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University of Adrar Ahmed Draia
Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of English Language and Literature



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***SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF DIALECT CONTACT AND
ACCOMMODATION IN ADRAR CITY CENTRE***

Presented by:
Habib AGOUDJIL

Supervised by:
Pr. Bachir BOUHANIA

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انا الأستاذ(ة): أ. بوهنية بشير

المشرف مذكرة الماجستير.

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- امضاء المشرف:

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مكلف بما بعد التقييم كلية الآداب واللغات

أ. بوهنية بشير
مذكرة الماجستير

FOR
Pr. CHOUCCHAN M.T
MAY ALLAH RENEW
THE BLESSINGS ON
HIS SOUL

Dedication

To my dearest parents and family

To my lovely wife and little son Ali Djaber

To all my teachers without

Exception

*To my best friends Souliman, Abdelillah,
Manel, and Ali who encouraged and supported
me in the drastic events*

To my second family members

I am very thankful to you all

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all the best.*

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school to university for their encouragements.*

Abstract

Within the framework of dialect contact, this study is an attempt to investigate the linguistic consequences of dialect contact and accommodation as essential mechanisms of language variation mainly in the centre of the city of Adrar, giving much interest on convergence and divergence; how and why the urban variety converges to some features of in-migrant dialects and adopted them. Interestingly, the geographical location of Adrar is greatly taken into consideration since it rages a social contact with neighboring areas and other parts of the country. People of Adrar primarily the inhabitants of the city center witness linguistic variation because of the demographic mobility and contact. Practically, a descriptive quantitative analysis has been carried out while people are suffering from the serious pandemic situation nowadays. The advert of “corona virus” harshly obstructs the demographic mobility. Consequently, the main focus of the study is on very limited samples that have been chosen randomly. Then, the results show that accommodation occurs between adult speakers of different origins and adoption of interlocutor’s features but non-accommodation happens with older men because of several reasons like age and prestige. Throughout sociolinguistic analytical interpretation to these findings, we understand the reasons behind such behavior, and we have deduced the most probable factors that influence the local speech such as immigration, trade, urbanization, ethnicity, and intermarriage.

Keywords: Dialect contact, accommodation, convergence, divergence, adoption, non-accommodation.

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Extracted examples show the use of [g] instead of [q] in Adrar city dialect (Bouhania, 2011, p: 119).....	26
Table2.2: Examples of the selected linguistic variables.....	31
Table 2.3: Scores of the variants [q] and [g] in correlation with age	33
Table 2.4: Number of realization of the variants [θ], [t], and [t ^ɰ] in correlation with age.....	36
Table 2.5: Frequency and ratio of the local morphemes {-u} and {-ih} and the in-migrant morpheme {-ah} in correlation with age.....	37
Table2.6: Lexical variation in Adrar city centre.....	41
Table2.7: Number of interviewees.	47

List of Graphs

Graph 2.1: Scores of the variants [q] and [g] in correlation with age.....	34
Graph 2.2: percentage of use of morphemes {-u}, {-ih}, and {-ah}	38
Graph 2.3: Percentage of adopters' response.	42
Graph 2.4: Percentage of preservers' response.	42

Maps

Map 2.1 : Touat region in Adrar province and Adrar city. (Google image).....	25
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List of Phonetic Symbols

MSA	Phonetic Symbols	MSA	Phonetic Symbols
أ	/ʔ/	ض	/d/
ب	/b/	ط	/t/
ت	/t/	ظ	/z/
ث	/θ/	ع	/ʕ/
ج	/ʒ/	غ	/ɣ/
ح	/ħ/	ف	/f/
خ	/χ/	ق	/q/
د	/d/	ك	/k/
ذ	/ð/	ل	/l/
ر	/r/	م	/m/
ز	/z/	ن	/n/
س	/s/	ه	/h/
ش	/ʃ/	و	/w/
ص	/ʂ/	ي	/j/

Phonetic symbols retrieved from (Bouhania, 2007)

/g/	ف [ʃug] market	/v/	variety
/ʔ/ lateral	[ʔαħɑ:h]	/t/ Flap	[təjɑħ] going to [adɾɑ:t] Adrar

Phonetic symbols retrieved from (Bouhania, 2007)

Symbols	ASA	Gloss
/i/	[ɣa:di]	will
/ə/	[gəlt]	I said
/u:/	[ju:m]	day
/a:/	/ʂa:məʔ/	sour

Vowels retrieved from (Bouhania, 2007)

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

- AA : Algerian Arabic
- ASA : Adrar Spoken Arabic
- MSA : Modern Standard Arabic
- CA : Classical Arabic
- CAT: Communication Accommodation Theory
- SAT: Speech Accommodation Theory
- { } : suffix boundary
- () : are used to represent the linguistic variable
- // : are used for CA articulation

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	III
Acknowledgments.....	IV
Abstract.....	V
List of Table.....	VI
List of Graphs.....	VI
Maps.....	VI
List of Phonetic Symbols.....	VII
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	VIII
Table of Contents.....	IX
General Introduction.....	1

Chapter one: Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Introduction.....	3
1.1. Language Varieties.....	4
1.1.1. Language.....	5
1.1.2. Dialect.....	6
1.1.3. Variety.....	7
1.2. Dialect Contact and Mobility.....	8
1.3. Dialect Contact and Accommodation Theory	9
1.3.1. Strategies of Convergence and Divergence	10
1.3.2. Short-Term Accommodation	12
1.3.3. Long-Term Accommodation	12
1.4. Overt and Covert Prestige.....	14
1.5. Dialect Leveling.....	15

1.6. Code-Switching	16
1.6.1. Types of Code Switching	18
1.6.1.1. Intersentential Switching.....	19
1.6.1.2. Intrasentential Switching	19
1.6.1.3. Tag Switching.....	19
1.6.1.4. Intra-Word Switching.....	19
1.7. Code Switching and Diglossia (Style Shifting).....	20
1.8. Communication Accommodation and Code-Switching.....	20
1.9. Social Variables.....	21
1.9.1. Language and Age.....	21
1.9.2. Language and Gender.....	23
1.10. Conclusion.....	24
 Chapter Two: Adrar City Centre Case Study	
2.1. Introduction.....	25
2.2. Adrar, A Geographical and Historical Background.....	26
2.3. Adrar Speech Community.....	27
2.4. Methodology and Data Collection.....	29
2.5. The Sample.....	30
2.6. Invisible Observation.....	31
2.7. Speakers' Attitudes.....	32
2.8. The Selected Linguistic Variables.....	33

2.8.1. Variable [q].....	33
2.8.2. Variable [θ].....	36
2.8.3. The Morphological Variables {ih}, {ah} And {u}.....	39
2.9. Lexical Variables.....	41
2.10. The Interview Analysis.....	43
2.11. Ethical Consideration.....	45
2.12. Description of Participants.....	46
2.13. Word List and Picture Naming.....	49
2.14. Conclusion.....	51
2.15. General Conclusion.....	52
References.....	54
Appendices.....	59
ملخص.....	46
Résumé.....	65

General Introduction

In sociolinguistics, language plays an important role as the most dominant means of communication in any speech community. It has magnetized the concentration of many linguists who adopted different methods of investigating the intricacy of this fact. Undoubtedly, language differs from one country to another and even within a single country; moreover, a number of local varieties can be found. Sociolinguists explain this fact as language variation.

By the 1960's, study of sociolinguistic variation has taken a new diversion as a result of earlier studies of dialects, and as a response to Chomsky's linguistic theory which claims that all humans share the same basic linguistic structure, and neglects the social cultural incorporation study of language. Several sociolinguists dedicated their researches on investigating language variation by looking at the linguistic and social environments.

William Labov, Peter Trudgill and others insist on studying language in relation to the circumstances where it functions including the very interesting social variables like age, gender, and social class. In this regard, language has been alternatively defined as a social phenomenon which can be influenced by the structure of its environment.

Contact between people has been considered as a possible social factor that evokes the language variation and change. From a sociolinguistic perspective, contact can be carried out between speakers at least of two languages which are mutually unintelligible or between at least two varieties of the same language that are mutually intelligible and this characterizes dialect contact framework. As a result, linguistic accommodation takes place (Trudgill, 1986:2). Trudgill (1986) explains the relationship between dialect contact and accommodation through the concepts of short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation. This

phenomenon has been discussed by the theory of the social psychologist Howard Giles (1973) who called it speech accommodation theory but later on developed it into communication accommodation theory since he focused more on non-verbal communication rather than speech behavior only. According to this theory, this process has been further split into two types. One of them is convergence and the second is divergence.

Historically speaking, Algeria, as a multilingual country, witnesses both types of contact: language contact and dialect contact. It passes through three main periods in its linguistic history, so that, a set of languages and language varieties have come into contact: the Berber language, the Arabic language, and the French language. This linguistic challenge makes Algeria a diglossic and multilingual country. However, the investigation of the contact between dialects remained relatively less remarkable than that of language.

Being concerned with a dialect, the present research work thus aims at studying dialect contact and accommodation in the very narrow area of Adrar city centre. Interestingly, the study embarks upon phonological, morphological and lexical features in relation to age differences in addition to extra linguistic factors including educational ones. In order to understand the linguistic variation of this speech community, the following questions, therefore, are set out to either prove or disprove this process between in-migrant speakers who come from different parts of the country and the local settlers of the centre.

- 1) Who accommodates to whom?
- 2) What makes the speakers of the center of Adrar converge or diverge to in-migrant dialects?
- 3) Why do they adjust some linguistic features in their speech?
- 4) What are their attitudes towards such variation?
- 5) Do they accommodate willingly or forcibly?

The following hypotheses have been proposed in order to discover consistent answers to those questions:

- Because of political, social, or socio-economic reasons, the area has witnessed influences on its dialect.
- Because of ecological disasters which lead people migrate to other areas. Because of educational factors which can make a clear variation in the speech community of Adrar city as whole and the centre in particular.
- Because of age and prestige, the young generations wish to make their way of speaking different from the elder generations with the fact that they neglect the traditional forms.

The study then is structured in two interrelated chapters. The first chapter tackles a review of the literature, which gathers the main linguistic and social issues that have relation to the study. The second one describes, investigates, analyzes, and deduces the major results that explain whether the society of the centre of Adrar city is accommodative or non-accommodative to the in-migrant dialects. The study practically relies on a descriptive qualitative analysis in view of the fact that people are suffering seriously from the pandemic situation nowadays. The advent of “corona virus” strictly limited the demographic movement. Consequently, the main focus of the study is on very limited samples that have been chosen at random.

Chapter One

Sociolinguistic Perspective

Chapter one: Sociolinguistic Perspective

1.1 Introduction

The present chapter projects a review of the literature, which encompasses the main linguistic and social issues that would meet the prerequisites of the research field about the spoken dialect in the centre of Adrar city. It is merely theoretical. It highlights the sociolinguistic phenomenon of dialect contact and accommodation as a dual core of the linguistic variation. Actually, it serves as a prelude to the next analytical chapter.

1.2 Language varieties

In sociolinguistics; language, dialect, and variety are the three distinct and important demonstrations of language. They represent the varieties of language and they are closely related to each other.

1.2.1 Language

“A language is a dialect with an army and a navy”¹; a famous statement attributed to Weinreich, a Yiddish scholar, explains how language is different from dialect. This contains the influence of social and political conditions on the status of language (Mendele, 1996). Generally defined, language is a purely human method of communication by means of a system of the so-called “organs of speech.” It is primarily an auditory system of symbols. In so far as it is articulated, it is also a motor system, but the motor aspect of speech is clearly secondary to the auditory. In normal individuals the impulse to speech first takes effect in the

¹ It wasn't Max Weinreich (1894-1969), a specialist in sociolinguistics and Yiddish, who dreamed up the army-navy quip, but — by his own testimony — someone who attended a series of his lectures and mentioned it to him after one of them. Subsequently, however, Weinreich did make a point of popularizing the saying, so it is not entirely wrong to associate it with him. (sited from: <https://languageblog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=41154>)

sphere of auditory imagery and is then transmitted to the motor nerves that control the organs of speech (Sapir, 1921, p: 11).

In the association of language to human life such as: society, culture, mind, and thoughts it becomes a very complex system. Moreover, the study of each gives birth to a discipline, for example, language with society leads to Sociolinguistics (Sapir, 1921, p: 7). For Sapir language is a human property of expressing ideas, desires and feelings.

When a particular variety of language is regarded as the most accurate way of writing or speaking the language it becomes standard by undergoing a process of standardization, therefore, it varies from other varieties in terms of grammar, lexis, and phonology. We might refer to a non standard linguistic variety as dialect which may not have a written form, nonetheless, the standard language has a written form and is used in official and formal situations as in newspapers, presidential speeches and religious sermons. In the case of the Algerian speech community, MSA is the standard form of Arabic which is the most prestigious, correct and appropriate variety. It is officially used in administrations, media, and education; however, the other local and regional varieties are left for casual communication.

1.2.2. Dialect

Dialectologists define dialect as a spoken variety of language. It was the main trouble of sociolinguists, as far as it is spoken, it also can be written. It is considered as a sub-division of a particular language and it differs from other varieties in terms of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary in the same language. Correspondingly, Trudgill affirms “it is a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige” (2004: 3).

Under this definition, despite that the differences that exist between the dialects or varieties of a particular language are very much related to each other are often fundamentally mutually intelligible, (though dialects or varieties of the same language have differences, they are mutually intelligible) this can be more tied if they are close to one another on the dialect continuum. However, other factors like social class or ethnicity may also give other definitions to a dialect. For instance, a dialect that is related to a special social class can be called a sociolect, dialect that is associated with a given ethnic group can be termed an ethnolect, and a dialect that is spoken in a geographical area may be termed a regional dialect.

According to Chambers and Trudgill (2004:94) isoglosses² are not always trusted in identifying the limits of variations, they can dwindle and disappear. When people move from one region to another, they take their original dialects. This means that there is a “geographical mobility of people” which actually asserts that dialect boundaries are not determined by geography as a relevant factor.

1.2.3. Variety

Variety is a neutral term used to refer to any kind of language, dialect, or code. It may be general like MSA of Algeria, or specific like “Touatia”³ one of the dialects that exist in Adrar province. Hudson (1996:22) can give a precise definition to variety and says that: “a variety of language is a set of linguistic items with similar social distributions.”

² Isogloss is a line drawn on a map to mark the boundary of an area in which a particular linguistic feature is used. (Cristal, 2008. P: 255)

³ A language variety used in Timmi district that gathers (Adrar-Bouda-Tamentit-Zaouiet Kounta). (Bouhania, 2007. P: 34)

1.3. Dialect Contact and Mobility.

The word “contact” is defined by David Crystal (2008:107) in his *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* as a term that is used in sociolinguistics to refer to a:

“...Situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, mixed forms of language (such as creoles and pidgins), and a general increase in bilingualism of various kinds.”

Besides, ‘dialect contact’ refers to at least two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. This contact can be a result of the so called “mobility of people”.

The mobility, either of individuals or of group of people, has become very common in modern societies. As for motivation of population mobility, different factors conduct the reasons of this phenomenon such as socio-economic (for example, work, trade, studies, marriage, tourism...etc) or ecological disasters (such as floods, droughts, earthquakes...). At a local level, internal mobility under the form of internal migration occurs in current speech communities under four streams, namely; (1) rural-to-rural migration; (2) rural-to-urban migration; (3) urban-to-rural migration; and (4) urban-to-urban migration. This latter is the crux matter of this research paper which we are going to elaborate. It can be periodic or long-term migration.

Internal migrants naturally take their linguistic characteristics with them, and they come into contact with the local settlers. It can be clearly observed that this type of contact situation

is characterized with mutual intelligibility among the two dialects. However, one dialect does have impact on the other. Trudgill (1986:1) says that when two speakers of different varieties of the same language which are completely mutually intelligible come into contact and converse, items may be transferred from one of the varieties to the other. On one hand, this clarification has an interesting connotation but on the other hand, it shows a negative point to which Trudgill and other scholars give much attention. He argues that dialect contact will have led not to the loss of particular dialect form, but to the loss of a grammatical distinction (1986:71).

Moreover, Britain (2002) sees the loss of local dialects in the east of England as resulting from greater short- and long-term mobility, the replacement of primary and secondary by tertiary industries, labour market flexibility and family ties over greater geographical distances. The resulting contacts between people speaking different varieties of English lead to the attrition of strongly local forms.

1.4. Dialect Contact and Accommodation Theory

Indeed, dialects which are in contact in the same language are linguistically in a mutual intelligibility situation. This means that when people speak to each other their speech often sounds alike. In a different explanation, each person's speech converges to the other's speech. In sociolinguistics, this process is called *speech accommodation*. In his Dictionary, Crystal defines accommodation as:

“...A theory in sociolinguistics which aims to explain why people modify their style of speaking (accommodate) to become more like or less like that of

their addressee(s). For example, among the reasons why people converge towards the speech pattern of their listener are the desires to identify more closely with the listener, to win social approval, or simply to increase the communicative efficiency of the interaction...”(2008:6)

Speech accommodation theory (SAT) was developed to communication accommodation theory (CAT) by Howard Giles in 1973. This theory denotes the fact that individuals tend to converge or diverge in their way of speaking vis-à-vis their interlocutor. He considers that accommodation theory began as “a socio- psychological model of speech-style modifications”. It then developed into communication accommodation theory in order to acknowledge that not only speech but other “communicative behavior” (Giles et al, 2007, p:134), affect interpersonal or intergroup interaction, i.e. an individual’s speaker identity is constructed from interaction with varying social groups (see Brahmi, Mahieddine, and Bouhania, 2019).

1.4.1. Convergence and Divergence.

In other words, Giles believes and focuses on individuals’ speech style and why they modify their language in the presence of others in order to show similarities or reduce dissimilarities (Trudgill, 1986). He, furthermore, devotes in his theory two different dimensions convergence and divergence. Convergence generally means coming together, while divergence generally means moving apart. The former means that the speaker cooperatively accommodates to an interlocutor i. e., he is motivated by a desire for social approval to positively reinforce one’s own personal or social identity. As mentioned above,

CAT conceives that speakers can increase personal and social liking and gain others' social approval by becoming communicatively more similar to them. For example, speakers may converge to their interlocutors' characteristic communicative behaviors like speech tempo, gestures, gazing, smiling and so on so as to appear more similar to them. As a result, the speaker produces liking (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991).

In contrast, divergence, as a non-cooperative accommodation dimension, is generally provoked by a need to avoid similarities from one's interlocutors, as a means to differentiate oneself and confidently emphasize one's own personal or social identity (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland).

Generally, reactions to speech convergence and divergence depend on the motives people attribute for convergence or divergence. Perceived divergence is unavoidable, for instance, then the speaker will react more tolerantly. Deliberate divergence will be heard as antagonistic. Someone who uses Oran dialect in Adrar because, according to him, their Touat dialect is clearly inadequate will be perceived more meanly than someone who, though a fluent bilingual, deliberately chooses to use local dialect. So far, people seem to feel that by switching his accent the speaker was misleading his interlocutors about his 'true' identity.

Giles has also referred extensively to understanding the correlation between dialect contact and accommodation through the notions: short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation. Accordingly, the notion accommodation depends on the type of contact as Trudgill based on his work "*Dialects in Contact*" (1986). He posits that the terms accommodation and contact are used in the field of sociolinguistics in two ways: the first one

implies short-term accommodation in a temporary contact whereas the second one implies long-term accommodation which results from permanent contact.

1.4.2. Short-term Accommodation

As tackled before, short-term accommodation is the result of passing contact when speakers act in response to their interlocutors on a particular situation. Trudgill (p:5) has mentioned that “the informants in the face-to-face situation then accommodate to the interviewer, producing the sort of language that was expected and fulfilling the sociolinguistic surveys may therefore, according to Giles, be somewhat suspect”. Nevertheless, if this lasts, it paves the way to a long-term accommodation.

Moreover, many studies were conducted by linguists and social psychologists to explore the notion of short-term accommodation. Trudgill himself carried out a survey and he investigated the English spoken in Norwich. He took part in his inquiry and realized that accommodation happened indeed. As a native speaker of the area, he switched however to his informants rather than provoking them to accommodate to him.

1.4.3. Long-term Accommodation.

While Trudgill explains dialect contact and interprets the mechanisms of linguistic changes, he concentrates in his studies more on long term accommodation rather than short term accommodation. Specifically, if short-term accommodation occurs toward a particular style, it may lead to temporary changes in a habitual speech of the speaker. Thus, long-term accommodation toward that style may eventually result in permanent changes to that person’s speech. For instance, a young British-accented immigrant’s frequent convergence to an

American accent may, over time, permanently adjust the habitual accent so that it becomes identical.

When groups of speakers shift to another place to live within the same language area, accommodation inevitably is going to happen among them. Therefore, the contact of the host area and that of the immigrant groups may lead to a permanent change in speech habits of these groups. Originally, Trudgill explained this idea when he says (1986: 39):

“...In face-to-face interaction [...] speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other's speech. If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect, --then the accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable.”

To sum up, linguists agree that individual short-term accommodation in temporary contacts should take place firstly and if this contact is repeated constantly and maintained over a long period of time, it paves the way for the succeeding stage to occur, which is individual long-term accommodation. This latter, as it extends commonly in a community, provokes the emergence of other phenomena of language change such as dialect leveling or sound change.

Prospectively, Trudgill, Giles and Chambers as linguistic specialists in this field declare that when speech convergence becomes permanent through time, speakers may acquire a second dialect and this might be taken into account as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Regular contact of speakers who are more often involved in communications with others from different

backgrounds regional, ethnic, or social, are expected to adopt linguistic features that are different from their native ones.

1.5. Overt and Covert Prestige:

The change that occurs to a dialect or language is due to many social factors. Linguists like Labov, his fellow Trudgill and Janet Holmes investigate, analyze and interpret how different social factors influence this change. They noticeably refer to sociolinguistic phenomena as prestige and age-grading. Prestige can be divided into ‘overt prestige’ and ‘covert prestige’.

When someone uses ‘overt prestige’, they use an accent which is generally recognized as being common but the culturally dominant. For example, in England this would be R.P, as a more useful and stylish accent than their regional. Speakers who use R.P are therefore considered well educated, intelligent, and prestigious because they are using the “correct” and “best” version of English. (Trudgill.2009), this is on one hand. On the other hand, ‘Covert prestige’ is the contrary, as ‘covert’ implies secret. Therefore, a speaker puts on an accent to show their membership to a particular group of people in the area, rather than to fit with the ‘dominant culture group’. The speaker who uses covert prestige will therefore, put on a more ‘street accent’ rather than R.P, and even though they are generally seen as being inferior and they are relatively placed towards a non-standard form of a variety in a speech community.

Labov first pioneers this concept and initiates that covert prestige is pointed out while even speakers who use high proportions of stigmatized linguistic forms must be favorably disposed to them such as /t / = [ʔ] will tell you that such forms are ‘bad’ and ‘inferior’ (Chambers and Trudgill. 2004). The study that has been dealt by Labov of New York City English examines overt prestige involving both class and gender. He effectively investigates the pronunciation of the ‘post-vocalic’ /r/ sound and concludes that the more careful the speech

was the more likely the /r/ was to be pronounced. He also observes there was awareness within speakers of non-standard dialects and from this, he is able to identify that this awareness of using the non-standard dialects is to maintain group identity within the speech community. His fellow Trudgill elaborates on his findings in the study of English speakers in Norwich, he states that "covert prestige reflects the value of gendered aspect, where he introduces that male speakers are more favorably disposed towards standard forms and they are more concerned with showing their solidarity with their class and region by sticking to non-standard norms rather than wanting to achieve or sound as of a high status, with the opposite case for the female speakers who are socially unconfident so they are more vigilant to show the overt prestigious forms than men. Women show more courage to be more correct, discreet, quiet and polite in their behavior. Pressures on women to use 'correct' linguistic forms are therefore greater than those on men (Chambers and Trudgill 2004. P: 85).

1.6. Dialect Leveling

Accommodation between speakers of different, but mutually intelligible dialects in long-term contact is the cause of the linguistic process of dialect leveling which is involved in dialect contact and change. In some new communities where a new dialect has been formed, koineization has surely taken place as a sociolinguistic demonstration. This latter is the process by which a new variety of a language emerges from the three essential processes of mixing, leveling, and simplifying of different dialects (Trudgill. 1986:127). Somewhere else in his book, Trudgill tackles just leveling and simplification since it is unproblematic and leveling can only take place if, in the new speech community, there has been prior dialect mixing leading to the presence of more than one form for a particular linguistic category, such

as a vowel, a pronoun, or a suffix. It is one of the major mechanisms that are possibly behind the change.

David Crystal defines the term of “leveling” as “the lessening of differences between regional dialects as a result of social forces (such as the media) which are influencing people to speak in a similar way.”(P: 275)

In this regard, the notion of “dialect leveling” can also be triggered by contact between dialects, often because of migration, and it has been observed in most languages with large numbers of speakers after the industrialization and the modernization of the area or areas in which they are spoken. It results in unique features of dialects being eliminated and "may occur over several generations until a stable compromise dialect develops". (Cited from Wikipedia)

1.7. Code-Switching

Speakers, in some occasions, are required or opt to shift from one code (a language or a variety) to another consciously or unconsciously to fulfill the gap in their conversation or in a very short utterance. For instance, moving from Algerian dialect to French. This phenomenon where speakers alternate or move forth and back from two or more codes or linguistic systems is called Code Switching (CS).

It is necessary to comprehend what a code is before defining code switching. For Gardner Chloros (2009. p.11), a code is understood as a language , a dialect, a style/ register, etc. According to Wardhaugh (2010:98), a code is “a particular dialect or language one chooses to use on any given occasion, a system used for communication between two or more parties”. He asserts that any linguistic system which could be a language or a dialect and is used for communication between speakers is referred to as a code. The mixing of words, phrases,

sentences, or styles from two different tongues together during the course of speech or writing refer to as code. CS as a natural phenomenon and a language contact is the outcome of bilingualism and multilingualism, i.e. a case by which a speaker has access to two or more linguistic systems as a means of communication (Hammers and Blanc, 1982).

Code Switching has been studied and defined in interactional linguistics and conversation analysis by various linguists since the 1940 and 1950s such as Haugen (1961), Weinreich (1953), Vogt (1954), Auer (1961), Poplack (1979) and Gumperz (1982). The term code switching has been first mentioned in Hans Vogt's (1954) "Language Contacts" who claims that "code switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extra_linguistic" (1954: 368).

Many scholars agreed upon that both code switching and code mixing are communication strategies but they still obtain different several explanations in the literature. Likewise, William C. Ritchie and Tej K. Bhatia (2004:337) give the following definition for code switching:

"We use the term code switching (CS) to refer to the use of various Linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential and may be subject to discourse principles. It is motivated by social and psychological factors."

And they define “code mixing” in the following way:

“We use the term code mixing (CM) to refer to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is intrasentential and is constrained by grammatical principles and may also be motivated by social-psychological factors.”

From the above statements, we can say that these researchers have concentrated on making a clear distinction between intersentential code switching which happens between sentences and intrasentential code mixing that occurs within sentence boundaries. There is, however, a common feature between them which is that both of them are motivated by social and psychological factors.

Conversely, some researchers do not agree upon this distinction between code switching and code mixing. Hatch (1976) claims that there is not a sharp distinction between intersentential CS and intra-sentential CM. But others reject it for the reason that they consider both CS and CM as “situational shifting”.

1.7.1. Types of Code Switching

Code switching is defined as the practice of alternating or choosing between two languages or dialects of the same language to contextualize speech in conversational turn. This alternation or selection of languages or dialects may occur at the level of words, sentences, phrases, or parts

of words. In this regard, different types of code switching have been identified by scholars from the structural perspective. Accordingly, code switching may be Inter_ sentential switching, Intra_ sentential switching, Tag or Intra_ word switching.

1.7.1.1. Intersentential switching: It is the switching between two languages in a single discourse by a bilingual who speaks more than two languages in which the first sentence is said in one language (L1) and the second is produced in another (new) language (L2), (e.g. Appel & Muysken,1987,p.118). The speaker or a bilingual in this process should be aware that the interlocutor (addressee) is also a bilingual or is able to understand the two languages (Cantone: 2007. 57). E.g: [aʃ hazni nakəl had laħrira, elle est pas bonne] (what drives me to eat this soup, it is not tasty)

1.7.1.2. Intrasentential switching: The switching in this type occurs within a sentence or clause during a conversation (either switching of adjectives, nouns or phrases). It is also known as code mixing. E.g: [ʒib maak chargeur] (bring with you the charger).

1.7.1.3. Tag switching: It refers to an interjection of a word or expression within an utterance. This word or expression may take place at the beginning, middle or at the end of an utterance and has no influence on any grammatical rule (Poplack :1980). E.g:

(Bon, doka win nəmʃu?) (Well, now where to go?)

1.7.1.4. Intra-word switching: This type of code switching requires the switches within a word boundary, which indicates that a word from the first language (L1) may be combined to a morpheme from the second language (L2). For instance, / hirakist/ an Algerian word which consists of

two different morphemes /hirak/ which refers to someone who is against the government's laws and /ist/ a French bound-morpheme. The combination of the two morphemes / hirak/ + / ist/ results in a new word added to Algerian Arabic.

1.8. Code switching and diglossia

Diglossia, as another sociolinguistic phenomenon, is the use of two languages or two varieties of the same language for different functions, one of these varieties is called the "high" and it is reserved only for the formal situations, while the "low" variety is used for the casual use between friends and family members. However, code switching is the alternate use of two languages within the same sentence or discourse.

1.9. Communication Accommodation and Code-Switching.

As it is stated above, Giles (1974) defines communication accommodation theory as a theory that explores why and how people modify their communication to fit situational, social, cultural, and relational contexts. Within communication accommodation, conversational partners may use convergence and divergence i.e., there will be similarity and difference in the speech and behavior. So far, the speaker may appear similar or may emphasize the difference with the interlocutor. The characteristics that people exhibit are based on our experiences and the cultural backgrounds that we grew up in

Convergence and divergence can take place within the same conversation and may be used by one or both conversational partners. While communication accommodation might involve anything from adjusting how fast or slow the speaker talks or how long it takes during each time, code-switching refers to changes in accent, dialect, or language. In fact, many factors push people to code-switch. Regarding accents, some people hire speech-

language pathologists to help them alter their accent. A person from the south, for instance, thinks that their way of speaking may lead addressees to form critical feelings; they can consciously switch or change their accent effectively. Once they feel that they are able to speak without their Southern accent is honed, they may be able to switch very quickly between their native accent when speaking in casual situations with friends and family and their adjusted accent when speaking in professional settings.

In sociolinguistics, the frame work of accommodation has not frequently witnessed a clear investigation about code switching knowing that this latter shapes a normal and widespread concern in bilingualism. Nevertheless, code switching may be conceptualized and regarded in accommodative terms as partial accommodation, it is necessary to contribute a worth exploration for code switching as a distinct linguistic and independent code having its own special social, psychological and cultural significance particularly for communication.(Bhatia and Ritchie.2004)

1.10. Social Variables

1.10.1. Language and Age

Undeniably, any sociolinguistic analysis is correlated with the aspect of age since it plays a significant role in all the literature of language variation as a social variable. Labov (1994) stated that age as a category cuts across all the other variables such as gender, social class, ethnicity, urban/rural status and location in social networks (p:194). That gives an explanation why age is rarely referred to in isolation; it is often accompanied by other social categories.

There is a general agreement that speakers, in middle age, are most likely to use more standard forms whereas they respond to speech norms of wider society by using fewer vernacular

norms. When people's age peaks between 30 and 55, they highly use the standard of prestige extravagant societal experience. (Holmes, 2013, p: 179) That is to say, the maturity of people and moving from an age group to another, a speaker uses speech which is appropriate to the age group and trying to acquire and adopt features of the current age group. Indeed, age simply reveals change in the speech of the individual as they grow up.

Eventually, linguistic Studies found that variation and change progress depended on the notion of apparent time dimension, based on the analysis of the distribution of linguistic variables across different age groups. This involves analyzing the speech of a structured sample of people of different ages at the same moment in a synchronic point in time.

1.10.2. Language and gender

Since the emergence of studies on gender differences in language use, research on women and language has become the interest of many scholars. They focus on the features of women's linguistic behavior and competence that distinguish them from men from different angles, phonology, vocabulary, grammar, conversation topics and styles.

Phonologically speaking, features of women's linguistic behavior can be seen in pronunciation, pitch and tone. According to Labov (1972), women use fewer stigmatized forms than men do, i.e. they produce more correct linguistic forms which are closer to the standard language with higher prestige. Similarly, Romaine (1984) points out that women produce prestigious linguistic forms which are nearer to the prestige norms (p.113). As Wolfram and Fasold (1974) noted, women's consciousness of prestige patterns reflects their attitudes towards speech. For instance, in Norwich, East England, although men and women belong to the same background, they differently produce linguistic forms. Women pronounce

-ing form phonetically transcribed [ŋ] as in the word ‘working [wɜ:kɪŋ] unlike men do [wɜ:kɪŋg]. They also pronounce the initial /h/ as in the word home (hɜ:ʊm); while, men do not [ɜ:ʊm]. Furthermore, in their conversational interactions, women tend to use minimal reaction such as ‘yes’, ‘mhm’ to mark their interest (Braun, 2004, p.15).

Usually women speak in a higher pitch. Lakoff (1975) asserted that women speech has a high pitch which changes the declarative sentence into a question, particularly when they want to answer general questions for example:

A: At what time are you coming back home?

B: ‘Oh, about 9 o’clock?’ ↗

In addition, hedges are also found in women’s speech. Hedges are words used to reduce the uncertainty or certainty of the speaker such as ‘I think, you know, like, sort of, perhaps’.

“I got home at midnight.”

“I got home at *around* midnight.”

“I got home at midnight, *I think* .”

“I got home at, *like* , midnight.”

Besides, women use hypercorrect grammar as Lakoff (1975) claims that women care in using a precise pronunciation of verbs such as the final pronunciation of ‘g’ as in ‘going’. They also avoid terms like ‘ain t’.

1.11. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to depict a clear sociolinguistic view about the scope of dialect contact and accommodation. Essentially, we focused on the explanation of the relationship between variables and social factors. One of the most major concerns of sociolinguistics is that any variation that occurs in any language is not accidental but there must be reasons behind. Several sociolinguists have carried different quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze and interpret the data synchronically and diachronically and also to examine to what extent the frequencies of this variation determine the language use.

The next chapter will describe the sociolinguistic situation in Touat region; additionally, it will portray some salient lexical variants that the practical part will rely on. It also offers a detailed overview of the approaches adopted, sample, methods and techniques, and data collection methods as well as the motivation behind every result.

Chapter two

The Case Study

Chapter Two: The Case Study

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter shed lights on mechanisms that this chapter relies on. This chapter is purely practical and analytical. We tend to highlight reports of the study and try to arrange accurate answers to the questions mentioned above. As far as a descriptive quantitative approach is recommended in this chapter, we will seek to quantify the realization of four linguistic variables at the level of phonology, morphology, and lexis. We avoid some techniques and limit the number of participants because of the advent of the pandemic situation and the governmental regulations that limit the mobility and assembly of population. However, we have taken security precautions and carried on our study. Age, gender, and social class have been taken into account as essential sociological factors. Informants are randomly selected such as teachers, shop keepers, street sellers, nurses, and retired. All those members should be genetically from Adrar city and live in the center as a basic condition.

2.2. Adrar, geographical and historical background.

Adrar is one among the largest southwestern provinces of Algeria with an area of 424,948 km². It had 402,197 inhabitants at the 2008 population census. It has borders with Tindouf, Bechar, Elbayad, Ghardaia, and Tamenrasset. It is also bordered by two countries to the south, Mali and Mauritania. Adrar gathers three natural and cultural regions: Touat , Gourara, Tidikelt, and other ksour.

As an essential fact in our topic, Touat region is referred to as the province of Adrar, and its capital and largest city is the most significant centre in the Timmi zone. After the independence of Algeria, a number of Algerian internal immigrants came from the North West (Oran, Tlemcen), the centre (Algiers, Bejaia, and Tizi-ouzou), and the East (Batna, and Setif)

of Algeria to the Touat looking for security, jobs, and better standards of living since the north witnessed severe terrorism events during the 1990's. It is a fact that those immigrants found a space in which to preserve affective contact with their contexts of origin and a place in which they share their doubts, perceptions, and options with the host society (Firth and Armendariz, 2007: 27). Most immigrants settled in the city of Adrar.



Map 2.1 : Touat region in Adrar province and Adrar city. (Google image)

2.3. Adrar Speech Community.

This geographical and social distribution raged a social contact between Adrar and the neighboring areas. People of Adrar mainly the sedentary inhabitants witnessed variation in the local dialect under the feature of people contact. This mobility of people which roused new settlement structures assembled several cultures and speech varieties, especially the long-term settlement. Particularly the behavior of the young generation witnessed an impact in comparison to that of the old ones, who are illustrious for their Muslim-conservative ideology (Bouhania: 2007).

In the case study, we need first to define some terms like “accent” in order to characterize the dialects of Adrar as language varieties and essentially to compare them with the source

language Classical Arabic (CA). For David Crystal (2008), an accent could be defined phonetically as “The cumulative auditory effect of those features of pronunciation which identify where a person is from, regionally or socially. The linguistics literature emphasizes that the term refers to pronunciation only, and is thus distinct from dialect, which refers to grammar and vocabulary as well.” (p:3)

Following the proposed definition of “accent” by Crystal, we can consider that the local dialect “AZRA”(Bouhania, 2007) Adrar Arabic is called Tuatia /tuwa:tijja/. It is a regional accent that is associated with a different pronunciation and phonological system in contrast to that of Classical Arabic. Besides, it can also be classified as a dialect as it has a different grammar from that of the source language (CA) and it encompasses pronunciations and vocabularies which are appropriate to local speech community and are different from those of the northern dialects. Adrar is a multidialectal city where we can find a heterogeneous population all living together in one area (Adrar city). In other words, Adrar spoken dialect (ASP) is a Bedouin (nomadic) dialect (Bouhania, 2012) since it is marked with the use of /g/ instead of /q/. The following table shows some terms that explains this feature.

Table 2.1: Extracted examples show the use of [g] instead of [q] in Adrar city dialect (Bouhania, 2011, p: 119).

MSA	ASD		Gloss
	[g]	[q]	
/qa:la/	+	-	he said
/ṭariiḡ/	+	-	the path
/qalb/	+	-	the heart
/ʕoqda/	+	-	the knot
/fawq/	+	-	on

In Adrar, French is mostly neglected since it refers to the language of the French colonizer; Bouhania (2007) argues respectively that “an important factor contributes to the spread of Arabic and the rejection of French by the natives: the Zawayas (religious shrines).” (P: 47).

Later on, the latter revolted against that and encouraged the implementation of Arabisation and persuaded their children to learn English instead as it is language of technology, science, and international communication.

In our inquiry we are investigating accommodation between local speakers and other regional dialects precisely the speech community of the city centre. Thus, this study endeavors to investigate the linguistic consequences of dialect contact and accommodation; that is to say how and why the urban vernacular converged some features of other dialects and adopted them.

2.4. Methodology and Data Collection.

In this research paper, we have conducted different methods which will try to discover attitudes about language. They are the direct and the indirect methods. On one hand, the direct method implies a questionnaire that includes a series of direct questions designed to groups of people. These questions can be also in the form of interviews which are directed to individual correspondents by the researcher. On the other hand, the indirect method is invisible observation. It explores the speakers' attitudes. This method is often called “the matched guise technique”. A sociolinguistic investigational technique which was first introduced by Lambert and his colleagues in the 1960s (Diaz-Campos and Killam 2012) where he attracts the informants to a covert investigation in order to conclude whether an individual or community embrace true feelings towards a particular language, dialect, or accent.

The questionnaire is made up of five parts; every part encompasses a set of questions: closed questions where yes/no answers are recommended and multiple-choice questions are included. As an instrument, the self-reported questionnaire is used in this investigation in order to accomplish the final task of this study which is the analysis of the informants' attitudes towards the dialectal varieties and their speakers. The same questionnaire is given to the informants. It is written in Arabic rather than French so that we avoid contextual complexity and involvedness. We also have taken into account the incompetence of some informants in this language. As a result, we provide a self-reported questionnaire as an English version at the end of this study.

2.5. The samples

In this study, we basically rely on appointed categorical samples like teachers, local shopkeepers, street sellers, and nurses. Eventually, this category of people has daily contact with different types of interlocutors and of course there should be a carried out conversation.

The survey has evoked an interesting consideration to age and gender as being inevitable social variables in any sociolinguistic research because any linguistic variation or change of language or dialect should pass through a diachronic and synchronic study. Age plays an important role in variation, as sociolinguists argued that young people sound different or speak differently from adults. As for gender, women and men do not speak in the same way as each other in any community. Though they share the same language in some communities, some linguistic features occur only in the women's speech or only in the men's speech (Holmes, 2013). These features are usually small differences in phonology and morphology. Thus a very few number or no woman has been chosen for the accomplishment of the analysis and in order not to be criticized because of being bias or racist. We have not given much concentration to

female presence because of the proclamations of some linguists that women are different from men in keeping their linguistic characteristics and being more covertly prestigious. From this reason we can say that the use of language is different between men and women in conversational style. In every subject of our life the difference is noticeably clear while using a language. In the context of our province, the gender dissimilarity is obvious and noteworthy. Among all the people of Adrar city, the difference of language uses by adults is taken into consideration as case study.

Significantly, this difference may hinder our study in checking out clear variability that occurs to Adrar dialect. Thus, this is not our topical aim that we should elaborate and the study has been oriented and conducts variation only among males aged between twenty five and sixty. Crucially, the pandemic situation we are facing nowadays in all standards of life should be taken into consideration and its constraints that hinder the analysis and oblige us to minimize the statistics. We use an exceptional descriptive quantitative investigation. Therefore, the number of participants that we have limited is 25.

2.6. Invisible Observation

As a basic pillar of the research plan, we start with observation to have a remark into the intended linguistic behavior of the people in several places. It means that we involve ourselves in their daily activities. Certainly, this may cause troubles with them if they recognize that. We try to rely mainly on public areas where people are not aware like streets, markets, hospitals and post offices whereas some other places like schools are strictly controlled. From this diversity of places, we cover different contextual variations. The primary principle that should

be taken into consideration is the setting which increases or decreases the degree of formality. People may converge or diverge according to the topic or surrounding population.

2.7. Speakers' Attitudes

Here we ask a question: Why do most informants shift from the velar [g] to the uvular [q] more often than they do for other linguistic features? While the study, some local shopkeepers and street sellers said that they felt a kind of unintelligible to buyers if they use the non local variant [q] ; since they may not recognize whether they are natives or outsiders but others answered simply that they use either [g] or [q] to make themselves understood. Other shopkeepers say that they have to do all their best to communicate clearly with customers from different places, this can hence make them learn the linguistic distinctiveness of various Algerian dialects. They actually mentioned some terms which they face every day during the conversation like: [wledlʒaʒ] eggs, [karoʦa] carrots, [qerʔa] pumpkin, [ʔin lbeqra] bleu plum fruit, [beʃmaq] a Turkish word means wooden sandals, [ʁrawin] kids, [ʁa:wel] hurry up...

During this interview, we come across some teachers who are not natives and do not normally use the AA variety. When we asked them if they switched to AA while they are talking to natives; their answer is emphatically negative. They said that they tried to make themselves understood but they never use the features that characterize Adrar speech. In fact, after the analysis of the questionnaire given to them, we interestingly discovered that those informants are generally impermanent settlers. They travel back home when they get a vacation.

2.8. The Selected Linguistic Variables

The phonological variables which we have chosen for this study are: the variable /q/ and its variants [q] and [g], the variable /θ/ with its variants [θ, t, t^s], and the morphological variable {-hu} with its variants [-u] , [-ih] and [-ah].

Table2.2: Examples of the selected linguistic variables.

MSA	Adrarian Dialect	Examples	Gloss
/q/	/g/	[gdi:m]	old
/θ/	/t ^s /	[oʈil t ^s wat ^s]	Touat hotel
/-hu/	/-ih/	[gulih]	tell him

2.8.1. The variable /q/

The standard phoneme /q/ has two different variants: post velar (uvular) plosive /q/ and velar plosive /g/. Generally, the phoneme /q/ maintains its original uvular articulation in many parts of the Arab world, in particular in areas of the Maghreb which are considered as urban like Algiers, Constantine, etc. It has a glottal stop pronunciation and its symbol in the phonetic alphabet is [ʔ] (Hocini.2011). It is pronounced in several prestige dialects, such as those spoken in Tlemcen and Fez in the Maghreb. But it is voiced velar stop [g] in other parts of Algeria like in Touat region in Adrar.

In his book, *Touat Spoken Arabic: Dialectology and Sociolinguistics*, (2012) Bouhania tackles the consonant phonemes /q/ and /g/ for they are a clear manifestation in convergence and divergence processes. He has reported several examples from Touat Spoken Arabic which we have already recorded during our survey. In fact, some informants, mainly young men,

converge for some factors as identity, social status, educational level, or simply to increase personal and social liking towards the interlocutor.

In various cases, a clear variation happens between /q/ and /g/ and it is noticeably observed. The variant [q] is widely used in formal situations such as religion speeches, education, administration and mass media. In cases where informality occurs, [g] is greatly used. The shift from [g] to [q] occurs in situations like hospitals, streets, markets and shops. As an example, here are some expressions of an adult male from Biskra. He was buying some vegetables from a local green grocer in Bouda Market.

Buyer 1: [ʔɛɛini kilo sanarjia] Give me one kilo of carrots.

Greengrocer: [...?! t^ʃaqsaɛ zrodjia?] You mean carrots?

Buyer 1: [ʔih] Yes.

Greengrocer: [t^ʃfaɛal ħbibibi] Take it, please.

The above conversation gathers several features that justify the occurrence of convergence from the part the greengrocer who tries to accommodate to the buyer from Biskra. In fact, B uses his native local variety. Carrot is called [sanarjia] in Biskra whereas the grocer does not recognize the meaning. Moreover, he uses a sympathetic word that represents politeness and solidarity [ħbibibi] toward the buyer. Actually, common sympathetic terms that are often used in AA are very limited like [χojia].

The following table and graph indicate the selected informants that we rely on in our survey. They are aged between 25 and 65.

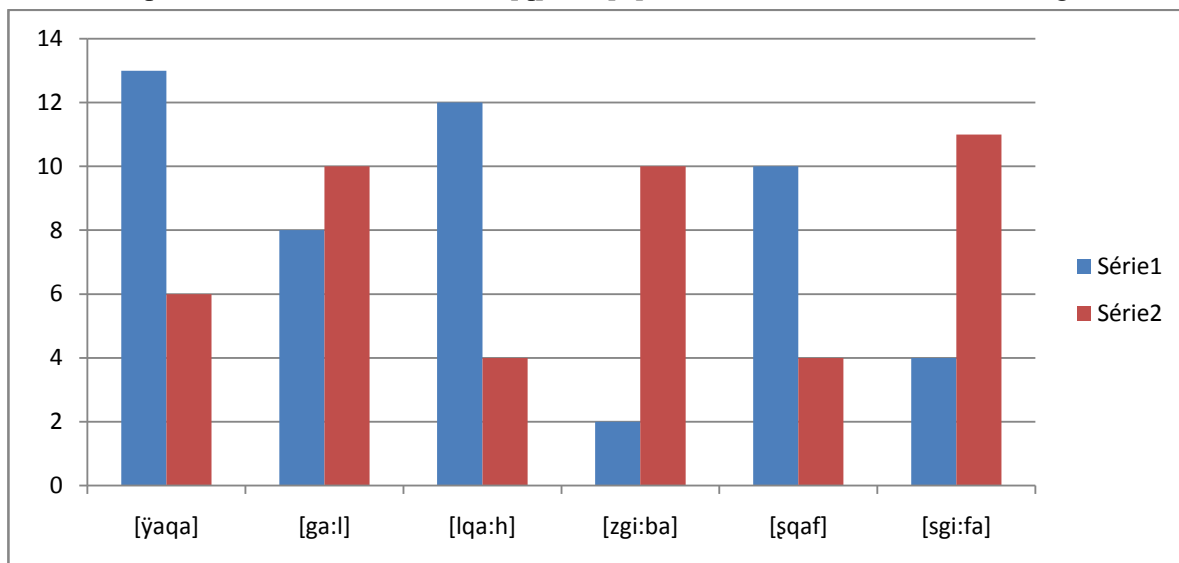
Table 2.3: Scores of the variants [q] and [g] in correlation with age

The informants	[q]	[g]	Total
adult men (25 to 49)	8	5	13
old men (50 to 65)	4	8	12
			25

The results in table 2.3 demonstrate that age has a fundamental role in the changeable articulation of [q] and [g]. The use of [q] is exceedingly scored in the first category of age compared with the last category, while the use of [g] is highly scored in the last category and decreases in the other category.

In this regard, the consonantal variation is clearly characterized by the articulation of [q] and [g]. The data collection shows that speakers tend to substitute the sound [q] by [g] especially by the new generation. To examine variation in the use of [q] or [g] we have chosen some words. The results show great wavering scores from one age-group to another. The following table sums up the scores.

Graph2.1: Scores of the variants [q] and [g] in association with criterion of age.



The graph 2.1 exposes that adult men are more likely to use the sound [g] than old men. We have summarized the general scores of some words in connection with age, and it is clearly shown that 12 out of 13 speakers aged between 25 to 49 use the variant [q] with the word [lqa:h] whereas 10 out of 12 the total number of persons aged between 50 and 65 tend to utter the word [zgi:ba] which is a rural term that means a plastic bag. The replacement of [g] for [q] in the speech of adults is a salient linguistic behavior. Indeed, the arithmetic average of the occurrence of the variables shows that major adults aged between 25 to 49 used the sound [q] instead of [g]. In contrast, [g] is used by older men.

2.8.2. The variable [θ]

Among the variables that we have focused on in this research is the variable [θ]. In phonology, this variable can be described as the voiceless dental non-sibilant fricative. It is a sort of consonantal sound which is used in some spoken languages. In English, it is well-

known to speakers as the (th) like in *throw*, *think*, and *Thursday*. It is often called "interdental" as it is produced with the tip of the tongue between the upper and lower teeth. In Arabic varieties it can be spelled as (ث) which is our case study. This Arabic variable however has several variants that Adrar dialects witness [θ], [t], [t^ʰ], and [t^s].

Before embarking upon the improvement of this analysis of the variable /θ/, let us provide at least a brief definition for some important key concepts like hypercorrection and hypo-correction. Broadly speaking, hypercorrection and hypo-correction are sociolinguistic phenomena. The former occurs when speakers move from lower social class to the speech of elites and they strike from prescribed linguistic norms. In contrast, the latter is a state that speakers of a standard dialect make attempts to produce non standard dialect. They desire to show a mutual intelligibility and choose to adopt a nonstandard form of speech as a stratagem to set up distance from or to become likely understood to their interlocutor (Baugh,1999). In other words, hypercorrection is defined by Crystal (ibid) as “a term used in linguistics to refer to the movement of a linguistic form beyond the point set by the variety of language that a speaker has as a target; also called hypercorrectness, hyper urbanism or overcorrection”. (p: 232)

Participants are actually asked to answer some questions and interpret some MSA words into their mother tongue. After carrying out the interviews with them and recording others – after their agreement – we have registered some terms with the Arabic variable [θ] like [θmanjia] eight, [θuum] garlic, and [θqi:l] heavy. These examples clearly justify the convergence and divergence among speakers. We have found that these words are indeed

realized by some speakers with the local variant sound [tʃ] but others with the accommodated sound [t]. The change in pronunciation of the above mentioned words is noticeably observed with speakers who are less than 50. They try barely to utter the words with a more crucial way of articulation and they realized the sound [t] as in [tuum], [tmanjia], and [tqi:l]. Otherwise speakers who are more than 50 do not hesitate for a moment about uttering these terms and articulate them as follows [tʃuum], [tʃmania], [tʃqi:l].

Table 2.4: Number of realisations of the variants [θ], [t], and [tʃ] in correlation with age.

		informants	Ratio %
[θuum]	[t] men less than 50	18	72.00%
	[tʃ] men older than 50	9	36.00%
[θmanjia]	[t] men less than 50	19	76.00%
	[tʃ] men older than 50	6	24.00%
[θqi:l]	[t] men less than 50	20	80.00%
	[tʃ] men older than 50	5	20.00%

We suppose the former group of speakers do not acknowledge the realization of the classical /θ/, and we suppose that this group may consciously avoid the stigmatized feature as there is a negative attitude towards the sound [tʃ] which reflects the rural background of the speaker. They hypercorrect their pronunciation as an attempt either to move away from a lower class and show a camaraderie to a more standard speech or to adopt unconsciously a less standard form of speech. As an example; education today has made local teachers more conscious of the fact and give the right pronunciation but they, as speakers, try to avoid [tʃ] during their

casual activities. This change of the phonetic system is reflected through the quantitative results.

The use of interdental /θ/ in Adrar city centre is limited and confined to in-migrants only like those who came from Oran, Mustaganem, Biskra, and Algiers as it is a feature of their native local variety, whereas other corresponding variants are used among other untested groups because they are features of their native local varieties like [t^s]. Hence no accommodation occurs as a clear sociolinguistic phenomenon to the interdental [θ] which was not attested among these groups.

2.8.3. MORPHOLOGICAL VARIABLES

In so far as morphology is concerned, we are interested in the analysis of the linguistic variable [h] of the MSA suffix morpheme {-hu} with its variant morphemes: local {ih}, {ah} and {u}. These variants are investigated according to age.

The pronoun suffix variable {-hu} in MSA is used by speakers to address the third person singular masculine. It works as possessive pronoun as [-ih] (him) and objective pronoun as [-u] (his). It is realized in the local dialect of Adrar city centre. The table gathers some local examples that show the use of these morphemes.

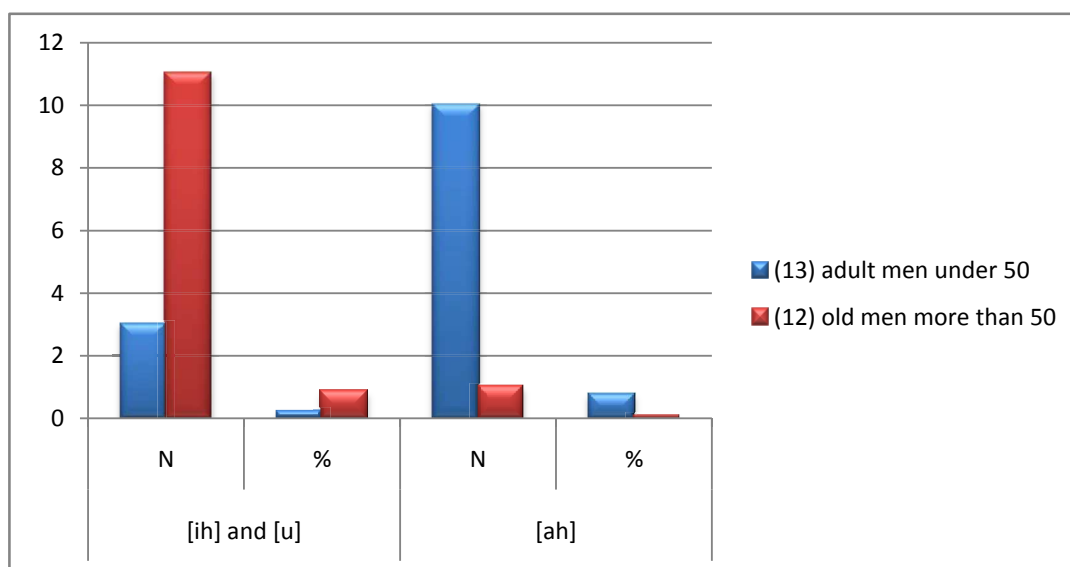
Table 2.5: Examples of the occurrence of morphemes {-u} and {-ih} in local dialect.

MSA	Local dialect	Gloss
[saʔalahu]	[sawlu]	He asked him
[dʒamaʕahu]	[lamdu] or [ʒamʕu]	He collected it
[raħimahu Allah]	[ʔallah jarħmu]	May Allah bless him

[qa:llalahu]	[qa:lu / ga:lu] or [ga:lih]	He told him
[bintuhu]	[bantu]	His daughter
[manziluhu]	[ɖaru]	His house

Remarkably, the table 2.5 shows the placements of the pronoun suffix variable {-hu} in the informants' recorded speech. They are counted either in nouns as possessive pronouns or in verbs with all tenses past, present and future as object pronouns. The number of signs elicited from each speaker relatively scored between ten as a minimum number and twenty-five as a maximum number. However, what is noticeably observed is that adult men under 50 have quickly accommodated to the variant [ah] which takes place of the local variant [u]. Knowing that variation appeared in the use of both native variants [ih] and [u] and the non-native [-ah] which characterize linguistically and respectively each group the local speaker and the non-native speaker.

Graph 2.2: percentage of use of morphemes {-u}, {-ih}, and {-ah}



The above graph 2.2 illustrates that the local speakers have adopted the morphological variant [ah] as they keep their native variants [ih] and [u].

The results of the placements of [ih] and [u] vs. [ah] in correlation with age shows that speakers under 50 are more likely to use the suffix [ah] than the other group, and this can be due to the fact that the former group is more likely to use the standard form than the latter. Surprisingly they scored 76.92% and they have accommodated to the new characteristic rather than preserving and maintaining their native one. Moreover, this linguistic variation among speakers can be justified in relation to the contact with the in-migrant dialects, which lets us come up with some hints that adult men under 50 are likely to shift linguistically more than old men because of the close exposure to contact situations with non-local speakers.

As a result, we can say that contact between dialects can affect seriously the linguistic continuity between generations. In situations such as that of migration from the original home to another community, young speakers are opposed to new linguistic atmosphere in which they are smoothly involved and they are welcomed and directly connected to the host area whereas their parents are not considered as members of this host community and have dissimilar association, therefore, they are not socialized into it.

2.9. The lexical variation

It is not less important to know the lexical variation of the current speech community in Adrar city centre as well as phonological and morphological variation. A good number of local lexical terms have been collected in comparison with the in-migrant lexical terms.

The data have been obtained from recorded conversations involving several speakers from different backgrounds and in different settings like market, school, hospital, shop, town hall, and sometimes in weddings and funerals.

The intended point here is to demonstrate who uses what, when, and where. In this regard, we spotlight on variation among different dialects in the city centre of Adrar. Therefore, the coexistence of many dialects alongside causes new speech community which is characterized by an increasing competence between speakers; natives and in-migrants that have come up with a communicative accommodative variation.

2.10. The Analysis of the Interviews

The interview covers five parts; each part is dedicated to obtain a certain detail. Initially, we propose some questions that investigate and analyze the core body of this study. We have started with personal and demographic information of the participants in order to classify them into categories. The questions are put to inspect the situational information in order to figure out reasons behind some attitudes of speakers who consciously or unconsciously shift and accommodate to a non-native dialect. The speakers' feelings towards the in-migrants and their speech are seriously taken into account because they unveil either the positive or negative responses which lead to accommodation or non-accommodation. At the end of this chapter there is the whole interview.

The interview has been set under a two wings survey. The first one is a group of preservers of the features of their native speech and the second one is another group of adopters of the features of non-native speech. They are 25 men, 13 adults under 50 and 12 men more than 50.

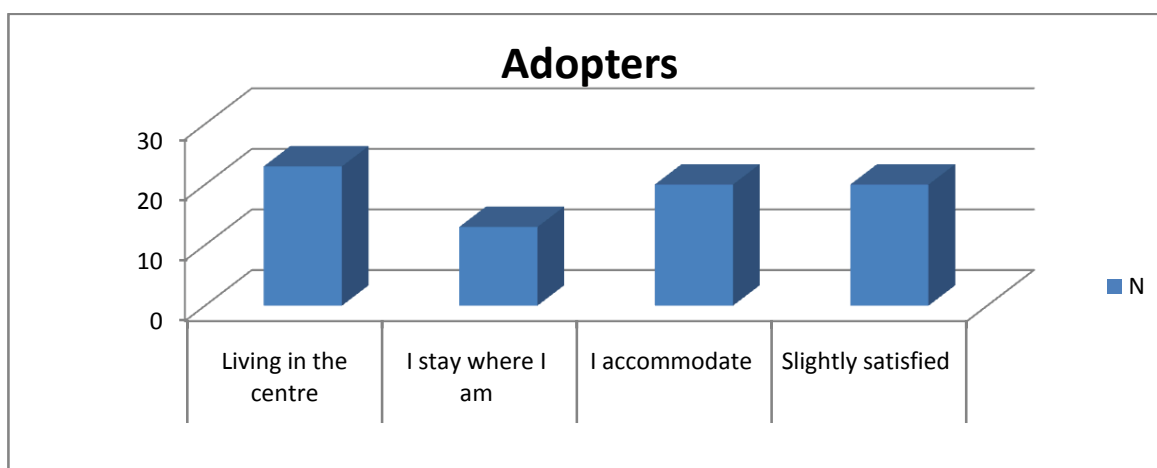
There are 10 teachers, 05 local shop keepers, 06 local street sellers, a nurse, and 03 retired men.

Table2.6: Number of interviewees.

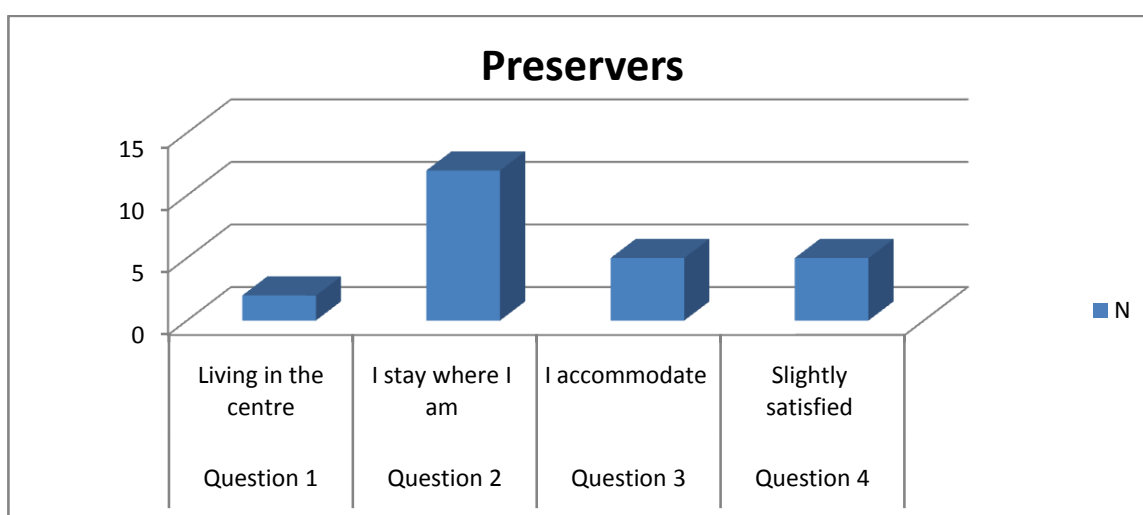
Function	Frequency
Teachers	10
Local shop keepers	5
Local street sellers	6
Nurse	1
Retired	3
Total	25

The survey carries 22 questions but only 03 serious ones have been selected from the above list for analysis.

We notice that accommodation results have neat match with the attitudes of the speakers. Their responses explain the way how and why they react towards the non-native dialect. Some informants are satisfied with living in the city centre since it offers quick and available services in different fields. All of them confessed that urban life is better than rural one but few cannot live the centre since they were already grown up in rural area and acquired rural behaviors. Those few rural participants stated that they cannot live with urban standards but the rural are quite appropriate. To better-cover the objective, we have divided the speakers into adopters who converse with the features of the non-native dialect and preservers who keep their linguistic identification and maintain their native dialect. The following graphs show the two groups' responses to the main questions:



Graph 2.3: Percentage of adopters' response.



Graph 2.4: Percentage of preservers' response.

The results show that speakers who adopt some features of non-native dialect are oriented in terms of their attitudes towards the city centre as a place of living. They confess that they feel satisfied (23%). They feel that their way of speaking has witnessed a change and they like in-migrants' way of speaking (20%) since it simplifies the interaction with in-migrants. As a result, they get accustomed to face to face convergence. In contrast, the other group wishes to go back to their regional areas and live outside the centre (12%). They feel proud of the way they speak and they never think to change their speech (05%) because it reflects their identity.

They maintain their native non-standard forms, however, some of them often interact with non-natives.

2.11. Ethical Consideration

Some informants actually did not allow us to record their speech and emphatically refused that. We however did insist and convince them that these records would be personal and they would not be published and deleted but rather help us in preparing a master research. They barely accepted. Our objective cannot be realized with the use of such drastic attitudes, therefore the matched guise may serve us better as it is an alternative method. This latter helps us in taking some notes and selecting the informants appropriately with a complete invisibility. This type of methodology which has been alternatively involved in this research work may serve as the Labovian method. It relies basically on observation in order to study quantitatively the social variables in an indirect way. It was used first by William Labov in the 1960's in New York City. Despite of this untraceable work, we should take into account the privacy of the informants. Knowing that people nowadays are very cautious and suspicious from such behaviors therefore we cannot take risks.

Ethically speaking, law punishes those who record other's speech without their permission. According to the repeated article (303. New) of the Algerian Penal Code, in its first paragraph, the law stipulates that a penalty of imprisonment from 6 months to 3 years and a fine of 50,000 to 300,000 DZD shall be imposed on anyone who intends to infringe on the sanctity of the private life of persons by any technology⁴, and that is:

1 / By capturing, recording, or transmitting private or confidential calls or conversations without the permission or consent of the owner.

⁴ Translated from a French version, Code Penal (2015. P: 89).

2 / By taking, recording, or transmitting a picture of a person in a private place without the permission or consent of the owner.

2.12. Description of Participants

Here are some records of few interviewees who accepted being recorded:

1) Abdelfatah

Abdelfateh is 27. He lives in the city centre. He was born and grew up in Adrar city centre. His parents separated when he was a little child. He studied there but quitted school at an early age. He is a multifunctional person. He interacts with people from different parts of Algeria during his daily work. He newly got married to a woman from Tlemcan. He stated that her speech is completely different from his dialect. She uses the glottal stop [ʔ]. She never tries to converse with the local dialect of Adrar. He hardly understands some of her daily terms like [ʔt̪it̪a] a cat, [ntina] you, [ʔaʒi] come, and [bit̪] eggs. He says:

- “[hadi marti w lazɱ ʔljia nafhəɱha]”. This is my wife and I have to understand her.

- “[χatrat nħas roħi nbadl klami mʔa nas li maʒI mn ʔdrar dərɪʒin blamanfiq]”. Sometimes I feel that I change my way of speaking unconsciously with those who are not originally from Adrar.

[χətrat nsibi majafham ʒ klami ki nkun naħki] Sometimes my father in law does not understand what I say.

2) Najem

Najem is 42. He is originally from Tsabit but he settles in Adrar city centre. He was born in Tsabit. He studied at elementary and middle schools there. But he got his baccalaureate in

Hakkoumi Secondary School (Technicum) in the centre of Adrar. Later on, he continued his studies in a university in Oran for 4 years. He married a native woman. He became a middle school teacher. He rarely goes back to the countryside only in weekends or holidays. His speech displays much code switching between French and Arabic. He often uses terms from Orani Dialect. In the following examples, Najem's speech witnesses several variants which might be interpreted as an accommodative case (or style shifting), perhaps led by sociopragmatic principles.

1-[ki kunt naqra fi wahrən, kunt tuʒur nalʕab baʔ] When I was studying in Oran, I was always playing football.

2-[ħɔʦɔti rahi ɔnpan] My car is damaged.

3-[ʔja rəħw w ʂaji] Let us just go.

4-[ʔana ʕədwa maʕadiʃ nʒi, ʂaji] I will not come tomorrow, will I?

5-[pwisk ɡaʕ haka] Because they are all alike.

6-[ʔjia ʂaji] It is ok.

Najem has used codes-switching in his speech in face-to-face interactions either with natives or non-natives. He adjusts his way of speaking and converges to interlocutors' through using borrowed words from French like [ɔnpan] and [ʂaji]. In this situation Najem "accommodates his behaviour according to the situation and thus could create an impression on his interlocutors" (Giles and Ogay, 2007. P: 294). He believes that the use of French words may build a solid platform of solidarity. He signals his attitude towards others and his respective social status. During his speech, he uses different types of code-switching such as:

1- Intrasentential switching which appears when he says: [pwisk ɡaʔ haka]

2- Taq switching in [ʔana ʔədwa maʔadiʃ nʒI, ʃaji]

3) Muhammad

Muhammad is a 62 educated retired old man. He was born in Tunisia but he grew up in El-Quba in Algiers after the immigration of his family to Algeria. He was a teenager when his father decided to settle permanently in the capital city. He carried out studies there and became a teacher. Few years later he decided to migrate toward Adrar city the south of Algeria because he had some relatives in a rural area called “Zagloul” in the south of Touat region. But, after few years he migrated to the centre of Adrar and got married. His wife is a local citizen from the centre who was born and grew up in Adrar centre. He worked in several schools in Adrar like “Reggan” and “Bouda”. He met people from different origins such as urban and rural natives, in-migrants, external migrants from Europe. He has got a sister in Algiers and another one in Belgium, and cousins from Tunisia and Italy. He is now a grandfather. He often visits his father’s cousins who are still living in rural areas. He usually states that he feels quite nostalgic for the place where he grew up even though he did not stay long there. Actually, he was very sympathetic with us when we asked him for doing an interview. We have recorded some of his sayings.

[lamʔiʃa fəsɔntr zina bəʃaħ lqarjia fiha jasər lkalm w lʔafia] life in the centre is good but the village has much calmness and tranquility.

[waʃ tħəb dir] what should you do?

[nħəb nəʔmal fiak] I like doing so.

[nħab naʃri bliʔa ʒdida] I want to buy new sandals.

[ʔəndi ʔoxti fi belʒika] I have a sister in Belgium.

[nrɔħ b ʦɔmɔbil] I go by car.

2.13. Word lists and pictures naming

It is not an easy task to describe or analyze any sociolinguistic phenomenon. Furthermore, huge and different approaches are carried out just to come up with very few results. During the interview, we have given a list of words to the participants and showed them some pictures in order to provide more evidence and ensure the results that we endeavor to analyze in this research, however this inquiry is not as much as necessary to reveal who accommodates to whom. In this regard, we tend to use as much methods as we can so as to provide more adequate results.

The following list is given to the three above mentioned interviewees and it justifies the lexical variation between them. The list contains different words from MSA and they say the words in their mother tongue.

Table2.7: Lexical variation between the three participants.

MSA	Abdelfatah	Najem	Muhammad	Gloss
بيض [bajd]	بيض [bid]	لببيض [lbid]	ولاد دجاج [wlad dʒaʒ]	eggs
سيارة [sjara]	لوطو [ʔɔʦɔ]	لوطو [ʔɔʦɔ]	طونوبيل [ʦɔnɔbil]	car
نعل [naʕl]	نعالة [nʕala]	نعالة [nʕala]	بليغة [bliʕa]	sandals
سكين [sikkin]	خدمي [χudmi]	موص [muʃ]	خدمي [χudmi]	knife
نعم [naʕəʔm]	واه [wafi]	أبيه [ʔʒiif]	اييه [ʔiif]	yes
مصباح	لامبا	لامبولا	لامبا	lamp/torch

[miʃbaħ]	[lamba]	[lɔmpula]	[lamba]	
كرة [kura]	بالو [baɫɔ]	بالو [baɫɔ]	بالو [baɫɔ]	ball
هذا [ħaða]	هذا [ħada]	هذا [ħadʒa]	هذا [ħada]	this
غدا [ɣadan]	غدا [ɣədwa]	غدا [ɣdʒa]	غودوا [ɣudwa]	tomorrow
نساء [nisaʔ]	نسا [nsa]	نساوين [nsawin]	نسا [nsa]	women
ذاهب [ðaħib]	غادي [ɣadi]	ماشي [maʃi]	رايح [rajaħ]	going to/go

The table depicts clear similarities and discrepancies at the level of lexis which are aspects of dialect variation and they are evident in all types of speech communities. These variations can occur in the same dialect or in various colloquial dialects. In addition, lexical variation can happen even within the same speech community. Therefore, such dissimilarities are reflected particularly in variation according to age groups, the younger people dare to set for themselves new terms so it can be symbols of their age. In addition, they try to adopt a new icon for their profile which symbolizes modernity and civilization, this is one side. The other side, they try to avoid the old badge that reflects the traditional forms used by elders. This dramatic variation appears mainly in Abdelfatah's lexis, like saying [χudmi]: "knife", [baɫɔ]: "ball", and [ɣadi]: "going to". Such terms are not generally used by elders, they say instead: [muʃ], [kɔra], and [maʃi]. As an explanation, the situational occurrence of Abdelfatah's words covertly shows that he tends to gain gratitude, acceptance, or solidarity with a non-prestigious group of people. Whereas non-accommodation appears in Muhammad words when he says: [tɔnɔbil]: "car", [bliɣa]: "sandals", and [wlad dʒaʒ]: "eggs". He sticks in his linguistic identity. Hence, as an old aged speaker he has tended to use the overtly prestigious variants in

his more formal speech style and choice of words. Because of prestige, Muhammad has shaped his way of speaking and he considers it as his own idiolect implying that it has enough prestige to be considered his own dialect.

2.14. Conclusion

The chapter is an investigative inquiry to some sociolinguistic features that the speech of the centre of Adrar witnessed lately because of several factors. The variations occurred at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels. The survey endeavored with the primary objective to answer the key questions of this exploration. The methodical instruments and evidences ensured the variations and indicated that every variable has special variants and social factors. The occurrence of the variable /q/ as variants [q] and [g] is not simply a matter of identity or prestige but it is a linguistic variation that affects the progress of the local dialect starting from a micro interaction. As a result, the speakers may adopt the change or maintain as preservatives to their local dialect as linguistic identity card. Additionally, the variable /θ/ has different regional substitutions as [θ], [t], [tʰ], and [tʰ]. As for the variant [tʰ], it characterizes the Touat region nonetheless it witnesses a shift to [t] which is one of the in-migrant features. The classical morpheme {-hu} is also an example of a changing local salient linguistic features that are disappearing in the speech of people of the centre. The variants [-ih] which is a local marker is replaced by the in-migrant ones [-ah] and [-u] . However, the realization of these markers has shrunken to one age group of men older than 50. These findings show a clear division in Adrar society.

General Conclusion

2.15. General Conclusion

Sociolinguistic studies have always emphasized on how and why language differs from one area to another or even among individuals or groups. The current study, as a sociolinguistic survey, has taken a very narrow investigation at a micro level interaction. Actually, we learned from our teachers that any sociolinguistic research needs very scientific and literary armed weapons with traditional and up to date resources since it is not an easy task. A researcher should carefully expatiate upon a phenomenon with a see-saw between literature and methods. Our ultimate aim of this research paper was not to provide details but rather to give a bird's eye view about dialect contact and accommodation in Adrar with very fine details. Of course, our supervisors worked with "block and tackle" efforts to offer us a blockbusting performance. Due to this, we could arrange two chapters. The first chapter dealt with the theoretical criteria in which we tackled various literary key concepts that would pave a soft path for the analysis in the second chapter. We attempted to define and summarize major aspects that the pioneers of the field have already undertaken. The second chapter as a whole was devoted to the practical analysis in which we described, analyzed and interpreted the linguistic and social variables through descriptive quantitative methods as an attempt to investigate face-to-face contact and long-term accommodation at the micro sociolinguistic level. We concentrated on phonological, morphological, and lexical features that local speakers either adopt or avoid in a very limited geographical area; the centre of Adrar city. Accordingly, this investigation was put into social and socio-psychological perspective. The results led us to discover the reasons behind the linguistic variation that occurred in the speech of Adrar city centre. This was explained by the process of accommodation of local speakers to in-migrant dialects and the adoption of their features. The findings revealed that adult men

General Conclusion

converge more than their elder counterparts who have a tendency to be preservative towards the traditional forms and avoid the new features that are brought by in-migrant speakers. From this we assume that the reasons behind the linguistic variation in the centre of Adrar can possibly inflame other phenomena in the future like language change, koineization, or language death.

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• عبد الله عماري. قراءة معجمية في بنية اللهجة التواتية- دراسة من خلال الأمثال الشعبية. المركز الجامعي

تمنراست.

Appendices

Appendix A The English version of the interview

Interview Questions

Part One

- 1-What is your full name?
- 2-When and where were you born?
- 3-What is the origin of your parents?
- 4-What do you do?
- 5-Where do your work? study?
- 6- In case you work/study outside the city:
 - Do you travel from your home to work/university every day?
- 7-If you stay there, how much time do you spend before coming back home?
- 8- Do you live in the city centre or outside the city centre?

Part Two:

- 1-Where are your neighbors originally from?
- 2-Howoften do you meet them?
- 3-Do you have relatives?
- 4-If yes, how often do you visit them?
- 5- Do you have colleagues?
- 6-Where are they originally from?
- 7-Do you meet them outside?
- 8--Are you engaged in any activities?

Part Three

- 1-How do you find life in the urban areas?
- 2-Do you prefer the city centre? Why?
- 3-How do you spend your free time?
- 4- In which month do Muslims fast?
- 5-What do Muslims call the birth day of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH)?
- 6-How do you call the folklore that is played in this day?
- 7-Have you ever been invited?

Part four

- 1-Would you please list the days of the week?
- 2-Would you please count from 1 to 10?
- 3-What are the five prayers?
- 4-What would you do if
 - You see an old woman/man carrying a heavy bag?
- 5-How do you address her/ him?

Part five

- 1-How do you address your mother/sister/wife/daughter when asking her to?
 - A -give you the prayer carpet.

- B -open the window.
- C -turn on TV.
- D -tell you the truth.
- E -give you a pillow.
- G -cover you.
- H -answer the phone.
- I -stop bothering.

Appendix B

Lexical variation in Adrar city centre.

MSA	Adrar	Oran	Mustaghanem	Biskra	Tamenrasset	Gloss
لا [laə]	[walu] والو	لا [la]	لا [la]	لا [la]	والو [walu]	No
نعم [naʕam]	واه/أبيه [ʔjih][wah]	واه [wah]	واه [wah]	إيه [ʔih]	أبيه [ʔjih]	Yes
أبي [ʔbi]	با [ba]	بويبا [bujia]	با [ba]	بابا [baba]	بويبا [bujia]	father
أمي [ʔumi]	مي/ما [ma][mi]	ما [ma]	ما [ma]	أمي [ʔumi]	مي/ما [ma][mi]	mother
جد [ʒəð]	جدي/با [ʒəði][ba]	جدي/با [ʒəði][ba]	جدي [ʒəði]	جدي [ʒəði]	جدي/با [ʒəði][ba]	grandpa
جدة [dʒadah]	حنة/ما/ميممة [ħanna] [ma] [mima]	ما / ميممة [ma][ma]	ما [ma]	حنة [ħanna]	نانة [nanna]	grandma
السوق [suuq]	سوق [suuq] [suug]	مرشي [məʕi]	سوق [suuq] [suug]	سوق [suuq] [suug]	سوق [suuq] [suug]	market
ركن [rukɲ]	ركينة/قنت [rkina] [qənt ^k] [qənt ^s]	قنت [qənt]	كوان [kwan]	كوان/قرنية [kwan] [qarnjia]	ركينة [rkina]	corner
سكين [sakin]	موص [mɔʕ]	خدمي [χədmi]	خدمي [χədmi]	موس [mus]	موص [mɔʕ]	knife
سيارة [sjiara]	لوطو [ħɔtɔ]	لوطو [ħɔtɔ]	لوطو [ħɔtɔ]	طوموبيل/طاكسي [tɔmɔbil] [taksi]	لوطو [ħɔtɔ]	car
نافذة [nafiða]	طاقة/ناقة [tʰaqa] [taqa]	ناقة [taqa]	ناقة [taqa]	طاقة [tʰaqa]	طاقة [tʰaqa]	window
ينظر [jaðer]	يشوف [jʕuf]	يخزر [jaχzer]	يشوف [jʕuf]	يدنق [jdanəg]	يشوف [jʕuf]	he looks
كيف حالك	واش لخبار	كراك	كراك	واش راك	واش لحوال	

[kajfa ħaluk]	[waʃ ləχbar]	[kirak]	[kirak]	[waʃ rak]	[waʃ laħwal]	how are you?
يسأل [jasʔal]	يسول [jsawəɫ]	يسقسي [jsaqsi]	يسقسي [jsaqsi]	يسقسي [jsaqsi]	يسول [jsawəɫ]	he asks
جميل [zamil]	زين [zin]	شباب [ʃbab]	شباب [ʃbab]	باهي [baħi]	زين [zin]	beautiful
شكرا [ʃukran]	حمالديك [ħəmaldik]	صحيث [ʃaħit]	صحيث [ʃaħit]	يعطيك الصحة [jaʔtik ʃaħa]	حمالديك [ħəmaldik]	thanks
انتظر [ʔintazir]	سنى [sana]	قارع [qaraʔ]	قارع [qaraʔ]	استنى [ʔstana]	سنى [sana]	wait

Appendix C

Pictures



8



ملخص:

في إطار الاتصال اللغوي ، هذه الدراسة هي محاولة للبحث في النتائج اللغوية للتواصل والتكيف مع اللهجات كآليات أساسية للتنوع اللغوي بشكل رئيسي في وسط مدينة أدرار ، مع إعطاء اهتمام كبير بالتقارب والتباعد اللغوي. كيف ولماذا يتقارب هذا التنوع مع تبني بعض سمات لهجات المهاجرين وتبنيه. ومن المثير للاهتمام ، أن الموقع الجغرافي لأدرار يؤخذ في الاعتبار إلى حد كبير لأنه يشكل بالدرجة الأولى سكان اتصالاً اجتماعياً مع المناطق المجاورة وأجزاء أخرى من البلاد. يشهد سكان أدرار وسط المدينة تبايناً لغوياً بسبب الحركة الديموغرافية والتواصل. مع العلم لقد تم إجراء تحليل كمي وصفي بينما يعاني الناس من حالة الوباء الخطيرة في الوقت الحاضر. الإعلان عن "فيروس كورونا" يعيق بشدة الحراك الديموغرافي. وبالتالي ، فإن التركيز الرئيسي للدراسة ينصب على عينات محدودة للغاية تم اختيارها عشوائياً. بعد ذلك ، تظهر النتائج أن الإقامة تحدث بين المتحدثين البالغين من أصول مختلفة وتبني ميزات المحاور ولكن عدم الإقامة يحدث مع كبار السن من الرجال لأسباب عديدة مثل العمر والمكانة. من خلال التفسير التحليلي اللغوي الاجتماعي لهذه النتائج ، نفهم الأسباب الكامنة وراء هذا السلوك ، واستنتجنا العوامل الأكثر احتمالية التي تؤثر على الخطاب المحلي مثل الهجرة والتجارة والتحضر والعرق والزواج المختلط.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اتصال اللهجات، التكيف اللغوي، التقارب و التباعد، التبني اللغوي، عدم التكيف اللغوي

Résumé

Dans le cadre de la communication linguistique, cette étude est une tentative d'investigation des conséquences linguistiques de la communication et de l'adaptation des dialectes en tant que mécanismes de base de la diversité linguistique principalement dans le centre-ville d'Adrar, avec une grande attention portée à la convergence et à la divergence linguistiques. Comment et pourquoi cette diversité converge-t-elle avec l'adoption et l'adoption de certaines caractéristiques des dialectes des immigrants. Il est intéressant de noter que la situation géographique d'Adrar est largement prise en compte car elle forme un contact social avec les régions voisines et d'autres parties du pays. Les habitants d'Adrar sont principalement témoins des variations linguistiques des habitants du centre-ville en raison du mouvement démographique et de la communication. Sachant cela, une analyse quantitative et descriptive a été menée alors que des personnes souffrent actuellement d'une grave situation épidémique. L'annonce du «Coronavirus» entrave gravement le mouvement démographique. Ainsi,

l'objectif principal de l'étude est sur des échantillons très limités sélectionnés au hasard. Ensuite, les résultats montrent que l'accommodation se produit chez des locuteurs adultes d'origines différentes et adopte les caractéristiques de l'interlocuteur mais que la non-résidence se produit chez les hommes plus âgés pour de nombreuses raisons telles que l'âge et le prestige. Grâce à l'interprétation

sociolinguistique et analytique de ces résultats, nous comprenons les raisons de ce comportement et déduisons les facteurs les plus probables affectant le discours local tels que l'immigration, le commerce, l'urbanisation, l'ethnicité et le mariage mixte.

Les mots clés : Contact dialectal, accommodement, convergence, divergence, adoption, non-accommodement.