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Dialect Continuum as a Dimension of Linguistic Variation in the Speech of the Algerians: a Comparative Study between Tiaret and Biskra Dialects

A Dissertation Submitted to the department of Letters and Foreign Languages in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master in *Linguistics*

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Dedication

BOUGHEDDOU Ahlam

I dedicate this work to:
My father and my mother for their love.
My husband Bouabdellah.
My sisters Khalida, Chahrazed, Imen and Anfal.
My brothers Amine and Elhadj.
My friend Nesrine.

Special thanks go to **Mr Ali BERRABAH** for his guidance and patience.
To our dedicated teacher **Mr Khaled BELARBI**.

To all students and teachers at Ibn Khaldoun University.

GUERAR Nesrine

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved husband "SAMI" who has been a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges that I had faced in my studies and life. Besides, I dedicate this work to my beloved parents, my brothers and sisters, especially the little one "BINA" who was always beside me, even in tough times. I also dedicate it to my kids "MAJD, JOUD ALI & AHD ALLAH", and my nieces "DINA, DARINE, and LYLY".

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Finally, a special dedication goes to my best and precious friend and sister "AHLAM", thanks a lot my dear for everything you did for me.

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List of Abbreviations and Coding Conventions Used in the Dissertation

ADA: Algerian Dialectal Arabic

Ber : Berber

BSC: Biskra Speech Community

CA: Classical Arabic

Eng: English

Fr: French

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

TSC: Tiaret Speech Community

Key to Phonemic Transcriptions

Letters/ Symbols and Numbers	Arabic Letters	Sounds	Examples
A	آ	**/æ/**	دار/**dæ**r/(house)
A	أ	**/a/**	ألف/**a**lf/(thousand)
B	ب	**/b/**	بيرو/**b**iru/(desk)
T	ت	**/t/**	تراب/**t**ræb/(sand)
TH	ث	**/θ/**	ثوم / **θ**um/ (garlic)
P	پ	**/p/**	پورطاي /**p**orʈai/ (gate)
J	ج	**/ʒ/**	جيب/**ʒ**ib/(pocket)
J	جّ	**/dʒ/**	الجار/**dʒ**ær/(neighbour)
H	ح	**/ħ/**	حرور/**ħ**ro:r/(pepper)
H	ه	**/h/**	هايل/**h**æjel/(perfect)
KH	خ	**/χ/**	خيمه /**χ**ajma /(tent)
F	ف	**/f/**	فيرمه /**f**irma/(firm)
Q	ق	**/q/**	قرية/**q**arja/(village)
G	ڤ	**/g/**	ڤاميله/**g**amila/(pan)
U	أو	**/u/**	خَبرو/ χabr**u**/(he told him)
3	ع	**/3/**	عباية/**3**bæja/(dress)
GH	غ	**/gh/**	غريب/**gh**rib/(stranger)
CH	ش	**/ʃ/**	شريت/**ʃ**rit/(I bought)
TCH	تش	**/tʃ/**	يتشمسخر/je**tʃ**mesχar/(dates)
S	س	**/s/**	سيمانة/**s**imæna/(week)
S	ص	**/ṣ/**	صيام / **ṣ**jæm/ (fasting)
DH	ض	**/dh /**	نضرب/ne**dh**rub/(I hit)
Ŧ (stressed)	ط	**/ʈ/**	طبيب/**ʈ**bi:b/(doctor)
Y	ي	**/j/**	يدي/**j**edi/(my hand)
Schwa	ا	**/ə/**	رجالة/rə′ʒæla/ (men)
K	ك	**/k/**	كبير/**k**bir/ (old)
W	و	**/w/**	وينتا/**w**inta/(when)
Glottal Stop	أ	**/ʔ/**	شيئ/ ʃei**ʔ**/(something)
TH	ذ	**/th/**	ذيب/**th**ib/ (wolf)
D	د	**/d/**	ديار/**d**jær/(houses)
Z	ز	**/z/**	زيت/**z**it/ (oil)

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to compare two Algerian dialectal varieties namely Tiaret and Biskra. The former located in the western part and the latter in the south-eastern part. The ultimate objectives of this study were to give insight into dialectal variation in Algeria and the level of mutual un/intelligibility between the two speech communities, Tiaret Speech Community (TSC) and Biskra Speech Community (BSC). So as to confirm our research hypotheses and answer our research questions, the study adopted a mixed methods approach, a questionnaire that was administered to 200 respondents (100 each city), observation and recordings. As a matter of fact, the results showed that there were some differences in the speech of the communities at the diverse linguistic levels including phonological, morphological and mainly lexical levels. Our findings show that there is a low level of mutual intelligibility between TSC and BSC. However, this fact constitutes no hindrance towards social communication due to the flexibility of language varieties in the Algerian speech repertoire.

Keywords: Algerian Dialectal Arabic, Biskra Speech Community,

Mutual Intelligibility, Regional Variation, Tiaret Speech Community.

General Introduction

Language is not only a system of communication between individuals but also a social phenomenon. Its uniqueness as well as its flexibility have made it a fertile field of investigation for linguists around the world at all times. Language guarantees the social cohesion, solidarity and preserves the identity of the speakers of the same community. In fact, variables such as time and place might have a great impact on language use. This fact is known in linguistics as language variation.

Research on language variation is considered one of the core subjects in the field of linguistics as it is deeply connected to social, cultural and cognitive issues.The area of language and society - Sociolinguistics - is intended to show how one speaker can express the same thing in many ways depending on external factors both linguistic and non-linguistic. Sociolinguists are concerned with the morpho-syntactic and phonological features that correspond to social and regional dialects.

The field of sociolinguistics has undergone an exceptional qualitative and quantitative development within Linguistic Science since the word sociolinguistics appeared in 1939. Recent work of the pioneer William Labov and his linguistic variation, which is based upon realism, constitutes an outstanding pillar to this field. He argued that previous sociolinguistic studies used to be of the armchair type. Therefore, going out into the real world to collect data on language as used by ordinary people in their social context in everyday life has become crucial in conducting research.

Algeria is said to have a complex linguistic situation as several language varieties are used among the Algerian inhabitants in addition to the wide variety of dialects spread along its different speech communities. The main reasons that stand behind this situation go back to

the different conquests and the wide geographical area of the country that had a great impact on the linguistic situation in Algeria due to language contact. Studying the processing of dialects is an interesting recent research area that has taken progressively a wide scholarly attention. Hence, Algeria provides a rich setting for studying dialectal diversity.

In fact, we all have experienced different varieties of Algerian Dialectal Arabic (ADA) as we travel or get into contact with people from other cities in Algeria. A well-known linguist who has worked on Algerian dialects is the historian Ibn Khaldoun (14th century). In contemporary times, many researchers have tried to compare some Algerian dialects. Therefore, such a research points out the importance of investigating the linguistic diversity in the Algerian society with regard to ADA.

The main aim of this research work is to investigate the differences and/or similarities in regional dialects between two geographically remote Speech Communities, Tiaret Speech Community (TSC) in the west of Algeria and Biskra Speech Community (BSC) in the south-eastern side (465.2 Km away from each other).

Hence, current investigation tends to highlight the phonological, morphological and lexical aspects of language variation. The investigators have also been interested in observing the level of mutual un/intelligibility by analysing and discussing those variations in details to determine the dialectal differences between the two communities TSC and BSC. Therefore, subsequent questions can be raised as follows:

1- To what extent are the two dialects similar and/or different from each other?

2- What linguistic features make the two dialects similar and/or different from each other?

3- How far can the speeches of TSC and BSC be mutually un/intelligible?

From the above questions, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

1- It is believed that there might be significant differences between the two dialects.

2- It is assumed that the two dialects could be different at the phonological, morphological and / or lexical levels with varying degrees.

3- It is also postulated that there could be a low level of mutual intelligibility between the two dialects since they are geographically too far away from each other.

This research work contains three chapters organised as follows: the first chapter is mainly about the history and the components of the current sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. We give a general overview of the Algerian Linguistic Repertoire including both Arabic and non-Arabic language varieties: Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), ADA, Berber (Ber) and some of the co-existing foreign languages like French (Fr) and English (Eng). Another section is dedicated to the context of the research TSC and BSC, wherein our sample of the population is selected, including a brief outline of their etymology, historical development and geography.

The second chapter is intended for reviewing the literature, where we try to present the most important linguistic key concepts relevant to our dissertation topic including: language vs. dialect, language variation focusing on use and users, dialect continuum, speech community, etc.

At last, chapter three deals with the practical part of our research (i.e. the analyses and interpretations of the obtained results). A questionnaire was distributed to 200 informants (100 from each region).This part of the research work deals with data collection which have been gathered from the respondents from TSC and BSC , from both genders (males and females), and from different age ranges. In this part, the data are presented in graphs and tables which are analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. It also tries to unveil the

differences and /or similarities between TSC and BSC at the different linguistic levels, including phonological, morphological and lexical. It includes the methods for data collection. It also presents the personal information of the respondents: gender, age, city, educational level and spoken language varieties. Finally, interpretations of the results reveal the extent of difference and /or similarity between TSC and BSC as well as the level of mutual intelligibility between them.

So as to collect ample data and narrow our study some components have been excluded. As our study is of a comparative nature we had to collect some words from both regions; therefore, online as well as printed questionnaires were administered to the respondents living in Biskra so as to avoid the long journey back and forth to the region. Furthermore, we tried our best to get concrete and reliable answers from all participants which obliged us to print more than 200 copies of the questionnaire. Besides, we tried to administer the questionnaire to Arabic speakers only so as to avoid answers in other dialects than Arabic like Berber, a dialect that the researchers can not understand.

Our research is an attempt to raise awareness about the relation between language and dialect. It might motivate other Algerian scholars and/or researchers to investigate the speech form of other remote regions so as to prepare dialect atlases specific to our country like the ones produced in America and England. Furthermore they might produce compilations of direct data about those dialects that are culturally significant.

It is impossible to cover everything about such a wide topic in a small period of time; therefore, for further researches it would be interesting to carry out a longitudinal study investigating dialect variation in other parts of Algeria and compare the reasons and attitudes from one area to another in order to highlight regional differences . Furthermore, the sample population may be enlarged to represent the whole country including Berber.

CHAPTER ONE:

Feature of the Algerian Sociolinguistic State of Affairs

1.1 Introduction

So as to lay down the stage for thorough discussion of the two Algerian speech communities, TSC and BSC, which represent the context of the present investigation, an examination of the more general representation of the linguistic situation in Algeria is required not only with respect to Classical/Standard Arabic and the non-standard varieties of Arabic, but also in relation to other language varieties existing within the Algerian speech community. Hence, the main purpose of the present chapter is to provide a synopsis of the linguistic situation in Algeria and the components that led to its complexity / richness. This step is so decisive as a starting point, for it serves the major research aim. In view of that, the chapter begins with a brief historical background of the linguistic diversity in Algeria. The next stage will be dedicated to the context of the present study presenting briefly the etymology and historical overview of Tiaret and Biskra, then ending up with a conclusion.

1.2 Population and Geography of Algeria

Algeria, officially *the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria(According to the first amendment of Algeria)*, is the largest country in Africa and the tenth largest country in the world with a total area of about 2.381.741 km2. It is located within the Mediterranean basin between Morocco and Tunisia at 2.38 million square km (919,595.3 sq. miles). Most of the cities in Algeria are near the coast. Since December 18, 2019, Algeria has been divided into 58 provinces (wilayas) as illustrated in (**cf., Map 1.1)** with 10 new provinces in the southern part for economic purposes **(cf., Map 1.2).** About 44,725,448 people exist in the country most of them living in big cities. The most populated city with 2.594 million residents, the capital Algiers, is located in the northern part. Moving north-west is the second largest city, Oran, with 858,000 residents. The Saharan desert comprises most (80%) of the country.

Algeria has a mostly arid climate with temperatures ranging from 21 to 24° C during the summer and 10 to 12° C during the winter. Currently, 24,182,736 Algerians live in urban areas and about 1.5 million nomads live in the Saharan desert.

1.3 The Algerian Linguistic Profile

Many scholars argue that the linguistic situation in Algeria is so complex and varied that it is somehow hard to define its nature. Algerian speakers tend to switch and/or mix between language varieties such as: Arabic, French, English, Tamazight or even use Arabic varieties MSA and ADA according to the linguistic context. In fact, several languages are used among Algerian inhabitants and this is due mainly to the successive conquests of the Algerian soil.

1.3.1 A Brief Historical Background

Its history dates back to nearly 30,000 BC. Berbers are claimed to be the first to occupy North Africa for the last ten thousand years. Carthaginians settled in the region for more than seven centuries around 900 BC. Later Phoenician traders arrived on the North African coast and established Carthage in around 800 BC. With their Punic civilisation, the Carthaginians really manifested their existence in Algeria. They used Punic language, a Hamito-Semitic language. Nonetheless, the Carthaginian state declined due to consecutive defeats by the Romans in the Punic wars. Therefore, Rome occupied Carthage and lasted there for more than six centuries. In 429 A.D, the Vandals followed the Romans, Latin, Punic and Berber were the languages in use at that time.

After a settlement of more than one century until the invasion of the Arabs , the Vandal domination was ended by the Byzantines throughout 534 A.D. The Arab occupation, which lasted for more than seven centuries, aimed at introducing and implementing the Arabic language and Islam. In the late 15th century, Spain settled in some coastal cities of Algeria for almost two centuries. Spain took control of Mers el Kebir in 1505, Oran in 1509, Tlemcen, Mostaganem and the west of Algiers in 1510. This explains why in Oran, for instance, people use many Spanish loanwords. As an illustration, to refer to a game of cards a speaker from Oran may say روندَه /runda/ or the word قمجَه /qmaʒa/ so as to refer to a shirt.

Then, Turkish Corsairs (especially the Barbarossa brothers) helped the Algerians expel the Spanish opponent. Fortunately, the Ottoman Empire helped the Algerians to put an end to the Spanish domination in 1529 and; thus, they apparently saved Islam. By mid 16th century, the Turks took control over them. Therefore, Algeria became under the Turkish protectorate until 1830 for more than 300 years, during which Barbarossa succeeded to turn the capital Algiers into a major base for the "Barbary Pirates".

The last successor, which will be discussed in much further detail in the subsequent rubric, France (1830-1962) invaded the Algerian country and then attempted to wipe out the native culture. Consequently, French language the Algerian inhabitants, who were in a weaker position to defend themselves, were forced to speak French. At independence Arabic was declared the official language after a bloody struggle for over seven and a half years. Of all the conquerors, it was the Muslim and French conquests that have had the greatest lasting impact on Algeria both culturally and linguistically.

The inhabitants of Algeria were exposed to diverse languages since many civilisations have settled there, in addition to the North African dialects. This fact has made of Algeria

according a "multidiglossic" rather than a bilingual country due to the coexistence of genetically related as well as genetically unrelated languages.

1.3.2 The Current Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

Algeria got its independence on July 5, 1962. The Algerian leaders especially the nationalists have found themselves facing numerous issues. They directed their interest towards restoring the status of Arabic language in the Algerian society by initiating a movement known as "Arabisation Movement" meaning restoring the Arabic language.

1.3.3 Post-Colonial Era: Arabisation Process

As mentioned earlier Algerian leaders have soon adopted the slogan: "L'Islam est notre religion, L'Algerie est notre partie, la langue Arabe est notre langue." (Islam is our religion, Algeria is our mother country, Arabic is our language). Linguistically speaking, they have tried to regain the status of Arabic in the Algerian society.

President Boumediene (1968) has initiated the "Arabisation" process so as to replace French, the language of the coloniser, with Arabic as the language of Arabo-Islamic identity. Arabisation process consisted of a group of Algerian nationalists and political leaders whose goal could never be achieved without an effective language policy.

1.3.3.1 Post Arabisation Process: Demands for Berber Recognition

As mentioned in the preceding rubric, Benrabah (2007) asserted that in the attempt of the Great Maghreb countries to regain their sovereignty as well as their Arabo-Islamic identity, they have initiated the Arabisation movement quickly after their independence.

According to Watanabe (2014), Arabic started replacing French in the formal domains such as education and media. However, such measures caused a kind of rage and a feeling of bias towards Arabic among Berbers who represent an Algerian minority. They had the feeling as if

Berber language was suppressed since it was not recognized as a national language. Accordingly, a movement of civil activism was initiated in 1980 in the Kabyle state of Tizzi Ouzou, which demanded the recognition of Berber as an official and national language. The Berber identity and language have finally been attributed a kind of recognition after a long struggle.

Despite the fact that the Berber "Tamazight" language was held the status of a national language in Algeria in 2002 by president Bouteflika, it was not until 2018 that it was given the position of an official language beside Arabic by the Algerian constitution in the fourth amendment. As stated by Chaker (1996) and Haddaddou (2000), it should be noted that the communities where Berber is used do not represent a continuous geographical location. Instead, the language is spoken in small detached areas all over North Africa. Such a distribution might lead to some dialects to grow apart and become somewhat mutually unintelligible. As a matter of fact, this not only concerns Berber dialects but also other Algerian dialects existing all over Algerian cities.

1.4 The Arabic Language

Arabic and other Semitic languages like Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician all developed from the same proto-Semitic language. Arabic forms one branch of central Semitic, while the other branch includes Aramaic, Hebrew and Phoenician as it is illustrated in **Figure 1.1** below.
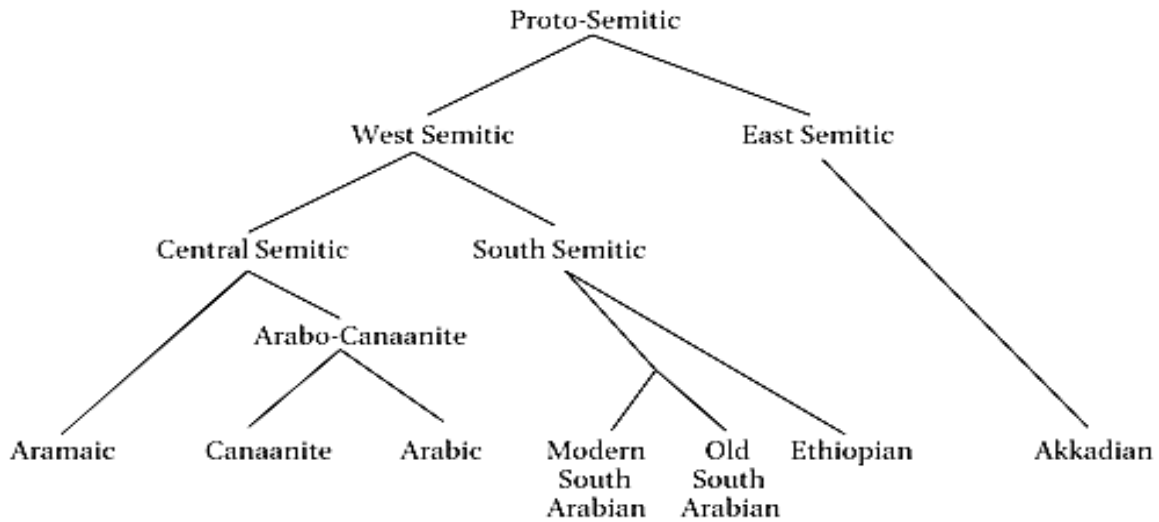
Figure 1.1 *Genealogical Classification of Semitic.The Lexical Isiglosse. By Leonid Kogan.*

De Gruyter:Berlin, 2015

Arabic is the 5th most widely spoken language in the world **Figure 1.2** with 293 million native speakers and around 422 million total speakers. It is the official language in 26 countries being as their one of many other official language varieties. It is one of the six official languages of the United Nations along with English, French; Spanish, Russian and Mandarin. Arabic is a generic term covering three separate groups: Classical Arabic (henceforth CA), MSA, ADA.
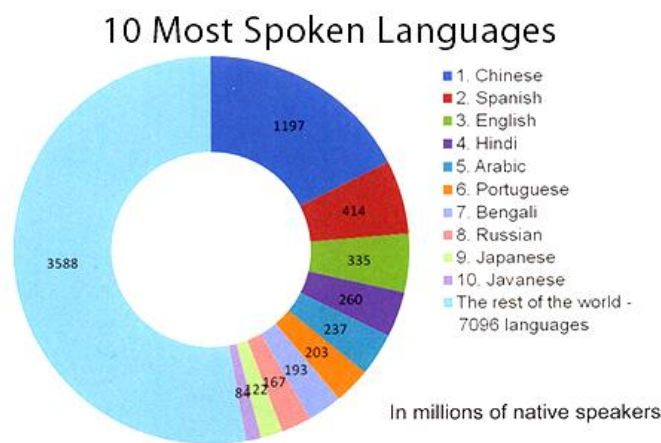
Figure 1.2 *(c) Copyright 2002-2021 - STAR Translation Services Dublin*

1.4.1 Classical Arabic vs. Modern Standard Arabic

Classical Arabic is one of the main varieties of the Arabic language. Many of its speakers regard it as the "most perfect form of Arabic" and some say it is the only true Arabic since it is the language which Allah revealed through Qur'an to his Prophet Mohammad Peace Be Upon Him.

After Islamic conquests, the Arab world entered in a greater contact with the Arab west. The incursion of new western concepts required the language to be updated as the number of speakers increased considerably. As far as early 20th century, a process of language reform has been initiated by regional academies of the Arabic language. The script was made more practical along with the creation of new terms .Furthermore, the grammar and the style of prose were standardised which resulted in the creation of MSA. It is mainly used to bridge the gap between different dialects which are mutually unintelligible. It has the defining characteristics of a modern language serving as the tool of a universal literature.

Mokhtar (2018) has argued that a great deal of scholarly attention has been paid in Western countries to the study of Arabic units from a linguistic point of view. Linguists attempted to provide a picture about the outcomes of the operation of some of the factors namely lexical and syntactical, native and foreign which influenced MSA and tried to state some of the characteristics which distinguished it from CA.

MSA is generally regarded by Arabs as "beautiful" and indisputably much better than the different dialects. Despite being used by a few people only, it is considered more "appropriate" than any dialect in formal settings including religious, political and academic gatherings, in administration and diplomacy. Besides the literary vocabulary inherited from CA, MSA contains many newly-coined lexical items referring to modern abstract concepts, and political matters. For instance, words like البيرقراطية /biroqratija/ (bureaucracy) or the term

كمبيوتر /kompjuter/ (computer). The phonology of MSA and CA correspond to each other as far as it is known from the descriptions of the medieval grammarians, and its morpho-phonology tallies largely with the grammatical rules of CA.

Since MSA and CA represent the written traditions of very diverse historical and cultural epochs, from the early medieval period to the modern ,the main disparity between MSA and CA lies in vocabulary. While MSA reflects the need of contemporary expressions, CA reflects the need of older styles.

Mary Catherine Bateson (2003) identified in her handbook entitled "Arabic Language" four major types of change that set apart MSA from CA. Those changes are stylistic and lexical rather than grammatical as illustrated below:

   a. A series of 'acceptable' simplifications" in syntactic structures.

   b. A vast shift in the lexicon due to the need for technical terminology.

   c. A number of stylistic changes due to translations from European languages.

   d. Extensive bilingualism.

Most if not all Algerian people seem to have a passive knowledge of MSA in the sense that they can neither speak, nor write it properly. Achouche (1981) stated that "An Algerian reader whose level of education equivalent to the Baccalaureate cannot read a page of an Arabic newspaper without making mistakes of interpretation" (as cited in Ennaji, pp.7-25). This is due mainly to the rigid morphology of MSA. Even lawyers and civil servants cannot read it properly without making serious pronunciation or grammatical mistakes. This may be caused partly by the lack of vowel indication or diacritics (Tashkeel).

For instance, a shift from the use of the case-endings is a striking example **Table1.1** below.

CA	MSA	Gloss
ثومٌ /θu:mun/	ثوم /θu:m/	Garlic
جَمَلٌ /ʒamalun/	جَمَل /ʒamal/	A camel

Table 1.1 *Case-Ending Inflections*

MSA relies greatly on translation from French and English. A wide collection of new lexical items is adopted by MSA or borrowings. Some illustrative examples in **Table1.2** below.

MSA	Origin	Gloss
لبرالي /Liberæli/	French	Liberal
مناجمنت /manæʒment/	English	Management

Table 1.2 *Some Words of French / English Origin*

1.4.2 Algerian Dialectal Arabic

In their daily conversations, most Algerian speakers do not use the standard form of Arabic; instead, they use a language variety that is called Algerian Dialectal Arabic .The latter is a mixture of many language varieties that Algerian speakers have encountered throughout the successive invasions such as French, Spanish mostly present in western coastal areas and Turkish during Ottoman empire as mentioned in the Historical Background session. ADA is an informal spoken language, not used in official settings, but in casual everyday situations.

ADA is part of the Maghreb dialect which is spoken in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania. The number of those dialects ranges close to the number of Algerian towns. Broadly speaking, one can say that the dialects of the east region are closer to

Tunisian, while the ones of the western part are closer to Moroccan. These dialects differ among them in terms of their phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic characteristics, which attracted many researchers to delve into this area and try to investigate those disparities. However, ADA remains as under-resourced language variety that lacks thorough investigation and scrutiny.

1.4.3 The Arabic Script

Originating from an Aramaic alphabet, which in turn has been derived from Phoenician, Arabic script developed in the sixth (6th) century AD. Arabic is the fastest and most cursive of all scripts; however, short vowels are in general not written and the reader can predict the word because of the structure of the language. Vowels can, if necessary, be fully marked in Arabic writing by the use of extra diacritics; nevertheless, these are generally used only in texts of the holy Qur'an itself, wherein correct pronunciation during recitation is essential for religious reasons. Some consonant sounds which are distinctive to Arabic language might be challenging to foreign speakers such as the sound /خ/pronounced /kh/ in the word خليج /χalidʒ/(bay) ,as well as some emphatic consonants which are also part of the alphabet like the letter ص /s/ an emphatic /s/ sound as in the word صغير /saghir/(young).

In somewhat varying forms, several other languages quite unrelated to Arabic, notably Persian and Urdu use Arabic script. Whereas, it is no longer the usual script for Turkish, Malay, Swahili and Hausa, as it used to be until early 20th century.

As an Afro-Asiatic language, the Arabic language differs enormously from the English language and other Germanic and Latin-based languages. Orthographically, Arabic alphabet comprises twenty eight letters demonstrating twenty seven consonants, as the letter و /w/ which is considered a semi-vowel, three short vowels /a/,/i/,/u/ and three long vowels/ā/,/ī/,/ū/.

Unlike English, Arabic is written from right to left. Moreover, Arabic does not have upper or lower cases letters. The shape of these letters usually varies in relation to their position in the word, whether they are in an initial, middle, or final position.

1.5 Berber

Like ADA, Berber "Tamazight" is also the mother tongue of many Algerians. Tamazight is the language of the Amazigh in North Africa and some parts of Mali and Niger. The language is referred to as Berber or the Amazigh language as stated by Roberts (2003). Achab (2012) and Wolff (2013) asserted "Berber pertains to the African branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family, which can be referred to as the Hamito-Semitic, as opposed to the Central Semitic language family."

Wolff (2013) has argued that Berber language variety uses a form of an ancient script that is called Lybico-Berber Script or Tifinagh /tifinægh/ (□□□□□□) despite not being very common among Berber speakers. By the year 2003, a new form of writing system had been adopted in Morocco known as "Neo-Tifinagh". Wolff added that Berber speakers preferred to use either Arabic or Latin alphabet in writing their language. It is estimated that Berber is spoken by roughly14 million people, most of them live in North African countries which are Morocco and Algeria.

The five major varieties of Tamazight that can be distinguished in Algeria, which are divided by geographical and traditional differences, are as follows:

•**Kabyle**: this is mostly spoken in the north of Algiers in four provinces (Tizi-Ouzou, Béjaia, Bouira, and Boumerdès). It is the most widespread dialect in Algeria as it is estimated that the number of Kabyle speakers surpasses the number of all other Berber speakers combined (Haddaddou, 2000).

•**Chaoui**: the second most spoken Berber dialect in Algeria .It is restricted to the South-East of Constantine i.e. the Aures Mountains, particularly in Batna, Khenchla and OumEl-Bouaghi (Benhattab,2011).

•**Mzabi**: this dialect is spoken largely in Ghardaia(and its surrounding clusters), 600km south of Algiers (Chaker ,1996).Its speakers are considered minority, yet they make an integral foundation within the Berber people, in specific, and the Algerian community, in general.

• **Targui**: this is a less known dialect because it is spoken by a minority group; the Touareg; spoken in some isolated spots of the Saharan desert like Ahaggar. Chaker (1996) considered it to be the most preserved dialect among all other Berber dialects.

• **Chenwi**: the Chenwi another minority variety spoken in some north-western states in Algeria like Tipaza and Cherchel.

1.6 French

Benrabah (2007) and Ethnologue (2012) confirmed "French, which was introduced to Algerians during colonialism, constituted an important part of the Algerian linguistic repertoire and remained as such even during independence". In fact, Algeria is considered the second largest francophone nation in the world. Many Algerians prefer to use French over other Arabic language varieties almost in all settings in the media, education, and everyday life. Actually, it is estimated that more than two thirds of the Algerian population speak and understand French.

Throughout the colonial era, French was imposed as the only official language in Algeria despite the fact that non-standard Arabic and Berber were spoken in the Algerian homes. During the Arabisation era, it was officially relegated the position of first foreign language before regaining ground again, as it is now also extensively used by Francophone

speakers and to a lesser extent , by a large number of bilingual and Arabophone Algerians in both formal and informal settings.

1.7 English and Other Foreign Languages

After freedom was regained, a new language has forced itself into the Algerian repertoire, English, mainly through education as one of the procedures of '*défrancisation*', in an era when French was the leading language in the economic field, the private sector, science and universities. As early as the twentieth century Algeria was considered as the largest francophone community in the world after France. In fact, many social factors such as population growth, urbanisation, and the increasing rates of literacy mainly in Arabic have had great impact on the Algerian linguistic profile. There was no space for monolingual policies. French and English have gained gradual prestige in the Algerian educational system with the growth of technology and globalisation. Being reserved for the most informal domains ADA and the majority of the Berber dialects are still the most officially marginalised varieties.

Benrabah (2007) argued that unlike French which had been traditionally embedded in the Algerian linguistic repertoire, English had only lately been introduced to the country via education. In contrast to French, English was perceived as a foreign variety. He added that several reforms went in favour of English since its first incorporation in the educational system in the 1970s, especially as far as the appropriate school age of its acquisition was concerned. English was taught in the eighth grade of middle schools in the period between the 1970s and the 1990s as a second mandatory foreign language after French, which was taught since the fourth grade of primary cycle. In recent times English is taught as a second foreign language and used in economic and tourist circles in Algeria; however, to a much lesser degree than colonial French.

Other language varieties have been introduced side by side with English such as Spanish and German, during secondary school for students in the Foreign Languages stream mainly for educational purposes.

1.8 The Context of the Current Research: Tiaret / Biskra

This section deals mainly with the context of our present study that refers to two distinctly different towns in Algeria, Tiaret located in the west and Biskra in the south-eastern side. According to 2008 census, the two towns have been classified amid the largest cities of Algeria along with eighteen other major cities such as Oran and Algiers.

1.8.1 Tiaret: Etymology and Geography

Tiaret in Arabic: تاهرت or تيارت; in Berber Tahert or Tihert (after 1981), which means a lion's female; "Lioness", referring back to the lions that used to live in the region. It is numbered administratively by 14. In reference to the last census of (2008), the total population of Tiaret estimated was about 874,050 people with an intensity of about 44 inhabitants by km²; however, in 2021 it has been estimated to be about 911,333 inhabitants.This western region of the Hautes plaines, in the Tell Atlas Mountains is far from the capital Algiers about 360 km² . It is bordered by Tissemsilet and Relizane on the North, Laghaout and El Bayadh on the South, Mascara and Saida on the West and El Djelfa on the East (**cf., Map 1.3**).

The population of Tiaret is made up of Arabs and Berbers with a Muslim majority. Tiaret is mostly famous for its purebred Arabian horses. Due to its cool climate, Tiaret is a major agricultural centre of the Sersou Plateau; classified amongst the first regions in Algeria dealing in livestock and cereals. The province (wilaya) consists of 42 Municipalities / Communes which are grouped into 14 major districts as illustrated in **Table 1.3**

Communes / Municipalities		Daïras	
Tiaret	01	**Tiaret**	**01**
Sougueur	02	**Sougueur**	**02**
Faidja	03		
Si Abdelghani	04		
Tousnina	05		
Rahouia	06	**Rahouia**	**03**
Guertoufa	07		
Oued Lilli	08	**Oued Lilli**	**04**
Sidi Ali Mellal	09		
Tidda	10		
Meghila	11	**Meghila**	**05**
Sebt	12		
Sidi Hosni	13		
Medrousa	14	**Medrousa**	**06**
Sidi Bakhti	15		
Mellakou	16		
Machraa Safa	17	**Machraa Safa**	**07**
Djillali Ben Amar	18		
Tagdemt	19		
Mahdia	20	**Mahdia**	**08**
Aïn Zarit	21		
Nadorah	22		
Seba3ine	23		
Ksar Chellala	24	**Ksar Chellala**	**09**
Serghine	25		
Zmalat El Emir Abdelkader	26		
HaMADIA	27	**Hamadia**	**10**
Bougara	28		
Rechaiga	29		
Frenda	30	**Frenda**	**11**
Aïn El Hadid	31		
Takhmaret	32		
Dahmouni	33	**Dahmouni**	**12**
Aïn Bouchekif	34		
Aïn Kermes	35	**Aïn Kermes**	**13**
Madna	36		
Medrissa	37		
Djebilet Rosfa	38		
Sidi Abderrahman	39		
Aïn Deheb	40	**Aïn Deheb**	**14**
Chehaima	41		
Naima	42		

Table 1.3 *The Administrative Organization of the Wilaya of Tiaret*

1.8.2 Tiaret: History

Being the first capital of the Central Maghreb and North Africa , Tiaret has been dwelled by many civilisations starting from pre-historic period (8000-3000 BC). Some historical sites like خربة ولاد بوزيان- "kherbet ouled Bouziane" situated in the province of Dahmouni and many more are good examples of the Phoenician presence there in addition to other historical monuments left by the Numidians and Romanians.

As a matter of fact, other major edifices reveal that the region was occupied during the Late Antiquity by Berber tribe(s) in the 6th C as the original residents of the whole region of North Africa. Throughout the 7th century AD the Arabs have occupied the region bringing up new religion and language; hence, it became known as Tagdemt that resulted in the emergence of different kingdoms as well as states.

From 761 to 909, Abdu-Rahman Ibn Rustom established a new state in the west of Algeria known as "El Dawla Al Rustomia" with its capital Tiaret. Later, it became the capital of Ibadiyyah kingdom (Al dawla al Rustumia in the Islamic Maghreb, in Arabic - الدولة الرستمية بالمغرب الاسلامي- almost 10 km west of Tiaret. .

After more than a century, The Ibadis have been defeated by the Fatimids in the 19thC. The Ibadis, then, established their new state "M'Zab" in the Algerian Sahara. In the sixteenth century, Tiaret threw the control of the Ottoman Empire. Later on, it was taken by the French colonists in 1843 after ten years of the French invasion of the Algerian soil. Its people fought against French occupation under the leadership of Al-Amir Abdelkader and Cheikh Bouamama. The inhabitants of Tiaret have been greatly impacted by the culture and language of the French coloniser up till now.

1.8.3 Biskra: Etymology and Geography

About 465.2 km away from Tiaret at an altitude of 87 m on the northern edge of the Algerian sahara lies a town called Biskra in Arabic: بسكرة; *Tibeskert* , the Roman name 'Vescera" which means the commercial site due to the intersection of the transit routes between east and west ; north and south. It is the centre of the *Zab* (*Ziban*) meaning group of oases, under the slopes of the Aurès Massif Mountains. The city has also been known as "*The Queen of the Zibans", "The Door of the Desert"* or *"The Saharan Nice"* .The province occupies an estimated area of about 21,671 Km². Its administrative number is 07. In 2008, its population was recorded as 547.137. However, recent records are estimated at about 633,234 with an intensity of about 28 inhabitants per km. It is 400 km away from the capital Algiers. Biskra is bordered to the north by Batna, around 120 km, Khenchla to the north-eastern side about 200 km , Djelfa to the west 277 km and El-wadi to the southern side about 220 km away **(cf., Map 1.4)** .

Like North African countries including Tiaret, the people of Biskra are mainly Berbers and Arabs. Biskra has always been considered a centre and a crossroad between the Algerian cities in the north and south due to its geographical location, its climate and natural resources, particularly palms farming. Most of the region's population lives in the area of Biskra or Souf oases, which stretches southward along the right bank of the Wadi Biskra, covering an area of 1300 hectares. In the oases and canyons of the mountains around El-Kantra, on the borders of the town, small water points can be found. The prefecture of Biskra is crossed by Oued Labiod waterways, Oued El Arab, Djedi, Oued Meziraâ, and Oued el Gantara. It is mostly renowned for dates' production especially the prized Deglet Nur grown in Tolga oasis a national pride. Recently, there are 30 Municipalities in Biskra Ouled Djellel is no longer a municipality but rather a Wilaya as illustrated in **Table 1.4** that follows.

Communes / Municipalities		Daïras	
Biskra	01	**Biskra**	**01**
El Hadjeb	02		
Djemorah	03	**Djemorah**	**02**
Branis	04		
El Kantara	05	**El Kantara**	**03**
Aïn Zaatout	06		
M'Chouneche	07	**M'Chouneche**	**04**
Sidi Okba	08	**Sidi Okba**	**05**
Chetma	09		
El Haouch	10		
Aïn Naga	11		
Zeribet El Oued	12	**Zeribet El Oued**	**06**
El Mizaraa	13		
El Feidh	14		
Khenguet Sidi Nadji	15		
Ourlal	16	**Ourlal**	**07**
Lioua	17		
Oumache	18		
Mekhadma	19		
M'Lili	20		
Tolga	21	**Tolga**	**08**
Bouchagroune	22		
Bordj Ben Azzouz	23		
Lichana	24		
Sidi Khalded	25	**Sidi Khaled**	**09**
Besbes	26		
Ras El Miaad	27		
Foughala	28	**Foughala**	**10**
El Ghrous	29		
El Outaya	30	**El Outaya (Loutaya)**	**11**

Table 1.4 *The Administrative Organisation of the Wilaya of Biskra*

1.8.4 Biskra: History

The history of Biskra goes back to 7000 years BC. It has been occupied by several civilisations, from the Roman to the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the French and eventually independence.

The Romans occupied Biskra and its environs throughout the 149 and 439 BC. The inhabitants of the city, who were Berbers under the leadership of their loyal leader Tacfarinas, resisted the Roman enemy. His successor Jugurtha "Youghorta" carried on the battle against the Romans from 17 to 24 BC who were eventually defeated in the so-called Numidia region. The Vandals invaded the city of Biskra Throughout the 4th C. They occupied its northern part as a result of the resistance of its inhabitants who supported their leader Djansarik during the period (439-533 BC). Due to their weakness, the Vandals have been defeated by the Byzantines who showed no mercy towards both the natives and the Vandals.

The region has remained in bloody conflicts until the advent of the conquering Muslims under their leaders Uqba Ibn Nafi al-Fihri in the 7th Century AD who had established his own Arab-Muslim monarchy. After 20 years of conquest, Uqba ibn Nafi died in 683 AD with his army when he returned from Morocco. His death was organized by an ambush mounted by his adversary the Numidian prince (Berber) Koceila and his army at the place called Tahouda, a small village located 5 km from the oasis "Sidi Okba" whose body is based in the mosque that is named after him. Biskra and the entire Ziban area were conquered by the kings of Beni Hammad in the early 10th century then the Hafsids in the 14th century AD.

The Turks invaded the city in 1541, under the direction of Hocine Agha who defended the city of Algiers at the time and brought out the strength of Charles Compte of the latter. The Ottoman oppressor remained in the city three centuries until the French colonization throughout 1830s.

After the French conquest of Biskra in 1844, the site was fortified to secure the area against uprisings. El-hadj Mohammed Esaghire Elokbi, as the successor to El-Emir Abdelkader waged continued wars against the French, attacking the French forces under Lamoriciere on 23 December, 1847. Resistance continued in the Ziban and Aurès Mountains.

In Biskra, the local chief Bou Zian rallied the people against the palm tax, seizing the moated fortification of Zaatcha 20 km from the town center. The French marched on Zaatcha, laying siege for months. It finally fell after 53 days of attacks by a French force of 7,000 troops. Bouziane was killed. The French counted the loss of 2130 soldiers. French control; nonetheless, remained fragile when attacks were mounted again in 1879 at El-kamri. Some 100 years after the battle of Zaatcha, in 1954 Biskra was again the scene of anti-French assaults during the Algerian war of independence where house-to-house battles cost many lives.

1.9 Conclusion

To sum up, in the present chapter the researchers have attempted to go briefly through the main reasons behind the Algerian peculiar linguistic situation that has been described as complex by the linguists who have tried to investigate it because of the existence of a wide range of language varieties such as MSA, ADA, French , Spanish and recently English.

As it has been illustrated, such a situation has been the result of the various invasions of the Algerian soil for many centuries. From a linguistic perspective, it can be noticed that the Algerian linguistic profile has been the outcome of the socio-cultural contact of the consecutive invasions and most significantly the French one in addition to globalisation requirements.

In the subsequent chapter, the researchers will try to highlight some important key concepts which are believed to be in connection with their investigation. The main focus will be on dialectal variation in addition to many other related concepts.

CHAPTER TWO:

Dialect Continuum as a Sociolinguistic Perspective in Algeria

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides some definitions of key concepts associated with our study. The focus is on language variation, precisely on regional variation. Starting by providing a definition to sociolinguistics. Then, trying to present some important terminology concerning language variation like: variation, variant, variable, and variety by illustrating with examples from the two dialects in the Algerian context (Tiaret & Biskra) which represent our context of study. Besides, attempting to introduce a clear idea about the way a particular language varies according to both: its use, especially, its users taking into consideration the difference between language and dialect. Later on, talking about the rest of elements as follows: regional variation, accent, dialect continuum, dialect contact, and accommodation theory as a result of the latter. Therefore, this theoretical part will pave the way to the practical side in the last chapter.

2.2 Sociolinguistics

It is a hugely interdisciplinary field. It has emerged throughout the late 1960s. It has several and different definitions. Each one admits that sociolinguistics deals with language-society relationships and creating a kind of mutual intelligibility among the members of the society. In this sense, Trudgill (2000) pointed out:

> Sociolinguistics is a term used to describe all areas of the study of the relationship between language and society … sociolinguistic research is thus work which intended to achieve a better understanding of the nature of human language by studying language in its social context and/or to achieve a better understanding of the relationship and interaction between language and society. (p.68)

In other words, sociolinguistics is the study of the connection between language and society, language variation, and of attitudes towards language (Spolsky, 2010). Hence, the two perspectives linguistic and social variables are very important in such a field of research as Romaine (2000, p.9) has asserted "to bear our issues concerning the place of language in society; and to address in particular the social context of linguistic diversity." In all these definitions, it is obvious that sociolinguistics is a discipline that examines language as a social phenomenon because social life extremely depends on language, precisely, this field of study deals with variation in language use and how varieties of particular language are formed. Particularly, when the speakers do not belong to the same geographical region, and of course this is our subject in this investigation.

2.3 Language Variation

Many sociolinguists have discussed language variation in different dimensions, but it was William Labov who opened the door to such a study. Actually, his work in 1966: The Social Stratification of English in New York City inspired linguists to study language variation, leading to the emergence of a new method or discipline called Variationist Sociolinguistics. It treated language as a means that can vary from one speaker to another.

It is necessary to explain some important terminology and differentiate between the different components to provide a full understanding of all that concerns language variation.

2.3.1 Variation

Linguistic variation refers to all kinds of differences that occur within a language such as: the different types of pronunciations (accents), the different dialects (e.g. Tiaret & Biskra's dialects), and the different styles (e.g. informal, colloquial, and formal). According to Chambers' definition (2003), variation is the different "ways of speaking" the same language

i.e. no two speakers of a language speak the same way. In other words, people's language choices are determined by where they come from.

2.3.2 Variant

It refers to a specific aspect of a language that is subject to change under certain conditions. For example, people of Biskra pronounce almost all the names of colours that started with the Arabic letter (أ) as pronounced in MSA which is represented by the English letter (A) and   pronounced as /a/, while speakers of Tiaret do not because they drop it, like أزرق /azrag/ (blue), which is pronounced as زرق /zrag/(blue). Besides, there are a lot of words that represent the variation between both dialects.

2.3.3 Variable

The linguistic variable refers to a specific feature which can be used as a "tag" for classifying a speaker's speech. It differs from region to region. To illustrate, the word يتمسخر /yatamaskhar/ (to mock), Biskra's speakers especially males pronounce the phoneme ت /t/ as تش /tʃ/ يتشمسخر /jetʃməsχer/; however, in Tiaret they pronounce the word as it is with a/ t/ sound يتمسخر /jetməsχer/.

2.3.4 Variety

As simple as it seems, there are many ways of speaking, and each one is a variety. This latter is a wider term referring to any kind of language, dialect, sociolect, style, or register. In sociolinguistics, a variety is also called "a lect". It is a specific form of language or language cluster. According to Hudson (1996), a variety of a language is a form that is systematically and coherently differentiated from other forms of language. He also stated "a variety of language is a set of linguistic items with similar social distributions."

In this Vein, according to Wardaugh (2006) a language variation is a specific linguistic item or human speech pattern (e.g. sound, words, or grammatical features, etc) which is uniquely associated with some external factors, such as geographical area or a social group. In this case, the researchers are going to analyse language variation while putting the emphasis on regional variation by taking into account the three levels: phonological, morphological, and lexical levels.

2.4 Language Variation: Focus on use and Users

Language variation is one of the broadest current issues in various sociolinguistics' subfields. Every human language exhibits linguistic variation-there is more than one way of saying the same thing in a language. This variation is often a sign of a language change or a permanent change in the structure of the language. Linguistic variation occurs mainly due to various social interactions between users and people of a particular variety of languages i.e. language variation can be studied from two different perspectives; the first has to deal with users of a language, while the second emphasizes the different uses of a particular language in a social community. In fact, an individual personal variation of language usage called an idiolect, this means no two speakers speak identically. Each one of us speaks his or her own particular variety of that language.

2.5 Language vs. Dialect

Language has been defined differently depending on its users. The complexity of language is related to human life such as: culture, mind, and thought. The study of each which is related to language leads to the birth of a discipline, for example, language with society leads to sociolinguistics. So, it has become crucial to follow two points of views in order to define "language": linguistic and human sciences point of view. Actually, most linguists find it convenient to sub-divide the system of language into three interrelated sub-systems (syntax,

semantics, and pragmatics). Goodenough (1981) defined language as "a set of standards and organizing principles for a proper speech behaviour. The standards comprising every known language may be seen as ordered into several systems or levels of organization the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and symbolic." However, human sciences' arguments like anthropologist, sociologists, and psychologists can be summarized as follows:

 -language is an open system: interacting with, changed by, and changing its environment.

 -language is a social skill and its place is in human society.

 -language is part of the culture of the group.

 -language is a knowledge of an ability to use linguistic and social knowledge to create communicative acts which are not only grammatically correct (form)but also socially appropriate.

In addition to that, it is important to focus on political function in order to define language, Holmes (1994) has noticed all of these in her definition as follows, "a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups."

Historically, the evolution of dialects has been the result of social transformations, such as patterns of large-scale geographic migration of people, or the establishment of educational systems and government. When a group of people is separated by geographic barriers like rivers or ridges, the language they once used in similar ways will change in each separated group. Ronald et al (2011), Romaine (2000) has stated that a dialect is a variety of language or a communication system which is simultaneously or at least in three levels of

organization: pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary with other dialects of the same language different.

Consequently, dialects are linguistically legitimate like any language, but have no ability to elevate or promote themselves to the level of the "Language". Therefore, it is certain that whatever the standard language is in any given community, it belongs to the most powerful.

Haugen (1966) has pointed out that both language and dialect are ambiguous terms, yet ordinary people use them fairly in speech, considering a dialect to them little more than a locally none prestigious variety of a language. Hudson (1996) has said in this respect "…a language is larger than a dialect that is a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect […] the other contrast between language and dialect is a question of prestige, a language having prestige which a dialect lacks." In addition, people in a particular region speak a range of dialects. At any point in the chain, dialect speakers can understand people who speak other dialects and live near them ;whereas , they find it difficult to understand people who live furthest away at all. The dialect speakers at both ends of the chain do not understand each other, but they are connected by a chain of mutual intelligibility.

2.6 Speech Community

After defining the language and dialect, it's time to explore what the speech community means. When communication occurs between people, each person represents a set of information about himself through the way he speaks. This set of information may include the speaker's race, social class, and the social group to which he belongs. According to Morgan (2014), the social group can be identified as a community if it includes spaces, places, affiliations, and any combination of these terms. Speech communities have given definitions ranging from those used by ordinary people to specific definitions used by

sociolinguistics. A simple definition is that a speech community is nothing but a social group with the same phonetic characteristics (Fezzioui, 2013, p.23). Likewise, Bloomfield (1933) has defined a speech community as a group of people who interact through speech. He also has described it as a group of people using the same speech-signals system.

On the other hand, Romaine (2000) has defined a speech community as a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language but share a set of norms and rules for language use. Hence, the term speech community is hard to define. However, we need to understand what it means so that we can continue to study dialects.

2.7 Regional variation

Regional variation depends entirely on borders, as people are separated by common barriers such as historical, racial, physical or religious barriers. As a central theme, regional variation helps us map dialect geography or so-called regional dialect. The latter refers to forms of speech that are restricted to a specific region, as opposed to adjacent regions. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) noticed that dialect geography is very simple; it attempts to provide an empirical basis for conclusions about the linguistic variety that appears in a given region. Diversity occurs when people are geographically separated from one other.

2.7.1 Accent

This term is associated with pronunciation only. It refers to the cumulative auditory effect of pronunciation features that identify where a person is from, region or society (Crystal, 2008). Accents often vary by tone, vowel and consonant divisions, stress, and rhythm divisions. While, the tone of grammatical, semantic, lexical, and other language features typically varies with emphasis. An emphasis is a way of speaking a language. Therefore, it is difficult to speak without an accent. Some people might think they have no

point, or you might believe some people do not have an accent. All of us have an emphasis. Actually, your focus is on how, where and when you mastered the language, which allows others to have an idea about you. People do not have a fixed accent; it's based on their experience. We can consciously and unconsciously influence and control the way we speak. It is not just about the characteristics of your voice, who your audience is, and how similar you know the other people you are talking to. Your accent may relate to someone from a specific location (for example, with being from Tlemcen, Tiaret or Biskra) i.e. there are many different accents in every language. Accordingly, the term "accent" is also a subset of "Dialect".

2.7.2. Dialect Continuum

Downes (1998) defined a dialect continuum as follows:

> A dialect continuum is a chain of dialects; let us say dialects 1-10, with the following property: Speakers of dialect 1 understand dialect 2 extremely well. Speakers of dialect 1 and dialect 3 understand each other rather less well, and speakers of dialect 1 and dialect 4 less well again. There comes to point, however, say at dialect 5, where dialect 1 is no longer intelligible to the local people and vice versa.

In brief, it means that one regional language gradually merges into another. However, concerning the regions under investigation; it will be discussed in more detail in chapter three while the researchers will analyse the responses of their respondents.

2.8 Language Contact vs. Dialect Contact

The phenomenon of language contact is also called **'Contact Linguistics'**. Recently, it has attracted much attention of many linguists such as: Weinreich (1953), Thomason and

Kaufman (1988), Winford (2003), and so forth. Their new contributions have accelerated the understanding about systems and mechanisms concerned that field. According to Thomason (2001), language contact can not be developed in isolation from other languages; she says that "language contact is everywhere". Additionally, Weinreich (1953) has defined it as any situation where individuals within the same speech community interact by using two or more distinguished languages. While Hickey (2010) has claimed that the existence of language contact is old as language itself i.e. languages have been in contact for thousands years, either directly throughout the invasion, emigration, trade, slavery, and so on or indirectly thanks to the role literature, newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and the internet,etc. Furthermore, language contact is considered to be one of the reasons for language change and variations "Changes in one language resulting from the influence of another language" (Trusk & Stockwell, 2007).

Later on, this field of study has shifted its interest from language studies to dialect ones, especially when Trudgill's book (1986) "Dialects in Contact" was considered a turning point in this discipline. This means that the contact does not concern only languages but also varieties of the same language (Boukhechba, 2019). Unlike language contact which is interested in mutually unintelligible languages, dialect contact studies the interaction between systems of at least two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language that have many similarities especially at the level of vocabulary, grammar, and phonology. Unfortunately, there are few researchers who worked on the dialect phenomenon. According to Winford (2004), the purest linguists consider this form as a deviation from the correct languages and far away from the standard. Therefore, there are few linguistic studies concerning this field because the real interest has been devoted just only to contact linguistics. In conclusion, our

research focuses on the contact between two varieties of the same language with other varieties rather than between two or more languages.

2.8.1 Dialect Contact and Accommodation Theory

In fact, dialects that are in contact with the same language are linguistically in a mutual intelligibility situation. This means that when people talk to each other their speech often sounds similar. In another interpretation, each person's speech converges with the other's speech. In sociolinguistics, this process is called 'Speech Accommodation'. Crystal (2008) in his Dictionary has defined accommodation as a theory in sociolinguistics that seeks to explain why people change their speaking style (accommodate) to become more or less like their addressee (s). For example, one of the reasons why people tend to the listener-speaking mode is the desire to identify more closely with the listener, to gain social approval, or simply to improve the communicative efficiency of the interaction. '*Speech Accommodation Theory'* developed by Howard Giles in 1973 in communication accommodation theory. This theory points out to the fact that individuals tend to converge or diverge in the way they speak- to their interlocutors. He argues that accommodation theory began as a social-psychological model of language style modification. Also, Meyerhoff (2011) defined it as "the process by which speakers attune or adapt their linguistic behaviour in light of their interlocutors' behaviour and their attitudes towards their interlocutors (maybe a conscious or unconscious process) encompasses either convergence with or divergence from interlocutor's norms".

2.8.2 Convergence and Divergence

The concepts of dialect convergence and dialect divergence can be defined respectively, as the decrease and increase in similarity between dialects. Giles worked on two different dimensions in his theory, convergence and divergence. Convergence generally means coming together, and divergence generally means separating apart. The former implies

that the speaker adapts (accommodates) cooperatively to the interlocutor, i.e. he is motivated by a desire for social approval to positively strengthen his personal or social identity. In contrast, divergence as a dimension of non-cooperative accommodation often prompted by the need to avoid similarity to interlocutors, as a means of distinguishing oneself and asserting one's own personal or social identity with confidence (Giles & Coupland, 1991) .

In other words, convergence refers to accommodating or attuning our communication to the other people, so we do not feel different, while divergence refers to focus on the verbal and non-verbal communication accentuating social differences. Giles also provided extensive reference to understanding the correlation between dialect contact and accommodation through the concepts of short-tem and long-term accommodation.

2.8.3 Accommodation between Dialects

Accommodation occurs not only between speech styles, but also between sub-varieties of a language (dialects). Accordingly, the concept of accommodation depends on type of contact, as explained by Trudgill in his work "Dialects in Contact" (1986). He assumes that the terms accommodation and contact are used in two ways in the field of sociolinguistics: the first implies short-term accommodation with temporary contact, while the second implies long-term accommodation resulting from permanent contact. In other words, people in short-term accommodation linguistically adapt to each other by reducing differences between language patterns and by adjusting the features of each other's language when psycho-social factors are favourable. On the other hand, long-term accommodation to one dialect may eventually become permanent when people adopt the distinctive phonetic features of another dialect in their language system.

2.9 Conclusion

As explained in this chapter the language we use varies at many levels. In Algeria, as one model, there is the coexistence of Arabic, as the standard variety, and several other language varieties in secondary position. One of these varieties is ADA which constitutes an important tool in the everyday speech of the Algerians. Geographical as well as many other factors have helped in the emergence of a wide variety of dialects differing from one region to another and even within the same region as a result of language contact.

To sum up, this chapter has been an overview of the most important literature related to our research topic. Therefore, many concepts related to the field of 'Variationist Sociolinguistics' have been explained. Language variation is one of the defined concepts that received popular interest among many linguists unlike dialect variation which is still an under resourced field especially in our country.

For the upcoming chapter, we will move towards the practical part of our research which will deal with the linguistic comparison between TSC and BSC, and focusing mainly on the three levels: lexical, phonological and morphological variation.

CHAPTER THREE:

Research Methodology: Data Collection Procedures and Results' Analysis

3.1 Introduction

The third chapter of our dissertation is devoted to the practical side of the research. As a first step, the researchers are going to introduce the methodology and the research tools adopted to carry out the investigation as well as describing the target population (the sample). In addition to that, it aims at shedding the light on the analysis of the different linguistic features; the morphological, phonological and lexical levels for the purpose of comparing the speech of both TSC and BSC. It depicts the main findings in our study (i.e., it has been based on both qualitative and quantitative data analysis which will enable us to compare between these two language varieties). This phase also attempts to display a clear picture of the hierarchy of our work using tables, charts, graphs, and the corresponding discussions and / or interpretations. Eventually, we will conclude this chapter by explaining the extent to which both varieties are similar and / or different from each other.

3.2 Research Methodology

The purpose of this study is to investigate the dialect variation between two distinct geographical areas TSC and BSC. Therefore, the researchers needed to follow a methodology which paved the way to better reach the intended aims.

Since the present chapter is devoted for data analyses and interpretations, it is crucial to present briefly the methodology adopted for the purpose of answering the research questions. Thus, accordingly, the researchers had adopted a mixed methods approach (both qualitatively and quantitatively) via using observation, questionnaire and recordings as research tools that are going to be interpreted in order to ensure the validity and reliability of the results.

3.3 The Research Instruments

As a matter of fact, there is a multitude of procedures concerning data collection that could be utilised by the researchers in the field of linguistics; these could be: questionnaires, participants' observation, interviews, recordings, etc. Each tool has its own benefits to attain and/or validate the final results. The data of the present research had been drawn from a sample of 200 participants, 100 respondents from Tiaret and 100 from Biskra. The researchers used three research tools: observation, a questionnaire and recordings.

3.3.1 Observation

Observation, as the name implies, is a method of collecting data through observing the target population while they are interacting with one another (i.e. a way to collect data by watching participants and /or events in their natural setting). Such a tool is the first step towards an effective and pure linguistic analysis. It enables the researcher to observe people or events in their natural settings i.e. to immerse himself / herself in the setting where the respondents are, meanwhile recording what s/he needs from those observations.

3.3.1.1 The Observer's Paradox

Due to the fact that the researchers are members of the groups under investigation such a method -the Observer's Paradox- was taken into consideration as the first step in carrying out the research. This qualitative device is of such help to the researchers because people are observed in their natural talk to one another everywhere: at work, at home, in the streets, and so on. Thus, whenever there is an opportunity to observe, the researcher has to take notes and record the conversations as they occur, but covertly. In this line of thought, Labov (1972) stated that " the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed, yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (p.209).

He focused on the fact that various devices should be implemented in order to divert attention away from speech. The subject has to assume that he is not being interviewed or tested to get valid and reliable data. Thanks to this method the researchers had been able to collect a group of lexemes that highlight how speakers could make use of synonyms, polysemies and /or other linguistic techniques to get the same meanings.

3.3.2 The Questionnaire

The use of interview method for data collection in early dialectology studies was prevalent. It was until late 1800s when this method was replaced by the use of questionnaire as first introduced by Sir Francis Galton, a British anthropologist. Nowadays, most researchers prefer to use questionnaires in order to collect their data because they allow researchers to gather a large corpus of data in a short time. Questionnaires are regarded as the main means for collecting quantitative primary data. In a questionnaire the respondents have to answer a number of printed open-ended and / or closed-ended questions, MCQs, etc. In the former, the participant is free to give his own answer as he wishes without any fixed responses by the researcher; however, in the second the researcher provides a number of fixed responses to be chosen by the participant.

3.3.2.1 Description of the Questionnaire

Structurally, the questionnaire is composed of four sections following a short introduction that presents the subject matter, a set of abbreviations and acronyms, and a quick instruction about the method of responding. The first section, *'Personal Information'* is devoted to collect information about the participants' ages, sexes, educational levels, the language varieties they use at home and then a table to check if they are familiar with expressions from Tiaret and Biskra cities interchangeably. Section two,' *Attitudes Towards Linguistic Variation in Algeria',* consists of five questions that aim at depicting the

participants' position towards ADA variation in Algeria and their level of familiarity with such variation.

Section three, *'Linguistic Variables Identification'*, consists of the linguistic variables including phonological, morphological and lexical levels, with some examples about each. The selection of the items had been done throughout recordings as the two researchers are part of the speech communities under investigation. The focus in this section is to find out the differences and/or similarities between the two dialects i.e. TSC and BSC. In the Fourth and final section, *'Tiaret and Biskra's Dialects vis-à-vis MSA'* the researchers aimed at collecting examples from the participants everyday real-life speech wherein they have to reproduce some examples, words, phrases and sentences from MSA into their own dialect .

In brief, the collected data reflected the respondents' personal information, their attitudes towards linguistic variation in Algeria, the linguistic differences between Biskra and Tiaret's dialects and then compare some expressions from MSA with the same expressions in the two dialects.

The self-designed questionnaire had been administered to a sample of (200) people living in both cities from different age ranges and having their origins from the target speech communities Tiaret and Biskra respectively , as the main concern of this study has been to compare the dialect of these two communities.

3.3.2.2 Open-Ended Questions

Such questions are great for getting authentic and relevant information, as they are broad and can be answered in detail. They usually start with question words such as "which", "when", "why", or other words like "specify", "exemplify", etc. An example from this study "How do you say this in your own dialect?"

Despite the fact that such type of questions might be of great help to the researcher, some scholars assert that they might be too difficult to analyse especially if the respondents

provide unexpected or even unwanted replies. Accordingly, in this work the researchers have been selective in terms of choosing more pertinent answers to consider.

3.3.2.3 Closed-Ended Questions

Such questions are narrow in focus and usually with a single word or a pick from limited multiple-choice options provided by the researcher whose aim is to reach a well-defined answer to validate his doubts. To illustrate, as it had been used by the researchers, a yes / no question like "Do you think ADA reflects you identity?" which had then to be backed up by a tick from multiple-choice answers. Therefore, the replies are easier to analyse as they are provided and / or expected by the researcher.

3.3.3 Audio- Recordings

Throughout the 1970s, researchers managed to use portable audio recording as a tool in research. Such a tool has proved to be a viable method that helped in analysing, interpreting and reporting the participants' own words.

The recording of audio data through devices such as tape recorders has been a significant development within qualitative research. This tool has been used as a substitution for field notes since it has proved to be much more helpful. It allows the researcher to record members of the target speech community anytime, anywhere but not without constraints because the participants have to be kept inconspicuous. The collected data are authentic; in addition to that, the researcher has more opportunity to replay the event which helps in getting more coherent interpretations and analyses.

In the same stream, Rapley (2007) has written:

> The actual process of making detailed transcripts enables you to become familiar with what you are observing. You have to listen/ watch the recordings again and again … through this process you begin to notice the interesting and often subtle way people interact. These are the taken- for- granted features of people's talk and interaction that without recordings you would routinely fail to notice. (p.50)

3.4 Graphical Presentations of the Collected Data

In this section we shall display the collected data into tables, bar graphs and pie charts in order to analyse and interpret the results.

3.4.1 Personal Information

Like all instruments in any research, the first section aims at collecting some background information about the participants. In fact, our questionnaire consists of a few questions and/ or statements to get background information about our respondents.

Q 01. What is your gender?
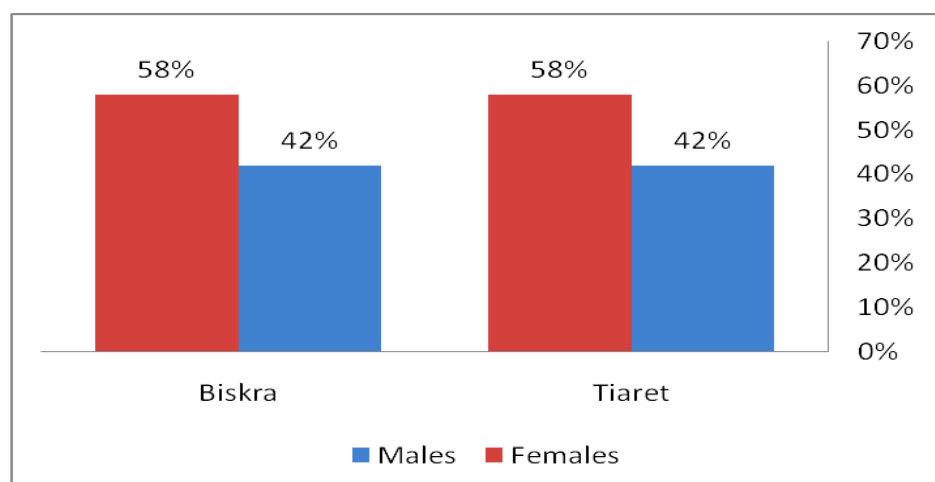
Graph 3.1 *The Distribution of Respondents by Gender*

Graph 3.1 indicates that females represent 58% of the respondents, while males only 42 % of the total number. Such an imbalance is simply for the reason that, females had been more cooperative than males who are usually reluctant to answer such kind of questionnaires.

However, we succeeded to convince some males to answer the questionnaire. Therefore, the percentage of gender in both regions is equal due to a prior agreement between the researchers.

Q 02. How old are you?
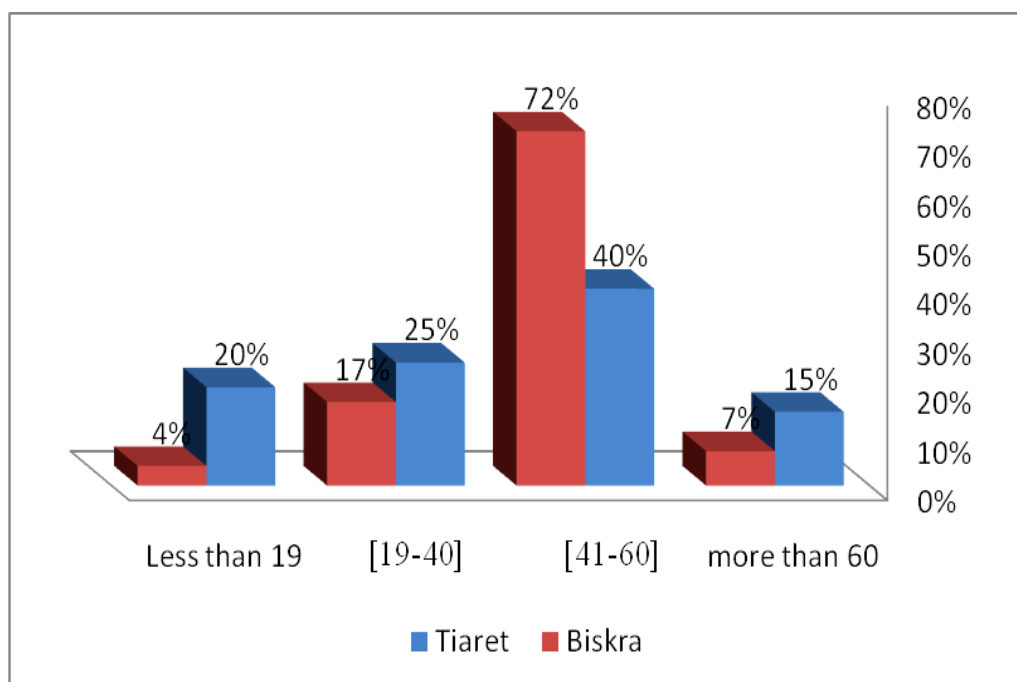
Graph 3.2 *The Distribution of Respondents by Age*

Graph 3.2 displays the different ages of our respondents. We can notice that both regions share almost the same distribution of age among the respondents. On the one hand, most of the informants from Tiaret region, with a rate of 40%, are aged between 41 and 60. This is because the researcher administered the questionnaire to some relatives and colleagues at work, in addition to the family members of her students. The other age ranges are distributed as follows: (20 %) less than 19, (17%) aged between 19 and 40 and (15%) for those who are more than 60. On the other hand, with a higher rate than Tiaret, 70% of Biskra respondents are aged between 41 and 60, as the researcher got help from her acquaintances and family members to distribute the questionnaire. The other ratios are as follows: 17% between 19 and 41, 7% are more than 60 years and finally 4% for the youngest generation aged less than 19 years old.

Q 03. Where do you come from?
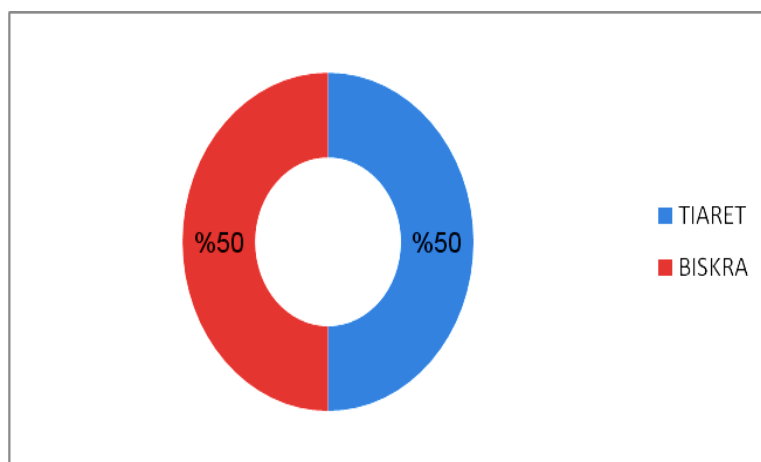
Graph 3.3 *The Respondents' Hometowns*

On the basis the data displayed in Chart 3.3 both regions Tiaret and Biskra share the same rate of respondents among them which is 100 respondents (50%) for each in order to have valid and reliable results.

Q 04. What is your educational level?

	University graduate	Middle school	Secondary school	Primary school	Uneducated
Tiaret	56%	15%	4%	10%	15%
Biskra	57%	10%	7%	6%	20%
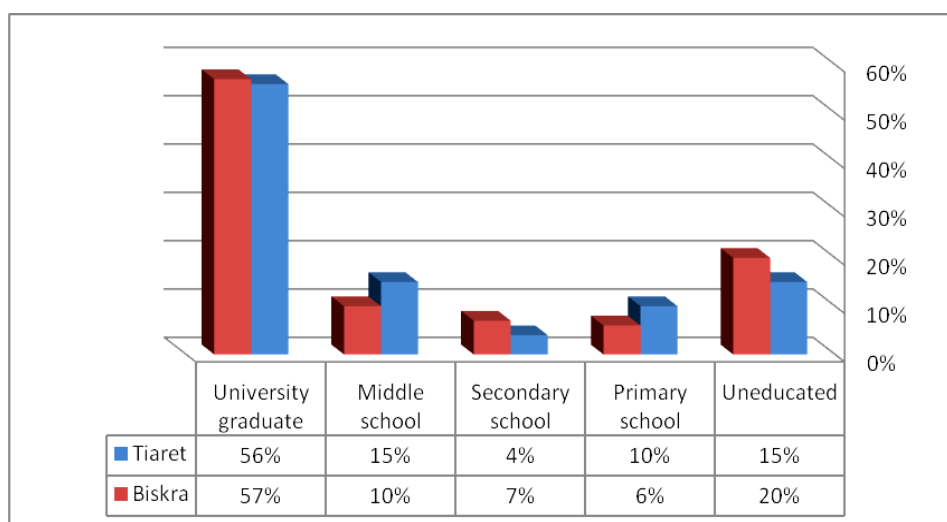
Graph 3.4 *The Respondents' Educational Levels*

Graph 3.4 indicates that a large number of the respondents are university graduates with the rates 56% in Tiaret and 57% in Biskra .In the second position are those who have not received any education with a percentage of (15%) Tiaret and (20%) Biskra. The lowest

rate is for the ones with secondary level (4% Tiaret and 7% Biskra in that order), as the researchers tried to collect data from native speakers of the two dialects under investigation.

Q 05. What language varieties do you usually use at home?
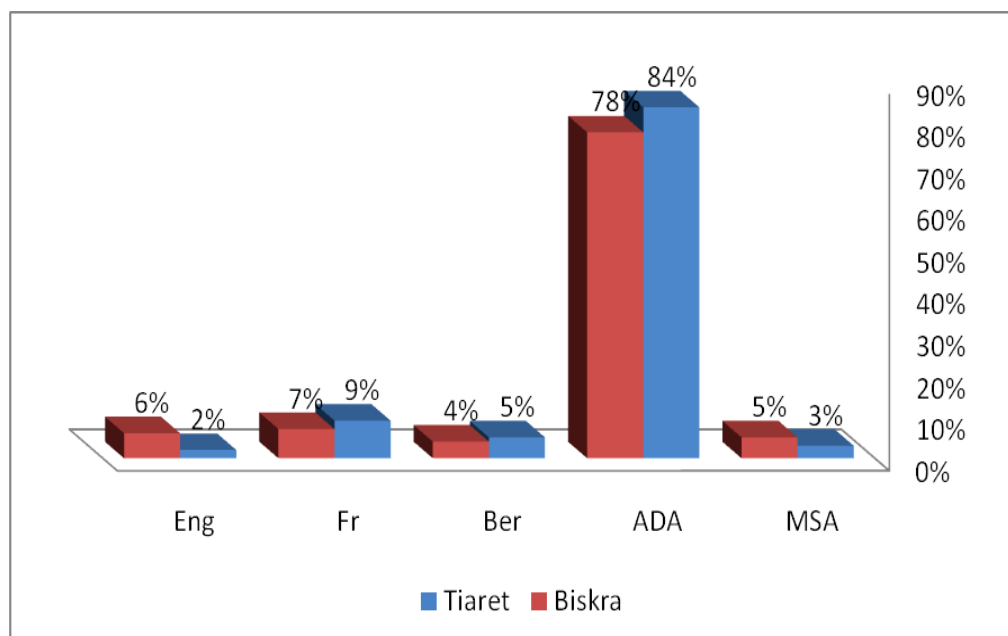
Graph 3.5 *Language Varieties Spoken at Home*

Graph 3.5 shows the language varieties that our respondents speak at home.The majority in both cities (84% Tiaret ;78% Biskra) speak ADA.This is because ADA is the acquired mother tongue and the variety mostly used by the Algerians in informal settings like home.The choice of other language varieties share close lower proportions : Fr (Tiaret 9 %; Biskra 7%), Ber (Tiaret 5%; Biskra 4%) , Eng scored higher in Biskra than in Tiaret (6% vs. 2%) and finally MSA which is rarely used in both regions only in formal settings with the scores of 3% in Tiaret and 5% in Biskra.

Q 06. Have you ever travelled to the east / west of Algeria?
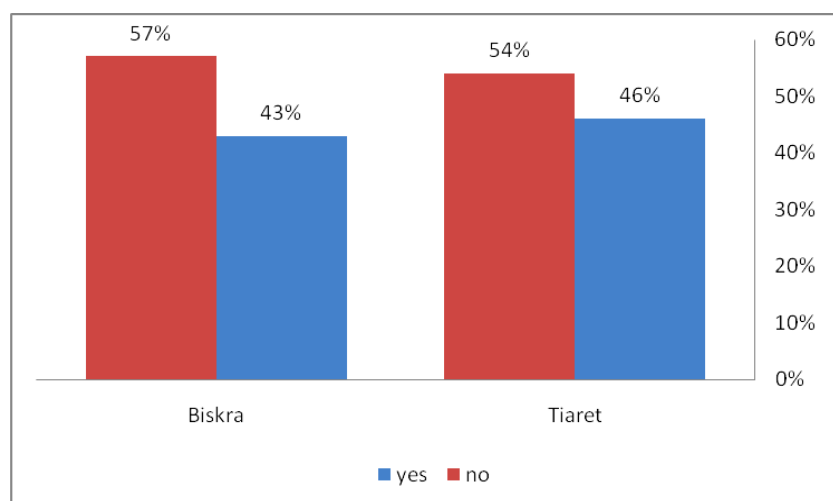
Graph 3.6 *The Respondents who Visited Eastern/Western Regions*

Graph 3.6 clearly indicates that the respondents from both regions who asserted never visiting western and /or eastern cities had got higher rates , 57% Tiaret vs. 54% Biskra; whereas, the ratio of those who had responded positively towards travelling to such regions was 46% for Tiaret's respondents and 43% for Biskra's. The respondents from Biskra who travelled to Tiaret represent just 29% and only 22% for the ones from Tiaret who visited Biskra. This is maybe owing to the fact that the two cities are located too far away from each other.

Q 07. Are you able to understand the terms / expressions in the table below?

In this question, the researchers provided the respondents with some everyday common expressions /terms from the other dialect, which were brought from the recordings. The purpose in this question was to look for the participants' perceptions and their level of understanding of the other's dialect. Meanwhile, we tried to detect the hindrance if any.

(Terms/ Expressions) - Biskra	Yes	No	(Terms /Expressions) - Tiaret	Yes	No
1-الكَنَه وعْجوزتْها / lkena w 3dʒuzetha/(the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law)	56%	44%	1-العجوز و مَرْتْ ابنها /l3dʒuz w mart ibenha/(the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law)	80%	20%
2- أَحَوجي شا كاين؟ /aħaudʒi ʃæ kæjen/(oh ! what 's going on ?)	66%	34%	2- أَشُومي واش كاين؟ /aʃumi wæʃ kæyen/(oh ! what's going on?)	75%	25%
3- باغي نَقي الشُومبْرا /bæghi naqi ʃombra/ (I will clean the room)	40%	60%	3- راح نْڤْضنْ البَيْتْ / ræħ ngafedh lbeit/ (I will clean the room)	38%	62%
4- عالاَمَه(perfect)/3ælæma/	61%	39%	4- هايلْ(perfect) /hæjel/	52%	48%
5- نسْمَة (breeze) /nesma/	2%	80%	5- لْهَبهُوبْ(breeze)/lhabhub/	24%	76%
6- بالاك(maybe)/bælæk/	0%	100%	6- لَعُودْش(maybe) /la3udʃ/	15%	85%
7-رفد الفيلي و روح نيشان للكوشة جيب زوج فليتات و رواح / rfed lfili w roħ nichæn lelkuʃa dʒib zudʒ fliætt w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)	70%	30%	7-هز سَعفَة و روحْ جْريَة للكوشَة اَشْري زُوج باڤيطَات وْرواحْ /hez sa3fa w roħ dʒerja lelkuʃa aʃri zudʒ bægiṭæt w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)	88%	12%

Table 3.1 *The Respondents' Perceptions of the Other's Dialect*

As table 3.1 illustrates, the provided words /phrases / expressions had received varying levels of understanding in both regions. For instance, the words from BSC with the lowest level of understanding by the participants of Tiaret are لهبوب /lhabhub/ (breeze) and لعودش /la3udəʃ/ (maybe) with rates of (24% and 15%) respectively. The respondents had argued that it was the first time they heard such words .Those who responded positively to some of them are from the oldest generation. On the part of Biskra, speakers had faced trouble understanding words from TSC like نسمة /nesma/ (breeze) with the rate of 2% and no one managed to figure out the meaning of بالاك /bælæk/(maybe). This can lead us to conclude by

saying that, there is difference between the two dialects in terms of the everyday common expressions or lexis.

Q 07.b. If yes, rewrite them using your own dialect.

As far as the second part of the question was concerned, the respondents who managed to understand the words/phrases/expressions from the other speech community provided equivalent terms and expressions in their own dialect which are classified in **Table 3.2**, wherein each expression/term is followed by its equivalent expressions / terms in the column beneath it.

(Expressions / Terms) - Biskra	(Expression / Terms)- Tiaret	
1ـالكَنَه وعْجوزتُها */ lkena w 3dʒuzetha/(the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law)*	*1 ـالعجوز و مَرْتُ ابنها* */l3dʒuz w mart ibenha/(the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law)*	**1**
1- العجوز و مرت ولدها /l3dʒuz w mart weldha/ 2-العروس و عجوزتها/l3ros w 3dʒuzetha/ 3- الأم و زوجة ابنها/ lʔom w zewdʒet ibnha /	1- العجوز و مرت ولدها /l3dʒuz w mart weldha/ 2- العجوز و كنتها/l3dʒuz w kenetha/	
3ـ أَحوجي شَا كاين؟ */aħaudʒi ʃæ kæjen/(oh ! what 's going on ?)*	*2- أشُومي واش كاين؟* */aʃumi wæʃ kæjen/(oh ! what's going on?)*	
1-يا لطيف واش كاين /jæ latif wæʃ kæjen/ 2- أشُومي واش كاين /aʃumi wæʃ kæjen/ 3- أوخذي واش صرا /awaχthi wæʃ sræ/ 4- أَشومي واش صرا/aʃumi sræ/	1- احوجي شاكاين/aħawdʒi ʃæ kæjen/ 2- ياحوجي شاكاين / jæħawdʒi ʃæ kæjen / 3- حوجي شتاصرا/ ħawdʒi ʃtæ sræ/ 4- يا لطيف شاصرا/jæ latif ʃæsræ/	**2**
3- باغي نَقي الشُومبْرا */baghi naqi ʃombra/ (I will clean the room)*	*3- راح نْقَفضْ البَيْثْ* */ ræħ ngafedh lbeit/ (I will clean the room)*	
1- حاب نْقْفضْ لبيتْ / ħæb ngafath lbit/ 2- نحوس نقي الشومبره / nħawes naqi ʃombra/	1-باغي نقي الدار /bæghi naqi dær/ 2-غادي نقي الدار /ghædi naqi dær/	**3**

|		
4	4- هايْل /hæjel/ (perfect)	4-عالامَه(perfect) /3ælæma /
	1-عالامه /3ælæma/ 2-هايل/hæjel/ 3-شباب/ʃbæb/	1-مليحة(perfect) /mliħa/ 2- روعَه/raw3a/ 3- تهبل/thebel/ 4- حاجة فور/ħædʒa for/ 5-مريَقّله/mrigla/
5	5لَعُودْش(maybe) /la3udʃ/	5- بالاك(maybe)/bælæk/
	1- بالاك /bælek/ 2- واقالا /waqila/	1- ممكن /mumken/ 2-رُبَما /robama/ 3- واقيلْ /wa9il/
6	6 - لَهَبُهُوبْ/(breeze)/lhabhub/	6نسْمَة(breeze) /nesma/
	1- نسمة /nesma / 2لَهبوب/lehbub / 3برد الحال/berd lħæl/	1- نسمة /nesma/ 2- لهبهوب/lhabhub/ 3- برود/brud/
7	*7-هَز سَعفَة و روحْ جُريَة للكوشَة آشْري زُوج بَاڤيطَات و رواخْ* */hez sa3fa w roħ dʒerja lelkuʃa aʃri zudʒ / bagiṭat w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)*	*7-رفد الفيلي و روح نيشان للكوشة جيب زوج فليتات و رواح* */ rfed lfili w roħ nichæn lelkuʃa dʒib zudʒ fliætt w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)*
	1- دي سعفة و روح جيب زوج خبزات و رواح /di sa3fa w roħ dʒib zoudʒ χubzæt w rwæħ/ 2- روح جرية للكوشة جيب زوج تيينات و رواح /roħ dʒerja lel kuʃa dʒib zudʒ tipanæt w rwæħ/	1-هز الڤَفّة روح طول جيب زوج خبزات و رواح /hez lgufa ruħ tol dʒib zoudʒ χubzæt w rwæħ/ 2- هز الساشي و روح طول جيب زوج خبزات و رواح /hez sæʃi w roħ tol dʒib zoudʒ χubzæt w rwħæ/

Table 3.2 *Equivalent ADA Expressions / Terms in Tiaret /Biskra*

As table 3.2 illustrates, the respondents from both regions have provided a wide variety of alternatives for each expression. This leads us to say that variation does not only exist between regions, but even within one single region. Speakers might shift and /or alternate between the expressions they have learned either from their ancestors or through contact with speakers from other regions. For instance, in Tiaret the equivalent term of the word /hez/(pick up) from Biskra is رفد /rfed/. It is also noticed that one dialect has more variation than another; according to the collected data the dialect of Biskra has slightly more variation than the dialect of Tiaret. This might be because of the geographical location of both cities and the regions bordering them.

3.4.2 Attitudes towards Linguistic Variation in Algeria

In the second section, the researchers sought to detect the attitudes of their respondents towards linguistic variation in Algeria while focusing more on dialectal or regional variation.The researchers provided the respondents with closed-ended questions and MCQs in order for them to make a suitable choice.

Q 01. Do you think that language reflects your regional identity?
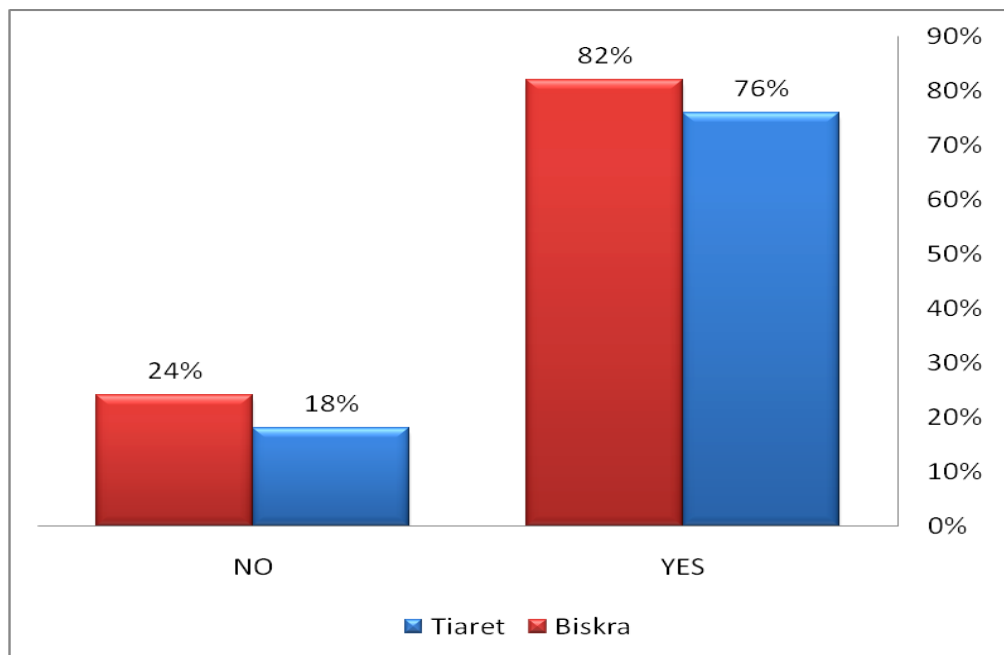
Graph 3.7 *Regional Identity Manifestations through Language Variety*

According to graph 3.7, 158 (78%) of our respondents with the rate of 76% from Tiaret and 82% from Biskra considered that the language they used really reflected their regional identity; however, only 42 (21%) of them made no link between language and identity (18%) Tiaret and (24%) Biskra.

Q 01.a. If yes, why?
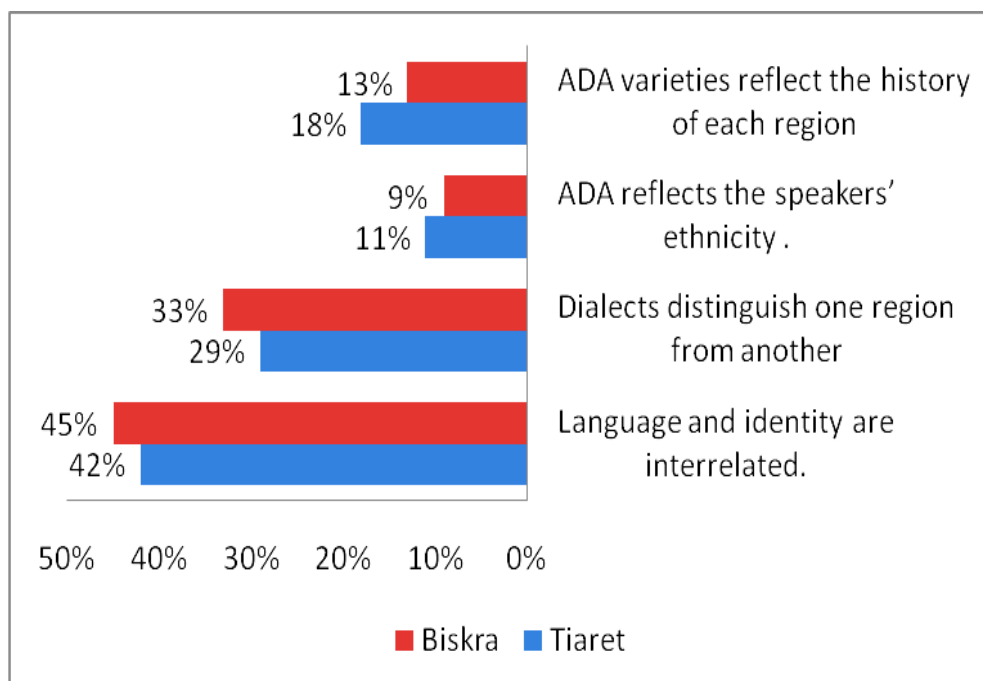
Graph 3.8 *Respondents' Arguments to Support Language-Identity Relation*

According to graph 3.8, most of our respondents (42% from Tiaret and 45% from Biskra correspondingly) who believed that language reflected their regional identity agreed upon the fact that *'language and identity are interrelated'*. In the second position, with a higher rate in Biskra (33%) than in Tiaret (29%), came those who asserted that *'Dialects distinguish one region from another'*. Only 11% from Tiaret and 9% from Biskra thought that *'ADA reflects the speakers' ethnicity'*. Hence, for our participants, the language variety they speak reflects to a high scope their identity.

Q 01.b. If no, why not?
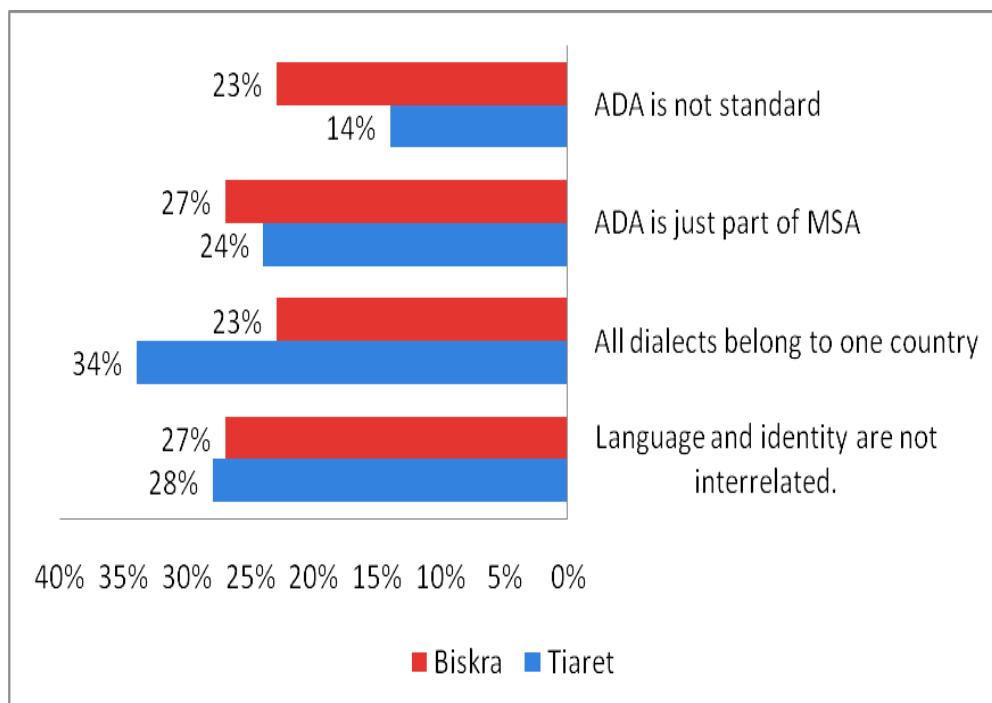
Graph 3.9 *Respondents's Arguments Refuting Language-Identity Relation*

According to the results obtained from graph 3.9, the respondents who considered that language did not reflect their regional identity either from Tiaret or Biskra had a close percentage among their agruments. The highest rate (34%) was for the respondents from Tiaret who thought that *'All dialects belong to one country'* as compared to (23%) of the respondents from Biskra .This supported their belief, as for them 'we all have one identity, as we share the same country'. However, only 14% of respondents from Tiaret and 23% from Biskra claimed that *'ADA is not standard'*.

Q 02. Can you understand speakers' from eastern regions like Biskra / Western regions like Tiaret?
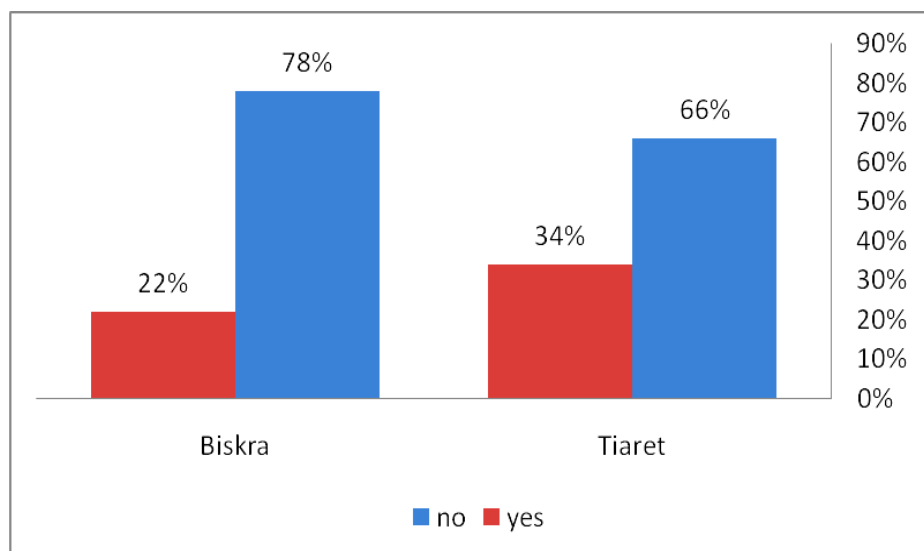
Graph 3.10 *Respondents' Understanding of Eastern/Western Dialects*

As graph 3.10 indicates, the great majority (66% from Tiaret and 78% from Biskra in that order) thought that there was a mutual unintelligibility between the Eastern and Western dialects of Algeria. However, those who confirmed that there was a mutual intelligibility represented just (34%) in Tiaret as compared to (22%) in Biskra from the whole number of respondents (200). This is maybe owing to the fact that Tiaret is approximately 500 Km away from Biskra and as Leonard Bloomfield argued that "geographically widely separated varieties were mutually unintelligible" which is the case in our study.

Q02.a. If yes, why?
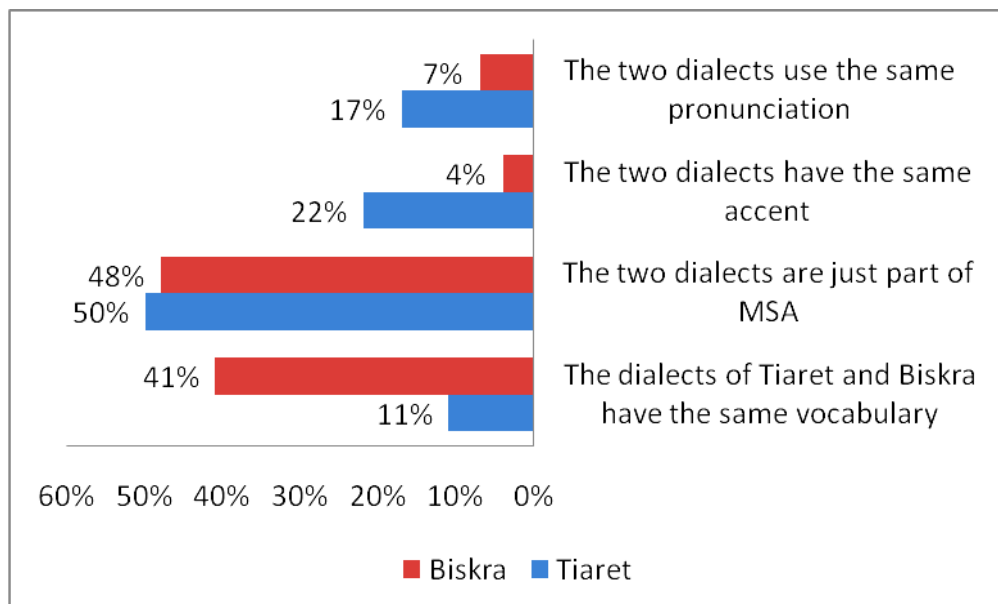
Graph 3.11 *Arguments Supporting Dialects' Mutual Intelligibility*

Graph 3.11 displays the distribution of rates provided by the 31(15%) respondents who considered the dialects of Tiaret and Biskra as mutually intelligible. The statistics reveal that half of the respondents from Tiaret and 48% from Biskra thought that '*The two dialects are just part of MSA'*. The second position was for the ones from Biska who considered that *'The two dialects have the same vocabulary';* however, only 11% from Tiaret shared the same point of view. Finally, only 4% from Biskra believed that *'The two dialects have the same accent*' as compared to 22% from Tiaret.

Q 02.b. If no, why not?
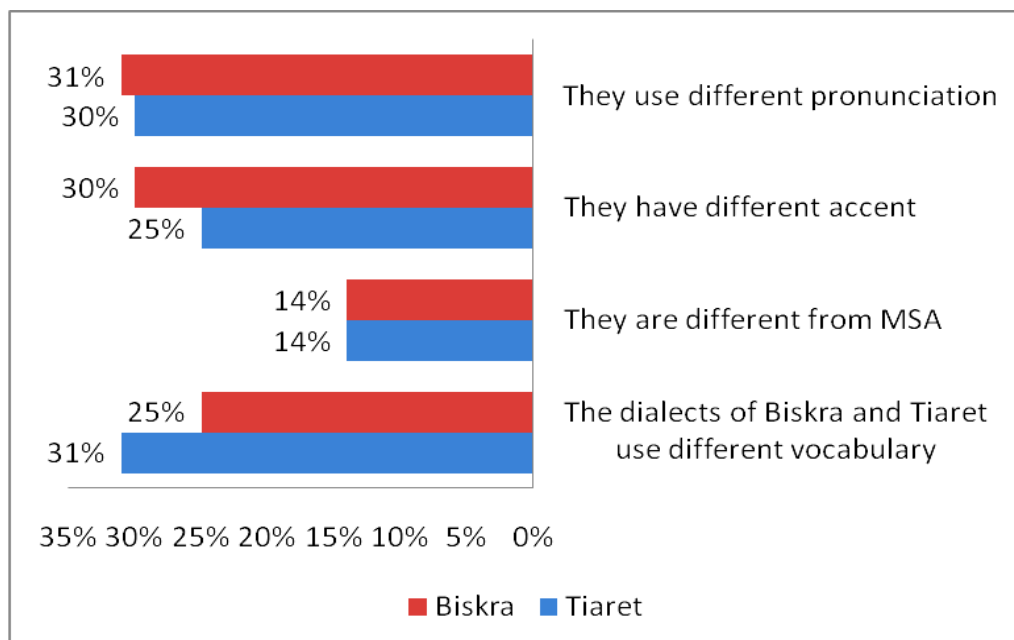
Graph 3.12 *Arguments Supporting Dialects' Mutual Unintelligibility*

As far as graph 3.12 is concerned, the 169 (84%) respondents who claimed that the dialects of Tiaret and Biskra were mutually unintelligible agreed upon all of their arguments. 31% of the respondents from Tiaret, representing the highest rate, considered that '*The two dialects use different vocabulary*' .In contrast to 31% of the participants from Biskra, who supported another argument *'The two dialects use different pronunciation'*; whereas, *'The two dialects are different from MSA'* received the lowest rate (14%) in both regions.

Q 03. Do you think that language variation hinders social communication?
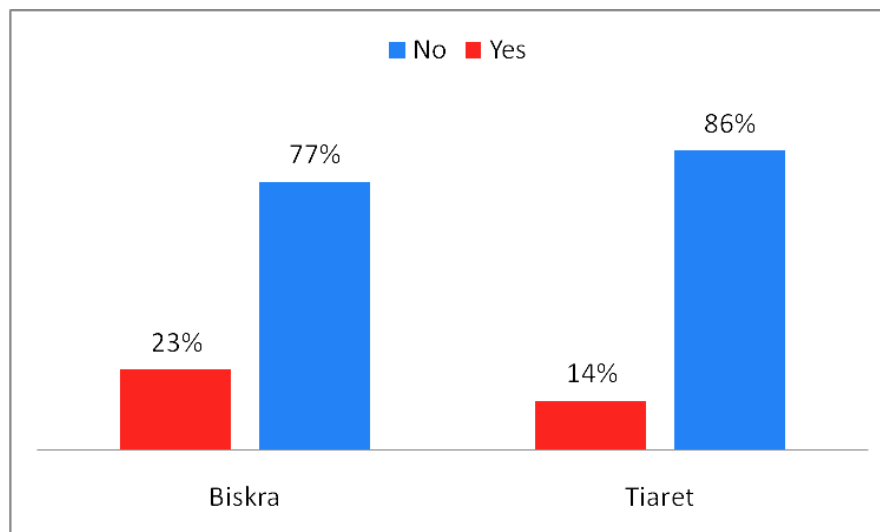
Graph 3.13 *Language Variation and the Quality of Communication*

The data in graph 3.13 show that a great number of respondents (138) 69 %; (86% Tiaret from Tiaret and 77% from Biskra respectively), believed that *'Dialect variation does not hinder social communication'*. However, only (62) 31% of them with a lower percentage in Tiaret (14%) than in Biskra (23%) supported the contrary of that (i.e. *'Dialect variation hinders communication'*).

Q 03.a. If yes, why?
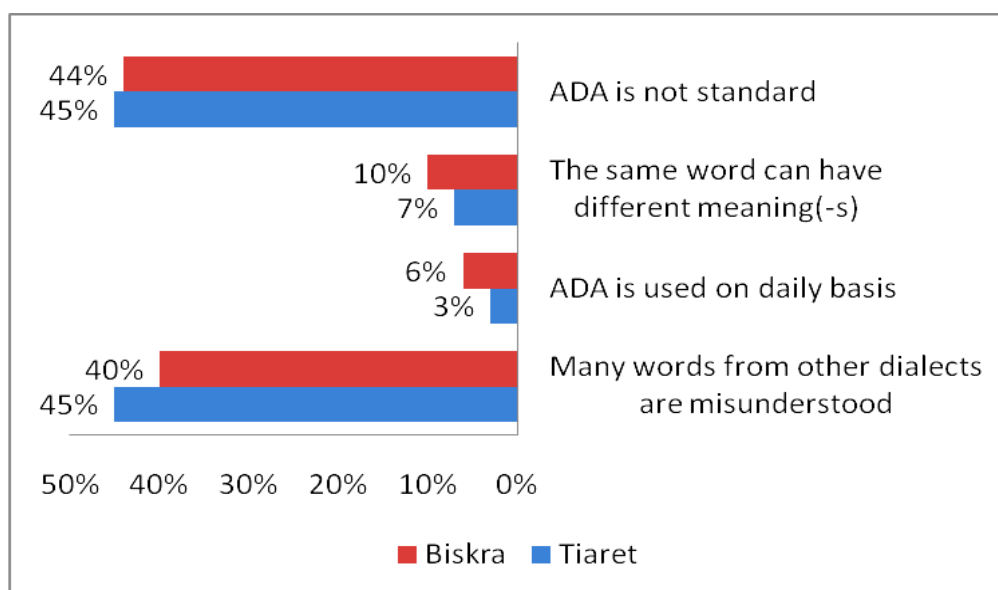
Graph 3.14 *Arguments Supporting the Fact that Variation Hinders Communication*

Graph 3.14 represents the classification by percentage of the arguments chosen by a few number of our respondents who asserted that language variation hindered social communication. The great majority shared their views between two reasons. On the one hand, with the arguments sharing the rate of 45% in Tiaret; the first *'Many words from other dialects are misunderstood* 'and the second *'ADA is not standard*'. Only a few of them (7%) said that '*The same word can have different meaning (s)* ' , while the lowest rate (3%) believed that *'ADA is used on daily basis'*. On the other hand, the participants from Biskra were of the same opinions but with somehow different rates which are classified as follows: 44% *'ADA is not standard',* 40% *'Many words from other dialects are misunderstood',* 10% *'The same word can have different meaning',* and the lowest rate 6% *'ADA is used on daily basis'*. To conclude, most of the claims focus on the fact that what makes dialects somehow different is lexical variation in addition to the lower status of ADA as compared to MSA.

Q 03. b. If no, why not?
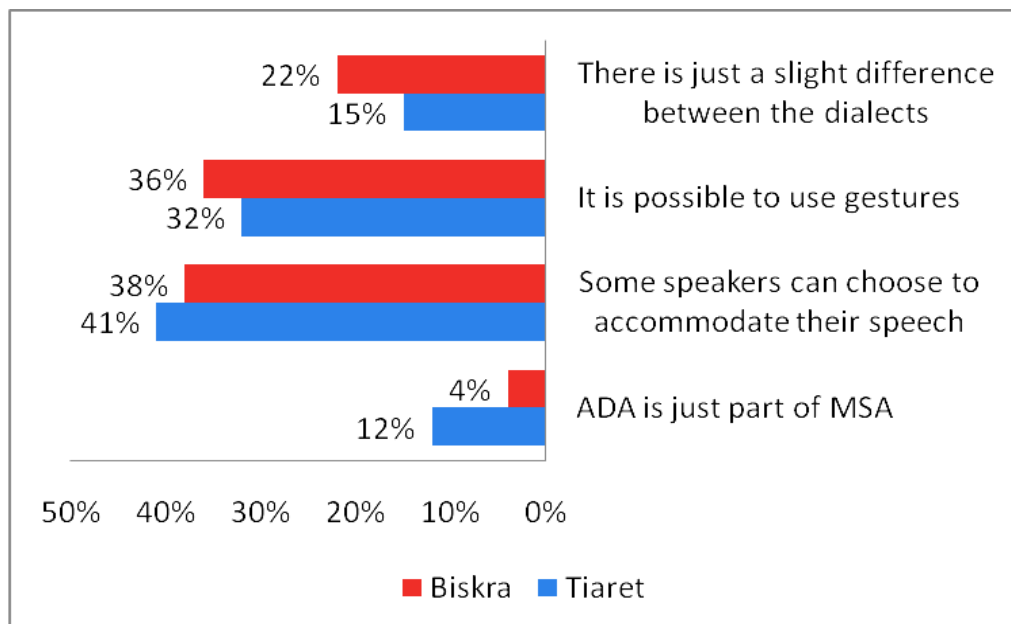
Graph 3.15 *Arguments Refuting the Fact that Language Variation Hinders Communication*

Graph 3.15 is set to examine the arguments of the rest of respondents (31%) who claimed that *'Language variation does not hinder social communication'*. The majority of our respondents (41% from Tiaret and 38% from Biskra in that order) said that *'Some speakers can accommodate their speech'* .The second rate (32% from Tiaret and 36% from Biskra correspondingly) asserted that in order to convey the information, 'It *is possible to use gestures'*. The third rate (15% from Tiaret and 22% from Biskra respectively) considered that *'There is Just a slight difference between dialects',* while the last and lowest rate in which only (4% from Tiaret and 12% from Biskra respectively) believed that *'ADA is just part of MSA'.* Thus, for our respondents they can express their thoughts not only through words but also through other means such as gestures, signs, etc.

Q 04. Do you feel well-prepared to learn other Algerian dialects?
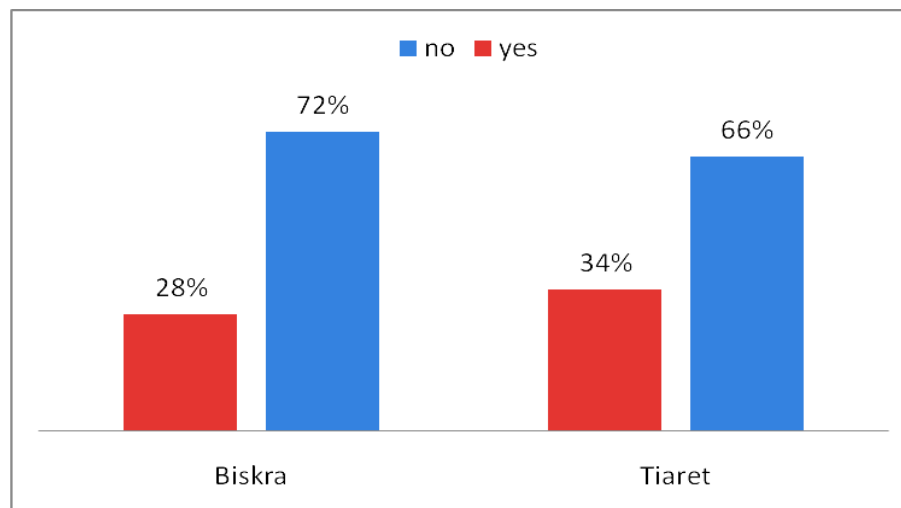
Graph 3.16 *Respondents Willingness towards Learning Other Dialects*

The purpose behind this question as obviously illustrated in (graph 3.16) was to analyse our respondents' preparedness to learn or acquire the other Algerian dialects. Surprisingly, the scores indicated that most of our participants138 (66%) with the ratios of (66% from Tiaret and 72% from Biskra respectively) had no willingness to learn or acquire the other Algerian dialect, while 62 (33%) with the scores of (34% from Tiaret and 28% from Biskra in that order) felt well-prepared to learn or acquire the other dialects existing in the Algerian speech repertoire.

Q 04.a. If yes, why?
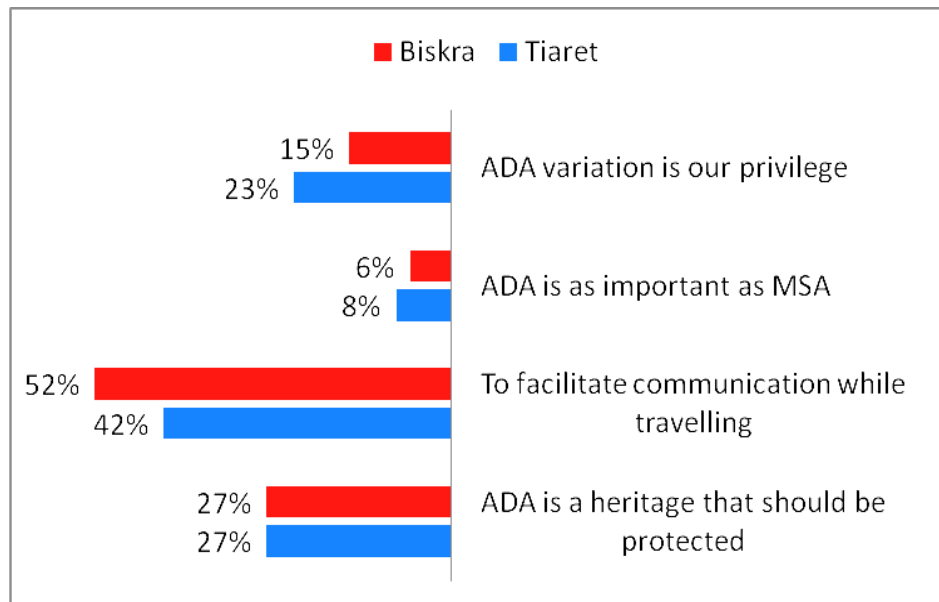
Graph 3.17 *Arguments Supporting Respondents' Willingness to Learn or acquire Other Dialects*

As far as graph 3.17 is concerned, we were likely to examine the reasons that stood behind our respondents' willingness to learn ADA represented by the rate of 34% of the total rate of respondents. The highest score (42% from Tiaret and from 52% Biskra correspondingly) had been given to the reason that they felt ready to learn ADA 'T*o facilitate communication while travelling'.* However, the reason that *'ADA is as important as MSA' received* the lowest support with a lower rate in Biskra than Tiaret (8% in Tiaret and 6% in Biskra in that order).

Q 04.b. If no, why not?
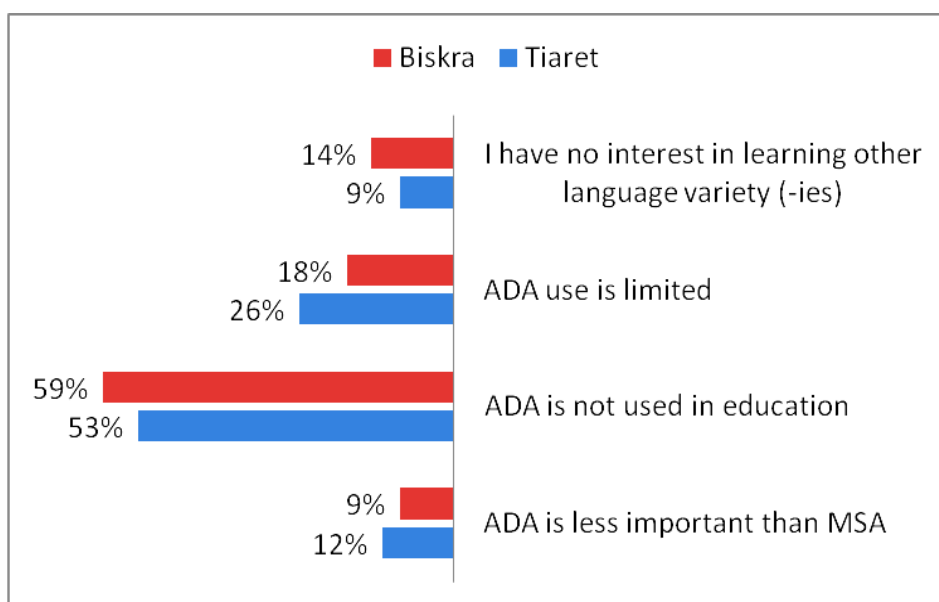
Graph 3.18 *Arguments Supporting Respondents' Unwillingness to Learn other Dialects*

Graph 3.18 indicates that the highest rates (53% in Tiaret and 59% in Biskra respectively) had been attributed to the reason that ' *ADA is not used in education',* while the lowest score (12% in Tiaret and 9% in Biskra correspondigly) had been ascribed to the argument that '*ADA is less important than MSA*'. From a linguistic point of view, this may reveal the fact that our respondents feel unwilling to learn or acquire ADA , as it holds less prestige than MSA as well as it is not used in formal settings especially education.

3.4.3 Linguistic Variables Identification

In the last section of the questionnaire, the researchers tried to look for the linguistic variables ,including the phonological, morphological and lexical levels , that make the speech of TSC different from and / or similar to the speech of BSC.

3.4.3.1 Phonological Variables

In the first part of this section, the researchers have tried to look for variation at the level of the sound system (i.e., at the phonological level). The phonological criteria / variants that have been tackled are illustrated in Table **3.3** below.

	Words	Variables	Tiaret	Biskra
	Phonological Variables			
	Words	**Variables**	**Tiaret**	**Biskra**
1	زيت /zit/ (oil) زَيْثْ /zeit/	/i/ vs. /ei/	100% 0%	15% 85%
2	رْملْ /rmel/(sand) رَملَه /ramla/	/e/ vs. /a/	0% 100%	100% 0%
3	يتْمسخَر /jetməsχer/(to mock) يتشمسْخَر /jetʃməsχer/	/t/ vs. /tʃ/	100% 0%	60% 40%
4	أزر ڨ /azrag/ (blue) زر ڨ /zrag/	/a/ elision (in initial position)	0% 100%	100% 0%

Table 3.3 *Some Words Highlighting Phonological Variables*
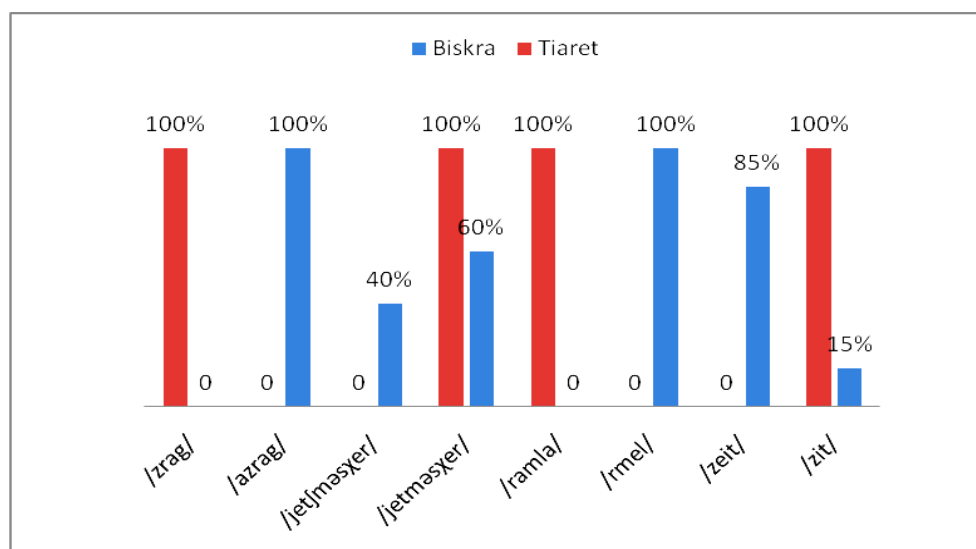
Graph 3.19 *Distributions of Words with Phonological Variables*

The collected data in table 3.3and graph 3.19 revealed that the speakers from both regions pronounce the provided words differently, but some word realisations are sometimes shared in varying proportions between the two regions. This is maybe due to the linguistic phenomenon known as Language Contact as speakers tend to adopt and/or adapt new vocabulary and linguistic behaviour through direct contact with other speakers like mixed marriages, wars, etc. or indirect contact via social networking sites. For instance, the lexeme زيت /zeit/ (oil) the great majority in Biskra (85%) said زَيْتْ /zeit/ with the diphthong /ei/ in the middle of the word; however,all of the respondents in Tiaret said زيت / zit/ in which the diphthong /ei/ was reduced uniformly to the vowel /i/. Another example was the lexeme يتمسخر /jatamaskhar/(to mock), all the respondents (100%) in Tiaret and 60% in Biskra pronounced the word as /jetməsχer/ with the plosive sound /t/,while 40% from Biskra especially males pronounced it as /jet∫məsχer/ in which they assimilated the sound /t/ into / t∫/. Concerning colour words like أزرق/azraq/ (blue), all participants (100%) in Biskra said زرق /azrag/; whereas, in Tiaret they say زرق /zrag/ in which the glottal stop in initial position is elided.

3.4.3.2 Morphological Variables
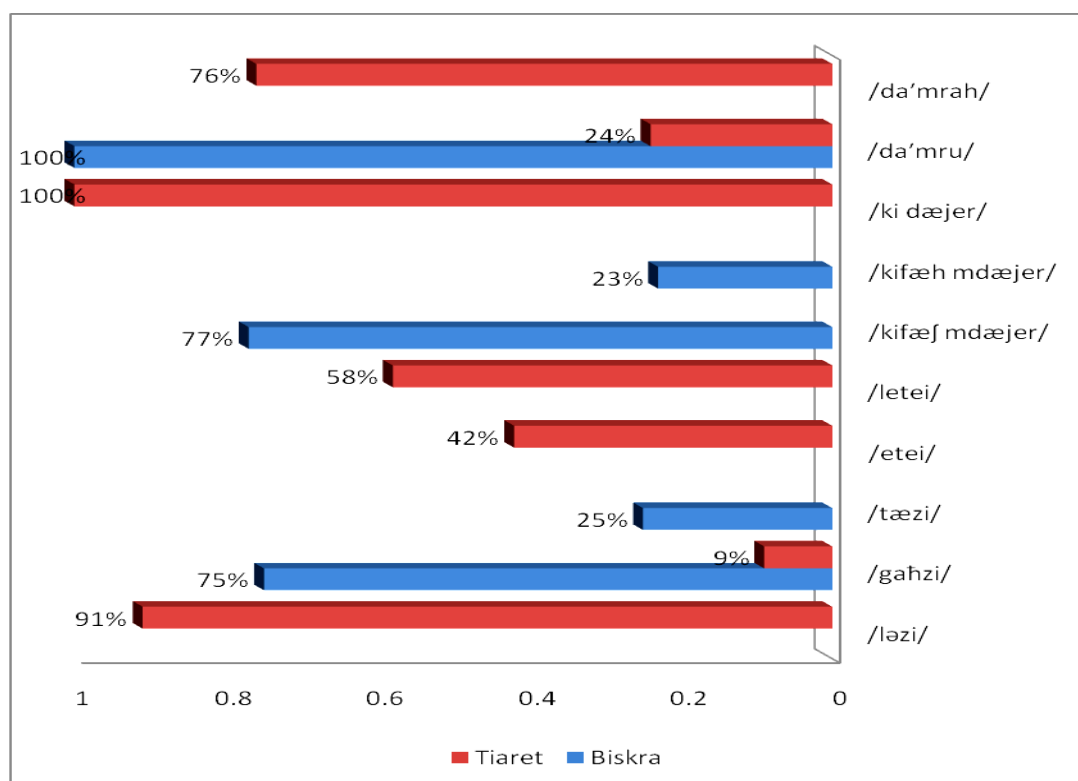
Graph 3.20 *Distributions of Words with Morphological Variables*

Graph 3.23 displays the words that highlight morphological variation between Tiaret and Biskra. Most of the words are particular for one region, while only a few of them are shared. For instance, the lexeme دَمَرَه /daʹmarah/ (he destroyed him) all the respondents from Biskra and 24% from Tiaret use the Sedentary prominal suffix /u / دمرو /daʹmru/; however, the majority in Tiaret (76%) use the Bedouin suffix /ah/ دمره/daʹmrah/. Moreover, to ask about males' look, all respondents in Tiaret use the expression كي داير /ki dæjer/(How is he?),while in Biskra 77% say كيفاش مداير /kifæʃ mdæjer/ by adding the suffix /-fæʃ/ to the particle /ki/ and the phoneme /m-/ to the lexeme /dæjer/. The rest of respondents in Biskra with the rate of 23% use the suffix /-fæh/ instead of the suffix/-fæʃ/ . In the words تازي /tæzi/, قْحزي /gaħzi/ and لزي/ləzi/ (move away), it is clear that different syllables were added to the ending /zi/, yet they conveyed the same meaning.

3.4.3.3 Lexical Variation

Variation in Lexis is not at all less important than morphological and phonological variations. There are a good number of synonymous and / or polysemous pairs between the speakers of Tiaret and Biskra. This section deals with some examples of nouns, verbs/adverbs and adjectives that highlight the variation between TSC and BSC.

3.4.3.3.1 Nouns

Tiaret	Biskra	Gloss
عبايه/3bæja/	قندورة/gandura/	Dress
رياشه /rijæʃa/	مروحه/marwħa/ فرفاره/ferfæra/	Fan
طعام /ʈ3æm/	بربوشه/berbuʃa/	"couscous"(rolled cereals)
مابيس /mæjis/	بشنة/beʃna/	Pop-corn
كوفيرطه/kuvirta/	زاورة/zæwra/	Blanket
فليته/flita/	باڨيطه/bægiʈa/	Loaf
زلاميت/zalæmit/	طرشاڨ/ʈorʃæg/	Matches
پريپلوي/paraplwi/	سيوانه/siwæna/	Umbrella
ريدو/ridu/	كلّه/keʼla/	Curtain
طاوه/ʈæwa/	ڨاميله/gæmila/	Pan
طاكسي/ʈæksi/	حضري/ħadhari/	Taxi

Table 3.4 *Lexical Variation in Nouns from TSC and BSC*

As it can be remarked from table 3.4, several nouns are completely different from the dialect of Tiaret to the dialect of Biskra. Linguistically speaking, they are considered as synonyms and /or polysemies. Some words can have different origins like the word زلاميت /zalæmit/(matches) used in Tiaret which has French origin that is (allumette); however, in Biskra they say طرشاڨ /ʈorʃæg/ a word that originates from old Turkish (Gök language variety) that was used during Ottoman quest era . Another example, the word طاوه /ʈæwa/ (pan) in Tiaret has a different meaning in Biskra that is a frying pan. While, ڨاميله /gæmila/ means pan in their dialect as equivalent to طاوه /ʈæwa/ (pan) in Tiaret .

3.4.3.3.2 Verbs / Adverbs

Tiaret	Biskra	Gloss
يطابس/jʈæbes/ يطاطي/jæʈi/	يطابس/jʈæbes/ يڤعمز/jga3mez/	Crouch
ينقي/jnaqi/	يڤفض/jgafadh/	To clean up
ضروك/tharwek/ دروك/darwek/	يشاوني/bʃæwni/ ضروك/tharwek/	Now

Table 3.5 *Lexical Variation in Verbs/Adverbs from TSC and BSC*
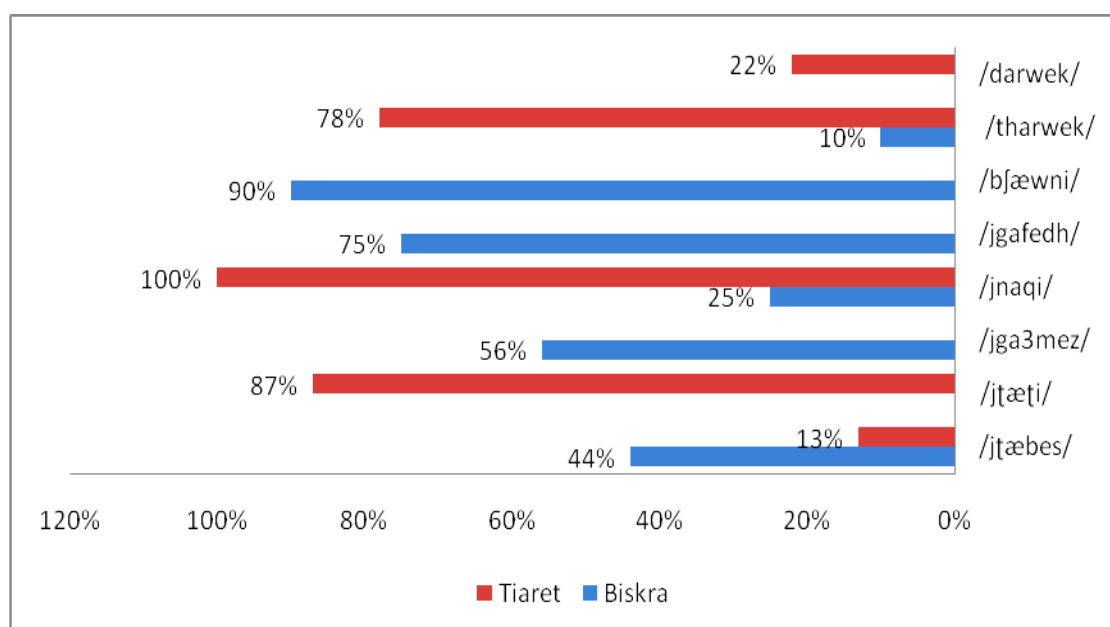
Graph 3.21 *Distributions of Lexical Variation in Verbs / Adverbs from TSC and BSC*

An interesting fact to be noted from graph 3.21 is that, there are more differences than similarities between Tiaret and Biskra as far as lexical variation in verbs and adverbs is concerned. The words that are shared between them are generally used by the younger generation. It is possible that this is due to prestigious reasons as well as the linguistic phenomenon known as Language Contact as explained earlier. Words like ينقي /jnaqi/(to clean up) and ضروك /dharwek/(now) are good examples of that. Furthermore, 22% of the

participants in Tiaret shifted to the Sedentary phoneme د /d/ instead of ض/dh/ دروك /darwek/(now) as it holds more prestige (to show off) than the first.

3.4.3.3.3 Adjectives

Tiaret	Biskra	Gloss
مشلوش/mʃelweʃ/ مُطَروش/mˠtˤarweʃ/	مفڤڤق/mfegfeg/	Confused
مسمومة/mesmuma/	مدنسه/medensa/	Vile
خواف/ χawæf/	هزاط/hazætˤ/	Coward

Table 3.6 *Lexical Variation in Adjectives from TSC and BSC*

Table 3.6 clearly shows that TSC and BSC use different adjectives to convey the same meaning. For instance, the adjective 'confused' can be expressed in two ways in TSC, مشلوش /mʃelweʃ/ or مُطَروش /mˠtˤarweʃ/; whereas, their counterparts in Biskra said مفڤڤق/mfegfeg/ such illustrations highlight the lexical variation in adjectives between the two speech communities.

3.4.4 Tiaret and Biskra Dialects vis-à-vis MSA

In this part of the questionnaire, the researchers have tried to compare between the two dialects under investigation and MSA. The main goal is to look for sentence / phrase constructions, word order, syllable forms, use of vocabulary, etc .The first column in the table contains the expressions in MSA and the columns below are the corresponding expressions provided by our respondents.

Modern Standard Arabic
1-ما أجمَلْ هذه الصورة !   /mæ ajmal hathihi sora/(what a nice picture!)   2-سوفَ أزرَع شَجرة   /sawfa azra3u ʃadʒara/(I am going to plant a tree)   3-من أين نبدأ؟   /min ajein nabdaʔ/(from where do we start ?)   4-هل أنت ذاهب ؟   /hal anta thæhib/ (Are you going?)   5-اوه .ماذا بك   / oh mætha bik/(oh! What's wrong with you.)   6-أفسدت كل شيًء!   /afsadta kol ʃeiʔ/ You spoiled everything)

Tiaret	Biskra
1- كي شابة ذي التصويرة /ki ʃæba thi teswira/ 2-شحال شابة هاذي التصويرة /ʃħal ʃæba hæthi teswira / 3- هاذي تصويرة شابة / hæthi teswira ʃæba/ 4-عالامة شابة هاذي تصويرة /3ælama ʃæba hæthi teswira/ 5- كي دايرة ذي التصويرة ولا /ki deira hæthi teswira welæ/	1- تصويرة زينة /teswira zina/ 2- تصويرة مليحة ياسر /teswira mliħa jæser/ 3- تصويرة تهبل /teswira thebel/ 4- فوتو سموم /foto smum/ 5- هاذي فوتو تهبل / hæthi foto thebel/ 6- محلاها هاذي الفوتو /maħlæha hæthi lfoto/ 7- تهبل التصويرة هاذي /thebel teswira hæthi/
1- غادي نغرس شجرة /ghadi neghres ʃadʒra / 2- باغي نغرس سجرة /baghi neghres sadʒra / 3- بَنغرس شجرة /baneghres ʃaʒra /	1- راح نغرس شجرة /ræħ neghres ʃadʒra / 2- راح نقرس شجرة /ræħ ne9res ʃadʒra / 3-أنا راح نغرس شجرة /ana ærħ neghres ʃadʒra /
1- منين نبدا و /mnin nebdæw / 2- مين غادي نبدا و /min ghadi nebdaw / 3- منين غادي نبداو /mnin ghadi nebdaw / 4-من واش نبداو /men wæʃ nebdaw/	1-منين نبداو /mnin nebdəu / 2-من وين نبداو / men win nebdəu/
1- راك رايح /ræk ræjaħ/ 2-وين بيها /win biha/ 3-وين راك رايح /win ræk ræjaħ / 4-صايي راك مشور /sæji ræk mʃawar/	1- راك رايح /rak ræyaħ/ 2- أك رايح /ak ræyaħ/
1-أوه مالك /oh mlælek/ 2- يا حوجي مالك /jaħawdʒi mælek / 3- هَمالك /hamælek/ 4- ياحوجي همالك /ja ħawdʒi ha mælek /	1-خير واش بيك /χir wæʃ bik/ 2-أوه واش بيك /oh wæʃ bik / 3-واش بيك /wæʃ bik/ 4- أشومي واش كاين /eʃumi wæʃ kæjen/
1- خَسرت كُلشي /χasart kulʃi/	1- فسدت كلشي /fesedt kulʃi/ 2- فزدت كُلشي /fezedt kulʃi/

Table 3.7 *Tiaret and Biskra's Expressions as Compared to MSA*

The collected data in table 3.7 demonstrate that the expressions, especially the ones from Tiaret, are different to a high extent from MSA and even among speakers of the same region. For example, the equivalent for the word أفسدت /afsadta/(you spoiled) in MSA is فزدت/fezedt/ or فسدت /fesedt/ in Biskra in which the glottal stop in initial position is deleted and the phoneme /s/ sometimes shifts the sound /z/; however , in Tiaret the word is totally different from MSA خسرت /χasert/ . In other cases, there is the concatenation of several words or the creation of new ones such as من أين /min ajein/(from where) that is replaced by other expressions in both dialects: منين /mnin/ , من واش /men wæʃ/ in Biskra and من وين /men win/ in Tiaret. Other examples include the use of foreign words or borrowings which rarely exist in MSA only for technical terms (as illustrated in chapter one). For example, the word فوتو /foto/(picture) as used by some speakers in Biskra that originates from the French word (photo) . Another remark is the existence of a higher rate of variation in ADA expressions, not only in lexis but also in the structure of sentences and phrases or even a single word including the omission or modification of some letters. Therefore, we can say that there are variations at all linguistic levels between ADA as a non-standard variety and MSA as a standard variety.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter is devoted to the methods used in collecting data as well as the statistical analysis of the obtained results about the differences and / or similarities existing between the two Algerian speech communities, TSC and BSC. In addition to that, it analyses the speakers' attitudes towards their dialect as well as their level of understanding of other dialects (i.e. mutual un/intelligibility). It ends up with a slight comparison between the two varieties of Arabic language, ADA and MSA.

We want to focus on the fact that regional variation is as important and a research-worthy issue as far as linguistic variation is concerned due to the influence of many linguistic factors and/or social factors as age, social class, gender, level of education, etc, since ADA is not standardized. In this case, regional variation develops because people are separated by geographical factors particularly distance.

The results that we have reached during this fieldwork lead to the fact that there are more differences than similarities between TSC and BSC regarding the lexical, phonological and morphological levels. Therefore, language varies from one place to the other at all linguistic levels. The speakers of the two speech communities are aware of the differences; however, they have no willingness to acquire the other ADA varieties existing in the Algerian speech repertoire, as they consider it holding a lower status than MSA. For those speakers there is no way to replace MSA by ADA in formal settings.

Another important conclusion is the variations that exist between ADA and MSA at all linguistic levels. However, such variations occur at different ratios as far as the dialects of

the same country are concerned. In our case, the dialect of Biskra is much more similar or closer to MSA than the dialect of Tiaret. Hence, ADA varieties have many linguistic aspects, including phonological, morphological, lexical and even orthographic that are different from MSA.

General Conclusion

Language is everywhere around us. It is such a unique human property that enables humans to make social connections, to work and to consume art and literature. Linguists have always showed interest in how language as a whole comes together so as to make sense and even how language changes in response to some social factors in the branch known as sociolinguistics.

Sociolinguists have always directed their curiosity towards investigating language variability through time and space. Our ultimate aim in this research has been to investigate language variation between TSC and BSC. It sheds the light on some aspects of language diversity in the Algerian repertoire. Since the two speech communities are considered among the largest in Algeria, there is a high probability of language variation which is worthy of study.

As we move across the Algerian territory, we experience a gradual change in the sounds we hear. Accordingly, this research investigates the influence of geographical variation on the linguistic variables in terms of the phonological, morphological and lexical variables of both speech communities.

This study concentrates on dialect and language in general wherein researchers wanted to focus on the fact that regional variation is as important and worthy of study as variation due to social structure as age, social class, gender, level of education, etc. especially since ADA is not standardised. In this case regional variation develops because people are separated by geographical factors particularly distance. Moreover, it explains the differences between standard language variety (MSA) and non-standard (ADA) through elucidating how a particular dialect is used in a specific region, and it is a reflection of the speaker's identity as well. It aimed to demonstrate how geographical distance might impact mutual intelligibility

among dialects, and this classification is based on the percentage of convergence and divergence among these dialects.

Our findings demonstrate that language is purely a means of communication in a given speech community, and it varies from one social group to another. Undoubtedly, such a difference leads to the loss and/or adoption of many linguistic features. What we can also attain from this study is that language, culture and identity are strongly interconnected and no one can deny this fact. Algeria's geographical broadness, more than two million Km2 constitutes one of the main reasons behind dialect variation. There is more space for dialect variation, and for hierarchical levels of mutual intelligibility. Thus, all hypotheses have been confirmed.

All in all, one can say that region does not only separate one geographical place from another, but also indicates the different dialects co-existing within the same country. Such variation adds more linguistic richness to the Algerian linguistic repertoire and constitutes an important element of our national pride. Tiaret and Biskra are just examples to shed light on the diversity and complexity in ADA which can be extended to other regions in Algeria. This research has at least attempted to reach some conclusions that would be as an opening door for other problematic for other researchers in the linguistic fieldwork in the Algerian context.

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Questionnaire

 Dear Participant,

This questionnaire is meant for collecting a linguistic corpus pro our Master degree in Linguistics comparing the dialect of Tiaret with that of Biskra. The two dialects will be compared in terms of their phonological, morphological and lexical features. Therefore, you are kindly requested to respond to the questions underneath carefully as follows:

   NB: Please! **Cross ✗** the most suitable answer (-s) or make use of **provided space**.

Abbreviations and Acronyms: Algerian Dialectal Arabic **(ADA),** Modern Standard Arabic **(MSA),** Berber an its varieties **(Ber),** French **(Fr),** English **(Eng).**

Section One : Personal Information:

1- Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

2- Age range: ≤18 ☐   19-40 ☐   41-60 ☐   > 60 ☐

3- City :   Tiaret ☐   Biskra   ☐

4- Educational Level: ………………………………..

5- What language variety (-ies) do you usually speak at home?

        MSA ☐   ADA ☐   Ber ☐   Fr ☐   Eng ☐

 Other (specify) : …………………….…………..

6- a-Have you ever travelled to the west of Algeria?   Yes   ☐   No ☐

7- Are you able to understand the following terms / expressions in the table below taken from the dialect of Tiaret ? If Yes, rewrite them using your own dialect. If No, say why not.

(Terms/Expressions) – Biskra	yes	No	(Terms/Expression)- Tiaret
1-العجوز و مَرْتْ ابنها /l3dʒuz w mart ibnha/(the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law)	…	…	1-……………………………………
2-أشُومي واش كاين؟ /aʃumi wæʃ kæjen/(oh ! what's going on?)	…	…	2-……………………………………
3-راح نْفَّضْ البَيْتْ / ræħ ngafeḍh lbeit/ (I will clean the room)	…	…	3-……………………………………
4- هايلْ /hæjel/ (perfect)	…	…	4…………………………………………
5-لَعُودْش /la3udʃ/ (maybe)	…	…	5…………………………………………
6-لْهَبهُوبْ /lhabhub/(breeze)	…	…	6…………………………………………
7-هز سَعفَة و روحْ جْريَة للكوشَة اَشْري زُوج باقْيِطَات و ْرواحْ /hez sa3fa w roħ dʒerja lelkuʃa eʃri zudʒ bægiţæt w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)	…	…	7………………………………………………… ……………………………………………… ……………………………………………… ………………………………………………

(Word/Phrase/Sentence) - Tiaret	Yes	No	(Word/Phrase/Sentence) - Biskra
1- الكَنَه وعْجوزتْها- / lkena w 3dʒuzetha/(the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law) 2- اَحَوجي شا كاين- /aħawdʒi ʃæ kæjen/ oh ! what 's going on ?) 3- باغي نَقي الشُومبْرا- /bæghi naqi ʃombra/ (I will clean the room)	1… 2… 3…	… … …	1-……………………………………...... ………………………………………. 2-………………………………………… ………………………………………. 3-……………………………………….. ……………………………………….
4عالاَمَه- / 3ælæma/ (perfect) 5-لَهْبُوبْ -/نسْمَة /lehbub/(breeze) - /nesma/ 6-بالاك- /bælæk/(maybe)	4… 5… 6…	… … …	4-………………………………………… 5-………………………………………… 6-…………………………………………
7-رفد الفيلي و روح نيشان للكوشة جيب زوج فليتات و رواح / rfed lfili w roħ niʃæn lel kuʃa dʒib zudʒ flitæt w rwæħ/ (pick up the bag go directly to the baker bring two loaves of bread and then come back)	7…	…	7-………………………………………… …………………………………… …………………………………… ……………………………………

* **No because** : **a.** I cannot understand (most) words. ☐ **b.** the order of words is strange .☐
   Other (specify) …………………………………………………………………

Section Two: Attitudes Towards Linguistic Variation in Algeria.

1- Do you think the language variety(-ies) reflect your regional identity?
   Yes   ☐   **No** ☐
   1-**a**. If **Yes**, why?
a.Language and identity are interrelated.☐ **b.**dialects distinguish one region from another.☐
c. ADA reflects the speakers'ethnicity . ☐**d.** ADA reflects the history of each region.☐
   Other(specify) : …………………………………………………………………….
   1-**b**. If **No**, why not?
a. Language and identity are not interrelated. ☐   **b.** All dialects belong to one country. ☐
c. ADA is just part of MSA.   **d.** ADA is not standard.   ☐
   Other (specify) : …………………………………………………………………
2-Can you understand speakers from *other* (west) region like *Tiaret*?
   Yes   ☐   **No** ☐

2-**a**. If **Yes,** why?

a. Biskra and Tiaret's dialects have the same vocabulary.☐ **b.** They are just part of MSA.
c. The two dialects have the same accent. ☐   **d.** They use the same pronunciation.   ☐
   Other (specify): …………………………………………………………………………
  2-**b**. If **No,** why not?
a. They use different vocabulary. ☐ **b.** The two dialects are different from MSA. ☐
c. They have different accent **.** ☐ **d.** The two dialects use different pronunciation. ☐
   Other (specify): …………………………………………………………………………

3-Do you think that language variation hinders social communication?

Yes   ☐   **No** ☐
 3-**a**.If **Yes,** why?
a. Many words from other dialects are misunderstood. ☐ **b.** ADA is used on daily basis. ☐
c. The same word can have different meaning ☐   **d.** ADA is not standard.   ☐
     Other (specify): ………………………………………………………………………
 3-**b**. If **No,** why not?
a. ADA is just part of MSA☐**b.**Some speakers can choose to accommodate their speech☐
c. It is possible to use gestures☐**d.**There is just a slight difference between the dialects ☐
     Other (specify): …………………………………………………………………………

4-Do you feel well-prepared to learn other Algerian dialects?

2- Yes   ☐   **No** ☐
 4-**a**.If **Yes,** why?
a. ADA is a heritage that should be protected ☐**b.** ADA variation is our privilege ☐
c. ADA is as important as MSA ☐ **d.**To facilitate communication while travelling ☐
 4-**b**. If **No,** why not?
a. ADA is less important then MSA☐**b.** ADA is not used in education ☐
c. ADA use is limited ☐   **d.** I have no interest in learning other language variety (-ies) ☐
Other (specify): ………………………………………………………………………………

Section Three: Linguistic Variables Identification:

Down are some linguistic variables (Phonological, Morphological, Lexical). Choose the right answer.

Part One: Phonological Variables:

  الزيتٌ / azeit/ (oil) : زِيْت / zit/ ☐   زِّيْت /zeit/ ☐
  الرمل / raml (sand) : زْمل /rmel/ ☐   رَّملَه /ramla/ ☐
  يتمسخر / jatamasχar/ (to mock) : يتْمسْخرْ /jetməsχer/ ☐   يتشّْمسْخَر /jetʃməsχer/ ☐
  أزرق / azraq/ (blue) : أَزْرَقْ / azrag/ ☐   زْرَقْ /zrag/☐
     Other words (cite):……………………………………………………………

Part Two : Lexical Variables : *Nouns:*

  العباءة /al3abaʔa/ (dress) : عبايه /3bæja/ ☐   قَنْدُورَة /gandura/ ☐
  مروحة / mirwaħa/ (fan) مَرْوْحَا/marwħa/ ☐   فرْفَار / ferfra/ ☐   رياشة / rijæʃa/
  طعام /ta3æm/ (couscous) : طْعامْ / ʈ3æm/ ☐   بزْبوشَة /berbuʃa/ ☐
  الفشار / fuʃær/ (pop corn) : مايِيسْ /mæjis/ ☐   بْثْنَة /beʃna/ ☐
  عود ثقاب / 3udu θiqæb/ (matches) : طُرْشَا ڨ / ʈorʃæg/ ☐   زلامِيثْ / zalæmit/ ☐

References / Bibliography and Appendices (Questionnaire) / Maps and Illustrations

مضلة /midhala/(umbrella) : سِيوَانَا /siwæna/ ☐ ☐ پريْپْلوي /paraplwi/ ☐

ستار / sitar/ (curtain) : ريدُو /ridu/ ☐ كلَة /ke′la/ ☐

طاوة / ţæwa / (pan) : طاوَه /ţæwa/ ☐ ڤامِيلَة / gæmila/ ☐

الغطاء /ghiţaʔ/ (blanket) : كُوڤيرطَة /kuvirta/ ☐ زاورَة /zawra/ ☐

سيارة أجرة /sajarat oʒra/ (taxi) : طَاكْسِي / ţæksi/ ☐ حَضَري /ħaḍhari/

Other words (cite):……………………………………………………………..................

  1- *Verbs / Adverbs :*

  يتطأطأ / yataţaʔţaʔ/(crouch) : يطاطي / jţæţi/ ☐ يْطَابِسْ /jţabes/ ☐ يْڤْعْمز /jga3mez/ ☐

  ينظف /yonadhif/ (clean) : يفَّضْ / jgafeḍh/ ☐ ينَقِي /jnaqi/ ☐ بْشَاوْني /bʃæwni/ ☐

  الآن /lʔan/ (now) : ضَرْوكْ / dharwek/ ☐ دَرْوكْ /darwek/ ☐ بْشَاوْني /bʃæwni/ ☐

Other words (cite):……………………………………………………………...…….............

  2- *Adjectives :*

  مشوش / muʃawaʃ/(confused) : مُفْقْفْقَ /mfegfeg/ ☐ مْثْلْوشَه /mʃelweʃ/ ☐

مْطَرْوشَه /mţarweʃ/ ☐

  مسمومة /masmuma/ (vile) : مدّنْسَه / medensa/ ☐ مسمُومَه / mesmuma/ ☐

  جبان /dʒabæn/ (coward) : خَوافْ / χawæf/ ☐ هزَّاط /hazæţ/

Other words (cite):…………………………………………………………….................

Part Three : Morphological Differences :

  ابتعدي /ibta3idi/ (go away) : نَازي / tæzi/ ☐ لَزي / lezi/ ☐ فْحزي /gaħzi/ ☐

  الشاي /ʃei/ (tea) : لَاتَايْ / latei/ ☐ تايْ /tei/ ☐ أتَايْ /etei/ ☐

  كيف هو /keifa huwa/(what is he like ?) : كي داير /ki dæjer/ ☐ كيفاش مداير / kifæʃ mdæjer/

  دمّره /da′marah/ (he destoyed him) : دَمْرُو /da′mru/ ☐ دَمَرَه /da′mrah/ ☐

Other words (cite):……………………………………………………………..................

Part Four : Tiareti and Biskri dialects vis-à-vis MSA

What would you say in the following situations ?

Modern Standard Arabic	Dialect of Biskra
ما أجمَلْ هذه الصورة ! /mæ adʒmal hatihi sora/(what a nice picture)	1………………………………
سوفَ أزرَع شَجرة /sawfa azra3u ʃadʒara/(I am going to plant a tree)	2………………………………
من أين نبدأ؟ /min ajein nabdaʔ/(from where do we start ?)	3…………………………
هل أنت ذاهب ؟ /hal anta thæhib/ (Are you going?)	4………………………………
اوه .ماذا بك / oh mætha bik/((oh. What's wrong with you!)	5…………………………
أفسدت كل شيَّ ! /afsadta kol chejʔ/ You spoiled everything)	6………………………………

✶*Thank You Very Much for Your cooperation* ✶

<div dir="rtl">

إستبيان

الإستبيان التالي يهدف إلى جمع المعلومات اللازمة لانجاز أطروحة الماستر في اللسانيات الاجتماعية, ويتم توزيع الأسْئِلة على مجموعة من سكان تيارت لتسليط الضوء على مظاهر التباين اللغوي بين اللهجتين التيهرتية و البسكرية و خاصة الجوانب الصوتية و المعجمية .المعلومات التي ستوفرها هي لأهداف أكاديمية بحتة و سوف يتم التعامل معها بكل أمانة و مصداقية.

ملاحظة: ضع علامة ✗ في الخانة المناسبة.

الجزأ الأول:معلومات شخصية

1.الجنس: امرأة ☐   رجل ☐

2. السن : 18≥ ☐   19-40 ☐   41-60 ☐   60 < ☐

3. المدينةً: تيارت ☐   بسكرة ☐

4. المستوى الدراسي ....

5. ما هي اللغات التي تستعملها في البيت؟

☐ العربية الدارجة (اللهجة) ☐ الامازيغية ☐ الفرنسية ☐ الانجليزية ☐ العربية الفصحى

لغَة أخرى(أذكرها): ....

6. هل سبق و سافرت الى الشرق الجزائري؟ نعم ☐   لا ☐

*إذا أجبت بنعم حدد أيُن من البلدان التالية.

7. هل يمكنك فهم الكلمات أو الجمل الموجودة أسفله المأخوذة من اللهجة البسكرية؟

إذا أجبت بنعم, أعد صياغتها بلهجتك.إذا أجبت بلا , علل السبب.

الكلمة / الجملة باللهجة التيهرتية	لا	نعم	الكلمة / الجملة باللهجة البسكرية
1.............................	...	...	1-العْجوز و مَرتْ ولدها
2.............................	...	...	2-أَثّومي واش كاين؟
3.............................	...	...	3-غاد نُقَضْ البَيْثْ
4.............................	...	...	4- هايل
5.............................	...	...	5- لَعُوثْش
6.............................	...	...	6-لْهَبهوبْ
7.............................	...	...	7-هز سَّعَفَة و رُوحْ جريَة للكوشة اَشْري زُوج باقِيطات و زُواح

لا لأن. 1. الكلمات غير مفهومة ☐   **2.**ترتيب الكلمات غريب ☐

سبب أخر (أذكره)

....

</div>

<u>**الجزأ الثاني :سلوك المشتركين نحو تعدد اللهجات بالجزائر**</u>

1. هل تعتقد أن اللهجة المستعملة تحدد هويتك؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

1.1.اذا نعم, لماذا؟

1.اللغة و الهوية مرتبطتان ☐   2. اللهجات تميز منطقة عن أخرى ☐

3. أللهجة تعبر عن العرق ☐   4.اللهجات تعبر عن تاريخ كل منطقة ☐

سبب اخر (أذكره)...

1.2. .اذا لا. لماذا ؟

1.لا يوجد علاقة بين اللغة و الهوية ☐   2. كل اللهجات تنتمي لبلد واحد ☐

3.اللهجة هي فقط جزأ من العربية الفصحى ☐   4. اللهجة الجزائرية ليست لغة رسمية ☐

سبب اخر (أذكره)...

2. هل يمكنك فهم اللهجات الجزائرية الأخرى (شرقية) مثل البسكرية ؟   نعم☐   لا ☐

2.1.اذا نعم, لماذا؟

1. لدى اللهجتين نفس الالفاظ ☐   2.اللهجتين جزأ لا يتجزأ من العربية الفصحى ☐

3. لدى اللهجتين نفس اللكنة ☐   4.لدى كلمات اللهجتين نفس النطق ☐

سبب اخر (حدده)...

2.2. .اذا لا. لماذا ؟

1. لدى اللهجتين ألفاظ مختلفة ☐   2. اللهجتين مختلفتين عن العربية الفصحى ☐

3. لدى اللهجتين لكنتين مختلفتين ☐   4. لدى كلمات اللهجتين نطق مختلف ☐

سبب اخر(حدده)...

3. هل تعتقد أن تعدد اللهجات يسبب عائق في التواصل الاجتماعي؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

3.1.اذا نعم, لماذا؟.

1.يمكن سوء فهم جل ألفاظ اللهجات الأخرى ☐   2. اللهجات تستعمل من أجل التواصل اليومي ☐

3.اللهجات ليست لغة رسمية . ☐   4.يمكن أن يكون لنفس اللفظ معاني مختلفة في اللهجات ☐

3.2. .اذا لا. لماذا ؟

1. اللهجات جزأ من العربية الفصحى ☐   2. يمكن للمتحدثين أن يقاربون لهجاتهم ☐

3. يمكن استعمال الإشارات للتوضيح ☐   4. لا توجد اختلافات كبيرة بين اللهجات ☐

سبب اخر(حدده)...

4. هل لديك استعداد لتعلم اللهجات الجزائرية الأخرى؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

4.1.اذا نعم, لماذا؟.

1.اللهجات ارث لكل الجزائريين وجب الحفاظ عليه ☐   2. من أجل تسهيل التواصل عند السفر ☐

3.اللهجة لا تقل أهمية عن الفصحى ☐   4.يعتبر التنوع اللهجي امتياز لنا ☐

2.4. .اذا لا. لماذا

1. تعتبر اللهجات أقل أهمية من الفصحى ☐   2.لا نستعملها في التعليم ☐

3.استعمالها محدود جدا ☐   4. لست مهتم بتعلم لا لغات و لا لهجات أخرى ☐

سبب اخر(حدده) ....

الجزأ الثالث: تحديد المتغيرات:

القسم الأول:

1.المتغيرات الفونولوجية:

زِيْتْ ☐		زَيُّتٌ ☐	*
رَمله ☐		رْملْ ☐	*
يِتْمسْخَرْ ☐		يِتشْمْسْخَرْ ☐	*
زرَقْ ☐		أَزْرَقْ ☐	*

كلمات أخرى (أذكرها)..

القسم الثاني:

2. المتغيرات المعجمية :

1- الأسماء:

	عبايَة ☐		قُنْدُورَه ☐	*
رُوَاحَة ☐	قُرفارَة ☐		مَرْوْحَه ☐	*
	طْعامْ ☐		برْبوُشَه ☐	*
	مَاييسْ ☐		بشْنَة ☐	*
	زالأَمِيتْ ☐		طُرشاقْ ☐	*
	سِبوانَة ☐		پَرَاپلِوي ☐	*
	الكُلَة ☐		رِيدو ☐	*
	قَامِيله ☐		طاوَه ☐	*
	زاورَه ☐		كوفيرطه ☐	*
	حَضَرِي ☐		طاكْسِي ☐	*

كلمات أخرى (أذكرها)..

2- الافعال / ضرف الزمان

يطابسْ ☐		يطاطِي ☐		يفْعَمزْ ☐	*
		يقْفضْ ☐		يِنَقِي ☐	*
		ضَرْوك ☐		بْشاوني ☐	*

كلمات أخرى (أذكرها)..

3- الصفات:

مْشلْوش ☐	مطَرْوش ☐		مْفقْفقَ ☐	*
	مسْمُومَة ☐		مدّنْسَة ☐	*
	خَوّافْ ☐		هزّراطْ ☐	*

كلمات أخرى (أذكرها)..

القسم الثالث :

3.المتغيرات المورفولوجية:

☐ ڤحزي		☐ لزي		☐ تازي*
	.	☐ اتاي		☐ تاي *
☐ كيفاش عامل		☐ كي داير		☐ كيفاه مداير*
		☐ دمْرَه		☐ دّمْرُو *

كلمات أخرى (أذكرها)...

القسم الرابع: اللهجة الجزائرية بالنسبة للفصحى.

ماذا تقول في الحالات التالية بلهجتك ؟

| اللهجة التيهرتية	العربية الفصحى
....	ما أجمَلْ هذه الصورة !
....	سوفَ أزرَع الشَجَرة
....	من أين نبدأ؟
....	هل أنت ذاهب ؟
....	اوه .ماذا بك
....	أفسدت كل شيٍّ.

شكرا جزيلا لتعاونكم
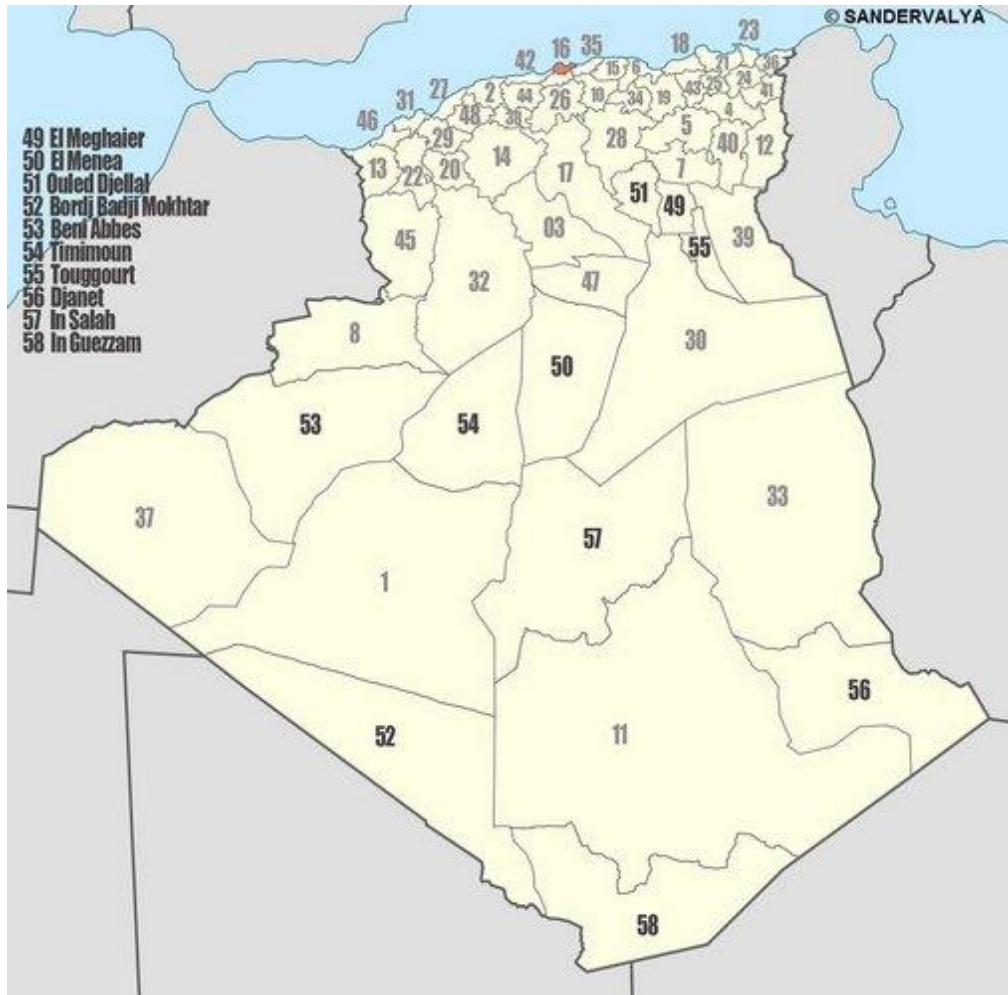
Map 1.1 : The -58 -Provinces of Algeria
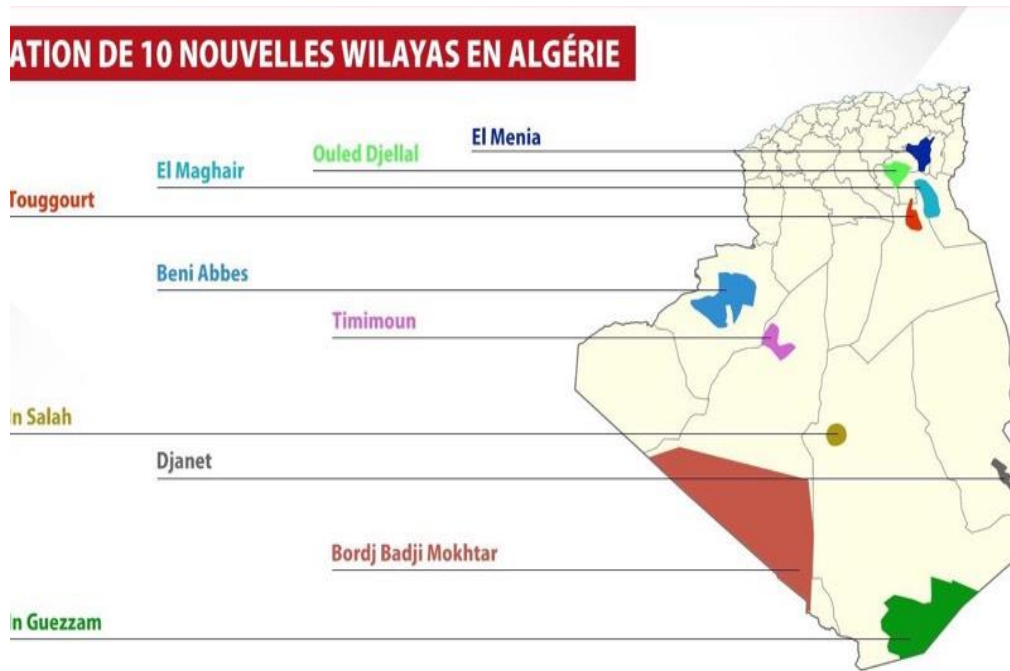
Map 1.2 : The 10 New Algerian Provinces
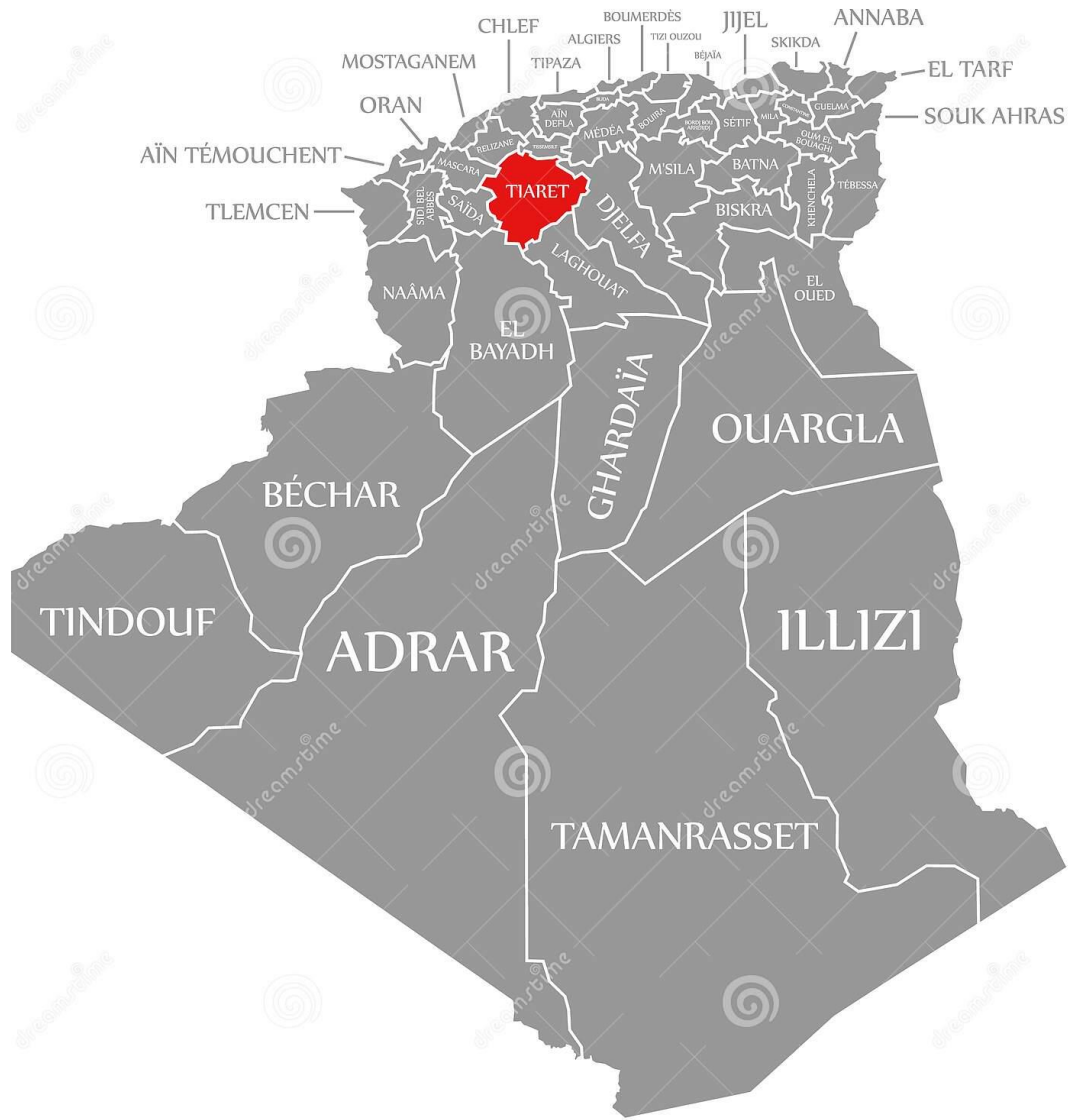
Map 1.3 : Map of Algeria Highlighting Tiaret Province
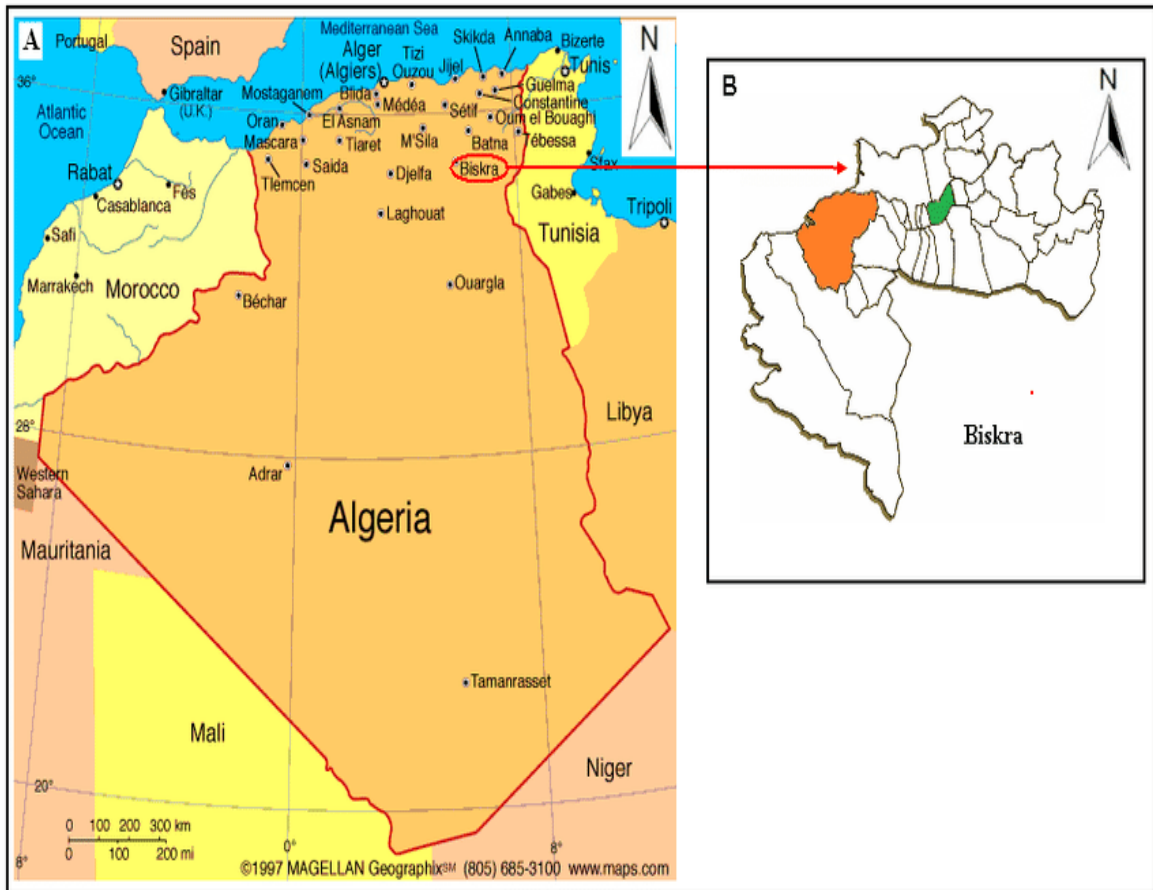
Map 1.4 : Map of Algeria Highlighting Biskra Province

ملخص

تحاول هذه الدراسة المقارنة بين نوعين من اللهجات الجزائرية لمنطقتين هما تيارت وبسكرة. تقع الأولى في الجزء الغربي والأخيرة في الجزء الجنوبي الشرقي. كانت الأهداف النهائية لهذه الدراسة هي إلقاء نظرة ثاقبة على التباين اللغوي في الجزائر ومستوى الفهم المتبادل بين مجموعتي الكلام ، مجتمع خطاب تيارت (TSC) ومجتمع خطاب بسكرة (BSC). لتأكيد فرضيات البحث والإجابة على أسئلة البحث ، اعتمدت الدراسة نهجًا مختلطًا ، استبيانًا تم إجراؤه على 200 مستجيب (100 لكل مدينة) ، ومراقبة وتسجيلات. في واقع الأمر، أظهرت النتائج أن هناك بعض الاختلافات في كلام المجتمعات على المستويات اللغوية المتنوعة بما في ذلك المستويات الصوتية والصرفية والمعجمية بشكل أساسي. تظهر النتائج التي توصلنا إليها أن هناك مستوى منخفض من الوضوح المتبادل بين (TSC) و (BSC) ومع ذلك، فإن هذه الحقيقة لا تشكل عائقًا أمام التواصل الاجتماعي بسبب مرونة التنوعات اللغوية في مرجع الخطاب الجزائري.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اللهجة العربية الجزائرية ، المجتمع اللغوي بسكرة ، تواصل اللهجات ، الفهم المتبادل ، المجتمع اللغوي تيارت

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude tente de comparer deux variétés dialectales algériennes de deux régions à savoir Tiaret et Biskra. La première situé dans la partie ouest et la seconde dans la partie sud-est. Les objectifs ultimes de cette étude étaient de donner un aperçu de la variation dialectale en Algérie et du niveau de non / intelligibilité mutuelle entre la Communauté de la Parole de Tiaret (TSC) et Communauté de la Parole de Biskra (BSC). Afin de confirmer nos hypothèses de recherche et de répondre à nos questions de recherche, l'étude a adopté une approche à méthodes mixtes, questionnaire administré à 200 répondants (100 par ville), observation et enregistrements. En fait, les résultats ont montré qu'il y avait des différences dans le discours des communautés aux divers niveaux linguistiques, y compris les niveaux phonologique, morphologique et principalement lexical. Nos résultats montrent qu'il existe un faible niveau d'intelligibilité mutuelle entre TSC et BSC. Cependant, ce fait ne constitue pas une entrave à la communication sociale en raison de la flexibilité des variétés linguistiques dans le répertoire parlé Algérien.

Mots-clés : Arabe dialectal Algérien, Communauté de la parole de Biskra , Intelligibilité mutuelle, variation régionale, communauté de la parole de Tiaret

"We are entering a phase of global English which is less glamorous, less news-worthy, and further from the leading edge of exciting ideas. It is the 'implementation stage', which will shape future identities, economies and cultures. The way this stage is managed could determine the futures of several generations."

(David Graddol)