later on, other Arab tribes came to the region like the Zoua, who belong to the moravid family of Oulad Sidi Shikh, and the Shaanba of Metlili.

Bisson (1955:95) said: “Aujourd’hui le nom « Meharzi » sert à désigner tout habitants arabes de Tinerkoug, quelle soit son origine” (Today the name « Meharzi » is used to designate the Arab inhabitant of Tinerkoug whatever his origin is). This is why Tinerkoug was called “Bilad El Meharza” (the country of El Meharza).

Today, Tinerkoug witnesses a rich social diversity for its inhabitant are composed of different tribes and races. There exist tribes like Zenetes, Meharza, Shaanba, Zoua, Mourabtime, Shurfa, Slaves and Hartanis.

2.5 Salient Linguistic Features of TSA

Linguistic variation can be noticed simply through listening to a speaker of the target dialect in a normal conversation. TSA, being one of the different dialects spoken in the region of Gourara, is characterised by some salient linguistic features that will be referred to in this section.

2.5.1 Phonological variation.

2.5.1.1 *The variable [d].*

Phonologically speaking, the realization of [d] as [dʒ] is noticeable in TSA. That is, the substitution of the voiced alveolar stop [d] that is found in CA for a local alternative, the voiced postalveolar affricative [dʒ]. Here are some examples:

TSA:		Gloss:
الولد	[lwældʒ]	the boy
دحمان	[dʒæhman]	a proper name
جدي	[ʒdʒəj]	small goat
شدي	[ʃədʒi:]	catch (fem. Imperative)

In fact this phenomenon is famous among other regions in the wilaya of Adrar like the Touat region as well as the Zenete speech community in Gourara.

2.5.1.2 *Variable [a] vs variant [ə].*

Comparing TSA speakers to other speakers in Gourara, the former tend to substitute the vowel [ə] for vowel [a] in verbs in past simple tense with third person singular and in some nouns. For instance:

TSA	AA	CA/MSA	Gloss
تفتحت [tfathət]	[tfəthət]	[fotihət]	Opened
تكسرت [tkasrət]	[tkəsɾət]	[kəsirat]	broken
تخطبت [tχatbət]	[tχətbət]	[χotɪbat]	Get engaged
البنت [lbant]	[lbənt]	[əlbintu:]	The girl
المردود [lmarɖɔ:d]	[lməɾɖɔ:d]		Type of home-made pasta

الكسكاس [lkaska:s]	[lkəska:s]		big cooking strainer
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2.2 Examples on Addition of the Vowel /a/ in Past Simple Verbs

2.5.1.3 Intonation as a variable.

Intonation can be also a sign of sociolinguistic variation. Arabic and its dialects are considered as intonation language. This means that intonation can be an index of the speaker's social belonging. TSA speakers, especially Elmeharza have special intonation which is a very salient feature in their speech more specifically in question.

Eg: 1. [ʔəʃʃa kajənʔ]? What's going on?

2. [ʔrahu: maʃji:n ləttahmadʔ]? Are they going to congratulate?

2.5.2 Morphological variation.

2.5.2.1 Variable [əm] vs [u:].

Listening to TSA speakers reveals a salient linguistic feature which is the replacement of the suffix [əm] by [u:]. It is used in second and third person plural as an object pronoun e.g. [gallihu:], "He said to them". This latter is the reduced form of [qultu lahum] in MSA. However, the other tribes like Shaanba, [əm] replaces [u:]. The table below provides some examples from TSA comparing to MSA:

TSA	MSA	Gloss
كيراكو [kira:ku:]	كيف حالكم؟ [keifa ḥalokom]	How are you?
هادو ولادھو [hadʒu: wladʒhu:]	هؤلاء أولادهم [hæʔola: ʔi: ʔəwladəhu:m]	Those are their children
نمشي معاھو [nəmʃu: mʃa:hu:]	نذهب معهم [nəðhabu: maʃahu:m]	We go with them
جاب ليھو [ʒa:b lihu:]	أحضر لهم [aḥdara llahu:m]	He brings to them
بوھو كان معاكو؟ [bohu: kæn mʃahu:]	هل أبوهم كان معكم؟ [hal abu:hu:m kana maʃaku:m]	Was their father with you?
قراكو [qərraku:]	درّسكم [darrasaku:m]	He taught you
وين رھو؟ [wi:n rahu:]	أين هم؟ [ajna hu:m]	Where are they?

2.3 Examples of the Suffix [u:] in TSA.

Actually, this phenomenon is not found only in Tinekouk in the wilaya of Adrar. It is also found in the Sawra region in Bechar. But, the reason behind the similarities is a subject for further research about the relationship between the two speech communities.

2.5.3 Lexical variation.

Unlike English, scholars interested in Arabic dialects emphasize on lexical differences in dialects. Versteegh (1997), as cited in Boukhachba (2019:76), attested that “lexical differences are responsible for most of the regional variation in Standard Arabic” . Algeria, for instance, witnesses a huge diversity in terms of lexicon between its different regions among which Tinerkouk. This variation occurs in the meaning of words or in their forms.

2.5.3.1 Lexical variation in form.

Lexical variation in form means simply the existence of two words having the same meaning with different forms in the same dialect or in two different ones. We will give some examples to illustrate the difference between TSA and MSA:

TSA:	MSA:	Gloss:
[ləmzən]	[saħa:b]	Cloud
[wgaja]	[χima:r]	Scarf
[nba:k]	[kuθban ramlīja]	Dunes
[zambu:]	[daqi:qu lqamħi]	Wheat flour
[tayuja]	[jaqti:n zaff]	Dry kind of pumpkin
[fkara]	[ki:s]	Bag
[ʔijjeh]	[naʕam]	Yes
[ʔi:wək]	[mata]	When
[ħənni]	[zaddi]	Grandfather
[ħənnati]	[zaddati]	Grandmother
[bu:ja]	[abi:]	Father
[yənnas]	[ħajək]	veil
[ziwana]	[ʕaħn]	Dish
[marzan]	[dalw]	Bucket
[saku:]	[firaʃ mansu:ʒ]	Blanket/cover
[ʔiwi:]	[taʕala]	Come
[ʔaməqqu:s]	[ħari:q]	Fire
[ləbzə:z]	[aʔfal]	Kids
[χtəl]	[ʔiχtabaa:]	Hide
[tagra]	[qaʕʕa]	Bowl made of wood
[jyazz]	[yaʕuqdu]	He bites

2.4 An illustration of Lexical Variation in TSA Comparing to MSA

It is clear from the table above that there is a significant variation between TSA and MSA. Though the majority of words are used to convey the same meaning; yet, they have a totally different form.

Though TSA is used to refer to all speakers in Tinerkouk, yet there exist a salient variation between the different tribes living there like Zoua and Shaanba who share nearly the same linguistic repertoire as well as accent. For example:

Meharza	Shaanba and Zoua	Gloss
[bu:ja]	[bbaj] or [si:di:]	My father
[ʔi:wi]	[ʔarwa:h]	Come
[ʔiwək]	[wajnta]	When
[tχartʃi]	[ʔəzri]	Hurry up

2.5 Illustration of Lexical Variation between Different Tribes in Tinerkouk

Comparing TSA to other dialects in Algeria, we take the example of the question word “what”. The three examples mentioned below have the same meaning but the difference implies kind of change in identity or attitudes. TSA speakers use the word أَشَّا [ʔaʃʃa] (what)

أَشَّا	[ʔaʃʃa]	TSA
وَشْنُو	[wəʃnu:]	Algiers
أَسْم	[əs3:m]	Telemcen

2.5.3.2 Lexica variation in meaning.

This type of variation stand for the similarity in the form between words of different dialects or varieties but having difference meaning. TSA speakers use words from MSA and use them with different meanings. The table below clarifies this idea:

TSA:	Gloss	MSA:	Gloss:
وقاية [wga:ja]	Scarf	وقاية [wiqa:ja]	Protection
ارحم [ʔarħam]	Catch	ارحم [ʔirħam]	Have mercy
منصب [maŋʂəb]	Stone used with wood used in cooking	منصب [maŋʂib]	position
قص [gaʃʃ]	Trace it back	قص [qaʃʃa]	Cut
قلى [gla]	To roast	قلى [qala]	Fry
دار [da:r]	He turned around	دار [da:run]	House

2.6 Illustration of Lexical Variation in Meaning

Tinerkouk is also known for its oasis and the people’s daily activity is mainly in farming and raising sheep and camels. TSA is rich of dates and plants terminology. Though the life style has changed to a great extent, farms are still an essential part in the daily life of

Tinekouk's inhabitants. Almost, there exist a farm beside each house. For example, water well was and is still existing in each house. Old people and even some young TSA speakers kept the name used in the past for the water well, [χəʔʔara] in addition to other terms. The table below illustrates this idea:

TSA	MSA	Gloss
خطارة [χəʔʔara]	بئر	Water well
البحيرة [ləbħi:ra]	حفرة كبيرة محروثة	Cultivated piece of land like a pit
القمون [lgəmmu:n]	مساحة محروثة	Arable land
جلوان [ʒəlwan]	ورق النخيل	Palm leaves

2.7 Example of Lexical Variation in TSA

As far as dates terminology is concerned, we observed that they are a mixture of both Zenete and Arabic words. In fact, there still exist some Zenete families in the ksar of Wadghagh more than in the other ksour. This is logical because they were the founders of this ksar. The following table shows some examples:

Names of dates:	Origin:
[tinna:sr]	Zenete
[bamaχlu:f]	Arabic
[taqarbu:f]	Zenete
[warglijja]	Arabic
[laħmi:ra]	Arabic
[aħərta:n]	Zenete
[dagla]	Arabic
[tamali:ħa]	Zenete
[timʒəħər]	Zenete
[rʃu:m]	Arabic
[ʃi:χ]	Arabic
[əwχsaj]	Zenete
[tablbu:l]	Zenete
[tadmama]	Zenete
[tazərzaʒ]	Zenete
[lyars]	Arabic
[ti:mmədwal]	Zenete
[tinfatna]	Zenete
[ʕdām ləʕnəb]	Arabic
[tiwwəʒdəl]	Zenete
[bafəggu:s]	Arabic
[ʕdām ləfraʃ]	Arabic
[ti:nhu:d]	Zenete
[ti:ləmsu:]	Zenete

[timəχdi:za] [ləŋqam ləkħal] [təntanu:t]	Zenete Arabic Zenete
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2.8 Names of Dates in TSA and their Origin

2.6 Sociolinguistic Variation in TSA (Findings)

2.6.1 Phonological variation [d] vs [ḍʒ].

2.6.1.1 Age factor.

When focusing on these variants in relation to age during the data analysis, we came to the following results.

<i>Age</i>	<i>12-30</i>		<i>30-70</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
<i>[d]</i>	10	76.92%	4	33.33%	14	56%
<i>[ḍʒ]</i>	3	23.07%	8	66.67%	11	44%
					25	100%

2.9 The Correlation between the Phonological Variable and Age

Looking at the results mentioned in table 2.9 about the correlation between the substitution and age of speakers show that the use of the variant [ḍʒ] is spread through both age groups. That is, age plays a vital role in the varying articulation of [d] and [ḍʒ]. Adults use [ḍʒ] more than young speakers. In contrast, the variant [d] is used more by young speakers as mentioned in figure 2.1 below. Young speakers in fact are accustomed to use the variant [d] at school. As for the total percentage, figure 2.2 shows that the variant [d] is used more than [ḍʒ]. That is to say, that the substitution in this case is no more a salient feature as we expected. Comparing the results between adults and young speakers implies a kind of language change in TSA.

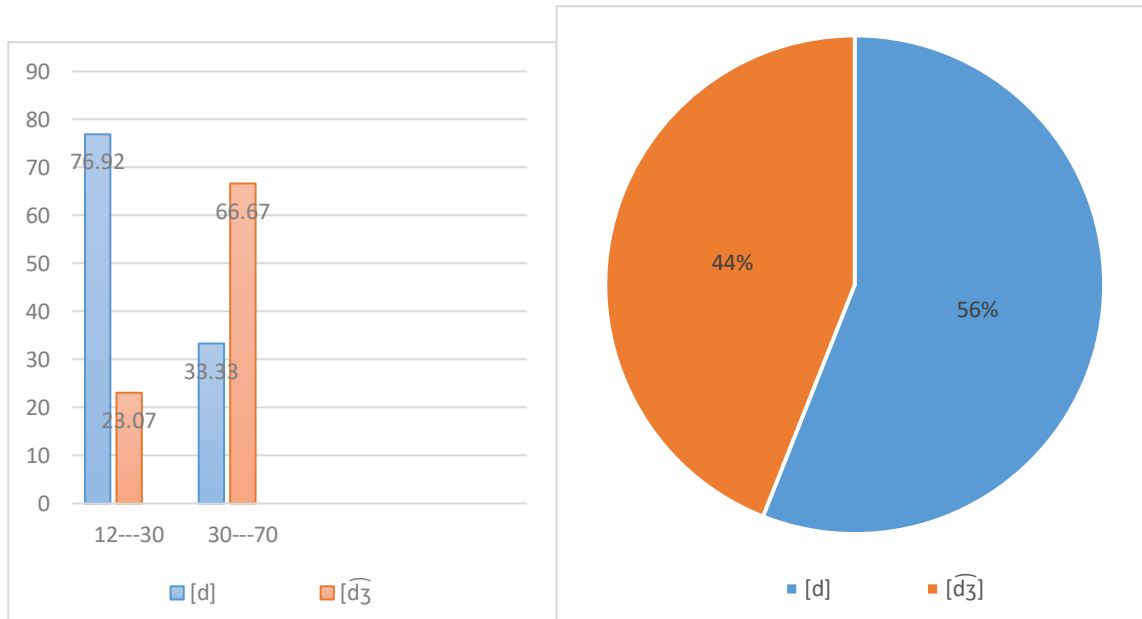


Figure 2.1. Percentage of Phonological Variation by Age

Figure 2.2. Total Percentage of each Variant

2.6.1.2 Gender factor.

From the results in table 2.9, we find that frequency of the use of [d] is 14 and frequency of the use of [d̥] is 11. We analyse these results through the gender factor. The table below shows the results.

Gender	Male		Female		Total	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
[d]	9	64.28%	5	35.71%	14	100%
[d̥]	3	27.27%	8	72.72%	11	100%

2.10 The Correlation between Phonological Variation and Gender.

The results in figure 2.3 demonstrate two opposing outcomes. Stating by the variant [d], male speakers, indicated with the left lines, take the lead in the chart with a percentage of 64.28%. On the other hand, the variant [d̥] indicated with orange lines is used by female speakers with a percentage of 72.72%. The use of the local variant [d̥] by female speakers is because of the nature of the society being preservative. And so, the majority of women are housewife and the almost old women had no chance to go to school. This is clear by comparing the results in table 2.9 with the results in table 2.10. We may also suppose that

male as well as young female speakers avoid the use of [d̥] because there is a negative attitude towards it. Education has made people more conscious of this fact.

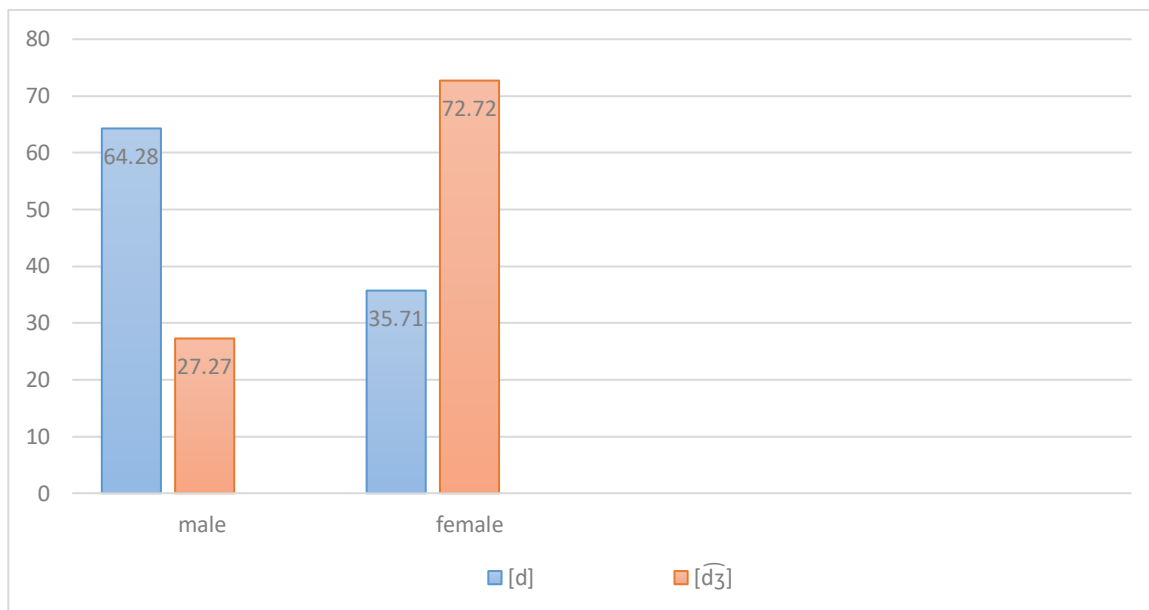


Figure 2.3. Percentage of Phonological Variation by Gender

2.6.2 Morphological variation [um] vs [u:].

The next variable under investigation is the substitution of the suffix [um] for [u:].

Two factors are to be taken into consideration, age and gender.

2.6.2.1 Variation by age.

The scores of the correlation between this variable and age are recorded in table 2.11 below.

Age	12-30		30-70		Total	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
[um]	4	30.76%	1	8.33%	5	20%
[u:]	9	69.24%	11	91.67%	20	80%
					25	100%

2.11 The Correlation between Morphological Variation and Age

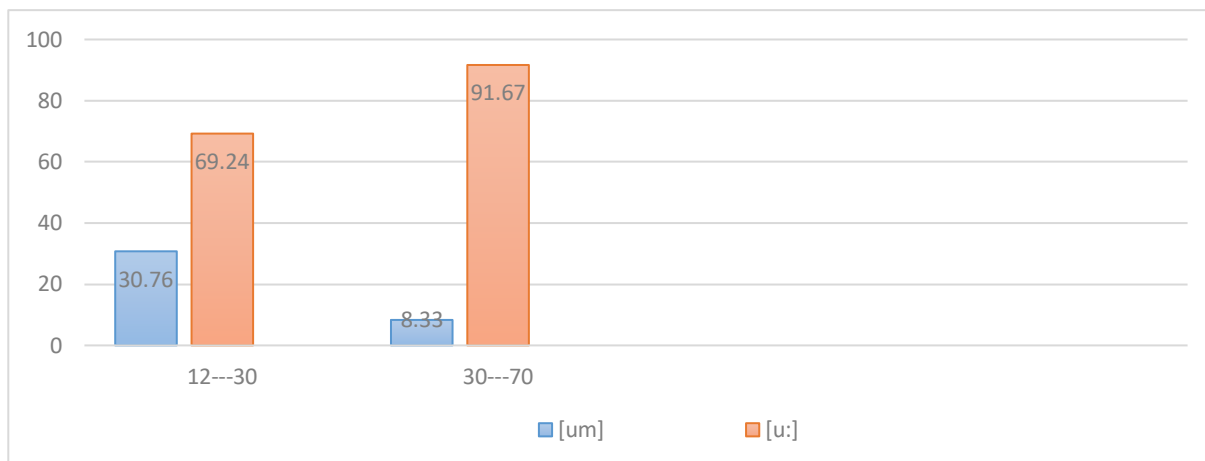


Figure 2.4. Percentages of Morphological Variation by Age

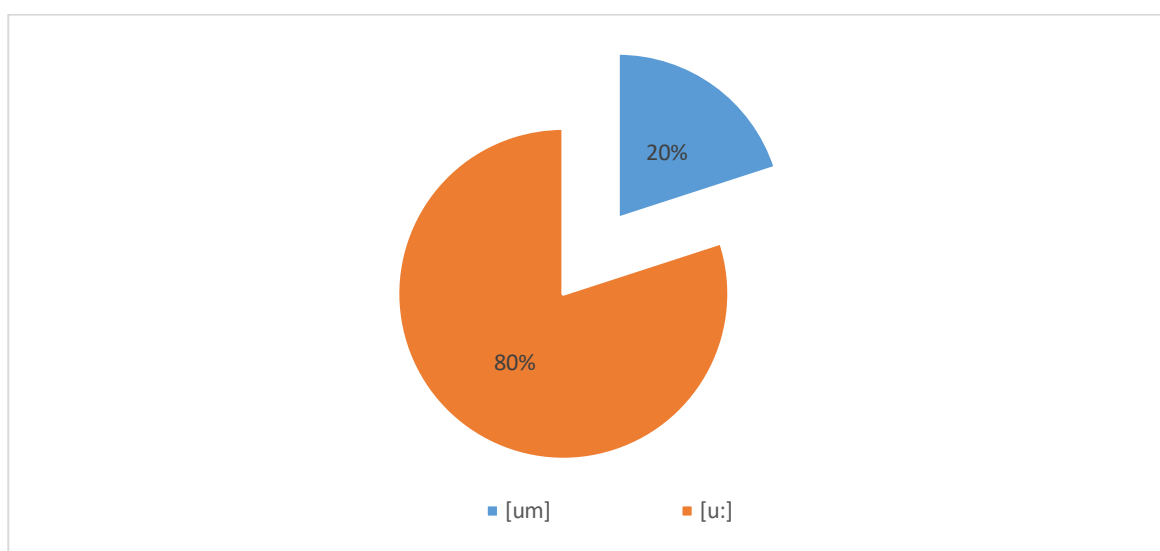


Figure 2.5. Total Percentage of each Variant

From table 2.11 and the bar graph of the percentages, the results show that the variant [u:] is used by both young as well as old speakers with a percentage of 69.24% in the first age group and 91.67% in the second age group. Consequently 80% of the sample under investigation tend to keep the local variant which reinforce the conclusion that the substitution in this case is a prevalent linguistic behaviour.

2.6.2.2 Variation by gender.

As far as gender is concerned, we examined the total frequency of the use of both variants in relation to the gender of the target sample.

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Fre</i>	<i>Per</i>	<i>Fre</i>	<i>Per</i>	<i>Fre</i>	<i>Per</i>
<i>[um]</i>	4	80%	1	20%	5	100%
<i>[u:]</i>	8	40%	12	60%	20	100%

2.12 The Correlation between Morphological Variation and Gender

Taking gender as a factor to explore the replacement of [um], table 2.12 and figure 2.6 show that the use of the variant [u:] is not bounded to a particular gender group because its utilization is apparent in both males and females. Females have used the local variant more than males with a percentage of 60%. However, males have used the standard form [um] more than females but with low frequency for both gender group.

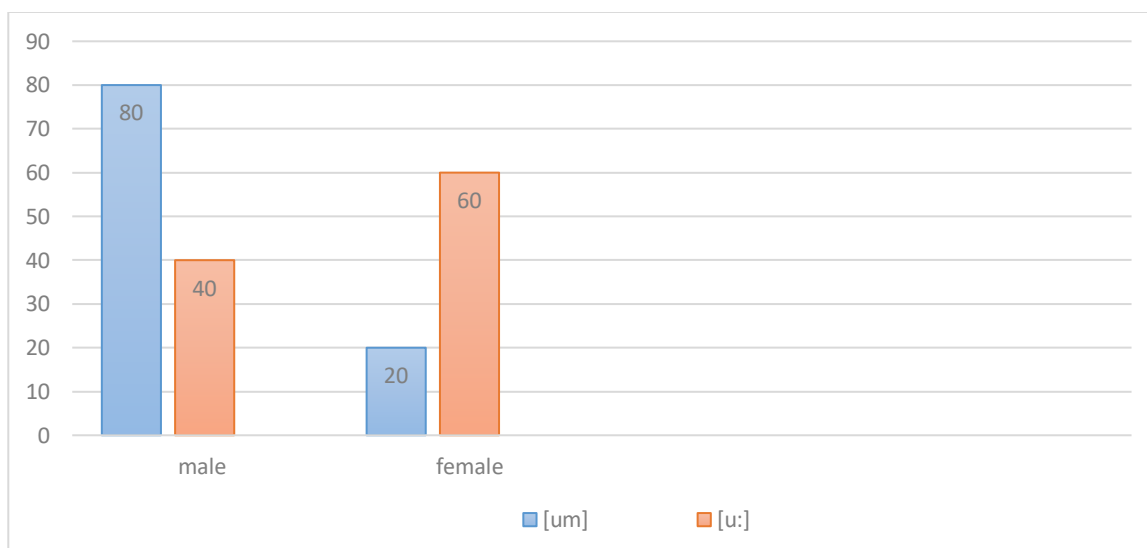


Figure 2.6. Percentages of Morphological Variation by Gender

Through age and gender factors, results show that the local variant [u:] is very salient in TSA. Despite the contact with different tribes, TSA old as well as young speakers kept the use of such a variant as a marker of social identity.

2.6.3 Lexical variation.

As mentioned before, TSA is rich of lexicons which are different from MSA. So, we selected only two salient lexicon as variables to be compared to the ones used in the same region by speakers of other tribes.

2.6.3.1 Variable 1: [ʔijjəh] vs [wah].

2.6.3.1.1 Age factor.

The analysis of personal observation and recordings gives the following results.

Age	12-30		30-70		Total	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
[ʔijjəh]	10	76.92%	11	91.67%	21	84%
[wah]	3	23.08%	1	8.33%	4	16%
					25	100%

2.13 The Correlation between Variable 1 and Age

The results in table 2.13 reveals that age has no effect on the use of the variant [ʔijjəh]. This variant is highly scored in both age groups vis-à-vis the other variant as figure 2.7 below shows:

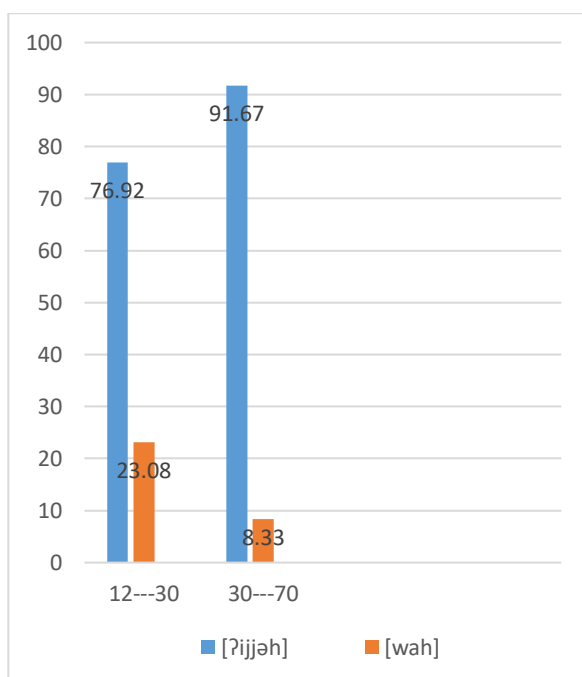


Figure 2.7. Percentages of Lexical Variation by Age (Variable 1)

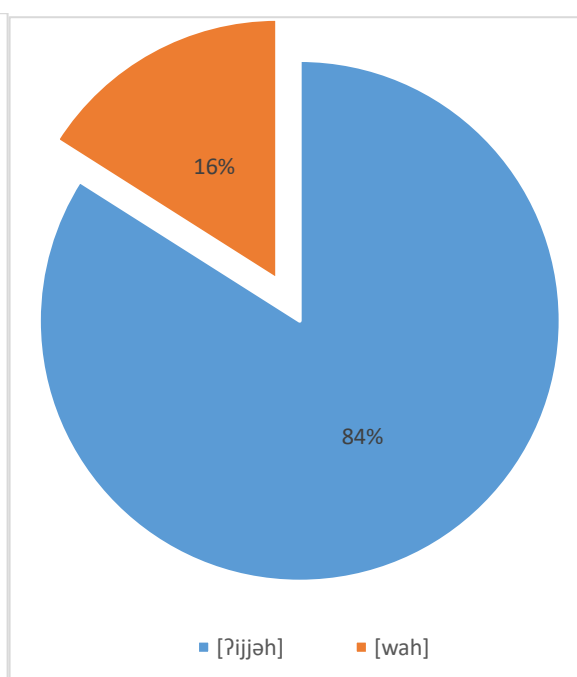


Figure 2.8. Total Percentage of each Variant.

Looking at the pie graph, we conclude that the variant [ʔijjəh] covers the blue area with 84%, which shows the maintenance of this variant among TSA speakers.

2.6.3.1.2 Gender factor.

Table 2.14 below exposes the scores of the variants [ʔijjəh] and [wah] for both age groups.

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
<i>[ʔijjəh]</i>	9	42.86%	12	57.14%	21	100%
<i>[wah]</i>	3	75%	1	25%	4	100%

2.14. The Correlation between Variable 1 and Gender.

The results obtained from the data and from the observation of the linguistic behaviour of TSA speakers reveal that gender plays an important role in the use of [ʔijjəh] vs. [wah] as the following graph indicates:

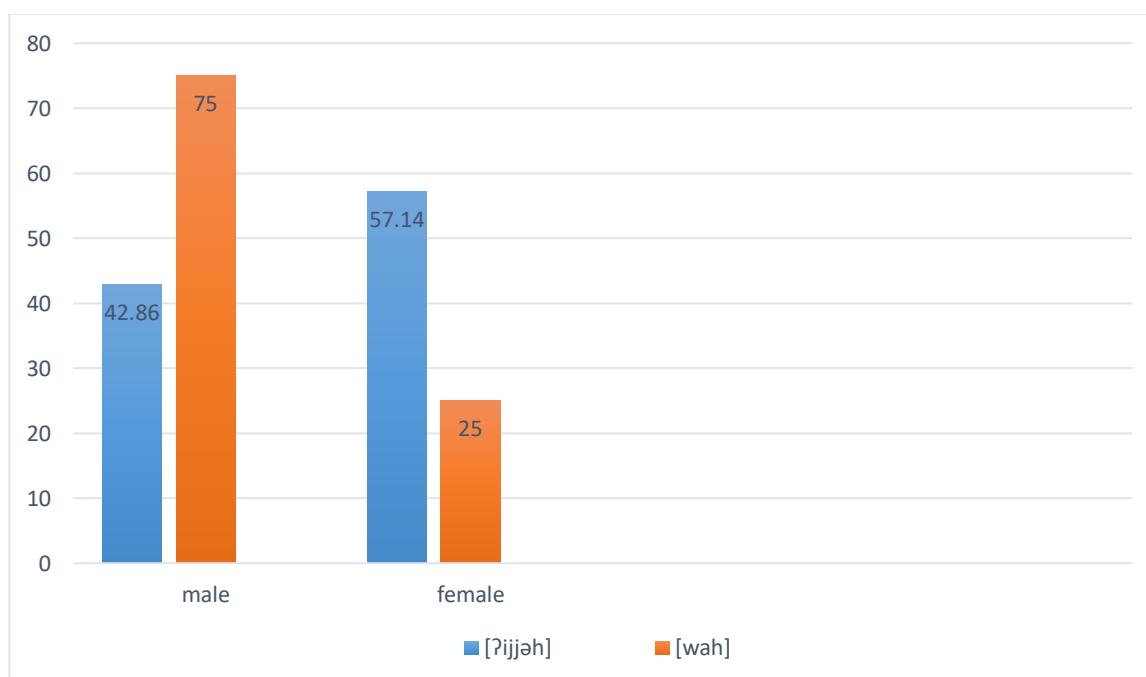


Figure 2.9 Percentages of Lexical Variation by Gender (Variable1)

The results show a higher rate of the variant [wah] than the variant [ʔijjəh] by males compared with those of females, this leads us to say that females are more likely to use the TSA variant [ʔijjəh] than males. That is to say, females tend to preserve the local dialect variant more than males.

2.6.3.2 Variable2: [əʃfə] vs. [wəʃ].

2.6.3.2.1 Variation by age.

The last variable under investigation is the question word [əʃfə] vs. [wəʃ] (means what). In trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speakers 'age, we have come up with the following scores:

Age	12-30		30-70		Total	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
[əʃfə]	9	69.23%	10	83.33%	19	76%
[wəʃ]	4	30.76%	2	16.76%	6	24%
					25	100%

2.15. The Correlation between Variable 2 and age

The results show that the variant [əʃfə] is far more frequent in the two age groups than [wəʃ]. 9 out of 13 young speakers tend to use [əʃfə] in addition to 10 out of 12 old speakers with percentage of 69.23% and 83.33 % respectively. The total number of the use of variant [əʃfə] is 19, which means 76%. In contrast, low scores goes to the second variant with 30.76% in the first age group and 16.76% in the second age group. All this is indicated in the two charts below:

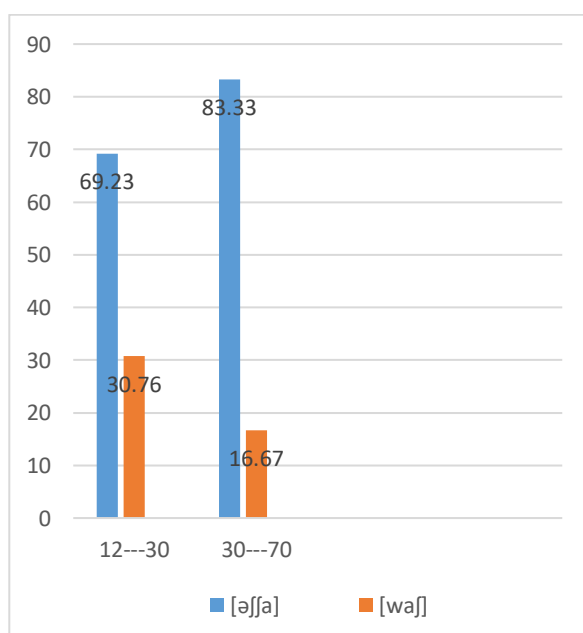


Figure 2.10. Percentages of Lexical Variation by Age (Variable 2)

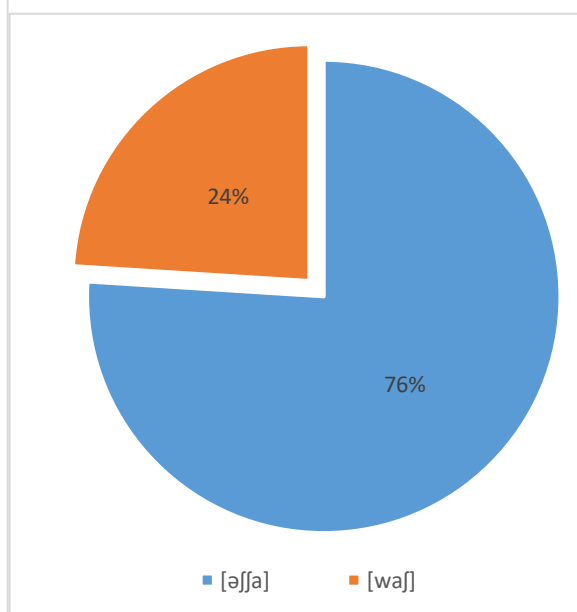


Figure 2.11. Total Percentage of each Variant.

2.6.3.2.2 Variation by gender.

The data collection show that both male and female TSA speakers tend to use the two variants nearly with the same scores. Table 2.16 below demonstrates this:

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	Fre	Per	Fre	Per	Fre	Per
<i>[əffa]</i>	9	47.37%	10	52.63%	19	100%
<i>[waf]</i>	3	50%	3	50%	6	100%

2.16. The Correlation between Variable 2 and Gender

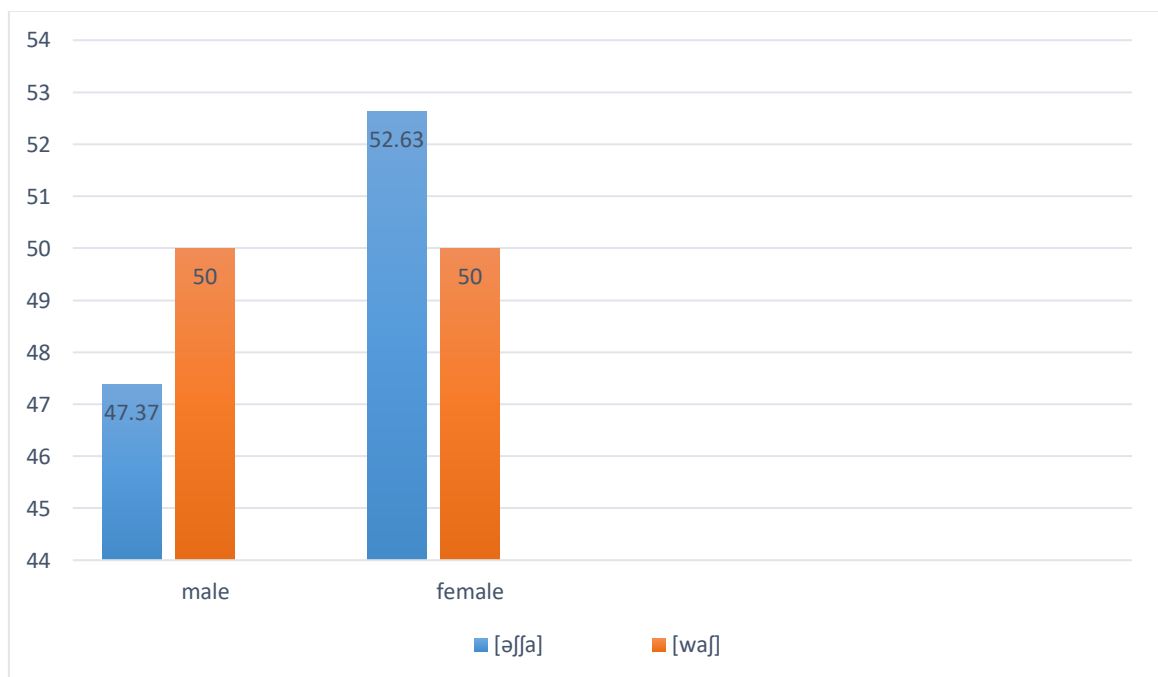


Figure 2.12 Percentages of Lexical Variation by Gender (Variable 2)

The results of the occurrence of the variant [əffa] show that it is used with a small difference (5%) between males and females.

2.7 Conclusion

Our aim from doing such an investigation is to study TSA with its different linguistic features. We have tried to correlate these features with two social variables: age and gender which play a vital role in language variation. So, we dealt with this phenomenon in TSA speech community taking into consideration three linguistic levels: phonological, morphological and lexical one. Our analysis has permitted us to conclude that the speech community under investigation witnesses no salient variation except with the variant [ḍ] which is used mainly by old speakers. In addition, females tend to maintain the use of the local variants more than males. However, TSA remains an independent dialect which varies from MSA at all the linguistic levels.

One can say that the choice of a particular linguistic behaviour by the speaker is determined by their category as well as their attitudes towards such behaviours.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic studies have always emphasized on how language varies from one region to another or among groups or persons. The aim of our research work is to examine the sociolinguistic variation in TSA. We followed the approach of Labov to test the interaction between the linguistic structure and the social structure. The interplay of social variables, especially age and gender, with the salient linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological and lexical is analysed and interpreted. We tried to achieve this by applying a quantitative method.

Our attempt to investigate the linguistic features of TSA leads us to discover many interesting aspects of this speech community. We have noticed that variation is not based on age in most cases, yet gender do cause language variation in TSA in addition to another factor which is the educational background of the speaker.

Findings in our analysis can be summarized in the following points:

- TSA has interesting linguistic features at all linguistic levels.
- TSA witnesses significant variation in matter of phonology in comparison to MSA as well as the other speech varieties in the region.
- Morphology also causes remarkable variation in TSA. The morpheme [u:] is extremely used by TSA speakers regardless their age and gender.
- As for lexical variation, we have discovered salient variation in terms of form as well as meaning when they are compared to MSA and even some other Algerian dialects.
- Age does not affect the linguistic behaviour of TSA speakers. Both young and old speakers use the same variants in most cases.
- Gender causes some kind of variation. Females tend to use the local variants more than males.

In sum, TSA is a very interested dialect to be investigated. We limited our study only in two social variables: age and gender. The door is opened to deeper analysis of the linguistic features of this dialect in relation to other social variables. The ethnolinguistic vitality is another dimension by which one can find more explanation to the results of this research. The question that raises is: can TSA be influenced by other social variables? Can the ethnolinguistic vitality be reason behind the stability of TSA?

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Map of the Distribution of some Arab Tribes in the Region of Gourara, Bisson.J (1955)

