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The Decline of the Old Dialect of Beni Abbes: A Sociolinguistic Study of the Lexical Level

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for a Master's Degree in Linguistics and Didactics

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Dedication

To my parents

To the soul of my sister, may God bless her

To my wife, my angels Maram, Nidal and Imran

To Ibn Elbaitar high school staff

…I dedicate this research paper

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Abstract

If you asked about the language used by the first inhabitants of the old ksar of Beni Abbes (BA), you would hear: 'gone with its people'. Thus, it sounds important to conduct a diachronic research studying the vanishing of that old dialect of BA which is said to be an Arab-Berber language. It will be a sociolinguistic investigation of the familiarity degree of the old-fashioned lexical items among the young generation, and a descriptive portray of the factors that led to lexical attrition whose effect on Beni Abbes Spoken Arabic (henceforth BASA) over time, is both salient and noticeable. Based on a tribal dimension, the present study involved two methods necessary to achieve the established aims. The first was a procedure of gathering old vocabulary of different domains through interviews with old people who belong to the same tribe of another group of young people to whom a questionnaire is given as a second tool of the study. This questionnaire contains 40 old words and expressions that are under investigation. The results revealed that the young generation is half acquainted with their elders' dialect at the lexical level. The study also shows that the attrition process affected the Berber words more as there had already been a disappearance of this variety throughout the region before foreign lexical items came to be widely used. Additionally, the result which is so interesting, is that female young speakers manifest considerable maintenance of the old lexis compared to the male ones thanks to the notion of the family and the strong sense of community Beni Abbes still sustains.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, language variation, lexical loss, lexical attrition, borrowings, Beni Abbes

Phonemes used in BASA

	Sound	BASA	Gloss
Consonants	[b]	[biɖa]	an egg
	[d]	[derbæz]	sand dune
	[ɖ]	[ɖlam]	Darkness
	[k]	[kæfr]	Unbeliever
	[q]	[qaɖi]	Judge
	[g]	[gałb]	Heart
	[z]	[zlafa]	Bowl
	[ʐ]	[ʐraʕ]	Wheat
	[r]	[rɒmma:n]	pomegranate
	[ʔ]	[qurʔæn]	Quran
	[x]	[xabja]	ground store
	[ħ]	[ħefjan]	bare foot
	[s]	[smin]	Fat
	[ş]	[şaħra]	Desert
	[t]	[taqa]	window
	[ṭ]	[ṭʕam]	kouscous
	[h]	[hæwi]	going down
	[ɣ]	[ɣali]	expensive
	[ʕ]	[ʕmi]	Blind
	[ʒ]	[mʊʒøʕ]	Sick
	[m]	[menʒəl]	Sickle
	[n]	[nməl]	Ant
	[l]	[li:m]	Lemon
	[j]	[jæbəs]	Dry
	[w]	[wælu]	No
Vowels	[Ø]	[namøs]	Mosquito
	[æ]	[mæləh]	Salty
	[ɒ]	[gɒbba]	Dome
	[ʌ]	[sṭʌħ	Terrace
	[ɪ]	[xɪt]	Thread
	[ʊ]	[hʊbka]	Hole
	[ɑ]	[dɑr]	House
	[ə]	[ɣləg]	Closed sth
	[a:]	[ɣba:r]	Animal waste(used as fertilizer)
	[u:]	[saru:t]	Key
	[i:]	[ṭwi:l]	Long
	[ɔ:]	[ṭ ɔ:b]	Clay brick

List of Abbreviations

LVC = Language Variation and Change

AA = Algerian Arabic

MSA = Modern Standard Arabic

CA = Classical Arabic

H = High Variety

L = Low Variety

CS = Code switching

BA = Beni Abbes

SMD = Sarawak Malay dialect

BASA = Beni Abbes Spoken Arabic

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General Introduction

The birth of sociolinguistics allowed scholars to reconsider the way they used to work with when dealing with language-related issues. Most of these scholars were working under the authority of dialectology whose tough rules did not accept any extra ideas out of the NORMs set to investigate any variation phenomenon. For them, tests and experiments had to be limited to only native old speakers who live in rural areas with a firm belief that such features would elicit original data and thus the results would surely be accurate and reliable as well, simply because they believed in the purity of those people's language. Nevertheless, reformers under the leadership of Labov saw things from another perspective, they decided to revise the rules and adopt new features they thought may serve positive ends. Moving to urban spots, involving females in the task of examining LVC, and adding younger speakers to the sample, are social motives that affect the people's linguistic behaviours. By doing so, it becomes possible for researchers to target any speech community at any time within any given place in the world. Variationists occupied greater space in the sociolinguistic field due to the heterogeneity between speech communities and within the speech community as well, creating linguistic variables that need to be deliberately examined with correlation to many sociolinguistic variables under the influence of social motives. The linguistic variation takes many forms, it can be regional where two geographic areas manifest differences. It can be social where linguistic variables appear as a separate line between two groups of speakers in the same society. Herein, social factors intervene to form two opposing sides on which variables have to be measured to know which side scores better.

With the aforementioned scope, the present study tackles generational variation within the same speech community, a dialect that was equipped with special linguistic forms, seems to be fading among the new generation. Its vocabulary proved to have

currently been losing its liveliness. Linguists refer to this phenomenon using different terminologies, such as lexical obsolescence, lexical erosion, lexical attrition, and lexical replacement.

Beni Abbes (BA) is the area whose dialect will be dealt with in this work. A place where tribes from different spots came to live together forming a speech community whose dialect is an amalgamation of Berber and Arabic linguistic forms. The current study will signal the following questions:

1- Is the young generation familiar with the old vocabulary of BASA?

2- What are the main reasons for lexical attrition or maintenance?

3- If there is lexical attrition (loss), how will it be explained? And vice versa.

4- Which kind of words have young speakers triggered?

Assessing the loss of this dialect's old lexis is based on the hypothesis that young speakers cannot recognize the meaning of the words the researcher elicited from a group of old people. Additionally, young speakers may adopt new words in the form of loan words to denote some entities; these are of course French words since the country has not got rid of the colonizer's language yet. Other factors such as fashion and prestige may well have a strong impact on the lexical choice among adolescents, mainly the girls.

To make such an assessment, selective sampling seems mandatory since the study has a tribal dimension, a group of young people between 15 and 35 years old; these are sons and daughters of indigenous inhabitants who formed the first society of BA. Concerning the way of conducting the study, there will be a questionnaire that includes a demographic part, and a wordlist of 40 traditional terms grouped in nine spheres. The researcher ticks with "yes" or "no", asking respondents to provide another meaning if there is any.

The study has three chapters, two of which are theoretical, while the third one is practical. The first one, as it should be, an area for reviewing the literature that tackled the

topic of lexical loss and the scope it falls under. The second chapter aims at narrowing down the research to identify the geographic sphere and its linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects to end up with the study case, drawing a descriptive preview of BA. The last chapter is a practical one, the method and the sample will be explained, while the data will be presented and interpreted therein.

In sum, this study is an adventure whose objective is to uncover a spot at a sociolinguistic level for which both the researcher and the people under study feel enthusiastic. The old people from whom vocabulary was elicited also appreciate the work saying that this, to some extent, would serve their history, identity, and patrimony as well. However, the unavailability of any linguistic literature about BA remains an evident obstacle.

Chapter One: Review of Related Literature

1.1.   Introduction

The first chapter covers the sociolinguistic process of variation that languages and dialects may undergo to reach other degrees of loss and attrition. First of all, one has to indicate the scope under which such phenomena take place; sociolinguistics, a modern discipline appeared to signal many questions related to societies and language reciprocally and to scientifically seek the reasons behind the changes that affect human linguistic behaviours, with a shred of firm evidence that heterogeneity is imposed on societies at the micro-level and at the macro-level as well. This variation made sociolinguists think of creating a cell that can investigate and delimit the social motives which have made homogeneity just a myth. For instance, within a given society, age, gender, and education can strongly split the linguistic features into linguistically distinctive groups. As far as this study is concerned, language can also follow a curve as a path where it starts by being formed and acquired, it evolves when enriched with a specific lexicon and it finally begins to fade when affected by contact and borrowing.

1.2.   Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics emerged as a result of different interactions linguistics had with other academic disciplines. With anthropology, which studies language and culture, with sociology which investigates the role language performs in the social and institutional organization, and thirdly, with social psychology whose main concern is the analysis of how attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours are expressed and identified inside and outside groups (Yule, 2010).

Sociolinguists are concerned with recognizing the different functions of language in a given society and the way it is employed to realise a social meaning. Knowing about a community in terms of its social ties and its social identity through the language its people use is a result of sociolinguists' scrutiny of language use in different social contexts (Holmes, 2000).

Sociolinguistics also seeks to reach a description of the linguistic and functional characteristics of language varieties belonging to the verbal repertoire of a given speech community without due regard to their nature of the interaction they manifest with each other. Sociolinguistics tries to measure the availability of the speech community's verbal repertoire to different internal micro-interactions. It goes deeper in understanding the way networks interact (Fishman, 1971).

Unlike formal linguistics whose work was essentially based on determining the structure of language as a fixed set of rules, sociolinguistics attempted to supply a model of language which could accommodate the paradox of language change. It worked a lot on the social factors that affect our linguistic choices as well as the reason why we speak in such a given way (Coulmas, 2005).

1.3. Language variation

The concept of variationist sociolinguistics cropped up from the fact that variants taking place in our speech are linguistically insignificant but socially insignificant (Chambers, 2002). The basic question in language variation and change is *how does this happen?* Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) provided an answer by pointing out that "the key to a rational conception of language change is the possibility of describing orderly differentiation." (As cited in Tagliamonte, 2012).

According to Chambers (2002), the topic of language variation, namely the social studies of linguistic variants, has been an overwhelming area in sociolinguistic research for nearly half a century. Those investigations were scientifically conducted by different methods such as observing language use in social contexts and classifying linguistic variants according to their social distribution.

Labov's early study Martha's Vineyard was the sociolinguistic achievement that marked the significance of the social patterns in understanding language variation and change. His research was meant to study variations in the diphthongs (ay) and (aw) as in *white* and *out*; after having undertaken tens of interviews and questionnaires as well as observing the casual speech in social contexts, Labov found an apparent variation along several dimensions including ethnicity, occupation and geographical location (Mesthrie, 2001).

1.4.   Dialect contact

Contact is a sociolinguistic term that indicates a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects. Contact can result in linguistic forms such as loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, creoles, and pidgins. Bilingualism is also considered to be an outcome of language contact when languages are used alternately by the same person (Crystal, 2008).

Thomason (2001) confessed that defining language contact is a hard task despite such salient examples as that of the Montana Salish where elders speak Salish to each other, but they speak English when others are present, whether they are foreigners or their children who speak little or no Salish.

Language contact often takes place when there is high social interaction between people from neighbouring areas who have traditionally spoken different languages. Nevertheless, more frequently, it is initiated by the spread of languages of power and prestige via conquest and colonisation (Mesthrie et al, 2009).

Due to conquest or migration, speakers of two or more languages may be merged in a common community. Speakers of one language may get exposed to different languages of places they travel to. And, needless to say, in modern times the mass media have brought awareness of some languages into regions in which these were formerly unknown. In all such cases, speakers of one language may, deliberately or unconsciously, introduce into their language aspects of another language to which they have been exposed (Trask, 1999).

The phenomenon of dialect contact can effectively be one of the factors that enhance the process of attrition, and thus speakers will develop new speaking habits different from those they should have inherited from their ancestors.

1.5. Dialect and Language

Sapir (1921: 7) defined language as "a purely human and non-distinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires using a system of voluntarily produced symbols." A dialect has commonly been seen as an inferior, poorer, and simple form of language that usually represents a lower-status group of people who lack prestige. Dialects are also considered to be the spoken forms of the language of scattered tribes of the world. A dialect is believed to be a kind of violation of a standard form of language (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). By contrast, Rowe and Levine (2016) point that when there is a systematic difference in the way groups speak a language, it is said that each group speaks a dialect of that language; and because dialects are rule-governed and have limitless expressive power, they cannot be depicted as a degraded or inferior form of a language. Another definition describes dialect as the shared, unique characteristics of a given speech community.

However, there should be a clarification about what distinguishes a dialect from a language. Hudson (1996) says that drawing a separation line is a matter of culture. Greek for example, because of the existence of several distinct written varieties in use in Classical Greece, each associated with a different area and used for a different kind of literature, the distinction seems unnoticeable. For English speakers, he added, the division is made in terms of *size* as language has a wider variety which has more items than what is called a dialect. Another contrast can be also drawn about *prestige*, i.e., dialects are varieties that lack prestige are not used in formal writings.

"Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people, this is a clear-cut matter, which depends on whether it is used in formal writing." (Hudson, 1996: 30)

Trudgill (1994) started one of his chapters on dialects with the claim there are two types of English dialects: Traditional Dialects, which are most often spoken by older people in geographically peripheral, more rural parts of the country, and Mainstream Dialects, which are more like Standard English, and are more associated with younger, urban speakers.

1.6.   Linguistic variable

The notion was first used by William Labov to indicate the units in a language that are affected by social or stylistic variation, and are likely to change the long term (Crystal, 2008).

The linguistic variable is a crucial instrument that is necessary to achieve what Labov and other sociolinguists have tried as describing the communal language shift and variation from which conclusions are drawn for a better understanding of the language and the different forms and functions it manifests (Wardhaugh & Futter, 2015).

Some linguistic variables serve extra-linguistic factors like socio-economic class, ethnic group, and age, which are in the continuous process of changing themselves; social

stratification can grow up, ethnic groups are integrated, children continue to react with and against their elders. The linguistic variable reflects this change by a gradual shift of the distribution of its variants. For instance, a low front vowel (eh) in words like *bad*, *ask*, *dance* may diachronically be triggering a high front vowel (Labov, 1966). As an example of a lexical variable, which means that one meaning is expressed by two different lexical items, the two expressions "he popped up," and 'he kicked the bucket' are used to say that 'someone has died' (Fezzioui, 2013).

1.7. Sociolinguistic variables

In the 1960s, variationist studies started to approach language variation in terms of a correlation between specific linguistic forms and static social attributes, particularly demographic variables such as ethnicity, age, social class, gender, and others.

1.7.1. Ethnicity

Ethnicity has its roots mainly in anthropology and ethnology. Generally, an ethnic group is defined based on such criteria as biological, geographical, linguistic, cultural, or religious. Though cultures change, the continuation of group ties themselves may be more long-standing. Ethnicity is also a matter of subjective belief in common origin and ancestry. Members of ethnic groups often have a subjective belief in their common descent. It does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity (Fishman, 1999).

Linguists are interested in delimiting the degree to which a given variety serves as a badge of identity for a given ethnic group, and how it differs from varieties of the same language used by other speakers. As a study, language and ethnicity are still in their initial stages, but helpful findings have already appeared. For example, the British sociolinguist Ben Rampton has recently discovered the phenomenon of crossing, in which a member of

one ethnic group deliberately adopts the language or usage of another ethnic group for specific social purposes (Trask, 1999).

Ethnicity is a social identity that is attributed to people by their pedigree, an imposed characteristic. It represents the answer to the question "What are you?" the existence of two ethnic groups will give birth to two different societies. In many cases, communal groups are centred on religious affiliation, not as a matter of personal choice, but as a matter of family descent (Labov, 2001).

Labov (2001) added ethnicity could have the most impact on linguistic change. Similar to language, ethnicity is inherited and acquired directly from one's parents. There is usually a close relationship between language and ethnicity.

1.7.2. Age

Age plays a crucial role in language variation within the same speech community, some linguistic variants are available in the repertoire of people who share the same age group. Variation generally gets observed between old people and their counterpart youngsters, as what is known as a generational divide.

Trudgill (1998) referred to this as age-grading change, supplying a simple example of how the alphabet letter "z" is uttered in Canada; children are accustomed to saying 'zee' while adolescents would rather say 'zed'. The substitution young speakers make at the level of language is a pure innovation that could end an era of stigmatized and old-fashioned linguistic structures. Always in Canada, to explain the generational variation at the lexical level, Trudgill gives an example of "*Chesterfield*" (a term for the stuffed piece of furniture that two or three people sit on in the living room), an outdated word that used to be widely used in the first half the twentieth century, which underwent a decline process when the younger generation of the mid-twentieth century substituted it by using the word "*Couch*" or "*Sofa*".

Other features of language can also be affected by fashion, and when they are, the fashionable trends often cut through social barriers and appeal to young people throughout the community.
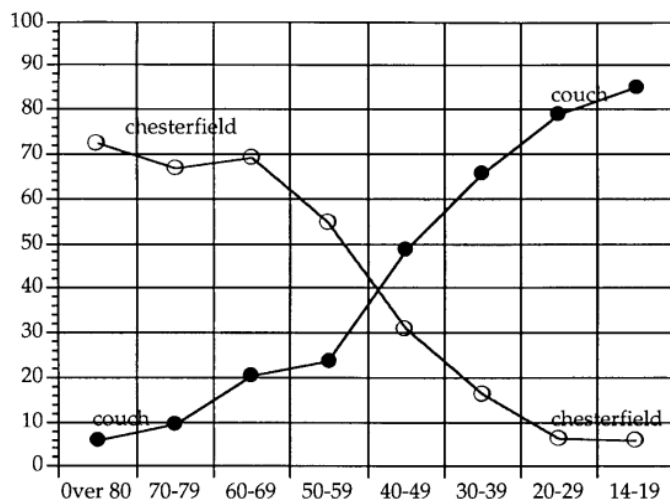
Figure 1.1: Use of couch and chesterfield by different age groups (Chambers, 1998).

(Negadi, 2006) says that a generation of speakers adjusts its linguistic behavior at a given stage in life, sometimes into adulthood. But the language itself does not change across generations. A child hears speakers of various ages and he notices that the younger the speaker, the more advanced the change. Tagliamonte (2012) wonders why a person who was born in 1900 speaks an English variety differently from another born in 2000. The answer was given by some sociolinguists after having depended on what came to be known as the apparent time construct, an analytical tool for the analysis of variation, comparing generational differences at a single point to find out how a change has taken place in the recent past.
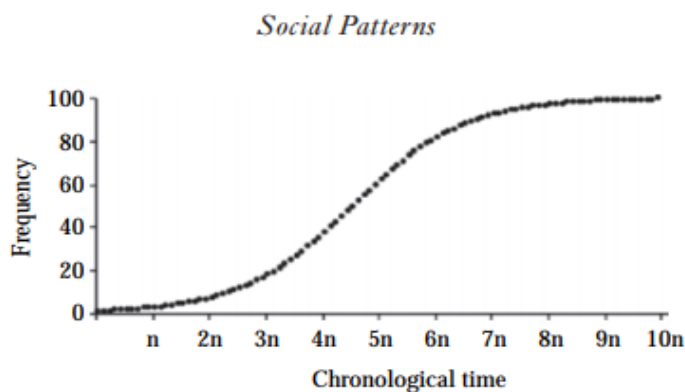
Figure 1.2: S-curve of linguistic change (Tagliamonte, 2011)

In a study of the Gullah Creole spoken in parts of south-eastern United States, older women were the heaviest users of Gullah because they worked in domestic and farming positions. Older men worked mostly in construction. Younger speakers of both sexes took up white-collar jobs and service positions which made contact with Standard English. A study of Tunisian women in Morocco showed that older women categorically use diphthongs /aw/ and /aj/, while middle-aged women alternate between diphthongs and monophthongs. Younger women use the monophthongs characteristic of male speech (Romaine, 2000).

1.7.2. Gender

As a result of their biological and social difference, men and women are expected to have different behaviours. Since language variation and change are deeply investigated, we have to highlight gender with language and as a necessary motive in sociolinguistic phenomena. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 485) state:

> **Women's language has been said to reflect their [our] conservatism, prestige   consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, defense, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. A man's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of effect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, and control.**

The majority of sociolinguists and dialectologists dealt with gender as an important factor in the process of language and variation, trying to know whether it is the male or the female who is the leader of innovation and the change-maker under what circumstances for what reasons Labov (2010).

The influence gender exerts on language is typically not direct, but mediated by other variables. For instance, language use is influenced by the activities people habitually undertake, and their activities in turn may be linked to their gender. The more direct link is between activity and language, not gender and language (Maybin & Swann 2010).

Wodak's (1998) study highlights the processes of language change between generations of females. After conducting interviews with 30 women, Wodak's main interest was to find out if the daughters use their linguistic styles to be different from their mothers. The results showed that family styles exist. The study revealed, for example, that professional women tended to speak more formally than nonprofessional mothers in all social classes. In case of mother-daughter conflict, the daughter used a significantly different style from the mother, more formal or informal depending on the mother's style – thus there was no significant tendency towards language change between the generations. The differences between mother and daughter were bigger than between mother and son, even in stable and friendly relationships. Accommodation to peer groups is an important intervening variable. The same is true for social mobility – upwardly mobile daughters spoke hypercorrectly, in obvious demarcation from their mothers and their social class (Wodak, Ruth & Benke, 1998).

In the same light of variation and change, and defending females, Romaine (2000) talked about the disputes among early dialectologists about the conservatism or innovativeness of women. Romaine added that variation tests drawing assumption that

men better preserved the 'real' and 'purest' forms of the regional dialects, were wrongly conducted as most of the linguistic items were associated with men's rather than women's lifestyles and roles, e.g. terms for farming tools. Besides, women were blamed in many contexts for being innovative and change leaders; some said they were responsible for the loss of tongue trilled /r/ in English and other languages. Others blamed them for the loss of /r/ in the word for 'chair' since it was a domestic object which belonged more naturally to the speech of women. Female speakers of minority languages such as Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Saami, and Breton were also blamed for 'killing' these languages by not speaking them to their children.

In terms of variation, gender remains debatable and sometimes it is dealt with much bias, but unless experiments and researches are done, nothing can be revealed, and sociolinguists ought to take into account the cultural background each spot is characterized with.

1.8. Language loss and language attrition

It seems challenging to provide a clear-cut definition to such terms as shift, loss, and attrition; that's what was obvious in the Third International Conference on Maintenance and Loss of minority languages held in Veldhoven 1998. However, language loss can refer to "the decline of proficiency of individual or group of speakers", which is the consequence of language contact, language change, and disuse of a language. It can also have such pathological reasons as brain damage, aphasia, or dementia (Hulsen, 2000). In light of this, we can assume that any variety is subject to degradation and vanishing, being easily observed through people's linguistic behaviours.

Monika Schmid (2011) attempted to clarify the concept of language loss by describing it as a process through which emigrants are exposed to a change or reduction in

their linguistic knowledge. This can interfere with the shift from one language to another in a community over a generation, or to the disappearance of a given language. Schmid (2011:3) states the following:

A more accurate and specific term for the loss of a language by a healthy individual (that is, a loss which is not caused by brain injury or some pathological condition, such as aphasia or dementia) is language attrition.

Generational change is one of the cornerstones of sociolinguistics; this linguistic change doesn't need to be debated since all languages change over time. Innovations firstly spread gradually as new forms gradually substitute older ones. When this takes place, there is acceleration with a maximum rate at mid-course. Then at the end of the period of change, the increase of new forms slows down and the older forms remain rare until they disappear or get left behind in specific contexts. Characteristic contexts in which linguistic features get "left behind" are rigid utterances, sayings, songs, and poetry (Tagliamonte, 2011).

Labov (2002) tackled the same point when he defines *style-shifting* as one of the major solutions to nowadays problem of language change theory: ***the transmission problem***. In the course of linguistic change, children learn to speak differently from their parents, and in the same direction that their parents learned to talk differently from their parents.

This claim overlaps with what Schmid stated about language attrition, which is manifested in the gradual loss of lexical items in a diachronic way due to given motives.

Thomason (2001) points that attrition is a process in which a language gradually regresses when losing speakers, domains, and ultimately structure. Lexicon is lost as a result of language exclusion from domains where it used to be employed. Lexicon is also lost when former cultural practices in the dying language's speech community are eliminated by assimilation. Thomason illustrates the case of Montana Salish which viewed three

features of attrition: Certain words in the kinship terminology, names of some plants, and storytelling as a common activity. Therefore, traditional devices of oral performance have been lost. Viable languages are also subject to lexical loss because of cultural change. For example, most current English speakers have no knowledge of terminology for parts of "horse harnesses." (Thomason, 2001).

Hamers and Blanc (2000) tackled the topic and defined language attrition as a generic term used to cover all non-temporary regression in language processing, covering a continuum from mild access problems, i.e. word-finding, to complete loss of language. A distinction is made between ***environmental attrition*** (due to reduced use of a language), ***old-age attrition*** (due to aging processes) and ***pathological attrition*** (due to disease or trauma).

As far as this study is concerned, environmental lexical attrition didn't gain much space in the field of variationist sociolinguistics since most studies tackled the phonological level extensively. However, the phenomenon of traditional words' disappearance in a speech variety of a given speech community has recently dealt with by some researchers whose efforts were devoted to study the communities they belong to.

Amer Redouane Humeidat (2018) conducted a quantitative investigation to study the phenomenon of ***lexical loss*** in Alkoura rural dialect in Irbid Governorate, in the northern part of Jordan, assessing archaic vocabulary among the young generation, using interviews to elicit what he called pre-cultural words from a group of old people by asking them general questions about food, clothes, and weather. Then, he prepared 222 words of different spheres that used to be common in the past in a complied questionnaire for 400 young participants, through which he examined the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors such as solidarity marker, and level of education. The findings revealed 168 words were not much familiar to the young speakers; the pre-cultural words were sort of familiar to the

male young speakers rather than the female young speakers. The study also shows that the young participants do not attempt to build a strong communal solidarity and do not attempt to maintain their heritage words and culture.

Saeidfar and Tohidian study's (2012) tackled the topic providing a deliberate examination of the Asfahani dialect to find out why some old words and expressions underwent attrition, linking such process with social class and age effects. They examined the impact of social class and age on the attrition of some outdated words and expressions of the Isfahani dialect. A questionnaire was given out to 120 male/female residents from three social groups each including 40 upper-social class; 40 middle-social class and 40 low-social class with ages range of 25 to 26. The questionnaire includes 20 old words and expressions of Iran dialect. Each participant was required to mention the meaning in front of the words, they are familiar with. The results indicate that the lower the age, the less knowledge about the meaning of words. Besides, the lower the social class, the more knowledge about the meaning of the words.

Deli, et al.'s (2014) study was conducted to examine the familiarity level of Sarawak Malay Dialect (SMD) words in the speakers of younger generations. This study includes 50 SMD words consisting of a combination of popular and seemingly archaic dialect vocabulary. The tool that is used in this study is a 5-point Likert scale questionnaire which is given out to 37 participants who are native of SMD speakers and their ages range between 13 to 26 years old. The overall findings show that approximately 50 percent of the words were not acknowledged and were weird to most of the speakers.

Chaira Farid (2018), conducted a study about some Berber words which underwent obsolescence, which the researcher called *lexical erosion*. He investigated six basic concepts denoting six animal species. His research explored a cross-regional variation, the

Berber variants are predominantly used in some parts while in others they have been substituted with loanwords.

1.9. Conclusion

In sum, heterogeneity as a concept was deeply studied and given much attention. That's why dialectologists and sociolinguists could reach an agreement on common social variables deliberately analysed either to measure the degree of variation among speakers or to figure out its factors, causes and results. And as a form of language variation, though it has not been heavily dealt with, lexical loss and attrition between two different generations have also taken up a place in the sociolinguistic scope.

Chapter Two:
The Sociolinguistic
Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the study is narrowed down to tackle Algeria as speech community with an amalgamation of three codes, Arabic an official language that won its place after the coming of Islam, Berber a language that already existed in North Africa, and French, the language of the colonizer which gave birth to code-switching as another linguistic phenomenon. Due to this, Algeria is said to be diglossic as Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic interfere, bilingual and for some, it is also multilingual. This chapter also sheds light on the speech community under investigation, Beni Abbes, which is an Algerian town whose dialect is looked into at its lexical level.

2.2. The linguistic profile in Algeria

The linguistic situation in Algeria is complicated and is a matter of intense discussion within the country itself. Algeria's population diversity is reflected in the large array of languages spoken. Arabic and, most recently, Tamazight, being the official languages. The majority of Algerians speak Arabic, followed by French and Berber. Modern Standard Arabic, a simpler version of Classical Arabic, is taught at schools and is used in formal meetings and the media, but is not used for ordinary conversation. The Algerian dialect, known as "Darja", is used in everyday life. And increasingly, the vernacular is being used in theater and novels because it is believed to reflect the Algerian culture.

2.2.1. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Arabic (AA)

Standard Arabic is known as a 'modern' form of Classical Arabic which is the language of the Qur'an and pre-Islamic poetry. It is used in the crucial official and powerful domains, namely religion, government, education, and the media. It has special prestige as the 'language of God' and as the unifying language at the levels of the Arab world and the Muslim world (Saddiki, 2006).

Mouili (2019:33) quoted what Ennaji wrote about MSA:

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

Algerian Arabic is considered the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerians who use it in their daily life interactions; it is a vernacular form derivative from classical Arabic; it is also called "Daridja", a mixture of various languages having historically existed on Algerian lands. (Belarbi, 2013) Additionally, Algerian Arabic "AA variety" represents the language of daily use and the real instrument of communication between Algerian speakers. This variety reflects the folk's stories and sayings, culture, and traditions. In fact, we distinguish large dialectal areas distributed around Algeria (Negadi, 2019).

2.2.2. French

The French colonisation lasted for 132 years during which it tried all the ways to impose its language on Algerian people, making it an official language, and giving Arabic a lower status. As they wanted to assimilate indigenous inhabitants by bringing them to their culture and language, the invaders started closing the Quranic schools existing before their arrival, they also imposed French as the only language of instruction so that Arabic loses its prestige and the Algerians become illiterate (Benlarbi, 2013). In the aftermath of independence, as a reaction to the French cultural and linguistic imperialism, the leaders of the revolution and successive governments and dedicated themselves to restore indigenous Arabic and Islamic cultural principles. President Houari Boumedien led a complete arabisation as a national goal to promote Arabic in the administration and in the schools (Metz, 1993). However, the task of eradicating French from the Algerian society is hard, this language is pervasive in the majority of Algerian dialects, it becomes a part of the citizens' daily communication. For instance, it is rare to hear the word [nafora] but you would hear

[ʒiɖo] (jet d'eau) instead, you would also hear [liku;n] (l'ecole) rather than madrasa, and

[lboʃta] (la poste) rather than [elbarid] (Fezzioui, 2013).

2.2.3. Berber

The Berber tribes were the oldest indigenous inhabitants of all of North Africa. Despite the consecutive waves of invaders including the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the Spaniards, and lastly the French, the Berbers managed to preserve their Hemitic language, their culture, and their traditions. The Berber languages (also called Tamazight) are found in many countries in Africa (Belarbi, 2013).

Berber is primarily a spoken language despite "Tifinagh" alphabet that survives among the Tuareg of the Algerian Sahara, where the characters are used more for special purposes than for communication. Several Berber dialect groups are recognized in modern Algeria, but only Kabyle and Chaouia are spoken by a considerable number. The Chaouia dialect, which is distinguishable from but related to Kabyle, bears the mark and influence of Arabic. Separate dialects, however, are spoken by the Tuareg and by the Mzab (Metz, 1995).

In the aftermath of the Berber spring in 1980, Berber voices were outraged and rebelled peacefully to ask for the recognition of Tamazight as a language with educational and cultural benefits. And thus the status of a national language has been given to Tamazight to be learned at school; by this, it could win a medium rank after having been in the category of small languages (Mouili, 2012).

2.3. Diglossia

The existence of two or more varieties of the same language in one speech community gives the chance for its speakers to shift from to another when necessary. This can occur between a standard language and a regional dialect; the first one is used in some familiar contexts whereas the second one the speakers share it at home, with their families, or with friends (Ferguson, 1996).

Ferguson (1996) elucidated that the specialization of the function of the High (H) and the Low (L) varieties is one of the most important aspects of diglossia. For each situation, either H or L has a viable use but with slight overlapping. Table 2.1 below displays a list of situations and the variety they require.

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio "soap opera"		X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

Table 2.1: Specialization of functions of H and L (Ferguson, 1996))

Ferguson's (1959:339) explains that:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard 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 sector of the community for ordinary conversation (as cited in Albirini, 2016: 16)**.**

David Crystal (2008) defines diglossia as a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation where two very different varieties of a language co-occur throughout a speech community, each with a distinct range of social function. Both varieties are standardized to some degree, are felt to be alternatives by native speakers, and usually have special names. Sociolinguists usually talk in terms of a high (H) variety and a low (L) variety, corresponding broadly to a difference informality: the high variety is learned in school and tends to be used in church, on radio programs, in serious literature, etc., and as a consequence has greater social prestige; the low variety tends to be used in family conversations, and other relatively informal settings. Diglossic situations may be found, for example, in Greek (High: Katharevousa; Low: Dhimotiki), Arabic (High: Classical; Low: Colloquial), and some varieties of German (H: Hochdeutsch; L: Schweizerdeutsch, in Switzerland).

In studying Arabic, Marçais (1930), who presented for the first time the term "diglossia" distinguishes two forms:

"The Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) a literary language so-called written Arabic or regular, or literal, or classical; the only one that has always and everywhere been written in the past; the only one in which today is written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles, judiciary acts, private letters, in a word, everything that is written, but which, exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere, and which, in any case, is not spoken now anywhere; 2) spoken idioms, patois…none of which has ever been written…but which everywhere and perhaps for a many time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultured circles."

According to Mouili (2011), Algerians draw on their knowledge of both Arabic and French lexicon to include some words in their speech like in [roht likol lju:m], (Did you go

to school today?). They also shift from SA to AA to generate a diglossic situation such as [lʔazma lʔiqtisadija maχallat ħtta blæd] (The economic crisis didn't leave any country unaffected.). She added that the Algerian diglossic situation is rather specific because the two varieties are wide apart; the prestigious H form is used in official contexts and education while the L form remains a code that is commonly known as the Algerian dialect used at home for low functions with no official status.

Three forms of Arabic co-exist in the Algerian speech community with each used for distinct purposes; MSA / CA are the High varieties recognized publicly in formal situations and high functions namely, education, administration, political speeches, the media, sermons in mosque: AA is the Low variety. It is the mother tongue and the medium of communication in everyday life used among family, with friends, and sometimes in the media in some television and radio programs as well as in plays and movies. AA, as is the case of almost all Arabic dialects, has survived as a spoken form within two distinct groups: the sedentary dialects (including urban and rural) and the Bedouin dialects. As mentioned earlier, the presence of CA/ MSA and AA in the Arabic language today has led Algeria and all the Arabic-speaking communities to a diglossic situation (kherbach, 2017).

2.4. Code switching

Wardhaugh (2006) wrote that it is hard to find an individual who speaks a single code whether it is a dialect, a register, or a style; and several varieties of language are likely to be commanded by most of the speakers; bilingualism and multilingualism are the standard of many people rather than unilingualism. So, they are expected to use one code for a particular occasion or decide to switch from one code to another or they may mix codes in their utterances to produce a new code through a process called code-switching (CS). Nilep (2006:1) defines CS as:

The practice of selecting or alternating linguistic elements to contextualize talk in interaction. This contextualization may relate to local discourse practices, such as turn selection, or various forms of bracketing, or it may make relevant information beyond the current exchange, including knowledge of society and diverse identities.

In a clear agreement with Nilep, Bullock & Toribio (2009) stated that CS occurs when interlocutors make use of the language varieties of their linguistic repertoire so that they cover their needs in a given context or conversation. Code-switching is the bilingual's ability to effortlessly alternate between two languages. This competence has called professionals for a scientific examination. However, on the other hand, it engendered a debate that shows a real confusion about the nature of CS in particular and bilinguals in general; while some see CS as a sign of bilingual skill, it is commonly considered as an index of language deterioration. (Bullock & Toribio, 2009) added that monolinguals are also equipped with such competence as they can shift between the linguistic registers and the dialects they command. The process they perform is referred to as *style-shifting*.

Additionally, in an attempt to examine how linguistic constraints function in CS, Poplack (1980) dealt with three types of CS:

- **Extra-sentential or tag-switching** where tags and certain set phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance of another language.

- **Intra- sentential switching** where switching occurs within a clause or sentence boundary.

- **Inter-sentential switching** where a change of language occurs at a clause or a sentence boundary. (Harmers & Blanc 2000 as cited in Mahdad, 2012)

2.5. Bilingualism

An individual becomes bilingual when they show the capacity to command several styles of varieties of even a single language. To be bilingual is to possess, to some extent,

functional ability in the L2. Bilinguals generally choose one language to perform linguistic functions such as counting, doing arithmetic, cursing, or praying silently (Spolsky, 1998). Lyon (1981) points that a community cannot be called bilingual until a sufficient number of its members are bilingual. And for a native monolingual, to become bilingual, they should have a full range of competence of two languages; this is called perfect bilingualism which is, according to Lyon, a rare situation.

There are two types of bilingualism in the Maghreb, societal and educational. The first one concerns the acquaintance of Berber by many speakers as well as competence in speaking the Spanish language. The second aspect of bilingualism, the educational one, applies principally to the educated group of the population who, in addition to becoming bidialectal as they acquire MSA, develop competence in French, depending on the type of education they receive and jobs they take up (Sayahi, 2014).

Mouili (2012) sees that bilingualism in Algeria was a linguistic impact 132 years of French colonialization whose plan is to have firm control over the country. After independence, despite the policy of Arabization which was not a simple procedure to get rid of the linguistic effect, the French language imposed itself in the Algerian linguistic profile.

2.6. Borrowing

Language contact studies consider borrowing as one of its major concerns. 'Borrowing' is a technical term for the inclusion of such items as words, grammatical elements, or sounds from one language into another. Adapting a word into a sound system or the grammar of one's language is called *borrowing* whereas *CS* requires a mastery of one or two languages and the use of a wide range of rules of the languages being switched. Therefore, borrowing does not necessitate the knowledge of the other language from words being adapted (Mesthrie et al, 2009). Spolsky (1998) added that once a word is adapted phonologically and morphologically, we can say it has been borrowed.

(Spolsky, 1998; Schmidt, 2011) agree on describing borrowing as a process through which speakers integrate elements from a given language into another. It is a type of cross-linguistic influence, adopting the whole lexical item. Once an item is borrowed from L2, it becomes part of L1 due to its habitual use. Lexical borrowing is divided into *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing*. The cultural borrowed forms are used for objects that are new to the culture of the recipient language, such as the internet, SMS, web, and so on, and also for new concepts and the core lexical borrowed forms consist of words that more or less duplicate already existing words in L1, such as 'auto', 'bus', 'frigo' (Mahdad, 2012).

Linguists distinguish, in terms of the motives that may drive a speaker to copy words from another language or dialect, between two types of borrowing phenomena, cultural and core borrowing. The first is about including imported items to label meanings that do not have equivalents in the language of the receiver culture. Cultural borrowing is a bi-directional process in that both the minority and the dominant language borrow from one another (Bloomfield, 1933).

Core borrowing, unlike cultural borrowing, is generally from the dominant to the minority language. The question of why speakers of a given language borrow words for meanings that already exist in their native language has attracted the attention of many linguists. Most scholars seem to agree that the main motive for core borrowing is prestige (Chaira, 2018).

In Algeria, due to the influence the French language had on Arabic, mainly the colloquial Arabic, borrowing became a sociolinguistic phenomenon. The majority of borrowed words are spoken and rarely written. After having been adapted morphologically and phonologically, many borrowed words and expressions have been integrated into AA. Therefore, many of them sound more Arabic than French:

French	AA	Gloss
Poupé	Poupija	Doll
Machine	maʃina	Machine
Villa	Villa	Cottage
Casserole	Kasrona	Saucerpan
Table	Table	ṭabla
Cartable	School bag	Kartab
Valise	Suitcase	Valiza
Cuisine	Kitchen	Ku:zina

Table 2.2: Some examples of loan words recorded in a conversation. (Chaouche, 2006)

2.7. Historical Background of Beni Abbes

Beni Abbes is an Algerian town situated in the south west of the country. Administratively, it was a municipality in the Wilaya of Bechar. In 2021, it has become an official wilaya N°52.
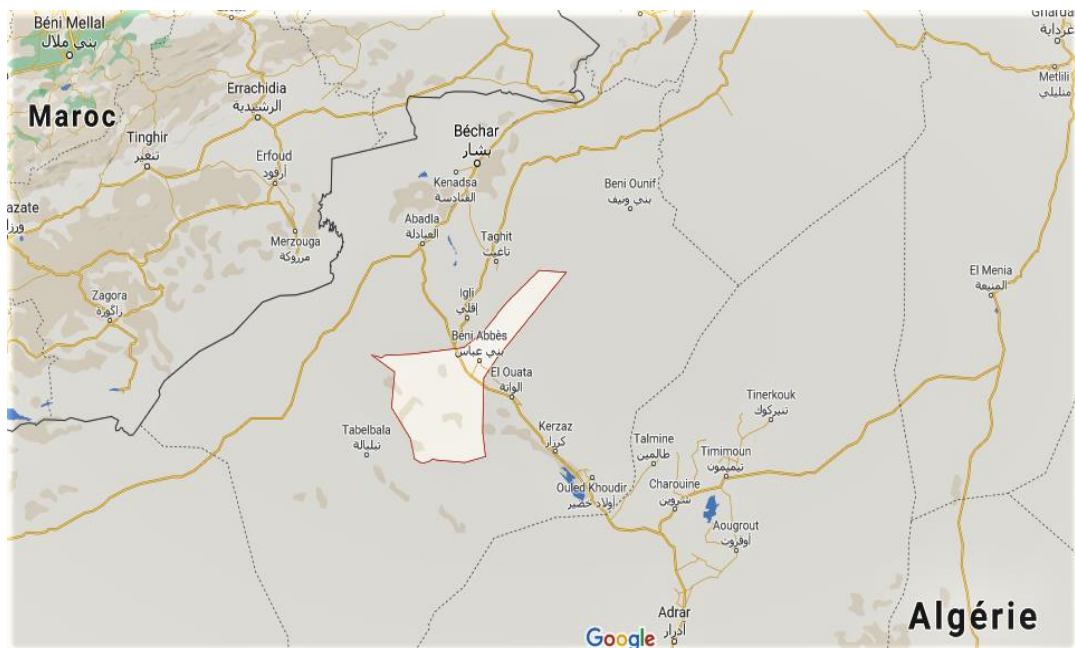
Figure 2.1. Map of Beni Abbes (https://www.google.com/maps/place)

The name of Beni Abbes in Arabic means "the sons of Abbas". Rames explained that the origin of such a name came after the first settlers of the town. The territory of BA was inhabited during prehistory as attest the ancient engravings of the primitive man in the region of Marhouma. Unfortunately, little information and few texts are available about this era of BA history.

The oasis ksar (Berber village) of BA. The site was first inhabited in the 12th century by a tribe from Mauritania. The town today has an old part made up of semi-attached houses, granaries, mosques, baths, ovens, and shops, and a new part with a research center composed of a museum, zoo, and botanical garden. The old part has been largely uninhabited for decades, but enough remains to give a good representation of traditional desert architecture (CIA, 2017)

The first settlers of BA were the tribes of Beni Hassan who lives in "ɣar Diba" which means "Wolf's laurel" a cave located in the entry of the town and another site, a ksar called "Haress Ellil" which means "the night's guardian". Soon after, they left the two sites toward Seguia Elhamra and Mauritania in the XII century. In 1592, Ibn Abi Mahalli, a religious scholar, chose to settle in the region of BA to build his empire.

Sidi Othman Elgherib came from Egypt with his companion Sid Ennoun; with his benediction, the source of water was discovered. The place was no longer a desert and the river filled up with herbs, trees, and pastures. Forty years after the death of Sidi Othman; quite far away from Saguia el Hamra, El Mahdi Ben Youssef with Ali Ben Moumen from the tribe of Arib settled in the region bringing with them palm trees and built the ksar of Ouled Mahdi where sons of Elmahdi, Youssef and Said joined with Mohammed, the son of Moumen. BA then became a rather important spot of agriculture and commerce, and thus it attracted a large number of people from diverse regions.

Ali ben Yahia joined by Khelfi Ben Abdelwasaa stepped toward the land from figuig to settle down; Ali ben Yahia was, the experimented farmer who built the ksar of Oulad Rahou where the two sons Mouley and Raho lived. In the XIV century, Ali Ben Moussa also put his feet on the land coming from Tamentit.

Prosperity and development of the region made the settlers exposed to many enemies in the neighbourhood; a wide range of invasions called '*Razzia*' pushed the people of BA to complain to the King of Fés who sent a group of Mkhaznia who came for defending the land from any threat. On their way to BA, the Mkhaznia passed by the Zaouet of Men-laykhaf in Tafilalet from which, a marabout called Mohammed Ben Abdessalem, a religious man joined them. This latter was reproached by the people of BA, who were living in scattered ksours, to stay and teach them the Holy Quran and religious lessons. So, he accepted their request on the condition that a new and well-fortified ksar must be founded at the heart of the palm forest; they agreed to let him choose the location.

In the ksar, four districts corresponded to four social groups who formed the population of BA: Mrabtin, Oulad raho, Oulad Hamed, and Oulad el- Mahdi.

Mrabtin	Oulad Rahou	Oulad el-Mahdi	Oulad Hamed
1- Touhami 2- Tayyibi 3- Boussouri 4- L'arbi 5- Badaoui 6- Bouderbala 7- Abdeldjelil 8- Ben Tayyeb	1- Ben Rahou 2- Ben Djebbour 3- Abdeldjebbar 4- Arib	1- Ben Ali 2- Ben Moussa 3- Baba 4- Khodiri 5- Ben Aissa 6- Obeid 7- Ben Ali 8- Houmini 9- Ben Allal 10- Bouazza	1- Belkacem 2- Hajji 3- Ben Hamed 4- Salmi

Table.2.3. Names of families representing the population of the ksar of Beni Abbes. (Marçais, 1955)

Alidrissi (2013) added other names such as Oulad Cherki, Ouled Ahmed Ben Abdellah, Ouled Said, and the servitude people who were in charge of working for their owners as farmers.

Nowadays, in addition to the former indigenous inhabitants, BA comprises other tribes like leɣenanma, Chʕamba and leʕtawna to form a new society with a population of nearly 14000 inhabitants in an average town where all aspects of urban life exist. BA now has six primary schools, two middle schools, one high school and two training institutes. Many foreigners came in to do business or to take up jobs in the public sector. In terms of urbanism, BA has viewed a considerable extension in the number of districts and streets. Features of progress are salient compared to the olden days. The traffic has widely increased, transportation becomes available, telecommunications are at the deposit of the majority, and they have TV, telephone and internet. BA now has many cafeterias and restaurants, football pitches, fitness rooms, two hotels and youth hostels. Tourists visit BA every year, mainly in two high profile events: the Prophet's Birthday Celebration and the New Year Eve.

Linguistically speaking, the region of BA was a Berber land. The Berber names of some sites such as [ṣṣafat], [zekkour], [tansouf], [hamouʃa], in addition to some palm forests like [fedriɣen], [ferwan], [feṭṭous],and neighbouring ksours like [lwata], [tametret], [idir], [logarta] and [zɣamra]; all these had anteriorly existed before the coming of Arabs and Muslims. The German expeditor Rohlfs (1864/ 2014:9), describing the people of BA at that time:

> **"Their language is Shelha (Berber variety), but they speak and understand Arabic."**

Rames (1941) says that Beni Abbes underwent a wide range invasions of different Arabo-Berber tribes coming from the Moroccan borders. That is why, it is not surprising to find some words mixed up with Arabic in addition to some Soudani idiomatic words and expressions brought by the black slaves. Trabelsi (2020) mentions that the dialect of BA was

an amalgamated Arabic variety with Moroccan Arabic and Touati Arabic words. This, according to Trabelsi, made the German expeditor Rohlfs mistaken when he said that BA language was 'Shelha', and the use of Berber could be boasted in the names of some places like [tawrirt], [fedriɣen], [badrjan], what concerns agricultural activities like [gammu:n], [ṭazeṭa], [badou] as well as local artisanal products [afker], [tadara]. Rames (1941) also wrote that the dialect of BA was an Arabic variety with some lexical items brought from Morocco and some other Berber names of places and scarce plants.

French has also taken up its position as a spoken language of many BA people as an index of French culture or imposed through French words included forcibly in their dialect due to the fact that they didn't used to know them until the 20th century. To illustrate, there are such words as [lamba] (lamp), [friʒidir] (refrigerator), [loṭo]; some verbs as [marʃarjer] (walk backward) and adjectives like [məblɪsɪ] (injured) (Trabelsi, 2020).

Some linguistic features of BASA:

There are some characteristics in the dialect of BA that marked a little variation with CA and MSA.

- **Deletion of the glottal /ʔ/**

CA	BASA
ʒɪʔt (I come)	ʒit
dɪʔb (wolf)	Dib
muʔmin (believer)	Mumən
faʔr (mouse)	Far

- **Deletion of the last /n/ in the plural present simple verbs**

CA	BASA	English
jaxruʒu:na	jχurʒu	(they go out)
jaʔkulu:na	jæklu	(they eat)
jaʃrobu:na	jʃorbo	(they drink)

- **Blending**

BASA	MSA	English
ʕæmnuwəl	ʕam awel	Last year
fissaʕ	Fi saʕa	Hurry up
mæʕliʃ	Ma ʕalajhi ʃajʔ	Not at all/ never mind
ʈʌmmen	ʌʕdam min	(greater than/more than)

- **Diminutives:**

People of BA used to call names using their diminutives, some examples are in the table

below:

Man's name	diminutive	Woman's name	Diminutive
Mohammed	ħomman/ ħəmmi	Zahra	ʐʐa
Belkacem	qasu	ʕarbia	ʕbou
Abderrahman	Daħħan/daħman	Yamina	Mina
Abdellah	ʕalla / ʕabbo	Mebrouka	Bouka
Mebarek	Bari		

Table 2.4: Names' diminutives in the old BASA

Additionally, ladies'names used to be joined with their fathers names. For example,

[ʐahra Mbarek], [ʕajʃa ʃʃiχ], [Mina dris], [mama ʕalla]...

The old BASA also knew a special kinship terminology. For instance, the older aunt

used to be called **[læⅡæ]** while the older uncle had the name **[sidi],** by this they give family

elders a special respect.

2.9. Conclusion

Providing a depiction of the sociolinguistic map of Algeria is a must since this study deals with one of its areas. Talking about such topics as the profile of the language which is, in fact, a debatable theme that could take extra dimensions like race and identity, diglossia, code-switching, bilingualism, and borrowing as linguistic phenomena that were able to have a deep impact on the whole sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. The area under study, which has been zoomed in this chapter, should not have remained without highlighting its history as well as some of its interesting linguistic features.

Chapter Three: Methodology, Data and Results

3.1. Introduction

This practical chapter highlights a focal part of the study. A presentation of the methodology followed to conduct the research and the tool used to identify the rate at which local traditional words undergo loss and attrition. Additionally, how and on which criterion the sampling was made. In this chapter, there will be a scrutiny of the gathered data, starting with the first part of the questionnaire that represents some sociolinguistic variables such as age and gender, moving to the second part which is in a form of a list of forty words grouped in nine different categories like traditions, utensils, mattresses, …etc. The interpretation is going to tackle the aforementioned points with statistics and figures.

3.2. Methodology

The present study is based mainly on the ethnic dimension targeting some families which are considered to be native inhabitants of BA. That is why selective or purposive sampling is required. Concerning the data collection tools, we have conducted recorded structured interviews with the old group members (control group) to elicit outdated vocabulary while they responded to the researcher's questions about the terminology. We have also conducted a face-to-face questionnaire with the young group members (study group) to measure the level of current knowledge and familiarity with the traditional lexical items in a list of 40 words grouped in 9 categories. The sample consists of a group of 22 young male and female people aged between 15-35 years old. These respondents are grandchildren of the old people from whom the traditional lexical items have been taken.

The instrument of the current study is a questionnaire that is used to elicit both qualitative and quantitative data; its first section includes social questions about the participants' gender, age, a question about parents emigration, and another one to know if informants have had any daily contact with their grandparents, while the second section of

the questionnaire consists of a selection of archaic words and terms that participants are required to fill in with a mark to assess familiarity whose rating technique is meant to answer how frequently dialect speakers use and recognize the meaning of certain dialect items with closed answers (yes or no). In a closed question, the possible answers are set out in the questionnaire and the respondent ticks the category that best describes the answer. It is usually wise to provide a category 'other/please explain' to accommodate any response not listed (Kumar, 2011). The informants are supposed to answer the questionnaire at the moment without any discussion with friends or family members. The participants are also asked to provide any extra words that give the same connotation to the same context to the marked words.

3.3. The data

Since this study is about the decline of the local dialect at the lexical level, the needed data have to be a wordlist of old vocabulary that used to be part of the common lexicon among the people who constituted the speech community of BA. Therefore, interviews with people required as a source of these words are the parents and the grandparents of the young people whose familiarity is going to be tested later through a questionnaire composed of two parts: a list of 40 words of different categories. Each participant answers (Yes), if they know the word or (No), if they do not. The questionnaire also includes questions about the place of residence, age, and educational background of participants in the demographic section. Besides, there are two questions about parents' migration and whether they had any contact with one of their grandparents. They are supposed to answer the questionnaire at the moment without any discussion with friends or family members.

3.4. The sampling

The group under study was selected with due regard to their ancestral descent to precisely measure lexical variation in the same speech community. The researcher targeted specific names (families) of those who first inhabited the old ksar as their first home to represent the tribe constituting the old BA (See **Table 2.1**). In the selection we have also tried to vary gender as a dimension that may well portray the difference between males and females in terms of lexical items familiarity in particular, and language maintenance in general. The same procedure has been done with age to see which cohort is more or less acquainted with the traditional vocabulary.

Family	Male	Female	Total
Mrabtin	03	02	05
Ouled Rahou	03	03	06
Ouled mehdi	03	05	08
Ouled hamed	02	01	03
Total	11	11	22

Table 3.1: Sampling according to original families.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-24	03	07	10
25-35	08	04	12
Total	11	11	22

Table 3.2: Sampling and stratification by gender and age.

3.5. Data analysis and interpretation
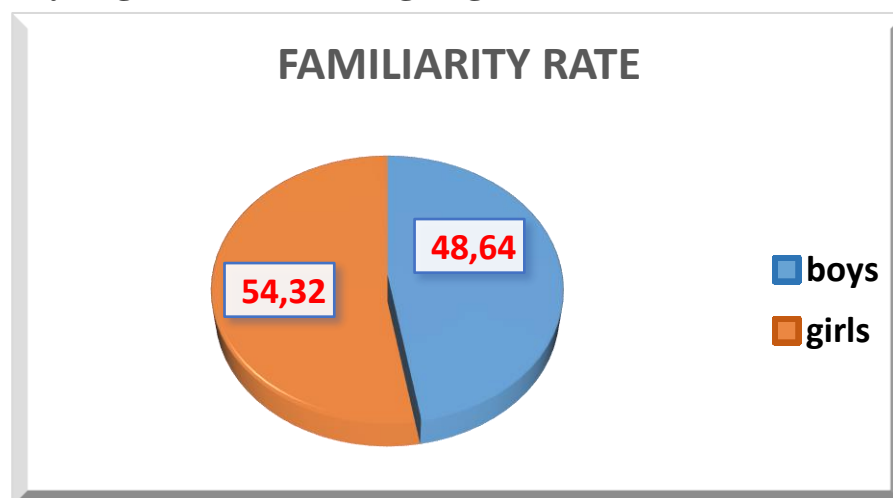## 3.5.1. Analyzing results according to gender

Figure 3.1: The current familiarity rate among both genders

As shown in Figure 3.1, females surpassed males in the general familiarity rate, which explains that young boys with 48,64% are more innovative in terms of lexical choice, may be because of their scarce contact with their elders as illustrated in **Table.3.5.1** . Girls who scored 54,32%, were more conservative despite their exposure to other linguistic forms that could alter their lexis use.

3.5.2. Comparing categories in relation to gender

Category	Traditions	Hairstyle	Space	Mattress	Utensils	Accessories	Verbs	Expressions	Time
Males	**35,23**	**6,06**	**60,00**	**63,64**	**36,36**	**4,55**	**53,03**	**83,64**	**84,85**
Female	**42,05**	**57,58**	**43,64**	**60,61**	**52,27**	**18,18**	**54,55**	**81,82**	**81,82**

Table 3.3: Familiarity among males and females

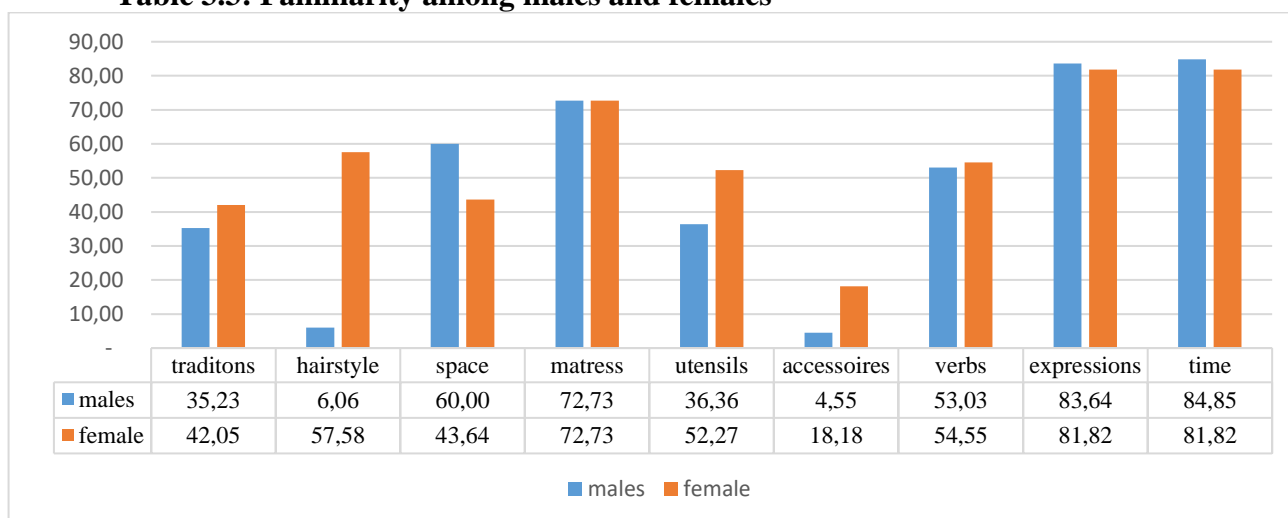|	traditons	hairstyle	space	matress	utensils	accessoires	verbs	expressions	time
males	35,23	6,06	60,00	72,73	36,36	4,55	53,03	83,64	84,85
female	42,05	57,58	43,64	72,73	52,27	18,18	54,55	81,82	81,82

Figure.3.2: Current familiarity per gender & lexical category

Apart from the general rate, when analyzing young speakers' knowledge of the nine categories of archaic words according to gender, females proved their ability to recognize the denotative meaning of the items their mothers and grandmothers were accustomed to daily or occasionally. They could decipher some names of wedding rites and names of some traditional utensils with a familiarity frequency of 52,27 %; another difference is the knowledge of old hairstyles, females scored 57,58 % compared to males who scored only 06,06 %. Boys, on the other hand, could reach a high rate when they knew the meaning of most common expressions and time related terminology though they do not use many of them.

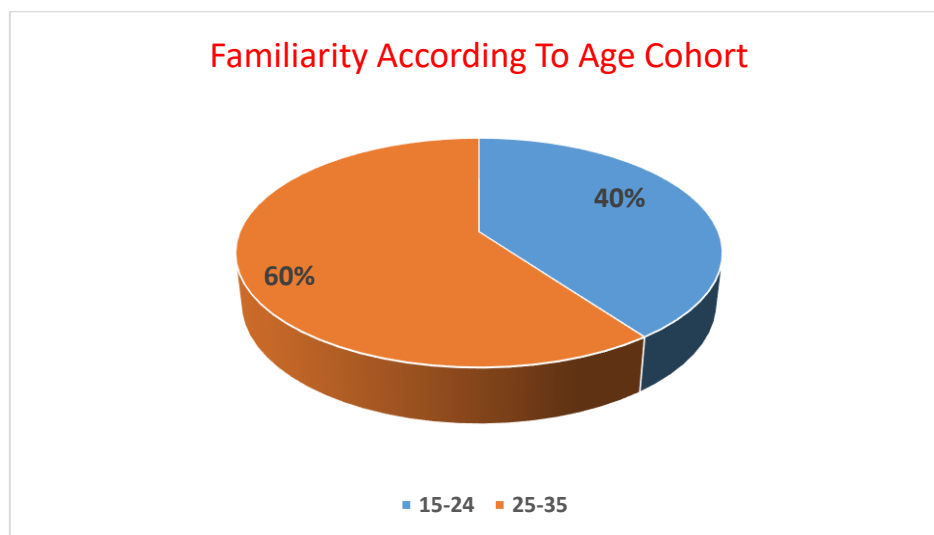### 3.5.3. Analyzing results according to age cohort

Figure 3.3: Familiarity per age cohort

When the question about age was included in the questionnaire, it has been expected that age cohort would possibly mark a degree of variation as what statistics display in table and the graph above. Those of the age cohort (25-35) show a higher rate of familiarity in comparison with younger speakers (15-24) whose knowledge of old lexis is of a low degree. In fact, both groups did not succeed in scoring the ultimate rate of familiarity, but the first one could retain a lot of words as a result of their past experience with their grandparents with whom they spent more time than the second group did.

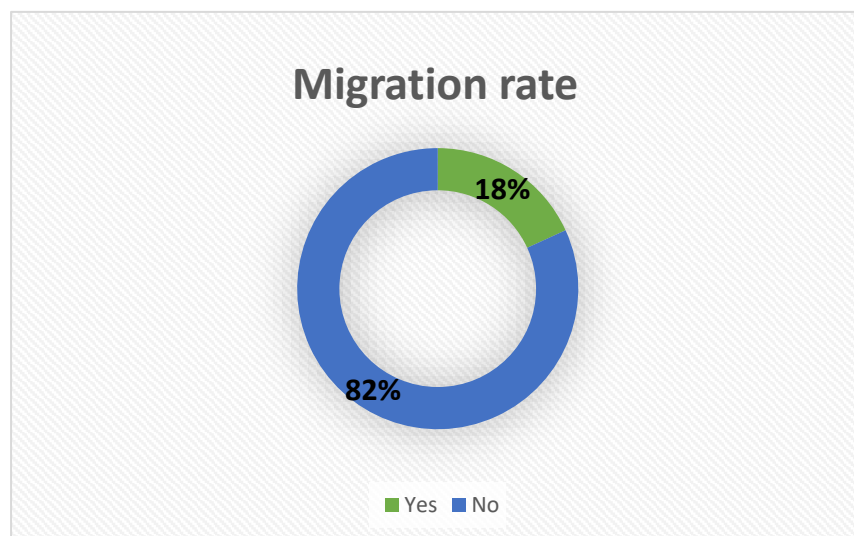### 3.5.4.   Question 01: Did your grandparent leave the town (BA)?

Figure 3.4: Ancestral migration rate

To see whether the parental or ancestral migration can accelerate the dialect attrition among their grandsons, informants were asked if the grandfather moved to another town or country. Few of them, with a rate of 18, 18 %, lived such experience, and there was a little impact on their linguistic behaviour, scoring 40% of familiarity as shown in **Table 3.4.2** below. They could know only some words related to the yearly celebration of Elmawlid Ennabawi (celebration of prophet's birthday) such as: [manata] (one of the event's nights whose origin in CA [li mæn æta] (for those who come) and [lmaṣrɪja] (the place where the event takes place), and other words like [swarit] (successive explosions), [lhajbøs] (endowment) and [lfezʕa] (the day of the celebration). Attending the celebration is considered a matter of identity and a maintenance of traditions.

Contact rate	18%
Familiarity	40%

Table 3.5: Familiarity among those whose ancestors migrated

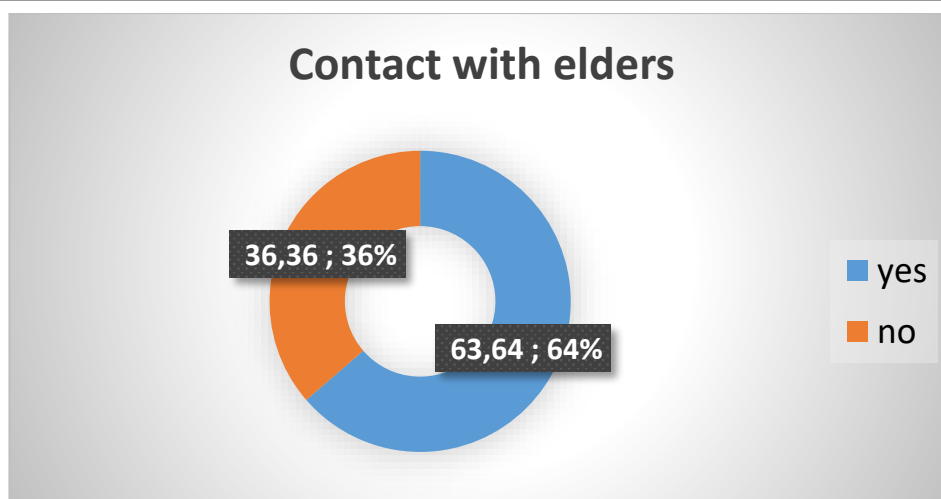### 3.5.5.   Question 02: Have you had any contact with your grandparents?

Figure 3.5: The rate of frequent contact with grandparents

To signal the hypothesis that daily contact with old people can have some effect on the acquisition of the dialect the latter still maintain, the population of the study is asked if they had had any contact with one of their grandparents. 63, 64% of respondents said they had; a rate which is close enough to the general rate of familiarity 54,32 %. This means that they could grasp some of the old lexis. Some informants justified their knowledge of some words and said they often hear their grandparents use them. To illustrate this point, we refer to the high degree of familiarity of some lexical items such as the words [lizor](sheet), [lhamøl](toilet), the verbs [ṭami](give me) and [ħbat](sit down), the expression [lafɪqa jɪn](suddenly), the sarcastic expression [gbʊlɑ qrɪtɪ](you studied too much), and [ɪn mæhʊ dʌk](sufficiently). All these could not have been acquired if young speakers had not had contact with their elders.

As a matter of fact, and as **Table 3.6** below displays, female young speakers have more contact with elders than male speakers do.

BOYS	5	45,45
GIRLS	8	72,73

Table 3.6: Frequent contact with elders according to gender

3.5.6. The general rate of familiarity

Familiarity Rate	Yes	51,48
	No	48,52

Table 3.7: Current familiarity rate of old words among youngsters

According to the statistical output, the current familiarity of old-fashioned words among young people in BA is of an average proportion of 51,48 %, which means that the other 48,52 % represents the degree of environmental attrition and loss many archaic words are prone to.
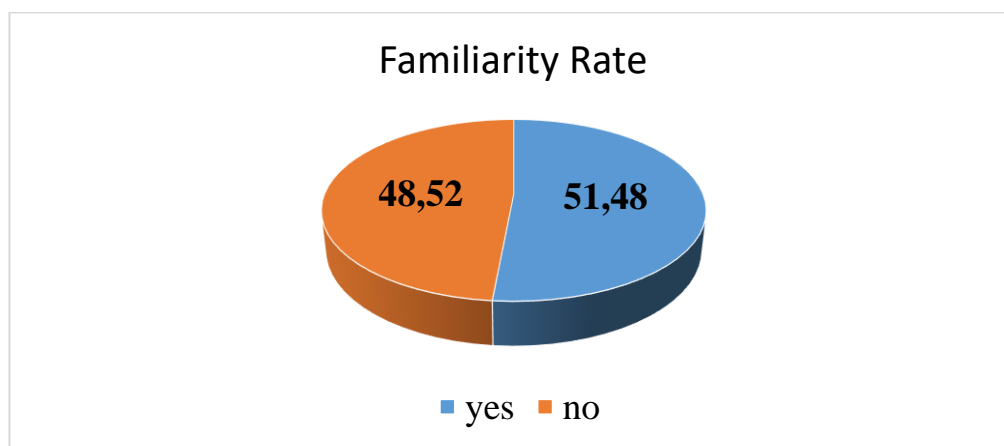

Figure 3.6: Current familiarity rate of old lexis among young speakers of BASA

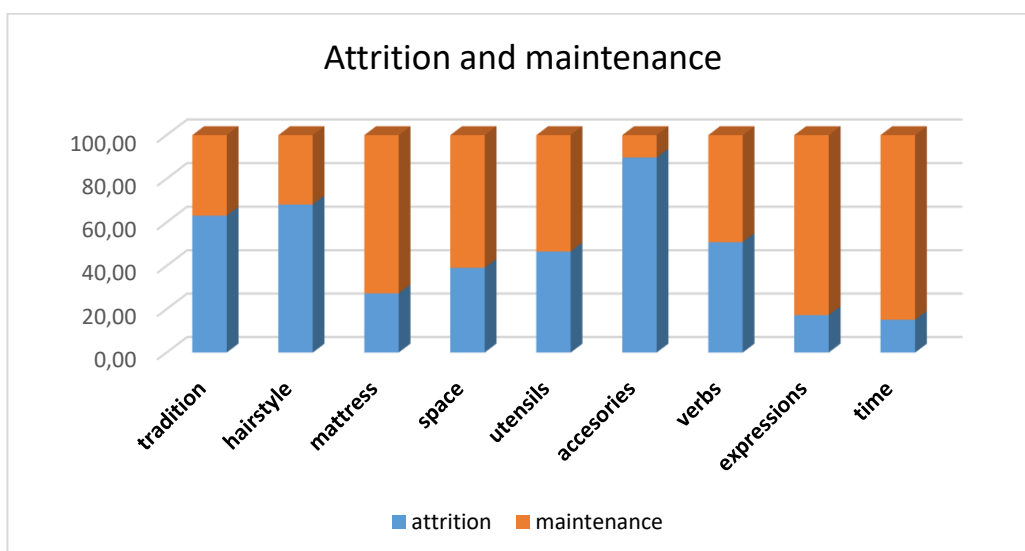## 3.5.7. Analyzing results per category (sphere): (%)

Figure 3.7: Measuring attrition and maintenance among young generation

The spheres which knew a low percentage represent things that are no longer used; their names disappeared as they suffered the disuse, or new names occupied their place in BASA; accessories and traditions-related stuffs suffered the attrition as a result of prestige and fashion, and of the wide use of French expressions within these contexts (cortege, la coiffeuse, la robe, trois jours), except few terms that are still used in weddings by the current population of BA ([dføʕ](luggage offered by the husband to his bride), [lħenna](henna)) and during the yearly celebration of almawlid ([lħajbu:s] ,[lmølødija](religious rituals), [srwarit](successive explosions), [lfezʕa](the event's day), [lfdila](the event's night)). Conversely, other spheres such as verbs and common expressions recorded higher grades due to the fact that young speakers need them to accommodate with elders in daily conversations; in this context, they feel obliged to be familiar with these verbs and expressions so that communication remains unblocked. Time expressions also proved to be well known among young speakers as they are largely common not only in BA but also in the neighbouring areas: Igli, Mazzer and Alwata.

- **Category 01 : Customs and traditions related terms**

This group consists of eight old-fashioned words in the lexical field of traditions:
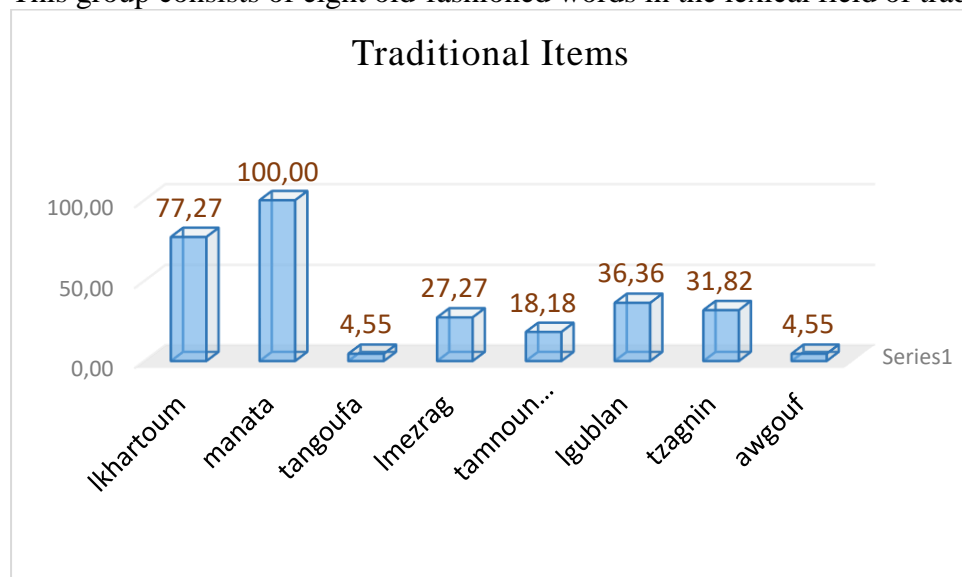

Figure 3.8: Assessing tradition-related lexical items

In the first category of traditions, ceremonies and events related to wedding and death, young people show a lack in their knowledge because there has been a salient change of habits during the last two decades. A word like [**tæŋguːfa**] scored only 4,55%; it indicates the seventh day in a wedding when the bridegroom's family invite the bride's family to know each other more. This custom has disappeared as the wedding nowadays lasts only three days and the word has been substituted with the word [*tebrɒz] or [leħzɒm*]. [**ʌʊguːf**] also a low rate of 4,55%; it denotes the bride's first day wedding clothes. It has been replaced with [*krɪf lħarmel]* or [*ʒhaz*], [**lmezrʌg**] (from [zrag] in AA and [ʌzrʌq] in CA) used to refer to a blue palm leaf carried by a man with a new male born in his first time of "Almawlid" celebration; now most young speakers call it *ʒrida*. However, though some call it *trois jour* the term [**lɣartøm**] **-** with a high rate of 77,27% **-** is still known among young people, especially the girls; it refers to the third day where the bride's family invites the husband's family to have lunch; thus, since the tradition remains, the term still exists. For those who did not recognize the term, they linked it to the MSA words "elephant's trunk" or a "tube".

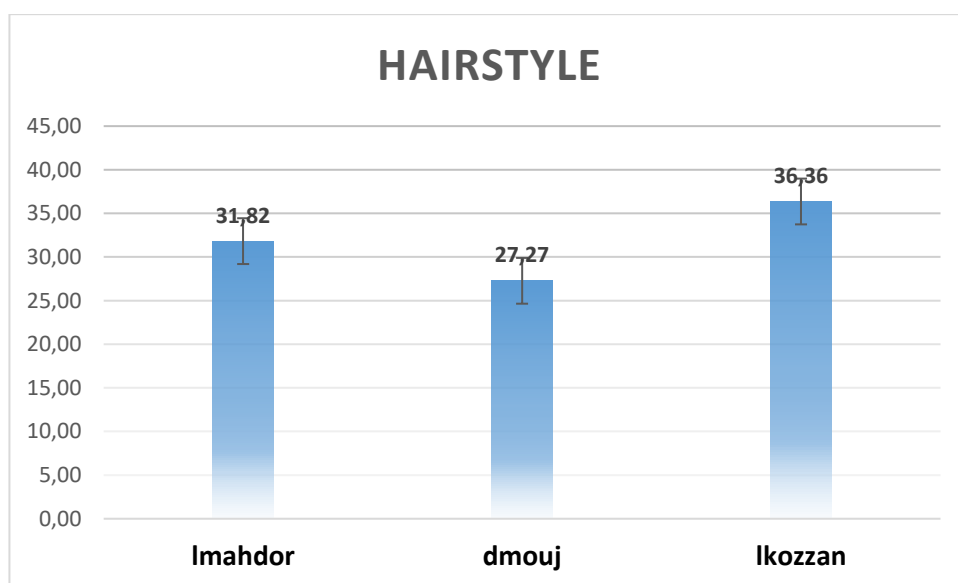-   **Category 02: Lexical words related to hairstyle**

Figure 3.9: Old-fashioned hairstyle terms

With a general rate of 53,03%, this category did not gain much familiarity among young speakers - as the words are old fashioned and extinguished from their lexicon – we expected the girls to recognize them though. Due to the new fashion, new lexis represented in French borrowings has invaded the domain such as la mèche, queue de cheval, coupe lion, coupe garçon, degradé, carré plongeant. Such modern lexical items have made the old ones undergo the attrition process. However, informants who had had some contact with grandmothers said they still remember them say **[seltɪlha ʃʕʌrha w dirilha lmʌhdør] (straighten her hair and do her a wick on the side). [lkoʐan]** (chignon inside upward) scored 36,36%, the highest rate among the three; those who knew the term said such hairstyle does not have an equivalent in the new fashion, and this style is still in use, especially after having a shower.

- **Category 03: Traditional utensils**
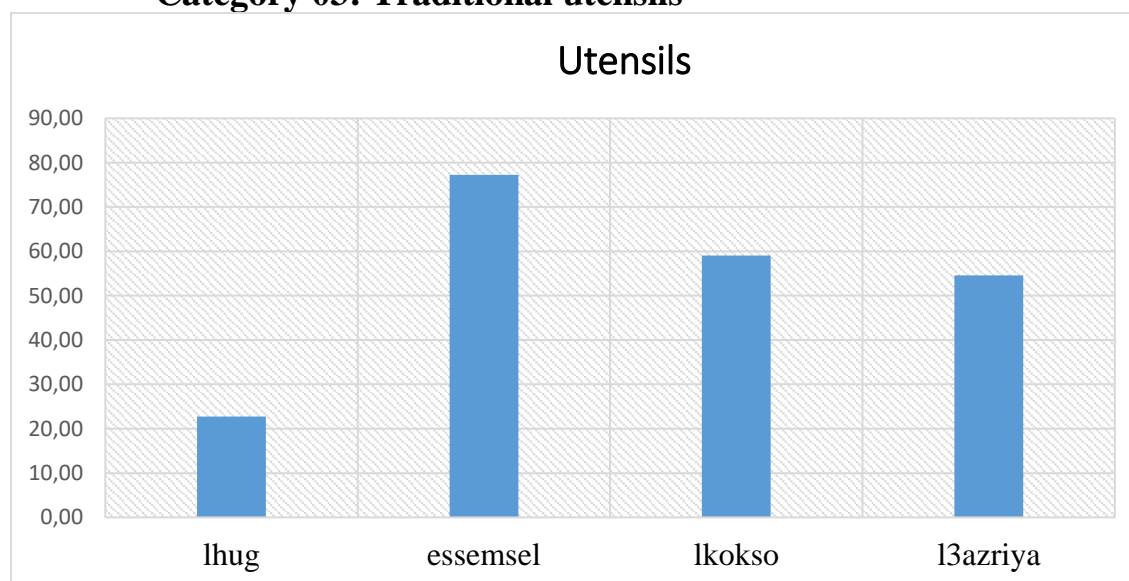
Figure 3.10: familiarity rate for utensils terminology

Traditional utensils had an average rate of familiarity among young speakers of BASA with 44,32%; this rate was scored thanks to the girls of whom many still find themselves forced to participate in the preparation of local couscous, in what is known locally as *Tbarkich*, They also use these utensils in some family ceremonies. Concerning the word **[lħʊg],** a word brought from Moroccan lexicon, two informants remembered it

with a rate of 22,73 %, they said they heard their grandmothers saying it in some celebration contexts like: [mli lkʊl waħəd ħʊggo] (fill each one his can) and during the 1990s, BA speech community used to say [ʈomaʈiʃ lħug] to refer to the canned tomatoes. Now, the term is no longer used and people say [lqoʈi] for can. If you asked any Algerian what meaning the word [lʕazrija] has, they would tell you "a lady" (spinster), but in the BASA it means a small pan made of clay; half of the informants recognized it with 54,55 % as an index of their knowledge of kitchen stuff terminology. There is a local proverb which says [wullah wᵘ ma semseltu la fawar] (if you don't close it tight, it doesn't evaporate), this proverb helped 77,27 % of the informants to know that [ssemsel] means a thread/a piece of cloth used as a joint to block steam leak so that couscous be cooked.

- **Category 04: Mattress-related lexical words**
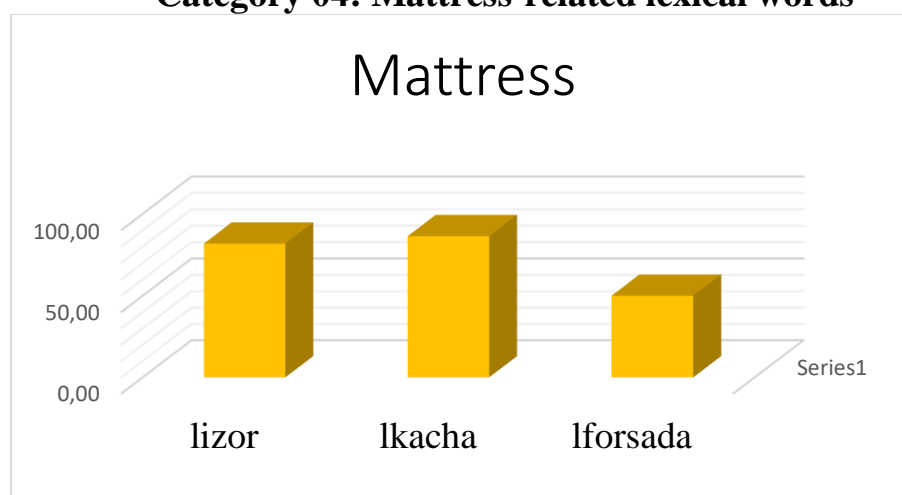
Figure 3.11: Familiarity rate of mattress old vocabulary

Despite the new fashion in textile and mattresses with different French names as couverture, couette, drap, most informants have said they are still familiar with old words like **[lɪzor]** which scored 81,82% and means a sheet (cover) though the rest got confused with [lizar], a traditional dress ladies put on during weddings; also, the word **[lkaʃʃa]** which had the highest rate 86,36 %, is a term that is used in parallel with the word [kuvirʈa](adapted word from French borrowing couverture); for some, both are synonymous to the

third word **[fɒrʂada]** that scored less, while others said this latter means mattress [fraʃ], and is also called [dərbæla]. Other famous old fashioned mattress as cited by elders, there is [teɫiːs], [sakø] or [beɫma], all denote a traditional carpet made of eroded and useless clothes.

- **Category 05: lexical words related to space**
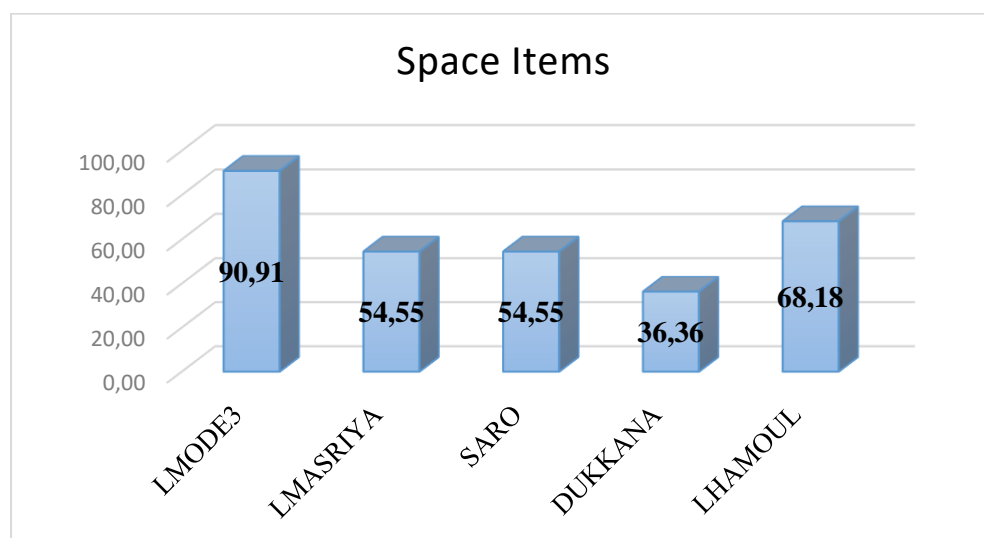
Figure 3.12: Assessing space words

Half of the informants with 54,55% know that **[lmaʂrɪja**] is a round vast place that can also be called [raħba], though some elders said it refers to the 'lounge' what is so called now [ʂala] or 'salon', while others still believe that the term refers to the famous gradation found at the entry of the town so called "theatre" owing to the event of Almawlid that BA is famous for; it is the setting where the celebration takes place and men play with guns singing religious songs inside a crowd of viewers.

[ʂʌrɒ]	
boys	40,91%
girls	13,64%

Table 3.13: Familiarity of the word [ʂʌrɒ] according to gender

The term [ʂʂʌrɒ], which means the water stream or way, is exclusively used in the garden. Therefore, it is so natural to find its familiarity goes up among boys at 40,91% and decreases among girls with only 13, 64%, simply because the boys frequently go to the

palm grove where they help their fathers do farming tasks like irrigation, and there, they often hear the famous instruction [glab ʂʂʌrɒ](change the direction of water). In addition to [ʂʂʌrɒ], in fact, many agricultural terms which have Berber origin still exist among farmers like (lbadou, lgəmmoun, nnadər, smama,) and some activities like [afrat](collective cleaning activity), [twiza] (collective work)…etc.

The term **[lħaməl]** is a specific word representing an exceptional linguistic variant marking not only generational variation but regional as well because it is a typical term in the old BASA. It refers to a 'toilet' that was designed by the old ksar citizens. Owing to urbanism, the term had been substituted with the word [lkæbini] for a long period before they began to call it [lvisi] or [ʈwalit] (French adapted words). In Touat and other towns, it is called *[lkani:f]*. More than half of the population recognized it 68,18%; some said they often hear their parents use the term at home on purpose, others said they used it humorously.

CA	MSA	AA	BASA	French	English
mirħaḍ	lmirħaḍ	lvisi	Lħaməl	toilette	Toilet

Table 3.9: The word [lħaməl] and the other variants

Old people provided more words in this context of space like [maʈmora] (underground store), [baʈħa](the bed of the valley), [mrira](pathway) , [zgog](narrow street) , [derbaz] and [zəmla](sand dunes).
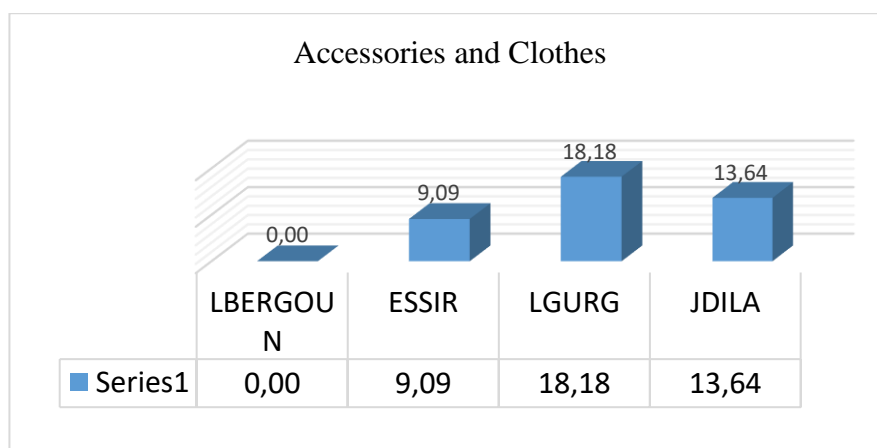
Category 06: Accessories (clothes)

Figure 3.13: Familiarity rate of accessories

This sphere of accessories' names scored the least rate with only 11%, which means that young speakers are not acquainted with names of old objects and clothes as new names have overrun them. The terms under study are too outdated; informants ignored the real meaning or provided the meaning they thought it fits the word. Those who did not know the word [əssır], for example, thought it refers to a "shoe lace" while in old BASA, it referred to "the belt", but it underwent attrition, and the majority now calls it [sentura], [mħezma] and for ladies, it is sol called [mḍamma]. The term [lbərgu:n] , which is from the Berber word [abruɣen] (looks like modern "poncho"), is totally strange among young speakers with 0%, and other words such as [məlħfa] and [ħajək] came to be widely used in BASA.

- **Category 07: Verbs**
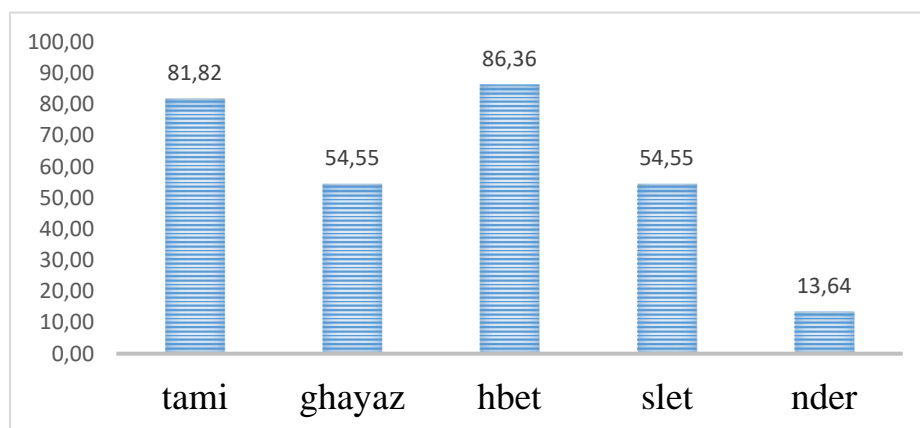
Figure 3.14: Knowledge of old verbs among young speaker

Interestingly, the young speakers questioned proved to be rather familiar with the verbs their elders employ. The five action verbs studied above represent acts which are used or seen every day. Their rate of familiarity does not seem strange since old people are likely to use them. The exception we have is the verb **[ndər]** (erode) that scored a very low rate 13,64% because it is a passive verb which is rarely used to describe a carpet being eroded, and this verb is replaced by the verb [tħək] or [tħətət]. But verbs like **[ħbət]** with a

familiarity rate of 86,36% which means '*sit down*' or the verb **[ʈʌmɪ]** with 81,82% which means '*bring me*' (for things in upper position), though are not used and start to vanish, they still have place in the local lexicon. The verb **[slət]** scored 13,64%, it means '*dress the hair*' becomes rare in use and substituted with the verb **[mʃəʈ].** However, connotatively, most informants provided another meaning for this word, that is *[hreb]* (escaped in a hidden way). Finally, when we discuss the verb **[ɣajjəz],** we should start with the second meaning which is (to master something) since most speakers mentioned it, which means that the word viewed a semantic shift. Originally, for old people, the verb had a special use in a specific context; it exactly means (*peel or winnow out the lentils*).

- **Category 08: Common expressions**
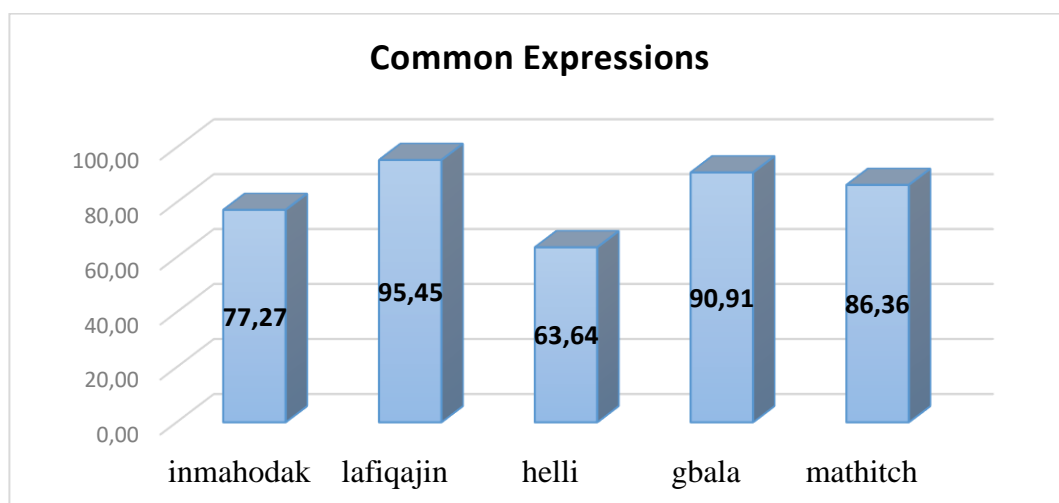
Figure 3.15: Common expressions familiarity rating

Common expressions, as shown in **Figure 3.15**, scored high rates of familiarity among young speakers**. [lafiqa jɪn]** 95,45% which means suddenly, is highly known and used till now though it is frequently replaced by other items like [ʕla ɣafla]. The expression **[matħitʃ]** with 86,36%, informants know and still hear adults utter it from time to time, but they say [ma wəllitch] or [ma tlitʃ] instead; this expression means (I no longer), it is taken from CA (= lam adħa), but because one of the phonological features is the turning of [ɖ]

into [t̞], **[ma d̞ħitʃ]** becomes **[matħitʃ]**. **[gᵘbala]** in the old BASA means (well or too much), with a rate of 90,91% young speakers know it in a sarcastic context when blaming someone for not doing something in the right way; most of them mentioned the famous expression [gbala qriti] (you studied too much, which means in AA, *[qrit bezaf]*. In some spots in Touat like Tiloulin and Zaouet konta, it means "ALL". In the dialect of the Algerian capital, they say [ru:h qbala] to mean (go straight). The lowest score went to the word [həlli] (until), it is rare in use and replaced by [ħta] and [ʕad]; however, some adults supply the word (yes or right) as second meaning for this traditional term.

- **Category 09: Time-related items**
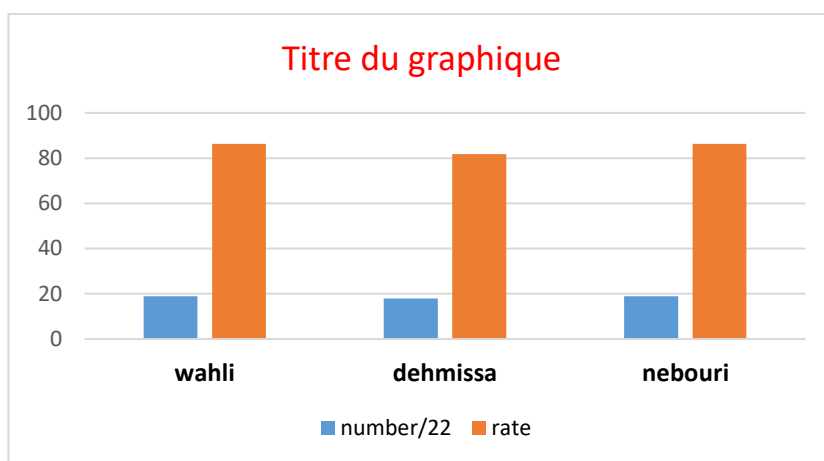
Figure 3.16: Assessing time expression

The results above show a considerable knowledge of the old way of naming the time because most informants could recognize the three provided words. We start with the lexical item [wahli] with a rate of 86,36% , which is an expression old people frequently employ to mean late, [nədt ila wahli] (I woke up late), [kəmməlt lxədma wæhli](I finished work late), as it can serve as an adjective as in [ana daɪmən wahli](I am always late); so, such expression is a common item among both old and young people. The word [nəbu:ri] is widely used in BASA to refer to early morning or dawn time, [mʕa nnəbu:ri](by the dawn), this word scored as high as the word **[wahli].** The word **[dəhmisa]** scored quite less, but it also has a familiarity among 81,82 % of the sample; it is a word that indicates *the*

sunset time or *around sunset*; in English, its equivalent is the word *"dusk "*. Informants said it refers to "*the beginning of the night*", this answer is also accepted by the researcher since it fits the same meaning.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter was devised for displaying the data gathered through the questionnaire that was meant to be a tool by which familiarity is measured with a deep understanding of why and how young speakers in BA trigger a new lexicon or maintain their parents' traditional words and expressions.

Firstly, in this study we analysed the relation of some demographic details as gender, age and the frequent contact with elders, with the statistics gained. Though relative, gender revealed an interesting concept of a superiority of females' conservation and maintenance of BASA old lexis in comparison with young males. As a second element, age also presents a clear variation between two adjacent age groups (15-24) and (25-35). Contact, according to most informants, plays a crucial role in grasping many old-fashioned items from old people with whom a daily interaction takes place. Secondly and lastly, the main part is the list of forty words that the researcher elicited from adults to put them under study. This list was divided into nine spheres to simplify the interpretation and to effectively analyse the output and link it with the reason why some words underwent attrition and why others did not. The results revealed that the familiarity decreases in spheres where the words are prone to disuse or they belong to a Berber variety, while it rises in spheres of common expressions and verbs that are still used from to time by old people

General Conclusion

The present investigation has been conducted to examine the level at which young speakers in BA are familiar with their elders' dialect at the lexical level, i.e.to seek how much attrition old-fashioned items are exposed to. Additionally, this study has had the aim to know the reason behind both the erosion process as well as the maintenance, linking both to such social variables as gender and age cohort. The first hypothesis set as a core point of the study was that the young generation has ignored the linguistic forms, mainly, the vocabulary their grandparents used to employ.

To signal the study's questions, a questionnaire including demographic background and a word list of nine lexical groups was used to obtain and analyse qualitative and quantitative data. The results revealed that young people in BA have an average knowledge of their native dialect's old lexis. But, as a subsequent result, and contrary to what many scholars claimed, female young speakers demonstrated success in their awareness of the traditional lexical items compared to the males.

The study also showed that in the same sample of the young speakers, there is a variation between two age cohorts; the respondents whose age 25-35 are more acquainted with the outdated words of many semantic domains. On the other hand, those younger speakers whose age cohort 15-25 manifested a low knowledge of the old-fashioned words, which means that the attritional process will possibly be more effective later.

Concerning the reason why some lexical spheres didn't undergo the erosion process, one can put the frequent contact with elders as the first motive that enhances the maintenance of many old words and expressions in addition to the fact that such linguistic forms haven't been suffered the disuse even if they are being used for pragmatic and sarcastic purposes like [gbæla], [lħaməl], [in mahu dʌk]. Another reason can be the preservation of the local cultural heritage through the prevalent customs and traditions in

weddings like [lxartøm], and the yearly celebration BA is famous for during which many lexical items are being used like [lħajbɵs], [mænata], [swarit](rifle explosions).

For the lexis that scored low degrees of familiarity, a series of causes can be stated about the analysis of each lexical sphere. Adults provided many traditional terms in such context as ceremonies and accessories, these are Berber words people brought them in the past and used to employ, but with the decline of Berber in the region, these words become less pleasant and thus, have been overrun and replaced with loanwords from other cultures. To illustrate, a word like [lgurg] can never be found again since fashion brought many Latin names referring to shoes ([sbərdina] (espadrille), [ṣəbbaʈ], [mitʃa], [ṣabo], [bu:t]…). The Berber words [tamnu:nət] [tangufa] [awguf] were not decoded too.

To conclude, apparently, a list of 40 words, like the one used in this paper, might be insufficient to draw absolute conclusions about generational variation in the lexical loss within the spheres investigated. Therefore, an extended list that covers more semantic areas would reach more valid and reliable conclusions. It is also recommended to study other social variables linked to the topic being scrutinized such as social status and educational background. Since BA is currently a melting pot of different races and tribes, it is suggested to conduct a study about dialect contact and the linguistic effect it may have on the indigenous tribe that this study has dealt with at the lexical level. Lastly, there is also a space for studying the attitude toward the old BASA.

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Appendices

Appendix A

إســـــتــبــيــان

الاسم: .... اللقب:........................

الجنس: ذكر: ☐

أنثى: ☐

العمر: ....

هل هاجر الجد الى بلد إخر؟

- **هل كنت على اتصال واحنكاك بالجد أو الجدة ؟**
- **هل لديك معرفة بالمصطلحات في الجدول التالي؟**

معنى آخر	لا	نعم	الكلمة	المجال
			1. الخرطوم	
			2. مناتة	
			3. تانقوفت	
			4. المزراق	تقاليد
			5. تامنونت	
			6. اوقوف	
			7. القبلان	
			8. التزقرين	
			9. المَهدور	
			10. الدموج	قصات شعر
			11. الكزان	
			12. ليزور	
			13. الكاشة	أفرشة
			14. الفرصادة	
			15. الموضع	
			16. المصرية	
			17. الصارو	مكان
			18. الدكانة	
			19. الحامول	
			20. الحُق	
			21. السمسل	
			22. الكوكصو	أواني
			23. العزرية	
			24. البرقون	
			25. السير	ملحقات وملابس
			26. لقرق	

			27. الجديلة	
			28. طامي	أفعال
			29. غِيَز	
			30. حْبَط	
			31. سلت	
			32. ندر	
			33. اين ماهو داك	عبارات
			34. لافيقة لين	
			35. هِلّي	
			36. قْبالا	
			37. ما طحيتس	
			38. واهْلي	عبارات الزمن
			39. الدهميسة	
			40. النبّوري	

Questionnaire

- **This questionnaire aims at knowing how familiar young people are with the old words in the local dialect of Beni Abbes.**

Full name: …………………………………… grandparent's name: ……………………………………

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age: ………..

Question 1: Did your ancestor leave Beni Abbes for another town?

Question 2: Have you had frequent contact with your grandparent?

- Do you know the meaning of the words in the table below?

Other Meaning	No	Yes	Word	Sphere
			lxarʈo:m .1	Traditions
			mænata .2	
			tængufa .3	
			lməzrag .4	
			tamnu:nət .5	
			awguf .6	
			lgəblæn .7	
			tzəgrin .8	
			Lmahdo:r .9	Hairstyle
			dmuʒ .10	
			lkozˤan .11	
			lizor .12	Mattress
			lkaʃʃa .13	
			forˤaɖa .14	

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			15. ʕədom	
			16. lmaṣrijja	
			17. ṣṣaro	Space
			18. dukkana	
			19. lħamul	
			20. lħug	
			21. səmsəl	Utensils
			22. kokṣo	
			23. lʕəzrija	
			24. lbərgu:n	
			25. essir	Accessories
			26. lgurg	
			27. ʒdila	
			28. ṭami	
			29. ɣajjaz	
			30. ħbəʈ	Verbs
			31. slət	
			32. ndər	
			33. inmahudak	
			34. lafiqalin	
			35. ħaɫi	Common Expressions
			36. Gbala	
			37. maʈħitʃ	
			38. wæħli	
			39. dəhmisa	Time expressions
			40. nəbbouri	

Appendix B

3. Generational lexical variation

Old generation	Young generation	Gloss
1. [ʔani hawi]	[Rani hawəd/mhawwəd]	I'm going down
2. [basəl]	[saməʈ]	annoying
[bejet do]	[ʈaffi daw]	Switch off the light
3. [debbiʃ]	[Tilifu:n]	telephone
4. [dərbaz]/[zəmla]	[ramla]	Sand dune
5. [dgig]	[lfærina]	The flour
6. [Fut dhəb]	[Rөh təmʃi]	Go away
7. [gbala]	[bəzzaf]	Too much
8. [gdi]	[ʃaʕʕal]	Switch on
9. [ɣtit]	[Saməʈ]	Not delicious
10. [ħbəʈ]	[Rəjjah]	Sit down
11. [həlli]	[ʕad]/ [şħih]	Until/ yes
12. [ila wkək]	[Sayi /χlaş]	That's enough
13. [jədwi]	jətkəlləm]	Speak
14. [jətməɣɣət]	[jərgud]	Sleep
15. [jətwaggəɖ]	[jfiq/ jnoɖ]	Wakes up
16. [jətɣəşşəş]	[jətnirva]	Get angry
17. [kokso]	[kəskas]	Couscous steamer ~~pot~~
18. [kraʕ]	[rʒəl]	**Foot**
19. [lbit]	[ʃʃombra]	**The room**
20. [ləmrira]/ [lmənʒөra]	[ʈreg]	Road
21. [lgurg]	[səbbaʈ]	Shoes
22. [lħaməl]	[lvissi/ ʈwalet]	Toilet
23. [lhug]	[Lqoʈi]	The can
24. [lmodaʕ]	[ləblaş]	Place
25. [lχorbiʃ]	[ʒamaʕ]	Quranic school
26. [magana]	[saʕa]	A watch

|		
27. [muʒu:ʔ]	[mɾid]	Ill
28. [ndər]	[tħəkk]	Erode
29. [Səmsur]	[lʕamud lfiqari]	Vertebral colon
30. [særut]	[məftaħ]	Key
31. [ʃbara]	[taqa]	Window
32. [slət]	[mʃət]	Straighten the hair
33. [ʃmɵ]	[waʃ]	What
34. [ssir]	[mħəzma]	Belt
35. [sʈeħa]	[staħ]	Terrace
36. [ʒənwi]	[ɣudmi]/mus]	Knife
37. [ʕgɵb]	[wəlli]	Go back
38. [ləħʒər]	[lpil]	batteries
39. [ləħdura][lʕəgba]	[Lhəwda]/ [ʈʈəlʕa]	The slope
40. [ræʕi]	[Bhat] / [dəwwar]	Look for
41. [Kar]	[ɣorraf]	Pot
42. [Ktul ddaw]	[ʈaffi/ʈfi ddaw]	Switch off the light
43. [Ila wkək] / [ɣəzza]	[χlaʂ]	That's enough
44. [duħ]	[lberʂo]	cradle
45. lmaʈmora		Underground store
46. [æʃ kmak]	[wæʃ dəχlək]	It's not your business
47. [ʃnək]	[kirak]	How are you?
48. [ɣləg]	[bałaʕ]	Close
49. [æbuku](females only)	[æ wili]	Woe unto me! *for exclamation*

Appendix C

La palmeraie
et son ksar

- The old ksar where the indigenous families settled down.

[lħaməl]: A traditional toilet

Fig. 1. — Afqueur
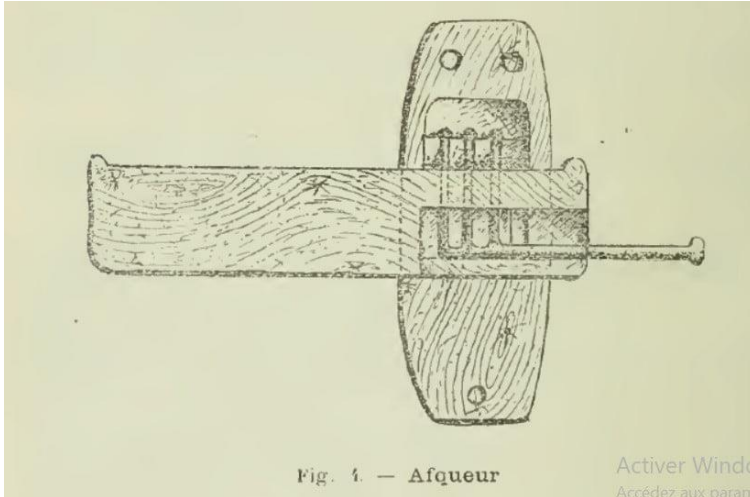
- Traditional Lock [æfkər]

- Prophet's Birthday Celebration, a maintained custom in BA.
- **[Lməʂrija]**, the place where the ceremony takes place.

- Some adults holding [lməzrʌg](the palm leaf)

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مـــلخـــــــــــــص

يهدف هذا البحث الى قياس مدى تلاشي اللهجة القديمة لساكنة بني عباس وقبائلها التي اتخدت من القصر القديم المدينة الأولى, لهجة يشاع على انها لغة عربية بربرية. هي دراسة تحقق في مستوى إلمام الجيل الحالي من الشباب بالمفردات والعبارات اللسانية التي كان يستعملها اسلافهم ، كما أنه طرح وصفي لبعض العوامل التي أدت إلى الإندثار الملحوظ على مستوى المفردات الذي أثر على اللهجة المحلية لبني عباس على مر الزمن. وعلى أساس البعد القبلي والعائلي، تضمنت الدراسة الحالية طريقتين ضروريتين لتحقيق الأهداف المقررة. الأولى تكمن في جمع المفردات القديمة في مجالات مختلفة من خلال مقابلات مع كبار السن, ليتم القياس على مجموعة من الشباب من نفس العائلات تتراوح أعمارهم بين 15 و 35 سنة من خلال تقديم استبيان كأداة ثانية للدراسة. يحتوي هذا الاستبيان على 40 كلمة وعبارة قديمة نهدف من خلالها إلى معرفة ما إذا كان الجيل الحالي على دراية بالكلمات القديمة أم لا. ولقد كشفت النتائج أن الجيل الحالي من الشباب ملم بشكل متوسط بلهجة الأجداد والآباء على المستوى المعجمي مما يفسر أن اللهجة القديمة هي فعلا في طريقها للإندثار. وتبين الدراسة أن المصطلحات البربرية أكثر عرضة للتلاشي نتيجة اختفاء اللهجة الشلحية(نوع بربري) في جميع أنحاء المنطقة لتحل مكانها كلا من اللغتين العربية والفرنسية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، النتيجة المثيرة للإهتمام هي أن الإناث من الشباب يبدين قدراً كبيراً من الصيانة والمحافظة على الكلمات والعبارات القديمة مقارنة بالذكور بفضل روح الجماعة في القبيلة الذي لا زالت تحافظ عليه النساء في المجتمع العباسي.

كلمات مفتاحية: اللسانيات الاجتماعية، التباين اللغوي، خسارة معجمية، الإستنزاف المعجمي, الكلمات المستعارة, بني عباس

</div>

Résumé

Cette recherche vise à mesurer l'ampleur de la disparition de l'ancien dialecte des habitants de Béni Abbes et de ses tribus, qui prirent du vieux ksar la première ville, un dialecte réputé comme une langue arabo-berbère. C'est une étude qui examine le niveau de familiarité de la génération actuelle de jeunes avec le vocabulaire et les expressions linguistiques que leurs prédécesseurs utilisaient, et elle présente une description de certains des facteurs qui ont conduit à l'extinction remarquable au niveau du vocabulaire qu'influence le dialecte local de Beni Abbes au fil du temps. Sur la base de la dimension tribale et familiale, la présente étude inclue deux méthodes nécessaires pour atteindre les objectifs fixés. La première sert à collecter un vocabulaire ancien dans différents domaines à travers des entretiens avec des personnes âgées puis, exploiter ce vocabulaire sous forme de questionnaire destiné à un groupe de groupe âgés entre 15 et 35 et faisant partie des même familles de ces personnes interviewés. Cette enquête contient 40 mots et phrases anciens à travers lesquels nous cherchons à savoir si la génération actuelle est familière avec les mots anciens ou non. Les résultats ont révélé que la génération actuelle de jeunes est moyennement familière avec le dialecte des grands-parents et des parents au niveau lexical, ce qui explique que l'ancien dialecte est en fait en voie d'extinction. L'étude montre que la terminologie berbère est plus susceptible de disparaître à la suite de la disparition du Chelha (variété berbère) dans toute la région, pour être remplacé par l'arabe et le français. En outre, de façon intéressante, les jeunes femmes montrent beaucoup de maintien et de préservation des mots et des phrases anciens par rapport aux jeunes hommes grâce à l'esprit de groupe dans la tribu qui est toujours entretenu par les femmes dans la société d'ababsa.

Mots clés : Sociolinguistique, variation langagière, perte lexicale, attrition lexicale, emprunts, Beni Abbes