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**Dialect Stigma and
Prejudice
The Case of the Jijel Dialect**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in
Candidacy for the Degree of 'Doctorat d'Etat' in Linguistics**

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Dedication

To the kindest person who gave me strength despite her weakness: My mother

To my dear wife and my beloved children,

To my brothers,

And all my relatives, friends, and colleagues,

I dedicate this work.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor Prof. Zahri Harouni for her encouragement, guidance, patience, and above all for her competence in directing me to achieve this work.

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Abstract

Social prejudices held on languages in general and dialects in particular are longstanding, and, despite the advance in the domain of sociolinguistics, they continue to exist. It seems that people do not see any reason to stop telling jokes and funny stories about regional dialects and evoking social stereotypes which go far beyond language itself. This problem exists as a product of society and manifests itself through the attitudes of majority group members towards minorities in communities where two languages are in conflict. The dialects of Liverpool and Birmingham, for instance, are vivid examples which are looked down in England. Similarly, the dialect of Jijel is a vivid example of the sort in Algeria.

The aim of this research work is to support, through an analysis of the attitudes towards the dialect of Jijel, the standpoint that all languages are equally good and that any judgements, therefore, as to the superiority or inferiority of a particular dialect are but social judgements, not linguistic ones. Most sociolinguists agree that almost any standard language coexists with various local varieties which relatively differ from one another, but which are genetically related to the standard language, for the purpose of maintaining distinct people's cultures and traditions.

The theoretical side of this research work is descriptive and comparative to show that negative attitudes towards languages in general and dialects in particular are linguistically unsound. It is only by a full understanding of how languages function that people's speeches will be far from stigma. The practical side of the research work is a plea for those who hold strong views on other people's languages to stop mocking out-group speakers. This is done through the results obtained from some field investigation performed on recorded informants who were given tasks to test their attitudes towards the dialect under study.

List of Abbreviations

S: Sentence

NP: Noun Phrase

VP: Verb Phrase

Aux: Auxiliary

SVO: Subject, Verb, Object

SOV: Subject, Object, Verb

VSO: Verb, Subject, Object

The Phonetic Symbols Used

1. Dialectal and Standard Arabic

i. Simple Vowels

	Description
i	close, front, unrounded, short
i:	close, front, unrounded, long
a	central, front, unrounded, short
a:	central, front, unrounded, long
u	close, back, rounded, short
u:	close, back, rounded, long
@	mid, Central, unrounded
Q	mid, back, rounded

ii. Diphthongs

vowel

ei

ai

aU

@U

Consonants

	Description	
b	voiced, bilabial, stop	ب
t	voiceless, alveolar, stop	ت
tS	voiceless, palato-alveolar, Affricate	تش

t0	voiceless, dental, emphatic, stop	ط
d	voiced, dental, stop	د
d0	voiced, dental, emphatic, stop	ض
k	voiceless, velar, stop	ك
g	voiced, velar, stop	غ
m	voiced, bilabial, nasal, stop	م
n	voiced, alveolar, nasal, stop	ن
f	voiceless, labiodental, fricative	ف
s	voiceless, alveolar, fricative	س
s0	voiceless, alveolar, emphatic, fricative	ص
T	voiceless, interdental, fricative	ث
D	voiced, interdental, fricative	ذ
d0	voiced, interdental, emphatic, fricative	ض
z	voiced, alveolar, fricative	ز
S	voiceless, palato-alveolar, fricative	ش
Z	voiced, palato-alveolar, fricative	ج
r	voiced post alveolar fricative	ر
l	voiced, alveolar, lateral	ل
j	voiced, palatal, glide	ي
w	voiced, bilabial, velar, glide	و
h	voiced, glottal, fricative	ه
ʔ	voiceless, glottal, stop	أ
ħ	voiced, pharyngeal, fricative	ع
X	voiceless, velar, fricative	خ
q	voiceless uvular plosive	ق

G	voiced, uvular, fricative	غ
h0	voiceless, pharyngeal, fricative	ح

2. Standard Arabic

i. Simple Vowels

Description

I	close, front, unrounded, short
i:	close, front, unrounded, long
A	Central, front, unrounded, short
a:	Central, front, unrounded, long
U	close, back, rounded, short
u:	close, back, rounded, long

ii. Diphthongs

Examples

ai

aU

eI

iii. Consonants

Description

B	voiced, bilabial, stop
T	voiceless, alveolar, stop
tʃ	voiceless, palato-alveolar, Affricate
t̥	voiceless, dental, emphatic, stop
D	voiced, dental, stop
d̥	voiced, dental, emphatic, stop
K	voiceless, velar, stop
G	voiced, velar, stop
M	voiced, bilabial, nasal, stop
N	voiced, alveolar, nasal, stop
F	voiceless, labiodental, fricative
S	voiceless, alveolar, fricative
s̥	voiceless, alveolar, emphatic, fricative
θ	voiceless, interdental, fricative
ð	voiced, interdental, fricative
θ̥	voiced interdental, emphatic, fricative
ð̥	voiced, interdental, emphatic, fricative
Z	voiced, alveolar, fricative
ʃ	voiceless, palato-alveolar, fricative
ʒ	voiced, palato-alveolar, fricative
R	voiced post alveolar fricative
L	voiced, alveolar, lateral

J	voiced, palatal, glide
W	voiced, bilabial, velar, glide
H	voiced, glottal, fricative
ʔ	voiceless, glottal, stop
ʕ	voiced, pharyngeal, fricative
X	voiceless, velar, fricative

3. French

i. Vowels

Description

Q	mid, back, rounded
E	low, front, unrounded
2A	low, Central, unrounded nasal
2E	low, front, unrounded, nasal

ii. Consonants

Description

t	voiceless, dental, stop
n	voiced, dental, nasal, stop
v	voiced, labiodental, fricative
l	voiced velar fricative

4. English

i. Simple Vowels

Description

I	close, front, unrounded, short
i:	close, front, unrounded, long
e	mid, front, unrounded, short
&	open, front, unrounded, short
@	mid, central, unrounded, short
3:	mid, central, unrounded, long
V	open, central, unrounded, short
U	close, back, rounded, short
u:	close, back, rounded, long
Q	open, back, rounded, short
O:	open, back, rounded, long
A:	open, back, unrounded, long

ii. Diphthongs

Examples

I@	near
e@	care
eI	date
aI	bite

iii. Triphthongs

	Examples	Transcription	Vowel	Examples	Transcription
eI@	layer	leI@	@U@	lower	l@U@
aI@	fire	faI@	OI@	lawyer	lOI@

aU@ our

aU@

iv. Consonants (including allophones)

Description

p	voiceless, bilabial, unaspirated, stop
b	voiced, bilabial, stop
t	voiceless, alveolar, unaspirated, stop
d	voiced, alveolar, stop
k	voiceless, velar, unaspirated, stop
g	voiced velar, stop
f	voiceless, labiodental fricative
v	voiced, labiodental, fricative
T	voiceless, interdental, fricative
D	voiced, interdental, fricative
S	voiceless, palato-alveolar, fricative
Z	voiced, palato-alveolar, fricative
s	voiceless, alveolar, fricative
z	voiced, alveolar, fricative
h	voiceless, glottal, fricative
r	voiced, alveolar, retroflex
l	voiced, alveolar, lateral
L	voiced, alveolar, lateral, velarised
m	voiced, bilabial, nasal
n	voiced, alveolar, nasal
N	voiced, velar, nasal

w	voiced, bilabial, glide
j	voiced, velar, glide
tʃ	voiceless, palato-alveolar, affricate
dʒ	voiced, palato-alveolar, affricate

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Introduction

It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth, without making another Englishman hate or despise him.

(George Bernard Shaw)

Preamble

People make value judgements about languages in general and dialects in particular. This is clearly reflected in jokes and funny stories about some pronunciations and efforts made in the imitation of regional dialects, which create a kind of inferiority complex to most of the speakers of the stigmatized dialect.

The aim of this research work is twofold: On the one hand, it points to the fact that linguistic variation does not necessarily lead to evaluation. On the other hand, it makes a plea for those who evaluate other people's languages to better understand certain linguistic realities and to stop being as harsh in their linguistic judgements as they have been.

There is enormous variation across languages at absolutely all levels. If modern researches have shown anything, it is this. And, where there is variation, there is evaluation. We tend to evaluate these variants as right or wrong, good or bad, beautiful or ugly, and so on. The more conscious we are about certain types of variation, the more value judgements we associate with them. We have to be aware of the fact that most people may notice all kinds of peculiarities in our own use of language.

Questions of language attitudes and evaluations of different language varieties in Algeria – a Diglossic and multilingual country – are important. Therefore, the choice of the topic is strongly motivated by the sufferings of the population of the province of Jijel especially after showing the films of 'L'Inspecteur Tahar' (played by El Hadj Abderrahman, an Algerian actor who is known for his imitation of the Jijel dialect) which used the accent of Jijel as a source of fun and laughter. Such T.V. shows can be amusing

and friendly as well as they can also be offensive and aggressive. You can hurt people with them; many people find it hard to defend themselves against verbal aggression. Of course, you can be rude and mean using any kind of language.

All speakers, or almost all of them, are proud of their language. But it seems that a considerable number of Jijel speakers are not. They have been all their life long complexed by other speakers and mostly by the Constantinians and the T.V. shows of l'Inspecteur Tahar who has spread the matter nationwide. This is why many types of people of the population of Jijel have failed to appear in different domains because of dialect stigma. Educated people, for instance, fear communications in seminars and conferences; university students fear contribution in classes; gifted singers fear appearance before audiences etc... All this is for fear of being laughed at. A concrete example among many other examples which happened in the department of letters at Mentouri University – Constantine – is worth mentioning. A teacher once asked a girl student who comes from the province of Jijel to pronounce the sound |q| (ق) in Arabic. The student said |k| – something like |k| in 'coffee' – a sound which is not as back as |q| but which is not, as the non-speakers of the Jijel dialect claim, as front as |k| in |kalb| (كلب) (dog), for example. It is articulated in the mouth exactly as the |k| in (café) is. This explains the possibility that the sound |q| in the province of Jijel is an influence of the French and the Turkish sound |k|, because of colonization, in replacement of the sound |q|. Immediately after the pronunciation of the sound by the student there was laughter in class. The teacher remembered that the sound |q| is not part of the sound system of the Jijel dialect. The girl student never contributed again, as explained in the following statement: "A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being; to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his skin" (Halliday, 1979: 87).

Countries all over the world do have several languages spoken within their boundaries. Like all these countries, though the linguistic situation is not as complex, Algeria is a country where three genetically unrelated languages are used, namely Arabic, French and Berber and, thus, it is a multilingual situation. Dialectal Arabic is the mother tongue, Standard Arabic is the first language in school and French is the first foreign language. The latter is also used while code switching with dialectal Arabic in the case of educated families, i.e., families with varying degrees of instruction. Berber is also the native language of number of Algerians. Algeria is also a community where there is the coexistence of two varieties of the same language, and thus is a diglossic situation. As Charles Ferguson (in Andrew Freeman, 1996: 1) says 'Diglossic speech communities have a high variety that is very prestigious and a low variety with no official status, which are in complementary distribution with each other'. In this case, the high variety is Standard Arabic and the low variety is all other varieties of this same language. The high variety is used in the domains of school, law, media, and literary discourse, whereas the low variety is used for ordinary conversations. The high variety is written while the low one is only spoken. Probably the most important component of this diglossic situation is that the Arab speakers hold the personal perception that Standard Arabic is the 'real' language and that the low varieties are 'incorrect' usages. In other words, the Arabs speak about Standard Arabic as being 'pure' Arabic and the other dialects spoken all over the Arab world as being 'corrupt' forms. This standard Arabic has not undergone considerable changes in terms of syntax and morphology since the pre-Islamic era. Of course, the lexicon, together with culture and science, has known some changes according to the needs and conditions of the speakers. By contrast, the various dialects which have always coexisted with Standard Arabic have continued to evolve but with no attempt to standardize any of them, although, it should be noted, colonialism tried to actively suppress Standard Arabic and

replace it by some other forms. The Ottomans produced all their official documents in Turkish. The French in Algeria tried to suppress Standard Arabic and use French instead. The English tried their best to make the Egyptian dialect of Cairo the official language and so on ... All these varieties existing in the Arab World are generally intelligible among all Arab speakers except that the lexical variation can be problematic especially between Maghrebi and Middle-eastern dialects. For example: |ma:Si| (مانسي) means, among its various meanings, 'all right' in the Middle East but in the Maghreb it means 'no'. |alh0amma:m| (الحمّام) in Egypt means 'toilet' but in the Maghreb, it means 'bath' or 'bathroom'. These variations also exist in different regions within the same country.

Like all Arab speakers, all Algerians, or nearly all of them, speak one of the varieties of Arabic. There is in reality a great deal of variation in the way in which people from different parts of the country use their language. This variation can be a source of interest in the field of sociolinguistics. Many, if not all, of us are fascinated by the different types of Arabic that are spoken in different regions of the country. Some of us even tell funny stories and make jokes about them. Among the questions which are commonly asked in such research works we have:

- What is the social significance of differences of grammar and accent among people speaking varieties of the same language?
- Is it wrong, for example, to negate the verb and not the subject as in: |marajah0S| (مارايحش) 'I am not going' which is used in the region of Jijel and some other regions of the country as opposed to the other regions where people use: |maniSra:jah00| (مانيش رايح) 'I'm not going'.
- Do some people have the right to evaluate the speech of others?
- Why should people pronounce and accept, for example, |qa:l| or |ga:l| and not |ka:l| as in Jijel?

- Should we change such constructions?
- Will people using such constructions suffer (have a sort of inferiority complex) once out of their speech community?

The aim of this research work is to attempt to answer questions like these and discuss the nature and causes of prejudices on the Jijel dialect on the basis of some empirical observations.

It should be specified that in Algeria there is only one type of dialect which prevails: the regional dialect; the social one is not so obvious. Much of the linguistic variation, thus, to be found in this country has a regional basis, not a class one. Speakers from Jijel do not sound like Constantinians, and the language spoken in Algiers is different from that of Oran. Also the language used in Tebessa is easily distinguishable from that of Tlemcen... This is often a question of pronunciation – accent – but it may also be a matter of vocabulary and structure. When you hear a person say: |wa:h| (واه) ‘Yes’, you immediately think that he comes from somewhere in the west, since people in the Center, the east, and the south say: |i:h| (إيه), |hi:h| (هيه) and |n;am| (نعم) respectively. There are also differences in pronunciation, and grammar, and we are all aware of such differences, and are able to place a person regionally by his speech in an accurate kind of way. This linguistic heterogeneity appears to be a universal property. And since all societies of the world are internally differentiated in many ways, we can say, simply, that all languages are variable. We can find regional variation in France, in England, and even in the smallest societies such as Iceland where there are no more than 200,000 people. Evidently, answers to how this linguistic diversity arises, or why everybody in Algeria or elsewhere does not speak their language in the same way are not easy to find, but one of the most important factors is that language is a changing phenomenon; it is never static. In much the same way, Arabic undergoes changes like all other languages. It is quite obvious that the Arabic

used by El Shanfara's (A pre Islamic poet) is different from Modern Arabic and is quite difficult to understand, and may actually require translation. Linguistic change is something we can not shirk; it is inevitable. Many features of today's Arabic which are now taken for granted and are found perfectly acceptable, such as |ittifa:qija:t| (إتفاقيات) : (conventions); |bida:ʔi| (بدائي) : (primitive), instead of: |ittifa:qa:t| (إتفاقات) and |bUda:ʔi| (بُدائي) were completely rejected by conservatives when they first appeared in Standard Arabic. The diversity of language is a natural phenomenon and does not mean, in any way, 'corruption' or 'decay' as was believed in the past. The maintenance, however, of a certain number of linguistic barriers to communication is sometimes a good thing. These barriers may ensure the continuity of different speech communities and the separation of the country's population into different groups using different languages favours the emergence of cultural diversity on the other hand. A country where everybody speaks the same language can be said to be a dull and stagnant place and as said by Holmes (1992: 63) "...nothing benefits a country more than to treasure the languages and cultures of its various peoples because in doing so, it fosters inter-group understanding and realises greater dividends in the form of originality, creativity and versatility".

Statement of the Problem

The linguistic situation in Algeria is not very far from linguistic situations in many countries in the world in that there are several varieties spoken within their frontiers. While most people – if not all of them – in Algeria speak Arabic, it is far from being the case that they all speak it alike. We are all aware of the fact that there is indeed a great deal of variation in the way people speak and use their language. But, despite the big amount of literature about the diversity of language and the social stigmatization of certain varieties, no linguistic study, be it in the Arab world or in Algeria, at least to my knowledge, has been made about dialect stigma and value judgements made about languages or language

varieties. Many speakers of a community, for example, are rather fascinated by the different ways of speaking that are used in different parts of the country, and some of them even make jokes and tell funny stories about them.

The present study takes the Jijel dialect as a sample of stigmatised dialects in Algeria whose linguistic variations have regional bases, and attempts to show, though counter to the thinking of many people, that no one language or variety of a language is better than any other. It also attempts to demonstrate that negative attitudes towards other people's ways of speaking are social attitudes, not linguistic ones. Judgements of this type are in fact based on value judgements, and relate mostly to the social structure of the community than to language.

The investigation has been done in the community of Constantine on the basis that the Jijel dialect is stigmatised much in that community which may, therefore, be an appropriate site to observe the attitudes of the others on the dialect under study.

The research work is performed under the title of "Dialect Stigma and Language Conflicts", and raises three main questions:

- 1- Shall we ask the speakers of the stigmatised dialects to change their way of speaking?
- 2- Shall we ask the majority group members to stop mocking the minority group members via their dialects?
- 3- Shall we ask the speakers of the stigmatised dialects to take jokes and stories about them friendly and to accept them as such?

Aims of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to bring some modest contribution to the domain of sociolinguistics in general and modern linguistic studies in particular. The main focus has been deliberately put on a non-standard language for the purpose of shedding

some light on spoken vernaculars as linguistic phenomena which have continued to exist despite their unfavourable positions among researchers. Most importantly, the study aims at making a plea for those who hold strong attitudes towards dialects to stop evaluating languages and to take them all aqually.

Hypotheses

There are two main hypotheses examined in this investigation: First, the dialect under study – the Jijel dialect – as opposed to the other Algerian dialects – is highly stigmatized in the community of Constantine, because of historical and social reasons, and almost all over Algeria because of l'Inspecteur Tahar's imitation of that dialect which has spread the matter nationwide. This stigmatisation is transmitted from one generation to the other via the hearsay process. Second, a great deal of the Jijel dialect remains unknown outside the boarders of its community because of the inferiority complex of its speakers who have always avoided identifying themselves to their own dialect for fear of being categorized and stereotyped.

Method of Investigation

To check the validity of these hypotheses, three tasks have been given to twenty informants of both sexes and different ages selected at random from the city of Constantine. The informants have been given twenty seven sets of words having the same meaning each. The majority of the words are used in the province of Constantine and that of Jijel; some of the words pertain to other speech communities. In this task the informants are asked two questions:

- 1- To reject the words which they are not likely to use in their everyday communications.
- 2- The informants are given the words in a random way and are asked to withdraw the words they do not understand.

In the second task the informants have been given eleven sets of structures having the same meaning each. The majority of these structures belong to the dialects of Constantine and Jijel; a few belong to other dialects. The informants were asked to tell which of the structures they do not like much.

In the third and final task the informants have been given five sets of question markers from different varieties in Algeria, and have been asked to withdraw the question markers which they do not like much.

The aim behind these questions is to tell us whether or not the most rejected words, structures, and question markers belong – as is hypothesised – to the dialect of Jijel. It should be mentioned that the sets of words, structures, and question markers have been selected on the basis of empirical experience of the various interactions between people taking place in Constantine and Jijel speech communities. The data needed have been collected by means of recordings as research tools.

Structure of the Study

Chapter one undertakes a general survey of the contributions of sociolinguistics to the changing of conceptions held on languages in general and varieties in particular. This is because of the fact that, for more than two thousand years, the idea of language standardization has been engraved in man's mind to the extent that the spoken form of language has never been taken into account. The chapter introduces the way sociolinguists cope with language change, language and dialect, and language in contact.

Chapter two is characterized by its psychological aspect in that it is concerned with prejudice as an unfavourable attitude directed towards other groups – mainly minority groups. It is mainly concerned with categorizing people into groups on the basis of some perceived common attributes, and making value judgements about these groups of people according to linguistic features as a common form of stereotyping.

Chapter three is a linguistic analysis of some speech items typical to the dialect of Jijel which are highly stigmatised and which are part of many other items which make the variety of language spoken in the province of Jijel different from varieties of other provinces in Algeria.

Chapter four is an analysis of language attitudes towards the variety of language spoken in Jijel obtained through sets of words given to informants from the Constantine community who were asked to say which of the words they would reject. The chapter aims at showing that words are no more than neutral signs and that rejecting them on the basis of their being pleasant or unpleasant is completely wrong.

Chapter five is the analysis of the results of a task performed on twenty informants representing the population of Constantine. The informants have been given sets of structures and question markers having the same meaning each. These structures and question markers are taken from the varieties spoken in the speech communities of Constantine and Jijel as well as, sometimes, from other speech communities. The informants have been asked to tell which of the structures and question markers they would not like to be part of their language use. The chapter aims at confirming or refuting the hypothesis that the Jijel dialect is rated negatively.

Chapter six is concerned with the psychological analysis of prejudiced talk. This is done by examining discourse structures and how they are applied at the level of content and more specifically at the level of form. This is only because prejudice is culturally and socially reproduced through talk. The chapter introduces four main types of everyday communications that illustrate how attitudes towards others function. These are: Stories, Jokes, Sayings, and Nicknames.

The research work concludes by summing up the results of the research and an outline of some implications and recommendations for further investigation in the domain of sociolinguistics in general and dialectology in particular.

Chapter I

Sociolinguistics and Language Variation

Introduction

Sociolinguistics is a descriptive rather than prescriptive study, and modern linguists are interested in accounting for what speakers actually say and not in what various grammarians and academics or any other ‘authorities’ believe they should say. This means that modern linguists are not ready to say that a form of language is ‘good’ and another form is ‘bad’. The vast majority of them are agreed that ‘correctness’, ‘adequacy’, and ‘aestheticness’ of different types of language are notions which have no part to play in objective discussions of language, at least as it is used by native speakers.

The aim of this chapter is to argue that, at any rate in the Algerian speech communities, it is important, for social reasons, for educated people at least to resist value judgments about language on other counts, notably that certain language varieties are ‘inadequate’ and ‘ugly’. It also aims at suggesting that empirical researches in the domain of sociolinguistics that have been carried out both under experimental conditions and in the speech communities themselves can now be used to prove that value judgments of all types are equally unsound.

The chapter will be divided into four basic sections the first of which will deal with how linguists cope with language change, with the emphasis on the social significance of language variation. Section two will deal with languages in contact, in which some linguistic phenomena together with some sociolinguistic concepts are briefly explained. Section three will introduce some approaches of the study of language and dialect; and the rest of the chapter will be concerned with methodology of dialect studies which will be the theoretical support of this research work.

1.1 How Linguists Cope with Language Change

One of the most abstractions which are made in linguistics is the term 'language', in the sense of 'the Arabic language', 'the French language', 'the English language' etc. By experience, it is taken for granted that no two individual speakers speak exactly the same. It is rarely the case that one is unable to recognize the speech of one acquaintance as distinct from that of another and from that of a person one has never encountered before. Yet, in every day life one is ready to speak of 'the French language' or 'the English language', etc. without any misunderstanding or confusion. The sociolinguist does the same in making statements about a given language at any level of study. In each case one deliberately disregards the differences which exist between the speech habits of separate individuals. The sociolinguist, who is supposed to recognize explicitly what he is doing, bases his descriptive statements, his generalizations, and abstractions on characteristics and features that relate to all speakers recognized for his purpose as speakers of the language concerned.

A scientific study must be carried out this way, seeking to restrict the multitude diversity of phenomena by statements applying to what can be said to be quite common to them. As far as languages are concerned, one can proceed in two ways. The first way is to make one's statements general enough, admitting permissive variation of structures and systems in one's description and a wide range of actual exponents, so that the inherent diversity of different speakers is allowed for, or, more often, selecting certain speakers only and limiting one's statements to them alone as samples representing the language as a whole.

In such field studies, in practice, the second procedure is very much adopted. What sociolinguists do, traditionally, is select the speech of educated persons, and people detaining power in the capital city of a country as representing 'the language'. Grammars

of English and French, for example, and books on their pronunciation describe educated English as spoken in London and the south-east of England, and educated Parisian French. These are the kind of English and French which are accepted to be the languages of education, though as kinds of speech, they only represent the speech habits of the minority of each country.

The fact that some persons are more advantaged than some others is a natural reality; the companions of the prophet asked prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him) about the advantage which rich people have over the people in accordance with the worship of God. They said that the poor practice prayer and the rich can do so as well; the poor fast and the rich can also fast; any way, what the poor can do, can be done by the rich but the rich can give charity while the poor cannot. Prophet Mohamed said that they had this advantage and this is what life is.

What ever the practical merits of this procedure, the sociolinguistic theory has to be able to deal with the real diversity of linguistic phenomena in a more exact way. Within the field generally recognized of 'one language', lots of clear differences of vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar are not mixed by chance, but occupy different regions within the boundary, shading into one another in all directions. Such situations are apparent to anyone traveling within the country. To cope with such a situation, sociolinguists distinguish within all language areas different dialects. Of course it is not easy to recognize in advance the number of dialects within a language; it depends on the accuracy of the division of the areas the linguist is working on. In any case dialects will fall into larger groups of dialects, the largest of all being the language itself as a unity. The lower limit of dialect division comes down to the individual speaker opening the way for the term 'idiolect' (the individual's speech) to be coined in the language.

This division of dialects from very large to very small is still not enough to show the possible subdivisions of linguistic phenomena. It is quite clear that each individual's speech varies according to the different situations the speaker is in, and the different roles he is playing at any time in society. One can easily distinguish the different kinds of speech used by the same person among the family members, among strangers, and with people belonging to different social classes etc. for example, the sentence 'the person to whom I was referring teaches at the university of Cambridge' is quite natural and appropriate in a formal situation, while the sentence 'the person I was referring to teaches at the university of Cambridge' is felt natural and appropriate in daily conversations. The former would sound odd in every day informal conversations.

The linguistic differences which occur at the level of the speech of a single person are called styles. Individual speakers are not 'free' to use whatever language they like in any situation; rather most of the times, if not all the times, our way of speaking is imposed upon us. We do not speak the same way to our mother, for example, as to our class mates. We do not speak either the same way in the mosque as in the street and so on. Fishman's quotation 'who speaks, to whom, when, where, and concerning what' sums up style variation – it varies from the most formal to the most colloquial. The very specific slangs and jargons of very coherent groups within a community, such as certain trade areas, some schools and colleges, fall into the heading of style. Their use in these specific contexts by the individuals helps to give the in-group members a strong feeling of group unity and to distinguish them from the out-group members, who cannot understand such modes of discourse.

In the working of linguistic taboo, we can see a special case of style variation; speakers avoid either the whole topics or certain words in particular situations, e.g., when these speakers are before children, older persons, strangers, or members of the opposite

sex, etc. This phenomenon exists in all communities, though the situations in which the taboos operate, and the sort of topics and the types of vocabulary thus forbidden vary considerably. In various circumstances, some taboo vocabulary words are substituted to avoid distressing the situation. Personal styles' differences and dialects are the sum of large numbers of individual differences of speaking noticed at the level of grammar, pronunciation and the meanings of particular words. Sociolinguists study all three of them within the frame of the social significance of language variation. The selection of the following, for example, by only one person, on different occasions, cannot fall into dialect variation as much as it falls into idiolect variation: 'I just wanted to let you know that I will be waiting for you in the airport', and 'I am waiting to inform you that I will receive you in the airport'. These two examples suggest that the amount of variation is due to style differences, not to dialect differences.

1.2 Varieties of Language

Ordinary people hold the belief that 'language' in general is a phenomenon which includes all languages of the world. They also believe that the term 'variety of language' may be used to mean different manifestations of language, exactly the same way as they take music as a general phenomenon and then distinguish different 'varieties of music'. The linguistic items that a variety of language includes make it different from other varieties. On the basis of that, sociolinguists see a variety of language as "a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution" (Hudson, 1980:22). This definition can lead to the implication that the following varieties of language: French, English, Patois, the English used by football commentators, London English, are the language or languages spoken by community members or a particular individual person.

The ways in which these, and other languages, vary explains to a great extent the types of variations which are found in the world's languages. Even when languages are in

one language family, or even in one country, different changes can be seen in each. A rather simple hypothetical situation may illustrate how lots of the world's languages arise. Suppose that a community of people speaking one language all live in the same place, interact with one another, go to the same markets, and movies, watch the same T.V shows, send their children to the same schools, the changes that occur at the level of their language will be reflected in the whole community; no one will notice those changes. But, if a group of people from among this one speech community leave and settle in a new region – as did the Arabs in the past in their Islamic conquests –, and stop all sorts of contact with the group who stayed in their community, through time the two groups will witness changes at the level of their language or two varieties of the two groups, the two dialects will no longer be mutually understandable, and thus languages will arise from one parent language. It is on this basis that people call some varieties different dialects of the same language and others different languages.

The definition of 'variety' given above, and the examples given of French, English, Patois, London English etc., suggest even greater start-points from the linguistic tradition. This definition allows us to treat all the languages of some multilingual community, or speaker, as only one variety, since all the linguistic items they include have a similar social distribution. That is to say, they are used by the same community or speaker. This simply means that a variety can be larger than a language. Conversely speaking, if we take this definition into account, we can understand that a variety may contain only some items, if it is defined in terms of the range of speakers or circumstances with which it is associated. For example, a variety can be seen as consisting of those items used only by a particular village. In this case, a variety can be a lot smaller than a language, or even than a dialect.

The loose sense of the term 'variety' allows us to ask what basis there is to take for granted the kinds of 'package' of linguistic items to which we give labels like 'language',

‘dialect’, or ‘register’. Is it because linguistic items shape themselves into natural packs, tightly interrelated in a structured way, as was once in the structuralism tradition of the twentieth century? The answer we would like to give is certainly negative: the bundles into which linguistic items can be grouped are quite loosely tied, and it is easy for items to move between them, to the point that bundles may in fact be mixed up. The extreme cases of this will be introduced later on in ‘code-switching.’

To sum up, talks of language in accordance with society consist of statements which refer, on the language side, to either linguistic items or varieties, which are sets of such items. There exist no limits on the relations among varieties – they may overlap and one variety may include another. The defining characteristic of each variety is the relevant relation to society – in other words, by whom, and when, the items concerned are used. Now – defined in this way – the question to what extent the traditional ideas about ‘language’, ‘dialect’, and ‘register’ go with varieties becomes empirical.

1.3 Dialect mapping: Isoglosses

In all speech communities people always pay considerable attention to dialectal differences within languages. The division of languages into dialects has always been accepted as a matter of general knowledge though their systematic and accurate descriptions and differentiations are the linguist’s tasks. Among non-professional scholars dialect observation has always been a favorite linguistic topic; the existing several dialect communities witness that. Many sociolinguists are specialized in dialect studies within one or more language areas, and the domain of this specialization is now known as dialectology.

Dialects are constituted by their own features at each level of study, which they share with other dialects and which are peculiar to a particular dialect. So dialects can be defined as the sum of their characteristics, a statement equally applicable to the whole

languages. As long as these characteristics are locally distributed, they can be plotted on a map of the area concerned. It is the so-called 'dialect-geography' which performs such a task by drawing lines which delimit areas displaying a particular feature and divide them off from areas displaying other features. "When these lines connect phonetic boundaries they are called isophones" (Robins, 1979:42), but when they connect lexical or grammatical boundaries they are called 'isoglosses'. However, linguists use 'isogloss' as a common term for both kinds of lines. These terms are shaped on geographical terms like 'isotherm (a line which marks areas of equal temperature) and isobar (a line which marks areas of equal atmospheric pressure).

In countries like Britain, France, Canada, Germany, and the United States semi-official dialect surveys have been made covering features at all levels. Various methods have been used in such regional dialect studies; the most common ones have been the postal questionnaire (questionnaires are sent to the informants who fill them up and send them back to the researcher) and individual interview. Most work of the sort has been done on pronunciation, and lexicon, but very little indeed has been done on syntax.

In all cases of regional studies, we have maps which are made to chart the regional distribution of the forms in question. For example, the different ways of pronouncing the word 'calf' are to be plotted on one map. They are [kæ:f] and [ka:f]. The different pronunciation of 'path', 'pass', 'grass', etc. are to be plotted on other maps. The various past forms of the verb 'see', for example: [sO:], [sin], and [sid] are yet to be plotted on other maps. Lexicon terms used for the wood or metal receptacles in which water is carried (e.g., 'bucket', 'pail'...) are plotted on other maps.

As was indicated above, the regional dialect features plotted by isoglosses are not scattered over an area in a random way, but tend roughly to coincide in distribution, so that a dialect map displays many isoglosses following the same line. The following map shows

the division of the major regional dialect areas. The isoglosses represent the distinct linguistic differences between the North, Midland, and the South of the Eastern United States. Of course there are subareas within each area, each with its own characteristics. The data in the map demonstrate two main facts.

- Dialects are characterized by bundles of characteristics, not single features.
- There are degrees of difference between dialects – the midland and South have more in common with each other than with the North (Traugott and Pratt, 1980:316).

(Map: 1)



Dialect Areas of the United States of America Eastern Dialect Boundaries

Traugott E.C. and Pratt M.L.(1980:316)

1.3.1 Northern characteristics

Phonology: |r| kept after a vowel except in Eastern New England, e.g., in ‘hoarse’, ‘four’, ‘cart’, ‘father’.

|Q| versus |O:| in ‘hoarse’ versus ‘horse’, ‘mourning’ versus ‘morning’. This distinction is disappearing in Inland Northern dialects. It is also found in Southern dialects, |s| in ‘greasy’.

Morphology and syntax:

‘dove’ instead of ‘dived’

‘hadn’t ought’ instead of ‘oughtn’t’

‘clim’ instead of ‘climbed’

Lexicon:

‘pail’ instead of ‘bucket’

‘spider’ instead of ‘fraying pan’ (disappearing in Inland Northern, also in Southern)

1.3.2 Midland characteristics

Phonology: |r| kept after vowels. Also Inland Northern.

|O:| in ‘on’. Also Southern.

|z| in greasy. Also Southern.

Morphology and syntax:

‘Clum’ instead of ‘climbed’

‘you-all’ to mean plural of ‘you’. Also Southern.

‘I’ll wait on you’ instead of ‘I’ll wait for you’.

Lexicon: ‘skillet’ instead of ‘frying pan’.

‘snake feeder’ instead of ‘dragon fly’.

‘a little piece’ instead of ‘a short distance’.

1.3.3 Southern characteristics

Phonology: |r| sometimes lost after vowels.

|Q| and |O:| contrasting in ‘hoarse’ and ‘horse’, ‘mourning’, and ‘morning’.

Also Northern.

The diphthong |æU| in ‘mountain’ and ‘loud’. Also Midland.

|O:| in ‘on’. Also Midland.

|z| in ‘greasy’. Also Midland.

Morphology and syntax:

‘clim’ instead of ‘climbed’. Also Northern.

‘you-all’ to mean plural of ‘you’. Also Midland.

Lexicon: ‘spider’ instead of ‘frying pan’. Also Northern.

‘carry’ instead of ‘escort’.

The following map represents the definite article ‘the’ in spoken dialects of Yorkshire, England. The lines (isoglosses) within the unshaded area of the map divide the country of Yorkshire into three areas, according to their spoken representation of ‘the’.

- A t-sound and/or a glottal stop [ʔ] before consonants and vowels;
- A t-sound and/or a glottal stop before consonants, a th-sound [T] or tth-sound [tT] before vowels;
- No spoken representation.

(Map: 2)



Representation of the definite article ‘the’, in spoken dialects of Yorkshire. Robins R.H.(1979:43)

It should be mentioned that a portion of the Saussure's course in General Linguistics comprises some notions regarding the geographical branch of linguistics. According to de Saussure, Geographical linguistics deals with the study of linguistic diversity across lands; they are of two types: diversity of relationship that goes with languages which are supposed to have a neat relation between them; and absolute diversity, where there is no demonstrable relationship between compared languages. Each of the two types of diversity is problematic, and each can be approached in different ways.

An investigation in Indo-European and Chinese languages, for example, which have no relation between them, benefits from comparison, with the aim of showing certain constant factors which underlie the development and establishment of any language. The other type of variation, diversity of relationship, stands for unlimited possibilities for comparisons, which make it clear that dialects and languages differ in some degrees only. Saussure considers diversity of relationship to be more useful than absolute diversity with regard to determining the essential cause of geographical diversity.

Saussure believes that time is the primary factor of linguistic diversity, not distance, as is currently believed. For illustration of the argument, Saussure suggests a hypothetical population of colonists, who move from their home island to another. Initially, no difference between the language spoken by the colonists on the new island and their homeland counterparts can be noticed, despite the clear geographical separation. From that Saussure establishes that the geographical diversity research is necessary concentrated on the effects of time on linguistic development. Taking a monolingual community as his model, Saussure outlines the way in which a language might develop and gradually undergo subdivision into distinct dialects.

This model of differentiation has two major principles: (1) that linguistic evolution appears via continuous changes made to specific linguistic items; and (2) that each of these

changes belongs to a specific area, which they affect either wholly or partially. It is, thus, understood from these principles that at any geographical point a particular language is undergoing some change, and that dialects have no natural boundary. That is, Saussure draws a distinction between two cases of language change: cases of contact and cases of isolation and, in both cases languages continue to undergo variation. De Saussure goes on explaining two counteracting tendencies in dialect development by stating that among small isolated groups of people, who seldom move beyond their own collectivities and who do not have external intercourse, regional diversity of speech habits readily develops and becomes regarded as part of the personality of the members of the group.

In contrast, where large-scale travel is favored, urbanization, regional mobility – for example, in that case local speech differences are liable to be replaced with conscious efforts on the part of speakers by a more socially recognized type of speech. This may be the case, especially, when these group members are associated with lack of education, low social prestige, or other unfavorable circumstances. This probably applies to the out-group speakers who have moved from the region of EL-Milia to settle in Constantine, and who have made lots of efforts to acquire – as an ultimate solution – the speech of Constantine – what has covert prestige – and who have now become bilinguals or bidialectals; one variety is used according to the type of situation prevailing at the time, and another one is reserved for more intimate family occasions. In these circumstances, that is, speech in the local dialect acquires a special meaning or function in the situations in which it is used.

It is now clear that isoglosses tend to follow boundaries that either prevent people on both sides to understand one another or at least did so in earlier times, such as rivers, mountain ranges, land expansion, or political frontiers. These two constantly counteracting tendencies in dialect development are called by Saussure the ‘pressure of communication’. Certainly the latter tendency – that in which there is travel – is favored; we must assume

that, despite the smaller populations, there were greater numbers of dialects in earlier days. As opposed to earlier, where a countryman could live and die in his society without having gone beyond the boundaries of his local community, today local dialects are easily scattered because of rapid means of displacing from place to place. Hence, dialect identification has become much more difficult these days, mainly because of these increased social mobilities. Nowadays, it is not as easy as some decades ago to tell where someone is from through his way of speaking. In many parts of the world, it is becoming less common for people to live their lives in only one place, and mixed dialects are becoming more and more the norm. Also, through radio and television, there is much more exposure to a wide range of dialects, which greatly influence the speech of listeners and viewers even within their own communities. By this we can say that Shaw's Higgins: 'I can place any man within six miles. I can place him within two miles in London. Some times within two streets' (Pygmalion, act 1) is no more valuable.

In most modern countries the dialect differences of city inhabitants are less noticeable than those of rural inhabitants in corresponding parts of the country. As opposed to previously, sociolinguists have recently concerned themselves with the dialect situations within urban areas. The best example of that is probably the dialect study of the New York City carried out by Labov (Labov,2001) which shows that dialect divisions, in those circumstances, are greatly delocalized and tend to be realized in terms of social class and not in terms of region really. A study of the same line has been carried out by Trudgill in the English City of Norwich.

1.4 The Standard language

Although the meaning of a 'Standard' language is taken for granted by most people, still there is often confusion about what is meant by a 'Standard' language. Broadly speaking, we can say that a 'Standard' language is defined in two views, but which are

frequently mixed up. In one view, a Standard language is defined in a descriptive way in society, be it oral or written, in accordance with communicative activities of social prestige. It is the language which is appropriate to a particular intersection of a prestigious social class, topic, medium, style. The other view is rather prescriptive in the sense that it regards the standard as a language apart, recognizable primarily via its written form. This view considers the Standard language as the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by the whole society. It is this intervention which is referred to as 'Standardization'. A standard language is a variety which is used by political leaders and upper socio-economic classes and often has prestige and dominates the other varieties. Such a dominant variety which is called the 'Standard' language is understood by speakers of other regional dialects though they do not use it in their everyday communication. The Standard is taught to non-native speakers, used in schools, and is the only written form.

In the Arab world, the conservatives have entered a fight against some modernist Arab writers who started already writing in different varieties of Arabic, and, as a result, the notion of the Standard as the only correct form of Arabic is maintained and is propagated all over the Arab world. The idea of restoring Arabic goes back to the Muslim Arabic grammarians, who in the eighth and ninth century A.D. working at Basra attempted to purify Arabic in order to maintain it to the perfection of the Quran Arabic (Fromkin and Rodman, 1974: 260). In France, there exists an official academy of scholars who determine the usages that constitute the official French language. In England there is no such academy, but language is developed and modified by the people. The London dialect is the Standard variety and it is understood by all English people; the use of any form other than the Standard is labeled and even stigmatized. Lay people hold the belief that language change equals corruption – an idea which goes back to the Greek grammar.

So far, the notion 'Standard Language' is still not very precise, but, clearly, a typical Standard Language is that which has to pass through some given processes (Haugen 1966); they are:

- Selection – as has been given above, a particular variety must be selected as the one to be developed into a Standard Language. It is most of the time the variety used in an important political or socio-economical circle. The selection is, thus, a question of great social and political importance. The chosen variety must gain prestige and so the people who already speak it share in this prestige.
- Codification – the Standardized variety is cared for by some agency such as an academy whose members write down dictionaries and grammar books to set up the rules, so that all people agree on what is correct and what is not. Once the variety is codified, people will become interested in learning the correct forms to avoid in writing any incorrect forms that may exist in their regional variety.
- Function – the standardized variety can be used in all the functions associated with the powerful group and with writing: for example, in law courts, parliament, educational and scientific documents, and various forms of literature. Of course this may demand the addition of some new elements to the repertoire of the standardized language, especially technical words, but always with the need of the development of new agreements for using existing forms – how to use formal language both in speaking and writing.
- Acceptance – the relevant population must accept the Standardized variety as the language of the community – generally as the national language. Once this aim is achieved, the standard language can now serve as a strong power which unifies the state, as a symbol of being independent of other communities, and as a marker of being different from other communities.

This type of study of the factors involved in standardization is, in a way, accepted by sociolinguists because they see that language is deliberately manipulated by society, and they pay much attention to the Standard – which is, in fact, their own language.

1.5 Speech community

The study of speech communities has interested linguists for a relatively long time. Bloomfield (the leader of American structural linguistics) wrote a whole chapter on speech communities in his book entitled 'Language' (1933:ch.3). Since then, linguists have seen it helpful for the study of language change and variation. The real adoption of the concept 'Speech community' as a focus of linguistic study comes into existence in the 1960s. This was thanks to the pioneering work by Labov(1966), whose analyses of language variation in New York City laid to the base for sociolinguistics as a social science. Labov's studies showed that not only class and profession were clearly related to language variation within a speech community, but also mobility and socio-economic aspirations were of great importance.

Speech community has emerged as a sociolinguistic concept which describes a group of people who use language in a unique and mutually accepted way among themselves (exactly how to define 'speech community' is debated in the literature). Before attempting the definitions of a speech community, let us depart from the fact that all known human groups possess language. At the same time, we depart from the fact that verbal interaction is a social process in which utterances are chosen according to some norms and expectations that are socially organized. It follows, therefore, that linguistic phenomena may be analyzed both within the context of language itself and within the broader context of social behaviour. In the latter frame, linguistic phenomena are analyzed within a socially defined universe, and the study is of language usage as it reflects more general behaviour norms. This universe is simply the speech community.

Most groups of any permanence can be considered as speech communities, under the condition that they display linguistic peculiarities that guarantee special study. The verbal behaviour of such groups always makes up a system which has to be based on finite sets of rules of grammar that underlie the generation of well-formed utterances, otherwise messages will not be understandable. But this is just a point of departure in the sociolinguistic study of language behaviour. That is, grammatical rules alone do not really constrain speech; an individual's chosen variety from among permissible alternates in a given context may reveal his regional background and his social intent. It may also identify him, for example, as being from the South or from the North, from an urban or rural area, as a member of the educated or uneducated classes, and may even tell whether he wants to appear friendly or distant, superior or inferior, familiar or deferential etc. The sociolinguistic study of speech communities deals with the linguistic similarities and differences among these speech varieties.

Definitions of speech community often have a tendency to involve different degrees of focus on the following:

- Shared community membership.
- Shared linguistic communication.

Exact definitions and the relative importance of these, however, also vary in the sense that some linguists would argue that a speech community has to be a 'real' community, i.e., a group of people living in the same area, a city or neighborhood, while modern sociolinguists suggest that all people are actually part of many communities and that they are, thus, part of simultaneous speech communities. That is, some linguists would argue that a common native language, or dialect, is necessary, while others would believe that the ability of communication and interaction is enough. The underlined meaning in both of these views is that members of the same speech community should share linguistic

norms. In other words, members should share comprehension, values and attitudes about language varieties which are there in their speech community.

Despite considerable debates on the exact definition of speech community, there is general agreement that the concept is greatly useful and even crucial for the study of language variation and change. A person may, and often does, belong to more than one speech community. For example, a student from Jijel studying at the university of Constantine would likely speak and be spoken to differently when interacting with student peers. If he found himself in a situation with a variety of in-group or out-group peers, he would likely modify his speech to appeal to speakers of all the speech communities represented at that moment.

The notion of speech community is generally used as a means of defining a unit of analysis within which to analyze language variation and change. Stylistic items vary within speech communities based on factors such as the group's socio-economic status, common interests and the formality level expected within the group and by its larger society. In almost all cultures of the world employees at a law office, for example, would likely use more formal language than a group of teenage boys playing in the street because most people expect more formal speech and professional behaviour from practitioners of law than from an informal circle of adolescent friends. Such special use of language in certain domains for particular activities is known in the field of linguistics as register. The group of speakers of a register is known as discourse community in some studies, while the term 'speech community' is reserved for varieties of language or dialects that speakers inherit by birth or adoption.

Finally, it should be noted that before Labov's studies, the nearest linguistic domain was dialectology, which investigates linguistic variation between different dialects. The primary application of dialectology is in rural communities with little physical

mobility. Hence, there was no framework for studying language variation in cities until the emergence of the concept of speech community as part of sociolinguistics, which now applies to both rural and urban communities. And from the 1960s on several studies have been performed that have furthered our knowledge about how speech communities function. Prominent sociolinguists who have worked on speech communities include, to cite only a few, Labov, Gumperz, Hockett, Lyons, Milroy, Lakoff, Eckert, Trudgill etc. In what follows some simple definitions of ‘speech community’:

Probably the simplest definition of speech community is that of Lyons (1970: 326): “Speech community: all the people who use a given language (or dialect)”.

This definition implies that speech communities need not have a social or cultural unity; they may overlap where multilingual individuals are. That is, it is possible to delimit speech communities in this sense only to the extent that it is possible to delimit languages and dialects without any reference to the community that speaks them.

A more complex definition is given by Hockett (1958: 8): “Each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly; via common language”.

In relation to Lyons’ definition, Hockett adds the criterion of communication within the community, so that if we have two communities which both speak the same language but have no contact with each other at all, they will be considered as different speech communities.

Another definition by Gumperz (1968) introduces the need for some specifically linguistic differences between the members of the speech community and those outside is:

The speech community: any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use.

Unlike Hockett's, Gumperz' definition does not require that there must be just one language per speech community. The effect of emphasizing communication and interaction is that different speech communities will not have to overlap much, as opposed to Lyon's definition where overlap automatically results from multilingualism.

A different definition focusing on shared attitudes and knowledge rather than on shared linguistic behaviour is given by Labov (1972:120):

The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972) have also given rather similar definitions which refer to shared norms and abstract patterns of variation rather than to shared speech behaviour. It is clear that this kind of definition puts focus on the speech community as a group of people feeling themselves to be a community in some sense, rather than a group that the linguist and the outsider only could know about, as in the earlier definitions.

Last but not least, there is a different approach which shirks the term 'Speech community' completely, but refers to groups in society having distinctive speech characteristics and other social characteristics. It is worth mentioning that the groups are those which are perceived to exist by the individual and not by objective methods. It is not needed that the groups exhaust the whole population, but may stand for the clear cases of certain social type, i.e., the prototypes. It was Le Page (Le Page and Tabouret – Keller 1985) who advocated this approach:

Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that:

- a- He can identify the groups,
- b- He has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyze their behavioural systems,

- c- His motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behaviour accordingly,
- d- He is still able to adapt his behaviour.

According to this view, individuals locate themselves in a multi-dimensional space, the dimensions being defined by the groups they can identify in their society. These groups definitely overlap as opposed to some of the speech communities defined above. For example, a child may identify groups on the basis of age, race, sex, and geography, and each grouping can contribute a bit to the combination of linguistic items which they choose as their own language.

The last saying about the speech community is given by Bolinger (1975: 333) who identifies those personal groups as speech communities, and stresses the unlimited amount of complexity that is possible:

There is no limit to the ways in which human beings league themselves together for self-identification, security, gain, amusement, worship, or any of the other purposes that are held in common; consequently there is no limit to the number and variety of speech communities that are to be found in society.

This view holds the belief that any population, be it in a city, a village, or a state, can be actually composed of a very big number of speech communities, with memberships and language systems that overlap.

By this, we have moved from the simplest definition of 'speech community' to the most complex one. The point now is how to evaluate these different definitions. The most accurate answer, of course, is that they are all 'correct' definitions, since they all allow us to define a set of people who share something linguistically – a language or dialect, communication via speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range attitudes to varieties and items. The groups of people referred to are defined on the basis of different factors and may differ totally – one criterion allows overlapping groups, another does not allow them etc. – but we do not have to try to reconcile the different

definitions with one another, since they are all simply attempting the reflection of different phenomena.

On the other hand, it remains a fact that they all imply to be definitions of the same thing – the speech community – which is qualified as a set of people who are distinguished from the rest of the world by more than one property. Some of these properties must be important from the point of view of the social lives of the members. Hence, if we are not asked which of the definitions given above lead to the genuine community, we can simply say that they all do. They all state that a speech community is simply the set of people who speak a given language or dialect. And it is difficult to imagine such a community having nothing but the common language or dialect to set them off from other people – nothing in their culture, nothing to do with their history, and so on. It is taken for granted that in any speech community, when interaction is involved there are other common properties in addition to the interaction. This conclusion tends to solve the apparent conflict between the definition of speech community, but correlate with one another in very complex ways. A community defined in terms of interaction may contain parts of several communities defined in terms of shared language varieties.

Despite the ‘accuracy’ of the various definitions of the speech community, there are good reasons for rejecting the assumption that there exists a ‘real’ community out there. In reality, communities are determined only to the extent that we are aware of them – their existence is only subjective, not objective, i.e., they are shaped in our heads the way we see them. In fact, no dialectologist would recognize a dialect area called ‘Southern’ or ‘Northern’ English, for instance, but ordinary people only think in such terms. So, if objective communities exist, they are certainly different from the communities that we recognize subjectively. In reality, lay people do not actually know the linguistic details of

other people who live in the same city, not to speak about people who live hundreds of miles away.

The result of the definitions of the speech community seems to lead us to the assumption that our linguistic world is not organized in terms of objective speech communities, even though we may think subjectively in terms of communities or social types ‘Southerner’ or ‘Northerner’. This means that looking for a ‘true’ definition of the speech community, or for the ‘true’ boundaries around some assumed speech community, is a far reaching aim. One fundamental question can be raised when discussing speech communities: ‘Where is language?’ is it in the community or in the individual? The position adopted through the above definitions is that language must be a property of the individual for various reasons – because each individual is unique, because individuals use language in order to situate themselves in a multi-dimensional social space, and for many other reasons which emerge in their world. This view is widely held by sociolinguists, and the following quotation clearly illustrates it: “...language, while existing to serve a social function (communication) is nevertheless seated in the mind of individuals” (Guy 1980 in Hudson, 1996:30).

1.6 Languages in contact

1.6.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism is relevant to the discussion of language change and language variation because immigrant populations who have retained their languages and who have passed them on to their children who, in turn, must eventually acquire the language of the in-group community, will have to secure themselves by shifting to the majority group language. In such a situation, the small community may become aware that its language is in danger of decay and takes deliberate steps to go for change and variation. Although many people have been required to study one or more foreign languages, they have

practically rarely reached native-like mastery, and they would be unlikely to consider themselves functionally fully bilingual. However, for many peoples of the world, speaking more than one language is a natural way of life with various factors to determine which language will be spoken on any particular occasion.

Most of the countries in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia, as well as other areas through the world are either bilingual or multilingual with two or more out-groups speaking different languages. Although the United States is characterized by being a monolingual nation, still English is considered a second language for a variety of different people there. In New York City, for example, Spanish is the home language for many individual members of the Spanish community and for many people of the Spanish linguistic background such as Puerto Rican, Mexican, and South America origin people through the Southwest. By constant contact with English, the Spanish language melts and the lack of complete understanding of its local significance prevails; this usually leads to the assumption that the Spanish linguistic background groups will eventually stop using their native language and join the monolingual English-speaking population.

Bilingualism is of considerable interest because of its important role in the determination of variations and changes in language systems. When groups of people from different linguistic backgrounds come into contact for extended periods of time, significant changes in one or both of the language systems invariably result. One of the best examples of that is the emergence of Middle English as a result of the Norman invasion of England. Because of the interference that normally occurs between first and second languages within the individual, the bilingual speaker plays an important role in this regard. The validity of bilingualism in this context is to determine whether it is a source of enrichment and diversity in language for the community, or a source of confusion and frustration since it is now recognized by the majority of sociolinguists as a fact of life.

1.6.2 Diglossia

Like bilingualism, diglossia is another social factor which affects language change. The term 'diglossia' was first introduced by Ferguson in 1959 in his article called 'Diglossia'. Ferguson defines Diglossia as being:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.

The Arabic-speaking world in general as described in this definition has two distinct but genetically related languages, sufficiently different for ordinary people to call them separate varieties of the same language, one is used only in formal situations while the other is informal and is used in everyday conversations. The former variety is usually called 'High' ('H' for short) or simply 'standard' and the latter 'Low' ('L' for short) or simply 'vernacular'. That is, the H variety is given great prestige by all Arab speakers (even those who do not speak it or understand it) because of its inherited status from Classical Arabic (the Arabic of Quran and ancient poetry), while the L variety is not at all prestigious.

Diglossia is not bilingualism in that bilingual individuals or societies are required to have the knowledge of two genetically different languages whereas diglossia communities are required to have the knowledge of two genetically related languages. Some people might argue that English-speaking communities, for example, are diglossic in that they use Standard English which enjoys great prestige and which is considered by the English as 'pure' language, and different varieties which have no prestige and are considered 'corrupt' in comparison with the Standard. But the most obvious difference between

diglossic and English-speaking societies, for example, is that in the former no member acquires the High variety as their mother tongue, since they speak the Low variety at home and in their everyday communication. As a result, the way to know a High variety in such societies is not by being born in the right kind of family, but by schooling. In contrast, in the latter everybody has the advantage of acquiring both the Standard and the non-Standard varieties as they are used in formal and informal situations without having to go to school. That is in Diglossia the High variety is never the native language.

According to Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1967), Diglossia has some crucial features which engender it and favor its development:

- Function: The distinction between the two varieties in a diglossic community in terms of function is basic. Unlike bilingualism, H and L are used for different purposes, and native speakers of the community would find it odd if the High variety is used in a domain which in fact requires the Low variety or vice-versa.
- Prestige: In Diglossia the H variety is always given more prestige than is the L variety. The H variety is used in the domains of education, religion, great literature, and the media; the L variety is used at home, in street, in everyday conversations, and is always felt to be less worthy than H, corrupt, and with no prestige at all.
- Literary Heritage: In diglossic languages, all prose and poetry are in H variety; the L variety is not written and is even denied to exist in this domain.
- Acquisition: L variety is the variety acquired first; it is the mother tongue; H variety is learned through schooling. When sociolinguists would therefore take the L variety as primary in their studies, native scholars see only the H variety as the language.

- Standardization: The H variety is standardized – native grammarians set up dictionaries and grammar books for it. The L variety is almost never standardized, and if grammars are set up for it, they are usually written by non-natives.
- Stability: Diglossia is a stable phenomenon; it persists for centuries or more. When H is the mother tongue of the elite, it may displace L with the help of a policy.
- Grammar: The grammar of H is more complex than the grammar of L; it has more complex tense systems, gender systems, agreement, and syntax.
- Lexicon: The lexicon which exists in H is almost the same as that which exists in L (with small deformations sometimes), but H may have vocabulary that L lacks, and vice-versa.
- Phonology: The phonological systems of H and L are not easily discerned and, thus, speakers often fail to keep the two systems separate.

By this we can understand that the criteria of history, religion, and culture have made diglossia extremely stable in Arabic, that the Arab linguistic culture has always wished to keep the existing ancient prestigious literature composed of the H variety, at that the Arabic Diglossia has not sprung up overnight but has taken time to develop. We can also understand that because of the holy Quran, the High and Low varieties will continue to exist side by side with no possible alternative attempt that the L variety will displace the H variety.

1.7 Mixture of Varieties

1.7.1 Code-switching

The effect of the above discussion, where much concern has been given to the status of varieties in the language system, has given varieties a relatively unimportant role in bilingual and diglossic communities in that their speakers do not really keep languages or varieties of languages separate in speech as a human linguistic behaviour.

We depart from saying that code-switching is an inevitable consequence of bilingualism and diglossia. People who speak more than one language or variety choose between them according to the situation they are in. The first thing to be taken into account is, of course, which language will be understood by the addressee. Speakers, in general, choose a language that the participant can understand. In bilingual communities the choice of language depends on the circumstances and this choice is always controlled by social rules which members of the community learn from their experience and which become part of their total linguistic knowledge. Now one might ask the question: why should a whole community bother to learn different languages, when just one would fulfil their communicative needs? In other words, if everyone in Brussels, for example, knows Standard French, why don't they stick to it all the time and let Dutch and local Flemish disappear? The answer is, simply: Standard French would just feel wrong at home.

In Brussels, the rules associate local Flemish, French, and Dutch to different communities so that each of these languages also symbolizes its community. For example, a government functionary generally speaks local Flemish at home, standard French at work, and standard Dutch in his club. Speaking standard French at home would be, to give an analogy, like wearing sports wear in a party. In sum, each language has a social function which no other language could fulfil, and it is the situation that decides the language to be

used. This type of code-switching is called ‘situational code-switching’ because the switches between languages always coincide with changes from one language to another.

1.7.2 Code-mixing

There are other cases, however, where a bilingual speaker talks to another bilingual and changes language without any change at all in the situation. This type of change is called ‘code-mixing’ or ‘conversational code-switching’ as some people prefer to call it. It is “a kind of linguistic cocktail – a few words of some language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on” (Hudson 1996: 53). The following is a good example of conversational code-switching within a single sentence taken from a speech by an Algerian bilingual: |fErm bj2E la valiz w mat@nsaS tm@ddhalU 2a m2E prOpr| (fermes bien la valise و ماتتساش تدمدها لو en main propre.) ‘Lock the suit-case well and don’t forget to hand it on to him personally’. This sentence is given in an order that applies to both Algerian Arabic dialect and French, and, thus, accounts for the fact that it can only be produced by someone who has the Algerian dialect as a mother tongue and who has also French under control. This is done independently of any situational constraint.

1.7.3 Borrowing

People may use words from another language in their everyday speech to express or describe a concept, an idea, or an object for which there are no evident words available in their native language. This process is called Borrowing and it generally involves single words – most oftenly nouns. This kind of Borrowing is different from switching or mixing where speakers have a choice about which words or phrases they will use in which language. Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speakers’ first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker’s mother tongue. In

this case two languages are mixed up at the level of systems as opposed to code-switching and code-mixing where two languages are mixed up only at the level of speech.

In this regard, the above example may be said in the Algerian speech as follows:

|f@rmi |faliza bj2E w mat@nsaS tm@ddhalU lj@ddU| (فرمي الفليزة بيان و ماتنساش تمدْهالو ليدو)
'Lock the suit-case well and don't forget to handle it on to him personally' where the words |f@rmi| (فرمي) 'lock', |@lfaliza| (الفليزة) 'suit-case', and |bj2E| (بيان) 'well' are borrowed from the French language and are adapted to the Algerian Arabic dialect phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. The use of such a word as |@lfaliza| and not |@lvaliza|, i.e., the use of the phoneme |f| and not |v| implies that the speaker is illiterate; |v| does not exist in the sound system of the Algerian Arabic dialect and, thus, is replaced by its voiceless counterpart |f|. |f@rmi| and |bj2E| could have well been replaced by |?@qf@l| (اقفل) 'lock', and |mli:h0| (مليح) 'well' respectively which are synonyms of the borrowed words and which originate from Arabic, but for the speaker it is not a matter of choice to use this or that as much as it is a matter of considering them all part of his native language.

1.8. Approaches to the study of language and dialect

Since I will be drawing primarily on linguistic research to tell the story of non-standard languages, I think I will need to explain some of the primary basis under which sociolinguists operate, and the kinds of principles which are usually adopted in their research.

The first such base is that modern linguists see linguistics as a descriptive rather than a prescriptive subject. That is, the linguists' objective is to describe language as it is spoken by its native speakers, without involving feelings and emotions about it, i.e., without any judgments about how good or bad, easy or difficult, that language is. Linguists describe native speakers' language without passing any judgment about how they should or

should not be using their languages. The distinction between these two aspects of language study goes back to Saussure's distinction between diachronic linguistics and synchronic linguistics. Diachronic has been discredited on the basis that its findings are subjective and, thus, irrelevant.

Another interesting sub-field of sociolinguistics which may help us know the social distribution of dialect and language change is the study of people's attitudes towards one variety or another. In many countries of the world, such variety based studies can be helpful in formulating a given policy about which variety or varieties to use in the school and how. The variety chosen for education becomes standardized, not on the basis of being more beautiful or more structured, but on the basis of different aspects such as: power, prestige, politics, wealth... This does not mean that the non-standard varieties are to be looked at negatively.

The second base is probably that every natural language variety is systematic and rule-governed. They all have regular rules and restrictions at the grammatical, phonological and lexical level, though ordinary people hold strong judgments on non-standard dialects by assuming that they are not written because they do not have any rules, therefore, are not worth studying. Their speakers also are looked at by non-linguists as being too lazy and uninterested in standardizing their variety. By contrast, sociolinguists hold the belief that "dialects always turn out to have regular rules" (Rickford, 2002: 01) both on empirical and theoretical grounds.

Sociolinguists claim that if dialects and language varieties were not systematic and rule-governed, the successful acquisition and use of these dialects and varieties in a given speech community would be impossible. Saying that non-standard languages are not systematic and have no rules, implies that every speaker can make up his own words and

rules for pronunciation and grammar, and thus, there would be no communication between members of the same community (each has got his own language!).

It should be noted here that sociolinguists use the term 'dialect' as a neutral term when they speak about any systematic usage of speakers of particular geographical region or social class. The term 'dialect' is used within linguistics with no negative connotation.

The third base sociolinguistics departs from is that primary importance is given to speech rather than writing. Probably the evident reason for this is that valuable information about pronunciation, stress, and intonation are omitted by the written language. Of course there are other reasons, among which the fact that people all over the world acquire speaking before writing, and the fact that the ability to speak a variety of at least one language is universal to all normal human beings, but the ability to write is a more restricted skill, i.e., not all normal human beings are literate. Some languages are not written at all and do not even have writing systems.

The written form of a language is the representation of its spoken form, and comparing and contrasting the two forms is a fascinating task. Ordinary people often attach greater importance to the written rather than the spoken language; they believe that if language is in print, then it must be right, but if it is oral, it is not valuable. Sociolinguists tend to make exactly the opposite assumption; they attach more importance to the spoken word.

The fourth base of sociolinguistics is that although languages are systematic, variation among their speakers is a quite normal phenomenon. It is known from real experience that languages vary from one region to another, from one social group to another, and even from one topic to another. Human languages, that is, are not fixed, uniform, or unvarying; rather they show internal variation, modification, and extension according to the needs, conditions, and evolution of the speakers.

The most significant differences or variations within languages are seen at the level of vocabulary (the lexicon), pronunciation (phonology), morphology and syntax (grammar). These variations are not just understood in the sense that a given dialect uses some features and another dialect uses some others, but they are understood in the sense that a given dialect uses some features more than another dialect does. The speech of the British, for instance, is noticeably different from that of the Americans and the Australians. When different groups of speakers use a language in different ways, they are said to have different dialects of the same language. Language is composed of its dialects exactly the same way a football league is composed of its teams. No single team is the league; no single dialect is the language.

1.8.1 Lexical Variation

Differences in vocabulary play a significant role in regional dialectology (the study of regional dialects). They are one aspect of dialect diversity which speakers notice easily and comment on quite frequently. They make the differences between geographical regions. An American who is 'tired' or 'exhausted' may say that he is 'all in' if he is from the North or West, but 'wore out' or 'give out' if he is from the South (Carver, 1987:273). Lexical variations are also an aspect of ethnic differences, for example, knowledge of the word 'ashy' to mean 'gray' from 'ash', is widespread within African American communities in the U.S.A but almost not known among white Americans (Labov et al 1968:??). It is worth pointing out here that many dictionaries of African American English have been established over the past several years. These dictionaries contain lots of 'ethnic' terms that are specific to American black communities.

An important point which is now quite evident concerning language in the United States of America is that there are differences between the English spoken by the whites and that spoken by the blacks. This is so to the point that Americans can readily assign

speakers with some confidence to a given ethnic group on the basis of their language. Telephone conversations, for instance, are a good example to indicate that Americans can easily know that the speaker on the telephone is white or black. 'White speech' and 'Black speech' have now some kind of social reality for most Americans. In this respect, an experiment was carried out in the U.S.A in which a number of people were asked to listen to tape recordings of two different sets of speakers. Many of the informants decided that speakers in the first set were African Americans and speakers in the second set white. The findings were completely contrary to the fact in that in the first set the speakers were white Americans, and the second set consisted of black people. But the informants were wrong in their judgments in an amazing way. The speakers they had been asked to listen to were, in a way, exceptional people: the black speakers were people who had lived in predominantly white areas, and had little contact with other blacks; the white speakers were people who had lived all their lives in black communities among African Americans. What happened, thus, was that the black speakers sounded like whites, and the white speakers sounded like blacks – and the informants listening to the tape-recording were mistaken.

This experiment shows that people do not speak the way they do because they belong to an ethnic group or another, but acquire linguistic varieties of the locally predominant group. This is not specific to the American society, but is quite known in all societies of the world. One's way of speaking is entirely the result of learned behaviours.

Evidently, then, the idea which was quite widely believed in the past that there was a direct link between languages and 'race' (Trudgill, 1974: 43) is proved to be false; there is no racial basis for linguistic differences of this type. Modern linguistics states that any human being can acquire any human language; this evidence comes from the fact that large numbers of African origin people, for example, now speak originally European languages. This does not eliminate, however, the fact that languages remain an important feature of

ethnic-group membership, although this fact is social and cultural. But knowing that language cannot be dissociated from its culture, it remains an essential defining criterion for ethnic-group unity. In communities where we have mixed ethnic groups, linguistic differences arise, and, thus, attitudinal factors are likely to emerge considerably. And it is always individuals who are likely to suffer from these attitudes more than groups are.

Dialect differences are also a factor in stylistic variation, namely formal and informal – for example whether people say ‘to die’ or ‘to pass away’ or again ‘to pop off’ is a matter of stylistic difference. It is not easy either to determine whether one is going to describe himself as being ‘pooped’ or ‘exhausted’. The so-called ‘genderlects’ of men versus women are another factor of stylistic variation. It is claimed, for instance, that ‘lovely’ is more likely to be used by women.

Another area where dialect differences are felt strongly in the lexicon is in variation according to age group (young and old generations). All natural languages are constantly changing, suddenly or slowly. These changes concern all aspects of language, but more particularly concern the lexicon. Some words come into use and some others die. A word is vogue at a certain time, but becomes out of fashion when its users grow older and die. Every body knows that young people do not speak the same way as old people do. For example, a sixty year old person has kept most of his twenty years linguistic habits, and almost all his forty years linguistic habits etc... These habits are easily maintained in communication with the people of the same age.

The constant renewal of the lexicon is done thanks to the contact between different generations; the father understands his son but does not use the same words, and the son understands the father without using the same words. While the father in England, for instance, uses ‘thank you’ or ‘thanks’ his son uses ‘ta’. In the U.S, where a young person uses ‘buck’ an old one uses ‘dollar’. Similarly, in Algeria an old person describes his house

as |zærga| (زرقة) 'blue' to mean |h0SiSija| (حشيشية) 'green', and a young person uses |nbærzU| (نبرزو) to mean |nætbbadIU| (نتبادلو) 'to exchange'. In her research carried out on two adolescent group students, Eckert proves that young generations generally influence other age groups in terms of language. "Adolescents lead other age groups in sound change and in the use of vernacular variants more generally" (Eckert, 2000).

1.8.2 Phonological Variation

One of the most marking points in this paper is probably the differences in pronunciation within and across dialects. Phonological variations make of language a possible source of social inequality since they show what people think about each other's speech and how they discredit each other's ways of pronouncing words. For example, black people in the U.S are taxed of being different from the whites and then inferior because they pronounce the initial |ðə| of 'they', and all other similar words, with a |d| sound.

Phonological variants are no doubt known as markers of regional dialects. For example, someone who says: 'They are in the garden', with the pronunciation of 'they' |dei| and 'the' |də|, is immediately recognized as someone who comes from an African American community. Another example is the stereotypical Bostonian pronunciation of 'park your car in Harvard yard' as |pa:k jO: ka:r in ha:va:d ya:d|, where we notice the dropping of the 'r' in 'park', 'your', 'Harvard' and 'yard', but the retaining of the 'r' in 'car' because the following word begins with a vowel – a feature which exists in many other dialects in the U.S, particularly in the south. This feature is also shared by some dialects in England where people say, for instance, |ði aidiə əv| when they want to say 'the idea of'; some linguists call it the 'linking r'. We notice also in the Bostonian pronunciation the distinctive use of the long open front vowel |a:| when other dialects use the front less open vowel |a|.

1.8.3 Grammatical Variation

Grammatical variation involves both morphology and syntax. Morphology refers to the forms of words, including the morphemes, which are the smallest meaningful units in the structure of a language, which comprise words. For example, the morphemes ‘un’ and ‘help’ and ‘ful’ in ‘unhelpful’, or the morphemes ‘cat’ and ‘s’, which indicates the plural in ‘cats’. Syntax refers to the combination of words in phrases, clauses, and sentences.

Examples of both morphology and syntax can be found in regional variation. At the level of morphology, the past tense of ‘learn’, ‘draw’ and ‘catch’ in some regions is ‘learned’, ‘drawed’ and ‘catched’ respectively, but ‘learnt’, ‘drew’ and ‘caught’, respectively in some other regions. At the level of syntax, in some regions, ‘anymore’ can be used to mean ‘nowadays’ in positive sentences like ‘cars are expensive anymore’, but in some other regions ‘anymore’ can only be used in negative sentences to mean ‘no longer’, as in ‘cars are not cheap anymore’ with the meaning of ‘cars are no longer cheap’. Greater syntactic difference can perhaps be seen in the use of ‘so don’t I’ in Boston with the meaning of ‘so do I’ (Rickford, 2002: 05) in other dialects. Consider the following dialogue between speaker A and speaker B:

A: Bob likes reading.

B: So don’t I (in Bostonian dialect it means ‘so do I’).

There may also be a morphosyntactic variation, as in the variation in the form of the past participle in ‘gone’ and ‘went’ for instance, in ‘I have gone’ versus ‘I have went’. This variation is morphosyntactic; it is morphological variation because it involves variation in the form of the main verb, and syntactic because it involves combination with particular auxiliaries. Such grammatical variation is strongly stigmatized for its association with its use by minority group or out-group speakers.

1.9 How Dialect Differences Arise

Native speakers of French can hear differences of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar in the varieties of French spoken in Canada, for example. The French used in Montreal, for instance, can easily be distinguished from that of Paris. A Parisian's 'travail' (work) is in Montreal a 'djobe'. The word 'mendiant' (beggar) in France is 'quêteux' in Quebec. When Canadians want to see a film they use 'aller aux vues' while Parisians say 'aller au cinema'.

Gender also differs in the two varieties. While the words 'appétit' (appetite) and 'midi' (midday), for example, are masculine in France, they are feminine in Canada. In France it is 'bon appétit' (good appetite), for instance, but in Canada it is 'bonne appétit'. It accords in gender with the adjective 'bonne' (good) which is feminine in Canadian, but accords in gender with the adjective 'bon' (good) which is masculine in French. Similarly in Canada 'midi' is referred to as 'la midi' (the midday), 'la' is the feminine definite article, whereas in France 'midi' is referred to as 'le midi', 'le' is the masculine definite article. But the opposite is true for 'automobile' and 'oreille' (ear) – 'automobile' is masculine in France and feminine in Canada, 'oreille' is feminine in France but masculine in Canada.

Differences between dialects can also be seen at the level of small features and not just at the level of ways of saying things. Parisians pronounce the [L] in phrases like 'il faut' (it must) and 'il pleut' (it rains), and sometimes they do not. People in Montreal never pronounce it.

In England, sociolinguists can distinguish regional varieties for practically every English County, e.g. Northumbria, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and so on. They can distinguish regional varieties for many towns too. Some dialects in England are even given distinct names showing how significant they are in distinguishing groups from one another. Such

names as Scouse, Cockney and Geordie are the best examples of that. The Cockney dialect, within the London area is quite distinctive with its glottal stop [ʔ] instead of [t] in words like 'bottle' and 'better'. The Geordie dialect (dialect used in Tyneside in England) is quite distinctive with its double modal use like 'I might could do it'. Consider the following example (Holmes, 1992:126):

Rob: this wheel's completely disjaskit.

Alan: I might could get it changed.

Rob: you couldn't do nothing of the sort. It needs dumped.

This conversation takes place between two Geordies (people from Tyneside in England). May English speakers would find the language used in the conversation perplexing. The pronunciation and intonation patterns are also distinctive of Geordies. The double modal 'might could', the expression 'need dumped', and the vocabulary item 'disjaskit' are all typical Geordies. This accounts for the dialect differences within a country, since the distinguishing features involve grammatical usages and lexical items as well as pronunciation. Of course regional variation needs a fairly long time to develop. In countries where English has only been introduced recently, Such as New Zealand, there seems to be less regional difference. Whereas in the U.S.A, much more evidence of regional variation than New Zealand can be provided.

1.10 How Dialect Differences Arise Within a Country

One of the basic factors of the rise of dialect differences is the influence of geographical barriers. Rivers, mountains, or expanses of barren land, can separate two communities and keep them apart, thus, may create differences in usage between dialects on either side. Communities where there are no such geographical barriers do not know big differences in their dialects. And this is, in fact, what happens to the dialect of Jijel in relation to the dialects of the neighbouring populations. In the U.S, Ohio River, for

instance, explains the variations which exist in the dialects of the North and those of the south.

Geographical barriers are perhaps twofold. On the one hand they may make a language very distinct from other languages and, thus, may be looked at in an odd way by speakers outside its boundaries. And, of course, when a language looks odd because of being different from others, it is to be stigmatized. On the other hand, geographical barriers may help a language survive because of its isolation from the mainstream of others' communities, through this fact costs its speakers a high price in that it will be on the expense of their literacy, education, evolution and advance.

1.11 Language Maintenance

Research in the domain of language maintenance and change has contributed a lot in the preservation of minority group languages. As the world becomes a small village through the increasing of air travel, satellite communications and instant information flow through the internet, people all over the world have perceived that the planet we live in is rich in cultures and languages that need to be preserved. There are many reasons why peoples' cultures and languages need preservation, but probably the most important one is the need for an ethnic identity. And because language is it self a direct way to connect with a group's heritage, language maintenance is sought by minority groups all over the world. The main concern of the minority groups in contact with majority groups is that the identity of the former may melt in that of the latter if the minority group speakers shift to the language of the majority group speakers. That is, the out-group people live within the out-group's community, then speak their language, and then end up by following their cultural practices.

Sociolinguists have suggested a variety of answers to such questions as, why does it matter if some languages die or become marginalized? One of their basic answers stresses

the value of diversity itself. They claim that “fewer languages means less global linguistic diversity, and global linguistic diversity is itself something that is valuable” (Levy, 2001 in ‘Language Contact and Change’, vol 3, 2003:14). This argument suggests that diversity is of great value to people in many ways. A uniform world is dull, while a world with more diversity is dynamic, interesting, and more colourful than one with less; “Languages are vehicles of cultures, and cultures bring new forms to social life and experiments in living” (Van Parijs, 2000, Ibid). A world of linguistic diversity contains various ways of describing the world and, thus, can contain knowledge of the natural world that is unfamiliar to speakers of the world’s dominant language.

A second argument for preserving languages points to collective human accomplishment and ongoing manifestations of human creativity and originality. Each language is a unique form of expression with its distinct way of viewing the world. Crystal (2000) believes that language acts as a repository of particular culture’s history, traditions, arts, and ideas. A language is like a museum – both are valuable because of the value of what they contain and maintain. And just as humans are generally ready to respect expressions of the other people’s creativity and history, they should adopt the same attitude towards language maintenance.

A third justification for caring about minority group’s languages stresses that language is not just a means of communication, but also, as we said earlier, a central feature of identity (May,2001). Many people identify themselves with the community of speakers of their language. They are proud of their language and have pleasure in using it. They express great satisfaction when they encounter other people who use it or are willing to use it. It is an expression of solidarity and friendship. They hope that the language community will live and flourish forever. In some situations, people feel respected when others speak to them in their language and denigrated when others impose their own

linguistic choices. In his essays 'The policies of recognition' (1992), Taylor argues that a cultural community enjoys adequate recognition only if it has the tools it needs to ensure survival: "If we're concerned with identity, then what is more legitimate than one's aspiration that it never be lost?" (Taylor, 1992:40).

In theory, sociolinguists emphasize on equality of treatment of languages and absence of discrimination. They even seek to defend certain rights for speakers of threatened languages. This means, logically, that speakers of disliked languages have not just the rights to defend their language in order to maintain it, but also duties to do so. In practice, however, some of the speakers are not interested in doing so. They even favor the use of the majority language under the pretext that their language is, simply, unpleasant, poor or inferior.

1.12 Methodology of Dialect Studies

So far, regional dialects have been defined as varieties of a language which are spoken in different geographical areas. It has also been mentioned that dialects can differ at the level of their words, sounds, and grammatical pattern, which are the basic components that have been studied in dialectology and sociolinguistics for more than one hundred years. Now, we will try to give some of the methods which are universally known in the field of dialect studies and which are used in regional dialects data gathering and displaying.

The first method in this context is probably that of Labov (1972 a: ch. 02) which has proved to be very significant for the study of dialects and accents. Labov's study of dialects was based on tape-recorded interviews. As opposed to earlier studies, where the informants were selected through the researcher's friends or personal contacts, Labov's selection of informants was based on scientifically designed random samples. This means

that although not everybody in the community (city or village) could be interviewed, at least everybody had an equal chance of interview.

It was the bringing of sociological methods of research to linguistics such as random sampling that made Labov so confident to claim that his informants' speech was really representative of the areas he investigated. Now that the informants were a representative sample, the linguistic description could be accurate of all the dialects spoken in those areas. But, still Labov was not very satisfied with this method in the sense that his informants knew that their speech was being recorded for the purpose of study, and therefore were very attentive as far as their speech was concerned, i.e., they proved formal rather than normal casual speech.

Attempts were made to solve the problem of artificiality. For example, the informants would be interviewed while surrounded by members of their family, or in the presence of intimate friends in a pub or in any other informal context. The involvement of the informants in topics where they had to narrate, for instance, a real event was used by Labov as method of obtaining informal speech. For example, Labov asked his informants if they had ever been in a dangerous situation where they felt the danger of death. Most of the times informants narrating such an incident become emotionally involved in the story and forgot that they were interviewed. Generally, in such a situation, informants wanted to convince the interviewer of the reality of the danger, and, therefore, the main focus was put on the story and not on their speech (Trudgill, 1974: 86).

Labov's first empirical work was carried out in 1961 on an island in the New England coast. In that study, he demonstrated the existence of differences between speakers in their use of certain linguistic variables. After that – in 1966 – he made a research in New York whose aim was to find out why New Yorkers sometimes use the sound |r| and sometimes do not.

The method Labov used to gather data was very simple but appropriate to what he hypothesized. Labov went in different stores and asked shop-assistants where he could find some goods which he already knew that they were in the fourth floor. The stories he selected were in three different departments in New York. He predicted each assistant's answer to be 'fourth floor' or 'on the fourth floor'. He would make the assistant say it again pretending that he did not hear the answer. In fact Labov was interested in variable pronunciation of |r| in the words 'fourth' and 'floor'. This was based on the fact that in some regions pronouncing |r| is prestigious, and in some others |r| has no prestige in New York, for example. The higher a person's social group, the more |r| they pronounce. So, by asking each assistant twice, they had the chance to pronounce |r| four times: twice in fourth and twice in floor.

The results showed that the higher in status the store was, the more people pronounced the |r|. The ranking of stores from high to low status was done on the basis of the avenues they were in, the prices of their goods, and the news-papers in which they advertised. These are all clues to indicate the difference in prestige between stores. The |r| following a vowel, thus, illustrates very clearly the arbitrariness of some given forms which are taken as prestigious and standard. In reality, there is nothing inherently good or bad about the pronunciation of any sound, as is illustrated in the different status of |r| pronunciation in different cities. In New York, Scotland, and Ireland, for example, pronouncing the |r| is considered prestigious. In other areas, speakers do not pronounce |r| at all after vowels in words like 'car' and 'card', and, thus, it should be made clear that in one city the higher your social class the more you pronounce the |r| after a vowel. In the other, the higher your social class the fewer you pronounce it.

In connection with the pronunciation of |r| in New York, it is interesting to note that some New York City speakers insert an r-sound in words where it does not actually exist in

spelling. |sO:r| is heard instead of 'saw', |aidiər | instead of 'idea', and so on. It seems that the very persons who do not pronounce |r| in words like 'car' and 'card', 'fourth' and 'floor' will insert an r-sound in words like 'Cuba' and 'idea'. This phenomenon can perhaps be explained by the so-called 'hypercorrection' (a term highly used in foreign language learning) or simply 'over-correction') which means speakers who have been convinced that it is 'incorrect' not to pronounce |r| will over correct for this by inserting an r-sound where it does not actually exist in spelling (a phenomenon we can call over compensation). Hypercorrection does not occur at the level of pronunciation only, but also at the level of syntax – for example, when people say 'between you and I' instead of 'between you and me' on the basis that 'I' is more 'correct' and 'prestigious' than 'me'.

It should be mentioned, however, that inserting an r-sound is not a matter of hypercorrection only. Even those speakers who insert the r-sound do not always pronounce it in words like 'idea'. 'The insertion of |r| in such words happens only when the next word begins with a vowel (AkmAjian, Demers, farmer, Harnish, 2001: 282.283). Hence, such phrases as 'the idear I had in mind' can be heard, but 'the idear which I had in mind' cannot. In this respect, we can notice that the r-sound insertion is, thus, rule-governed.

Finally, we can say that Labov's study illustrates that there is no absolute distinction between dialects. That is we cannot simply determine that new Yorkers drop the |r|. Rather, the r-sound pronunciation in that dialect is variable, and this variation does not just relate to social factors but to context as well. Hence, just as no language can be said to be fixed or unvarying, so no dialect can be said to be fixed or unvarying either. Even individual speakers may well show variation in their speech. Labov's study is not just restricted to the r-sound in New York speech, but it also comprises his pioneering measurement of New Yorkers' pronunciation of a number of consonants as well as five vowels. In this study, he measured the presence or absence of |r| or |h|, the difference

between [in] and [iN] in 'ing' endings. He also measured small but significant differences in the way New York speakers pronounce vowels.

The used method involved scoring different pronunciations according to how close they were to the prestigious or standardized pronunciation in the community. The scoring system can easily be understood by giving an example. In New Zealand a survey of one hundred forty one people living in the south Island distinguished three different groups in terms of pronouncing the diphthongs in words such as 'boat', 'bout'. Out of a possible one hundred, the highest social group scored sixty or more for these diphthongs, the middle group scored between fifty and fifty five, while the lowest group scored less than forty three (twenty five was the minimum possible score) (Holmes, 1992: 142). The result means that the higher a person's social class, the closer to R.P. their pronunciation was.

Another example is that of Norwich – England – where an investigation was carried out by the well-known dialectologist Peter Trudgill. The selection of Norwich was not done at random, but because it is the native town of Trudgill – a fact which was very relevant, since he knew the social structure of his native town and its accent. The selection of Norwich also helped him to carry out a somewhat natural research in that he could speak like the Norwich people, and, thus, would encourage the interviewees to speak more naturally than they might do if he used R.P. English.

In addition to the selection of the town, the selection of the speakers was cunningly done too. Trudgill's knowledge of the social structure of Norwich made him choose random individuals from four areas representing different social status. Most of the people contacted agreed to be interviewed. They were about sixty – a number which might seem small in relation to a town like Norwich with one hundred sixty thousand inhabitants. But "most successful studies of the sort have used fewer than a hundred speakers" (Milroy, 1987: 21).

The linguistic variables were set up on the basis of what Trudgill already knew about variation in Norwich. Sixteen variables were selected for study, among which were thirteen vowels and three consonants. They all displayed different patterns of variation. For convenience we will consider only one variable here, the (ing). There are two variants: [ɪŋ] and [ɪŋ], of which [ɪŋ] is the one which is most often considered to represent R.P English. That is why the study hypothesized that [ɪŋ] would be used more often by high-status speakers than by low-status speakers. This explains why ordinary people believe that R.P means 'Real Posh' and not Received Pronunciation. The results were not surprising; they confirmed the hypothesis that [ɪŋ] was used more often by high-status people.

Similar researches have been carried out outside England and the United States. In Belfast, Northern Ireland, James and Lesly Milroy (1980) selected three specific working – class areas typified by a high degree of unemployment. Despite the similarities in hard conditions of life, the Milroys found out that there were striking differences in language between the three areas. In Cardiff, the capital of Wales, Coupland (1988) started his study by asking whether we speak differently to different people. Coupland's aim behind this question was to prove that a person speaks in different ways when addressing a wide variety of people of different types.

According to Coupland, people tend to accommodate their speech to the speech of the people they are talking to, in the hope that they will like them more when they do so. A sort of solidarity will, thus, be felt. For the purpose of this test, Coupland selected a woman assistant in a travel agency as she interacted with a wide range of people. The woman assistant was expected, by the nature of her work, to adapt her language as much as she could to that of her customers in order to attract their business. In other words, she accommodated her speech to theirs because she wanted them to like her. The findings confirmed Coupland's test and displayed some variables at the level of the assistant's

speech. In fact, such studies can be found in all communities which are divided into different groups and where dialect differences are likely to arise. Variables have been studied in Paris, Montreal, Quebec, Teheran, Swahili and so on.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can say that there are no apparent boundaries between different varieties of a language except with reference to the social prestige given to one and not to the other variety. In that case it would be better to say that it is the speakers of the prestigious variety who actually have prestige and not their variety. Any attempt, therefore, to delimit varieties of a given language in the 'difference' sense would be a waste of time. That is, where boundaries between two varieties are not clear for ordinary people, they are not clear for sociolinguists either. Conversely, one does not have to be a sociolinguist to know, for instance, that the languages spoken on the opposite sides of the English channel are different. All sociolinguists can say about such linguistic phenomena is that there are languages, and that each language has got some varieties. They can also assume that a given variety may be relatively different from some other varieties and relatively similar to others, but definitely no clear-cutline can be made between varieties of language.

Chapter II

Linguistic prejudices and stereotypes

Introduction

The study of language inequality is at once linguistic, social, and psychological. It involves prejudices about people's ways of speaking in that we can have an idea about a person's identity, character, and abilities just from his way of speaking. People do need to know about others because that knowledge greatly affects their behaviours and their relationships with others. One way of finding out what other people are like is through hearing about them from their parents, friends, or any in-group members. This way is taken by most individuals and groups alike as a social norm which often turns up to be based on faulty evidence, social categorization, and stereotypes which are all the result of linguistic and social prejudice.

The aim of this chapter is, on the one hand, to show that prejudice towards other groups of people may develop when there is overt or covert competition between groups, or when members of a given group want to increase the esteem of their groups. On the other hand, the chapter aims at showing that prejudice can only be reduced when we recognize that it exists, engage in cooperative work, try to live the cultures of the other groups, and treat the others as fellow humans.

2.1 Linguistic Attitudes: Linguistic or Social?

Different field researches carried out by prominent sociolinguists such as Labov, Trudgill, and Chambers..., prove that many people hold the belief of 'good' and 'bad' dialects, be they regional or social, and conceive of accents as 'nice' and 'ugly'. A distinction is to be made clear here between accent and dialect. Accent has as the main components pronunciation and intonation while dialect is mainly composed of

pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Certainly there are some other features which may also characterize them, but those I have cited are the most significant ones. Of course, differences between dialects exist at the level of these features, and, as I said earlier, where there is variation there is evaluation.

A French academic once said that when teaching English at a well-known secondary school in Paris, he delivered all his lectures in English in order to avoid his regional accent which his pupils tended to mock as provincial. In the 1980s a woman who participated at an evaluation experiment on accents and who admired certain non-standard ones a lot, said that even though she had always appreciated the Beatles, 'the Scouse accent had always got on her nerves'. (John Honey, 1989:63), (The Beatles are a famous group of singers from Liverpool. And Scouse is the Liverpool accent with a negative connotation in England). Moreover, speakers with strong Glaswegian accents make comments to imply that they recognize that R. P. English accent 'sounds nicer'. This gives the impression that it is probably true that the majority of speakers who comment on dialect and accent differences believe that the basis of their judgments is a matter of taste – aesthetic such as distinguishing a good piece of music from a bad one. But accepting accent judgments on the basis of beauty is not as simple as that. Take for example Cockney English, one of the broadest and most heavily stigmatized accents in Britain. People say that the Cockney vowel system is unpleasant in that it turns the sound |eI| into |I| and |aI| into |OI|, and thus converts 'make' and 'break' into |mIk| and |brIk|, and 'I' and 'my' into |OI| and |mOI|. But if we look at these Cockney 'unpleasant' sounds we will find that they exist in Standard English. So why are they ugly in Cockney but nice in R.P? The word 'tie' |tai|, for instance, is pronounced 'toy' |tOI| in Cockney, but 'toy' already exists in Standard English, and no one has ever claimed that the sound of 'toy' is ugly. It is unpleasant only when it is pronounced by Cockney speakers. Also the bus |bVs| in R.P. becomes |bus| in

the North of England. The sound |u| exists as a perfectly respectable sound in Standard English. So, why should it suddenly become ugly when it appears in the non-Standard language?

In America, where the majority of dialects are relatively free from stigma, one dialect has been victim of overt prejudice. This is the English spoken by the black community members in the United States, and which is generally referred to as Black English. The distinguishing features of this Black English go back to the historical discrimination against the blacks in America where segregation pushed these disliked people to be isolated in ghettos. And it goes without saying that where social isolation exists, dialect differences intensify. This is why we see systematic differences between Black English and Standard English. All dialects of all languages of the world show lexical, phonological, syntactic differences. And it is the existence of that relation – relation of sameness – between Black and Standard English that makes the differences between the two so apparent. That is, if Americans found difficulties in comprehending Black English the same way they found difficulties in comprehending Chinese, for instance, they would probably give more prestige to it. But, despite the fact that Black Americans represent the minority in the American society, they continue to look at their dialect as a means which reflects their identity, and therefore no longer consider it to be inferior or corrupt. Rather they see it as rule-governed as Standard English. Consider the following sentences from Standard English and Black English:

Standard English

Affirmative form – He wants something.

Negative form – He does not want anything.

Negative form – He wants nothing.

Black English

- He want something.

- He don't want nothing.

- He want nothing.

Affirmative form – He loves somebody.	- He love somebody.
Negative form – He doesn't love anybody.	- He don't love nobody.
Negative form – He loves nobody.	- He love nobody.
Affirmative – He has had some.	- He had some.
Negative – He hasn't had any.	- He ain't had none.
Negative – He's had none.	- He had none.

Those who follow the lead of prescriptive grammars would claim that it is illogical to say 'He don't want nothing' in that double negation gives affirmation, as is stated in traditional grammar which is modelled on the grammar of Latin. Notice that in Black English, when we negate the verb, the indefinite elements: 'something', 'somebody', and 'some' are also negated and become: 'nothing', 'nobody', and 'none'. In Standard English, when we negate the verb, the indefinite elements become: 'anything', 'anybody', and 'any'. The forms: 'nothing', 'nobody' and 'none' are used in Standard English when the verb is not negated. Both Standard English and Black English have got rules to negate sentences. The rules are practically the same, but differ only at the level of a small detail. Both dialects are rule-governed, exactly as every dialect in the world is. The only thing is that the rule of the Standard is viewed as simple, elegant, and logical, but the non-standard is viewed as complicated, ugly, and illogical.

The same thing applies to the Jijel dialect in relation to the other dialects. In comparison to Constantine where we say |waInah| to mean 'which one?' in Jijel we say |dama| and |daInah|. We notice that in |waInah| and |daInah|, only the phonemes |w| and |d| are different, and who says that the sound |w| is better than the sound |d|? Such question markers are rule-governed. If in Constantine, instead of saying |waInah|, which means 'which one?' we say |waIn|, it becomes 'Where?' and similarly in Jijel if, instead of saying

|daInah| which also means ‘which one?’, we say |faIn|, it becomes ‘where?’. The rules are practically the same. They differ only at the level of a small detail. However, being the capital city of the east of Algeria, Constantine has a covert prestige, and thus its dialect is viewed as good and logical, but the Jijel dialect is viewed as bad and illogical.

If some people believe that they can direct speakers to what they think is right on the basis of logic, we can say simply that not every aspect of language is logical. For example, the word |qami:s0| (قميص) ‘shirt’ in Standard Arabic is singular masculine, which would suppose the plural of it to be masculine as well. But it is unexpectedly feminine in plural: |?aqmis0a| (أقمصة) ‘shirts’. In Standard Arabic we say for example: |qami:s0un Zadi:dun | (قميص جديد), |?aqmis0atun Zadidatun|. The marker of the plural feminine is the phoneme |t| (ة). That is, logic is definitely not involved in language, otherwise words like: ‘guerre’ or ‘violence’, for instance, in the French language should be masculine since it is men – and not women – who are – or at least have been mainly concerned with them. This can also be applied on some parts of the woman’s body which are fully female but linguistically not feminine, but rather masculine. For example, ‘le sein’, ‘le bassin’ ...

Many theorists, however, argue that a standard language is spoken with an accent which has become associated with the ‘ruling classes’, the establishment’, and the people holding power and prestige. It is spoken by those who are at the top in social, political, and economic terms, and they exploit its special standing in order to keep themselves at the top. All other varieties of accent are downgraded in comparison with it, and the speakers of even the most disfavoured accents have come to adopt this rating scale which combines respect for the standard with devaluation of their own accents. They do this either because they genuinely admire the power and prestige which are associated with the standard, or, more commonly, because they have been ‘brain-washed’ to an extent which makes it very ‘unlikely’ that they can evaluate accents ‘objectively’ (Honey, 1989:65).

2.2 Bad language or Bad People

The process of prescribing language rules and comparing languages had existed long before the appearance of sociolinguistics or even modern linguistics. Latin and Greek were once considered the best languages of the world. Such judgements still exist in nowadays societies despite the considerable development of sociolinguistics. These judgements are neatly reflected in jokes about some pronunciations and/or efforts made in the imitations of dialects, which create a kind of inferiority complex to the speakers of the stigmatized dialect. The dialect of Liverpool is a vivid example which is looked down in England. Similarly, the dialect of Jijel is a vivid example of the sort in Algeria.

Now, the question is: Are some dialects really better than some others, more expressive, nicer, richer, and more attractive? The answer to this question is absolutely no. Attitudes of this type are not linguistic attitudes at all; rather, they are social attitudes. Such judgements are based on social and cultural values, and have much more to do with the social structure of our community than with language. The point is, some societies have much more prestige than others and, thus, their dialects and accents tend to be better evaluated than other varieties.

In fact, “they are judgements about speakers rather than about speech” (Trudgill, 1975: 29). That is, the major thesis of what I want to say is that prejudice is socially reproduced through discourse. “If we want to understand this important property of the social communication of ‘ethnic’ attitudes, we must examine the structures of such discourse in detail, that is, both its forms and contents” (Van Dick, 1987:30). Such an analysis allows us to assess the way underlying attitudes are strategically expressed in discourse in various social and communicative contexts. And, conversely, the structural analysis may give us clues about the cognitive organisation and strategies of prejudice. Via discourse analysis, we can examine how prejudiced talk also depends on constraints of the

communicative interaction, and how recipients of such talk interpret it. In other words, discourse is, in many respects, the central element in the processes of the interpersonal communication of prejudice, and discourse analysis is a key method for the study of the cognitive and social structures and strategies that characterize these processes. In our everyday life, we usually formulate, reproduce, and, thus, socially share our experiences through talk, and this also explains the evaluations, norms, and attitudes that underlie the interpretation of such experiences. In other words, social cognitions, in general, and 'ethnic' attitudes, in particular, are acquired, shared, validated, normalized, and communicated primarily through talk rather than through perception and interaction.

In fact, talk about minority groups exhibits different topics in prejudiced discourse which conceal various psychological backgrounds. The prevailing stereotypical topics in majority members towards minority groups turn around the following: - contacts, policies, social problems, work and (un)employment, rights and duties, cultural differences, and education.

1- Contacts: Speaking about contacts and human relations is a major topic which is discussed among the majority groups. Examples are often given to guarantee that maintaining good contact with them (the pronoun 'them' is often used by in-group members to refer to out-group people) is almost impossible. It seems that it is taken for granted in the in-group discussions that the pronoun 'them' refers to the out-group members and that they have a pleasure in using it. Such expressions as the following are always heard in majority group discussions:

- I have no contact with them.
- I want no contact with them.
- I know them from my work only.
- I have had contacts with them in the shop.

- I used to have contacts with them, but not now.

What can be noticed from the above expressions is the attempt to deny contacts with outsiders-minority groups.

2. Policies: A major category of the structure of such a prejudice is the origin of these outsiders. This means that people have specific opinions about how the outsiders went there in the first place. Who does not know the background of the nickname 'Hrika' given to the community group living in Constantine and who came originally from the province of Jijel (from El-Milia, to be more exact)?

The attitude held by many Constantinians is as follows: They should not be allowed to settle in Constantine and they should be sent back.

Many people correctly recall that these 'Hrika' outsiders were in Constantine to fight against the French army and, so, they were very welcome at the time. Nowadays, there is a feeling of regret to have welcomed them and accepted them.

3. Social problems: This type of topics is featured in stories with which minority groups are associated. Many of these topics have a prejudiced nature such as:

- They are involved in unsociable acts.
- They are harsh.
- They cause the deterioration of the town and its facilities.
- They have caused the housing shortage.

4. Work and (un)employment: This is one of the most specific social topics which is associated with the presence of outsiders. It is the most widely discussed topic among the majority groups. The following are but some examples:

- They work hard.
- They do all sorts of cleaning jobs.
- They do not want to work.

- They occupy the best jobs.
- They take our jobs.
- They cause unemployment.
- They are lazy.

From the above examples, we may first conclude that there is a contradiction, in that there is a dominant belief that holds that the ‘outsider’ people work hard and do the dirty jobs, and on the other hand, there is the belief that they do not want to work. Obviously, such apparent inconsistencies must account for the uses of prejudice.

5. Rights and duties: Minority groups are often accused of not knowing the limits of their rights and duties. Therefore it is believed that:

- They have all the rights.
- They are equal to us.

6. Cultural differences: Differences in life-style are perceived to emerge especially in different family structure, such as the number of children and the treatment of women which is viewed as ‘backward’. Attitudes and behaviours that originate from minority groups are often rejected for being different from their own. It seems all that is different is bad. Hence, we have the following opinions:

- They have to adapt to our norms and rules.
- They have different life-styles.
- They have many children.
- They treat their women differently (worse).
- Their women accept being treated as such.

7. Education: Education is a less prominent topic of discussion. Yet, the prevailing view in the domain of education is that the children of the outsiders cause problems. Consequently:

- Their children cause problems at school.

- They are trouble-makers.
- There are cultural differences between their children and ours.
- Their accent causes laughter in class.
- They do not pronounce sounds the way our children do.
- They leave school at an early age.

It should be noted that all such topics manifest themselves in forms of negative attitudes towards the way of speaking of the minority groups. That is, there is a substitution of expressing hatred towards minority groups. Instead of saying overtly: We hate you because of the above reasons, the majority groups would put it in forms of jokes and funny stories via the minority groups' language.

If we do dislike an accent, it is because of a complex set of factors that have to do with our own social, political and regional biases rather than with anything aesthetic. We like and dislike accents because of what they stand for, not for what they are.

The verbal aggression, prejudice, stereotypes, and stories that emanate from the Constantinians towards the Community of Jijel are not random. There are historical and social backgrounds for that. Historically, the Constantinians may still remember bitterly the invasion of Ibn El Ahrache to Constantine. That was on July 20th, 1804 - that is during the Ottoman's reign – when the leader of the tribes of Jijel, Ibn El Ahrache, gathered his army and attacked Constantine, (Khennouf, 2007: 34). The social background goes back to the French burned land policy when the inhabitants of the region of El Milia (fifty kilometres to the east of Jijel) displaced to Constantine, and when they were asked for the reasons of their exodus they replied: |hrabna mən lah0rika di laZba:l| (هرينا من الحريكة دي الجبال) 'our mountains are burning, so, we have fled away'. At first, the degree of prejudice towards those people was low and even reduced to almost nil, only because they had the same aim with the Constantinians: To fight colonialism. When Algeria got its

independence, those outsiders refused to go back home. Not only that, they also occupied by force all that belonged to the colonists and settled there forever. From that time on, the idea of the in-group and out-group came to manifest itself in Constantine in forms of popular dictions and stories illustrating the stereotype of the inhabitants with Hrika origins. For example: |wra kull brika h0rika| (ورى كل بريكة حريكة) ‘behind each brick there is an outsider -a Hrika’. The meaning behind that is the number of these people is increasing rapidly and therefore might be a threat for the in-group. Or again: |jila xallas lak h0rika qahwa ?a;raf belli rahunasablak!!;la Gda| (إلا خلصلك حريكة قهوة اعرف بلي راه نصبلك على غدا) ‘If a Hrika pays you a coffee you have to know that he is planning for a lunch in return’. The meaning behind that is the Hrika is stingy and mean. Another example is: |lah0rika daiman ;andu ;agrab fi dZi:bU| (الحريكة دائماً عندو عقرب في جيبو) ‘The Hrika always carries a scorpion in his pocket’. Again, the meaning behind this is that the Hrika is never generous as to put his hand in his pocket to pick up money to pay something for someone. There are also other stories and jokes which imply that the Hrika is stereotyped as stupid, uncivilized and thankless.

In fact, taxing other people is not just a characteristic of the Constantinians, but also of many people in the world. And because people come from distinct horizons, live in different social and economical conditions, it is quite normal that each community has a specificity which would distinguish it. And even if the times change, life conditions and exterior elements influence man’s attitudes and behaviours, the stereotypes remain always engraved in man’s mind and resist to that change. They are stereotypes which go directly to the depth of the popular heritage reflecting a certain reality, but with exaggeration, a bit of humour and a lot of mockery, as is explained by the famous socio-economist Galal Amin, (2008:17). As a matter of fact, the natives of Jijel have always preferred to have jobs in the public sectors so as to feel more secured. And despite all that is said about them,

many of them keep their heads up and show an attitude of pride and superiority. They believe that the mockery of the majority-group, be it in Constantine or Algiers, or elsewhere, is no more than a sign of envy. They do not stop telling those people who practice prejudice over them: ‘You envy us because we have proved competence and success in all domains, and the most prominent figures of the nation are from Jijel. President Houari Boumediene, Ferhat Abbas, Mohamed Seddik Ben Yahia, Abdelhak Benhamouda, Louiza Hanoune – to cite only a few – all originate from the province of Jijel’. What any Algerian can easily notice about these disliked people is that they know how to gain their living. They practice bakery trade, pastry making, hair dressing, carpentry, and farming. What is unfortunate about all stories and jokes about the out-groups, which are transmitted orally from generation to generation, is the fact that they are almost never positive. Even their generosity is referred to as naivety. Positive acts are transformed into negative ones. Once a Constantinian from the University of Constantine asked one of his best friends, who also teaches at the same university, but who originates, from the province of Jijel, to lend him his car. The latter gave him the keys. The former commented friendly: ‘I am not sure I will take it; its registration number is 18’ (18 is the registration number of Jijel).

Let us say that in societies where we judge people according to a popular heritage, and put them all in only one plate, the question: ‘where do you come from?’ is always asked. And knowing where we are from means for many who we are - a judgement which gives a limited vision about you and an idea on your identity with great confusion. The practices of such attitudes, even when they are meant to be friendly, have given rise to negative results both in terms of human relations and in terms of discourse. These are neatly reflected in one of the most important functions of language which is maintaining equilibrium in society and keeping cohesion within social groups. This function of

language is perhaps more important than people realize. Greetings and routine polite questions as: ‘How are you?’, ‘How’s life?’, and ‘How’s the family?’ are not meant to seek information, but rather to open up the lines of communication between people. This type of language is called by sociolinguists ‘sweet-nothing’, which means it is sweet at the level of human relations, but nothing at the level of meaning. In the phatic function of language it is not what one says that matters but the fact of saying it at all. Human beings want to show that they are friendly and, thus, indulge in communication with others. Eric Berne - an American Social Psychiatrist - says both the addresser and the addressee take this phatic language as “a mutual stroking ritual, in which a balance is maintained between the amount of pleasure administered and received” (Leech 1973: 63). What is known about this type of language is the fact that it functions in a way that if you say, for instance, ‘nice day, isn’t it?’ No one can possibly disagree with you. Or again if you say ‘how are you?’ the participant is not supposed to reply: ‘I’m not fine’, and starts complaining. If he does, it means he has mistaken the phatic function for the referential one. According to Eric Berne (in Leech, 1973:64) what is universally known, as far as discourse is concerned, is that when two persons meet, the following may happen:

- The same number of strokes is used by both speaker A and speaker B and, thus, balance is maintained.
- Speaker B strokes too much and, thus, A will have the feeling that B wants to take advantage of him.
- Speaker B strokes too little or does not stroke at all and, thus, A will have the feeling that B wants to keep distant or to be hostile.
- Speaker B mistakes the phatic function for the referential one and, thus, misunderstanding will occur.

If we take the British culture as an example, when two English people meet they start making remarks about the weather. They do so not because they find the subject interesting, but maybe because in such situations, it can often be quite embarrassing to be alone in the company of someone and not speak to them. If no communication is held, the atmosphere can be rather artificial. But talking about any neutral topic, be it the weather or anything else, may lead to the establishment of relationships with others without having to say much. Such conversations are a good example of the social function which is performed by language. In fact, the information communicated within these types of conversations is not as important as maintaining contact between people. Another explanation may be that the first English person wants to get to know certain things about the second - their job, social status, and identity. Such personal things cannot be asked for, but intelligently can be guessed through language. But still, these things cannot be known from what the other person says as much as from how they are said. This is because when we speak, we cannot conceal clues which would give our listeners an idea about our origins, our backgrounds, where we come from, and the sort of person we are. All this information can be used by our participants to help them have an opinion about us. This is neatly summarized in Ibn Abi Selma's verses (1985:69) which say:

"و كائن ترى من صامت لك معجب زيادته أو نقصه في التكلم

|waka:ʔintara: minsa:mitin laka muḥZibin Zija:datuhu ʔaw nuqsuhu fi ttakallumi|

لسان الفتى نصف ونصف فؤاده فلم يبق إلا صورة اللحم والدم"

|lisa:nu lfata: nisfun wa nisfun fuʔa:duhu falam jabqa ʔilla: su:ratullahmi waddami|

Which means it may happen that you meet a person and before even he says a word you admire him. This admiration increases or decreases when he speaks. One's language is half of us and the other half is our heart; without them both, we are nothing but a body of

just flesh and blood. These two aspects of language are crucial in establishing social relationships on the one hand, and in playing a role in conveying information about speakers, on the other. This makes it clear that there is a close inter-relationship between language and society.

Contrary to what has been said about the phatic language, a phenomenal way of using the social functions of language has come into existence in Constantine where two groups are in competition: the Constantinians (the in-group) and the 'Hrika' (the out-group). In this society, the rules of discourse are completely violated. The following dissatisfactory stroke rituals, as explained by Eric Berne, are no more than expressions of distance and hostility between group members in conflict and in competition:

eg. 1/ A: |waSra:k?| (واش راک؟) 'How are you?'

B: |la:ntatbiib| (لا أنت طبيب؟) 'Why? Are you a doctor?'

- Here B deliberately deviates the phatic function to the referential function, though pretending to be friendly.

The result is that the conversation is over.

eg. 2/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راک؟) 'How are you?'

B: |Gir mannak| (خير منك) 'Better than you.'

- Here B is bad intentioned, he is expressing his deep seated competition.

The result is a quick interruption of the conversation.

eg. 3/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راک؟) 'How are you?'

B: |wkingullak maniSml:h0waS ra:jah ddirli ra:jah0 t;awanni| (وكنقولك منيش مليح واش
(واش راک؟) 'And if I tell you I'm not fine, are you going to help me?'

- Here B's reply implies that there are no solid relations between people. No one relies on the other.

eg. 4/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راک؟) 'How are you?'

B: |walla:hi nəh0mad rabbi| (والله نحمد ربي؟) 'I swear by Allah that I'm fine.'

- Here B's reply does not leave any field of doubt. He wants to show that his state is always at a peak.

eg. 5/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راك؟) 'How are you?'

B: |mangullakS| (منقلوكش) 'I am not telling you.'

- Again B here converts the phatic function into referential. He simply wants to imply that this is the business of none.

The result is, as usual, no room is left for the conversation to continue.

eg. 6/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راك؟) 'How are you?'

B: |maniS mli:h0 ra:si jewdjəɣ wədzidlinta| (منيش مليح، راسي يوجع وديدي لي ئنت.) 'I'm not fine. I have a headache. Leave me alone!'

- Here B finds a justification for himself to avoid communication.

eg. 7/ A: |waSra:k| (واش راك؟) 'How are you?'

B: |la:nta tbi:b| (لا أنت طبيب؟) 'Why? Are you a doctor?'

A: |nō, veterin3r| (non vétérinaire) 'No, veterinarian.'

- Here A has found a defence mechanism. It seems A has now expected B to reply mockingly, and consequently is treating him as an animal.

Notice that in all seven examples the conversation is violated and the contact is cut off.

When such language behaviour occurs, in any society, human relations will become rather strained.

2.3 Group Conflicts and Interaction

The above conversations are based on the assumption that members of a group behave towards other groups on the basis of shared attitudes and stereotypes. The study of prejudice and stereotypes has flourished for decades. The concept 'stereotype' belongs to the cognitive beliefs that people hold toward the characteristics of other groups, and

prejudice refers to the attitude that people have about another group (Leyens, 1994). In their study, Katz and Braly (1933) defined stereotypes as ‘pictures’ of national and ethnic groups, which reflect attitudes towards them. These pictures include characteristics which generate varying levels of rejection or acceptance. The findings state that people hold shared repertoire of traits that characterize other groups, and that the sharing of the characteristics observed is a result of public fiction rather than personal knowledge, when “individuals accept consciously or unconsciously the group fallacy attitude toward place of birth and skin colour” (Katz and Braly 1933, pp: 288 – 289). (Our main concern in this research work is on place of birth, because of the often asked question: Where do you come from?). The study of the pioneers Katz and Braly opened the road wide to other investigations of prejudice and stereotypes. At the beginning stereotype was considered as the product of faulty thinking, and it was often used interchangeably with prejudice. This means that most of the empirical researches approach the study of prejudice and stereotyping as an evaluative process of the individual, not of the group. And then prejudice and stereotypes have developed to concern particular out-groups within an intergroup social context. They concern specific attitudes and feelings about another group; they are shared by the members of the group and guide their behaviour towards the stereotyped group. According to Bar – Tal and Sharvit (2003) the ideas, feelings and attitudes of individuals represent, under certain conditions the beliefs, values and attitudes of their group, and these build up the particular context in which people live.

2.4 What Makes Behaviour Antisocial?

Antisocial behaviour is a kind of behaviour which harms both society and its members. People generally agree that there are two classes of behaviour which are harmful for society. These are: prejudice and aggression.

2.4.1 Prejudice

Prejudice is an unfavourable attitude directed towards other groups of people. This attitude is often based on false evidence about these groups. Prejudice is often an attitude towards a group, not towards an individual. It should be noted that not all negative attitudes towards a group are necessarily prejudices. If, for instance, one has ample evidence that a given group is acting badly and is responsible for some bad acts, one would probably have a negative attitude towards that group. Attitudes involve prejudice when they are based on incorrect information.

2.4.2 Social Categorization

Human beings have a tendency to sort people into groups. This tendency is quite a normal phenomenon and is based on perceived common attributes. In all cultures of the world, people are categorized according to their occupation, ethnicity, and gender etc. In addition people tend to shape prototypes for various categories based on what is believed to be typical exemplars of the categories. When such prototypes are applied to people, they are simply turned stereotypes.

2.4.3 Stereotypes

Stereotypes strengthen and maintain prejudice. They are over simplified, hard to change ways of seeing people who belong to some category or group. For example, black people in America, Mexicans in Holland, women, and rich people in general are often seen in a certain way, rather than individuals. Stereotypes also impose their existence in the communications media, which have traditionally portrayed Jews, for instance, as misers, Italians as gangsters, American Indians as villains etc. However, with the advance of literacy, stereotypes are changing now and bit by bit disappearing.

Stereotypes and social categories help people organize their perceptions of other people and give them clues and speedy access to a wealth of information (e.g., other

people's characteristics and expected attitudes) about people they have never met. In other words, stereotypes help us know what to expect from people we do not know (we know them only through categorization). The problem with stereotyping people is that we often over generalize the traits of the stereotype, believing that all members of a group are the same. This tendency to see the members of an out-group as all being alike is known as out-group homogeneity bias, "When we fall pray to this bias, we take stereotypical characteristics or actions that apply only to a portion of a group and infer that they apply to all or almost all of the group members" (Brehm and kassin, 1990).

2.5 Why People Have Prejudices

Some psychologists (Levine and Campbell, 1972) argue that prejudice takes place when two groups are in competition for valuable but scarce resources. Immigrant groups, for instance, are often faced with hostility only because they are perceived as taking jobs away from people who consider themselves to be the real and original inhabitants of the country, despite the fact that, very often, the jobs these immigrant groups take are those that the in-group people generally refuse to take. This situation often leads to the creation of conflicts between the two groups which, in turn, often involve the impression of one group by the other one. It is not difficult to notice how such domination gives rise to feelings of hostility on the part of the oppressed group. In addition, the oppressed group is stereotyped by the powerful group because the latter wants to justify its incorrect and unjust actions and because it wants the oppressed group to stop fighting back.

Some other psychologists (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986) argue that some people hold prejudices to increase their self esteem. They believe that part of self esteem comes from the social groups to which we belong (which we are members of). Thus, people may form prejudices against other groups so as to show off their own group's status and the self esteem they feel via group membership.

2.5.1 Where Prejudice Comes From

2.5.1.1 Culture

Culture plays a great role in influencing everything in a human being starting from our taste of dressing to our attitudes towards human relations and ending up by political views. For example, Muslims would consider eating pork or monkey meat not only disgusting but sin. Yet in some parts of the world these are considered tasteful; pork is a delicacy in Europe and America, and monkey meat is a delicacy for Chinese people. Conversely, Americans, Europeans, and Chinese would consider slaughtering animals in an Islamic way is bad or inhuman.

Almost all people in western countries would see that parents who interfere in their children's choice of a marriage partner are behaving badly and in an uncivilized way, and that a person should be free to marry the person he or she loves. However, in some parts of Arabia and India, for instance, parents choose husbands for their daughters, and the girls have but to accept and they feel a sort of relief not to have to make such an important choice. Here is a witness by an Indian girl

We girls don't have to worry at all. We know we'll get married. When we are old enough our parents will find a suitable boy and everything will be arranged. We don't have to go in competition with each other... besides how would we be able to judge the character of a boy?... Our parents are older and wiser, and they are not deceived as easily as we would be. I'd far rather have my parents choose for me (Mace and Mace, 1960: 113 in Lauren Fedorko, 1986).

Almost all Europeans and Americans would also agree that in polygamous societies, where a man is free to marry more than one wife, women are oppressed. But, in fact, there is no such feeling from the women's part in polygamous societies. On the contrary, they pity those women whose husband does not have other wives with her to help with the work and to keep her company.

The list of such culturally derived attitudes is endless. To discover how many of the things we take for granted are attitudes, not facts, we need, indeed, to travel a lot and read about other ways of life.

2.5.1.2 Parents

There is ample evidence that all children acquire many basic attitudes from their parents. Most children follow their parents' political opinions, their religions, their favourite football teams, and even their political parties. Of course parental influence weakens as children get older, but does not fully disappear even after a person has become an adult. This means that children whose parents are prejudiced toward a group of people will hold the same prejudice towards the same group.

2.5.1.3 Peers

When children go to school and make good friends, they tend to adopt the likes and dislikes of the peer group. The peers' influence is sometimes acquired more than that of their parents. As far as group attitudes are concerned, generally the same attitudes held by parents toward a certain group are the same as those held by friends. As a result of that sameness, attitudes are given strength.

2.6 Theories of Prejudice

2.6.1 Scapegoat Theory

One of the most well known theories of prejudice is scapegoating. This theory sees prejudice as the result of displaced aggression. When people cannot achieve their objectives, they often react by being aggressive. But when there is no apparent target for their aggression they direct their anger onto other people who are not, in fact, responsible for their problem. The target of displaced aggression is simply called scapegoat. For example, when there are economic problems in a country, and the population feels exploited and powerless but cannot express its anger on an appropriate target such as the

government, it directs its hostility towards those whom they see as less powerful than themselves. A vivid example of that is that of the aggression generated by the economic frustration of the cotton farmers in the US. When the cotton prices indicate economic hard times aggression increases and is displaced on to the black population.

2.6.2 Aggression

Aggression is a behaviour directed against another person which aims at causing harm or injury, be it verbal or physical.

2.6.2.1 Hostile Aggression

Hostile aggression is usually emotional and impulsive and is often provoked by distress or feelings of pain. That is, in engaging in hostile aggression, we mean to cause harm to others without really having the intension of gaining something concrete (material). This type of aggression may lead, sometimes, to the destruction of valuable things such as good friendships, persons we love much, or properties we cherish.

2.6.2.2 Instrumental Aggression

As opposed to hostile aggression, we engage in instrumental aggression to obtain something valuable. It is often the result of exact calculation. For example, bank robbers have no personal problems with the people they murder or injure when robbing a bank. That is, if they can get what they want without being aggressive, they may not bother to be aggressive. Much in the same way, a young child who takes another child's toy is displaying instrumental aggression (nothing personal, but the child just wants the toy).

The purpose of introducing aggression here is to show how social interactions and other environmental events and characteristics contribute to aggressive behaviour. In sum, aggression is caused by pain, discomfort, and frustration.

2.7.1 Types of Prejudice

Psychologists see that there are many possible causes for prejudice: Psychological, Cultural, and Social.

2.7.1.1 Psychological

Some psychologists (Adorno et al, 1950 in Hayes, 1994) suggest that the basis of social prejudice is due to the formation of certain individuals' personalities. They state that some kinds of people are more favorable than others to hold prejudicial attitudes towards out-group people. The background of this goes back to our childhood experiences. People who grow up in an environment of prejudice will socialize into the prejudicial culture of their parents, teachers, and social members, and, thus, will encounter many forces that incite them to conform to their parents' thoughts and practices. This conformity may lead to the production of a cautious character which means that these people will perceive things in a pessimistic eye, and will find clumsy situations difficult to cope with. As a result of that, they will see people whom they consider different in a very intolerant way.

2.7.1.2 Cultural

Of course the culture of a society has great influence on individual people's prejudices. When one group in a given society enjoys privileges and the other does not, those who are privileged may feel defensive, while those who are not will be frustrated and envious.

2.7.1.3 Social

In real life, social groups differ from one another in relative power, prestige, and status. People in their society compare their own group with others, and try to find good reasons why their group is 'better'. This may lead them to denigrate those who are

‘different’. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), this type of intergroup prejudice develops through three related mechanisms:

1. Categorization:

It is the process in which different groups identify themselves, and individuals of these groups are classified as belonging to one group or another.

2. Accentuation

It is the process that follows categorization and where differences between groups become exaggerated. In this stage members belonging to other groups may be stereotyped, or regarded as being all the same.

3. Intergroup conflict

Intergroup conflicts emerge in conditions of social rivalry especially in periods of economic difficulties. In this stage the groups enter in direct competition with one another, and rivalry between social groups can reach its highest level (Tajfel, 1981). The mere existence of different groups is sufficient for prejudice to develop between the two. Using this type of theory, the social identity theory, one can easily notice how this type of argument directly aims to encourage intergroup hostility, by presenting the disliked group as being in tense conflict with the other groups in society.

According to Allport (1954), intergroup conflicts may develop to become social discrimination. That is, if prejudice is not directly fought by society, it builds up and manifests itself in people’s behaviors. In its extreme sense, it may start with hostile talk and verbal denigration. That is, prejudiced talk such as nicknaming the others and telling jokes and stories about them plays an important role in expressing a deep seated feeling towards them. Then, it may move to keeping at a distance between the two groups in conflict, although without any actual harm. Then, in its third step, it may move to the

exclusion of one group from its civil rights, housing, employment and the like. And then, as a final step, violence against property and people may be called for. These stages can be seen in Nazi German society's treatment of the Jews, and can also be seen in the racist system of apartheid practiced in South Africa.

Of course one might say that these two examples are too extreme to cite in this context, but conflicts between groups are a fact of everyday life and may, at any time, lead to violence. A hostile word between two individuals of the groups in conflict may lead to a fight between the two groups. This is because groups function as aggregates of people who are interdependent. This means, what any one group member does will influence or affect other members. The members of a group become interdependent because they view themselves as sharing common goals. For example, if a supporter of a football team admits that the opposing team is playing better and starts applauding it, the other supporters will also applaud. But if the supporter judges that the opposing team is playing aggressively and starts throwing stones, the other supporters will also throw stones.

2.7.1.4 How Aggression is Learned

One of the major determinants of aggression – verbal or corporal – is social learning. That is, aggressive behavior is learned from aggressive models which are watched by people in their societies. In a society where people often fight for land, for instance, aggression becomes part of those people's behaviors. Perhaps the most powerful source of aggression dwells in almost every home: It is television. Some evidence of that comes from the fact that children play more aggressively immediately after watching violent movies or documentaries on television. This particularly increases the teenagers' aggressiveness and to a greater degree the aggressiveness of delinquents. The best example of that in the Algerian society is the showing of a series on 'Eshanfara' – a pre-Islamic bandit poet – whose result was the forming of violent clans armed with swords. According

to Baron and Richardson (1992), not only children are affected by exposure to violence but adults as well. In short, watching violent programs on television, and seeing violence in society teach both children and adults how to engage in aggression and violence.

2.7.1.5 How to Reduce Prejudice

One way of reducing prejudice between groups that have prejudicial attitudes towards one another or of one group towards the other is the contact hypothesis. That is, direct contact between groups in conflict will decrease prejudice (Allport, 1954), although some other additional conditions must be associated with that contact. These additional conditions might be, for instance, that there should be personal interactions between members of the two groups in conflict; that the groups must be of equal status; that there should be cooperation between the groups; and that reduction of prejudice must be the concern of the two groups.

Another way of eliminating prejudice is to make the effort of experiencing directly the disliked group's culture. Learning the language of the other culture, understanding the norms of that culture through visiting it, and trying to live as a person of that culture may actually help us better realize that we are all human beings and we are the same all over. The point is: Are people willing to overcome their ignorance and take the active steps to fight it and take understanding and knowledge instead? It is only by science that people kill prejudice.

A third way of reducing prejudice is to give ourselves sufficient time for reflection on the given information, and reject all that we consider irrelevant. People should have enough courage to contradict any speech that aims at denigrating other people in a stereotypical way. But probably the best way of reducing prejudice is through television and newspapers.

Authorities may also set up group norms and compel group members to behave within those norms. These norms may be something like tendencies and habits where group members are required to act accordingly and are punished if they do not.

Prejudice reduction can be best understood through “The Robber’s Cave Study” (Sherif et al., 1961/1988 in Sternberg, 1996) – an experiment on prejudice conducted at the Robber’s Cave state Park in Oklahoma. In this state a group of psychologists created a boys’ camp for the purpose of studying intergroup relations. The camp offered typical camp activities to the boys who had no idea that they were under observation. The boys were divided into two separate groups and were allowed to play only with members of their own group, and quickly good friendships and group spirit developed. Each group found a name for itself, and the boys then printed their groups’ names on their T-shirts. After some time the two groups were brought together for a tournament. The hypothesis behind that had been that when the two groups of boys were put in competitive situations, hostility between them would develop. The hypothesis was confirmed.

Throughout the tournament, hostility mounted although the games started in a spirit of good sportsmanship. Confrontations and fights spread beyond the games. When there was extreme hostility between the members of the two groups, the experimenters tried to find out ways which would end the conflict between the two groups. They tried, through bringing the groups together such as watching a movie or having a good meal together, but that approach proved to be a failure in that the boys pushed each other, broke out food fights etc.

The only way that proved to be successful to reduce that prejudice was through involving the boys in cooperative activities. In a deliberately planned incident, a lorry carrying the boys from the two groups got trapped in the mud. The members of the two groups needed to cooperate to solve the problem they were in – to get the lorry out. After

that, the boys were engaged in a variety of cooperative activities until bit by bit they got to know one another well, become friends, and played together peacefully until the end of the camping season. That is, it is only by compelling people to cooperate that prejudices held by the members of each group against the other can be eliminated.

Conclusion

What a group of people perceives about another group's language, culture, and attitudes is what these people have been conditioned by their own culture to see, and the stereotypical models already built around their own. Group identity is not a natural fact, but a cultural perception. People's perception of someone's social identity is not naturally but culturally determined. That is, no one is born prejudiced! Prejudice is acquired within society, and is an attitude rooted in ignorance and a fear of differences. Prejudice may grow out of control and, if not quickly uprooted, it may be passed on from generation to generation and can feed discrimination, hatred, and victimization. It is only by education, awareness, and positive action that such hostile attitudes, opinions or feelings towards other groups of people, often formed without adequate knowledge, and based on negative stereotypes, can be eliminated.

Chapter III

Stigmatized items

Introduction

What makes one variety of a language different from another is the linguistic items that it is composed of. It is universally accepted that in any language there are items of vocabulary which may be called either 'lexemes' or 'lexical items', and that these items include sound-patterns which are all used in larger constructions called syntactic patterns. Sociolinguists have studied the three of them and have agreed on the fact that there is no difference between them in terms of importance. The only thing is that lexical items can be listed in a dictionary, but sounds and constructions cannot – they are produced by general rules or sets of principles. For example, the items 'chair', 'table', 'pen', 'man' are found in any English dictionary, together with their meanings, pronunciations, and word classes. But such constructions as 'the man I spoke to', as opposed to 'the man to whom I spoke' are not listed in dictionaries. They are recognized as such when they occur in any piece of language.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze such items which are typical to the dialect of Jijel and which are highly stigmatized and not easy to classify within the class of lexicons, or sound-patterns, or constructions. In fact, these items make the variety of language spoken in Jijel different from other varieties in Algeria.

The chapter will be composed of six sections each of which will treat an item from the just mentioned aspects: lexical, phonological, and structural.

3.1 The Most Stigmatized Items in the Jijel Dialect

3.1.1 The Item |h0a| (ح)

The item |h0a| (ح) is a determiner which is used in the province of Jijel and some regions of the west of Algeria, namely in Tlemcen and Ghazawat. It is also used in different regions of Morocco. Its use in Jijel and not in most regions of Algeria probably explains the fact that the inhabitants of Jijel might have originated from Morocco – as is told by many historians – and, thus, this determiner |h0a| (ح) is a heritage which the Jijel speakers have kept as a feature which characterizes the dialect of the inhabitants of the province of Jijel only. Other provinces' speakers, and mainly Constantinians, make fun of this determiner and consider it as an element which is irrelevant, and, therefore, compel the Jijel speakers to say |xubza| (خُبْزَة) 'bread', for instance, and not |h0@lxUbza| (حلخبْزَة) 'a bread'. But determiners are found in all languages of the world, and the determiner |h0a| (ح) here is equivalent to the French determiner (un) and the English (a). In French, people say, for example, 'Donnes moi un livre', and not, 'Donnes moi livre'. The English say: 'Give me a book', and not, 'Give me book'. Similarly the Jijel speakers say, |?a;tini h0@lktab| (أعطني حلكتاب) 'give me a book', and not, |?a;tini ktab| (أعطني كتاب) as most Algerians say to mean 'give me a book' in which the indefinite article 'a' is not explicitly marked. The determiner |h0a| is an equivalent to the French and English determiners 'un/une' and 'a/an' respectively.

There exist a group of words within the term 'determiner'. These words have the function of introducing 'a/the' noun in our discourse. Take, for example, the following:

- a. Book
- b. My book
- c. The book
- d. A book

In example (a) the word ‘book’ is not even part of our discourse, but belongs to language in general. ‘It refers to the general idea of ‘book’ out of any context or any reality’ (Le Robert et Nathan 1995:14). By contrast, in example (b), the noun ‘book’ is preceded by the determiner ‘my’, which means the indulgence in a given discourse and the addresser is speaking about a real and particular book. In example (c), the noun ‘book’ is preceded by the determiner ‘the’ which means that both the addresser and the addressee know which book it is. In example (d), the noun is preceded by the determiner ‘a’, which means that the noun ‘book’ is now given a real meaning in terms of number, i.e., one book, and not several.

The stigmatized |h0a| (ح) in the dialect of Jijel is, thus, equivalent to the determiner ‘a’ in English or ‘un/une’ in French. It indicates something or someone without identifying them. We say, for example: |lki:t h0@lxat@m fattrik| (لكيت حالخاتم فطريك) ‘I found a ring in the street’ as in French ‘J’ai trouvé une bague dans la rue’ but not: ‘I found ring in the street’ as said in different varieties of Arabic, where, in fact, there is a covert indefinite article which is understood by all the members of the speech community of these varieties.

The determiner |h0a| (ح) in the Jijel dialect is an indefinite article which shows a meaning in reality. Only one ring, and not more, was found, but no one knows which ring it is. In Constantine people say: |lgi:t xat@m f@ttri:g| (لفيت خاتم فالطريف), without any apparent determiner. But because prejudice is practiced only one way, the Jijel dialect speakers not only understand the function of the underlined determiner as being part of the nature of the Constantine dialect, but wish the stigmatized article |h0a| (ح) would disappear from their own dialect.

In the plural, the indefinite article indicates an unlimited quantity, for example:

- 'I found some rings in the street'. In French, people say: 'J'ai trouvé quelques bagues dans la rue'. In Jijel, people say: |lki:t Si laxwat@m f@ttri:k| (لكيت شي لخواتم فطريك). Again the Constantinians do not use the determiner which indicates the unlimited quantity. They say: |lgi:t xwat@m fattri:g| (لقيت خواتم فطريث), literally: 'I found rings in the street' but the marker of the unknown quantity is again implicit.

In French, for example, the determiner can never be deleted; it is an obligatory constituent of the noun phrase object. We cannot say, for instance, 'J'ai trouvé bague dans la rue', literally translated into English as 'I found ring in the street'. However, in English when the noun phrase object is plural the determiner is not always present since we can have 'I found rings in the street' which is a possible sentence in English. The point is, the nature of the Constantine dialect is different and, of course, languages differ in their surface structures.

Originally, the indefinite article |h0a| (ح), which characterizes the dialect of Jijel, is no more than the Contraction of |w@h0d| (وَحْدٌ) which means 'a certain'. Contraction is the making of a form shorter than it is, as in: I have, I will, I cannot, I will not, I do not, ... which are contracted into: I've, I'll, I can't, I won't, I don't respectively.

However, there are some exceptions where the article is deleted. They are:

- Verbal expressions:

e.g. - To take revenge, to have fever, to lose control....

In French we have: Avoir froid, prendre congé, perdre patience.

- Announcements:

e.g. - Flat for sale, hotel at 5 miles...

In French we have: Appartement à vendre, Hotel à 5kms...

As opposed to the indefinite article, the definite article indicates someone or something which is known to the addressee.

e.g. - ‘when you leave school, go to the bakery and bring bread for lunch’. Here the addressee knows which bakery the addresser is speaking about, but when we say:

-‘when you leave school, go to a bakery and bring bread for lunch’, the addressee goes to any bakery to bring bread for lunch.

In the Jijel dialect, the indefinite article is expressed by: |h0a| (ح) as in: |kitaxraZ m@ll@kraja; @ddi ;la h0@lkUSa w@Sri lx@bz ll@Gda| (كتخرَج ملكراية عَدَي على حلكوشة و |شري لخبز لُغدا) ‘when you leave school go to a bakery and buy bread for lunch’.

In Constantine, people say: |kitaxrUZ m@llaqraja fUt ;la kUSa w@Sri lxUbz @llaGda| (كتخرُج ملقراية فوت على كوشة وشري لخبز لُغدا).

That is, the word |kUSa| (كوشة) ‘bakery’ is not preceded by any article.

But if you want to define the bakery in the dialect of Jijel you say: |@lkUSa| (الكوشة) ‘the bakery’, without the determiner |h0a| (ح) as in: |kitaxraZ m@llakraja ;@ddi ;@ll kUSa w@Sri lx@bz @llaGda| (كتخرج ملكراية عَدَي علكوشة وشري لخبز لُغدا).

In this example, because of the absence of the determiner |h0a|, both the addresser and the addressee know which bakery it is.

Notice that without |h0a| the way of saying it becomes closer to the dialect of Constantine and, thus, stigmatization is reduced to almost nil. In Constantine people say: |kitaxrUdZ m@llaqraja fUt ;@llkUSa w@Sri lGUbz @llaGda|. It should be noted that the absence of |h0a|, one of the most stigmatized features in the Jijel dialect, makes the other differences between the dialect of Jijel and that of Constantine almost unperceivable, though they are never free from stigma. These differences are: the |a| in Jijel in |xraZ|, the |Z|, the |k|, and the |@| in |x@bz|, and the |U| in Constantine in |xrUdZ|, the |dZ|, the |q|, and the |U| in |xUbz| respectively.

Most of the non-speakers of the Jijel dialect, and even some Jijel speakers, as shown in the tasks performed in forms of interviews , consider |h0a| (ح) as an odd and

irrelevant element in that it has no function since it is used with the definite article |@| (ال) ‘the’ in English. For example: |h0@lk@lb|(حلكلب) literally translated into English or French as: ‘a the dog’, and ‘un le chien’ respectively. But, according to Chomsky, ‘there are some elements in language which are just expletive and which have no semantic content’. Chomsky in Smith (1999:90). The best examples of those elements are: ‘there’ and the ‘do’ which functions as an auxiliary and which, in fact, has no meaning except that it helps the tense. Consider the following examples:

- a. ‘There is a boy there’.
- b. ‘I do not speak German’.

The first example can be transformed into: ‘A boy is there’. We notice that the first ‘there’ is deleted only because it is meaningless. The second ‘there’ cannot be deleted because it indicates the place. The basic meaning of the second example is: ‘I speak not German’. Both ‘I do not speak German’ and ‘I speak not German’ are negations of the affirmative sentence, which Chomsky calls ‘kernel Sentence’ (Chomsky 1973:71), ‘I speak German’. Notice that the notion of negation is expressed by the element ‘not’ while the auxiliary ‘do’ in modern English is inserted only by means of some transformations (Chomsky in linguistics 1980:52). The auxiliary ‘do’ was inserted precisely from the sixteenth century on. The element ‘not’ is not within itself the notion of negation, but is only an element of the English language to represent the notion of negation which exists in all languages of the world. The Jijel dialect, like English, also contains such expletive elements as: ‘there’ and ‘do’. It is the element |h0a| (ح). This does not mean that |h0a| (ح) is always used as an expletive element, but there are cases in which it functions purely as an indefinite article, namely when preceding words which have Berber origins and mainly which start with |?| (أ). For example: |?afUZa:| (أفوجال) ‘maize’ |?aG@nZa| (أغنجة) ‘ladle’ |?aGarja:n| (أغريان) ‘broom’ |?aḷwi:d| (أعويد) ‘stick’...

These words never take the definite article |@l| (ال) ‘the’ in English and ‘le’ or ‘la’ in French. That is we cannot say: |h0@lafUZa:l| (حلافوجال) |h0@laGarja:n| (حلاغريان) |h0@laG@nZa| (حلاغنجة)|h0@laḥwi:d| (حلاعويد), we rather say: |h0afUZa| (حفوجال), |h0@G@nZa| (حغنجة), |h0@Garjan| (حغريان), |h0@ḥwid| (حعويد).

The definite article |@l| (ال) never precedes words beginning with |bU| (بو) when |h0a| (ح) is used. Consider the following: |bUf@kra:n| (بوفكران) ‘turtle’, |bUZ@Gla:l| (بوجغلال) ‘snail’, |bUrjU:n| (بورجون) ‘lizard’, |bUbra| (بوبرة) ‘butterfly’... we never say: |h0@lbUf@kra:n| (حلبوفكران), |h0@lbUZ@Gla:l| (حلبوجغلال), |h0@lbUrjU:n| (حلبورجون), |h0@lbUbra| (حلبوبرة); we rather say: |h0@bUf@kra:n| (حبوفكران), |h0@bUZ@Gla:l| (حبوجغلال), |h0@bUrjU:n| (حبورجون), |h0@bUbra| (حبوبرة). However, the speakers of the dialect of Jijel tend to pronounce words which originally start with the feature |h0a| such as |h0arbit0| (حربيط) ‘spinach’|?arbit0| (أربيط), i.e., without |h0a| (ح) to avoid stigmatization.

If the item |h0a| (ح) is used in the dialect of Jijel to function as an indefinite article, and is highly stigmatized all over Algeria, in Egypt, however, not only is it far from stigma but enjoys high prestige among all Arab speakers with a different function expressing the future – both near and far. Hence, it is used in replacement of the Standard items |sa| (س) and |saUfa| (سوف) which indicate the future, the equivalent of which in English, for instance, would be ‘will’ as in |h0asa:fir far@nsa bit0t0ajja:ra| (حسافر فرنسا بالطيارة) ‘I will travel to France by plane’, instead of the Standard |sa?Usa:fir ?ila: far@nsa: bit0t0a:?ira| (سأسافر إلى فرنسا بالطائرة) ‘I will travel to France by plane’, or |h0akallim@k lamma: ?@ws0il hina:k| (حكلمك لما أوصول هناك) ‘I will talk to you when I arrive there’ in replacement of the Standard |sawfa ?UkallimUk lamma: ?as0il hUna:k| (سوف أكلّمك لما أصل هناك). Phonologically speaking, the use of |h0a| in replacement of the Standard |sa| or |sawfa| in Egypt, is far from being a substitution for the purpose of easiness or by means of the minimum limit of effort, as we shall see below, because the sounds |h0a| and |sa| are not

close to one another in terms of place of articulation or voicelessness – |h0a| is pharyngeal, |sa| is alveolar – which would make it probable that the Egyptian |h0a| is the contracted form of |raj@h0| (رابع) ‘I am going’ as in |raj@h0 ?a:kU| (رابعُ أكلُ) ‘I am going to eat’ contracted into |ra:h0 ?a:kU| (راحُ أكلُ) and then into |h0a:kU| (حاكلُ) ‘I am going to eat’ or ‘I will eat’.

To conclude, we can say that the stigmatized feature |h0a| (ح) in the Jijel dialect and which is seen by most Algerians as an odd and irrelevant element, is, in fact, a determiner and, it should be noted that determiners exist in all languages of the world, at least in the deep structure. The point is that at the level of the surface structure it differs from one language to another.

3.1.2 The Item |q| (ق)

One of the most stigmatized features in the dialect of Jijel is the sound |q| (ق), which is in classical Arabic – as it is pronounced by those who have great knowledge of the literary Arabic, and mainly when reading the Quran – a voiceless uvular plosive phoneme. It usually corresponds to |g| which is a voiced velar plosive sound, and to the glottal plosive |ʔ| (أ) in most dialects in the Arab world. The item |q| remains always the feature which serves the purposes of standard Arabic. Some linguists such as Ibrahim Anis (1981:84) describe it as voiced and refer it to the |q| pronounced by the Arabs in the pre-Islamic times and which is still heard in Sudan and some Arabic tribes in the South of Iraq where it is pronounced as a fusion of |q| (ق) and |G| (غ) (Ibrahim Anis, *ibid*) in Laghouat (south west of Algeria) it is taken conversely, i.e., |G|(غ) is pronounced |q| (ق) and, thus, |l@Gn@m| (لغنم) ‘sheep’ is said |l@qn@m| (لقنم). It is a highly stigmatized feature in Algeria and is often made fun of.

What is known about this item is that it has developed through time because of the differences between communities, speakers, and styles. Like many other items, be they lexical or phonological, the item |q| has more than one variant. In Standard Arabic it is |q|. It is |g|, |ʔ|, |k|, |G|, |j|, |tS|, |Z|,|dZ| in other varieties of Arabic across North Africa and the Middle East, which constitute the everyday spoken language. These varieties sometimes differ enough to be mutually incomprehensible. Speakers of some of these dialects may find difficulties to understand speakers of another dialect of Arabic; Middle Easterners, for example, can generally understand one another, but often have difficulties understanding North Africans. The opposite is not true; that is, North Africans have no trouble understanding Middle Easterners, due to the popularity of Middle Eastern – especially Egyptian films, songs and series all over the Arab world.

Varieties of Arabic, thus, display a very wide geographic distribution. We have Egyptian Arabic in Egypt, Levantine Arabic in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine; Gulf Arabic in Southern Iraq and the Gulf region; Maghrebi Arabic in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia etc. We also have linguistic patterns which correlate with economic development of Arab communities from ‘Bedouin’ to sedentary resulting in the existence of varieties within each language. The variety of Arabic spoken in Dubai, for example, is part of the larger group of dialects known as Gulf Arabic. And, despite rapid economic development and apparent urbanization in this ‘Emirate’, the majority of these dialects still exist as a reflection to strong Bedouin characteristics which are shared by other Bedouin dialects across the Arab World. Consonants and vowels alike exhibit considerable variation from Standard Arabic.

Different classical forms have also known some changes. The sounds |D| (د), |D0| (ظ), and |T| (ث) are rendered as |d| (د), |d0| (ض) and |t| (ت) respectively in most regions of the Arab world, and, thus, |haDa| (هذا) ‘this’, for instance is pronounced |hada| (هَذَا),

|D0ala:m| (ظلام) ‘darkness’ is pronounced |d0ala:m| (ضلام), and |TlaTa| (ثلاثة) ‘three’ is pronounced |tlata| (تلاتة). Similarly the sounds |g| and |ʔ| are used instead of |q| except in religious words or words borrowed recently from Standard Arabic, e.g., |fiqh| (فقه) ‘doctrine’, |sadi:q| (صديق) ‘friend’. |figh| and |sadi:g| are not possible. Another factor in the differentiation of the varieties is an influence from Standard Arabic; a Standard form is changed to become dialectal. For example, the Iraqi word |akU|, and the Egyptian |fi:h|, and Maghrebi |kaj@n| all mean ‘there is’, and all come from Standard Arabic forms |jaku:nU| (يَكُونُ), |fi:hi| (فيه), |ka:ʔin| (كائن) respectively, but now are used differently.

From what has been said, we can depart from saying that the element |q| originates from Classical Arabic and retains its original pronunciation in most regions of the Arab world. But it has developed to have more than one variant each with its rules governing it, and each informs us about its speaker and the style used. That is, each form tells us from which country its speaker comes, and within a given country it tells us from which region its user is. It also determines which style to use. These variants cannot be used interchangeably in different styles or different contexts. We cannot use, for instance, |g| to replace |q| in Standard Arabic. Someone who says |ga:la| ‘he said’ in Standard Arabic would sound ridiculous. Whereas |ga:l| ‘he said’ in dialectal language is all right. These variants, hence, serve different functions of speech, and are not always alternate forms.

The function of |q| as a group boundary-setter is shown in various speech communities in the Arab world. It serves as a marker of group membership; when you use a variant you are taxed by others. This taxation has nothing to do with the sounds as much as they are just social taxations. The distinguished group may be communally defined, or ecologically, or geographically. The geographical dialects of Baghdad are marked by the prestigious variant |g| in the north and the stigmatized |q| in the south, which can also be communally defined in that |g| is a variant in the speech of the Muslims and |q| is a variant

in the speech of Christians and Jews (Blanc, 1964). This type of communally based phonological variation is also found in Bahrain. Holes (1983) reports that the variant |g| is a marker of the Sunnis' speech and it has great prestige, while the variant |q| is a characteristic of the Shi'ites' speech and it is stigmatized. The ecologically defined dialects of Tunisia are characterized by the prestigious variant |q| in urban speech, and the stigmatized variant |g| in rural communities. The geographical dialects of Algeria are marked by the prestigious variant |g| in some regions and the stigmatized |q| in some other regions.

This evidently shows that prestige and stigma vis-à-vis variants are contextually defined. In Iraq |g| is prestigious and |q| is stigmatized, in Tunisia |q| is prestigious but |g| is not, in Egypt |g| is highly stigmatized only because it is a marker of the speech of Upper Egypt – the speech of Essaïd community. In Algeria |g| is given great prestige. And all this is imposed by power; the more powerful the community, the more prestigious it will be. And when a community has prestige, everything that relates to it will also have prestige.

The sound |q| variables exist in different parts of Algeria which account for the Arabs' Great Hegir which influenced the Maghreb linguistically. Among this linguistic influence the pronunciation of the sounds |q| and |k| which have been described by Ibn Khaldoun's 'Introduction' (Ibn Khaldoun, 1982: 1076). Ibn Khaldoun's description of |k|, meets modern phonetic description – central, emphatic – (between the back sound |q| and the front sound |k| as in |kita:b| (كتاب) 'book'). This sound is specific to the dialect of Jijel in Algeria – the dialect under study – but it also exists in the Middle East. The sound |k|, thus, replaces the sound |q| in the dialect of Jijel and is highly stigmatized. Yet, there are some isolated cases where we can hear the sound |g| instead by some young people who leave the region for the purpose of study or work and then come back with the persuasion that their way of speaking is inferior to that of the others.

It should be mentioned that the province of Jijel does not encourage stability in that it is a mountainous region and, thus, does not favour agriculture; as well as it lacks factories and firms which would provide the opportunities of work for its inhabitants. This led the youngsters to immigrate to industrial cities such as Constantine, Algiers and Annaba or to immigrate to France. And of course it is evident that these young people are going to be influenced by the host cities. This influence is going to be sufficient to the item |q| and |g| to enter the region of Jijel, though in a very narrow frame, for it is known of the rural people to stick to their tradition, culture, and language, which reflect their identity. In addition to influence, these young immigrants find themselves forced to change their way of speaking to escape constant repetitions of jokes about their language (see jokes and stories about the Jijel dialect, chapter VI).

Another factor of language change may be due to the apparent difference between the dialect of Jijel and that of the neighbouring dialects. Consider the following example which shows some differences between the speech of Jijel and that of Constantine:

Jijel	Constantine
- kli:t h0alh0Uta wa kli:tha (كليت حلحوتة و كليتها)	- qli:t hUta wa klitha (قليت حوتة و كليتها)
'I fried a fish and ate it'	'I fried a fish and ate it'
- The sound k in kli:t (كليت) and k in 'fried' (كليت) are the same to the ear of non-speakers of the Jijel dialect.	- The sound q in qli:t is different from the sound k in kli:t
- The feature h0 is irrelevant to a non-speaker of the Jijel dialect.	- The feature h0 is not used. (it does not exist in the dialect of Constantine).

As in many parts of the Arab world, the element |q| is replaced by |g| in Constantine. But it is |q| in, as I said earlier, religious words and words borrowed from Standard Arabic, eg, |@lqUr?a:n| (القرآن) ‘the Quran’, |@lfiqh| (الفقه) ‘doctrine’, |@lqija:ma| (القيامة) ‘doomsday’, |@lqanu:n| (القانون) ‘law’ etc. There are some words which are neither religious nor borrowed from Standard but which have retained the phoneme |q| for no apparent reason. Examples can be those of: |l@qraja| (لقرايه) ‘the school’, |@tt@rSa:q| (الطرشاق) ‘matches’, |@lqarmu:d| (القرمود) ‘roof’ etc. The names of some well-known monuments or places in Constantine have also retained their sound |q| such as |beb @l q@ntra| (باب القنطرة) literally translated into English as ‘The bridge gate’. All the members of the Constantinian community are well aware of such linguistic phoneme, a fact which shows that the Constantinian society is structured and deserves the name of the ‘City of Science and Scientists’ (it is named so because of its researchers and men of letters – Abdelhamid Ibn Badis is a reference).

Notice that the element |g| in Constantine is rule-governed; the bridge, for example, is |@lg@ntra|, the head of the bridge is |ras@lg@ntra| – both with the g-sound, but the bridge gate |beb @l q@ntra| as a location is pronounced with a q-sound. However, if a person pronounces it |beb @l g@ntra|, i.e., with a g-sound, he will be taxed as an outsider. It remains a fact, by the phenomenon of hypercorrection, that some people overcorrect themselves and use the element |g| in its inappropriate context. They might say, for example, |@lgm@dZa| in stead of |@lqm@dZa| ‘shirt’, and, thus, they are looked at in an inferior way. A few people, in contrast, have retained the sound |q| exactly the same way it is used in Standard Arabic as a sign of high class people or as a sign of being real Constantinians. But, as I said earlier, these are very rare cases because, in reality, social dialects in Algeria are not as apparent as elsewhere in Europe or the U.S.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the phoneme |g| exists in the Jijel dialect but not as a variant of |g| as in |qa:l| and |ga:l|, but rather in free variation with |j| as in |@lj@rfala| (اليرفالة) ‘a sort of green peas’, |@lj@rr| (الير) ‘a kind of bird’, |l@jrUra| (ليرورة) ‘hen cage’, |jj@zz@m| (يَزْم) from Standard Arabic ‘يَقْزَم’ (to cut into slices, to cut something into very small pieces). All such words can be pronounced in the dialect of Jijel as |@lg@rfala|, |@lg@rr|, |l@grUra|, |jg@zz@m| respectively. What is amazing in the use of |j| and |g| in the given examples is that the community which uses |j| stigmatises the use of |g| and the community which uses |g| stigmatises the use of |j|. This type of stigmatization is both ways because there is no in-group and out-group.

It should be pointed out that in the region of Jijel not only the sound |q| is replaced by |k| (a central emphatic sound) but also the front palatal sound |k| which usually retains its original pronunciation is in some areas replaced by the affricate sound |tS|. The word |k@lb| (الكلب) ‘dog’, for instance, is pronounced |tS@lb| by some rural male or female speakers and mainly illiterate old ones. The element |tS| is highly stigmatized in Jijel and elsewhere in Algeria as opposed to Iraq where this same element is used in the south by the Shia community, and where it is far from stigma. Stigmatization, as has been said before, is contextual.

Again, as opposed to Iraq, no distinction is made between |k| and |tS| in Jijel in terms of gender when they are object pronouns expressed by |-ak| (you) and |-atS| (you) as in |kUtlak| ‘I told you’ and |kUtlatS|. By contrast, |kUtlak| in Iraq means the addressee is male, while |kUtlatS| means the addressee is female. In some contexts in the region of Jijel the variant |k| may also be replaced by |t| as in |k@sra| (كسرة) ‘bread’ rendered as |t@sra|, or |kaiku:l| (كيكول) ‘he is saying’ which becomes |taiku:l|. In some other contexts |k| becomes |Z| as in |hakda| (هكدا) ‘like this’ which becomes |haZda| (هجد) by means of assimilation. That is, the feature of voicing of the phoneme |d| (a voiced sound) is carried over to convert

|tS| (a voiceless sound) into a voiced sound |Z|. Notice that |tS| is not converted into |dZ| (its phonological opposite) but into |Z| simply because the sound |dZ| is not part of the sound system of the Jijel dialect. |hakd@k| (هكدك) ‘like that’ is said |hatSd@tS| (هتشدتس) or |haZd@tS|. |hakda| and |hakd@k| are also said |haida| and |haid@k|; the sound |k| becomes |j| – another possible assimilation –. This example illustrates how such assimilative processes can change a language.

This assimilative phenomenon exists in all languages of the world. In English when we say ‘kick’, the sound |k| is influenced by the high front palatal vowel |i| and is articulated forward in the mouth. But when we say ‘cotton’, the |k| is influenced by the low back vowel |a| and is backed. The |k| in ‘kick’ is hence palatalized. In old English there were several words which started with a palatalized |k| when these phonemes were followed by |i| they become what is now palatal affricate |tS| (Fromkin and Rodman, 1978: 320). The following are good examples of that:

<u>Old English</u> k	<u>Modern English</u> tS
Cicken (kicken)	Chicken
Cildren (kildren)	Children
Cinn (kin)	Chin
Ciese (kiese)	Cheese

It is only now that one can understand why, in some rural areas of Jijel, when people want to feed chicken they call them |tSUtS tSUtS tSUtS| (تشتوتش تشتوتش تشتوتش) which might have originated from ‘cock’, ‘cock’, ‘cock’ which is a kind of imitation of the chicken crowing. It is also only now one can understand that the word |j@tSG@r| (يتشغر) ‘to make a whole in something’ comes from |j@q@r| (يقعر) which is said by the majority

of Algerians [j@g̃@r]. This word exists in Standard Arabic as is shown in the following piece of poetry by El Hutaia in El Akd el Farid (1982:293):

زغب الحواصل لا ماء و لا شجرُ " ماذا أقولُ لأفراخ بذي مرخ

|ma:Da: ?qu:lU li ?@fra:xin bi Di: maraxin zUGbU lh0awa:sili la: ma:?Un wa la:
SaZarU|

فاغفر سلام الله عليك يا عمر" ألقيت كاسبهم في قعر مظلمة

]?@lqaita ka:sibahUm fi: qaʒrin mUD0limatin f@Gfir sala:mU lla:hi ʒalaika ja:
ʒUmarU|

‘What shall I say to non-feathered birds without seeds or water whose father has been thrown in a dark well and who is now asking you – Omar – for forgiveness’.

The same development of |k| into |tS| in English – the palatalization of the |k| – is also found in many old Arabic dialects and its remainders are still found in some modern Arabic dialects in Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt and mainly in rural areas (Anis, 1984:123). This assimilative process is known by the Arabs as |@lk@Sk@Sa| (الكشكشة) (no agreement on its reference) which literally means the assimilation between |k| and |S|. This phenomenon is also known in many other languages of the world. In ‘Twi’, for example, the word meaning ‘to hate’ was once pronounced |ki|. The |k| become |tS|, so that today it is pronounced |tSi| (Fromkin and Rodman, 1978:320). There are different points of view on the description of ch-sound; is it a single unit or is it a combination of |t| + |S|? But because there are no such sounds as |pS|, |mS|, |kS|, we can simply say that |tS| phonologically descends from the single sound |k| by the process of assimilation, and has no relation with |t| followed by |S|. Phonological and diachronic analyses can be said to meet in this point when historical studies demonstrate that ‘the English church was originally identical to the Scot’s kirk’ (Sampson, 1980:37).

This type of assimilative processes at the level of languages gave rise to the so-called ‘theory of least effort’ to explain language change. As its name suggests, this theory claims that people make as little effort as possible in speaking. That is to say sound changes are primarily due to linguistic laziness. This might be called the ‘mumbling tendency’, i.e., we tend to carry over the feature of a sound to another sound, to drop out unstressed syllables, and so on.

Throughout history many phonemes and morphemes alike have been dropped out because of speakers’ laziness. For example, people do not want to make the least effort to remember, for instance, that the simple past tense of ‘dream’, ‘sweep’ and ‘light’ are ‘dreamt’, ‘swept’, and ‘lit’ respectively. Instead, both children and adults presently say ‘dreamed’, ‘sweaped’, and ‘lighted’ by analogy to ‘seemed’, ‘reaped’, and ‘ignited’. The same kind of analogical change led to the replacement of exceptional irregular plural forms by regular ones. Many people tend to regularize such borrowed words as ‘criterion’, and ‘medium’ by saying ‘criteria’, and ‘mediums’. In some cases the borrowed original plural forms are considered to be the singular, and, thus, are given the new plural form which becomes the plural of the plural, e.g., ‘criterias’ and ‘medias’ for ‘criteria’ and ‘media’ which are already plural.

Algerian Arabic is one of the languages of the world which this theory of least effort applies. For easiness, and by means of the assimilative process, other back or dark sounds are converted into central or light sounds. Notice that the dark |t| is heard in the Constantinian dialect, e.g., |w@LLa| (ولا) ‘or’, in, for instance, |qritU w@LLa ma qritUS| (فرتو ولا مقريتوش؟) ‘did you have class or not?’ but is never heard in the Jijel dialect. It is rather pronounced || – light || –, |kritU w@llamakritUS| (the dark |q| becomes central |k|, and the dark || becomes light ||). Notice also the misunderstanding of |w@lla| in Jijel which

means either ‘or’, as we have seen, or ‘come back’ (رجع) |rZ@ġ|. It is understood only from the context.

To sum up, we can say that there are many factors which contribute to linguistic differences –regularization, simplifications, assimilations or whatsoever. Basically, however, it must be remembered that it is the children, in their process of learning the language, who finally include the present time changes or introduce new changes in the rules of the language. In fact, the exact reasons for language are still not clear, maybe language changes for the same reason all things change: things change by nature. As Heraclitus says, “All is flux, nothing stays still. Nothing endures but change” (in Fromkin and Rodman 1978: 321).

3.1.3 The Item |ddi| (دَي)

Such expressions as |ddi xUti| (دَي خوتي) ‘my brothers’ and |dij@S ddi kitkU:l| (كتكول ديش دَي) ‘what are you saying?’ are often said to the natives of Jijel by other members of the Jijel community when they meet in other cities for the purpose of seeking solidarity. They are also said by other community members – especially in Algiers and Constantine (where the Jijelians migrate much) to stigmatize the dialect of Jijel. The item |ddi|, like that of |h0a| is also typical to Jijel. It is mostly used as a preposition exactly the same as the French preposition ‘de’ is. For example ‘la clé de mon frère’ is said |@lm@fta:h ddi xUja| (الذي) (المفتاح خويا) ‘the key of my brother’.

This similarity of the two items may be explained by the fact that the feature |ddi| in the Jijel dialect originates from Latin (borrowed either from the French or the Italians – both settled in Jijel). The possibility that |ddi| is borrowed from Arabic |Di:| (ذي) – Same meaning as ddi – is not excluded, since the dialect of Jijel is a variety of Arabic. It is known that in Algerian Arabic the linking particles which replace the ‘إضافة’ in Standard

Arabic are generally |mtaḥ| (متاع) ‘possessive case marker’ or |ntaḥ| (نتاع) from literary Arabic |mtaḥ| (متاع) ‘property or belonging’. We say, for instance, |mtaḥi| (متاعي) to mean my possession as in: |had@lk@lb mtaḥi| (هذا الكلب متاعي), ‘this dog is mine’. For easiness – by the process of assimilation – because n-sound is closer to the |t| than the m-sound, |m| is often replaced by |n| and, thus, we say |ntaḥi| instead of |mtaḥi|.

In the region of Jijel people say |ddi| (دِّي) and |djali| (ديال); |ddi| – which is also pronounced |di| (د), |dd@| (دِّ), and |de| (دَ) – depending on the context – is used when the annexed word is a substantive – a noun, while |djali| is used when the annexed word is a pronoun; (|djali| is equally used in Morocco and the west of Algeria). For example, |@lk@lb ddi xUja| (الكلب دِّي خويا) ‘my bother’s dog’ literally ‘the dog of my brother’, and |@lk@lb djali| (الكلب ديالي) ‘my dog’. We assume that |djali| comes from Standard Arabic |haDa: li:| (هذا لي) ‘this is mine’, transformed for easiness into |Da: li:| (ذا لي) by the function of deletion (|ha| is deleted and the meaning remains the same).

This type of transformation falls into Chomsky’s meaning preservation. What made us assume that |djali| (ديالي) ‘mine’ comes from Standard Arabic |haDa: li:| (هذا لي) ‘this is mine’ is that in the Standard we say, for instance, |@lkala:m ha:Da: mafhu:m| (الكلام هذا مفهوم), and in Egyptian Arabic |Da:| (ذا) is overtly used to mean |ha:Da:| (هذا). The point is, in Algerian Arabic |Da:| is covertly used (it is underlined). The dialect of Constantine, however, detains the particle |ntaḥ| but is used only in restricted contexts. They proceed to property or belonging by the use of direct annexation. They would say, for example, |x@d@mti| (خدمتي) ‘my work’ instead of |@lx@dma ntaḥi| (الخدمة نتاعي) or |@lx@dma djali| (الخدمة ديالي). The linking particle does not exist; it is expressed by the process of direct annexation. The use of |djali| (ديال) and |ntaḥ| (نتاع) is more or less limited in practically all varieties of Arabic, but |ddi| is not at all; only the region of Jijel has retained it together

with the other linking particles. But, still its use is reduced to almost nil in some given contexts.

3.1.4 Cases where the linking particles do not occur in the Jijel dialect

In some cases, as listed below, the direct annexation is used and, hence, the linking particles do not occur.

- In some compound words such as: |f@rx @ttaw@s| (فرخ الطاوس) ‘peacock’, |tir l@bh0ar| – pronounced specifically in the city center of Jijel as |tir@bbh0ar| (طير) (لسان الطير) ‘pasta’, |xmirt rri:h0| (خميرة الريح) ‘yeast’, |lsan ttir| (بحر) ‘sea gull’, |san ttir| (لسان الطير) ‘pasta’, |xmirt rri:h0| (خميرة الريح) ‘yeast’.

Compound-like words, unlike compounds, take the linking particle |ddi| with different pronunciations, depending on the communities’ membership of its users within the province of Jijel. The following give you an idea on which region in Jijel the speaker comes from: |@lx@bz ddi LLard0| (الخبز دي لرض) ‘traditional bread’, |@lk@sra ddi lm@tlu:ɣ| (الكسرة دي لمطلوع) ‘yeasted bread’, |@zzi:t ddi zzitUna| (الزيت دي الزيتون) ‘olive oil’, also pronounced |@lx@bz dd@LLard0|, |@lk@sra dd@l lm@tlu:ɣ|, |@zzi:t dd@zzitUna| (all with a shwa after ‘dd’ instead of the short ‘i’). They are also pronounced in a clear ‘d’ |di LLard0|, |di lm@tlu:ɣ|, |di zzitUna| respectively.

In Constantine, the given compound-like terms are linked directly, i.e., without any linking particle. They are, therefore, said |xUbzLLard0| (خبز لرض), |k@sr@t @lmtU:ɣ| (كسرة لمطلوع) or |xUbzd0d0A:r| (خبز الدار), |zi:t @zzitu:n| (زيت الزيتون) or |zi:t ɣrab| (زيت عرب) or |zeitɣrab| (زيت عرب) (with the diphthong ‘ei’ if the speaker wants to show his class, as has been mentioned before, respectively).

- In expressions whose first term is a fractional number the linking particle does not occur, e.g., |rbaɣ sa:ɣa| (رُبْع ساعة) ‘quarter an hour’, |nas0s0 nha:r| (نصُّ نهار) ‘half a day’. But if you mean ‘midday’ or ‘midnight’ and not half a day or half a night, you have to use the particle, and, thus, will have to say |nnas0s0 dd@ llil| (نصُّ داييل) and

|mnas0s0 dd@nha:r| (نص دَنهار) respectively. In Constantine the linking particle is not used in either case.

- In ready-made expressions where the two terms unite in a syntactic complex, the particle does not occur. Take the following examples: |Z@ld l@Gzal| (جلد لغزال) ‘gazelle’s skin’, |sbah0 @l h0@dd| (صَباحُ لَحْدُ) ‘Sunday morning’, |mUl x@ms sni:n| (مول خمس سنين) ‘a five year old boy’, though in |Z@ld @lGzal| if |Z@ld| is definite – preceded by the indefinite article |@l| (ال) ‘the’ the linking particle |ddi| or |dd@| or |di| will occur; |@l Z@ld ddi l@Gzal| (الجلد دَي لغزال). In Constantine, in such ready-made expressions the first term is almost never preceded by the definite article, but if it is the linking particle |ntaḥ|, (تتاع), contracted into |taḥ| (تاع), for easiness, will occur.
- No linking particle occurs in complex terms whose first word is an adjective and the second a noun which function as specifier. For example |klil @zzhar| (كليل زهر) ‘unlucky’, |xSin @rra:s| (خشين راس) ‘stubborn’, |matlU:k @l j@dd| (مطلوك ليد) ‘generous’(with excess). But if the adjective is converted into a noun, the occurrence of the particle depends on the definition or indefiniteness of the noun. If the noun is definite the linking particle occurs; but if the noun is indefinite the linking particle does not occur. Consider the following where the linking particle does not occur. |k@lla:n @zzhar| (كلان زهر) ‘no luck’, |xSan@t @rra:s| (خشانة راس) ‘stubbornness’, |t@lka:n @lj@dd| (طلكان ليد) ‘excessive generosity’. In contrast, if the noun is definite, the linking particle occurs, and thus the above examples will be: |@l k@llan dd@zzhar|, |l@xSana dd@rras|, and |@tt@lka:n dd@l y@dd| respectively (the particle is either |dd@|, |ddi| or |di| – depending on where the speaker comes from).

- In known places the linking particle does not occur, e.g., |beb s0s0u:r| (بَابُ صَوْر) ‘the wall’s gate’, |sUk l@tni:n| (سوك لتنين) ‘Monday’s market’ – literal translation. But if the speaker does not mean the place but just the annexation, they will be said in the following way: |@l beb dd@ su:r|, |@ssu:k dd@ltni:n|.

The basic differences between the dialect of Jijel and that of Constantine in terms of annexation are marked by the linking particle |ddi| which occurs in almost all relations of ‘belonging’ in the Jijel dialect but which does not in the Constantinian dialect. And it is that difference which gave rise to the evaluation of this item which is highly stigmatized by most Algerian speakers. The following display neatly the difference:

The dialect of Jijel	The dialect of Constantine
a. ?a;tini h0@lkas ddilma (عْطني حلكاس دَلَم) ‘Give me a glass of water’	- ?a;tini kas ma (عْطني كاس م) ‘Give me a glass of water’
b. wz@n li kilU ddi llh0@m (وَزْن لي كلوَدِي اللَحْم) ‘One kilo of meat, please!’	- wz@n li kilU lh0@m (وَزْن لي كلو لَحْم) ‘One kilo of meat, please!’
c. Srit kilU ddi ttm@r w@b;@ttU l@ddar m;@ ddrari ddi xUja (شْرِبْتْ كِلُوَدِي تَمْر وبعْتُو لَدَار مُعْذَرري دِي خوي) ‘I bought one kilo of dates and sent it home with my brother’s children.’	- Srit kilU tm@r w@b;@ttU l@ddar m;@wled xUja (شْرِبْتْ كِلُو تَمْر وبعْتُو لَدَار مُعْولاد خوي) ‘I bought one kilo of dates and sent it home with my brother’s children.’
d. ddrari djali kanU fl@kraja (دَراري دِيالي كانو فلكراية) ‘My children were at school.’	- wladi kanU fl@qraja (وَلادي كانو فلقراية) ‘My children were at school.’
e. l@ktUb djali b@lk@l m@ddithUm (لكْتب دِيالي بَلْكل مَدِيْتهم) ‘I gave all my books.’	- l@ktUb tta;I m@ddithUm bQkk@l (لكْتب تاعِي مَدِيْتهم بُكلْ) ‘I gave all my books.’
f. ?a;tini @l h0ak djali (عْطني لْحَكْ دِيالي)	- ?a;tini h0aqqi (عْطني حَقِي)

- ‘Give me my right.’
- g. |r@ZZaḥli r@zki| - |r@dZZaḥli r@zqi|
 (رَجَعَلِي رَزْكَي) (رَجَعَلِي رَزَقِي)
- ‘Give me my property back’
- h. |r@ZZaḥli ddraham djali| - |r@dZZaḥli drahami|
 (رجعلي ذَراهم دِيالي) (رجعلي ذَراهمي)
- ‘Give me my money back’

Notice that in all examples given above – except (g) – the annexation in the dialect of Jijel is expressed indirectly (the linking particle is used) in the dialect of Constantine we have a direct annexation (no particle is used) which probably accounts for the maintenance of the Standard Arabic belonging relationship: |kita:bi:| (كُتَابِي) ‘my book’, |dara:himi:| (دَرَاهِمِي) ‘my money’, |qalami:| (قَلَمِي) ‘my pen’.

In the example (a) there are two basic differences between the two dialects, notably the items |h0a| and |ddi| which occur in the dialect of Jijel but not in the dialect of Constantine. |h0a| functions as an indefinite article, as has been explained before, and is typical to the Jijel dialect. |ddi| is a linking particle and can be replaced by |ntaḥ| or |taḥ| for easiness. The annexation is expressed indirectly. In the example (b) the item |ddi| makes the difference between the two dialects. The example (c) displays a lexicon variation – |ddrari| in the dialect of Jijel and |wled| in the dialect of Constantine, |ddi| and the geminate |t| in |ttm@r| – because the particle |ddi| never precedes an indefinite noun. In the example (d) |ddi| is replaced by |djali| only because – as has been said before – the annexed word is a pronoun; although in the center of Jijel people say |ddili| (الدِّيَلِي) ‘mine’; (|ddili| is used even if the annexed word is a pronoun). Example (e) displays an exception of annexation in the dialect of Constantine; the annexation is indirect and is expressed by means of |ntaḥ| (|ttaḥ|) for easiness.

It seems that some words cannot be annexed directly (no explicit rule is given to that). |b@lk@l| (بلكل) ‘all’ is pronounced |bQkk@l| (بكل) – in an emphatic way in Constantine – while some people say |kam@l| (كامل) instead. Both |b@lk@l| and |bQkk@l| come from Standard Arabic |bilkUl| (بالكل) ‘all’; |kam@l| comes from Standard Arabic too (كامل) and means ‘all’ as well. In example (f) the k-sound typifies the dialect of Jijel, while in the dialect of Constantine it is pronounced |q| not |g| because, as said earlier, the word |h0aqq| (حق) ‘right’ is borrowed from Standard Arabic.

In the first dialect the annexation is indirect, while in the second it is direct. |r@ZZa;li r@zki|, in the example (g), no linking particle is used (no explanation can be given) and, therefore, is said the same way as in Constantine except that the q-sound is pronounced |k|. Again, the same way Constantinians say |h0aqqi| (حقي) ‘my right’ and not |h0agqi| (حقي), |r@zqi| (رزقي) ‘my property’ is not pronounced |r@zgi| (رزقي) because the word |r@zqi| is borrowed from Standard Arabic. Example (h), as almost all other examples, displays the difference between the two dialects in the occurrence of the particle |djal| in the Jijel dialect but not in the dialect of Constantine. The conclusion we can draw from the eight examples given above is that the Constantine dialect obeys one of the major canons of language: the economy of language, i.e., to say little to mean much.

The belonging relation is, thus, marked by the particle |ddi| in the Jijel dialect: |@l xir ddi rabbi| (الخير دي ربي) ‘God’s benefaction’, |@l ma ddi l@bh0ar| (الما دي لبحر) ‘the sea water’ etc. It seems that the first term of the compound is always definite; it is indefinite only when it is borrowed from Berber and starts with the sound |?a|. For example, |?aG@rjan ddi lZira:n| (أغريان دي لجيران) ‘the neighbors’ sweeper’, |?aG@nZa ddi l;u:d| (أغنجة دي لعود) ‘the wood ladle’. When the annexed word is a pronoun in kinship nouns and parts of the body, the linking particle does not occur. For example, |xuja| (خويه) ‘my bother’, |bUk| (بوك) ‘your father’, |Z@ddna| (جدنا) ‘our grand-father’, |j@ddi| (يدي) ‘my

hand', |ra:si| (راسي) 'my head', |d@r;U| (دعو) 'his arm'. But when the annexed word is a noun in kinship relations, the linking word |ddi| occurs, e.g., |xUha ddi l@mra| (خوها دّي لمره) 'the wife's brother', |bU:h ddi brahi:m| (بوه دّي براهيم) 'Brahim's father' |;@mtU ddi baba| (عمّو دّي بابا) 'my father's aunt'. In Constantine they are said: |xu: l@mra| (خو لمره), |bU: brahi:m| (بو براهيم) and |;@mm@t baba| (عمّت بابا) respectively.

The item |ddi| is not only used as a particle but as a relative pronoun and, thus, can be used interchangeably with |lli| (اللي) 'who', or 'whom', or 'which' largely used in the region of Constantine, and which serves to link a subordinate clause to a noun or pronoun which occurs in a preceding clause. For example, |rrZaLa ddi ZaU tG@ddaU wrahu:| (الرجال دّي جاو تغداو وراحو) 'the men who came had lunch and went back'. |Zit m; a ssijj@d ddi j@sk@n t@htna| (جيت مع السيّد دّي يسكن تحتنا) 'I came with the guy who lives downstairs'.

These two sentences are said the same way in the region of Constantine except that |ddi| is said |lli|. These items |ddi| and |lli| are used in a subjective form. They are also used in an objective form as in: |tlaki:t m; @ rraZ@l ddi hdart m; @h lbar@h0| (تلكيت مع رّجل دّي) 'I met the man whom you spoke to yesterday', said: |tlagi:t m; @ rraZ@l lli hd@rt m; @h lbar@h0| (تلفيت مع رّجل اللي هدرت معّه لبرّح) in the region of Constantine, the g-sound and |lli| make the difference between the speech of Jijel and that of Constantine. The relative pronoun |ddi| is also used with non-humans to mean 'which' in English, as in |ssu:t ddi Za m@n b@rra ddi xUja| (صوت دّي جا من برّ دّي خويه) 'the sound which came from outside is my brother's', |ssu:t ddi sm@;t ddi xUja| (صوت دّي سمعت دّي خويه) 'the sound you heard is my brother's'. It can also mean 'he' or 'he who' as in: |ddi x@LLass j@kd@r jru:h0| (دّي خلص يكدر يروح) 'he who has finished can leave'.

Notice that in both the Jijel and Constantine dialects the function of constituent deletion is performed. Both |ddi| and |lli| are relative pronouns which originate from Standard Arabic |llaDi:| (الذي), |llaDi:na| (الذين), and |llati:| (التي) which all mean 'who' and

‘whom’. |llaDi:| is masculine singular; |llaDi:na| is masculine plural; |llati:| is feminine singular.

Deletion of constituents is very common in varieties of Arabic. In the case of Algerian Arabic, either |lla| is deleted in the pronoun |llaDi:| and |Di:| is maintained, as in the case of the Jijel dialect, or |Di:| is deleted and |lla| is maintained, as in the case of the Constantine dialect. For easiness “[|lla| is converted in |lli|]” (Bellaredj, 1989:67). The D-sound – in Constantine and Jijel – is converted into |d| together with |T| which is converted into |t| and |D0| into |d| respectively. That is, the consonants |D| (د), |T| (ث) which are part of the sum of consonants in Standard Arabic, do not exist in the dialects of Constantine and Jijel.

In contrast, these sounds are maintained in the eastern regions of Algeria where |lli| is used in replacement of the Standard Arabic relative pronouns. A striking difference is noticed between Standard Arabic relative pronouns and those of Algerian Arabic: In the Standard both number and gender are distinguished, while in Algerian Arabic, no distinction is made – |ddi| and |lli| are both used with singular and plural, as well as with masculine and feminine. But it should be specified that in the dialect of Constantine, gender is expressed by the inflection of the verb, e.g., |lk@lma lli gUlti ma ɿ@ndha tta maɿna| (لي قولتي) ‘the word that you said has no meaning’. |lli gUlti| (لي قولتي) is said |ddi kUlt| (دي كولت) by the speakers of the Jijel dialect – gender is understood within the context.

The item |ddi|, also pronounced |de| (د), as has been said before, occurs in the speech of Jijel to mean |?iDe| (إذا) ‘if’. Consider the following:

- |de raZ@l x@LLas @l x@dma djal@k f@lw@kt| (درَجَلْ خَلَص الخدْمَة ذِيالكْ فَلوَكْت) ‘if you are a man, finish your work on time’. Some speakers say |?ide| and not |de|

because of the influence of Standard Arabic |ʔide raZ@l x@LLas @l x@dma djal@k f@lw@kt| (إِدْرَجَلْ خَلَصْ الخِدْمَة دِيَالِكْ فْلَوَكْتْ) .

- |de ken @lmUdi:r @st@kbl@k mat@rf@d ttah@mm| (دكان لمدير ستكبلك ما ترفد تُهَم) ‘if the boss recieves you, don’t worry at all’ |ʔide ken @lmUdi:r @st@kbl@k mat@rf@d ttah@mm| (إِدْ كان المدير ستكبلك ما ترفد تُهَم).
- |derUh0t ʔ@jj@tli nrUh0 mʔak| (د رُحْتْ عَيْطَلِي نُرُحْ مَعَكْ) ‘if you go, call me to go with you’ |ʔide rUh0t ʔ@jj@tli nrUh0 mʔak| (إِدْ رُحْتْ عَيْطَلِي نُرُحْ مَعَكْ). |de| or |ʔide| are said |le| (ل) or |ile| (إل) in all other dialects of Algeria, and, thus, the three examples are said |le/ile raZ@l k@mm@l xd@mt@k f@lw@qt|, |le/ile ken @lmUdi:r st@qbl@k ma tk@ss@rS ra:s@k|, and |le/ile rUh0t ʔajjatli nrUh0 mʔ@k|.

The point is that the variant |ddi| in the Jijel dialect is said |lli| in the other Algerian dialects, and who said that d-sounds are worse than l-sounds? And why do people make so much fuss about that?

Notice that the d-sounds are used in the structured way; in the first example we have the item |de| ‘if’ + a noun phrase + adverb phrase. The verb in the verb phrase is in the imperative form. In imperatives and the present tense no distinction is made between male and female in the dialect of Jijel; the form is masculine but it is used with both male and female. The distinction is made in the context; and this is, in fact, what sociolinguists mean by saying that language is best understood in its appropriate context. In the other regions of Algeria, imperatives and the present tense require different forms: one to go with male and another to go with female. Look at the following examples taken from the speech of Jijel |dir rriZim ja mra| (دِرْ رَجِمْ يَامْر) ‘go for a diet – addressed to a woman’. |rUh0 l@krajt@k ja tafla| (رُوْحْ لِكْرَايْتِكْ يَا طَفْلَة) ‘go to school, you girl’. The same form is used with male.

Elsewhere in Algeria, the two imperative sentences are said |diri rriZim ja mra| (دري) (رُوحي لكرابتك يا طفلة) |dir| and |rUh0| become |diri| and |rUh0i|. The same thing applies to the present tense: |t@hda r mli:h0| (تهدرْ مَلِيحْ) ‘you speak well’, |t@smaç mli:h0| (تَسْمَعْ مَلِيحْ) ‘you hear well’. In dialects other than that of Jijel people say |t@hdri mli:h0| (تهذري مَلِيحْ), |t@smç i mli:h0| (تَسْمَعِي مَلِيحْ) – the ‘i’ in the verb indicates that the addressee is female. In the second example we have the item |de| ‘if’ + a noun phrase with the inserted element |ken|, which, in fact, adds nothing to the meaning, + a verb phrase in the first clause + another verb phrase in the second clause. The verb in the first clause is in the past tense and in the second in the future tense. In the third example we have the item |de| ‘if’ + verb phrase, with the subject ‘you’ underlined, + a second verb phrase in the second clause. The verb in the first clause is in the past tense but in the present time, while the verb in the second clause is in the imperative form with a ‘you’ hidden.

In conclusion we can say that the element |ddi| and |de| are highly stigmatized in the dialect of Jijel, and such sayings as |de ntUma denna:r h0na delbUmbija| (دَنْتُمْ دَنَار حُنْ دَلْمِيْبِيَة) ‘if you are the fire, we are the fire men’, and |deS kajkUl @zz@rzu:r Zi @s di la miju:r| (دَشْ كَيْكُول زَرَزور ج يَسْ د لَمِيُور) ‘what does the starling say? It says J.S.D is the best’, are heard in Constantine to mock the Hrika out-group people. The two sayings go back to the nineteen seventies when J.S.D – the first Jijel football team – played in the premier league. When J.S.D played against Cuba – Algiers – called ‘Annar’ at that time – a homonym of |@nna:r| (النار) ‘fire’, supporters of their team shouted |de ntUma d@nna:r h0na d@lbUmbija| which literally means ‘if you are fire, we will extinguish you’, or simply ‘we will beat you’.

In fact there is nothing in these sayings more than just producing homonymy, and producing rhyming words – the acronym ‘nna:r’ as a homonym of fire |@nna:r| in Arabic

and |@zz@rzu:r| which rhymes with |la miju:r|. It seems that even the inhabitants of Jijel are annoyed with this d-sound which, they believe, has been ‘chasing’ them for a long time – since the first constituency division after the independence when Jijel was dependent to Constantine and the letter ‘d’ was to stand for that dependency, and in the last administrative division in which the number eighteen was given to represent it (eighteen is said |dizwi:t| ‘dixhuit’ in French) and thus, the |di|, it seems, remains always an item typical of Jijel.

3.1.5 The Item |Zu:z| (جوز) ‘two’

In the task performed in the Community of Constantine about the dialect of Jijel, the item |Zu:z| (جوز) ‘two’ has been counted among the highly stigmatized items among the constantinian speakers. No performant has shown likeliness to use it in his or her daily speech. On the contrary they all see it as a marking feature typical to the Hrika speakers. They also all tend to blame the users of |Zu:z| for having ‘interverted’ it. They believe that the Hrika speakers should say |zu:Z| (زوج) and not |Zu:z| because – they say – its origin is |zu:Z| simply. This variable – for clarity – is |zu:Z| in some Algerian communities, |Zu:z| in mainly the Jijel community, |zu:z| in the Algerian Eastern communities and expands to Tunisia, |Zu:Z| in Morocco, |Tni:n| or |tni:n| in some other communities, or simply is understood without using it at all when it is given in the words showing inflections indicating it, such as: |jUmin| (يومين) ‘two days’, |liltin| (ليلتين) ‘two nights’, |Sahrin| (شهرين) ‘two months’, |ɣamin| (عامين) ‘two years’ etc.

|Zu:z|, |zu:Z|, |Tn:n|, |tni:n|, and |zu:z| are almost never associated with singular words except with some currencies such as: |?as0Urdi| (أسُرْدِي) (whose origin might be Berber), |dUrU| (دُورُو) ‘a penny’, |fr@nk| (فرنك) ‘Franc’, |rijal| (ريال) ‘Rial’, |?U:rU| (أورو) ‘Euro’, which are said |Zu:z ?as0Urdi|, |Zu:z dUrU|, |Zu:z fr@nk|, |Zu:z rijal| and |Zu:z

?U:rU| respectively. In contrast, |Zu:z| is most often used with different types of plural words, e.g., |Zu:z wr@k| (جوز ورك) ‘two papers’, |Zu:z wraki| (جوز وركاي) ‘two papers’, |Zu:z w@rka:t| (جوز وركات) ‘two papers’ |Zu:z b@kra:t| (جوز بكرات) ‘two cows’, |Zu:z bk@r| (جوز بقر) ‘two cows’ (|wr@k|, |wraki|, |w@rka:t|, |b@kra:t| and |bk@r| are all in plural forms).

Although |Zu:z|, |zu:Z|, |zu:z|, |Tni:n|, and |tni:n| all have the same meaning, |Tni:n| and |tni:n| cannot replace |Zu:z| in the given examples, i.e., |Tni:n| and |tni:n| cannot be associated with the word they define, be it singular or plural. |Tni:n| or |tni:n wr@k| or |w@rka:t| are not possible in dialectal Arabic in general and the Jijel dialect in particular. That is, |tni:n| is, in almost all cases, used alone when there is a shared context between the addresser and the addressee which would let them know what the item |tni:n| refers to. For example, A and B speakers below :

A- |k@ddaS ħ@nd@k ddrari| (كدّاش عندك الدراري؟) ‘How many children do you have?’

B- |tni:n| (تّنين) ‘two’. (‘B’ could have answered |Zu:z|, that is, both |tni:n| and |Zu:z| are equally used in the Jijel dialect).

Here it is clear from the context that |tni:n| is the number of children ‘B’ has. However, the element |tni:n| is, as far as I know, exceptionally associated with such numerals as: |ħ@Sri:n| (عشرين) ‘twenty’, |tleti:n| (ثلاثين) ‘thirty’, |r@bħi:n| (ربعين) ‘forty’, |x@msi:n| (خمسين) ‘fifty’ and so on. We, thus, say: |tni:n w ħ@Srin| (تّنين و عشرين) ‘twenty two’, |tni:n w@tlati:n| (تّنين و ثلاثين) ‘thirty two’, |tni:n wr@bħi:n| (تّنين و ربعين) ‘forty two’, |tni:n wx@msi:n| (تّنين و خمسين) ‘fifty two’, but never |Zu:z wħ@Sri:n|, |Zu:z w@tlati:n|, |Zu:z wr@bħi:n|, |Zu:z wx@msi:n|. There are also some words which cannot be preceded by |Zu:z| or |zu:Z| in Jijel and Constantine dialects alike, e.g., |Zu:z| or |zu:Z jja:m| (جوز / زوج ليالي) ‘two days’, whereas |Zu:z| or |zu:Z ljal| (جوز / زوج ليالي) ‘two nights’ is accepted.

Contrary to that, |zu:Z jja:m| is used in the region of Oum Bouaghi (about one hundred kms to the east of Constantine).

In sentences which express firmness and anger different ways of doubling words are used in the Jijel Community. For example, |k@d@d@t lilti:n ɿ@nd mmha| (كعدت ليلتين عند أمها) ‘she stayed two nights in her mother’s house’, |k@d@d@t Zu:z ljali ɿ@nd mmha| (كعدت جوز ليالي عند أمها) ‘she stayed two nights in her mother’s house’, |k@d@d@t Zu:z lila:t ɿ@nd mmha| (كعدت جوز ليالات عند أمها) ‘she stayed two nights in her mother’s house’ are all expressions that can be used by the Jijel speakers, though |lilti:n| out of these contexts is rarely used. The same thing applies to |k@lmti:n| (كلمتين) ‘two words’ in, |nkUll@k k@lmti:n w@nru:h0| (نكولك كلمتين ونروح) ‘I tell you two words then I leave’, which is usually said, |nkUll@k Zu:z k@lma:t w@nru:h0| (نكولك جوز كلمات ونروح) ‘I tell you two words then I leave’. It should be noted that, for easiness, |w@nru:h0| is pronounced |w@rru:h0| i.e., the n-sound is elided by means of assimilation because of the closeness of |w| and |r|.

What we can notice in the Jijel dialect as far as word doubling is concerned is that there is no agreement between the attribute and the subject in that the latter is treated as a plural, e.g., |rwah0u: hna ntUm fi Zu:z| (ارواحو هنا نتوم في جوز) ‘come here you two!’, the verb is in plural, the pronoun is also plural, but the number is only two. Conversely, the pronoun ‘you’ – |ntUma| (انتما) ‘you two’ is used to indicate the plural, e.g., |ntUma rakUm fi s@tta| (انتوما راكم في ستة) ‘you are six’ – |ntUma| is a pronoun which is normally used for two and two only –. The pronoun |hUma| (هُما) ‘they’, which is supposed to indicate two only, is also used with plural, e.g., |hUma kanU fi x@msa w@h0na fi s@tta| (هما كانوا في خمسة واحن في ستة) ‘they were five and we were six’. Because these two pronouns indicating ‘two’ and more than two in Constantine and Jijel speech communities, they are far from

stigma. But the pronoun |Zu:z|, which is said |zu:Z| is Constantine, seems as if it had undergone reversion and, thus, is stigmatized.

Inversion is not just typical to the dialect of Jijel, but is a characteristic of all languages of the world. Inversion, as we have seen in the element |Zu:z| is a change at the level of the word by rearranging some sounds. Arabic and Semitic languages take inversion as a premise in word and sentence formation; the following are good examples of that: |qalb| (قلب) ‘heart’ or ‘inversion’, |qabl| (قبل) ‘before’, |laqab| (لقب) ‘family name’, |lab@q| (لبق) ‘intelligent’. This type of inversion is a known process in morphology though the formulated words are different in meaning. It is also known as a process of generating words of the same meaning by all Arab speech communities. The following are good examples of standard to dialectal Arabic inversion:

- |ZaDaba| (جذب) ‘to draw’
- |Zb@d| (جبد) (‘b’ and ‘D’ are inverted)
In the Jijel dialect it is |Zb@d|, with a D-sound and not d-sound because the sound |D| is not part of the Jijel dialect.
- |zu:Z| (زوج) ‘two’
- |Zu:z| (جوز) – permutation of |Z| and |z|. this applies to almost all similar words (some examples are given below).
- |z@wZ| (زوج) ‘husband’
- |Z@wz| (جَوَز)
- |maZa:z| (مَجَاز) ‘path’
- |mza:Z| (مزاج) – notice here, in Standard Arabic |Z| comes before |z| as opposed to |zu:Z| and |z@wZ|, yet there is inversion.
- |bta:ه| (ابتاع) ‘it is sold’
- |tba:ه| (اتباع) - b and t are permuted.
This word is quite known in dialecta

- Arabic.
- |tan@s0s0@t| (تَنصَّت) ‘secret listening’
 - |ts0@nn@t| (تَصَّنت) - |n| and |s0| are permuted. The dialectal form is more known and more spread than the Standard from to the extent most speakers of Arabic would not know which is Standard and which is not. In the Jijel dialect when some one is listening secretly we say |j@s0s0@nn@t| (يَصَّنت) not |j@ts0@nn@t| (يَتَصَّنت) because of assimilation.
 - |j@nz@G| (يَنْزَغ) ‘to pick’
 - |j@nG@z| (يَنْغَز) ‘to pick’ - |G| comes before |z| in dialectal Arabic. |j@nz@G| in Algerian Arabic. Only Arabised very literate people say |j@nz@G| (Arabised means those who have taken the Arabic language the only language through their studies). A saying used all over Algeria uses |j@nG@z| says: |j@nG@z @dda:bwj@dd@r@k f@lb@rd@| (يَنْغَز الدَّابُّ وَ يَدْرِكُ فَالْبَرْدَع) ‘he picks the donkey and hides behind the saddle’, which means he incites people to do evil and shows no sign of guilt.
 - |j@dd@r@k| is a term typical to Jijel, other regions use |@tx@bba|.
 - |s0@ff@q| (صَفَّق) ‘to applaud’
 - |s@kk@f| (سَكَّف) - |f| and |k| are inverted. |s@kk@f| – with a light ‘s’ and k-sound – is typical to Jijel ; in other regions it is |s0aqqaf| – with emphatic |s|

because of |q| which is also emphatic.

This is as far as inversion at the level of words is concerned. At the level of sentences both Standard and dialectal Arabic perform the functions of inversion with meaning preservation. In the Standard variety of Arabic we say, for example, |leisa sahl@n ?@n t@fhama ha:D@ l baSar| (ليس سهلا أن تفهم هذا البشر) ‘it’s not easy to understand these people’, or |?@n t@fhama ha:D@ l baSar leisa sahl@n| (أن تفهم هذا البشر ليس سهلا) ‘to understand these people is not easy’. In dialectal Arabic we say |maSi: sahla baS t@fham lbaSar hada| (باش تفهم بسهولة باش تفهم البشر هذا) or |baS t@fham lbaSar hada maSi: sahla| (باش تفهم البشر هذا مشي سهلة). This type of dialect is used by practically all Algerian speakers, except that |baS| ‘to’ is said in some regions |bah| (باه).

The Jijel dialect, however, differs from the rest of the other dialects in the negation marker; the Jijel dialect speakers say |masahlaS| (ماساهلاش) ‘it’s not easy’, instead of |maSi sahla| (see chapter five). Substitution is also one of the characteristics of the dialect of Jijel in that, in addition to substitution by means of assimilation, when there is a doubled sound, one is replaced by |j|, e.g., |haz@ztU| (هززت) ‘I moved something’, |mar@rtU| (مررت) ‘I passed’, |?ad@dtU| (عددت) ‘I counted’, |Sam@mtU| (شممت) ‘I smelt’, |sad@dtU| (سددت) ‘I closed’, |dal@ltU| (دللت) ‘I directed’, |Zar@rtU| (جررت) ‘I drew’, |bal@ltU| (بللت) ‘I made something wet’, are said |h@zzi:t| (هزيت), |m@rri:t| (مريت), |?@ddi:t| (عديت), |S@mmi:t| (سميت), |s@ddi:t| (سديت), |d@lli:t| (دليت), |Z@rri:t| (جريت), |b@lli:t| (بليت) respectively.

In the Holy Quran both versions are used, in Sourah ‘EL Baqara’ God says: |f@ljUmlil walijjUhU bil ?adl| (فَلْيُمْلِلْ وَلِيَّهُ بِالْعَدْلِ) ‘let his guardian dictate faithfully’, and he says in Sourah ‘EL Furkan’: |waqa:lu: ?as0a:ti:rU l ?awwali:n @katabaha: fahijja tUmla: ?aleihi bUkrat@n wa ?s0i:la:| (وقالوا أساطيرُ الأولينَ اكتتبها فملى عليه بكرةً وأصيلاً) ‘and they say ! Tales of the ancients, which he has caused to be written, and they are dictated before

him morning and evening’. That is, in the former almighty God used |jUmlil| (يملل) – doubled sound word – but in the latter he used |tUmla:| (ثملى) and not |tUmlal| (ثملل). This linguistic variation in the Holy Quran reminds us of prophet Mohamed’s Saying |h0adi:T| (أنزل القرآن على سبعة أحرف) which says |?Unzila lqur?a:nU ħala: s@bĥati ?ah0rUf| (أُنزِلَ الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ) ‘the Quran was sent in seven letters’, which means that the Quran was sent in several varieties, and, as has been said before, diversity is one of God’s greatest signs.

This saying came as a response to some of the prophet’s companions when they came to him complaining that some of the tribesmen were reading the Quran in a different way. Temim (a tribe near Quraish) speakers, for example, would say: |wa hUzzi ilaitSi biZiDĥI mn@xlati t@s0s0a:qatU ħaleitSi rut0ab@n dZanijja| (و هُزِّي الْيَثْشُ بَجْدَعِ النَّخْلَةِ تَسَاقِطُ) ‘and shake towards yourself the trunk of the palm-tree, fresh ripe dates will fall upon you’, instead of |?ilaiki| (إِلَيْكَ) and |ĥaleiki| (عَلَيْكَ). The prophet’s reply was to let them pronounce it according to their dialects so as to spread quickly all over Arabia.

Furthermore, it was recognized by all Arabs that there were about ten tribes to which purity of language was witnessed. ‘Temim’ and ‘Hawazin’ were the most famous tribes in fluency and rhetoric, that’s why prophet Mohamed was sent to ‘Beni-saad’, a small tribe in ‘Hawazin’, for the purpose of suckling where he became afterwards the most fluent speaker of all. This is, confirmed in the prophet’s saying ‘I am more Arab than you; I am from ‘Quraish’ (the prophet’s native tribe), and I suckled in Beni-saad’s tribe. Needless to say that the inhabitants of Quraish would never send any of their children to suckle in any tribe which was not known for fluency and rhetoric so that their children would learn how to become fluent speakers and great rhetoricians, needless to say, also, that Quraish was the most fluent tribe in Arabia.

All this is confirmed by EL-Djah0id’s |@lbaja:n w@tt@bji:n| (الْبَيَانُ وَالتَّبْيِينُ) ‘Rhetoric and Elucidation’. It is also given by George Zidane (1992) in most of his books

and mainly in ‘The Arabic language literatures’ where he says that the purest Arabic was spoken by Eastern Arabs, who were in various tribes and who displayed variations at the level of meaning, pronunciation and structure. But when Islam came, the language of Quraish was maintained together with some other tribes’ varieties which were selected by linguists, while the other varieties melted in the language of the Quran. These variations have been given above in introversion, elision, and permutation of sounds, for example.

Once, Abdel-Malek Marwane (Amaoui Caliph) asked a peasant who was sitting next to him: |mimm@n @nt| (ممن أنت؟) ‘where are you from?’ |f@qa:l ana raZU| ja tamim wa ?as@d wa k@Sk@S@t rabi::a| (وقشكشة ربيعة) (فقال أنا رجل عاميم و أسد ’). This dialogue means that Abdel-Malek Marwane noticed that the peasant was using a different accent and, therefore, asked him where he was from. The peasant replied that he was a man from a tribe which converts the ?-sound into |h| and a tribe which converts the k-sound into |tS|.

These differences of pronunciation were problematic for the Arabic language and mainly for the reading of the Quran until the prophet provided them with a solution in his saying: |fa?innixtalafu: fa rUddahU ja:ala: lisa:ni quri:S fa ?inn@ma: bilisa:nihim ?Unzila| (فإن اختلفوا فَرُدُّهُ عَلَى لِسَانِ قُرَيْشٍ فَإِنَّمَا بِلِسَانِهِمْ أَنْزَلَ) ‘if they disagree, take the language of Quraish as a reference for it was sent in their language’.

To conclude, we can say that “inversion is considered one of the main factors which help language develop, grow, and spread, and which include new words to the lexicon of language” (Hammad, 1989: 33). That is why one should not make so much fuss about it. One should not be surprised when coming across such inverted words as |j@n;@l| (ينعل) ‘to curse’ in |@l0l0ah jn@;l@k;l@s0s0bah:| (الله ينعلك على الصباح) ‘may God curse you this morning’, |s@dda:Za| (سَدَاجَة) ‘prayer carpet’ in |hadi ss@dda:Za Sritha m@n sUria| (هدي السداجة شريتها من سوريا) ‘I bought this prayer carpet from Syria’, |wZa:b| (وَجَاب) ‘answer’ in |hd@rt m; a:h ma r@ddli h0@tta wZa:b| (هُدِرْتُ مَعَهُ مَا رَدَّلِي حَتَّى وَجَاب) ‘I talked to him but

he gave me no answer’, which mean |j@l_i@n| (يلعن), |s@ZZa:da| (سجّادة), |Zwa:b| (جواب) respectively, and which fall into the function of permutation. Some permutations are highly stigmatized and marked in Algerian Arabic, and thus, when some one says: |@ss@mS| ‘the sun’ instead of |@SS@ms| he will be marked as illiterate.

Despite the various differences between the Arabic dialects, and despite the fact that each tribe wanted by all means to maintain its way of speaking, the Quraish language, which was highly considered by all Arabs, found its way to Standardization and became a common language for all Arab speakers. This was so because of:

- Its strategic geographical location and the prestige it had because of its local worthies.
- The role of its occasional most famous markets – ‘Okad’ and ‘Madjena’ around Mecca, which were dominated by the Quraish language.
- The regular visits of people from different places to these markets for the purpose of trade and commerce.

3.1.6 The Feature |?@_ie| (أعا) or (عّا) ‘yet’

Consider the following joke used in the community of Constantine to mark the out-group members who originate from EL-Milia:

- A- (A user of the Constantine dialect – in a café) |kas h0lib| (كاس حليب) ‘a cup of milk, please!’
- B- (The waiter – a user of EL-Milia dialect) |mazal ?@_ie| (مازال أعا) ‘not ready yet’
- A- |@mala ?a;t0ini ?@_iU| (امّالا اعطيني أعو) ‘mockingly, ‘A’ takes the item |?@_ie| as something which is not ready yet and, hence, asks for |?@_iU| ironically meaning something else which is not a feature of language but is just play on words.

It is quite clear from this joke that the item |?@_ie| is highly stigmatized in the dialect of EL-Milia only because it does not exist in the dialect of Constantine, but is maintained by the speakers of the population of El-Milia who have moved to Constantine and who keep using it within the in-group community members who, in fact, take it as an odd item in language. A glance at the item |?@_ie| will show that, in fact, it comes from |@ssa_ɣa| (الساعة) 'the present moment', which is used in many dialects of Algeria. The point is, like many other elements of language throughout not only Algeria but the whole world, this item has undergone some deletion, which is a characteristic of human language.

One of Chomsky's (1965) functions of transformations performs the deletion of constituents. For example, any native speaker of English would understand: 'A man can be destroyed, but not defeated' as 'A man can be destroyed, but a man cannot be defeated', but because 'A man', 'can' and 'be' are given in the first part of the sentence, they are deleted. The native speaker of English also understands that the sentence also means: 'A man can be destroyed (by someone or something) but a man cannot be defeated (by someone or something). The phrases (by someone or something) are understood though not given. Here, Chomsky wants to imply that there is a rule somewhere in the English language, and in all languages of the world, which states that natives of any language tend to delete words when they are given elsewhere, and when they are 'indefinite elements'. Consider some other examples for clarity:

'Bob loves Mary and Tom Betty'. Any native speaker of English can easily understand from this sentence that 'Bob loves Mary and Tom loves Betty' although the second 'loves' is deleted. Also when any native speaker of English comes across 'the problem is hard to solve', for instance, he or she will understand that it means: 'the problem is hard (for any one) to solve. Again 'fore any one' is an indefinite element which is deleted by means of some transformations. Not only constituents or words, but sounds

are also deleted: in speech the English people say, for instance, ‘fish ‘n’ chips’ and not ‘fish and chips’ really; the sounds |@| and |d| are omitted –there are many other examples of the sort. Similarly, any speaker from around EL-Milia would understand |mazal ?@;e| (مازال أعا) ‘not yet’; the sounds |b| and |ħ| have been deleted for easiness and, thus, becomes |?@;@|. This is because, as is known by everybody, languages can be influenced by one another.

Evidence comes from |?@;edi| ‘this moment’, another expression meaning |?@;e| used by some other people in the province of Jijel. |?@;edi| simply means |@ssa;ħa hadi|, an expression largely used in a variety of speech communities in Jijel, e.g., |maka;@dS @ssa;ħa hadi| (ما كاعدش الساعة هذي) ‘I am busy at this moment’. Thus, |@ssa;ħa| becomes |?@;e| and |hadi| becomes |di| by means of deletion of some sounds which is a universal property. That is, |ha| is deleted from |hadi| and |di| remains for easiness. Some other people within the same locality say |?@;eda| (اعادا) ‘this moment’.

|da| is the demonstrative pronoun |hada| (هذا) ‘this’, and, thus, means |@ssa;ħa hada| (الساعة هذا) ‘this moment’, with a non-consideration of gender; |hada| normally goes with masculine both in Standard Arabic or with all Arab dialects, while |hadi| goes with feminine. In some other localities around EL-Milia some people add a feature |la| to the demonstrative pronoun |hada| in dialectal forms, from |ha:Da| (هذا) in Standard Arabic, and thus say |hadala| (هَدَلَة) ‘this one here’, for masculine, and not any other one. They also say |hadila| (هديلة) ‘this one here’, for feminine, from |hadi| in dialectal form and |ha:Dihi| in Standard Arabic. The feature |k| is added to |hada|, |hadi|, |hadala| to become |hadak|, |hadik|, |hadalak|, |hadilak| respectively to mean ‘that’ or ‘that one’. Precision is to be made that |hadak| and |hadalak| are used for masculine, while |hadik|, |hadilak| are used for feminine.

To their turn, |hadak| (هداك) ‘that one’, |hadik| (هديك) ‘that one’ undergo some changes performed by the function of deletion and become |dak| (ذاك) and |dik| (دك) respectively (the feature |h| is deleted). For example, |SUF dak @zzh@r ddi ڨ@ndU| (شوف داك الزهر دّي عندو) ‘he is lucky!’, and |SUF dik @l h0@t0t0a| (شوف ديك الحطة) ‘look at that elegance!’. |dak| and |dik| are very much used with |@ssaḡa| (الساعة) ‘moment and/or time’. Such expressions as: |dik @ssaḡ| (دك السّاع) ‘at that time’, |dak @ssaḡ| (دكّ السّاع) ‘at that time’ are often heard in the Jijel dialect. When they are used in story telling and the narrator is sure he is listened to, he converts them into |dik @ssaḡilat| (دكّ السّاعيلات), |dik @ssaḡit| (دكّ السّاعيت), and even |dik @ssaḡalit| (دكّ السّعاليت) – all meaning ‘at that time’. Such different forms of expressions are used to show that a certain amount of pleasure is administered by both the addresser and the addressee.

Deletion is one of the functions that characterizes the Jijel dialect, or say most dialects and languages of the world. Proper nouns are probably the best example of that; most second parts of them are deleted. Mohamed, for instance, becomes ‘Moh’ (موح), Elhocine becomes ‘Elho’ (الحو), Essaid becomes |@ssaḡ| (السّغ) and so on. David becomes ‘Dav’, Susan becomes ‘Sue’, Bobby becomes ‘bob’ etc. lots of words also undergo phoneme deletions – |SUFt| (شفت) ‘I saw’ becomes |S@t| (شت) – the phoneme ‘f’ is deleted, |j@ts@bb@b| (يتسبّب) ‘to be the cause of’ becomes |j@ss@bb@b| (يسبّب) – the phoneme ‘t’ is deleted, |j@tt0@LLab| (يتطلب) ‘to require’ becomes |j@t0t0@LL@b| (يطلب) – the phoneme ‘t’ is deleted. The function of deletion is common to both varieties spoken in Constantine and Jijel, but is more frequent to the latter. Among the most noticeable deletions relative to both Constantine and Jijel dialects are the sounds |ʔ| (أ) and |t| (ت), needless to say that practically all Arab speakers drop the sound |ʔ| in Standard Arabic and in almost all varieties of Arabic. In Algerian Arabic |ʔ| has almost disappeared either because of deletion or because of its replacement by the semi-vowels |j| (ي) or |w| (و). In

the Jijel dialect not only the sound |ʔ| has disappeared but also the sound |q| (ق) because of their being difficult to pronounce.

In what follows are some cases where the phoneme |ʔ| is deleted:

- 1- |ʔ| is deleted when connecting nouns to possessive pronouns, e.g., |bu:k| (بوك) ‘your father’ instead of |ʔabu:k|, |xu:k| (خوك) ‘your brother’ instead of |ʔaxu:k|, |xti:| (ختي) ‘my sister’ instead of |ʔUxti:|, |@mha:| (مها) ‘her mother’ instead of |ʔUmha|. And this is a linguistic phenomenon which is found in the old Arab dialects as is confirmed by Sibawih (a great Arab grammarian) who says that the Arabs ask: |m@n bu:k| (من بوك؟) ‘Who is your father?’, |m@n mmUk| (من مك؟) ‘Who is your mother?’, and |k@m b@ll@k| (كم بلك؟) ‘How many camels do you have?’ to mean |m@n ʔabu:k|, |m@n ʔUmm@k|, |k@m ʔibill@k| respectively. The pronunciation of |mm@k|, however, is typical to the Jijel dialect and is rare, if it exists at all, in the Algerian dialects; rather it is generally pronounced |j@mmak| (يماك) or |mmQk| (مّوك) –in an emphatic |m| and an |Q| vowel.
- 2- The sound |ʔ| is deleted when used initially in family names and nicknames, e.g., |bUtu:r| (بوتور), |bUm@z@| (بومعزة), |bUlflu:l| (بولفول), |b@nZa:m@| (بن جامع), |bUd@lliwa| (بودليوة), |bUIZu:| (بولجوع), which all take an ʔ-sound initially in Standard Arabic and Middle-Eastern dialects.
- 3- |ʔ| is deleted in common and proper nouns alike such as: |s0h0ab| (صحاب) ‘friends’, |wla:d| (ولاد) ‘children’, |rn@b| (رنب) ‘rabbit’, |bli:s| (بليس) ‘Satan’, |h0s@n| (حسن), |h0m@d| (حمد), which all read in Standard Arabic |ʔas0h0ab|, |ʔ@wla:d|, |ʔ@rn@b|, |ʔibli:s|, |ʔ@h0s@n|, |ʔ@h0m@d| respectively.
- 4- The ʔ-sound is dropped in pronouns such as: |nta| (نت) ‘you –for masculine’, |nti| (نت) ‘you – for feminine’, |ntUm| (نثم) ‘you – for masculine plural’, which all read in Standard Arabic and other varieties of Arabic: |ʔ@nta|, |ʔ@nti|, |ʔ@ntUm|,

respectively. Note that the n-sound also is omitted in most Algerian dialects because of assimilation and, thus, the above pronouns are pronounced. |ta| (تَ), |ti| (تِ), |tUm| (تُم), for example: |@lm@s?Ulija hadi t@th0@mm@lha ta| (المسؤولية هدي (تَ), |l@ktiba hadi tta_ @k ta| (لكتبة هدي تَعك تَ) ‘you assume this responsibility’, ‘this hand writing is yours’. The first person pronoun, however, drops the |ʔ| in some regions of the east of Algeria and becomes |na| (نَ) instead of |ʔana| (أنا), while in the Jijel dialect the ʔ-sound in the first person pronoun is generally replaced by |j| and, thus, |ʔana| is pronounced |jana| (يَنا).

- 5- |ʔ| is omitted in comparatives as: |kb@r| (كَبْرُ) ‘bigger / older’, |sG@r| (صَغْرُ) ‘smaller’, |t0w@l| (طَوْلُ) ‘longer / taller’, |xS@n| (خِشْنُ) ‘thicker’, |kt@r| (كْتَرُ) ‘more’, rather than |ʔ@kb@r| (أَكْبَرُ), |ʔ@s0G@r| (أَصْغَرُ), |ʔ@t0w@l| (أَطْوَلُ), |ʔ@xS@n| (أَخْشَنُ), |ʔ@kT@r| (أَكْتَرُ) in Standard Arabic respectively in such examples as :

|hUwa kb@r m@nni| (هو كَبْر مني) ‘he is older than me’, |ta s0G@r m@nnU| (تَ صَغْر منهُ) ‘you are younger than him’, |ti t0w@l m@nha| (تِ طَوْل منهَا) ‘you are taller than her’, |Swija xS@n m@n hada| (شوي خِشْن من هدا) ‘a bit thicker than this one’, |bsu:ma wah0da t@Sri: kt@r| (بِسومة وحده تَشري كْتَر) ‘you can buy more with the same price’. |m@n| and |_la| are used interchangeably in the Jijel dialect to mean ‘than’; in Standard Arabic |_ala| is not used in comparatives – the Arabs do not say: |hUwa ʔakbarU _aleIka| (هو أَكْبَر عَلَيْكَ) ‘he is older than you’.

- 6- |ʔ| is also dropped in adjectives and colors such as: |_w@r| (عَوْرُ) ‘one-eyed’, |s0@mm| (صَمُّ) ‘deaf’, |_ma| (عَمَى) ‘blind’, |bk@m| (بَكْم) ‘mute’, |kh0@l| (كَحْلُ) ‘black’, |h0m@r| (حَمْرُ) ‘red’, |s0f@r| (صَفْرُ) ‘yellow’, the pronunciation of which in Standard Arabic is: |ʔ@_w@r| (أَعْوَرُ), |ʔ@s0@mm| (أَصَمُّ), |ʔ@_ma| (أَعْمَى),

|?@bk@m| (أبكم), |?@kh0@l| (أَكَل), |?@h0m@r| (أَحْمَر), |?@s0f@r| (أَصْفَر) respectively.

- 7- The ?-sound is deleted in verbs composed of three phonemes the first of which is an ‘?’ such as: |?akala| (أَكَل) ‘ate’, |?axaDa| (أَخَذَ) ‘took’ in Standard Arabic to become |kla| (كَل), |xda| (خَدَ) in dialectal Arabic. Notice that |?akala| is composed of three syllables, but |kla| is composed of only one syllable (the same thing applies to |?axaDa|). Notice also that there is an opposition in so far as the rules of the Standard and the dialect are concerned; there is a rule – though not very accurate – in Standard Arabic which states that the Arabs do not start with a consonant cluster and never end with a vowel (Matr, 1967). In opposition, the use of dialectal Arabic start with a consonant cluster and end with a vowel – |kla| (كَل) is a good example of that. Elision also concerns the ?-sound when it occupies final positions of almost any type of words, e.g., |mU?m@n| (مُؤْمِن) ‘faithful’ becomes |mUm@n| (مومن), |Za:ʔ| (جَاءَ) ‘come’ become |Za:| (جَا) etc. These elisions are very common in both Standard and dialectal Arabic for the sake of easiness of pronunciation. |ma:Sa:ʔ l0l0a:h| (مَا شَاءَ اللهُ) ‘what Allah willed’, |inSa? l0l0ah| (إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ) ‘God willing’, and |min eina Zi?ta| (مِنْ أَيْنَ جِئْتَ؟) ‘Where did you come from?’ – thus said in Standard Arabic – are said in most Algerian dialects: |maSa l0l0ah|, |inSa l0l0ah|, |minZi:t| respectively. That is, the ?-sound is deleted in |maSa l0l0ah|, |inSa l0l0ah|, |eina| and |Zi?t| and the n-sound is deleted in |min|.

It seems that the elision of sounds is a characteristic of Standard and dialectal Arabic and is meant, in most cases, for the purpose of a minimum limit of effort. Look at God’s verse in Sourah ‘Enneml’: |qa:lu: @t0t0ajj@rna: bika wa bi m@n ma;@k| (قَالُوا) (طَيْرَنَا بَكَ وَبِمَنْ مَعَكَ) ‘they said: we augur ill from you and from those that are with you’, in Classical Arabic (el foush0A) the origin of |@t0t0ajj@rna:| is |tat0t0ajj@rna:| (Sibaweih,

1983); the t-sound is elided because of its closeness of the sounds |t| and |t0| to one another and which would give a heavy t-t-sound.

In Sourah Younes sign (24) God says: |h0@tta: ?iDa: ?axaDati l?ard0U zUxrUfaha: w@zzijj@n@t| (حتى إذا أخذت الأرض زخرفها وازينت) ‘till the earth is clad with its golden ornaments and is decked out in beauty’, |@zzajj@n@t| means |taz@jjan@t| (تزيّنت) but for easiness |t| is elided. The t-sound is also elided in Sourah m@rj@m (مريم) ‘Mary’ when God says: |wa hUzzi: ?ileiki bi ZiD;I nn@xlati tUsa:qit0U ʔaleiki rUt0b@n Zaniija| (و هزّي إليك بجذع النخلة تساقط عليك رطباً جنياً) ‘and shake towards yourself the trunk of the palm-tree; it will let fall fresh ripe dates upon you’, |tUsa:qit0U| means, in fact, |tatasa:qat0U|, again a t-sound is elided.

Similarly, this type of t-sound elision is one of the Jijel dialect’s characteristic in that, for instance, |hejja: n@tsa:bkU| (هيا نسابو) ‘let’s race’, |n@td0a:rbU| (نتضاربو) ‘to fight’, |rana m@tZaUri:n| (رانا متجاورين) ‘we are neighbors’ are all said |hejja n@ssa:bkU| (هيا نسابو), |n@d0d0a:rbU| (نضاربو), |rana m@ZZaUri:n| (رانا مجاورين) respectively. Some dialect speakers say, for instance, |mba:r@h0| instead of |lba:r@h0| because |m| is closer to |b| than |l| in place of articulation – both |m| and |b| are bilabial.

This type of sound dropping or sound replacement exists in all languages of the world. In English natives say, for instance, |impleis| for in place – the ‘n’ is converted into ‘m’ to carry out the feature bilabialization to be close to ‘p’ which is a bilabial sound. Similarly ‘youngster’ is pronounced |jOnkst@| – |g| is converted into |k| because of the feature of voicelessness. In French the L-sound is elided in ‘il pleut’ ‘it rains’ for facilitation – |I pl3:| is used in speech. We can also notice in the Jijel dialect that numerals from eleven to nineteen are concerned by sound elision. Both the sounds |ʔ| and |r| are elided in |h0da:S| (حادش) ‘eleven’, |t0na:S| (طناش) ‘twelve’ |tl@t0t0a:S| (تلاتاش) ‘thirteen’ etc. as opposed to Standard Arabic and some other varieties of Arabic in which we can

hear |h0da:ɣSr| (حدا عشر), |t0na:ɣSr| (طنا عشر), |t1@t0t0a:ɣSr| (تلتا عشر). When the preposition |m@n| (من) ‘from’ and |ɣla| (على) ‘about / by’ are associated with nouns defined with the definite article |@l| (ال) ‘the’ they drop their n- and l-sounds, e.g., |xr@Z m@lZamaɣ| (خُرج) (خرج من الجامع) ‘he went out of the mosque’ instead of |xr@Z m@n lZamaɣ| (خُرج من الجامع), |rZ@ɣ m@t0t0ri:k| (رجع مطريك) ‘he come back when he was on his way’, instead of |rZ@ɣ m@n t0t0ri:q| (رُجع مَن الطريق), |hd@r ɣ@ttm@r| (هُدر عتمر) ‘he spoke about dates’ instead of |hd@r ɣl@ttm@r| (هُدر على التمر), |b@rka m@ll@kd@b| (بَرَكَ مَلْكَدَب) ‘stop lying’ instead of |b@rka m@n l@kb@b| (بَرَكَ من لكَدَب).

In the west of Algeria, the object personal pronoun ‘him’ is maintained in simple past tense verbs, in future tense verbs, and in imperative verbs, as opposed to the dialect of Jijel where it is dropped, e.g., |d0arbah| (ضَرَبَه) ‘he hit him’, |jd0rbah| (يُضَرَبَه) ‘he will hit him’, |?@d0rbah| (اضْرِبَه) ‘hit him’ in the west, are said |darbU| (ضربو), |jdarbU| (يُضربو), |@drbU| (اضربو) in the Jijel dialect.

In conclusion, we can say that the elision phenomenon is a universal property and had existed even before the holy Quran was sent to prophet Mohamed; and can be illustrated by a variety of poetry verses:

(نحن ركب ملجن في زي ناس) فوق طير لها شخوص الجمال

(ڤ ڤ)

|n@hnU r@kbUn m@lZ@nmi fi: zejji na:sin f@Uqa t0airin laha: SUxu:s0U lZima:li|

‘We are satanic riders in man’s appearance upon a bird’s back having a natural beauty’.

3.1.7 Emphatic and Non-Emphatic Sounds

The dialect of Jijel is noticeably characterized by non-emphatic sounds. The task performed shows that all performants ‘rejected’ non-emphatic words which were proposed as to whether they would use them or not. Emphatic sounds may lead to the pronunciation

of a whole word in an emphatic way or only part of the word is emphatically pronounced. Emphasis varies from one language to another. Standard Arabic is very different from dialectal Arabic in terms of Emphasis; a word may be emphatic in the dialect while in the standard variety it may be far from being the case. For example, |@lfQmm| (الفم) ‘the mouth’ in the dialect is |@lf@m| (الفم) in the Standard variety.

Emphasis in Standard Arabic relates to phonemes themselves, whereas in the dialect it relates to the context and mostly to assimilation. The phonemes |s0| (ص), |t0| (ط), |D0| (ظ), |d0| (ض), and |q| (ق) are by their nature always emphatic in Standard Arabic. The first four consonants correspond to the non-emphatic |s| (س), |t| (ت), |D| (ذ), |d| (د), respectively and in the pronunciation of which the tongue is laterally expanded through its length and flattened in rear of the tip, while lip-position is neutral; for the corresponding non-emphatic consonants the tongue is laterally contracted and the front raised forward towards the hard palate, and the lips are spread. The fifth sound |q| (ق) is a voiceless uvular plosive. The remaining consonants of the Arabic Alphabet are not emphatic by nature but may be so when they are associated with emphatic sounds. The consonant |r| (ر), for example, is emphatic when it is associated with an emphatic sound such as |raqs0| (رقص) ‘dance’, and it is not emphatic when it associates with non-emphatic sounds as in |riZa:l| (رجال) ‘men’. The phoneme ||, for instance, is never – or almost never – emphatic in Standard Arabic except in |@lla:h| (الله) ‘almighty God’.

If we consider the dialect of Constantine, for example, in comparison to that of Jijel, we will notice that most emphatic sounds, or words, in Constantine, are not emphatic in Jijel, and, thus, a speaker from Jijel is quickly categorized by Constantinians when using non-emphatic sounds. If we have a glance at the sound |d0| (ض) which corresponds to the sound |d| (د), we will find out that the listener may hear |d0|, |d|, and |t0| for the same sound, and some times can understand their meaning only within the context.

Take, for instance, the word |d0a:r| (دار) ‘house’ in Standard Arabic, whose d-sound is – in principle – non-emphatic, but because of being associated with the emphatic sound |r| it becomes emphatic. Hence, if we take it in isolation we will not understand whether it means ‘house’ or ‘made a U turn’ or ‘went back on one’s word’. We say, for instance, |d0a:r haila bnaha kiZa m@fransa| (دار هائلة بناها كجا مفرنسا) ‘it’s a beautiful house, he built it when he came back from France’, or |kan ra:j@h0 l@ssU:k wd0a:r m@t0t0ri:k| (كان رايح) (لسوك و دار مطريك) ‘he was going to the market, then he made a U turn’, or again |tfahmU f@ssUma w m@mb@d dar ʔli:h| (تفاهمو فسومة ومبعد دار عليه) ‘they agreed on the price and then he went back on his word’. But when the r-sound is not emphatic, the |d| is also going to be clear and, therefore, the whole word loses emphasis and carries the meaning of ‘did something’ as in |dhUwa darha bj@ddU| (دهو دارها بيدو) ‘he did it himself’, or |madar walU fi h0jatU| (ما دار والو في حياتو) ‘he did nothing in his life’. When |d0a:r| (دار) ‘went back’ is used in the imperative form, it turns out that it maintains its emphasis character when used with humans and amazingly loses its emphasis character when used with animals and namely with cows.

Such orders as |d0Ur| (دور) ‘turn back’, and |x@lf dU0r| (خلف دور) ‘turn back’, are often heard in sport trainings and military services, whereas |dUr|, unemphatically said is often heard by shepherds to make their cows move or change direction. ‘Emphasis, thus, plays a great role in meaning change and in the distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic words’ (Ayoub, 1968: 98). The word |ra:jah0| (رايح) in the Jijel dialect has different meanings depending on whether it is emphatically said or not. It may mean ‘he is going’ as in |rajah0 js0alli f@lZa:m@ʔ| (رايح يصلي فالجامع) ‘he is going to pray in the mosque’, or ‘crazy’ as in |@rraZ@l hada ra:j@h0 xla:s0| (الراجل هدا رايح خلاص) ‘this man is crazy’. But when it is not emphatically said it may mean ‘stinky’ as in |l@frUmaZ hada

ra:j@h0| (لفروماج هدا رايج) ‘this cheese is stinky’, or ‘relaxing’ as in |lkitU ra:j@h0 mrijj@h0| (لكيتو رايج مريج) ‘I found him relaxing’.

|x@rr@f| (خرّف) is another example which means ‘to say nonsense’ when it is emphatic, when it is not emphatic it means either ‘he spent autumn’ as in |x@rr@f f@ddUa:r l;a:m hada| (خرّف فالدوّار العام هدا) ‘he spent autumn in the countryside this year’, or ‘announced itself’ as in |x@rr@f lw@kt b@kri l;am hada| (خرّف الوكت بكري العام هدا) ‘autumn announced itself early this year’, or again ‘ate a lot’ as in |x@rr@f f@dd@lla; f@bni b@l;i:d s0s0if hada| (خرّف فالدلاع فبني بلعيد الصيف هدا) ‘he ate a lot of water melon in Bni Belaid this summer’ (Bni Belaid is a region fifty kms to the east of Jijel known for producing water melon). |x@rr@f| may also mean ‘he gave up all summer activities’ as in |x@rr@f fi @U@t| (خرّف في أوت) ‘autumn for him started in august’ which means he has finished harvesting.

The word |ra:j@b| (رايب) also means ‘curd’ when it is emphatic as in |tG@ddit b@l k@sra w@rra:j@b| (تغذيت بالكسرة و الرايب) ‘I had bread and curd milk for lunch’, or ‘fallen’ wall, for example, when it is not emphatic, as in |k@ddaS m@n ;a:m w@lh0it djalU ra:j@b| (كدّاش من عام و الحيط ديالو رايب) ‘his wall is fallen for years now’.

|@rr@kba| (الركبة) is another example which has several meanings depending on its pronunciation and can be understood only in its appropriate context. When it is emphatic it means either ‘knee’ as in |kil;@bt @lbalU t0ih0t l;@ rr@kba dddlimi:n| (كلعبت البالو طيحت) (كلعبت الركبة دّيمين) ‘when I played football I fell on my right knee’, or ‘hill’ as in |t0la; l@rr@kba w;@jjat ll@kla:b djalU| (طلع لركبة و عيط لگلاب ديالو) ‘he went up to the hill and called his dogs’. But when it is not emphatic it means either ‘wedding’ as in |@rrakba nta; b@nt @lZira:n nhar l@xmi:s| (الركبة نتاع بنت الجيران نهار لخميس) ‘our neighbor’s daughter’s wedding is on Thursday’, or ‘lift’ as in |@rr@kba nta;@ljU:m bat0@l m;a si h0m@d| (الركبة نتاع اليوم باطل مع سي احمد) ‘today’s lift is free with M. Ahmed’. In addition to that, the

word |@rr@kba|, be it emphatic or not, also means ‘neck’ and thus, a non-speaker of the Jijel dialect will never know what is meant by it, is it the knee or the hill or the wedding or the lift or the neck; it can be known, as we said earlier, only in context.

As opposed to what has been said, lots of words are said in emphatic and non-emphatic ways but their meanings never change. Consider the following:

3.1.8 The Converting of the Non-Emphatic Phoneme |t| into the Emphatic Phoneme |t0|

Words containing the sound |t| undergo a certain change at the level of emphasis in almost all Algerian Arabic dialects, and this is due to assimilation. The Jijel dialect, however, which is characterized by absence of emphasis, uses a different pronunciation but without loss of meaning. The only thing is, the Jijel dialect speakers are often marked by their unique non-emphatic way of saying such words as |mitra| (مطرة) ‘meter’, |litra| (لتر) ‘liter’, |f@tra| (فترة) ‘period’, |G@lt| (غلت) ‘trickery’, |@ss@tra| (السنرة) ‘discretion’ and so on, which are all pronounced emphatically elsewhere in Algeria.

The word |mitra|, for instance, is pronounced |mit0ra| (مطرة) (in an emphatic |t0|) in most Algerian dialects because of the phoneme |r| which is considered phonetically emphatic. The word |litra| undergoes two changes, one is the replacement of |l| by |j| and the other is the replacement of |t| by |t0|. Thus, in speech we hear |ji:t0ra| (يطرة) or |?it0ra| (إطرة), the explanation of which is probably because of the closeness of place of articulation of liquid sounds and semi-vowels as explained by (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 2001: 78) “liquids share properties of both consonants and vowels: as in the articulation of certain consonants, the tongue blade is raised toward the alveolar ridge; as in the articulation of vowels, air is allowed to pass through the oral cavity without great friction”.

In the English language, for instance, to produce the l-sound, the tongue blade is raised and the apex makes contact with the alveolar ridge. The sides of the tongue are lowered, allowing the air and sound energy to flow outward. Liquid sounds are generally smooth and flow easily. In almost the same way, the |j| sound is an alveopalatal glide. It is produced by arching the body and the blade of the tongue in a high front position toward the hard palate. These are the shared phonological features between |l| and |j|, and this is why, I suppose, the Algerian dialect speakers say |jit0ra| for |litra|. This is as far as the first change is concerned, the second change which concerns the replacement of |t| by |t0|, is due to the influence of |r| which is often emphasized in the Arabic language. Sometimes you are not sure you are hearing |jit0ra| or |lit0ra| when |i| is a back sound.

In some regions like Algiers, the |l| and |r| are interverted and, thus, |lit0ra| is pronounced |rit0la| (رطلة) maybe because the inhabitants of Algiers, the capital city of Algeria, want to distinguish themselves from all other Algerians, or maybe because intervention is a natural linguistic phenomenon like in |@SS@ms| (الشمس) ‘the sun’ and |@ss@mS| (السَّمْسُ), |@SSZar| (الشَّجَر) ‘trees’ and |@ssZar| (السَّجَر) etc. similarly, such words as |f@tra| (فترة), |G@lt| (غلت), |@ss@tra| (السترة) and so on which are non-emphatic words in the region of Jijel are said |f@t0ra| (فطرة), |G@lt0| (غلط), and |@ss@t0ra| (السطرة) respectively in all Algerian dialects. Consider the following examples:

Jijel dialect	Other Algerian dialects
1. Za: lḡ@ndU lmUf@tt@S f@lfatra dd@s0s0bah0 (جا لعندو المفتش فلفترة دصباح) ‘The inspector inspected him in the morning session’	– dZa ḡ@ndU lmUf@tt@S f@lfat0ra teḡs0s0bah0 (دجا عندو المفتش فلفترة ثاع صباح) ‘The inspector inspected him in the morning session’
2. baḡIU zi:t @zzitu:n m@Glu:t (باعلو زيت الزيتون مغلوط)	– baḡIU zi:t@ḡrab m@GLu:t0 (باعلو زيت عَرَب مغلوط)

'He sold him tricked olive oil'

3. |@ss@tra mlih0a ja bni|

(السترة مليحة يا بني)

'Discretion is something good, my son!'

'He sold him tricked olive oil'

– |@s0s0at0ra mlih0a ja bni|

(السطرة / الصطرة مليحة يا بني)

'Discretion is something good, my son!'

Notice that in the Jijel dialect no change occurs at the level of the words |@l f@tra|, |m@Glu:t|, and |@ss@tra|, but in the other dialects the non-emphatic |t| becomes emphatic |t0| because of |r| which is emphatic; this kind of assimilation is performed because of easiness. The word |meGlu:t| undergoes two changes – one at the level of |t| which becomes |t0| and the other at the level of |l| which becomes dark |L| because of assimilation. The word |@ss@tra| also undergoes a change at the level of |t| which becomes emphatic |t0|, |s| which becomes emphatic |s0| for easiness, and all that is because of the emphatic |r|. These words are not pronounced anyhow or in a random way, but are structures and are as rule-governed as in Standard Arabic. There is no way, thus, of viewing the Standard as pure language and the dialect as corrupt language. Consider some similar examples from the holy Quran:

1. |?in t0ans0Uru: lla:ha j@ns0UrkUm| (إِنْ طَنْصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنْصُرْكُمْ) 'if you aid (the cause of) Allah he will aid you (Sourah Muhammad. sign (7), |t0ans0Uru:| (طَنْصُرُوا) is the emphatic pronunciation of the word |t@ns0Uru:| (تَنْصُرُوا) 'aid'.
2. |wa ?ajiddu: lahUm m@s0t0at0a;tUmin qUwwa| (وَأَعِدُوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ) 'against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power', (Sourah |@l?anfa:l| (الأنفال) sign (60), |@s0t0at0a;tUmin| (اسْتَطَعْتُمْ) is the emphatic pronunciation of the word |@stat0a;tUmin| (اسْتَطَعْتُمْ).

3.1.9 The Converting of the Non-Emphatic Phoneme |s| into the Emphatic Phoneme |s0|

In almost all regions of Algeria, words containing the sound |s| are pronounced emphatically when the neighboring sounds are emphatic. But, as I said earlier, it is not the case in the region of Jijel. Such words as |m@sma:r| (مسمار) ‘nail’, |qa:s@h0| (قاسح) ‘harsh’, |@ssu:q| (السوق) ‘the market’, |bsa:t0| (بساط) ‘mat’ etc. are pronounced |m@s0ma:r| (مصمار), |qa:s0ah0| (قاصح), |@s0s0u:q| (الصوق), |bs0at| (بصاط), i.e., in an emphatic way, respectively in almost all Algerian dialects. It seems that the dialect of Jijel makes the exception in that the Jijel dialect speakers pronounce them all in a non-emphatic way. One of the main reasons of that is probably the absence of the back sound |q| (ق) in the variety spoken by the Jijel speech community members. Their use of the relatively front |k| prevails and therefore influences the other sounds in terms of emphasis. The |s| (س) and |k| (ك) sounds in |@ssu:k| (السوك), for example, are closer to one another in the same word.

The other emphatic sounds such as |d0| (ض), |r| (ر) and |t0| (ط), for instance, do not seem to influence the neighboring sound |s| to become emphatic like them, as in most dialectal Arabic varieties, and even in standard Arabic, but rather they are influenced by this non-emphatic sound |s| and are pronounced non-emphatically. This is why we hear the Jijel speakers say, for instance, |Zu:z kilU dd@l m@sma:r maj@kfiwniS baS nk@mm@l lx@dma djali| (جوز كيلو دَ لمسمار ما يكفيونيش باش نكمَل الخدمة ديالي) ‘two kilos of nails will not suffice to finish my work’, |kalbU ka:s@h0 ki l@h0di:d| (كلبو كاسح كيلحديد) ‘he is an iron hearted person’, |@ssu:k @lju:m fa:r@G| (السوك اليوم فارغ) ‘the market is empty today’, |wa:h0@d ka:ȓ@d ȓla bsa:t ra:h0a wwa:h0@d j@tȓ@b| (واحد كاعد على بساط راحة و واحد يتعب) ‘while some people are working hard, some others are doing nothing’.

All these sentences are characterized by containing an ‘s’ each, and each ‘s’ is pronounced without any emphasis, and all neighboring sounds are losing their character of emphasis by reverse assimilation for easiness. But when said by non-Jijel dialect speakers,

these sentences will undergo various changes notably at the level of pronunciation. Constantinians, for, instance, would say, instead,

1. |zu:Z kilU m@s0ma:r majakfUniS bah nk@mm@l xd@mti| زوج كيلو مصمار ما (يكفونيش باه نكمّل خدمتي), that is, |Zu:z| is said |zu:Z| (inversion is involved), annexation is done without the use of the linking word |ddi| which does not exist in the dialect of Constantine. The phoneme |s| in |m@sma:r| is emphatic, and influences the other phonemes to be all emphatic, and thus, the whole word |m@s0ma:r| becomes emphatic (this is done by means of assimilation which is a universal property), the plural inflection of the verb |z@kfi| (يكفي) 'to suffice' is |z@kfU| (يكفُو) not |z@kfiw| (يكفيو), |baS| (باش) 'to' is replaced by |bah| (باه) (though |baS| is also used). Finally annexation is done by means of inflection not by means of the linking word |djal| (ديال).
2. |qalbU qas0ah0 kima l@h0di:d| (قلبو قاصحُ كيما لحديد) 'he is an iron hearted person'. The k-sound is said |q|, i.e., emphatically which, in turn, influences the s-sound in terms of emphasis and becomes |s0| (ص), |ki| (ك) 'like' or 'as' which, we suppose comes from Standard Arabic |ka| (ك) 'like' or 'as' as in |qalbUhU qa:sih0Un k@lh0adi:d| (قلْبُهُ قَاصِحٌ كَالْحَدِيدِ) 'his heart is as harsh as iron' or 'his heart is like iron' is replaced by its equivalent |kima| (كيما) 'like' or 'as' which, we would also suppose, comes from Standard Arabic |kama:| (كَمَا) 'like' or 'as' as in |qalbUhU qa:sih0Un kama: lh0adi:d| (قلْبُهُ قَاصِحٌ كَمَا الْحَدِيدِ) 'his heart is as harsh as iron' or 'his heart is like iron'.
3. |@s0s0u:q @lju:m fa:r@G| (الصُوقُ اليَوْمُ فارغ) 'the market today is empty' where the s-sound becomes emphatic because of the emphatic sound |q| (ق), or most oftenly |@s0s0u:g|, i.e., with a |g| ending. |g| has the same place of articulation as |k| but is accompanied by voicing.

4. |wa:h0@d ga:z@d ɣla bs0a:t0 ra:h0a wwa:h0@d j@tɣ@b| (واحد قاعد على بساط راحة | واحد يتعب)
 (‘one is doing nothing while the other one is tiring himself’, where we notice the use of |g| instead of |k|, and, obviously, |s| and |t| in |bsa:t| are pronounced emphatically converting the whole word emphatic |bs0a:t0| (بُصَاط). From these differences of pronunciation, we can notice that while the Constantine dialect is characterized by emphasis, the Jijel dialect is characterized by non-emphasis, be it at the level of words or at the level of sentences.

3.1.10 The Converting of the Emphatic Phoneme |s0| (ص) into the Non-Emphatic Phoneme |s| (س)

As opposed to what has been given above, the phoneme |s| (س) may be said |s0| (ص) in some dialectal words and namely in the dialect of Jijel. Such words as: |s0@ndu:q| (صندوق) ‘box’, |s0d@r| (صَدْرُ) ‘chest’, |s0@bGa| (صِبْغَةَ) ‘tint’, |rxɪ:s0| (رُخَيْص) ‘cheap’ are all emphatic words, and all contain an emphatic phoneme |s0| (ص), but because of the nature of the Jijel dialect which is characterized as a non-emphatic variety, they are all said: |s@ndu:k| (سندوق), |sd@r| (سَدْرُ), |s@bGa| (سِبْغَةَ), |rxɪ:s| (رُخَيْس) respectively. That is, they all lose emphasis in the dialect of Jijel, and, thus, any person saying them unemphatically is quickly categorized, though in Standard Arabic and even in the Holy Quran which is the reference of Classical Arabic |@lfUsh0a| (الفصحى) which enjoys great prestige among Arab speakers – the |s| (س) and |s0| (ص) sounds are sometimes used interchangeably. Consider the following:

1. |j@wma jUsh0abu:n fi nna:ri ɣala: wUZu:hihim Du:qu: m@ssa saqar| (يَوْمَ يُسْحَبُونَ فِي النَّارِ عَلَى وُجُوهِهِمْ ذُوقُوا مَسَّ سَقَرَ)
 ‘the day they will be dragged through the fire on their faces, (they will hear:) ‘Taste the touch of hell’ (Sourah |@lqamar| (القمر) sign (48).

The word |saqar| (سقر) is also read |s0aqar| (صقر), i.e., with the emphatic |s0| (ص) because of the emphatic sound |q|.

2. |wa s@xxara @SS@msa w@lqamara kUllUn j@Zri: li?aZalin mUs@mma:| (وَسَخَّرَ
الشمسَ وَ الْقَمَرَ كُلُّ يَجْرِي لِأَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى)
‘he has subjected the sun and the moon (to his law)!
Each one runs its course for a term appointed’ (Sourah |@rra;d| (الرعد) sign (2).

The word |s@xxara| (سَخَّرَ) has got an emphatic reading |s0axxara| (صَخَّرَ) in the Quran, and, thus, the interchangeability of |s| (س) and |s0| (ص) is found not only in dialectal Arabic but in the Standard as well.

It should be mentioned, however, that Standard Arabic requires some conditions to the |s| (س) |s0| (ص) as Ibn Jeni says “if there is a |G| (غ) or |q| (ق) or |t0| (ط) or |x| (خ) after the |s| (س), it becomes possible to convert this latter into the emphatic opposite sound |s0| (ص)” (Ibn Jeni, 1954: 220). But in the Jijel dialect no condition is required; such words as: |ru:s0a| (عروسة) ‘bride’, |f@rx t0t0a:ws0| (فرخ الطاوس) ‘peacock’, and |@s0s0@rwa:l| (الصرؤال) ‘trousers’ illustrate that clearly, and meet Sibaweh’s saying: “Hadn’t been any palatalization, the |t0| (ط) sound would have become |d| (د) and |s0| (ص) |s| (س)” (Sibaweh 1983: 436).

All those assimilations, dark and clear sounds are rule-governed and are realized according to the nature of their dialects. Notice, for example, how assimilation is realized in the dialect of Jijel which is – as we have seen – characterized by being non-emphatic. In terms of emphasis and non-emphasis, the word |b@s0qa| (بَصْقَة) ‘a spit’ is unemphatically pronounced and the sound |s0| is said |z| (ز) |b@zka| (بَزْكَة). That is, the feature of voicing is carried over from the voiced sound |b| (ب) to the voiceless sound |s| (س) and converts it into a voiced sound |z| (ز).

In contrast, in the dialect of Constantine which is characterized by being emphatic, the assimilation takes place between the sound |s0| and |q|. That is, the feature of emphasis

is carried over in a conversed way from the sound |q| to the sound |s0|, for the emphatic sound |q| to the emphatic sound |z| which give a heavy pronunciation to the whole word |b@s0qa| or |b@zqa|. Similarly, by assimilation, the word |s0Gi:r| (صَغِيرٌ) ‘small’ or ‘young’ is said |zGi:r| (زَغِير) in Constantine, whereas in Jijel it almost never undergoes assimilation and, thus, is said |sGi:r| unemphatically.

In Standard Arabic, the z-sound can be heard instead of |s00| and, thus, |sami:tU ha:Da mim m@zdarin m@UTu:q| (سَمِعْتُ هَذَا مِنْ مَزْدَرٍ مَوْثُوقٍ) ‘I heard this from a well-informed source’ is quite frequently heard in replacement of |sami:tU ha:Da min m@s0darin m@UTu:q| (سَمِعْتُ هَذَا مِنْ مَصْدَرٍ مَوْثُوقٍ).

With almost the same process, and for the sake of easiness, when the |G| sound is close to |S| or |s| it is pronounced |x| in the Jijel dialect, while it remains unchanged in the other Algerian dialects when it is close to |S|. For example |j@Gs@l| (يغسل) ‘to wash’ becomes |j@xs@l| (يخسل) in Jijel, while it remains |j@Gs@l| in other dialects. That is, in the former case, the feature of voicelessness is carried over to influence |G| which becomes the opposite voiceless sound |x|. In the latter, however, the influence is between |z| (ي) and |G| (غ) which are both voiced sounds, which means that in either case a phonological rule is applied, and such changes are far from being random. If we take the word |m@SGu:l| (مَشغُول) ‘busy’, for instance, we will notice that it remains unchanged in the dialect of Jijel, while in other Algerian dialects, through assimilation, it becomes |m@ZGu:l| (مجغول) which means that the sound |S| is influenced by both the neighboring sounds |m| (م) and |G| (غ) in terms of voicing and, thus, becomes |Z| (ج), the opposite voiced sound of |S| (ش).

Always in the same context, we can notice that dialects which are characterized by being emphatic convert the short |U| vowel into |Q| as in words like |@s0s0Qkk@r| (السُّكَّر) ‘sugar’, |@lxQbz| (الخُبْز) ‘bread’ |@ddQxa:n| (الدَّخَان) ‘smoke’, |@l;Qrs| (العُرس) ‘party’, just to maintain their character of emphasis. In addition, they even convert the short |a| vowel

into the short |Q| vowel for the same purpose, e.g., |f@mm| (فمّ) ‘mouth’ is said |fQm| (فُمّ). In contrast, the Jijel dialect converts the short |U| vowel into the short |a| vowel, and, thus, the above examples are said in the region of Jijel |@ssak@r| (السَّكَّر), |@l xabz| (الخَبْز), |@ddaxa:n| (الدَّخَان), |@l ʔars| (العَرْس), and |@l famm| (الفَم) respectively. Each variety of a language, thus, has got some characteristics which would make it different from other varieties at the level of form with the keeping of equality at the level of the communicative aim intact.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can say that all varieties of a language display some linguistic items which are specific to some particular variety, and that there are many factors which contribute to linguistic differences – regularizations, simplifications, assimilations, or whatever. Basically, however, it must be remembered that it is the children, in their process of learning the language, who finally include the present time variations, introduce new changes, or add new items in the use of the language. In fact, the exact reasons for language variations and differences between languages or varieties of language are still not clear; maybe languages change for the same reason all things change: things change by nature. As Heraclitus says (in Fromkin and Rodman, 1978: 321), “All is flux, nothing stays still. Nothing endures but change”.

Chapter IV

The Neutrality of Words

Words, words, words...

(Shakespeare)

Introduction

Words cannot be rejected on the basis of their being pleasant or unpleasant, but can only be viewed as such by the people who use them, or rather by the people who do not use them and do not want to use them. One word may be given a positive connotation, while another word with the same linguistic meaning may be given a negative connotation. That is, no two persons would disagree that there is a unanimous belief that languages spoken in different communities are in a way or another affected by the views and values of societies.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to try to prove that words are within themselves neutral, and that associating them with some valuable judgements is no more than just social judgements and not linguistic ones. That is, the words are there in language and everything depends on how people look at them: with a positive eye or with a negative one.

The chapter is basically divided into sections in which all the words which have been rejected by the informants from sets comprising words of the same linguistic meanings each will be analysed.

4.1 The Set of Words

The following are the result of a task performed on the population of Constantine where performants have been given sets of words having the same meaning each. These words are used both in the community of Constantine and the community of Jijel. The informant is asked to classify the words from 1 to 4 or 5 or 6 (depending on the number of

the words in the set) by order of preference, i.e., which of the words he or she would prefer to use in his daily speech and which he or she would not.

The aim of these questions is to tell us whether the respondents rate the words that are used in the community of Jijel as is hypothesized. The sets of words have been selected on the basis of my own experience of the various interactions between people taking place in Constantine and Jijel speech communities. The result was – as expected – the majority of words which have been said not to be used by the informants were words belonging to the speech of the Jijel community. But before any attempt to the analysis of the stigmatized words in comparison to their equivalents in some other regions, it should be noted that words within themselves are neutral, they are neither good nor bad but differ from community to community according to some arbitrary conventions. This meets Saussure's distinction (1916) between the 'signifier' and the 'signified' which states that the signifier is the word given arbitrarily to the thing, the object, or the idea it defines, while the signified is the thing, the object, or the idea being referred to. The signifier, thus, changes from one language to another, whereas the signified remains always the same. Signifiers are not set up on the basis of 'aestheticness' or whatever but are there to fulfil some semantic purposes within given speech communities. Now associating words with some aesthetic values depends solely on how people accord to them their judgments which, as we said earlier, are social judgments and not linguistic ones. That is, the lexicon is there and it depends on how people take it: neutrally, positively, or negatively. This does not apply to language only but to other subjects as well. Take the internet, for example, you can either exploit it for positive aims or for negative ones – the internet is no more than a tool. The same thing applies to satellite channels, mobile phones, uranium and so on. God almighty says in Surah |@mn@h0l| (النحل) sign (27): |wa min Tamara:ti nnaxi:li w@l?a?na:bi t@ttaxidu:na minhU sakar@n wa rizq@n h0asan@n| (و من ثمرات النخيل و

الأعناب تتخذون منه سكرًا و رزقًا حسنًا) ‘And from the fruit of the date-palm and the vine, you get out drink, and wholesome food’.

The sign contains good things – wholesome food – and bad things – drink or wine – which provide from date-palm and vine, and, of course, it is up to the human being to exploit them for the purpose of useful food or for the purpose of drunkenness. That is, humans have got the choice to take them positively or negatively. And it is always better to be positive in one’s life than to be negative. God almighty, in this regard, describes food as being wholesome but did not describe the drink – wine – at all. Another sign in which the human being has the possibility of choice is that which says |j@s?alu:naka ʔani lʔamri w@lmaisiri qUl fi:hima: ʔiTmUn kabi:rUn wamana:fiʔU linna:si wa ʔiTmUhUma: ʔakbarU min n@fʔihima:| Sourah El bakara sign (219) يسألونك عن الخمر و الميسر قل فيهما إثم كبير و منافع للناس و إثمهما أكبر من نفعهما) ‘they ask you concerning wine and gambling. Say: “In them is great sin, and some profit, for men; but the sin is greater than the profit”’. Here again God almighty describes wine and gambling as containing great sin, because he wants the humans to avoid them, but does not describe the profit they contain because it is worthless. Here, human beings may choose the path of wine and gambling for their insignificant profit, or leave them for their great sin.

Similarly, the speakers in any community may have several words for the same referent and the selection of one word to refer to that referent is done on the basis of different social and linguistic factors. This possibility of lexicon selection is a characteristic which exists in all languages of the world otherwise we will have only one language on earth, the words of which will have no synonyms. We will also have to fight on the type of words we will have to select for that language. The popular saying |kUll t0i:r j@lGi b@lGa:h| (كل طير يلغي بلغاه) ‘to each bird its own singing’ illustrates the diversity of language perfectly.

Notice that the word |t0i:r| (طير) ‘bird’ here is used figuratively; while it is singular in form, it is plural in function or in meaning. It is meant to show that birds of the same flock, i.e., ‘community’ sing differently from birds belonging to other flocks. Notice that the verb |j@IGi| (يلغي) literally ‘speak’ comes from the word |lUGa| (لغة) ‘language’. That is, the basic meaning behind that is ‘speaking’ and not ‘singing’, which implies that the saying is used to mean different speech-communities and their different ways of speaking.

In the Holy Quran several words have been given to refer to the same referent – the Quran – and nobody has ever preferred one to the other ones. For example, there are several words given to name the Quran, the most well-known of which are: |@l qUr?a:n| (القرآن) ‘the Quran’, |@l fUrqa:n| (الفرقان) ‘the criterion for judgment’, |@tt@nzi:l| (التنزيل) ‘the sent down revelation’, |@DDikr| (الذكر) ‘the message’, and |@l kita:b| (الكتاب) ‘the book’. The Quran is a cover term for the whole book, the other terms that refer to it are used in specific contexts to fulfil specific ideas.

- |@l fUrqa:n| (الفرقان) ‘the criterion’ is used to serve as a criterion of the day of judgment between right and wrong, the day of testing, or to serve as an admonition etc. e.g., |taba:raka llaDi: n@zzala lfUrqa:na ħala: ħabdihi li jaku:na lil;a:lami:na naDi:r@n| Sourah |@lfUrqa:n| sign (1) (تبارك الذي نزل الفرقان على عبده (1) ‘blessed is he who sent down the criterion to his servant, that it may be an admonition to all creatures’. |@lfUrqa:n| here is used to carry out the idea of warning; probably the word |@l qur?a:n| would not be very appropriate in this context and would sound more general than the word |@l fUrqa:n|. To serve another context, God says in Sourah El Anfal sign (41) |wama: ?@nz@lna: ħala: ħ@bdina: j@wm lfUrqa:n j@wmaltaqa: ldj@m;a:n| (وما أنزلنا (وما أنزلنا ‘and in the revelation we sent down to our servant on the day of testing, the day of the meeting of the two forces’. In this

verse, the word |@l fUrqa:n| does not really carry the idea of warning as much as it carries the idea of testing to determine the winner and the loser of the two forces when they are brought and put face to face. In another context, God uses the word |@l fUrqa:n| to show that the judgment is done and the implied idea is the sever punishment of those who did not believe in verses of Allah. He says in Sourah Al Omran sign (4) |wa ?anzala lfUrqa:n ?inna llaDi:na kafaru: bi?a:ja:ti lla:hi lahUm ġaDa:bUn Sadi:dUn w@lla:hU ġazi:zUn Du: ntiqa:m| (و أنزل الفرقان) 'And he sent down the criterion (of judgment). Then those who rejected faith in signs of Allah would suffer severely, and Allah is exalted in might, lord of Retribution'.

- |@tt@nzi:l| (التنزيل) 'the sent down revelation' is used as a 'verbal noun' – |mUn@z@l| (منزل) 'revealed' or 'sent down'. In Sourah |@rr@mz| sign (1) God almighty says |t@nzi:lU lkita:bi min @LLa:hi lġazi:z lh.aki:mi| (تنزيل الكتاب من الله) 'the revelation of the book from Allah, the exalted in power, full of wisdom'. The word |t@nzi:l| (تنزيل) in this verse is no less than to show that it is not man's speech but is a revelation sent down by God. He also uses it in another verse to strengthen the idea that it is sent down by one who detains wisdom and who is worth praising. He says |la: j@?ti:hi lba:t0ilU min beini jadeihi wala: min x@lfihi t@nzi:lUn min h0aki:min h0ami:din| (Sourah: |fUs0s0il@t| sign (42). (لا يأتيه الباطل من بين يديه و لا من خلفه تنزيل من حكيم حميد). 'no falsehood can approach it from before or behind it : it is sent down by one full of wisdom, worthy of all praise'.
- |@DDikr| (الذكر) 'the message' is another word given to name the Quran for it comprises advice and sermons, and mentions exhaustive information above preceding prophets and nations. Several signs mention that clearly, e.g.,

|?innahU laDikrUn laka wa liqaUmika| (Sourah |@zzUxrUf| sign (44) (إنه لذكر لك
 (لقومك) و 'it is indeed the message, for you and for your people'. That is, it does
 not just inform the prophet about the past but his people as well. The word
 |@DDikr| in this verse is exhaustive and concise and faithfully substitutes for
 the word |quran|. |?inna: nah0nU n@zz@lna: DDikra wa ?inna: lahU
 lah0a:fiD0u:n| (Sourah |@lh0idZr| sign (9) (إننا نحن نزلنا الذكر و إننا له لحافظون) 'we
 have sent down the message, and we will surely guard it (from corruption)', is
 another verse which shows that it is God who sent down this message and not
 someone else, and it is God who will guard it from corruption. The word
 |@DDikr| (الذكر) is very appropriate here because it shows to what extent God is
 great in sending down all those information and in keeping the smallest detail of
 it. The word |@DDikr| (الذكر) is also given in |?inhUwa ?illa: Dikrun lil;a:lamin|
 Sourah Et-tekwir sign (27) (إن هو إلا ذكر للعالمين) 'verily this is no less than a
 message to the universe' to show that the overall objective of sending down the
 Quran is no less than just give a message to mankind. In another verse both
 |@DDikr| and |@lquran| are given as a couple where the two words are joined
 by the conjunction |wa| (و) 'and', |?in hUa illa: DikrUn wa qur?anUn mUbi:n|
 (Sourah Yassin sign (69) (إن هو إلا ذكر و قرآن مبين) 'this is no less than a message
 and a quran making things clear'. Notice that the word |@DDikr| comes first to
 show that it is not less than the Quran in terms of value, and that an adjective is
 associated with the Quran to reduce it from the general to the particular to fit
 the context of making things clear for the people, whereas the word |@DDikr|
 has no adjective to specify the meaning it carries in the context because, as we
 said earlier, it is already specific to its being a message.

- |@lkita:b| (الكتاب) ‘the book’ is a word which is not randomly given in the Quran but has been selected deliberately to comprise the sent down revelations, because, in fact, as is known by everybody, the Quran was not sent down by God all at once but in stages and orally. It would, then, need gathering and “writing on palm branches, flat thin stones, and leather” (Mourad, 2003: 152-153) to take the form of a book by the end.

Several verses contain the word |kita:b| in replacement of the word ‘Quran’, among which |tilka ?a:ja:tU lkita:bi lh0aki:mi| Sourah Younes sign (1) (تلك آيات الكتاب الحكيم) ‘these are verses of the wise book’, |tilka ?a:ja:tU lkita:bi lmUbi:n| Sourah Yousuf sign (1) (تلك آيات الكتاب المبين) ‘these are sings of the book that makes things clear’, |@lh0@mdU lillahi llaDi: ?anzala ?ala: ?abdihi lkita:ba wa l@m j@Z?al lahU ?iwadZ@n| Sourah El Kahf sign (1) (الحمد لله الذي أنزل على عبده الكتاب و لم يجعل له عوجاً) ‘Praise be to Allah, who has sent to his servant the book, and has allowed therein no crookedness’, and |wa hUwa llaDi: ?anzala ?ileikUmU lkita:ba mUfas0s0al@n| Sourah El Anaam sign (114) (و هو الذي أنزل إليكم الكتاب مفصلاً) ‘and it is he who has sent down to you the book, explained and detailed’. By the use of the word |kita:b| in these verses and others, God almighty wants to say that he has made things easy for man by collecting the Quran in a book where everything is there – wisdom, clarity, explanations, details etc.

It is worth mentioning, thus, that the companions of the prophet Mohamed, in regard of the diversity of language, once came to the prophet and said to him that the Quran was being read in different ways by the speech communities around Quraish (the community whose language is used in the Quran) and that he should do something to stop those differences. The prophet’s answer was to leave them pronounce it according to their dialects as long as there was no deformation at the level of content. His saying |?inna ha:Da: @lqur?a:n ?Unzila ?ala: sab?ati ?ah0rUfin| (إنّ هذا القرآن أنزل على سبعة أحرف) ‘the

Quran has been sent down in different varieties' is a good illustration of that. According to Mourad (2007:157), |sabʕati ʔahOrUfin| (سبعة أحرف) means seven differences at the level of language.

- 1) The difference at the level of nouns in terms of singularity and plurality, such as |liʔama:na:tihim| (لأماناتهم) 'to their trusts' (plural in one reading) also read |liʔama:natihim| (لأمانتهم) 'to their trust' (singular).
- 2) The difference at the level of verb tenses such as |rabbana: ba:ʕid beina ʔasfa:rina:| Sourah Sabaa sign (19) (رَبَّنَا بَاعِدْ بَيْنَ أَسْفَارِنَا) 'our Lord place long distances between our journey-stages' (the verb is in the imperative form) also read |rabbUna: ba:ʕada beina ʔasfa:rina:| (رَبُّنَا بَاعَدَ بَيْنَ أَسْفَارِنَا) (the verb is in the past tense).
- 3) The difference at the level of syntax such as |wala: jUd0a:rra ka:tibUn wala: Sahi:dUn| Sourah El Bakara sign (282) (و لا يضار كاتب و لا شهيد) 'and let neither scribe nor witness suffer harm' (the final letter 'r' in the verb takes the short vowel 'a' so that the element |la:| expresses prohibition) also read |jUda:rrU|, i.e., with a final sound 'U' so that the element |la:| expresses negation.
- 4) The difference at the level of deletion and insertion such as |wama:xalaqa DDakara w@lʔUnTa:| Sourah El-leil sign (3) (و ماخلق الذكر و الأنثى) 'by the creation of male and female' (with the insertion of |ma:xalaqa|) also read |wa DDakara w@lʔUnTa:|, i.e., with the deletion of |ma:xalaqa|.
- 5) The difference at the level of rearrangement of words such as |wa dZa:ʔ@t sakratU lmaUti bilh0aq| Sourah El Kahf sign (19) (وجاءت سكرة الموت بالحق) 'and the stupor of death brought the truth' also read |wa dZa:ʔ@t sakratU lh0aqqi bilm@Ut|, i.e., |@lm@Ut| and |@lh0aq| are rearranged.

- 6) The difference at the level of substitution as in |w@nD0Ur ?ila:l̥iD0a:mi keifa nunSizUha:| Sourah El Bakara sign (159) (و انظر إلى العظام كيف ننشزها) ‘look at the bones, how we bring them together’ also read |w@nD0Ur ?ila: l̥iD0a:mi keifa nUnSirUha:|, i.e., the letter ‘r’ replaces the letter ‘z’.
- 7) The difference at the level of varieties or dialects in terms of emphasis and non-emphasis and all the other aspects of pronunciation, and this is the strongest argument as far as the prophet’s saying is concerned. This is on the one hand, on the other hand, in the region of Othman – the third Caliph of Islam – came Hudeifa to Othman and asked him to save Allah’s book from corruption by writing it down. That was after Hudeifa had noticed the many differences of reading the Quran by the neighbouring speech-communities. At that time, Othman asked four linguists to do that difficult task – three of them were from Quraish and one from another community. Othman said to the Quraishi linguists: ‘if you three disagree with ‘Zeid bnu Thabet’ – the fourth linguist from outside Quraish – on any feature, write it down in the Quraishi dialect for it was sent down in their language’ (Othman in Mourad, 2007:155). And this is what they did actually.

It seems that the diversity of language, and all other differences among peoples’ lives and cultures are no less than a flavour to our wonderful world; there is always a way for agreement when there are differences to benefit from the world’s diversity. Othman’s saying is evidence that the Quraishi dialect was the standard.

From what has been said above, we can understand that language variation is a quite normal phenomenon and that a referent may be referred to by means of different words which are not to be subject to any evaluation by speakers for they all fulfil their purposeful meanings. The following verse shows clearly that the aim of sending down the

Holy book is to make clear those things in which people differ |wa ma: ?anz@lna: ʔaleika lkita:ba ?illa litUbejjina lahUm llaDi:xtalafu: fi:hi wa hUd@n wa rah0mat@n liqaUmin jU?minu:n| (Sourah En-nehl sign (64)) (و ما أنزلنا عليك الكتاب إلا لتبين لهم الذي اختلفوا فيه و هدى و رحمة لقوم يؤمنون) and we sent down the book to you for the express purpose, that you should make clear to them those things in which they differ, and that it should be a guide and a mercy to those who believe’.

In what follows we will try to proceed with the analysis of some words with the same meaning the way we have proceeded with the analysis of words referring to the Quran. The words I will take into account much are those which have been rejected by the informants in the task I performed in the community of Constantine. It should be remembered that sets of words having the same meaning have been given to subjects from Constantine who were asked to say which of the words they would not use, and which they did not understand. In the following sections, all these words will be analysed on the basis of the semantic field they belong to.

4.2 Analysis of the various lexical sets

4.2.1 The lexical set of ‘To be angry’

The first set contains the following words: |j@Gd0ab| (يغضب), |j@zḡ@f| (يزعف), |j@tG@SS@S| (يتغشش), |j@tna:rva| (يتتارفا), |j@tn@rv@z| (يتترفز), |j@Gt0ab| (يغطب). All these words mean ‘to be angry’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |j@Gt0ab| (يغطب): this word generally refers to a married woman who has got problems in her conjugal life, be they with her husband, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, or whoever; and when she cannot bear those problems anymore, she leaves her home to go to her parents. The process of leaving home under such circumstances is expressed by |Get0b@t| (غطبت). This word can also apply to young children – as a myth reports in the Jijel community – when they are kissed by relatives on their

underneath of their feet; some superstitious people hold the belief that if you kiss a child on the heel he will reject all the family members – |j@Gt0ab| and will cry a lot. By this, we can understand that the term |j@Gt0ab| carries the idea of anger fused with the idea of rejection.

It should be remembered – as has been said in the previous chapter – that the Modern Standard Arabic phoneme |D0| (ظ) is not part of the sound system of the dialect of Jijel so that all words containing the |D0| sound in the Standard and pronounced with the |D0| sound in some other dialects in Algeria – mainly in the Eastern dialects – are pronounced with the |d0| (ض) sound in Jijel. In turn, words pronounced with a |d0| sound in the Standard and the other Algerian dialects are pronounced with a |t0| (ط) sound by many speakers of Jijel and mainly rurals and old people no matter what their gender is. In some cases, like |j@Gt0ab|, the replacement of |d0| by |t0| causes a slight change of meaning, e.g., |xd0@r| (خضر) ‘green’ and |xt0@r| (خطر) which means ‘not ripe’ or ‘not cooked’. This means there is an overlap of meaning in that |xd0@r| is usually used in rural life to refer to fruits which are not yet ripe and which still have the colour green (most fruits, if not all of them take the green colour before they take the colour which indicates that they are ready to pick up or to eat). This term has been extended to refer to any type of food which is not cooked.

In Jijel, people say, for example, |mabdaUS jt0@jbU b@kri w@;t0aU llh0@m x@t0ra l@d0d0ja:f| (مبدأوش يطيبو بكري و عطاو اللحم خطرة لضيف) ‘they did not start cooking early and consequently they served meat uncooked to the guests’. (|x@t0ra| is the feminine form of |xt0ar| in the Jijel dialect). In my knowledge, there are two ways which indicate ‘green’ in Jijel: either by the term |h0SiSi| (حشيشي) in

accordance with the colour of the grass, and which is used only by the old generation, or by the term |xd0ar| (خضر) which is used by the young generation.

Proper nouns, however, do not undergo any change in pronunciation and thus do not obey the rule that reduces the sound |d0| into the sound |t0| such as |G@d0ba:n| (غضبان) and |Gd0abna| (غضابنة) which can not be said |G@t0ba:n| (غطبان) and |Gt0abna| (غطابنة) because they are family names (an identity). When |laxd0ar| (لخضر) is a proper noun together with |xad0ra| (خضره), |xUd0i:r| (خضير), |d0if| (صف), one cannot call them |laxt0ar| (لخطر), |xat0ra| (خطرہ), |xUt0i:r| (خطير), |t0if| (طف). This is no less than some evidence which shows that dialects are structured and rule-governed and, therefore, such sayings as ‘you should say this’, ‘you shouldn’t say that’ have no place among objective linguistic discussions.

- 2) |j@tn@rv@z| (يتترفز): This word is not Arabic but originates from French by means of ‘borrowing’ and has become a lexical element of the Algerian Arabic Dialect – something like the word ‘liberty’ |lib@ti| originating from French but phonologically adopted to English, together with hundreds of words that English borrowed from French when England was occupied by the Normans. The word |j@tn@rv@z| (يتترفز) is adopted to the shape of verbs of the Algerian Arabic Dialect in terms of inflection and can be modelled to indicate the future, the past, the imperative and can be converted into a noun exactly an Arabic verb would do, e.g., |tn@rv@z| (تترفز) ‘he got angry’, |j@tn@rv@z| (يتترفز) ‘he will get angry’, |@tn@rv@z| (اتترفز) ‘get angry!’, |n@rvaza| (نرفزه) or |tn@rvi:z| (تترفيز) ‘anger’, |tn@rvz@t| (تترفزت) ‘she got angry’, |tn@rvzU| (تترفزو) ‘they got angry’ etc. That is, such a lexical element is part of the inventory of the people speaking Algerian Arabic. Some people are taxed when uttering the word |j@tn@rv@z| with a f-sound instead of ‘v’; they are categorized as being illiterate because ‘v’ is not part

of the sound system of Algerian Arabic and thus is replaced by its counterpart ‘f’ by non-speakers of the French language. |j@tn@rf@z| (بترفز), with a f-sound, is used instead of |j@tn@rv@z|, with a v-sound.

4.2.2 The Lexical Set of ‘To space out’

The second set contains the following words: |ta:zi| (تازي), |z@h0h0@m| (زحَم), |d@nni| (دئني), |@dd@na| (ادئني), |@h0S@r| (احشر). All these words mean ‘to space out’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |z@h0h@m| (زحَم): This is also used in Standard Arabic meaning ‘to crowd’ or ‘to jam’, but is frequently used as a noun |z@h0ma| (زحمة) ‘a crowd – a jam’ as in |Zi:t ʔlatOri:k ssu:k lki:t z@h0ma kbira| (جيت على طريق السوك لكيت زحمة كبيرة) ‘I took the market’s road and found it jammed’, and not as a verb. The word |z@h0ma| is very much used in pilgrimage during the stoning time where one can hear pilgrims shout |@zz@h0ma|, |@zz@h0ma| (الزحمة), (الزحمة) ‘the crowd’, ‘the crowd’, to warn all pilgrims to watch out. |z@h0h0@m| is not used in the Algerian Arabic Dialect and even unknown except in the community of Jijel, whereas |@h0Sar|, as opposed to |z@h0h0@m|, is used all over Algeria except in Jijel. Yet, although both have the same meaning, and both are part of the lexicon of Standard Arabic – which has great prestige - |z@h0h0@m| is, for no apparent reason, stigmatized but |@h0Sar| is not.
- 2) |d@nni| (دئني): This word is not only rejected by the informants but is unknown as well. It is used only by the old generation of the population of Jijel. The young generation speakers do not use it nowadays especially in the city. |d@nni| is used in Standard Arabic meaning ‘to get close’, e.g., |dana: ttilmi:DU min mUʔ@llimihi|

(دنا التلميذ من معلمه) 'the pupil got close to his teacher'. In the Jijel Dialect it means 'to get close' as it may mean 'space out', depending on the context of its occurrence.

- 3) |@dd@nna| (ادنى) is the same as |d@nni| with a small morphological change. It is unknown to the informants who tried to guess its meaning and said maybe it meant |d@nn@g| (دنق) – a word used in Setif – a city about one hundred fifty kms to the west of Constantine – and means 'look'. This guess is made on the basis of the phonological similarity between |@dd@nna| and |d@nn@g|.

4.2.3 The Lexical Set of 'Slippers'

The third set comprises the following words: |@SSla:ka| (الشلاكة), |@t0t0@rbaqa| (الطريقة), |@l baSmaka| (البشمكة), |@l b@Sma:q| (البشماق). All these words mean 'slippers'.

The most rejected words are:

- 1) |@SSla:ka| (الشلاكة): This word is rejected only by the informants who do not know its meaning. The few informants who know it precise that it is part of the lexicon of Tunisia and Tebessa, and do not hesitate to say they prefer it to |@l baSmaka| which is the equivalent lexical item used in the Jijel variety. None of these lexical items exists in the Standard; they are purely dialectal. Although |@l baSmaka| (البشمكة) is closer to |@l b@Sma:q| (البشماق), the word used by the Constantine speech Community, than |@SSlaka| and |@t0t0@rbaqa|, it is rejected either because of the phoneme |k|, as we saw in the previous chapter, or because the informants see it as a deformation of their word |@l b@Sma:q|. This accounts for the fact that varieties of Arabic are measured on Standard Arabic, and, thus, |@l b@Sma:q| is modelled on masculine words and |@l baSmaka| is modelled on feminine words by inflecting it with the vowel |a| at the end. It may also be inflected with the regular

Arabic feminine morpheme |a:t| (آت) to indicate the feminine plural |baSmaka:t| (بشمكات) 'slippers'.

The problem of gender in language has been the concern of grammarians and linguists for a long time. They have made lots of efforts to draw a line between masculine and feminine words by assigning signs to them to make a clear distinction between what is masculine and what is feminine. These signs differ from one language to another to the extent that we may find a word feminine in a language and masculine in another and vice versa, for example the 'chair' is feminine in French 'la chaise' and masculine in Arabic 'الكرسي' and the 'tree' is masculine in French 'un arbre' and feminine in Arabic 'شجرة'. In Arabic, for instance, the difference between most of masculine and feminine words is made by inflecting the masculine word with the short vowel |a| as in |t0ifl| (طفل) 'boy' |t0ifla| (طفلة) 'girl' or the phoneme |t| as in |?ax| (أخ) 'brother' |?Uxt| (أخت) 'sister'. In English there are different words for masculine and feminine such as 'father' – 'mother', 'son' – 'daughter', 'brother' – 'sister'.

Words of objects or ideas which cannot be determined with sex or by being male or female, are made male or female by arbitrary conventions. If an English person asks why the French word 'table' is feminine and not masculine, no one French man can give a convincing answer. It is on the bases of these criteria that the word |baSmaka| is made feminine in the dialect of Jijel and masculine in the dialect of Constantine |b@Sma:q|. This is not an isolated example, but there are other words which are feminine in Constantine but masculine in Jijel such as |l@_ru:s0| (لعروص) which means 'the bride' in Constantine but 'the bride groom' in Jijel. If one wants to refer to the bride in Jijel he must add the short vowel |a| to the word to become |l@_ru:s0a| (لعروصة) 'the bride'. Like the word |l@_ru:s0|, there

are words which are masculine in form but may be feminine in content especially in the Standard |@zzaUZ| (الزوج) is a good example of that as is illustrated in the Quran |@skUn ?anta wa zaUZUka lZ@nna| Sourah El Baqara sign (35) (اسكن أنت و (الجنة) زوجك الجنة) 'dwell you and your wife in the garden'. |@zzaUZ| is generally used to mean the 'husband' but may also be used to mean the 'wife'.

In much the same way, both the Standard and dialectal Arabic make use of several words which are both masculine and feminine such as |@t0t0ri:k| (الطريق) 'the way', |@ssma| (السما) 'the sky', as in the popular saying |xUd t0t0ri:k s0s0a:fja wal@w ka:n@t da:jra| (خُذ الطريق الصافية و لو كانت دايرة) 'take the safe way even if it is serpentine', where the adjective |safja| (صافية) indicates that the word |@t0t0ri:k| is feminine, whereas in |maza:l t0t0ri:k t0wi:l| (ما زال الطريق طويل) 'it is still a long way' the adjective |t0wi:l| (طويل) 'long' – without the short |a| vowel inflection – indicates that |@t0t0ri:k| is masculine. In Classical Arabic – the reference of which is probably the Quran – the word |@ssama:ʔ| (السماء) 'the sky' is used in Sourah |@l bUru:dZ| (البروج) sign (1) as a feminine word |w@ssama:ʔi Da:ti lbUru:dZi| (و السماء ذات البروج) 'by the sky full of zodiacal signs'. The indicator of femininity is the inflected feature |t| (ة) which expresses femininity in Arabic. The same word |@ssama:ʔ| is used in Sourah |@l mUz@mmil| (المزمل) sign (18) as a masculine word |@ssama:ʔU mUnfat0irUn bihi| (السماء منفتراً به) 'whereon the sky will be cleft as under'. The word |@ssah0a:b| (السحاب) 'clouds' is also feminine and masculine in the Standard: in the verse |jUnSi?U ssaha:b TTiqa:l| Sourah |@rra;d| sign (12) (ينشئ) (السحاب الثقال) 'he creates the heavy clouds', the adjective |TTiqa:l| shows that |@ssaha:b| is feminine, whereas in the verse |j@zdZi: sah0a:b@n TUmma jU?allifU bajnahU| Sourah |@nnu:r| sign (43) (يزجي سحاباً ثم يؤلف بينه) 'Allah makes clouds move gently, then joins them together', the pronoun |hU| shows that

|@ssah0a:b| is masculine (in Arabic the pronoun |hU| refers to masculine and the pronoun |ha| refers to feminine). In dialectal Arabic such words as |@zzi:t| (الزيت) ‘oil’, |l@s@l| (لعسل) ‘honey’, |@dd@Ga:n| (الدخان) ‘smoke’, |@lba:b| (الباب) ‘the door’ and several others are considered masculine by some speakers and feminine by some others, or even by the same speaker within the same interaction. Gender, thus, is not a criterion to prefer a word to another.

4.2.4 The Lexical Set of ‘to look for’

The fourth set contains the words |jh0@ww@s| (يحوّس), |jdu:h0| (يدوح), |jf@tt@S| (يفتّش), |jwa:li| (يوالي), |lahhat0| (يلهّط) which all mean ‘to look for’. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |jdu:h0| (يدوح): The majority of the informants had the doubt that this word means ‘to cradle’ from the word |@ddu:h0| (الدوح) ‘the cradle’, but as soon as they are reminded that it has the same meaning as those words in the set they do not hesitate a second to laugh and reject it.
- 2) |jwa:li| (يوالي): This word sounds odd to the informants who declare that they have never heard it. |jwa:li| is a lexical item which is used only by the old generation in Jijel and it is disappearing.
- 3) |lahhat0| (يلهّط): This is a word typical to the dialect of Skikda – a coastal city about one hundred kms to the North-East of Constantine. Its meaning is known by all the informants, yet no one was favourable to use it. It is highly stigmatized in Constantine and is a clue to know that its users come from Skikda. In the countryside of Jijel people say |j@lh@t0| (يلهّط) – without geminating the h-sound –

to mean ‘to displace from place to place without doing anything positive’. It is also used in Egypt the way it is pronounced in Jijel but with the meaning ‘to slap’.

- 4) |jf@tt@S| (يفتّش) is not at all rejected but is not as used as |jh@ww@s| (يحوّس) by the speakers of Constantine. In the province of Jijel |jf@tt@S| is used with a slight different meaning from that in Constantine; it means ‘to try to find something’ in the sense of ‘frisk’, for example someone has lifted someone else’s watch or mobile phone or anything of the sort, so people in the area will ask for frisking – a thorough search in pockets. |jh@ww@s| – to look for in Constantine – also means ‘to wander about’ in the sense of going for a walk or going for a drive; the context determines its meaning. Consider the following dialogue:

a- |waS Za:b@k ll@hna| (واش جابك لهنه) ‘what are you doing here?’

b- |Zi:t nh0@ww@s b@rk| (جيت نحوّس برك) ‘I am just wandering about’.

It is clear from the context that the word |nh0@ww@s| does not carry the meaning of ‘looking for’, but it means ‘going for a walk’, while it means ‘to look for’ in the following:

a- |waS ra:k ddi:r| (واش راك دّير) ‘what are you doing?’

b- |ra:ni nh0@ww@s ʔla mfa:th0i| (راني نحوّس على مفاتيحي) ‘I am looking for my keys’.

In Standard Arabic, however, the word |jh0@ww@s| (يحوّس) carries only the meaning of wandering from place to place. It is synonymous to |jZ@ww@s| (يجوّس) (Mortad, 1981:66), i.e., with |Z| (ج) instead of |h0| (ح). God says in Sourah |@I ?isra:?) sign (5) |faZa:su: xila:la ddijsa:ri| (فجاسوا خلال الدّيار) ‘they entered the very inmost parts of your homes’. |Za:su:| (جاسوا) is the past tense of |jaZu:sU| (يجوس) used with the plural ‘they’. It is also read |h0a:su:| (حاسوا) with a h0-sound (Mortad, 1981: 66). The person who is known for displacing from place to place for the

purpose of doing nothing but visiting places is called |h0@wwa:s| (حوّاس) ‘the wanderer’. This word is quite spread in Algeria to the extent that it is given as a name for people – the martyr colonel H@ww@s (حوّاس) is a good example of that.

In conclusion, we can say that the meaning of |jh0@ww@s| is made disambiguous in the context of its use. The following popular sayings show its meaning clearly:

- |@lb@nt th0@ww@s t@bni dda:r w@lw@ld jh0@ww@s j@xli dda:r| (البنّت تحوّس تبني الدار و الولد يحوّس يخلي الدار) ‘the girl seeks construction and the boy seeks demolition’, and |@t0t0f@l jh0@ww@s f@lkart0i w@t0t0afla tbat0i| (الطفل يحوّس فالكارطي و الطفلة تباطي) ‘the boy wanders in the street and the girl works hard at home’. It is obvious that the verb |jh0@ww@s| in the Jijel saying means ‘to seek’ in the sense of ‘to want’, but in the second it means ‘to wander’. Such sayings or ready-made utterances pass from mouth to mouth and are used as they are without any change of lexicon or structure all over the country. That is, hadn’t it been a popular saying, the Jijel speakers would have said |jdu:h0| and not |jh0@ww@s|.

4.2.5 The Lexical Set of ‘look!’

The fifth set contains the words |Su:f| (شوف), |@nD0@r| (أنظر), |@nt0ar| (أنطر), |@xz@r| (أخزر), |@h0fat0| (أحفظ). They all mean ‘look!’. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |@h0fat0| (أحفظ): This word is used specifically by the old generation in the rural areas of the province of Jijel though some young illiterate people still use it. It does not exist in Standard Arabic, and not only is it rejected by the informants but is completely unknown as well.

- 2) |@nD0@r| (أنظر): we said in the previous chapter that the sound |D0| (ظ) is not part of the sound system of the Jijel dialect, and, thus, all words containing the D0-sound – be they Standard or dialectal – are pronounced |d0| (ض), e.g., |@D0D0@lma| (الظلمة) ‘darkness’ is said |@d0d0@lma| (الضلمة) – with a d0-sound. We have also seen that many speakers of the dialect of Jijel pronounce the sound |d00| |t0| (ط) and, hence, |@nd0ar| is said |@nt0ar| (انظر). |@nt0ar| in the dialect of Jijel is the lexical item which all other words in relation with vision are based on. Sunglasses, for example, are called |@nnwat0ar| (النواطر) in plural because they have to do with two eyes; they are also called |@nmat0u:r| (الناطور) in singular because they are concerned with vision and not with eyes. Some speakers, however, and mainly young ones, use |@nd0ar| instead, i.e.; with a d0-sound and not a t0-sound and, thus, are not categorized as if there is an agreement somewhere that the d0-sound is better than the t0-sound. The word |@nt0ar| is used in Lebanon meaning ‘to wait for’, but is very far from stigma which confirms that it is not the words which are disliked but their users.
- 3) |@xzar| (اخزر): is synonymous to |@nt0ar| in that it concerns looking, but it is used in the context where someone stares at someone else or rather looks at someone else nastily. We often hear people say |waS taxzar| (واش تخزر؟) ‘why are you staring at me like that?’ or with a slight different structure |waS bik tx@zzar fija| (واش بيك تخزر فيّ) ‘why are you looking at me that way?’

All these words which relate to vision are synonymous to the Standard Arabic word |@nD0@r| (أنظر) and the Algerian Dialectal Arabic word |Su:f| (شوف) which is used and understood by Algerians and most Arab speakers alike. “The verb |Sa:fa - jaSu:fU| (شاف – يشوف) ‘to see’ is used in the majority of Arabic varieties meaning ‘to see’, ‘to look’, ‘to look forward’ (in the language of educated

people), ‘to gaze’, and ‘to glare’ (in some country sides and rural areas” (Ennehas, 1997: 382). Some evidence of the use of the verb |jSu:f| (يُشوف) ‘to see’ comes from the popular sayings which say |b@kri ka:n@t ʔiS t@smaʔ wd@rk ʔiS tSu:f| (بكري كانت عيش تسمع و درك عيش تشوف) ‘in the past it was: you will hear in the future, but now it is: you will see’, and |ma:lh0iki miTl SSu:f| (ما الحكي مثل الشوف) ‘saying is not like seeing’ which are used in the Maghreb and the Middle-East respectively. Also |ma:S@tt ma:ri:t| (ماشتّ ماريت) ‘I didn’t see anything’ in Algeria from Standard Arabic |ma:SUft wala: raʔeit| (ما شفت ولا رأيت) ‘I did not see anything’. This saying is equivalent to |@h0fad0 @l mi:m th0afd0@k| (احفض الميم تحفضك) ‘learn the element of negation |ma:| (ما) it will protect you’ by |@lmi:m| (الميم) is meant the item used to negate such utterances as |ma:ri:t| (ماريت) ‘I did not see’, |masm@ʔt| (ما سمعت) ‘I did not hear’, |ma:ʔlabali| (ما علا بالي) ‘I do not know’. This saying means that if you want to avoid problems you have to avoid witnessing.

The verb |Sa:f| (شاف) has the same meaning in the Standard as in different dialects of Arabic except that in the Standard its meaning is extended to mean both |taS@wwafa| (تشوّف) ‘to boast – to show off’ and |@Sta:fa| (اشتاف) ‘to raise one’s head and look forward’. In Standard Arabic people say, for instance, |fUla:na mUtaSawwifa bih0a:liha:| (فلانة متشوّفة بحالها) ‘miss x gives importance to herself’, or |tataSawwafU lmarʔa wa t@xrUdZ| (تتشوّف المرأة و تخرج) ‘women wear make-up and go out’ in the sense of smartening up. In the sense of to raise one’s head up, people say, for instance, |@Sta:fa lZamalU wa taSawwafa| (اشتاف الجمل و تشوّف) ‘the camel tightened his neck and looked forward’. Unlike the Standard, in Algerian Arabic the verb |j@tS@ww@f| (بيتشوف) – pronounced |j@SS@ww@f| (يشوف) – with the elision of ‘t’ – for easiness – means to play the role of the boss – a word borrowed from French |SEf| modelled on the Arabic lexicon to be prefixed by the |j| (ي) ‘to’

and to take the |E| as the vowel |a:| of Arabic and to convert it into |w| as is done with the Arabic words of the same form such as |xa:f| (خاف) ‘to fear’ which becomes |jx@ww@f| (يخوِّف) ‘to frighten’. |Sa:f| in dialectal Arabic also undergoes some extension to become |Swwa:fa| (شوِّافة) to mean ‘fortune teller’ from |jSu:f| filmUstaqb@I| (يشوف فالمستقبل) ‘to look into the future’.

The conclusion which has been drawn from this set of words is the fact that the word |@nD0@r| (انظر), which is purely Standard, is neither rejected nor used by the informants; it is looked at as having high status, pure, and untouchable only because it belongs to Standard Arabic. This view meets Ferguson’s Arabic Diglossia where H and L varieties coexist each with its own function and status.

4.2.6 The Lexical Set of ‘go to the back’

Set number six contains the words |s@xx@r| (سخر), |w@xx@r| (وخر), |b@i@d| (بعد), |erZ@i llUra| (ارجع اللورة), |tiwra| (تيرة). They all mean ‘go to the back’ or ‘leave way’. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |tiwra| (تيرة): this word sounds very odd to the informants who say that they have never heard it. In fact even the inhabitants of Jijel do not know it except few old persons in a rural area called Ouled Allal about thirty kms to the east of Jijel. |tiwra| seems to be composed of two morphemes: ‘ti’ which is unknown to the whole population and ‘wra’ which means ‘back’ or ‘rear’.

There are a number of words in the speech of Jijel which are unknown to the other speech communities, which make communication, sometimes, incomprehensible between a user of the dialect of Jijel and another speaker using another dialect. Some of these words are:

- a) |rif| (رف): This word is used in two contexts which can be best explained by means of concrete examples such as |tG@ddit m;̣a rif samir| (تغديت مع رف سمير) ‘I had lunch with Samir and company’, i.e., with Samir and his friends or people who were with him. This is as far as the first context is concerned. Concerning the second context |rif| is used to mean ‘the family of’ as in |ki rUh0t l@st0i:f k;̣adt ;̣@nd rif xa:li| (كروحت عند ريف خالي) ‘when I went to Setif I stayed with my uncle’s family’; it implies that my uncle does not live alone in Setif but with his family members. From these examples it becomes clear that |rif| is not used with only one person but with a group of people. The equivalent of |rif xa:li| in Constantine, for example, would be |da:r xa:li|. It should be noted that |rif| is typical to the dialect of Jijel and is used only with proper nouns and kinsmen or kinswomen.
- b) |Si| (شي) ‘some’. This word is typical to the dialect of Jijel. It is used in such utterances as |Si nna:s – Si ddrari – Si ddrah@m| etc (شي الناس – شي الدراري – شي الدراهم) ‘some people – some children – some money’ etc. Speakers from other speech-communities often ask about the meaning and the value of this item. But, according to history, the inhabitants of Jijel originate from Morocco and this origin would account for the use of the item |Si| which is largely used all over Morocco.
- c) |;̣@nniti| (عني) ‘I mean’: very few people use this word in the province of Jijel. Most probably it comes from |?a;̣ni:| (أعني) in Standard Arabic which means ‘I mean’ or from dialectal Arabic |ja;̣ni:| (يعني) which means ‘it means’.

It should be stated that such odd words as those which have just been mentioned exist in all languages of the world. In the Holy Quran God almighty uses some such words in context with special concern. For example, in a context where a heritage division is done in an unaccepted and ridiculous way, God describes that division by the use of an odd word – a word unknown for the Arabs; he says |tilka ?iD@n qismatUn d0eiza:| (Sourah Ennejm sign (22) (تلك إذا قسمة ضيزى) ‘such would be indeed a division most unfair’. The word |d0eiza| occurs only once in the whole book and it is as strange to the Arab speakers as the division itself which is unjust and unfair. In the context of clothing which the Persians are known for, God uses a Persian word which refers to beautiful and expensive material made by the Persians. |j@Ibisu:na min sUndUsin wa ?istabriqin| Sourah |@ddUxxa:n| (الذخآن) sign (53) ‘dressed in fine silk and rich brocade’ |?istabriq| (استبرق) ‘brocade’ is not Arabic but is borrowed from Persian. In the verse |Geira naD0iri:na ?ina:hU| Sourah |@1 ?ah0za:b| sign (53) (غير ناظرين إناه) ‘not to wait for its cooking’, God uses the word |?inahU| - a Berber Yemeni word instead of the Arabic word |nUd0ZahU| (نضجه) which means ‘its being cooked’.

- 2) |@rZa; llUra| (ارجع اللورة): Like many other compound words, |@rZa; llUra| is not very much used in the Community of Constantine. It seems that the Constantine speakers are well aware of the factor of the economy of language and, thus, have replaced compound words by only one-word synonyms. Consider the following which are compound in the speech of Jijel but which are only one word in the speech of Constantine:

The speech of Jijel

- |@llUbj a ddi x@d0ra| (اللوبية دّي)

The speech of Constantine

- |@zzaligU| (الزاليغو) ‘green beans’

- (خضرة 'green beans')
- |@llamba dd@ t0t0ri:k| (اللمبة دَ) - |@d0d0@wwa:ja| (الضوآية)
 - (الطريك 'torch')
 - 'torch'
 - |@lmUs dd@lmaSina| (الموس دَ)
 - (المشينة 'rasor')
 - |@rrazwa:r| (الرّزوار) 'rasor'
 - |@lf@lf@l ddi h0a:rr| (الفلفل دَي)
 - (الفلفل دَي 'hot pepper')
 - |@t0t0UrSi| (الطرشي) 'hot pepper'

Notice that, for the sake of the economy of language – to say little to mean much – the Constantinians sometimes refer to borrowing to use only one-word signifiers. |@zzaligU|, for instance, is the French word 'les haricots' which has been borrowed by the Constantinians and which is now part of the lexical inventory of all people speaking the Constantine dialect. The voiceless central |k| is not part of the phonological sound system of the dialect of Constantine and, thus, is converted into its counterpart voiced phoneme |g|. |@d0d0@wwa:ja| is the inflection of the word |@d0d0U| (الضو) 'light' to become a noun subject. |@rrazwa:r| is the French word 'rasoir', prefixed with the Arabic definite article |@l| (ال) 'the' as have been hundreds of French words which are now part of the Algerian lexicon.

4.2.7 The Lexical Set of 'down'

Set number seven contains the words |lt@h0t| (لتحت), |@LLu:t0| (اللوط), |lah0d0u:r| (لحضور). They all mean 'down'.

- 1) The word |lah0d0u:r| has been fully rejected by the informants, though it descends from Standard Arabic and, thus, supposed to have a certain prestige. The same word exists in Standard Arabic with the same meaning as that in the dialect of Jijel except that in the former it is non-emphatic because of the non-emphatic sound |d|.

|l@h0d0u:r| (لحضور) or |l@h0du:r| (لحدور) – emphatically or non-emphatically said – is an adverb of place. The verb in the Standard is |h0adara| (حَدَرَ) ‘to descend’, ‘to go / come down’. In the Algerian dialectal Arabic it is |h0@dd@r| (حَدَّرْ). However, |h0@dd@r| is used in the community of Constantine but |lah0d0u:r| is not. The Constantine Community members rather use |lt@h0t| (لتحت) or |t@h0t| (تحت) – without ‘l’ (ل) – for easiness – or |LLu:t0| (اللوط) to mean ‘down’. Conversely, |LLu:t0| is very stigmatized in Jijel because it is used by some countrymen who are considered as out-siders in the city of Jijel. |lt@h0t| is the adverb of place which is far from stigma, or rather used both in Constantine and Jijel. |@tt@h0ta:ni| (التحتاني) is an adverb relative to ‘down’ as in |@t0t0a:Z @tt@h0ta:ni| (الطاج التحتاني) ‘down stairs’ and its opposite is |@lfUka:ni| as in |@t0t0a:Z @lfUka:ni| (الطاج الفوكاني) ‘upstairs’, said |@lfuga:ni| - with a g-sound – in Constantine.

The following are different lexical items which function as adverbs of place in the culture of the Jijel Speech Community, and which do not necessarily exist in other speech communities (examples are given for clarity):

- |hna| (هنا) ‘here’: |s@knU hna w@h0d ss@t sni:n| (سكنو هنا وحد الست سنين) ‘they lived here for about six years’.
- |lhi:h| (لهيه) ‘there’: |kallU nta r@jj@h0 lhi:h| (كالتو انت ريج لهيه) ‘he asked him to stay there’.
- |h0da| (حُدا) ‘next to’: |b@lk@l h0@bbU jka;dU h0da:h baS j@t;allmU m@nnU| (بلكل حيو يكعدو حُداه باش يتعلمو مئو) ‘they all wanted to sit next to him to learn from him’. Most probably the word |h0da| comes from Standard Arabic |h0iDa:ʔ| (حذاء) ‘shoe’ to mean in a figurative way ‘just next to his shoe’ – the D-sound is – as has been shown in the third chapter – said ‘d’ and the |ʔa| (أ) is dropped in practically all varieties of Arabic. The pronouncing of |sama:ʔ| (سماء) ‘sky’, |bi?r| (بئر) ‘well’, |fa?r|

'mouse' as |@ssma| (سَمَا), |bi:r| (بير), |fa:r| (فار) respectively in different varieties of Arabic is a good example of that.

- |t0arf| (طرف) 'extremity': |ka:n j@kra f@lZari:da fi t0arf @lGa:ba hadi:k| (كان يقرأ في الطرف الغاية هاديك) 'he was reading the newspaper in the extremity of that forest'. |t0arf| may also be used in a figurative way as in |Za m@n t0arf @dd@nja w h0@b jafrad0 rUhU ɣli:na| (جا من طرف الدنيا وحب يفرض رحو علينا) 'he came from the extremity of earth – from far way – and he wanted to impose himself on us'.
- |ki:ma| (كيمه) 'not far from': |t@lka:h ki:ma lbUst0a| (تلكاه كيمه لبوسطة) 'he is not far from the post-office'.
- |nh0a:t| (نحات) 'in the direction of': |@ssh0aba ha:di rajh0a nh0a:t ks@mt0ina| (السحابة هدي رايحة نحات كسمطينة) 'this cloud is going in the direction of Constantine'.
- |fu:k| (فوك) 'above': |t@sk@n fu:k dda:r tta:ɣna| (تسكن فوك الدار تاعنا) 'she lives upstairs – above our house'. |fu:k| is used in a very popular saying |kizzi:t fu:k @l ma:| (كإل زيت فوك الما) which literally means 'as oil above water' which is simply used to refer to someone who is stubborn and selfish – he wants his opinion to be above other people's opinions.
- |ka:ɣ| (كاع) 'bottom': |j@sk@n fi ka:ɣ l@Zb@l| (يسكن في كاع لجبل) 'he lives in the bottom of the mountain'.
- |Z@mb| (جمب) 'beside': |zraɣ @SS@Zra Z@mb dda:r| (زرع الشجرة جمب الدار) 'he planted the tree beside the house', |Z@mb| is used in a famous saying which describes hypocrites; it says |Z@mb dib w Z@mb slUgi| (جمب ديب و جمب سلوغي) 'having a wolf's side and a dog's side'. This saying refers to a person who has not fixed principles – a person like a chameleon that changes its colour according to the place it is in.

- |mnaj@n| (مناين) 'where': |tG@ddaU fi bLas0a mnaj@n @l ma:| (تغداو في بلاصة مناين |الما 'they had lunch in a place where there is water'.
- |@SSark| (الشترك) (with an emphatic |S|) 'the East': |la:s0@l djalhUm m@SSark| (لاصل ديالهم مشترك) 'they originate from the East'.
- |@l Garb| (الغرب) 'the west': |@l kalma ha:di jhadrUha f@lGarb| (الكلمة هدي يهدروها |فالغرب 'this word is said in the West'.
- |t@mma| (تم) 'there': |ka;dU t@mma bzza:f| (كعدو تم بزاف) 'they stayed there a lot'.
- |Zwa:j@h| (جوايه) 'towards': |waki:la ra:h0U Zwa:j@h el milia| (وقيلة راحو جوايه |الميلية 'I think they went towards El-Milia'.
- |Zwa:j@h| (جوايه) 'around': |Za:w m@n Zwa:j@h ksemtina| (جاو من جوايه كسمطينة) 'they came from around Constantine'.
- |k@dda:m| (كدام) 'in front of': |ka:nU jl@;bU k@dda:m dda:r| (كانو يلعبو كدام الدار) 'they were playing in front of the house'.

4.2.8 The Lexical Set of 'shut'

Set number eight contains the words |@Glaq| (اغلق), |@qf@l| (اقفل), |k@ff@l| (كفّل), |s@kk@r| (سكر), |b@ll@;| (بلّع). They all mean 'shut'. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |k@ff@l| (كفّل): The only explanation for the rejection of this word is the phoneme |k| which is highly stigmatized in the dialect of Jijel (see chapter 3).
- 2) |s@kk@r| (سكر): This word is used in both Standard and Dialectal Arabic. In the Standard it is either the verb |s@kkara| (سكّر) – with a geminate 'k' or |sakara| (سكّر) to mean 'to shut', 'to close', 'to lock'. |s@kkara| is also 'to sugar' as in |s@kkara lh0ali:b| (سكر الحليب) 'to sugar the milk'. |sakira| (سكر) is 'to be / become / get drunk' in the Standard; in the dialect it is |sk@r| (سكر).

The verb |s@kkara| (سَكَّرَ), however, is considered dialectal by most Arab speakers and, thus, is rarely used in literary words. But if you open up any Arabic dictionary, you will find out that it is there to mean ‘to close’. Ibn Mendour – an Arab prominent grammarian – has even given its origins in ‘Lissane El Arab’ (لسان العرب) – one of the most famous Arabic dictionaries. It is also used in the Quran when God almighty says in Sourah El Hijr (الحجر) sign (14) |wa l@w fat@h0na: ʔaleihim ba:b@n min @ssamaʔi faD0allu: fi:hi jaʔrUZu:n laqa:lu: ʔinnama: sUkkirat ʔabs0a:rUna: b@l nah0nU qaUmUn m@sh0u:ru:n| (ولو فتحنا عليهم بابًا من السماء فظلوا فيه يعرجون لقالوا إنما سُكِّرَتْ أَبْصَارُنَا بَلْ نَحْنُ قَوْمٌ مَسْحُورُونَ). ‘Even if we opened out to them a gate from heaven, and they were to continue ascending therein, they would say: our eyes have been intoxicated: nay, we have been bewitched by sorcery’.

The verb |sUkkirat| (سُكِّرَتْ) in the verse is the passive form of the verb (سَكَّرَ) used in feminine. It can be interpreted as ‘dammed’ in the sense that they could not see as if something was put on their eyes to stop their vision the same way a dam would stop water from running. It can also be interpreted as becoming ‘fuzzy’ like that of drunk people who cannot see clearly. We can also understand it as being closed completely in its denotative meaning – opposite to open – in the sense that they could not open their eyes and, thus, blind.

In Standard Arabic the Arabs say, for instance, |s@kkara lba:b| (سَكَّرَ الباب) to mean ‘he shut the door’, |s@kkir famak| (سَكَّرَ فَمَكَ) to mean ‘shut your mouth’, |sakara nnahrU| (سَكَّرَ النَّهْرَ) to mean ‘the river has stopped running’ in the sense that its source has dried (the mouth of the source has been closed), and |sakara rri:hOU| (سَكَّرَ الرِّيحَ) to mean ‘the wind has stopped blowing’, e.g., |leila sa:kira| (ليلة سَاكِرة) ‘a night without any wind’. In this context, the most commonly

used word is |sakana| (سكن), not |sakara| (سكر) (with a ‘n’ instead of a ‘r’-sound). This is probably done so by the function of ‘substitution’ where the Arab speakers have replaced the n-sound by ‘r’.

In dialectal Arabic, the word |s@kka| (سكر) ‘to close’ is used all over the Arab world. It is heard in Morocco, in the South East of Algeria, in Syria, in Lebanon, in Yemen etc. But in Egypt, according to Sayed Abdul Ali (1971), the expression |s@kkara lba:b| (سكر الباب) ‘he closed the door’ is a deformation of |s@kka lba:b| (سك الباب) ‘locked the door and tightened it’ which is used in Egyptian dialectal Arabic, (by the function of deletion, the ‘r’ sound has been deleted). Always according to Sayed Abdul Ali |s@kka|, in fact, originates from |s0@kka| (صك) – with a dark sound ‘s’, which is still heard in Algeria meaning ‘not to utter a word’ as in the idiomatic expression |tgu:l s0@kkU bG@l| (تقول صكو بغل) ‘as if he was beaten by a mule’ in the sense of ‘knocking out’ (not to be able to do or to say anything).

- 3) |b@ll@i| (بلع): This word is neither rejected nor used by the informants. It is not part of the Standard Arabic lexicon. It is commonly used in the Center and the West of Algeria. In Jijel it is not used, but if it is, it is used only to express anger in the context of |b@ll@i f@mm@k| (بلع فمك) ‘shut your mouth’, but not in such contexts as |b@ll@i lba:b| (بلع الباب) ‘shut the door’, for example. |b@ll@i| might have originated from |bl@i| (بلع) ‘to swallow’ in that one swallows something and closes his mouth.

4.2.9 The Lexical Set of ‘couscous’

Set number nine contains the words |@t0t0;a:m| (الطعام), |@l b@rbu:S| (البربوش), |@l b@rbu:Sa| (البربوشة), |@lk@sksi| (الكسكسي), |s@ksU| (سكسو), |@nn@;ma| (النعمة). They all mean ‘couscous’. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |s@ksU| (سكسو): When the informants were asked about this word most of them thought they heard |s@ktU| (سكتو) ‘they stopped talking’. When they knew it was not |s@ktU| but |s@ksU| they asked whether it was Berber. Only six out of twenty performants could guess that it sounded a bit like |k@sksi| (كسكسي) or ‘couscous’ (كسكس) but still they said they wouldn’t use it. |s@ksU| might be the result of interversion (couscous – seksou) – a characteristic of human language as has been explained in chapter three.
- 2) |@t0t0;a:m| (الطعام): This word is not used in the community of Constantine though most Algerians use it. In Jijel it is given great prestige. In marriages and wedding parties the guests are generally served varied salad, soup, and couscous in both lunch and dinner; when people have taken salad and soup they ask for couscous by asking the servers |@t0t0;a:m| (الطعام) meaning ‘could you please bring us couscous’. The word |@l b@rbu:S| is also used with the same meaning of |@t0t0;a:m|, but in the context of parties it would not be as appropriate as |@t0t0;a:m|. |@t0t0;a:m| presupposes some couscous with sauce poured on it and pieces of meat. This meal is very basic in the community of Jijel and most probably it is called so – |@t0t0;a:m| – because people like it much and consider it as a substantial meal. This is because, in fact, the word |@t0t0;a:m| in the Standard and most varieties of Arabic means ‘food’, but because of its importance in the life of the population of Jijel, they have limited the naming of |@t0t0;a:m| to couscous only. Such a popular saying as |@t0t0;a:m h@mma wa l@w ka:n Gir b@lma|

(الطعام همّة و لو كان غير بالما) ‘couscous is energy even if it is taken with water only’ is a good example of that.

This does not mean that the speakers of the Jijel dialect do not use the word |@t0t0a:m| to mean ‘food’ – they do; many examples of various contexts can show this. Any food – even Sardines that a fisherman puts in his hook to attract fish is called |@t0t0a:m| or |@t0t0a:ma| (الطعمة) – feminine singular of |@t0t0a:m|. The small piece of food that birds give to their nestlings is called |@t0t0a:ma| or |@t0t0a:Uj@m| (الطعّوم) ‘the small piece of food’. Evidence that |@t0t0a:m| is also used in the sense of food comes from such popular sayings as |@t0t0a:m ddi jalka |Zu:| (الطعام الذي يلكى الجوع) ‘food is anything that stops hunger’, or |@t0am lk@rS j@ssh0iw l:ini:n| (اطعم الكرش يستحيو العينين) ‘a bribe cannot face his briber’.

The dialectal word |@t0t0a:m| (الطعام) is the word |@t0t0a:a:m| (الطعام) – with the short vowel |a| after |t0| – in the Standard and it means anything that stops hunger and / or thirst. That is, even water can be referred to as |@t0t0a:a:m|; consider the following Quranic verse, Sourah El bakara sign (249) where God says: |fal@mma: fas0ala t0a:lu:tU bilZUnu:di qa:la ?inna LLa:ha mubtali:kUm binahrin fa m@n Sariba minh0U fa leisa minni: wa m@n l@m jat:amhU fa ?innahU minni:| (فلما فصل طالوت بالجنود قال إنّ الله مبتليكم بنهر فمن شرب منه فليس مني ومن لم يطعمه فإنه مني) ‘when Talut set forth with the armies, he said: Allah will test you at the stream; if any dinks of its water, he will not go with my army; only those who do not taste of it, will go with me’. This evidently shows that the verb |j@t0am| (يَطْعَمُ) ‘to feed’ or ‘to eat’ applies even to water. Prophet Mohamed also describes the water of ZemZem – a holy well in Mecca – by saying |?innaha: t0a:a:mU t0U:min waSifa:?U sUqmin| (إنّها طعام طعم و شفاء سقم) ‘verily it is food to eat and a cure for sicknesses’.

Notice that the majority of words – if not all of them – with a |f@th0a| (سكون) ‘a short |a| vowel’ in Standard Arabic are uttered with a |sUku:n| (فتحة) ‘consonant with no following vowel’, in Dialectal Arabic. For example, |ʔasa:l| (عَسَلْ) ‘honey’, |bas0al| (بَصَلْ) ‘onion’, |xabar| (خَبْرْ) ‘news’, |h0ama:m| (حَمَامْ) ‘pigeon’, |xaru:f| (خَرُوفْ) ‘lamb’, and |kala:m| (كَلَامْ) ‘speech’ are all said |ʔs@l| (عَسَلْ), |bs0al| (بُصَلْ), |xbar| (خَبْرْ), |h0ama:m| (حَمَامْ), |xru:f| (خَرُوفْ), and |kla:m| (كَلَامْ) respectively.

4.2.10 The Lexical Set of ‘curled couscous’

Set number ten contains the words |@lʔi:S| (العيش), |bUrd0ima| (بورضية), |b@rkUk@s| (بركوكس), |@nn@ʔma ddaxSina| (النعمة دَخشينة). They all mean ‘curled couscous’. The most rejected words by the informants are:

- 1) |bUrd0ima| (بورضية): This word has been rejected by all informants simply because none of them knew what it meant and, thus, sounded odd to them. This word is typical to the dialect of Jijel. It does not undergo any change or inflection which would account for the fact that it is an isolated word which has no relation with the Standard or other varieties. This term probably comes from the process of flouring when curling it to become thicker and thicker. The process of covering something with dust or sand or flour is called |j@rd0am| in Dialectal Arabic. Because the curled couscous is covered with flour repeatedly to become thicker, it becomes known as |bUrd0ima|.
- 2) |@nnaʔma ddaxSina| (النعمة دَخشينة): It is rejected because the annexation is done by means of the item |dd@| which is highly stigmatized (see chapter three).
- 3) |b@rkUk@s| (بركوكس): This word is quite known by the informants but they simply use |@lʔi:S| (العيش) instead. |b@rkUk@s| might have originated from the word

‘baraka’ which is used by the Arabs – mainly the Arab Muslims – to prove their satisfaction about what they are given by God. They say, for instance, to content themselves with the little |fi:h @l baraka| (فيه البركة) ‘it is enough since it is blessed by God’, or |fi:h mja:t baraka| (فيه ميات بركة) ‘it is abundant food’ – to show full satisfaction. Hence, because |b@rkUk@s| is a simple type of food but enough to become full quickly when you take it, it might have taken its name from the word ‘baraka’.

In Constantine people call it |@l_i:S| (العيش) maybe because they see it as a substantial meal and, thus, is very important for their living to the extent that they take it as life itself (|@l_i:S| means also life in Arabic). In addition, this type of curled couscous is not made of semolina, but of pure wheat; and it has been proved scientifically that wheat is very important for health.

4.2.11 The Lexical Set of ‘going through’

Set number eleven is composed of the words |fa:j@t| (فايت), |m_i@ddi| (معدّي), |Za:j@z| (جايز), |_i@dda:j| (عدّايّ), |_a:g@b| (عاقب). They all mean ‘going through’ or ‘passing by’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |_i@dda:j| (عدّايّ): |_i@dda:j| is the continuous of the verb |_i@dda| (عدّى) ‘to pass by’ which is also said |m_i@ddi| (معدّي). Despite the phonological similarity between the two, |_i@dda:j| is rejected by the great majority of the informants; |m_i@ddi| is more or less accepted and may even be used by some informants who have all said they preferred |_a:g@b| (عاقب). |_i@dda:j| might have originated from the Standard |_ada:| (عدا) ‘to run’. Many popular sayings in Jijel make use of this verb. |ddi _iadda jja:mU ma jat0ma_ f@jja:m nna:s| (دّي عدّي يّامو ما يطمع فيّام الناس) ‘he who has lived his life does not have to grasp other people’s lives’, is a good example of that.

2) |Zaj@z| (جايز): This word is very much used in the rural areas of Jijel and applies much to the context of crossing rivers and valleys, e.g., |ZUz @lwa:d @hadUri w matZUZS @lwa:d @ssakUti| (جوز الواد الهادوري و ما تجوزش الواد الساكوتي) ‘cross rivers whose water is running, but never cross rivers whose water is still’, or |kika:n Zaj@z f@lwa:d Saf h0@s0s0arba dd@l h0@IIUf xa:rZi:n m@lGa:ba| (كيكان جايز) (فالواد شاف حالصربة دَ لَحْلَوفَ خارجين ملغابة) ‘when he was crossing the river he saw a group of pigs coming out of the forest’.

|Zaj@z| may also mean ‘acceptable’ and, thus, only the context can determine which meaning it carries. Consider the following dialogue:

A- |waS ra?j@k f@zzi:t dd@b;@t l@k| (واش رأيك فالزيت دبعنت لك؟) ‘What do you think of the oil I sent you?’

B- |Zaj@z| (جايز) ‘acceptable’. In this context it is clear that |Zaj@z| does not mean ‘passing by’ but rather ‘acceptable’.

3) |m;@ddi| (معدّي): what applies to |;@dda:j| also applies to |m;@ddi|. There are also other pairs of words of the same shape such as |Zaj| (جاي) and |maZi| (ماحي) both meaning ‘coming’ as in |@ss@bt @lZaj| (السبت الجاي) and |@ss@bt @lmaZi| (السبت الماحي) both meaning ‘the coming Saturday’. |@lZaj| is taken from Standard Arabic |@lZa:ʔi:| (الجائي) which functions as a ‘noun subject’ (اسم الفاعل) from the verb |Za:ʔa| (جاء) ‘to come’. The glottal stop |ʔ| (أ) is often deleted by the Arab speakers for easiness, which converts |Za:ʔa| in |Za:| (جا) and |Za:ʔi:| into |Zaj|. This pronunciation is heard in most varieties of Arabic including Middle – Eastern Arabic.

The fact that the Arab speakers prefer |@lʔa:ti| (الآتي) to |@lZa:ʔi:| does not diminish of the value of its use; evidence of that comes from ancient prose and poetry. Haritha Bnu Badr (in Mortad, 1981: 67) – an ancient poet – says:

|wama: lʒ@UmU illa: miTla amsi llaDi: mad0a:|

|wa miTla Gadi lZa:ʔi: wa kUIUn sajaDhabU|

‘Today is no more than like yesterday that has gone,

and like tomorrow that is coming; and everything will vanish’.

|@lmaZi| – which is purely dialectal – is pronounced |@mmaZi| (مَاجِي) in the city of Jijel. That is, the definite article |@l| (ال) is deleted; they say, for instance, |@bbh0ar| (بَحْر) ‘the sea’, |@mma| (مَآ) ‘water’, |@kk@b| (كَنَب) ‘the dog’, |@bbab| (بَاب) ‘the door’, and not |@l bh0ar| (البحر), |@l ma| (الما), |@l k@lb| (الكلب), |@l bab| (الباب) respectively.

4) |faj@t| (فايت): This word is rarely used by the speakers of Jijel so that if ever someone uses it, people around him will quickly understand that the person using it works or studies outside their province. |faj@t|, however, is largely used in idiomatic expressions and popular sayings which are quite known by the population of Jijel at large. The following are good illustrations of that:

- |fa:t @l G@rs fi mars| (فات الغرس في مارس) ‘to plant beyond March is too late’.
- |lli fa:t@k blila fat@k bh0ila| (اللي فاتك بليلة فاتك بحيلة) ‘the older we are the more experienced we will be’.
- |lli fa:t ma:t| (اللي فات مات) ‘don’t feel resentment towards people’, ‘you have to be tolerant’.
- |da fat@k @t0t0; a:m kUl Sb@; t wda fat@k l@kla:m kUl sm@; t| (د فاتك طَعَام قَل) ‘if you miss the opportunity of eating say ‘I am full’, if you miss what has been said, say ‘I heard’.

Notice that it would sound odd to say, for instance, |lli ʔ@dda ma:t| (اللي عدّا مات) (اللي جاز مات), or |lli ʔg@b ma:t| (اللي عقب مات) because, on the one hand there is no rhyming in these examples as is in the popular saying and namely |fa:t| and |ma:t|, on the other hand, a saying is reproduced as it is without any change of words or structures. Similarly |fa:t @l G@rs fi mars| cannot be said |fa:t @zz@rʔ fi mars| although |@lG@rs| and |@zz@rʔ| are the same in meaning. The point is the s-sound in |@l G@rs| rhymes with the s-sound in |mars|. Besides it is known as such; it is not an utterance as much as it is a saying. In much the same way, |lli fa:t@k blila fa:t@k bh0ila| (اللي فاتك بليلة فاتك بحيلة) which literally means ‘someone who is even one night older than you is more experienced than you’, cannot be |lli fa:t@k b@nha:r fa:t@k bh0ila| (اللي فاتك بنهار فاتك بحيلة) ‘someone who is even one day older than you is more experienced than you’, only because |nha:r| does not rhyme with |h0ila| – though, in terms of meaning, |nha:r| may replace |lila| (|nha:r| means ‘day’, |lila| means ‘night’).

In |da fat@k @t0t0ʔa:m kUl Sb@ʔt wda fat@k l@kla:m kUl sm@ʔt| only the verb |fa:t| (فات) ‘to miss’ will be appropriate; the other synonyms |Za:z|, |ʔ@dda|, and |ʔg@b| will not be suitable. In this context |fa:t| is used in a figurative way to mean ‘to miss’ while the other synonyms can be used only with humans or animals to mean ‘to pass by’. In addition to appropriateness, rhyming is always present in popular sayings – |@t0t0ʔa:m| rhymes with |l@kla:m| and |Sb@ʔt| rhymes with |sm@ʔt|.

Such popular sayings are used all over the Maghreb and the Arab world with slight changes at the level of some small features to avoid oddity. For example, |ddi fa:t ma:t| is used in the Jijel speech-community, in Constantine it is |lli fa:t ma:t| – with the item |lli| and not |ddi| only because the item |ddi| is not part

of the lexicon of Constantine. |da fat@k @t0t0;̣a:m kUl Sb@;̣t wda fat@k l@kla:m kUl sm@;̣t| which is typical to the dialect of Jijel is said |la fat@k @t0t0;̣a:m gUl Sb@;̣t wla fat@k l@kla:m gUl sm@;̣t| in Constantine – Constantinians say |la| and not |da| to mean ‘if’, and the sound |k| is said |g| in the dialect of Constantine.

4.2.12 The Lexical Set of ‘earrings’

Set number twelve contains the words |@l ;̣@llaja:t| (العلايات), |@l flaj@k| (الفلايك), |@l mnag@S| (المنافش). They all mean ‘earrings’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |@l ;̣@llaja:t| (العلايات): This word is unknown for the community of Constantine. It is typical to the dialect of Jijel. It sounds like |;̣a:li| (عالي) ‘high’ in feminine plural in Standard Arabic, and, thus, most probably they are called so because earrings are the golden ornaments which are worn in the highest part of the body. Golden ornaments, in the Algerian society, are worn at the level of ears called earrings, at the level of neck called necklace or chain, at the level of waist called belt – golden belt, at the level of hands called bracelets, and sometimes at the level of feet called anklets.
- 2) |@l mnag@S| (المنافش): This word is known all over Algeria in the language of children. In Constantine only the word |@l flaj@k| (الفلايك) is used for ‘earrings’. In Jijel |@l flaj@k| is the plural of |flUka| (فلوكة) which means a small boat. So, if a word is ‘good’ in a speech community why should it be ‘bad’ in another speech community?

4.2.13 The Lexical Set of ‘to find’

Set number thirteen contains the words |@lka| (الكى), |@lga| (القى), |@Zb@r| (اجبر), |s0a:b| (صاب), |@lqa| (لقى). They all mean ‘to find’. The most rejected words are:

1) |@Zb@r| (اجبر): This verb has no sign of being related to the Standard; it is fully dialectal. The inhabitants of Jijel use it to mean ‘to find’. It used to have the meaning of bone setting when medicine was not developed. But now |@Zb@r| in the sense of splinting a broken arm or leg is disappearing. The term is used in the Jijel speakers’ everyday speech to mean ‘to find’. For example, |rUh0t baS n@_rad0hUm malkit tta wah0@d f@dda:r| (روحْت باش نعرضهم ما لكيت تى واحد فالدار) ‘I went to invite them but I found no one at home’ is equivalent to |rUh0t baS n@_rad0hUm maZb@rt tta wah0@d f@dda:r| (روحْت باش نعرضهم ما جبرت تى واحد فالدار) and |rUh0t baS n@_rad0hUm mas0abt tta wah0@d f@dda:r| (روحْت باش نعرضهم ما صبت تى واحد فالدار). Evidence of the use of such verbs comes from popular sayings and riddles in the culture of Jijel. Consider the following:

- |ddi jd@xx@r j@Zb@r| (ذي يدخر يجبر) ‘he who saves (money or food) will find it (in the future)’. Again the factor of rhyming dominates in such sayings – |jd@xx@r| rhymes with |j@Zb@r|. Without such rhymings these sayings would have probably died.
- |ki h0@zzm@t wZa:t s0a:b@t @l @_rs fa:t| (كي حزمْت وجات صابت العرس فات) ‘she took too much time to prepare herself and as result when she arrived the party was over’. The preparation here means to make herself ready which is expressed by the verb |h0@zzm@t| which literally means ‘she tightened her belt – an expression used to describe women’s determination. Men’s determination is expressed by |jS@mmar _la dra_i:h| (يشمّر على دراعيه) or |jS@mmar _la dra:@_U| (يشمّر على دراعو)

‘to get ready for work’ which literally can be translated into ‘to roll one’s sleeves up’.

- 2) |@lka| (الكي): This verb is rejected only because of the stigmatized feature |k| which is typical to the dialect of Jijel (see chapter 3). Its counterpart is |g| in the dialect of Constantine.

4.2.14 The Lexical Set of ‘pain’

Set number fourteen contains the words |@t0t0Ga| (الطَّغَه), |l@wZ@;| (الوجع), |@d0d0@r| (الضَّر), |@sst0ar| (السَّطَر). They all mean ‘pain’ or ‘harm’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |@t0t0Ga| (الطَّغَه): This is not a detached word in the dialect of Jijel but it undergoes inflections the same way the other lexical elements do. Most probably it comes from the verb |t0aGa:| (طَغَى) ‘to tyrannize’ since tyranny is a ‘harm’ that no one can bear and no one can stop. The similarity between the dialectal verb |t0Ga:| (طَغَى) ‘harmed’ and the Standard |t0aGa:| (طَغَى) ‘tyrannized’ both in terms of meaning and pronunciation makes the probability that they are related to one another possible.
- 2) |@d0d0@r| (الضَّر): It is used in the dialects of the east of Algeria and in the Standard where it is either with the geminate ‘r’ |@d0d0@rr| (الضَّرر) or inflected to insert another ‘r’ |@d0d0arar| (الضَّرر) as in |?innahU jU;a:ni min d0ararin bira?sihi| (إنه يعاني من ضرر في رأسه) ‘he has a headache’ in the Standard, in the dialectal variety people say |d00@rrni ra:si| (ضرتني راسي) ‘I have a headache’.

4.2.15 The Lexical Set of ‘towel’

Set number fifteen contains the words |s0@rfit0a| (صرفيطة), |b@Ski:r| (بشكير), |fu:t0a| (فوطية), |m@nSfa| (منشفة), |s@rbita| (سربيطة), |t0@rSu:na| (طرشونة). They all mean 'towel'. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |s@rbita| (سربيطة): It is the French word 'serviette' which has entered the Algerian lexicon by means of borrowing. It is modelled on the other Algerian lexical words and takes the same inflection as them, e.g., |frida| (فريدة) 'big knife' is |fraj@d| (فرايد) in the plural; |s@rbita| (سربيطة) is |srab@t| (سرايت) in the plural. 'Serviette' has not been converted into |s@rbita| in a random way, but according to some phonological rules. The Jijel speakers have converted the v-sound into a b-sound because |v| is not part of the Algerian phonological system. |b| is supposed to be the closest sound to |v| (|b| is voiced, |v| is voiced). In some other regions like Constantine |v| is converted into |f| and, thus, considered to be the closest sound to |v| (|v| is labio-dental, |f| is labio-dental). The Jijel inventory system is rule-governed and the Constantine inventory system is rule-governed. That is, the Jijel speakers have taken the feature of voicing into account while the Constantine speakers have taken the place of articulation into account – both accounts for the systematicness of language.

What is noticeable about such borrowings is the fact that each dialect adapts the borrowed word to its character. We have seen that the dialect of Constantine is characterized by being emphatic and, thus, converts the word 'serviette' into the emphatic word |s0arfit0a| (صرفيطة) to sound Constantinian. Contrary to that, the Jijel dialect is characterized by being non-emphatic and, thus, converts the word 'serviette' into the non-emphatic word |s@rbita|. It would be ridiculous to use an emphatic word in a dialect known for its non-emphatic character.

- 2) |b@Ski:r| (بشكير): Although the word |b@Ski:r| is the most unknown word among the six words in the set, it is not as stigmatized as the word |s@rbita|. This accounts for the fact that lexical items are not rejected on the basis of anything but on the basis of their users. |b@Ski:r| is the word used for ‘towel’ in the regions of the east of Algeria. It is both dialectal and standard, but for some unknown reasons writers and poets alike do not use it in their writings. Most of speakers of Arabic do not even know that the word |b@Ski:r| is part of the Standard Arabic language lexicon. Sometimes what is considered dialectal in Algeria is considered Standard in the Middle-East and vice-versa. |j@rkUd0| (يركض) ‘to run’, for example, is dialectal in Palestine, but Standard in Algeria. In contrast, |j@Zri:| (يجري) ‘to run’ is Standard in Palestine, but dialectal in Algeria.
- 3) |t0@rSu:na| (طرشونه): It is the French word ‘torchon’. It has been included in the Jijel dialect lexicon by means of borrowing. It is adapted to the Algerian dialect lexicon and obeys to all types of rules of the language. For example, it can be pluralized in two ways as if it were purely Arabic: - |@t0t0raS@n| (الطراشن) ‘towels’ or |@t0t0arSUna:t| (الطرشونات) ‘towels’, exactly as |@lgnad0@r| (الغناصر) ‘jubbahs’, or |@lg@nd0Ura:t| (الغناصورات) ‘jubbahs’ which are plural forms of |g@nd0Ura| (غناصة) ‘jubbah’. People who do not know French cannot know what it means, but if they do they would take it as any other dialectal lexical items.
- 4) |m@nSfa| (منشفة): It is both Dialectal and Standard. Its verb is |naSafa| (نَشَفَ) ‘to dry’ in Standard and |@nS@f| (اَشَفَ) in dialectal Arabic. These slight differences of pronunciation often exist between the Standard and its different varieties. In Dialectal Arabic the word |naSafa| (نَشَفَ) ‘to dry’ exists together with all its derivatives. In Standard Arabic people tend to prefer the use of its synonym |Zafafa| (جَفَفَ). They even hold the belief that the former – |naSafa| – is the deformation of

the latter – |Zafafa| – which they consider ‘pure’ Arabic. Even in our school course-books, and recently written books by known writers the word |naSafa| is rarely used – if it is at all. Take, for instance, topics about ecology – they all make use of |Zafa:f @l ?ard0| (جفاف الأرض) ‘earth dryness’ and |Zafa:f @l widja:n| (جفاف الوديان) ‘rivers dryness’ . Some prescriptivists even go further to set up rules stating that one should say |Zaffa| (جفّ) ‘dried’, and not |naSifa| (نشف), as they do with |las0iqa| (لصق) ‘to stick’, and not |laziqa| (لزق), i.e., with a z-sound and not with a s-sound, |b@rdUn qa:ris| (برد قارس) ‘freezing cold’, and not |b@rdUn qa:ris0| (برد قارص), i.e., with a non-emphatic ‘s’. (En-nehas, 1997) under the pretext that |laziqa|, |qa:ris0| and |naSifa| are not pure language, while |las0iqa|, |qa:ris| and |Zaffa| are pure language.

As a reaction to that, modernists insist that the just mentioned words are part of Standard Arabic, and that a glance at any Arabic dictionary will prove that. The point is, for no apparent reason, in speech the Arab speakers use |na:S@f| (ناشف) ‘dry’ and in writing they use |Za:f| (جاف) ‘dry’. This is the nature of Arabic characterized by being diglossic – two varieties coexist; one written, codified and considered pure, the other spoken considered corrupt (see chapter 1).

It is on the basis of ‘purity’ and ‘corruption’ that Khalil Gibran (a great Arab writer) was criticized for having used the ‘non-Standard’ word |tanaSSafta| (تنشفت) ‘dried yourself’ in his poem entitled |@l mawa:kib| (المواكب) ‘procession’ when he says:

و تنشفت بنور

(هل تحممت بعطر

(in En-nehas, 1997)

|h@l tah0ammamta bi;itt0rin|

|wa tanaSSafta binu:r|

‘did you bathe in perfumed water

and dried yourself with light’

Critics blamed Gibran for having used |tanaSSafta| (تنشفت) and not |taZaffafta| (تجفت) which both mean ‘dried yourself’, but the latter was considered to be more Standard than the former.

Most Arab speakers, or maybe all of them, measure the ‘purity’ and ‘non-purity’ of an Arabic lexical item on the Quran – if a word is used in the Quran it definitely implies that the word is Standard, but if it is not, it implies that it is dialectal. Hence, accordingly none of the words |naSaf| and |Zafa:f| including their derivatives exist in the Quran. God almighty uses the word |j@bs| (يبس) instead. Consider the following:

- |wa ma: tasqUt0U min waraqatin ?illa: jaꞤlamUha: wala: h0abbatin fi: D0UIUma:ti l?ard0i wala rat0bin wala: ja:bisin ?illa: fi: kita:bin mUbi:n| Sourah El Anaam, sign (59) (و ما تسقط من ورقة إلا يعلمها و لا حبة في ظلمات الأرض و لا رطب و لا يابس إلا في كتاب مبين). ‘Not a leaf does fall but with his knowledge: there is not a grain in the darkness of the earth, or anything soft or dry, but is recorded in a clear book’.
- |walaq@d ?u:h0i:na: ?ila: mu:sa: ?an asri biꞤiba :di f@d0rib lahUm t0ari:qan filbah0ri jabass@n| Sourah Taha, sign (77). (و لقد أوحينا إلى موسى أن أسر بعبيدي فأضرب لهم. ‘And we sent an aspiration to Moses: « Travel by night with my servants, and strike a dry path for them through the sea »’.
- |wa s@bꞤU sUnbUla:tin wa ?Uxara ja:bisa:tin| Sourah Youcef, sign (43) (وَ سَعِ ‘And seven green corn ears, and seven other dried’.

Notice that the words |naSaf| or |Zafa:f| for ‘dry’ are not used in the Quran but |j@bs| (يبس) is used instead. This might probably imply that both |naSaf| and |Zafa:f| have got some other origins other than Arabic; they might have originated from Persian, this is why god has preferred to use a pure Arabic word. This explanation is based on some other cases where God avoids the use of words of non-Arabic origins even if they

are quite commonly used by the Arabs. A concrete example of that could be that of the word |IUGa| (لغّه) ‘language’ which is quite oftenly used in Arabic but which originates from Latin – ‘loghos’. In the whole Quran the word |IUGa| is never used; |lisa:n| (لسان) ‘tongue’ is used instead.

The possibility that the word |naSaf| is not Arabic and is just borrowed from some other language is to be excluded because it does not stand on its own in the Arabic language but is surrounded by many derivatives, the following are but a few:

- |@nn@Sf| (النشّف) ‘dryness’ as in |?innana: mUhaddadu:na bi nn@Sf ha:D@ l;a:m| (إننا مهدّدون بالنشّف هذا العام) ‘we are threatened by dryness this year’, (most Arab speakers would say |@IZafa:f| (الجفاف) instead of |@nn@Sf| (النشّف) in this context.
- |naSafa| (نشّف) ‘to absorb’ as in |naSafa @rramIU @l ma:?a| (نشّف الرّمْل الماء) ‘the sand has absorbed the water’ for example, in the context of watering plants – if a plant is planted in sand the water is absorbed quickly. In some Algerian dialects, namely the dialect of Jijel, ‘S’ is replaced by ‘s’ and, thus, the word becomes |ns@f| (نسّف). The idiomatic expression |tkUl n@sfU h0@nS| (تكول نسفو حنش) ‘he is very meagre’ – said to someone who has become skinny in a short lapse of time – illustrates that perfectly.
- |naSifa| (نشّف) ‘to dry – to become dry’ as in |naSifa famUhU bisababi @d0d0ama?| (نشّف فمّه بسبب الضمّ) ‘His mouth has dried out because of thirst’ (|naSafa| is transitive, |naSifa| is not).
- |naSSafa| (نشّف) ‘to wipe – to dry with a towel’ as in |Gasalati IZUdra:n wa naSSafatha: TUmma xaraZ@t| (غسّلت الجدران و نشفتها ثم خرجت) ‘she washed the walls and dried them, then she went out’.
- |@nn@Sfa| (النشّفه) ‘pumice stone’: a very light black stone like an ember used for rubbing dirty clothes, hands or feet. It is so light that if one puts it on the surface of

water it will not sink. It is also pronounced |@nnUSfa| (النُشفة) – with a short vowel ‘U’ after ‘n’ in replacement of the short vowel ‘a’ after the ‘n’. |@nn@Sfa| is also a cloth used to dry water of the floor.

- |@nn@SSa:fa| (النُشفة) ‘towel’ as in |na:wilni @nn@SSa:fa li?amsah0a w@Zhi:| (ناولني النُشفة لأمسح وجهي) ‘please give me the towel to dry up my face’. It can also mean ‘handkerchief’ as is reported in the Prophet Mohamed’s Sayings which state that he always had a handkerchief for the purpose of drying up his face after each performance of ritual ablution.
- |@l minSafa| (المنشفة) ‘towel’: it is synonymous to |@nn@SSa:fa| - a towel used for drying up the faces, hands, feet, and the body.
- |@nn@SSa:f| (النُشف) ‘blotting paper’ as in |kUll tilmi:D mUt0a:l@b bih0aml @nn@SSa:f bih0aqi:batih| (كلّ تلميذ مطالب بحمل النُشف بحقيته) ‘every pupil is required to carry a blotting paper in his bag’. It is clear that the use of the blotting paper in class is to absorb ink.

In dialectal Arabic people say |nS@f| (نُشف) as in |kinS@f ;l@jja l@;rag h0@ssi:t b@lb@rd| (كُنُشف عليّ لعرق حسيت بالبرد) ‘when my sweat dried up I felt cold’, |a:m fih0wa:jZU wki xr@Z m@lma nS@f fisa:;| (عام في حوايجو وكي خُرج ملّما نُشف) ‘he swam in his clothes and when he came out of the water he dried quickly’.

4.2.16 The Lexical Set of ‘stood up’

Set number sixteen contains the words |;a:n| (عان), |Ta:r| (ثار), |qa:m| (قام), |na:d0| (ناض). They all mean ‘stood up’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |ħa:n| (عان): This word is not only rejected by the informants but unknown as well. No one individual speaker of the Constantine Community could understand it when they were asked to give its meaning. Most of the young generation speakers of the dialect of Jijel do not know it either. It is a lexical item which is used only by old people in the rural areas of Jijel. None of the Arabic dictionaries speaks about it. This means it is definitely not part of the Standard Arabic lexicon, and all that which is unknown by a Speech community or different from its own language tends to be rejected.
- 2) |Ta:r| (ثار): This word is used in the regions to the East and South-East of Constantine. It denotes the process of Standing up angrily, or revolting against someone or something. But now it is used in the neutral sense of standing up, e.g., |kiSa:f xa:lU Za:j Ta:r wħt0a:h @l kUrsi| (كي شاف خالو جاي ثار و عطاء الكرسي) ‘when he saw his uncle coming he stood up and gave him the seat’. It is also used to mean ‘to wake up’ as in |Ta:r b@kri baS j@ws0al b@t0t0@jjara| (ثار بكري باش يوصل بالطيارة) ‘he woke up early so as not to miss the plane’.

4.2.17 The Lexical Set of ‘all’

Set number seventeen contains the words |b@lk@l| (بالكل), |bQk@l| (بوكل), |ka:m@l| (كامل), |ga:ħ| (فَاع), |gaħitik| (فَاعَتِيك). They all mean ‘all’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |b@lk@l| (بالكل): |b@lk@l| is said in a non-emphatic way. It is typical to the dialect of Jijel. It is not very far from |bQk@l| (بوكل) – the way it is said in the province of Constantine. This slight difference, together with emphasis and non-emphasis, is behind the rejection of |b@lk@l| though both |b@lk@l| and |bQk@l| originate from the Standard Arabic lexical item |@lkUll| (الكل) or |bilkUll| (بالكل) ‘all’, for example, |xaraZa @l kUll ?ila SSa:r@ħ littazbi:ri ħ @n f@rh0atihim| (خرج الكل إلى الشارع للتعبير عن فرحتهم) This sentence is said |xUrdZU bQk@l l@SSa:r@ħ bah jħ@bbrU ħ @l farh0a ttaħUm| (خرجو بوكل لشارع باه) in the community of Constantine, and |x@rZU b@lk@l l@SSa:r@ħ baS jħ@bbrU ħ @lfarh0a djalhUm| (خرجو بكل لشارع باش يعبرو علفرحة) in the Community of Jijel.

Notice that |@lkUll| is definite – |@l| (ال) is equivalent to the definite article ‘the’ in English. When |@l| is associated with |kUll| no noun can follow it. We cannot say, for instance, |@lkUll @nna:s xaraZu: liSSa:r@ħ| (الكل الناس خرجوا للشارع), literally ‘the all people went out to the street’, while |kUll @nna:s xaraZu: liSSa:r@ħ| (كل الناس خرجوا للشارع) – without associating |@l| with |kUll| – is possible. In some varieties of Arabic the Standard |kUll| (كل) is kept without any change and, thus, |xUrdZU bQk@l l@SSa:r@ħ| and |x@rZU b@lk@l l@SSa:r@ħ|, as is said in Constantine and Jijel, is |xUrdZU kUll l@SSa:r@ħ| (خُرجو كل لشارع) in other

varieties of Arabic. |kUll| is, in fact, obtained from |ʔQk@l| (أوكل) – the ʔQ-sound is deleted for easiness.

- 2) |ga:ɣ| (ڭاع): This word is typical to the dialect of the capital city. It is far from being part of the Standard Arabic and evidence comes from the fact that the sound ‘g’ is not part of phonological system of Standard Arabic. The rating of this word by the informants is contrary to the findings of the sociolinguistic theories; all sociolinguistic studies confirm that the varieties spoken in the capital city of each country enjoy great prestige in comparison with the other varieties. But the task we have performed in the Community of Constantine has proved the opposite. All the informants asked have totally rejected the words typical to the dialect of Algiers – the capital city. More than that, they all expressed their negative attitudes towards them overtly and explicitly.

This may account for the covert conflict which exists between the inhabitants of Algiers and those of Constantine – the inhabitants of Algiers consider themselves superior to the rest of the population of the country; the inhabitants of Constantine, in turn, consider themselves as being a people whose origins are deep rooted in the past history – a history of science and literature. This type of rivalry manifests itself at the level of language and, thus, both would stigmatise the language of each. In much the same way, it has been noticed, by experience and observation, that the speakers of Algiers reject the ts-sound which characterizes the language of Constantinians.

- 3) |gaɣitik| (ڭاعتيك): What applies to |ga:ɣ| applies to |gaɣitik| which is a way to confirm |ga:ɣ|.

4.2.18 The Lexical Set of ‘now’

Set number eighteen is composed of the adverbs of time |dlUk| (دلوك), |d@lw@k| (دلوك), |drUk| (دروك), |d@rw@k| (دروك), |dUkati| (دوكاتي), |dark| (درك). They all mean ‘now’. The most rejected words are:

1) |dlUk| (دلوك): We have seen that one of the basic functions of transformations is the function of deletion. Standard Arabic speakers say, for instance, |ha:Da lwaqt| (هذا الوقت) to mean ‘now’ or ‘this moment’. |ha:Da| (هذا) is a demonstrative pronoun which means ‘this’. Standard Arabic speakers say, for instance, |ha:Da kita:bUn mUfi:d| (هذا كتاب مفيد) ‘this is an interesting book’ and |?arini: ha:Da lkita:b| (أرني هذا الكتاب) ‘show me this book’. |ha:Da| may also be said |Da| (ذا), i.e., |ha| is deleted for simplicity and, thus, |?arini: ha:Da lkita:b| becomes |?arini: Da lkita:b| (أرني ذا الكتاب).

Similarly |ha:Da lwaqt| may be said |Da lwaqt| (ذا الوقت) in the Standard as in |ha:Da lwaqt ʒas0i:b Zidd@n| (هذا الوقت عصيب جداً) ‘this time is very difficult’ which may be said |Da lwaqt ʒas0i:b Zidd@n| (ذا الوقت عصيب جداً). In the variety of Arabic spoken in Jijel, not only |ha:| is deleted in |ha:Da| but ‘t’ as well and, thus, |ha:D@ lwaqt| is said in the dialect of Jijel |d@lw@k| (دلوك). That is |ha:| (ها) and |t| (ت) are deleted, and |q| is converted into |k| to adapt with the Jijel dialect which is characterized by the use of the central voiceless velar stop |k| in replacement of the back voiceless uvular plosive |q|. To its turn, |d@lw@k| is also converted, for easiness, into |dlUk| (دلوك) – the w-sound is deleted.

2) |d@lw@k| (دلوك): It is rejected for the same reasons as |dlUk| (دلوك) and |dUkati| (دوكاتي) which is typical to the inhabitants of the city centre of Jijel.

In contrast, the negative rating of |drUk| (دروك) and |d@rw@k| (دروك) is almost without any significance; though they differ from |dlUk| and |d@lw@k| only at the level of the r-sound (|drUk| and |d@rw@k| are used in the West of Algeria). The question to

be asked here is: ‘who says that the r-sound is better than the l-sound?’ The answer is: the negative rating does not, in fact, concern language as much as it concerns its users. The point is, these adverbs of time – as any other item in any language or dialect – are expressed by different words, for example, |ḥSija| (عُشِيَّة) means ‘last night’ in the dialect of Jijel; elsewhere in Algeria they use other words. In Constantine, for instance, they use |bar@h0 f@llil| (لبارح فليل) ‘yesterday night’. If |ḥSija| is definite by the prefix definite article |l| (ل) – |l@ḥSija| (لعشِيَّة) it will mean ‘tonight’ both in Jijel and Constantine. |Gdadak| (غَدَاك) to mean ‘next day’ or ‘the day after’ in the dialect of Jijel is said |nha:r m@mb@d| (نهار ممبعد) in Constantine, |Gdi m@ndak| (غْد منداك) in Jijel is used to mean ‘the day after the next’ or ‘two days later’. In Constantine it is said |jUmin m@mb@d| (يومين ممبعد). This does not mean that any of the given adverbs of time is better or worse than any other. That is, each Speech-Community has its own lexical items that refer to different referents that are part of the whole lexicon of that Speech-Community. The following are different lexical items which function as adverbs of time in the culture of the province of Jijel, and which do not necessarily exist in other Speech-communities:

- |@lju:m| (اليوم) ‘today’: |@lju:m t@bda tt@sZila:t f@lZa:miḥa| (اليوم تَبْدَ تَسْجِيلات (اليوم تَبْدَ تَسْجِيلات (اليوم) ‘the enrolments at the university start today’.
- |@lba:r@h0| (البارح) ‘yesterday’: |@lba:r@h0 ka:n rri:h0 b@zza:f| (البارح كان الرِيح (البارح) ‘yesterday there was a lot of wind’.
- |G@dUa| (غْدَوَة) ‘tomorrow’: |G@dUa nnha:r llUw@l taḥ ramda:n| (غْدَوَة النهار لَوَّل ناع (غْدَوَة النهار لَوَّل ناع ‘tomorrow is the first day of the fasting month’.
- |l@ḥSija| (لعشِيَّة) ‘tonight’: |l@ḥSija n@h0k@m l@tr2E l@ddzaj@r| (لعشِيَّة نحكم لتران (لعشِيَّة) ‘tonight I will take the train to Algiers’.

- |lka:jlɑ| (الكايّلة) ‘at noon’: |lka:jlɑ jw@s0IU m@lxa:r@Z| (لكايّلة يوصلو ملخارج) ‘they will arrive from abroad at noon’
- |@s0s0ba:h0| (الصّبّاح) ‘this morning’: |na:d0 b@kri @s0s0ba:h0 wxr@Z| (ناض بكري (الصّبّاح و خرّج) ‘he got up early this morning and went out’.
- |ns0a:f lli:l| (نصاف الليل) ‘midnight’: |xr@Z f@ns0a:f lli:l m@dda:r wra:h0 jdu:h0 |@bnU| (خرج فنصاف الليل مذار و راح يدوح على بنو) ‘he went out from home at midnight to look for his son’.
- |lli:la| (الليلة) ‘tonight’: |lli:la l@rs dja:IU| (الليلة العرس ديالو) ‘he will marry tonight’.
- |lli:la| (الليلة) ‘that night’: |lli:la hadi:k mSaw l@sbanja| (الليلة هديك مشلو لسبانيا) ‘they went to Spain that night’.
- |nha:r| (نهار) ‘when’: |kUnna fl@st0ad nha:r t0ah@t t0t0ijja:ra| (كنا فلسطينهار طاحت (طيارّة) ‘we were in the stadium when the plane crashed’.
- |nha:r| (نهار) ‘the day’ – used to indicate a day of the week – : |nha:r ss@bt| (نهار (نهار لتنين) ‘Saturday’, |nha:r lh0@dd| (نهار لحدّ) ‘Sunday’, |nha:r l@tni:n| (نهار لتنين) ‘Monday’, etc...
- |w@kt| (وكت) ‘the time of’: |w@kt l@Sa| (وكت لعشا) ‘dinner time’.
- |zman| (زمان) ‘ago / in the past’: |zman kanU nna:s jdirUha b@ttwiza| (زمان كانو الناس (يديروها بتويّزة) ‘in the past / some years ago people would do it by solidarity’.
- |b@kri| (بكري) ‘in the past’: |b@kri ka:n@t l@kraja |@ndha ki:ma kbira| (بكري كانت (لكراية عندها كيمة كبيرة) ‘in the past the school was very valuable’.
- |kbaj@l| (كبايل) ‘a short time ago’: |@kbaj@l b@rk Za:w m@ssu:k| (كبايل برك جاو (they came from the market only a short time ago) ‘مسوك’.
- |kbila| (كبيّلة) ‘a short time ago’: |@kbila bark kUnt t@mm| (كبيّلة برك كنت تمّ) ‘I was there only a short time ago’.

- |Zwa:j@h| (جوايه) ‘at about’: |w@s0lat l@dda:r Zwa:j@h lx@msa wn@s0s0| وصلت (she arrived home at about five thirty P.M’.
- |ʔa:m| (عام) ‘in the year of’: |tkU l xl@k fi ʔa:m SS@rr| (تقول خلك في عام الشتر) ‘as if he was born in the year of hunger’.
- |Shar| (شهر) ‘in the month of’: |Shar ramda:n @l ʔa:m hada jZi f@s0s0if| (شهر رمضان) ‘the fasting month is going to be in summer this year’.
- |@lʔi:d| (العيد) ‘the feast’: |f@lʔi:d nSaLLah nk@ssikUm| (فلعيد نشالته نكسيكم) ‘I will buy you some clothes in the feast God willing’.
- |@s0s0@bh0| (الصبح) ‘at dawn’: |nad0U f@s0s0@bh0 w ra:h0U jx@dmU| (ناضو) ‘they got up at dawn and went to work’.
- |saʔ:a saʔ:a| (ساعة ساعة) ‘from time to time’: |saʔ:a saʔ:a j@tG@dda:w lb@rra| (ساعة) ‘from time to time they have lunch outside’.
- |marra ʔla marra| (مرّة على مرّة) ‘from time to time’: |marra ʔla marra kanU jZi:w jzUrUna| (مرّة على مرّة كانوا يجيو يزورونا) ‘from time to time they would come to visit us’.
- |m@mbaʔd| (ممبعد) ‘after’: |ʔaw m@mbaʔd nZi| (أو ممبعد نجي) ‘I will come after’.
- |k@dda:m| (كدام) ‘before’: |hadi s0ra:t k@dda:m l@stikla:l| (هدي صرات كدام لستكلال) ‘this happened before independence’.
- |@lʔaSwa| (العشوة) ‘tonight’: |@lʔaSwa nrUh0U nzUru:h f@s0s0bita:r| (العشوة نروحو) ‘we will go and visit him in hospital tonight’.
- |n@s0s0 nha:r| (نصّ نهار) ‘half a day’: |n@s0s0 nha:r w@h0na nf@hnmU fi:h w ma h0abS j@fh@m| (نصّ نهار و حنا نفهمو فيه ومحبش يفهم) ‘we have been trying to make him understand for half a day but he did not want to understand’.
- |Gdada:k| (غدداك) ‘the next day’: |ba:tU b@lk@l f@l ʔas0ima w@Gdada:k mSa:w| (باتو بالكل فالعصمة و غدداك مشاو) ‘they all spent the night in the capital and the next day they left’.

- |Gdi m@nda:k| (غدي منداك) 'the day after the next': |ba:tU @nnha:r hada:k w@Gdada:k h0atta: Gdi m@nda:k baS ra:h0U| (باتو النهار هداك و غدداك حتى غدي منداك باش |we will meet around two o'clock before the stadium' (تعال) 'around': |n@tlaka:w twa:l ssa;tin k@ddam l@st0ad| (نتلكاو توال الساعتين كدام لسطاد)
- |twa:l| (توال) 'around': |n@tlaka:w twa:l ssa;tin k@ddam l@st0ad| (نتلكاو توال الساعتين كدام لسطاد)
- |twa:j@l| (توايل) 'around': |n@tlaka:w twa:j@l ssa;tin k@ddam l@st0ad| (نتلكاو توايل الساعتين كدام لسطاد)
- |t0ja:b @rr@mma:n| (طياب الرمان) 'towards the end of September': |f@t0ja:b @rr@mma:n taxraZ @ssxa:na kt@r m@n ta:; s0s0i:f| (فطياب الرمان تخرج السخانة اكثر من 'towards the end of September it will be hotter than summer' (تاع الصيف)
- |l@GSa:t| (لغشاة) 'end of summer and beginning of autumn' – a period where it is generally very hot': |ha:dU hUma ljjam tta:; l@GSa:t| (هادو هما ليّام تّاع لغشاة) 'these are the hottest days of the year'.
- |bi:n| (بين) 'between': |bi:n @l;i:d w@l i:i:d kaj@n Sahrin w ;aSr jja:m| (بين العيد و العيد بين the two feasts there are two months and ten days' (بين كايين شهرين و عشر ايام)
- |wra| (ورا) 'behind / after': |da:jm@n j@tG@ddaw wra s0la:t lZUmU; a| (دايماً يتغداو ورا صلاة الجمعة) 'they always have lunch after Friday's prayer'.
- |f@llaxxar| (فلخر) 'at the end': |f@llaxxar dd@l ;a:m lka rUhU xa:s@r| (فلخر الدّ لعام لكى روجو خاسر) 'at the end of the year he found out that he had no profit'.

Some of the above adverbs may serve for both time and place – they can be understood only within context. These are:

- |bi:n| (بين) 'between': |bi:n ssa;tin w@ttla:ta nku:n f@dda:r| (بين الساعتين و الثلاثة تكون 'I will be home between two and three o'clock' |bi:n| here is an adverb of time.

- |bi:n @l bUst0a w@l banka t@lka dda:r tta:ɣU| (بين البوسطة و البانكة تلكى الذار تاعو) 'his house is between the post-office and the bank', |bi:n| here is an adverb of place.
- |k@dda:m| (كدام) 'before / in front of': |ws0al nas0s0 sa:ɣa k@ddam @l matS| (وُصل نصّ ساعة كدام الماتش) 'he arrived half an hour before the match'. |k@dda:m| here is an adverb of time.
- |ka:nU js@knU k@dda:m @l Za:m@| (كانو يسكنو كدام الجامع) 'they used to live in front of the mosque', |k@dda:m| here is an adverb of place.
- |wra| (ورا) 'behind /after': |xraZ m@dda:r wra l@ft0u:r| (خرج مدار ورا لفظور) 'he went out after breakfast', |wra| here is an adverb of time.
- |kɣad wra lh0it0 wj@ssanna| (كعد ورا لحيط و يستى) 'he sat behind the wall and waited'. |wra| here is an adverb of place.
- |f@llaxxar| (فلخر) 'at the end': |@rramma:n tta:jt0i:b f@llaxxar ta:ɣ s0s0i:f| (الرمّان تى يطيب فلخر تاع الصيف) 'pomegranate ripens by the end of summer', |llaxxar| here is an adverb of time.
- |ka:nU da:jm@n jh0abbU jkaɣdU f@llaxxar ddlaklas| (كانو دايماً يحبو يكعدو فلخر د لكالاس) 'they would always prefer to sit at the back of the class'. |l@xxar| here is an adverb of place.
- |twa:l| (توال) 'around / towards': |bda:w twa:l @ss@tta| (بداو توال الستة) 'they started around six o'clock', |twa:l| here is an adverb of time.
- |ddi SafUha ka:lU ra:h0@t twa:l @lmat0a:r| (دّي شافوها كالو راحت توال المطار) 'those who saw her said she went towards the airport'. |twa:l| here is an adverb of place
- |m@mbaɣd| (ممبعد) 'after': |m@mbaɣd l@mtih0a:n rah0U jl@ɣbU lba:lU| (ممبعد لمتحان راحو يلعبو لبالو) 'after the examination they went to play foot-ball'. |m@mbaɣd| here is an adverb of time.

- |m@mba;d ttakwi:n lmihani talka ssbit0a:r| (مبعد التكوين المهني تلى السيطار) 'the hospital is after the professional formation centre'. |m@;mba;d| here is an adverb of place.

4.2.19 The Lexical Set of ‘once’

Set number nineteen contains the words |marra| (مرة), |xat0ra| (خطرة), |h0@lmarra| (حلمرة), |h0@lxat0ra| (حلخطرة), |h0@d0d0arba| (حضربة). They all mean ‘once’. The most rejected words are:

1) |h0@d0d0arba| (حضربة): This word is rejected because of the prefix |h0a| which functions as a determiner, and which is – as has been said in chapter three – highly stigmatized. It is also rejected on the basis that in the speech of the Constantinians |d0arba| means ‘a punch’ and, thus, has nothing to do with ‘once’ as the set suggests. But, as opposed to what ordinary people believe, if you open any Arabic dictionary you will find out that the word |d0arba| means |xat0ra| and they both meet in the meaning of ‘once’ or ‘punch’. Take, for example, |xat0arat fikratUn biba:li| (خَطَرَتْ فِكرَةً بِيَالِي) ‘an idea came to my mind’, which may also be said |d0arabat fikratUn biba:li| (ضَرَبَتْ فِكرَةً بِيَالِي) ‘an idea came to my mind’. This expression is used in dialectal Arabic |d0arb@t fiba:li| (ضربتُ في بالي) or |d0arb@t fira:si| (ضربتُ في راسي) ‘it came to my mind’.

As has been said before, the sound |d0| (ض) is reduced to |t0| (ط) for easiness in the dialect of Jijel. |h0@d0d0arba| is, thus, said |h0@t0t0arba| (حالطربة) but in the sense of ‘problem’. When a Jijel dialect speaker says |d@t0t0arba| (دَ الطَّرْبَة) , he or she definitely does not mean ‘punch’ or ‘once’, but ‘it is a problem!’. |d@t0t0arba| is equivalent to |d@mmQs0iba| (دَمَّوَصِيْبَة) which, in turn, means ‘it is a problem’. In cursing expressions as in |@LLah ja;t0i:k t0arba| (الله يعطيك طربة) ‘may God cause you a trouble’ and |t@nt0rab| (تنطرب) ‘may God cause you a trouble’, the words |t0arba| and |t@nt0rab| relate to problems and to troubles rather than to anything else. When someone behaves badly or aggressively people say |waS t0arb@k| (واش طربك) ‘what happened to you?’ in the sense that what the person is doing is not right at all.

In the context of argumentation people use the expression |w@LLah majZi:b fi:ha t0arba| (و الله ما يجيب فيها طربة) ‘I swear by the name of Allah that he knows nothing’; the word |t0arba| in this context is associated only with the verb |j@r@f| (يعرف) ‘to know’. An equivalent expression is that which says |wLLah mja;r@f fi:ha wa:lU| (و الله ما يعرف) ‘I swear by the name of God that he knows nothing’. The verb |j@t0rab| (يطرب) is used in the sense of falling and it is associated, in that case, only with ‘snow’ or ‘rain’. For example |j@t0rab @tt@lZ| (يطرب الثلج) ‘the snow is falling’ or ‘it is snowing’, or |t@t0rab nnU| (تطرب التو) ‘the rain is falling’ or ‘it is raining’. All these expressions are unknown to the Constantine Speech Community, and, of course, the unknown is always rejected.

In Standard Arabic, such expressions as |xat0ara biba:li fi: xat0atin mina lxa0ara:t faqUmtU bi;amali kaDa:| (خطر ببالي في خطرة من الخطرات فقلت بعمل كذا) to mean ‘an idea once came to my mind and I did such and such’ are very much heard. |xat0ara| is also used in poetry to mean ‘once’ or ‘sometimes’ as in the verse:

(خطرت خطرةً على القلب من ذك
راك وهنأ فما استطعت مضياً)

(Ibn Fares, in Muûgem Fisah El Ammia)

|xat0arat xat0rat@n ;ala: lqalbi min Dikra:ki wahn@n fama: stat0a;tU mUd0ajjan|

‘The idea of remembering you sometimes comes to my heart, weakens me and makes me unable to go on my way’. In ‘Lisan El Arab’ (Ibn mandur) it means time, e.g., |wa ma: ?aDhabU hUna:ka illa: xatrat@n ba;da xat0atin| (و ما أذهب هناك إلا خطرةً بعد خطرة) ‘I only go there from time to time’.

|h0ad0d0arba|, thus, is used in the sense of |xat0ara| and |marra| ‘once’ and in the sense of ‘punch’ – Standard Arabic speakers say |xatara @l ba;i:rU s0a:h0ibahU biDanabihi| (خطر البعير صاحبه بذنبه) ‘the camel stroke his owner with his tail’ and |d0araba @l ba;i:rU s0a:h0ibahU biDanabihi| (ضرب البعير صاحبه بذنبه) ‘the camel stroke his owner with his

tail' exchangeably. From these words, one can draw the conclusion that any word, be it Standard or Dialectal, prefixed with |h0a| is stigmatized and rejected by Algerians in general and Constantinians in particular. It should be mentioned, however, that the word |marra| (مرّة) and not |h0@lmarra| (حالمرّة) – without the feature |h0a| (ح) – is used in the dialect of Jijel to mean 'never' or 'at all', e.g., |makraS marra| (ماكراش مرّة) 'he has never been to school', or |marUh0tS marra| (ماروحتش مرّة) 'I did not go at all'. In some other speech communities in the province of Jijel people say |ddi marra| (دّي مرّة), e.g., |marUh0tS ddi marra| (ماروحتش دّي مرّة) 'I did not go at all'. Some others say |xla:s0| (خِلاص), e.g., |marUh0tS xla:s0| (ماروحتش خِلاص) 'I did not go at all'. Others say |mmarrah| (مَرّه), e.g., |marUh0tS mmarrah| (ماروحتش مَرّه) 'I did not go at all'. |xat0ra| (خَطرة) and |marra| (مرّة) are equally used in the community of Constantine to mean 'once'. In the community of Jijel |xat0ra| means 'not ripe'. That is, the signifier is the same in the two communities but the signified is different – the relation between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary.

4.2.20 The Lexical Set of 'jump'

Set number twenty comprises the words |k@ff@z| (كفّر), |@kf@z| (أكفّر), |n@gg@z| (نقّر), |n@kk@z| (نكّر), |s0Ut0i| (صوطي). They all mean 'jump'. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |n@kk@z| (نكّر): This word is from the standard Arabic word |naqaza| (نَقَزَ) which means 'to jump'. It is a characteristic of the dialect of Jijel to convert the sound |q| (ق) into |k| (ك) and, thus, |naqaza| (نَقَزَ) is converted into |n@kk@z| (نكّر) – the q-sound is converted into |k| (ك) and the suffix short vowel |a| is deleted in the dialect.

- 2) |k@ff@z| (كفّز): According to Elbustani (a great Arab linguist) the Arabs use |@l qamz| (القمز) in the sense of |@lqams0| which both mean |@l qafz| (القفز) ‘jumping’. For the sake of adaptation, the Jijel speakers have converted the sound |q| in |qafaza| into |k| and deleted the suffix short vowel |a| to adapt with the dialectal Arabic used in the province of Jijel. These words are still used in the Middle East in such expressions as |qamas0a lfaras0| (قمص الفرس), |qamaza lfaras0| (قمز الفرس), |qafaza lfaras0| (قفز الفرس) when the horse raises its front legs together.
- 3) |@kf@z| (أكفز) Is the same as |k@ff@z| with a slight deformation – the prefix |?a| (أ) is borrowed from the neighbouring Berber dialect.

In the Constantine speech community |n@gg@z| (نقّز) is used. Again, like |n@kk@z|, it comes from Standard Arabic |naqaza| and is adapted to the variety used in the province of Constantine which is characterized by the use of the g-sound instead of |q|. This type of adaptation is – of course – part of the inventory system of the speakers. |s0Ut0i| (صوطني) is borrowed from French and applies to the same rules of adaptability where it becomes part of the Algerian Arabic Lexicon. The majority of such borrowed words are not evaluated by speakers; they are neither positive nor negative. The informants’ respondings are a vivid illustration of that – none of them rated it.

4.2.21 The Lexical Set of ‘maize’

Set number twenty one contains the words |?afUZa:l| (أفوجال), |@l mastUra| (المستورة), |@l b@Sna| (البشنة). They all mean ‘maize’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |?afUZa:l| (أفوجال): This word is shaped on Berber words. A considerable number of Berber words are prefixed with |?a| (أ), for example, |?asala:l| (أسلال) ‘rolling pin’, |?akalla:l| (أكلال) ‘earthenware’, |?aGla:d| (أغلاد) ‘low land’, |?aZra:d| (أجراد) ‘grass

hopper’, |?absa:t0| (أبساط) ‘mat’, |?ahra:w| (أهراو) ‘stick’ etc. Most of these Berber words – if not all them – are taken from Standard Arabic and adapted to the Berber lexicon character. For example, |?absa:t| in Berber is |@l bisa:t| (البساط) in Arabic, |?aZra:d| is |@l Zara:d| (الجراد), |?aGla:d| is |@l Gala:d| (الغلاذ), |?ahra:w| is |@l hara:wa| (الهرأوة) etc. Many other Berber words of different shapes have a root in common with Arabic but are adapted to the Berber morphological system. Consider the following examples:

Berber words

- |?azqa:q| (أزقاق) ‘alley’
- |?ah0Zu:r| (أحجور) ‘stone’
- |?asaqi| (أساقي) ‘canal’
- |?ast0UI| (أسطول) ‘bucket’
- |?akbUS| (أكبوش) ‘male sheep’
- |?aktUf| (أكتوف) ‘shoulder’
- |?arZUI| (أرجل) ‘the leg’

Arabic words

- |@zziqa:q| (الزقاق) ‘alley’
- |@l h0aZra| (الحجرة) ‘stone’
- |@ssa:qia| (الساقية) ‘canal’
- |@ss@t0I| (السطل) ‘bucket’
- |@l k@bS| (الكبش) ‘male sheep’
- |@l k@tf| (الكتف) ‘shoulder’
- |@rriZl| (الرَّجْل) ‘the leg’.

Similarly several Berber words have a root in common with words of the Jijel variety with a neat adaptation to the Berber morphological system. The following are the same words with slight differences at the level of morph:

Berber Dialect words

- |?amUzna:k| (أمزناك) ‘path’
- |?am@tta:k| (أمثاك) ‘small gate’
- |?amaz@l| (أمازل) ‘jar for churning milk’
- |?akaḡa:d| (أكعاد) ‘skep’
- |?at@na:j| (أنتاي) ‘sieve’
- |?axaLLa:s0| (أخلاص) ‘sieve’

Arabic Dialect words

- |@l mUznaka| (المزناكة) ‘path’
- |@l m@ttaka| (المتكة) ‘small gate’
- |@l mazla| (المزلة) ‘jar for churning milk’
- |@l kaḡa:da| (الكعادة) ‘skep’
- |@ttanna:ja| (التناية) ‘sieve’
- |@l xaLLa:s0a| (الخلاصة) ‘sieve’

Notice that the Berber and the Jijel words are the same except that the former are prefixed with the item |?a| (أ) which is typically Berber, while the latter are prefixed with the item |@l| (ال) which is typically Arabic. Notice also that the Berber words are characterized by being masculine while the Arabic words are characterized by being feminine – the suffix |?a| indicates that.

- 2) |@l m@stUra| (المستورة): It is used in the Eastern regions of Algeria. It has penetrated the Constantinian speech because of the lack of geographical barriers between Constantine and the Eastern provinces which has made contact between them easy, though, in fact, the Constantinians use |@l b@Sna| (البشنة) which is purely Arabic – a glance at any Arabic dictionary will show that.

4.2.22 The Lexical Set of ‘come down’

Set number twenty two contains the words |h@ww@d| (هوّد), |@hb@t0| (أهبط), |@nz@l| (أنزل), |h0@dd@r| (حتر). They all mean ‘come down’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |h@ww@d| (هوّد): This word might have originated from Standard Arabic |h@ww@d| (هوّد) which means to walk slowly. Maybe it was first used to refer to someone who had to go down a dangerous descent and, therefore, had to descend slowly and then it has been generalized to cover any process of going down. |h@ww@d| is known in the Constantine Speech Community but is not used.
- 2) |h0@dd@r| (حتر): |h0@dd@r| is also Standard Arabic. It is very much used in the Eastern regions of Algeria. It is more used in Standard Arabic than |h@ww@d|.

The speakers of Constantine use |@hb@t0| which is purely Classical Arabic. The Quran is the best evidence of that. God almighty says in Sourah El Bakara sign (32) |waqUlna: @hbit0U: ba;d0UkUm liba;d0in ;adUw wa lakUm fil?ard0i mUstaqarrUn wamata:;Un ?ila: h0i:n| (وَقُلْنَا اهْبِطُوا بَعْضُكُمْ لِبَعْضٍ عَدُوٌّ وَلَكُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مُسْتَقَرٌّ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ) ‘and we said: « get you all down, with enmity between yourselves, and on earth will be your dwelling place and your means of livelihood for a time »’. He also says in Sourah El Bakara sign (38) |qUlna: @hbit0u: minha: Zamih@n| (قُلْنَا اهْبِطُوا مِنْهَا جَمِيعًا) ‘we said: « get you down all from here »’. But no such words as |h@wwidu:| (هَوِّدُوا), |h0@ddiru:| (حَدِّرُوا), |@nzilu:| (انزَلُوا) which are all synonyms to |@hbit0u:| (اهْبِطُوا) are used in the Holy Quran.

4.2.23 The Lexical Set of ‘two’

Set number twenty three contains the items |zu:Z| (زوج), |Zu:z| (جوز), |tni:n| (تنين), |Tni:n| (تنين). They all mean ‘two’. (See chapter 3).

4.2.24 The Lexical Set of ‘car’

Set number twenty four is composed of the words |@t0t0QmUbi:l| (الطَّوموبِيل), |@ttUmUbi:l| (التَّوموبِيل), |@ssijara| (السَّيَّارَة), |@l k@rrUs0s0a| (الكَرَّوسَة). They all mean ‘car’. The most rejected words are:

- 1) |@ttUmUbi:l| (التَّوموبِيل): |@t0t0QmUbi:l| and |@ttUmUbi:l| are the same words except that the former is emphatic but the latter is not. But because the dialect of Jijel is characterized by being non-emphatic, |@ttUmUbi:l| – a non-emphatic word – has been completely rejected by the informants. This confirms the hypothesis that any item part of the Jijel dialect is highly stigmatized (see chapter 3 for more details).

|@t0t0QmUbi:l| and |@ttUmUbi:l| are borrowed from French and are phonologically, morphologically and systematically adapted to the variety they are used in. In the West of Algeria only the first half of the word |Qt0Q| (أوطو) – is borrowed from the French language, prefixed with |@l| (ال) – the Arabic definite article – to suit the Algerian Arabic dialect and said |@LLQt0Q| (اللوّطو). Some other speech communities in the west of Algeria have been influenced by Spanish and have borrowed the term |@lkarrUsa| (الكروّسه) instead. In the dialect of Jijel |@lkarrUsa| means ‘wheelchair’ or ‘pram’.

4.2.25 The Lexical Sets of ‘oil’, ‘fear’, ‘hospital’

Sets number twenty five, twenty six, and twenty seven are meant to join the idea that class dialects do not exist, or almost do not exist, in Algeria. The only marker of the upper-class in the region of Constantine is the pronunciation of the long vowels |i:| and |u:| |j| in such words as |@zzi:t| (الزّيّت) ‘oil’, |@lbi:t| (البيّت) ‘room’, |@lxu:f| (الخُوف) ‘fear’, |@rru:z| (الرّوز) ‘rice’, |@ssbi:t0a:r| (السّبيطار) ‘hospital’ etc. All informants have confirmed that those who say |@zzeit|, |@lbeit|, |@lxaUf|, |@ssbait0a:r| – i.e., with diphthongs instead of vowels belong to the upper class people who consider themselves the ‘originals’ – ‘El Beldia’ – to use their term. The result of the task performed on these performants has shown that the speakers of the Constantine dialect do not want to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population – none of the informants has used the diphthong to categorize himself or herself.

It should be stated that |@zzi:t|, |@l bi:t|, |@l xu:f|, |@rru:z|, |@ssbi:t0a:r|, i.e., with the use of the long vowel, are dialectal, whereas |@zzeit|, |@l beit|, |@l xaUf|, |@rraUz|, |@ssbait0a:r|, i.e., with the use of diphthongs, are standard. The significance of

this chapter is to prove that the most rejected and unknown words belong to the dialect of Jijel.

Conclusion

The informants asked in this study show a total rejection of some words which are typical to the dialect of Jijel. This rejection is not due, as might be assumed, to their being unknown, but rather to their being different from their own dialect's words and, therefore, odd and ugly. The investigation has shown that the rejected lexical items are known by the representative informants because of permanent contact with the out-group speakers; yet, their use has remained a source of fun and laughter.

The purpose of this chapter, thus, has been descriptive and comparative to show that the stigmatised items do not display any phonological, structural, or functional deficiencies, but are rejected on some cultural, social, and psychological aspects. In other words, it is not the words themselves which are actually given negative attitudes, but the users of those words. This is only because any words of any language, or variety of a language, are no more than just signs which refer to things, objects, or ideas in an arbitrary way.

Chapter V

Set of Structures and Question Markers

In grammar there are parts which pertain to all languages; these components form what is called the general grammar... In addition to these general (universal parts) there are those which belong only to one particular language; and these constitute the particular grammars of each language.

(Du Marsais)

Introduction

People tend to rate speakers on a series of qualities, and analyses are often made of differential ratings of these speakers when speaking languages different from theirs. One of the most interesting results of sociolinguists is that many people are ready to judge others on the basis of only limited speech samples.

In England, such a structure as ‘it is I who am mistaken’ in contrast with ‘it’s me who is mistaken’ is considered to be the speech of literate people. Similarly, such question markers as ‘to whom’ as opposed to ‘to who’ are considered more Standard in that they ask for an object – and, thus, take the objective form – and not for a subject.

In much the same way, the purpose of this chapter is to display the findings of a task which show that people are ready to prefer a given structure to another and a question marker to another, and to show at the same time that the different ways of interrogating and negating sentences do not exhibit any beautiful or ugly side of any of the ways. To be more exact, the aim of this chapter is to give ample evidence that linguistically speaking such structures as |?ani gaç@d n@smaç| (اني قاعد نسمع) ‘I am listening’ are not at all better than |kin@smaç| (كنسمع) ‘I am listening’, and such question markers as |d0@rk| (ضرك) ‘now’ are not more pleasant than |d@lw@k| (دلوك) ‘now’. The chapter, thus, will be

divided into two main sections: the first will deal with structures and the second with question markers.

5.1 The Set of Structures

There is no language without negatives, imperatives, or interrogatives, and above all without affirmatives. They all exist in the same and unique way, but expressed in different ways. That is, the notions are the same in all languages of the world but the elements which express them differ from one language to another. This difference provides a means for describing the elements of all languages in a universal way for, in reality, there is only one human language and that the huge number of the languages we hear are no more than variations of only one theme. For Chomsky (1965), there are no square verbs and round verbs, there are no coloured nouns and black and white nouns. Simply there are verbs and nouns. The universality behind that comes from the evidence that our ability to acquire language is innate, and the basic elements are the same: consonants and vowels, nouns and verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and so on. Of course there are some differences from language to language as in saying, for instance, that the sound |D| is part of the sound system of the English language, but is not part of that of the French language.

Similarly there are differences in, for instance, negating sentences at the level of form though the notion is the same. Obviously strings like 'negation I speak German' are quite understood, but are not accepted by the native speakers of English. The idea of negation is, thus, expressed by the element 'not' in English, 'ne pas' in French, |la:| (لا) in Arabic and so on. That is, the notion of negation is the same in all languages of the world, but the element which expresses it differs from one language to another. This relationship between the notion and the element can best be understood by means of the following analogy:

– A president, for example, is invited to attend a meeting. The president cannot attend that meeting for some reason or another, and sends his prime minister to represent him. Once in the meeting, can we say that the prime minister is himself president? The answer is certainly no. He is there only to represent the president.

Similarly, the element ‘not’, for instance, is not the negation within itself, but it is there just to represent negation (‘not’ is an element of language and ‘negation’ is a notion in mind).

In what follows I will try to show that expressing such universal properties as negations and questions in different ways does not relate to ‘pretty’ or ‘ugly’ languages but is just a natural way of saying things according to the nature and characteristics of the language they pertain to. This will be done via results of a task performed on the population of Constantine where twenty informants representing the community of Constantine have been given sets of structures, and different question markers with the same meaning. These sets contain elements from the dialects of Jijel and Constantine as well as some other elements from elsewhere. The informants are asked to tell which of the elements they would reject.

The aim of this task is to confirm the hypothesis that the most rejected elements are those which are part of the Jijel dialect. This hypothesis has been built on mere observations and experiences of the twenty five years I have spent in the City of Constantine, and of my being native of Jijel. That is, this study is not really scientific as much as it is just empirical. Yet, I will do my best to be as objective as can be in my argumentation to be fair towards a City which has hosted me for more than twenty years, and a region to which I have the feeling of homesickness.

The selection of the first set performed in this task has not been done at random, but on the basis of different ways of negating sentences in Algerian Arabic. I have noticed that the Algerian speaker uses at least three different types of negating sentences:

- 1) The verb in the sentence is negated.
- 2) The subject in the sentence is negated.
- 3) The whole process in the sentence is negated.

In the first case the speaker negates the sentence by negating the verb, e.g., |maZajS| (ما جايش) 'I am not coming'; in the second case the speaker negates the sentence by negating the subject, e.g., |ma:niS Za:j| (مانيش جاي) 'I am not coming'; in the third case the speaker negates the sentence by negating the whole process – both the subject and the verb are negated, e.g., |ma:Sni Za:j| (ماشني جاي) 'I am not coming'.

Notice that in all cases the notion of negation is marked by the elements |ma:| (ما) and |S| (ش). |ma:| is from Standard Arabic which precedes past tense verbs and future tense verbs to convert them from affirmative to negative forms. For example, |?akala| (أكل) 'he ate', |Dahaba| (ذهب) 'he went', |sa?ala| (سأل) 'he asked', |Zalasa| (جلس) 'he sat' which are affirmative past tense verbs. To convert them into negative past tense verbs the Arab speaker precedes them with |ma:| to become |ma: ?akala| (ما أكل) 'he did not eat', |ma: Dahaba| (ما ذهب) 'he did not go', |ma: sa?ala| (ما سأل) 'he did not ask', |ma: Zalasa| (ما جلس) 'he did not sit' respectively.

In dialectal Arabic the element |S| (ش) is inserted at the end of the verb to become |ma: klaS| (ما كلاش) 'he did not eat', |ma: DhabS| (ما ذهبش) 'he did not go' – generally said |ma: rah0S| (ما راحش) because the verb |Dhab| (ذهب) 'went' sounds more Standard than dialectal –, |ma: s?alS| (ما سألش) 'he did not ask', |ma: ZlasS| (ما جلسش) 'he did not sit' – generally said |ma: q;adS| (ما قعدش) because the verb |Zlas| (جلس) 'sat' sounds more Standard than dialectal. The element |ma:| (ما) is one of the basic elements used for

negation in Arabic; the element |S| (ش) is an element used for negation but in dialectal Arabic only. It might have come from the item |Sei?| (شيء) ‘nothing’ in Standard Arabic as in |ma: ?akala Sei?| (ما أكلَ شيء) ‘he ate nothing’. But if we look deeper at this element |S| (ش) in dialectal Arabic we will perceive that it does not really mean |Sei?| (شيء) ‘nothing’ as much as it means a negation emphasis – it supports the idea of negation. Another evidence which shows that it is used to emphasize the notion of negation is its coinage with the element |ma:| to give only one word in different varieties of Arabic as in |ma:S Za:z| (ماش جاي) ‘not coming’, |ma:Si Za:z| (ماشى جاي), |mUS Za:z| (مُش جاي), |miS Za:z| (مِش جاي) which all mean ‘not coming’.

The same thing applies to the negating of future tense verbs. The Arab speaker says |ma: j@?kUl| (ما يأكل) ‘he will not eat’, |ma: j@Dhab| (ما يذهب) ‘he will not go’, |ma: j@s?al| (ما يسأل) ‘he will not ask’, |ma: j@Zlis| (ما يجلس) ‘he will not sit’. In different varieties of Arabic people say |ma: jakalS| (ما يكلش) ‘he will not eat’, |ma:j@DhabS| (ما يذهبش) ‘he will not go’ – generally said |ma: jrUhOS| (ما يروحش) for the same reason cited above, |ma: j@s?alS| (ما يسألش) ‘he will not ask’, |ma: j@ZlasS| (ما يجلسش) – generally said |ma: j@q?adS| (ما يقعدش) to sound more dialectal, and, thus, more appropriate than |ma: j@ZlasS| (ما يجلسش) ‘he will not sit’.

Such different ways of negation are found in all languages of the world. If we take, for instance, the affirmative English sentence:

- ‘I speak German’, we will notice that in old English it is negated some way, and in Modern English it is negated some other way. None of the ways is better than the other but this just relates to language change and development and to how languages function. In old English the sentence is negated as:

- ‘I speak not German’, i.e., only the element ‘not’ which expresses the idea of negation in English is inserted, while in Modern English it is negated as:

- 'I do not speak German'. The auxiliary 'do' is, in fact, meaningless; it is there only to support the tense. This is why Chomsky calls it 'do-support'; it has nothing to do with negation.

According to Chomsky (1965), simple declarative sentences, to which he gave the term 'Kernel sentences' are the base in any language, and then everything turns around them, i.e., all other types of sentences – non kernel –, to which he gave the term 'transforms', are derived from the kernel sentence. For example, before generating (a term used by Chomsky to mean producing) any negative sentence, for instance, the speaker first produces the kernel sentence and then such ideas as: 'I am going to convert this kernel sentence into a negative one' turn up in his mind. For example, to convert 'I will write a letter' into the negative form we first have the idea of negation in mind before we actualize it. This idea is an abstract notion which requires some linguistic rules – grammatical rules – to be converted into the actual form in speech or writing. These rules, which are called by Chomsky 'transformational rules', vary from one language to another. The abstract notion of negation concerning our example can be represented in the following diagram:

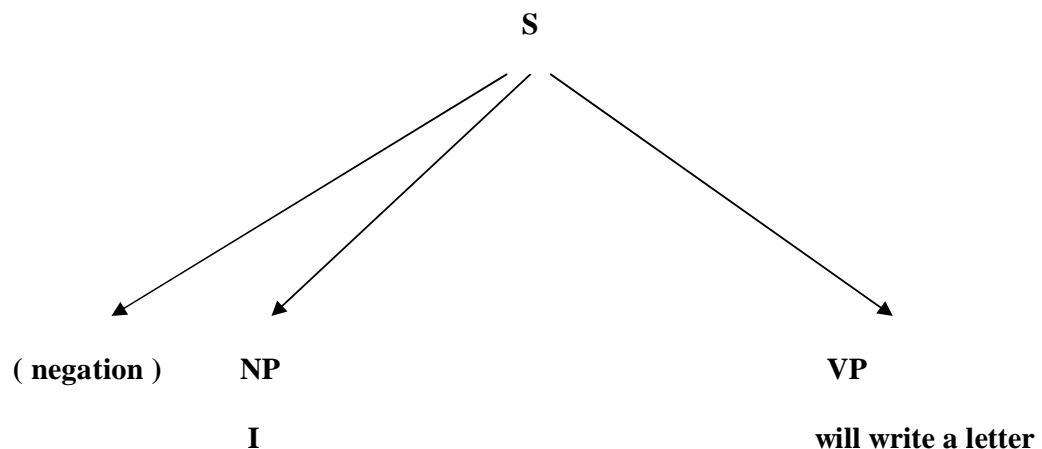


Diagram 1: **Deep Structure Representation**

Notice that the kernel sentence is there, with the idea of negation. The transformational rule to generate a well-formed negative sentence replaces the abstract idea

of negation by the element 'not' and puts it between the auxiliary and the verb as can be represented in the following diagram:

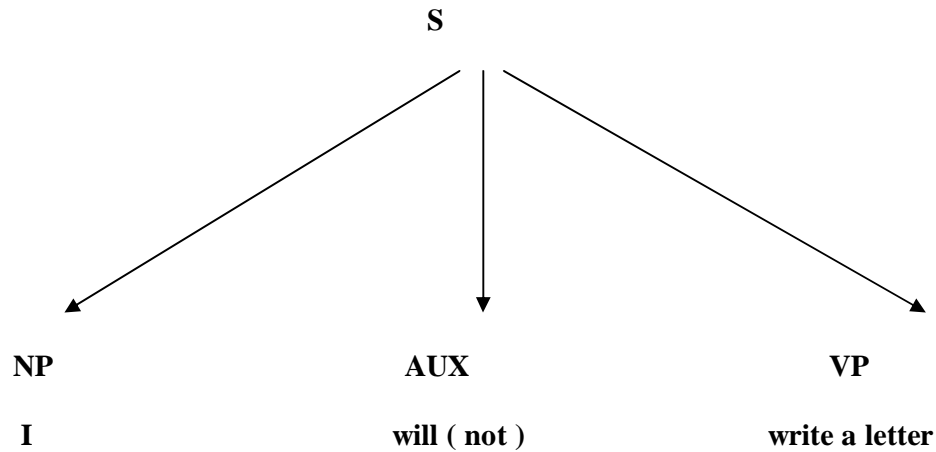


Diagram 2: **Surface Structure Representation**

This rule could have shifted the element ‘not’ to insert it at the end of the sentence and, thus, obtain: ‘I will write a letter not’, but each language has got its specificities that cannot be discussed – they are accepted by the speakers of that language as such. Other languages – French, Arabic, Chinese etc, have got their own rules and no one has the right to discredit them.

Such structural differences vary from one language to another and no logic or what so ever can control them. That is, much of language, including the basic sound-meaning relations, word order, morphological constructions, is a matter of arbitrariness and convention, for example, English favours the word order ‘I like them’, other languages like Japanese favour ‘I them like’, and yet others like Arabic favour ‘like I them’, and there is no scientific or linguistic base to say, for instance, that the S.V.O structure is better than S.O.V or V.S.O or vice versa. Even within languages having the same structures there are different ways of saying things depending on how the system of each language functions. Consider the following lined up sentences taken from two S.O.V structure languages – French and English:

French

- Je parle l'Anglais couramment.
- Je parle couramment l'Anglais.

English

- I speak English fluently.
- *I speak fluently English.

Although these sentences fall into the same word order, still 'I speak fluently English' is not accepted as a well-formed English sentence. This is clear evidence that languages are far beyond classification and that they are not a matter isolated items, nor are they a dictionary. Consider some other examples taken from one language – English:

- I asked what the time was.
- I wondered what the time was
- I asked the time.
- *I wondered the time.

Notice that *'I wondered the time' is measured on 'I asked the time' which is, in turn, measured on the other two sentences, yet, for no apparent reason, it is not accepted as a well – formed English sentence. This accounts for the fact that each language of the world has its own 'phrase-structure' rules and that all languages of the world have words arranged in a hierarchical structure understood by conventions. In French, for instance, adjectives usually come after nouns in noun phrases as in:

- Une orange sucrée.

In English, adjectives usually come before nouns in noun phrases as in:

- A sweet orange. Thus, 'an orange sweet' is not accepted because it does not fall into the phrase-structure rule of the English language.

In much the same way, I will try in this chapter to introduce sets of different structures having the same meaning and, at once, I will try to show that they equally fulfil the same purposeful communicative aim. To achieve this objective, I have departed from

hypothesizing that people tend to evaluate other people's speech and prefer some structures to some other ones. To be more precise, I have hypothesized that the structures belonging to the dialect of Jijel are the ones which are likely to be rejected more by the population of Constantine for the reasons cited in the first chapter. Sets of structures, hence, have been given to informants from Constantine who were asked to tell which of the structures they would reject. The results were not at all surprising; the majority of structures rated negatively belong to the 'disliked' dialect of Jijel (See table 2).

5.2 The Rejected Structures

5.2.1 The Structure Set of 'I am not going'

The first set contains the structures: |ma: raj@h0S| (ما رايحش), |ma:niS ra:j@h0| (ما ماشني رايح). They all mean 'I am not going'. The most rejected structures are:

1) |ma:Sni ra:j@h0| (ماشني رايح): The most important element in this negative sentence is the element |ma:| (ما) which serves as a trigger to negate both Standard and dialectal Arabic sentences all over the Arab world. In most varieties of Arabic, as opposed to the Standard, the element |S| (ش) is associated with |ma:|, or the subject, or the verb to support the idea of negation. But before involving ourselves in the analysis of these items, it should be useful to give an idea about the Standard Arabic elements of negation and how they function. According to Sibawaih (1983), the most widely used elements of negation in the Standard are: |ma:| (ما), |la:| (لا), |leisa| (ليس), |l@m| (لم), |lama:| (لما), |l@n| (لن). Each of these elements is used to fulfil a specific purpose in a given context which another element may fail to do. For example, the element |l@n| (لن) precedes a future tense verb but not a past tense one. Conversely, the element |lama:| (لما) precedes a past tense verb but not a future tense one. Here are some examples of how these elements are used in Standard Arabic:

–|ma:| (ما): |wa ma: qatalu:hU wa ma: s0alabu:hU wala:kin SUbbiha lahUm| Sourah En-nisaa sign (157) (و ما قتلوه و ما صلبوه و لكن شئبه لهم) ‘but they did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, but it just appeared to them so’.

|ma: ka:na qas0di: ?@n ?UGd0ibak| (ما كان قصدي أن أغضبك) ‘I did not mean to anger you’.

–|la:| (لا): |la: taqu:lu: ra:ḡina: wa qu:lu: @nD0Urna: w@smaḡu:| Sourah El Bakara sign (104) (لا تقولوا راعنا و قولوا انظرنا واسمعوا) ‘do not say words of ambiguous import, but words of respect and listen’.

|?inna @l mU?mina la: jUldaGU mina lZUh0ri marratein| (إنّ المؤمن لا يُدغ من الجحر مرتين) ‘A believer cannot be tricked twice’.

–|leisa| (ليس): |leisa lahUm t0aḡa:mUn ?illa min d0ari:ḡ| Sourah |@l Ga:Sija| sign (6) (ليس لهم طعام إلا من ضريع) ‘no food will there be for them but a bitter Dhari’.

|leisa lahU siwa: waladUn wa:h0id| (ليس له سوى ولد واحد) ‘He has only one child’.

–|l@m| (لم): |ḡallama l?insa:na ma: l@m j@ḡl@m| Sourah El Alak, sign (5) (علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم) ‘He taught man what he did not know’.

|l@m jaqUl Sei?an fil ?iZtima:ḡ| (لم يقل شيئاً في الاجتماع) ‘he did not say anything in the meeting’.

–|lama:| (لما): |l@wla: nazala ha:D@ lmat0arU lama: ka:na hUna:ka naba:t| (لولا نزل هذا المطر لما كان هناك نبات) ‘hadn’t this rain fallen there wouldn’t have been these plants’.

–|l@n| (لن): |wala: tamSi fil?ard0i marah0an ?innaka l@n taxriqa l?ard0a wa l@n tablUGa lZiba:la t0Ulan| Sourah El Israa sign (37) (و لا تمش في الأرض مرحاً إنك لن تخرق و لن تبلغ الجبال طولاً) ‘and do not walk on the earth with insolence: for you cannot rend the earth asunder, nor reach the mountains in height’.

|l@n ?aslUka sUlu:kahU ?abaden| (لن أسلك سلوكه أبداً) ‘I will never behave like him’.

Varieties of Arabic, including Algerian Arabic, make use of two main elements of negation – |ma:| (ما) and |la:| (لا) with the coining of the item |S| to |ma:|, and |ba| to |la:| namely in the dialect of Jijel and that of Morocco to become only one word, e.g., |ma:S| (ماش), |ma:Si| (ماشِي), |miS| (مِشْ), |ma:j@S| (مايش), |ma:w@S| (ماوش), |la:la| (لالْ), |la:ba| (لابْ) etc.

In what follows we will attempt to show how these negative elements are used in the Jijel dialect through concrete examples. We will also try to give their equivalents in the dialect of Constantine when necessary.

1) |ma:| (ما): It is the most used item for negation in the variety spoken in the Jijel Speech-Community. It is used with nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and prepositions (the item |ddi - @d -dd@| is inserted in between the element of negation and that which it is used with).

– **With nouns**

- |ha:da ma: d@bni:S db@n Za:ri:| (هدّا ما دبنيش دبن جاري) ‘this is not my son, he is my neighbour’s son’.
- |ha:di ma: dh0@lmra:S| (هدي ما دحلمراش) ‘she is not a good woman’
- |ma: d@t0t0bi:bS ʔt0a:ni ddwa ha:da SritU wah0di:| (ما دّ طبيش اعطاني الدوا هذا شريتو وحدي) ‘it is not the doctor who prescribed me this medicament, I bought it on my own’.
- |ha:da d@bn@k w@lla ma: d@bn@kS| (هدّا دبنك ولا ما دبنكش) ‘is this is your son or not?’
- |ma: ddi xaliS l@kti:ba ha:di| (ما دّ خاليش لكتيبة هادي) ‘this hand writing is not my uncle’s’.

Notice that the item |ddi| (دّي) with its different forms is always used before the noun as a ‘possessive case marker’ or just for emphasis. When the noun is used as a

general truth, the item |h0a| (ح) is inserted between the item |@d| and the noun: |ma: dh0@lmra:S| (ما دُحلمراش) ‘she is not a good woman’. A speaker from Constantine or from elsewhere in Algeria would use |ma:Si| (ماشِي) as a single word – |S| (ش) coined with |ma:| (ما) and say:

- |ma:Si bni| (ماشِي بني) for |ma: d@bni:S| (ما دبنيش).
- |ma:Si mra| (ماشِي مرا) for |ma: dh0@lmra:S| (مادحلمراش).
- |ma:Si t0t0bi:b| (ماشِي الطَّيِّب) for |ma: d@t0t0bi:bS| (ما دطَّيِّبش).
- |bn@k wLLa ma:Si bn@k| (بنك ولا ماشِي بنك) for |d@bn@k w@lla ma: d@bn@kS| (دَبَنك ولا ما دبَنكش).
- |ma:Si tta:ɣ xali| (ماشِي تاع خالي) for |ma: ddixaliS| (ما دّ خاليش).

– **With pronouns**

- |ma: danaS w ma: d@ntaS| (ما دناش و ما دنناش) ‘it is neither me nor you’.
- |ma: dhUwwaS Za: ll@ww@l| (ما دُهوَّشْ جا لَوَلْ) ‘he did not classify first’.
- |ma: d@ntUmS xi:r m@nha| (ما دننومش خير منها) ‘you are not better than her’.
- |ma: ddah@mS mɣa:h| (ما دَّهْمَشْ معاه) ‘he did not take them with him’.
- |ki b@ddl@t ma: ɣrafhaS| (كيدَلت ما عرفهاش) ‘when she dressed up he did not recognize her’.

Elsewhere in Algeria people would say:

- |maniS ana w makS tta| (مانيش انا و ماكش ت) for |ma: danaS w ma: d@ntaS| (ما دناش و ما دنناش).
- |ma:Si hUwwa| (ماشِي هو) for |ma: dhUwwaS| (ما دُهوَّش).
- |ma:Si ntUm| (ماشِي نتوم) or |ma:Si ntUma| (ماشِي نتما), (|ntUma| is also used with the plural in the Algerian dialect, while in the Standard it is used only with the dual) for |ma: dantUmS| (ما دننومش).

– |ma: ddah@mS| (ما دهمش) and |ma:ɣrafhaS| (ماعر فهاش) do not change (when the noun is object it does not accept any other form of negation in the varieties of Arabic spoken in Algeria – the item |S| (ش) must be placed after the noun).

|?ana| (أنا) ‘I’, |?@nta| (أنت) ‘you’, |hUwwa| (هو) ‘he’, |?antUm| (أنتم) ‘you – for plural’, |hUm| (هم) ‘they’, |ha| (ها) ‘her’ are all pronouns. |?ana| is also said |na| (ن) or |jana| (ينا), e.g., |na hUwwa ll@ww@l| (ن هو لول) ‘I am the first’, |jana ra:j@h0| (ينا رايح) ‘I am leaving’. |?@nta| (أنت) ‘you’ is said |nta| (نت), |?antUm| (أنتم) ‘you – for plural’ is said |ntUm| (نتم) in the region of Jijel.

– **With verbs**

|ma:| is used with verbs be they in the past, in the present, in the future, or in the imperative forms. It is used without the item |S| (ش) in ready-made expressions, or in statements where two negated verbs are used successively and are not separated by any item. This is because the negation of the second verb confirms the negation of the first.

The following are some examples of |ma:| in ready made expressions and with successive negated verbs:

- |ma: j@smaɣ ma: jra| (ما يسمع ما يرى) ‘he does not hear, he does not see’.
- |ma: kla ma: Srab| (ما كلا ما شرب) ‘he did not eat, he did not drink’.
- |ɣa:S ma: ks@b ma:t ma: x@lla| (عاش ما كسب مات ما خلى) ‘he had nothing in his life, he left nothing when he died’.
- |ma: ɣ@ndi ma: ndi:r| (ما عندي ما ندير) ‘I can do nothing’.
- |ma: jak@l ma: j@Sr@b fl@ɣra:s| (ما ياكل ما يشرب فلعراس) ‘he does not eat nor does he drink in marriage ceremonies’.

If the two statements in the sentence are separated by |wa| (و) ‘and’, for instance, the element |S| is to be used with each verb to support negation. They, thus, become:

- |ma: j@smaḥS w ma: jraS| (ما يسمعش و ما يراش) ‘he does not hear, and he does not see’.
- |ma: klaS w ma: SrabS| (ماكلش و ما شربش) ‘he did not eat, and he did not drink’.
- |ḥa:S w ma: ks@bS w ma:t w ma: x@llaS| (عاش و ما كسبش و مات و ما خلاش) ‘he had nothing in his life, and he left nothing when he died’
- |ma: S@ttS w ma: ri:tS| (ما شتتش و ما ريتش) ‘I really did not see anything’.
- |ma: ḥ@ndi:S w ma: ndi:rS| (ما عنديش و ما نديرش) ‘I have nothing, and I can do nothing’.
- |ma: jak@lS w ma: jaSrabS fl@ḥra:s| (ما ياكلش و ما يشر يش فلعراس) ‘he does not eat, and he does not drink in marriage ceremonies’.

The two statements in the sentence can also be independent of one another and, thus, will need to use the element |S| with each of the verbs of the two independent statements to support negation. We can, thus, say:

- |ma: j@smaḥS ma: jraS| (ما يسمعش، ما يراش) ‘he does not hear, he does not see’.
- |ma: klaS ma: SrabS| (ماكلش، ما شربش) ‘he did not eat, he did not drink’.
- |ḥa:S ma: ks@bS ma:t ma: x@llaS| (عاش ما كسبش، مات ما خلاش) ‘he had nothing in his life, he left nothing when he died’
- |ma: S@ttS ma: ri:tS| (ما شتتش، ما ريتش) ‘I really did not see anything’.
- |ma: ḥ@ndi:S ma: ndi:rS| (ما عنديش، ما نديرش) ‘I have nothing, I can do nothing’.
- |ma: jak@lS ma: jaSrabS fl@ḥra:s| (ما ياكلش، ما يشر يش فلعراس) ‘he does not eat, he does not drink in marriage ceremonies’.

Far from idioms and ready-made expressions, the item |S| is always used with |ma:| to support negation. For example:

- |ma: Za:wS b@kri| (ما جاوش بكري) ‘they did not come early’ (simple past tense).
- |ma: jZi:wS b@kri| (ما يجيوش بكري) ‘they will not come early’ (future tense).
- |ma: Zaji:nS b@kri| (ما جاينش بكري) ‘they are not coming early’ (continuous tense).
- |ma: tZiwS b@kri| (ما تجيوش بكري) ‘don’t come early’ (imperative tense).

It is also used with imperatives to serve as an advice as in:

- |ma: tru:h0S wah0d@k| (ما تروحش وحدك) ‘don’t go alone’,
- |ma: t@xraZS b@lli:l| (ماتخرجش بالليل) ‘don’t go out at night!’,
- |ma: tbatS hna| (ما تباتش هنا) ‘don’t spend the night here!’.

|ma:| is also used with verbs with the support of |h0atta Si| (حتى شي) ‘absolutely nothing’ from Standard Arabic |h0atta: Sei?| (حتى شيء), pronounced |tta Si| (تى شي) for easiness in dialectal Arabic; for example:

- |ma: dirt tta Si| (ما درت تى شي) ‘I did absolutely nothing’.
- |ma: fh@mt tta Si| (ما فهمت تى شي) ‘I understood absolutely nothing’.

|tta Si| can also be replaced by its equivalent |wa:IU| (والو) ‘absolutely nothing’ which might have come from the Standard |wala: Sei?| (ولا شيء) ‘nothing’ or |walaU Sei?| (ولو شيء) ‘nothing’. Hence, |ma: dirt ttaSi|, |ma:fh@mt ttaSi| can be said |ma:dirt wa:IU| (ما درت والو) ‘I did nothing’, and |ma: fh@mt wa:IU| (ما فهمت والو) ‘I understood nothing’ respectively.

|wa:IU| (والو) ‘nothing’ in the varieties of Arabic spoken in Algeria can stand in isolation as an utterance in response to such questions as:

Speaker A/ |k@nS xbar w@lla wa:IU| (كانش خبر ولا والو؟) ‘Are there any news or not?’

Speaker B/ |wa:IU| (والو) ‘nothing at all’ or ‘no news at all’.

– **With adverbs**

a) Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time are negated in the dialect of Jijel by preceding them with the element of negation |ma:| and the item |S| as a suffix to support the idea of negation, for example:

–|ma: lʃUmS nrUh0U G@dwa| (ما ليومش نروحو، غدوة) ‘we will not go today, tomorrow’.

–|ma: dIUkS @ssanna Swijja| (ما دلوكش، اسن شوي) ‘not now, you will have to wait a bit’.

–|ma: G@dwaS @l ʒars tta nhar l@xmis| (ما غدواش العرس، تى نهار لخميس) ‘the marriage ceremony is not tomorrow, it’s next Thursday’.

This type of negation is typical to the Jijel Dialect. In Constantine and elsewhere in Algeria people say |ma:Si lʃUm| (ماشي ليوم) ‘not today’, |ma:Si d@rk| (ماشي درك) ‘not now’, |ma:Si GUdwa| (ماشي غدوة) ‘not tomorrow’, etc. That is, the adverb of time is preceded by the coined word |ma:Si| (ماشي) which is now an independent element which expresses negation.

Like verbs, adverbs also can dispense with the item |S| in ready-made expressions and in statements where two negated adverbs are used successively when they are not separated by any item, only because the negation of the second adverb confirms the negation of the first, for example:

–|ma: lʃUm ma: G@dwa| (ما ليوم ما غدوة) ‘not today, nor tomorrow’.

–|ma: dIUk ma: m@mb@d| (ما دلوك ما ممبعد) ‘not now, nor later on’.

– |ma: G@dwa ma: nha:r l@xmi:s| (ما غدوة ما نهار لخميس) ‘not tomorrow and not next thursday’.

If, however, the two adverbs in the sentence are separated by the conjunction |wa| (و) ‘and’, for instance, the element |S| is to be inserted with each of the adverbs to support negation and, thus, becomes:

- |ma: lJUmS w ma: G@dwaS| (ما ليومش و ما غدوش) ‘not today and not tomorrow’,
- |ma: dIUkS w ma: m@mb@;dS| (ما دلوكش و ما ممبعدش) ‘not now and not later on’,
- /ma: G@dwaS w ma: nha:r l@xmi:sS/ (ما غدوش و ما نهار لخميسش) ‘not tomorrow and not next Thursday’.

In addition, the two adverbs in the sentence can be completely independent of one another and, thus, the item |S| will be definitely needed as a suffix for each of the adverbs to serve as a trigger to support negation, for example:

- |ma: lJUmS ma: G@dwaS| (ما ليومش، ما غدوش) ‘not today, not tomorrow’.
- |ma: dIUkS ma: m@mb@;dS| (ما دلوكش، ما ممبعدش) ‘not now, not later on’.
- /ma: G@dwaS ma: nha:r l@xmi:sS/ (ما غدوش، ما نهار لخميسش) ‘not tomorrow, not next Thursday’.

b) Adverbs of place

The element of negation |ma:| (ما) precedes adverbs of place in the Jijel Variety with the help of the item |S| (ش) as a suffix, for example:

- |ma: hna:S lhi:h| (ما هناش، لهيه) ‘not here, there’,
- |ma: lFUkS t@h0t| (ما لفوكش، تحت) ‘not up there, down there’,
- |ma: t@mma:S th0@t0t0U Zi:bU hna| (ما تماش تحطو، جيبو هنا) ‘don’t put it there, bring it here’.

In the community of Constantine, and elsewhere in Algeria, they are negated by means of coining |ma:| and |S| to become only one word |ma:Si| (ماشبي) and inserting it before the adverb and, thus, are said:

- |ma:Si| (ماشبي) and inserting it before the adverb and, thus, are said :

- |ma:Si hna lhi:h| (ماشى هنا، لهيه) ‘not here, there’.
- |ma:Si lfQq t@h0t| (ماشى الفوق، تحت) ‘not up there, down there’.
- |ma:Si t@mma th0@t0t0U Zi:bU hna| (ماشى تمّ تحطّو، جيبو هنا) ‘don’t put it there, bring it here’.

Like adverbs of time and verbs, adverbs of place may not need the item |S| in ready-made expressions and utterances where two negated adverbs are used consecutively when they are not separated by any other item. This is so because the negation of the second adverb confirms the negation of the first. Consider the following:

- |ma: hna ma: lhih| (ما هنا مالهيّه) ‘not here nor there’.
- |ma: lfUk ma: It@h0t| (ما لفوك مالتحت) ‘not up there nor down there’.
- |ma: f@dd@nja ma: flaxra| (ما فدنيا ما فلاخره) ‘not on earth nor in heaven’ – an expression which means ‘unconscious’. When the conjunction |wa| (و) ‘and’ separates the two adverbs in the utterance, the element |S| is called for to be inserted as a suffix with each of the two adverbs to support negation, for example:

- |ma: hnaS w ma: lhihS| (ما هناش وما لهيهش) ‘not here and not there’.
- |ma: lfUkS w ma: It@h0tS| (ما لفوكش و ما لتحتش) ‘not up there and not down there’.
- |ma: f@dd@njaS w ma: flaxraS| (ما فدنياش وما فلاخرش) ‘not on earth and not in heaven’

When the two adverbs in the sentence are completely independent of one another, the item |S| will definitely be needed to serve as a support for the element |ma:|, for example:

- |ma: hnaS ma: lhihS| (ما هناش، ما لهيهش) ‘not here, not there’.
- |ma: lfUkS w ma: It@h0tS| (ما لفوكش، ما لتحتش) ‘not up there, not down there’.

– |ma: f@dd@njaS w ma: flaxraS| (ما فذلخاش، ما فلاخرش) ‘not on earth, not in heaven’.

(Other types of adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions are negated in the same way).

2) |la:| (لا): This element of negation is more found in Standard Arabic than in its varieties. But still it is used in the Algerian Arabic Dialect to negate the whole event – the verb, the noun, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb etc. The following are examples of different parts of speech which can be negated by the element |la:| in the community of Jijel:

– **With verbs**

Not all verbs can be negated by the element |la:| in the Jijel dialectal speech, but are subject to some particular contexts, for example:

- |@llah la: j;a:wn@k ɣla x@dm@t @SS@rr| (الله لا يعاونك على خدمة الشر) ‘may Allah not help you in doing evil’.
- |@llah la: jradd@k| (الله لا یردك) ‘may you not be able to come back’.
- |w@llah la: ɣajjat0 m@nha:r ra:h0| (و الله لا عيط منهار راح) ‘believe me he has never phoned since he left’.

|la:| can also precede |ma:| to answer a ‘yes – no’ question as in:

Q/ |tG@ddit w@lla ma: tG@dditS| (تغديت ولا ما تغديتس؟) ‘Have you had lunch or not?’

A/ |la: ma: tG@dditS| (لا، ما تغديتس) ‘No, I haven’t’. When the verb is in the future the same rule applies, e.g.:

Q/ |t@tG@dda w@lla ma: t@tG@ddaS| (تتغدي ولا ما تتغداهش؟) ‘Will you have lunch or not?’

A/ |la: ma: n@tG@ddaS| (لا، ما نتغداهش) ‘No, I will not’.

In the context where the speaker expects a positive answer, |la:| is repeated as in:

Q/ |@mmala tfahamtU f@ssUma| (امّا لا تفاهمتو فالسومة) ‘so you have agreed on the price?’

A/ |la: la: ma: tfahamnaS| (لا لا ما تفاهمناش) ‘no, no we haven’t’,

Q/ |r@jjah0 ba:t wG@dwa rUh| (ريّح بات و غدوة روح) ‘stay with us tonight and tomorrow you leave!’

A/ |la: la: nrUh0 ma: kaç@dS| (لا لا نروح ما كاعدش) ‘no, no I can’t I’m busy’.

It is also used in a repeated way to express absolute negation without the use of |ma:|, as in:

– |@nnhar t0u:l wana la: makla la: Srab| (التهار طول ونا لا مكلة لا شراب) ‘I’ve spent the whole day without eating or drinking’.

– **With nouns**

In utterances with covert verbs the element of negation is used on its own to negate the noun as in:

– |la: mziija fi x@bz @l ç:i:d| (لا مزية في خبز العيد) ‘no generosity in feast’s food’. This idiomatic expression is used all over Algeria to show the abundance of food in the day of ‘Laid’ – feast – and, thus, the guest does not have to be shy when invited to eat.

– |la: da:r la: dUwa:r| (لا دار لا دوار) ‘homeless’. This idiom seems to have no verb, but in fact it means |ma: ç@ndU la: da:r la: dUwa:r| (ما عندو لا دار لا دوار) ‘he has no home’ – the verb is understood implicitly.

– |la: h0bib la: wali| (لا حبيب لا ولي) ‘no friend, no tutor’.

– **With pronouns**

|la:| is never alone with pronouns to express negation; it must be repeated otherwise it will be impossible, for example:

– |ma: trUh0 la: nta la: hUa| (ما تروح لا نت لا هو) ‘neither you nor he will go’.

– **With adjectives** |la:| is used in repetition to negate two adjectives, i.e.,

– |ma: ka:n@t la: mrid0a la: ʔajjana| (ما كانت لا مريضة لا عيَّانة) ‘she was neither sick nor tired’.

– |la: Ga:l@b la: m@Glu:b f@l h0arb hadi| (لا غالب لا مغلوب فلحرب هدي) ‘no winner, no loser in this war’.

– **With adverbs**

|la:| is used in repetition to negate two different adverbs or two adverbs in opposition of meaning; negating only one adverb by the use of |la:| is impossible, for example:

- |ma: jZi la: ljUm la: G@dUa| (ما يجي لا اليوم لا غدوة) ‘he is coming neither today nor tomorrow’.

- |ma: sk@n la: hna la: lhi:h| (ما سكن لا هنا لا لهيه) ‘he lived neither here nor there’.

3) |wa:lU| (والو): This element of negation is very close to the element ‘nothing’ in English. It is used in cases when the speaker wants to put emphasis on the idea of negation – to negate the event completely – or to ask someone a question provided that both the speaker and the listener have a common knowledge about the topic they are talking about, or to answer a question when negation is absolute, for example:

– |ma: S@tt wa:lU| (ما شتّ والو) ‘I saw nothing’.

– |ma: naʔraf wa:lU| (ما نعرف والو) ‘I know nothing’.

– |ma: ʔandi wa:lU| (ما عندي والو) ‘I have nothing’.

It can be used in questions where the speaker does not want to leave any field of doubt, for example:

– |k@nS ma ka:j@n w@lla wa:lU| (كانش ما كاين ولا والو؟) ‘Is there anything or not?’.

– |k@nS ma ws0al w@lla wa:lU| (كانش ما وصل ولا والو؟) ‘Has anything arrived or not?’.

It can also stand on its own as a negative question marker as in:

- |wa:lU| (والو) ‘Nothing?’. In this case the answer can be the item |wa:lU| (والو) on its own to mean ‘nothing is there’.

Notice that when the element |wa:lU| stands in isolation, be it as a negative question marker or as an answer, it carries a pragmatic meaning more than a linguistic one in that there should be a common knowledge between the speaker and the listener otherwise there would be no understanding. Notice also that the item |S| is never present with the item |wa:lU| to avoid the use of an excessive number of elements of negation. Thus, such utterances as |ma: S@ttS wa:lU| (ما شتتش والو), |ma: naḡrafS wa:lU| (ما نعرفش والو), |ma: ḡandiS wa:lU| (ما عنديش والو) are not used. Some people say |wala: hUm jah0zanu:n| (ولا هم يحزنون) ‘they should not grieve’ in replacement of |wa:lU|, for example:

- |la: x@dma wala: hUm jah0zanu:n| (لا خدمة ولا هم يحزنون) ‘no job nor shall they grieve’ which means |la: x@dma la: wa:lU| (لا خدمة لا والو) ‘no job, nothing really’. |wa: la: hUm jah0zanu:n| is taken from the Quran in Sourah El Ahkaf sign (13) |fa la: xaUfUn ḡaleihim wa la: hUm jah0zanu:n| (فلا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون) ‘on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve’ which has become an idiomatic expression in the Algerian variety of Arabic to mean extreme negation.

In the Eastern regions of Algeria and in Tunisia, the element |Si| (شي) is used instead of |wa:lU|. People say, for instance:

- |ma: S@tt Si| (ما شت شي) ‘I saw nothing’.
- |ma: naḡrafS Si| (ما نعرف شي) ‘I know nothing’
- |ma: ḡandi Si| (ما عندي شي) ‘I have nothing’, etc. But |Si|, as opposed to |wa:lU|, cannot stand in isolation. Some other people in the Eastern regions of Algeria negate events by means of the element |mUh0a:l| (مُحال) ‘never’ or ‘impossible’ to express the impossibility of the event. Consider the following:

- |mUh0a:l laka:n ws0a| (محال لكان وصل) ‘It is impossible that he has arrived’.
- |mUh0a:l ɣamrU lada:r lx@dma hadi| (مُحال، عمرو لدار لخدمة هدي) ‘impossible, he has never done such a thing’.

It can also be associated with |la:| to give |la: mUh0a:l| (لا، محال!) in response to a rejected question. For example:

Speaker A/ |hUwwa lli sr@q @lbanka| (هو اللي سرق البنكة) ‘it was he who robbed the bank’.

Speaker B/ |la:mUh0a:l| (لا، محال!) ‘No, impossible!’

4) |laba:| (لبي): This feature is heard only in Jijel and Morocco. It has developed from an element of negation to a verb meaning ‘to refuse’. It might have originated from the Standard |la:| (لا) ‘no’ plus |ʔaba:| (أبي) ‘refused’, coined together to give |laba:| (لبي) which functions as a verb and which may be conjugated in the past, the present, and the future.

It should be specified that in the Standard |la:| and |ʔaba:| are not coined as only one word, but are rather separated so that |la:| means ‘No’ and |ʔaba:| means ‘refused’. In contrast |ʔaba:| is never used in the dialect without associating it with |la:| as a prefix. Consider the following from the holly Quran:

- |wa ʔiD qUlna: lilmala:ʔikati sZUdu: liʔa:dama fasaZadu: ʔilla: ʔibli:sa ʔaba:|
Sourah Taha sign (112) (و إذ قلنا للملائكة اسجدوا لآدم فسجدوا إلا إبليس أبى) ‘and when we said to the angels: Bow down to Adam, and they bowed down except Iblis, he refused’.

In the dialect of Jijel |laba:| is used with verbs, nouns, pronouns, prepositions, for example:

- **With verbs**

|la:ba jrUh0 jɛawnU f@lx@dma| (لبي يروح يعاونو فلخدمة) ‘he refused to go to help him at work’.

– **With nouns**

|la:ba bUh j@smaɣIU| (لبي بوه يسمعلو) ‘his father refused to listen to him’.

– **With pronouns**

|la:baw js@mh0UIU| (لباو يسمحولو) ‘they refused to forgive him’.

– **With prepositions:**

|la:bat ɣli:h| (ليات عليه) ‘she refused him’.

It may also take the form of a verb in the future as in:

|kijrUh0 l@fransa jla:ba j@rZaɣ| (كي يروح لفرنسا يلبي يرجع) ‘when he goes to France he will refuse to come back’.

In the other varieties, the equivalents of |la:ba| are |ma: bGa:S| (ما بغاش) ‘he did not want to’ in the west of Algeria, and |ma: h0@bS| (ما حبش) or |ma: Sta:S| (ما شتاش), both meaning ‘he did not want to’ in the East. They would say in the West, for instance:

– |ma: bGa:S jrUh0 jɛawnU f@lx@dma| (ما بغاش يروح يعاونو فالخدمة) ‘he did not want to go to help him at work’.

– |ma: bGaS bUh j@smaɣIU| (ما بغاش بوه يسمعلو) ‘his father did not want to listen to him’.

– |ma: bGa:wS js@mh0UIU| (ما بغاوش يسمحولو) ‘they did not want to forgive him’, etc.

In the East they say:

– |ma: h0@bS jrUh0 jɛawnU f@lx@dma| (ما حبش يروح يعاونو فالخدمة),

– |ma: h0@bS bUh j@smaɣIU| (ما حبش بوه يسمعلو) ,

– |ma: h0@bbUS js@mh0UIU| (ما حبوش يسمحولو).

5.2.2 The Structure Set of ‘I do not know’

Set number two contains the expressions |ma: ʔlabaliS| (ما علاباليش), |ma: niS ʔa:r@f| (ما نيش عارف), |ma:Sni ʔa:r@f| (ماشني عارف). They all mean ‘I do not know’. They are meant to confirm the different types of negating sentences which are – as has been shown above – the negation of the whole event, the negation of the subject, or the negation of the verb. But this set of structures has been deliberately selected to prove that languages and dialects alike do not always obey the same rules in a logical way, but rather there are variations which may occur without any known reasons but just to fit the nature of that language or that dialect.

Notice that the three structures in set number one can be lined up with those in set number two



but in the first set the verb |ra:j@h0| (رايح) occurs in all three structures, while in the second set it occurs only in two structures; in the third it is said |ma: ʔlabaliS| (ما علاباليش) and not |ma: ʔa:r@fS| (ما عارفش), the element of negation |ma:| precedes the preposition |ʔla| and not the verb |ʔa:r@f|. Such types of structures, where the element of negation precedes the verb, the subject or the preposition, exist in Standard Arabic. Consider the following:

- |ma: xat0ara biba:li:| (ما خطر بيالي) ‘it did not come to my mind’ (the element |ma:| precedes the verb).

- |ma: ?ana: biqa:ri?| (ما أنا بقارئ) ‘I am not educated’ (the element |ma:| precedes the subject).
- |ma: bihi s0amamU| (مَابِه صَمَمُ) ‘he is not deaf’ (the element |ma:| precedes the preposition).

In conclusion to this section, we can say that the negative sentence in the dialects spoken in Algeria does not differ from the affirmative one in terms of structure except that an extra element of negation is inserted either before the verb – as in the case of the Jijel Variety – or before the subject – as in the case of the Constantine Variety – or before both – as in the case of the extreme East of Algeria and in Tunisia. As far as the Jijel Dialect is concerned, we can perceive that negative sentences may not contain verbs.

5.2.2.1 Sentences Without Verbs

When the sentence does not contain a verb it is ordered as follows:

- 1- The subject + the element of negation + the predicate, for example:

|l@blad ma: hanja:S| (لبلاد ما هنياش) ‘the country is not stable’.

|l@bh0ar ma: m;ahS ll;a:b| (لبحر ما معاهش اللعاب) ‘the sea is dangerous’.

|l@mtih0a:n ma: sah@lS| (لمتحان ما ساهلش) ‘the exam is not easy’.

- 2- The element of negation + the predicate + the subject, for example:

|ma: h0akS ;li:h| (ما حكش عليه) ‘he is wrong’ or ‘he shouldn’t’,

|la: bas ;li:h@m| (لاباس عليهم) ‘they are fine’,

|la: w@kt ;@ndi la: wa:lU| (لا وكت عندي لا والو) ‘I have no time’.

- 3- The element of negation + the predicate + the subject, for example:

|ma: m;ahS ll;a:b| (ما معاهش العاب) ‘he is firm’.

|ma: fih@mS lxi:r| (ما فيهمش لخير) ‘they are not good people’.

|ma: ;lihaS @tt@;b| (ما عليهاش التعب) ‘she does not have hard work’.

5.2.2.2 Sentences With Verbs

When the sentence contains a verb it is ordered as follows:

1- The subject + the element of negation + the predicate, for example:

|wa:h0@d ma: jk@rrab lxUh| (واحد ما يكرّب لخواه) 'no one approaches the other'.

|\@dd@nja ma: ddUm tta lwah0@d| (الدنيا ما دّوم تّى لواحد) 'life is not everlasting'.

|\?ana: ma: n@nkarS lxir dd@mna:s| (أنا ما ننكرش الخير الدّتاس) 'I am not a thankless person'.

2- The element of negation + the predicate + the subject, for example:

|ma: nhazza:S ?ana| (ما نهزّهاش أنا) 'I will not lift it'.

|ma: j;arfUhaS hUma| (ما يعرفوهاش هما) 'they do not know her'.

|ma: trUh0S nta m;ana| (ما تروحش ننتّ معانا) 'do not go with us'.

3- The element of negation + the subject + the predicate, for example:

|la: bUk jfid@k la: wa:IU| (لا بوك يفيدك لا والو) 'not your father, nor someone else will serve you'.

|la: x@ddama jfahmU la: mUdi:r j@fham| (لا خدامة يفهمو لا مدير يفهم) 'neither the workers nor the boss understand'.

|la: ;ilm j@nfa; m;a lZi:l hada| (لا علم ينفع مع الجيل هدا) 'no useful science with this generation'.

5.2.3 The Structure Set of 'I am eating'

Set number three contains the structures |rani ga:;@d nakUI| (راني قاعد ناكل), |kanak@I| (كناكل), |kinak@I| (كناكل), |kUnak@I| (كناكل). They all mean 'I am eating'. All three structures |kanak@I|, |kinak@I|, |kUnak@I| have been rejected by the informants. All informants answered 'I only use |rani ga:;@d nakUI|, and they all made it clear that the expression |kinak@I| means for them 'when I eat'. |kinak@I|, in the sense of 'when I eat', is also used in the dialect of Jijel. This implies that only the context of its use would determine what it means. For example, in response to the question |wa:S rak ddi:r| (واش رالك

(هزّ حوايجك و روح |h@zz h0wajZ@k wrUh0 ll@kraja| 'What are you doing?' of course, the answer |kinak@l| here means 'I am eating', whereas in response to the question |h@zz h0wajZ@k wrUh0 ll@kraja| (هزّ حوايجك و روح) 'take your things and go to school', the answer |kinak@l| means 'when I eat'.

It should be mentioned that |kanak@l| is used in a given speech community in the region of Jijel, |kinak@l| in another speech community and |kUnak@l| in yet another. And each community stigmatises the expression of the other. By the look in the way this process – the process of eating – as expressed by the English – I am eating –, by the French – Je suis entrain de manger –, and by the Constantinians, for instance, |rani ga:ɟ@d nakUl|, the first idea that comes to mind is probably that of Lyon's (1977) 'The economy of language' which is one of the major canons that guide the linguist in his research to be as objective as possible. The economy of language simply means to say little to mean much. That is, if an idea can be made clear in only one word, for instance, there is no need using more than one word to make it clear. In this respect |kinak@l| falls into the canon of the 'economy of language' in that a whole sentence is expressed in only one word, whereas the same idea is expressed in three words in English – I + am + eating, in French it is expressed in five words – Je + suis + entrain + de + manger, and in Constantinian in three – |ra:ni| (راني) + |ga:ɟ@d| (قاعد) + |nakUl| (ناكل). This does not imply that the Jijel dialect is more economical than the other dialects, because the reverse is true in so far as some other sentences are concerned. For example, a torch is only one word in the Constantine Dialect but three words in the Jijel Dialect – |@d0d0awwa:ja| (الصوّاية) in Constantine, |Lamba dd@ t0t0rik| (اللامبة د الطريك) in Jijel.

A small comparison between the ways 'I am eating' is said in the region of Jijel and that of Constantine will show evidence that |kinak@l|, |kanak@l| are purely dialectal – they exhibit no relationship with Standard Arabic. The features |ki| (ك), |ka| (ك), and |kU| (ك) are not found in Standard Arabic, while |ra:ni ga:ɟ@d na:kUl| (راني قاعد ناكل) is

composed of features on which no two Arab persons would disagree that they derive from Standard Arabic. Consider the following:

- |ra:ni| (راني): It comes from the Standard |?ara: ?anni:| (أرى أئي) or |?ara:ni:| (أراني) (Mortad, 1981:28) which both mean ‘I am’ – literally they mean ‘I see I am’. The strongest possibilities that |ra:ni| comes from |?ara ?anni:| or |?ara:ni:| are the fact that the Arab speakers use the word |?ara:| (أرى) in an excessive way such as |?ara: @l maUta ja?ta:mU lkira:ma| (أرى الموت يعتام الكرام) ‘I see that death takes generous people’, and |?ra: l?eiSa k@nz@n na:qis0an| (أرى العيش كنزاً ناقصاً) ‘I see that life is a rare treasure’, and |?ara: l?ajja:m @l qa:dima mUmt0ira| (أرى الأيام القادمة ممطرة) ‘I see that the coming days are rainy’ etc. Speakers of Arabic use |?ara:| when they are sure something is going to happen. They say, for instance, |?ara:ni: meit@n| (أراني ميتاً) ‘I see myself dead’, which means that the speaker is suffering from an illness and that he is desperate, or |?ara:ni: ?ataZawwalU fi: Sawa:ri?a landan| (أراني أتجول في شوارع لندن) ‘I see myself wandering in London’s streets’, said by a person who has decided to travel to London. Another possibility which favours that |ra:ni| comes from |?ara: ?annani:| or |?ara:ni:| is the nature of word coinage in Arabic dialects in addition to – as has been shown above – the fact that dialectal Arabic speakers delete the ?a-sound or replace it by the j-sound such as |bi?r| (بئر) ‘well’, |Di?b| (ذئب) ‘wolf’, |fa?r| (فأر) ‘mouse’ uttered |bi:r| (بير), |di:b| (ديب), |fa:r| (فار) respectively. Thus, for easiness, |?ara: ?annani:| undergoes a certain coinage to become |ra:ni| (راني).
- |ga:?@d| (قاعد): This word also comes from Standard Arabic |qa:?@d| (قاعد) ‘sitting’, from the verb |qa?ada| (قعد) ‘to sit’. Most Arab speakers, however, believe that this word is purely dialectal; this is why Algerian teachers, for example, never use it when they ask their pupils to sit down, they rather use the verb |Zalasa| (جلس).

instead, assuming that |Zalasa| is Standard and |qaʒada| is not. But most Arab linguists state that |qaʒada| is more Standard than |Zalasa|, and, as Ihsan Abbas (1968) says “|ʔUqʒUd| (أقعد) ‘sit down!’ is said to a standing person while |ʔaZlis| ‘sit down!’ is said to a sleeping or bowing person”. This means that the verb |qaʒada| is the moving from an ‘up-state’ to a ‘down-state’, while the verb |Zalasa| is the moving from a ‘down-state’ to an ‘up-state’, this is on the one hand, on the other hand, because it is known of Constantine that it is the City of ‘Science and scientists’, most probably the Constantinians are well aware that performing the function of eating while seated falls into the Prophet’s Sunna and thus |ga:ʒ@d nakUl| is – figuratively – ‘I am eating in a sitting position’ (eating and drinking in a sitting position are – according to Islam – a Prophet Mohamed’s Sunna).

5.2.4 The Structure Sets of ‘My uncle’s house’, ‘I bought a new book’, ‘It is true’

Sets number four, five, and six have been rejected because of the items |ddi| (دّي) and |h0a| (ح). (See chapter three).

5.2.5 The Structure Set of ‘It is not me’

Set number seven contains the structures |ʔani maniS ana| (أني منيش أنا), |xat0i ana| (أودانا), |ma: danaS| (ما داناش), |maSi ana| (ماشني أنا), |ʔaw madanaS| (أو مادناش). They all mean ‘it is not me’. The most rejected structures are:

- 1) |ʔaw madanaS| (أو مادناش): The affirmative form of this sentence is |ʔaw dana| (أودانا) ‘it’s me’. It is said when someone wants to identify himself, or to make himself definite. The pronoun |ʔana| (أنا) is supported by two items for the purpose of focus. They are the linguistic phenomena |ʔaw| (أو) which might have originated from Berber or from

Standard Arabic |ʔinna| (إن) and the item |d@| (د) which is typical to the dialect of Jijel. For example, when someone is asked: ‘Who is there?’ after having knocked at the door, he replies: |ʔaw dana| (أُو دانا) ‘it’s me’. In Standard Arabic people say |ʔinnahU ʔana:| (إنّه أنا), but, as has been shown above, speakers may delete or substitute or add elements for easiness and, thus, |ʔinnahU| is replaced by |ʔaw| and |d@| is added to fit the nature of the dialect of Jijel to obtain the structure |ʔawdana|. |ʔaw ma: danaS| (أُو ما داناش) is the negative form expressed by the elements of negation |ma:| (ما) and |S| (ش) as we saw earlier. |ʔaw ma danaS| is used in a context to emphasize the exclusion of any idea of doubt.

- 2) |ma: danaS| (ما داناش): It is used to mean simply and denotatively ‘it’s not me’ without any focus or emphasis. It is rejected because of the feature |d@| which is marking.

In the dialect of Constantine |ma: danaS| and |ʔaw madanaS| are said |maniS @na| (منيش أنا) and |ʔani maniS @na| (أني منيش أنا) respectively. The basic differences between the two dialects are at the level of the items |ʔaw| and |d@|, but the basic elements of negation |ma:| and |S| are present in both dialects. To negate an event, be it in the past or in the future, the negation is put on the subject and not on the verb both in the dialect of Constantine and that of Jijel. Consider the following:

Constantine Dialect

Jijel Dialect

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>– ʔana lli hdart (أنا اللي هدرت) ‘It’s me who spoke’ (Affirmation).</p> | <p>– d@na dd@ hdart (دنا د هدرت) ‘It’s me who spoke’ (Affirmation).</p> |
| <p>– ʔana hUwa lli hdart (أنا هو اللي هدرت) ‘It’s me who spoke (Affirmation and focus).</p> | <p>– d@na hUwa dd@ hdart (دنا هو د هدرت) ‘It’s me who spoke’ (Affirmation and focus).</p> |
| <p>– ʔani ana hUwa lli hdart (أني أنا هو اللي هدرت) ‘It’s me who</p> | <p>– ʔaw d@na hUwa dd@ hdart (أُو دنا هو د هدرت) ‘It’s me who spoke’ (Affirmation,</p> |

- spoke’ (Affirmation, focus and exclusion of any doubt). focus and exclusion of any doubt).
- |ma:niS ana lli hdart| (ما نيش أنا اللي هدرت) ‘It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation).
 - |ma: d@naS dd@ hdart| (ما دناش د هدرت) ‘It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation).
 - |ma:niS ana hUwa lli hdart| (ما نيش أنا هو) (It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation and focus).
 - |ma: d@naS hUwa dd@ hdart| (ما دناش هو) (It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation and focus).
 - |?ani ma:niS ana lli hdart| (أني مانيش أنا) (It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation, focus, and exclusion of any doubt).
 - |?aw ma:d@naS dd@ hdart| (أو ماداناش د هدرت) (It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation, focus and exclusion of any doubt).
 - |?ani ma:niS ana hUwa lli hdart| (أني) (It’s no me who spoke’ (Negation, focus, exclusion of any doubt, and anger).
 - |?aw madanaS hUwa dd@ hdart| (أو) (ماداناش هو د هدرت) (It’s not me who spoke’ (Negation, focus, exclusion of any doubt, and anger).

From the above examples we can notice that the element of negation is used in both dialects with the support of the feature |S|, |?ani| is equivalent to |?aw|, and |lli| and |ddi| – both meaning |@llaDi:| (الذي) ‘who’ – are equivalents.

5.2.6 The Structure Set of ‘I desperately besought him’

Set number eight is composed of the structures |h0a:w@ltU h0@tta nSb@;t| (حاولتو حتى نشبعت), |dax@lt fi:h h0@tta kr@ht| (داخلت فيه حتى كرهت), |h0@ll@ltU h0@tta Sb@;t| (حللتو حتى شبعت). They all mean ‘I desperately besought him’. The most rejected structures are:

1) |dax@lt fi:h h0@tta kr@ht| (داخلت فيه حتى كرهت): This sentence can be considered as an idiomatic expression in that it is cultural; the words do not go in accordance with what the sentence means. What is known of idioms is that one cannot understand them through the words they are composed of, but through their cultural aspect. This implies that without knowing the cultural background of the idioms, one can never understand their meanings. Idioms are found in all languages of the world and are a measuring point which shows whether or not there is unity, solidarity, and tightness among the members of any society. An example from the English language will prove that. Take, for instance, ‘even a worm will turn’ (Gullard and Howwel, 1994: 74), whose meaning is not at all given in the words the idiom is composed of. One can never guess that it means ‘there is a limit to the extent that even the weakest person will stand up for himself one day’ from mere knowledge of the lexical items the idiom contains.

Similarly, |dax@lt fi:h h0@tta kr@ht| which means ‘I besought him until I was fed up’ or ‘I besought him until I was sick of it’ cannot be understood without knowing its cultural background. This is why it has sounded nonsense to the informants. For them – informants – |dax@lt| originates from the verb |dxal| (دخل) which means ‘to enter’ or ‘to come in’ and, hence, has nothing to do with ‘to beseech’. In Constantine |h0aw@ltU h0@tta Sb@t| (حاولتو حتى شبعت) is used instead. That is, |h0a:w@lt| replaces |dax@lt| and |Sb@t| replaces |kr@ht|. |h0a:w@lt| is used in the dialect of Constantine as well as in Standard Arabic meaning ‘I tried’, and |Sb@t| is also dialectal and Standard meaning ‘I have had enough’ which altogether mean ‘I tried until I have had enough’. The ideas of being fed up with, sick of, and tired of are all embedded within |Sb@t| or |kr@ht|. Evidence of that comes from the expression |jit ma ndax@l fi:h|

(عييت مانداخل فيه) ‘I besought him a lot’ which is quite used in the dialect of Jijel and where ‘to be tired’ is overtly used – |zj:t| (عييت) means ‘I am tired’.

It is worth noting that |Sb@;t| and |kr@ht| are used in a paradoxal way in that they have opposite meanings, but they carry out the same meaning indeed. Many other expressions or words function in the same way. For example |rawwah0t| (روخت) in Jijel is ‘I left – I went’ but in Constantine it is ‘I came back’, the word |h0alwa| in Jijel is both ‘sweets’ and ‘cakes’, but in Constantine it is only ‘sweets’ – ‘cakes’ are called |gat0Q| (فاطو), the French word ‘gateau’ which has entered the variety spoken in Constantine through the process of borrowing.

- 2) |h0@ll@ltU h0@tta Sb@;t| (حلتتو حتى شبعت): Although this sentence is understood by the Constantinians, still it is rejected. It is understood maybe because |h0@ll@ltU| and |h0a:w@ltU| are phonologically close to one another – only ‘l’ (ل) and ‘w’ (و) are different – and the rest of the sentence is the same.

5.2.7 The Structure Set of ‘She stayed a lot’

Set number nine contains only two structures which are the same in meaning but different in expression. They are |t0awwl@t b@zza:f| (طولت بزاف) and |k@;d@t h0am@k;Ud| (كعدت حمكعود). Both mean ‘she stayed a lot’. |k@;d@t h0am@k;Ud| (كعدت حمكعود) has been totally rejected. It is a ready-made expression typical to the speech community of Jijel. Many other expressions of the same structure are used in the Jijel Dialect. For example |k@;d@t h0am@k;Ud| (كعدت حمكعود) ‘she stayed a lot’, |bt0at h0ab@t0jUn| (بطات حبطيون) ‘she stayed a lot’, |r@kd@t h0am@rkUd| (ركدت حمركود) ‘she slept a lot’, |bkat h0ab@kjUn| (بكات حكيون) ‘she cried a lot’ etc. These expressions agree in gender and number. We say, for instance, to mean masculine |k;@d h0am@k;Ud| (كعد) ‘he stayed a lot’, |bt0a h0ab@t0jUn| (بطّ حبطيون) ‘he stayed a lot’, |rk@d

h0am@rkUd| (رُكِّدَ حمرُكود) ‘he slept a lot’, |bka h0ab@kjUn| (نُكَّ حبكيون) ‘he cried a lot’. For the plural we say |ka;dU h0am@k;Ud| (كعدو حمرُكعود) ‘they stayed a lot’, |bt0aU h0ab@t0jUn| (بطاو حبطيون) ‘they stayed a lot’, |r@kdU h0am@rkUd| (ركدو حمرُكود) ‘they slept a lot’, |bkaU h0ab@kjUn| (بكاو حبكيون) ‘they cried a lot’.

Such expressions are not really used neutrally, but in specific contexts to carry out an implied idea with a connotation of gossip. They are used by women in situations of blaming or criticizing others. When a woman pays a visit to her parents and stays there more than she should, her mother-in-law blames or criticizes her with a member of the family or a neighbour by saying |k@;d@t h0am@k;Ud| to mean she shouldn’t have stayed that long. In a similar situation, a woman leaves her new born baby at home and goes to the house of a neighbour. Meanwhile, her child cries a lot and no member of the family can stop him. When his mother comes back, her mother-in-law addresses her by saying |bka h0ab@kjUn| to mean ‘you shouldn’t have left him alone all that time’.

Notice that |h0am@k;Ud|, |h0ab@t0jUn|, |h0am@rkUd|, |h0ab@kjUn| are all nouns having the same rhyme, and that they all have connotative meanings. Their neutral lexical items are |h0@lk;a:d| (حالكعاد), |h0@lbt0i| (حالبطي), |h0@rrka:d| (حالرُكاد), |h0@lbki| (حالبكي) respectively. Evidence of their denotative meaning comes from such ready-made expressions as |h0l@k;a:d k@dU| (حالكعاد كعدو) ‘you can’t imagine how much he stayed’, |h0@lbt0i bt0a:h| (حالبطي بطاه) ‘how much he stayed’, |h0@rrka:d r@kdU| (حالرُكاد ركدو) ‘how much he slept’, |h0@lbki bka:h| (حالبكي بكاو) ‘how much he cried’. On the contrary, evidence that |h0am@rkUd|, for instance, carries out a negative connotation comes from such cursing utterances as |t@rkad h0am@rkUd nSaLLah| (تركد حمرُكود نشالته) ‘may you sleep for a long time, God willing’ to mean |t@rk@d ma: tnUd0 nSaLLah| (تركد ما تنوض) (تركد ما تنوض) ‘may you sleep without getting up’. Evidently, |h0am@rkUd| in this cursing expression is used figuratively to mean ‘death’.

|k@d@t h0am@kUd| is, thus, rejected by the informants because of the item |k| (ك) which is highly stigmatised, and the feature |h0a| (ح) which is also stigmatised, and because of the word |?am@kUd| (أمكعود) which is modelled on Berber words which are known for their initials |?a| (أ).

5.2.8 The Structure Set of ‘I spent the night in my uncle’s house’

Set number ten contains the structure |bitt ɿ@nd xa:li| (بيت عند خالي), |b@tt ɿ@nd xa:li| (بيت في دار خالي). They all mean ‘I spent the night in my uncle’s house’. The only rejected structure is:

1) |bitt ɿ@nd xa:li| (بيت عند خالي): This structure is actually meant to show that a sentence may be rejected just because of the smallest feature which may exist in a language. In fact, there is no difference between |bitt ɿ@nd xa:li| and |b@tt ɿ@nd xa:li| except that the former starts with the consonant ‘b’ followed by the short vowel |a| (الفتحة) which is in reality a schwa in dialectal Arabic, while the latter starts with the consonant |b| followed by the short vowel |i| (الكسرة).

Because of that slight difference, however, between |bitt| and |b@tt|, or, rather |i| and |@|, people make so much fuss about it. Such slight differences exist in the English language in verbs like ‘cited’, for instance, which are pronounced either |sait@d| – with a schwa – or |saitid| – with a short vowel |i|, and no marking is made between the two.

5.2.9 The Structure Set of ‘Not yet’

Set number eleven contains the structures |mazal| (ما زال), |mazal @ssa;a| (ما زال الساعة), |mazal ?a;a| (ما زال أعا). They all mean ‘not yet’. For the most rejected item – |?a;a| – (See chapter three).

5.3 The Set of Question Markers

Any investigator in the question markers used in Algerian Arabic would perceive that they are almost all ‘blends’. Blends are the fusion of two or more words to get only one. For example, ‘smog’, ‘brunch’, ‘urinalysis’, ‘motel’ are obtained from smoke + fog; breakfast + lunch; urine + analysis; motor + hotel, respectively. In Arabic such blends as |@lbasmla| (البسملة) and |@lh0@wqala| (الحوقلة) are taken from |bismi llahi rrah00ma:ni rrahi:mi| (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) ‘in the name of allah, the most gracious the most merciful’, and |la: h0awla wa la: qUwwata illa billa:h| (لا حول و لا قوة إلا بالله) ‘no power no might but by God’ respectively. The word blend phenomenon is an important factor of language development, style renewal, and lexicon enrichment. Word blends are found in Standard Arabic as well as in other varieties of Arabic. Like all those varieties, the Jijel Dialect makes use of several blend words, the following are but a few examples:

- |k@l@S| (كلش) ‘everything’, from the Standard |kUllU Sei?| (كل شيء).
- |ma:;labali:S| (ماعلا باليش) ‘I don’t know’, from |ma: ;la: ba:li: Sei?| (ما على بالي شيء).
- |kifa:h| (كيفاه) ‘how’, from |keifa hUw| (كيف هو).
- |la:j@n| (لاين) ‘where’, from |?ila ?ein| (إلى أين).
- |ba:S| (باش) ‘by means of what’, from |bi ?ajji Sei?| (بأي شيء).
- |;la:S| (علاش) ‘why’, from |;ala: ?@jji Sei?| (على أي شيء).
- |ma: ka:nS| (ماكانش) ‘there isn’t’, from |ma: ka:na Sei?| (ما كان شيء).

Five sets containing four to six markers each were given to twenty informants representing the population of Constantine who were asked to tell which of them they would not like. The question markers given are from varieties spoken in Jijel and in Constantine, and sometimes from elsewhere for the purpose of comparison. The aim of this task is to assess the validity of the stated hypothesis, that the question markers which are likely to be rejected are those belonging to the variety spoken in Jijel. But before analysing the results of the task, it should be useful to say that in dialectal Arabic in general there are two ways of interrogating a sentence: that in which the question marker is used, and that in which there is no question marker, i.e.; only intonation determines it, for example:

- |wa:S ra:k ddi:r| (واش راك دّير؟) 'what are you doing?'; the question marker in this question is |wa:S| (واش) 'what'.
- |bUk ?aw f@dda:r| (بوك او فالدار؟) 'Your father is home?'; the question marker is not given, only intonation can determine that the sentence is in the interrogative form.

Interrogative sentences are also determined by intonation only. They are used when the speaker is sure – or almost sure – that the answer is going to be 'no' as in:

- |ma: rajah0S lIZamiȓa lju:m| (ما رايحش لجامعة اليوم؟) 'You are not going to the university today?'. Such interrogative sentences imply that the speaker has got some clues which would let him know that the participant is not going to the university, and, thus, the expected answer is likely to be negative.

In contrast, interrogative sentences in Standard Arabic imply that the answer is expected to be positive, consider the following from the holy Quran:

- |?alam tara keifa faȓala rabbUka bi ?as0h0a:bi lfi:li ?alam jaZȓal keidahUm fi: tad0li:li| Sourah El fil, sign (1) (ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل ألم يجعل كيدهم في تضليل؟) 'Didn't you see how your Lord had dealt with the companions of the Elephant, hadn't he made their treacherous plan go astray?' This question aims at reminding

the listeners that they really saw what God had done to the companions of the Elephant and that he had made their treacherous plan go astray. That is, the answer was expected to be positive – they could not deny it.

- |ʔalam tara ʔanna LLah:a jaɣlamU ma: fi: ssama:wa:ti wa ma: fi: lʔard0i| Sourah El Moujadala, sign (7) (ألم تر أن الله يعلم ما في السموات وما في الأرض؟) ‘Don’t you see that Allah does know all that is in the heavens and on earth?’ The answer to this question is obviously ‘yes’; the addressed people can see that Allah does know all that is in the heavens and all that is on earth.
- |ʔalam tara ʔanna LLa:ha ʔanZala mina ssama:ʔi maʔ@n fatUs0bih0U lʔard0U mUxd0arrat@n| Sourah El Haj, sign (63) (ألم تر أن الله أنزل من السماء ماءً فتصبح الأرض مخضرة؟) ‘Can’t you see that Allah sends down rain from the sky, and forthwith the earth becomes clothed with green?’. No doubt the answer is positive; it is evident that rain is poured down from the sky and makes the earth green.
- |ʔalam naZɣali lʔard0a miha:d@n| Sourah En-nabaa, sign (6) (ألم نجعل الأرض مهادًا؟) ‘Haven’t we made the earth a wide expanse?’ Again, the making of the earth as a wide expanse is a sign of God which cannot be discredited.

The Arabic varieties used in Algeria make use of various question markers to ask for the place, the time, the manner, the quantity, the quality, the amount, the price, etc.

These are:

- |waqta:S| (وَقْتًاشْ) ‘when’ or ‘what time’, also said, depending on which speech community it is used in: |waqta| (وَقْتْ), |wa:qta:h| (وَقْتَاه), |fajw@k| (فَيُّوك), |faj@k| (فَيَّكْ).
- |Sh0a:l| (شحال) ‘how many?’ or ‘how much?’, also said |qadda:S| (قَدَّاشْ), |qadda:h| (قَدَّاه), |g@dda:h| (قَدَّاه), |k@dda:S| (كَدَّاشْ).

- |wa:S| (واش) ‘what?’ also said |?a:S| (أش), |wa:Si| (واشي), |wa:S@n| (واشن), |d@jj@S| (ديش).
- |wa:j@n| (واين) ‘where’, also said |wi:n| (وين), |la:j@n| (لاين), |fa:j@n| (فاين), |fi:n| (فين) etc.

The following are some Algerian dialectal question markers, what they ask for, and concrete examples:

a) Asking for cases of circumstances

|wa:S| (واش), |wa:S@n| (واشن), |wa:Si| (واشي), |da:S| (داش), |?a:S| (أش), |d@jj@S| (ديش), |diSUwa| (دشوّه) are question markers which mean ‘what’, and which ask about cases of circumstances as in:

- |wa:S ra:kUm| (واش راكم؟) ‘How are you?’
- |wa:S bikUm| (واش بيكم؟) ‘What’s the matter with you?’
- |wa:S@n hada| (واشن هدا؟) ‘What’s there?’
- |wa:Si hada lli ra:h s0a:ri hna| (واشي هدا لّي راه صاري هنا؟) ‘What’s happening here?’
- |rUh0 SUf da:S ka:j@n| (روح شوف داش كايين؟) ‘Go and see what’s happening’
- |?a:S bi:k t@bki| (أش بيك تبكي؟) ‘Why are crying? What happened to you?’
- |d@jj@S ddi bi:h xu:k| (ديش دي بيه خوك؟) ‘What’s the problem with you brother?’
- |diSUwa ddi ra:j@h0 j@s0ra| (دشوّه دي رايح بصر؟) ‘What’s going to happened?’

b) Asking about time

|waqta:S| (وقتاش), |waqta| (وقت), |waqta:h| (وقتاه), |fajw@k| (فيوك), |faj@k| (فيك) are question markers which mean ‘when’ or ‘what time’, and which are used to ask about time as in:

- |waqta:S n@tlaq:aw| (وقتاش ننتلقاو؟) ‘When / what time shall we meet?’
- |waqta Za:w| (وقت جاو؟) ‘When / what time did they come?’
- |waqta:h trUwwah0| (وقتاه ترووح؟) ‘When / what time will you go?’

– |fajw@k dirtU l@mtih0a:n| (فَيَوُكُّ دِرْتُو لِمَتِحَانْ؟) ‘When / what time did you have your examination?’

– |faj@k hdart m_za:h| (فَيَكُّ هَدْرَت مَعَاه؟) ‘When / what time did you talk to him?’

c) Asking for number

|qadda:S| (قَدَّاشْ), |qadda:h| (قَدَّاه), |g@dda:h| (قَدَّاه), |Sh0a:l| (شَحَال), |k@dda:S| (كَدَّاشْ)

are used to ask for number. They all mean ‘how many’ or ‘how much’, for example:

– |qadda:S _@ndU l@wla:d| (قَدَّاشْ عِنْدُو لَوْلَادْ؟) ‘How many children does he have?’

– |qadda:h nju:m w@nta t@ssanna fi:h| (قَدَّاه نِيَوْم وَنْتَّ تَسَنَّ فِيه؟) ‘How many days have you been waiting for him?’

– |g@dda:h _@nd@k ddra:h@m| (قَدَّاه عِنْدَك الدَّرَاهِم؟) ‘How much money do you have?’

– |Sh0a:l n_za:m g_@dt fi fransa| (شَحَال نَعَام قَعْدَت فِي فِرْنَسَا؟) ‘How many years have you stayed in France?’

– |k@dda:S n@kta:b Sri:t| (كَدَّاشْ نَكْتَاب شَرِيْت؟) ‘How many books did you buy?’

These question markers can also be used to ask for time as in:

– |qadda:S qadda:h Sh0a:l k@dda:S ssa_za| (قَدَّاشْ، قَدَّاه، قَدَّاه، شَحَال، كَدَّاشْ السَّاعَة؟) ‘What time is it?’

They may also ask for the price as in:

– |qadda:S qadda:h Sh0a:l k@dda:S t0t0ma:t0@m| (قَدَّاشْ، قَدَّاه، قَدَّاه، شَحَال، كَدَّاشْ الطَّمَّاطِم؟) ‘How much are tomatoes?’. In cases where these question markers are used to ask for price they may be preceded by the preposition |b@| (ب), e.g., |bqadda:S bqadda:h b@Sh0a:l bk@dda:S t0t0ma:t0@m| (بَقَدَّاشْ، بَقَدَّاه، بَقَدَّاه، بَشَحَال، بَكَدَّاشْ الطَّمَّاطِم؟) ‘how much are tomatoes?’.

d) Asking about the place

|wa:j@n| (وَإَيْن), |wi:n| (وَيْن), |la:j@n| (لَايْن), |fa:j@n| (فَايْن), |fi:n| (فَيْن) are used to ask

for place. They mean ‘where’, for example:

- |wa:j@n ra:k ra:j@h0| (واين رايح؟) ‘Where are you going?’
- |wi:n hada| (وين هدا؟) ‘Where to?’
- |la:j@n t@ddi:h| (لاين تدييه؟) ‘Where will you take it?’
- |fa:j@n lki:tU| (فاين لكتيو؟) ‘Where did you find it?’
- |fi:n ra:j@h0 n@lga:h| (فين رايح نلقاه؟) ‘Where am I going to find him?’

e) Question markers requiring ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers

|h@nmi| (عني), |mma:| (ما), |bh0a:l| (بحال), |mma:lili| (مالي), |Esk@| (أسك). These are aimed at knowing whether the answer is going to be ‘yes’ or ‘no’. They are equivalent to |?a| (أ) or |h@l| (هل) in standard Arabic (in English they are expressed by inverting the subject and the auxiliary), for example:

- |h@nmi t0arb@t nnu: f@lili:l| (عني طربت التو فالليل؟) ‘Did it rain last night?’; |h@nmi| is the transformation of the standard Arabic question marker |?a ?in| (أ إن) – the |?a| sound tends to be either deleted or replaced for easiness, in this case the first |?a| is replaced by |h@a|, the second deleted).
- |mma: hb@lt th@zz m;a:k lmUs hada| (ما هبلت تهز معاك لموس هدا؟) ‘Are you crazy to carry this knife with you?’
- |bh0a:l reZ;U m@ssu:k| (بحال رجعو مسوك؟) ‘Have they come back from the market?’
- |mma:lili x@llast w@lla mazUlt| (مالي خلصت ولا ما زولت؟) ‘Have you finished or not?’
- |Esk@ ta;r@f tsu:k w@lla ma: ta;rafS| (أسك تعرف تسوك ولا ما تعرفش؟) ‘Can you drive or not?’ (|Esk@| is the French question marker – Est-ce-que – which has been borrowed by the Algerian speakers and which has become part of Algerian Arabic).

Such uses of ‘yes’ ‘no’ questions can be realized by means of intonation only, i.e., without any question marker, for example:

- |t0arb@t nnu: f@lili:l| (طربت التو فالليل؟) ‘Did it rain last night?’

- |hb@lt th@zz ṃa:k lmUs hada| (هبلت تهزّ معاك لموس هدا؟) ‘Are you crazy to carry this knife with you?’
- |reẒiU m@ssu:k| (رجعو مسّوك؟) ‘Have they come back from the market?’
- |x@llast| (خلّصت؟) ‘Have you finished?’
- |tạr@f tsu:k| (تعرف تسوك؟) ‘Can you drive?’ In Constantine and elsewhere in Algeria, however, ‘yes’ ‘no’ questions are realized only by making use of the question marker |Esk@| or by intonation only.

f) Asking for reason

|̣la:h| (غلاه), |̣la:S| (علاش), |̣lawa:h| (علواه), |̣lama:S| (علاماش), |̣lijj@S| (عليش) are question markers which mean ‘why’, and which are used to ask for reason as in:

- |̣la:h ra:k th0@ww@s| (غلاه راك تحوس؟) ‘What are you looking for?’
- |̣la:S ma: h0d0arS l@Ztima:ẓ| (علاش ما حضرش لجماع؟) ‘Why didn’t he attend the meeting?’
- |̣lawa:h lh0@ss hada ka:m@l| (علواه الحسّ هدا كامل؟) ‘Why all this noise?’
- |̣lama:S ma:h0@bS jru:h0 ṃa:k| (علاماش ما حبش يروح معاك؟) ‘Why didn’t he want to go with you?’
- |̣lijj@S Zi:t| (عليش جيت؟) ‘Why have you come?’

g) Asking for the means

|ba:h| (باه), |ba:S| (باش), |bama:S| (بماش), |bama:h| (بماه) are question markers which do not have fixed equivalents in English and which are used to ask for means, for example:

- |ba:h sa:f@r b@t0t0ajja:ra w@lla b@lbaru:r| (باه سافر بالطيارة ولا بالباور؟) ‘What did he take the plane or the boat?’
- |ba:S G@t0t0i:tha| (باش غطيتها؟) ‘With what did you cover it?’
- |bama:S ra:j@h t@h0f@rha b@l maSina w@lla b@lj@dd| (بماش رايح تحفرها بالمشينة ولا باليد؟) ‘How are going to dig it, with the engine or with you hands?’

- |bama:h dirt hadi| (بماه ديرت هدي؟) ‘How did you do this?’

Some of these question markers may also be used to ask for time and, thus, may be equivalent to ‘When’ as in:

- |ba:S jt0i:h0 ?aww@l nu:v@mb@r| (باش يطيح أول نوفمبر؟) ‘What day is November the first?’
- |ba:h tZi l;Ut0la| (باه تجي العطلة؟) ‘When are the holidays?’

They are also used to mean ‘To’ as in:

- |la:z@m t@bda d@rk ba:h tk@mm@l b@kri| (لازم تبتدا درك باه تكمل بكري) ‘You have to start now to finish early’
- |ba:S t@ddi mli:h0 fl@mtih0a:n la:z@m t@t;ab| (باش تدي مليح فلمتحان لازم تتعب) ‘To have a good mark in the examination you have to work hard’

h) Asking for human subject or object

|m@nhU| (منهو), |m@nhUwa| (منهوَ), |m@nhi| (منهي), |m@nhija| (منهية), |Sku:n| (شكون) are used to ask for human subjects or objects. They are equivalent to the Standard Arabic question markers |m@n hUwa| (من هو), |m@n hijja| (من هي) and |?ajjU Sei?in jaku:n| (أي شيء يكون) respectively. They all mean ‘who’ or ‘whom’ in English, for example:

- |m@nhU rraZ@l hada:k| (منهو الرَّاجل هداك؟) ‘Who is that man?’
- |m@nhUwa lli ra:h0 m;a:k| (منهوَ اللَّي راح معاك؟) ‘Who went with you?’
- |m@nhi lamra hadi:k| (من هي لمره هديك؟) ‘Who is that woman?’
- |m@nhija lli hdart m;aha s0s0ba:h0| (منهي اللَّي هدرت معاها الصباح؟) ‘Who is that whom you talked to this morning?’
- |Sku:n f@lba:b| (شكون فالباب؟) ‘Who is knocking at the door?’

These question markers can be used with verbs as in:

- |Sku:n dda:k m;a:h| (شكون دَاك معاه؟) ‘Who took you with him?’

With nouns as in:

- |Sku:n lmUSrif tta:ʒ@k| (شكون المشرف التاعك؟) ‘Who is your supervisor?’

With personal pronouns as in:

- |Sku:n nta| (شكون أنت؟) ‘Who are you?’

With demonstrative pronouns as in:

- |Sku:n hadi:k lli tahdar f@ttlifun| (شكون هديك اللي تهدر فتلفون؟) ‘Who is that woman talking on the telephone?’

5.3.1 The Question Marker Set of ‘What’

In what follows we will try to give ample explanations to all types of question markers which have been rejected by the informants with concrete examples:

1) |d@jj@S| (ديّش): This question marker is the most rejected item from the set containing |wa:S| (واش), |wa:Si| (واشي), |ʔa:S| (أش), |da:S| (داش), |d@jj@S| (ديّش), |da:h| (داه) which all mean ‘What?’. |d@jj@S| is composed of three elements and, thus, a blend. These elements are |Da:| (ذا) ‘this’, |ʔajjU| (أيّ) ‘what’, and |Seiʔ| (شيّ) ‘thing’. Together they give |Da: ajjU Seiʔ| (ذا أيّ شيّ؟) ‘What is this?’. |Da:| is pronounced in dialectal Arabic |d@|, i.e., the sound |D| is pronounced |d| because |D| is not part of the sound system of most Arabic varieties, among which the Jijel variety; |ʔajjU| is pronounced |jj@| – “The sound |ʔ| (أ) is deleted in dialectal Arabic when it is in the beginning of the word” (Sibaweih, 180 hejir in Haroun, 1983 v3: 545); |Seiʔ| is said |@S| for easiness. |d@| (د) + |jj@| (ي) + |@S| (ش) give the question marker |d@jj@S| (ديّش) which is equivalent to the English question marker ‘What’.

|d@jj@S| is, thus, used to perform the function of asking about:

a) Cases of circumstances as in:

- |d@jj@S ddi bik| (ديّش ديّ بك؟) ‘What’s the matter with you?’

b) Actions in the past as in:

- |d@jj@S ddi dirt lba:r@h0| (ديش دّي درت البارح؟) ‘What did you do yesterday?’

c) Actions in the present as in:

- |d@jj@S ddi kiddi:r| (ديش دّي كدير؟) ‘What are you doing?’

d) Actions in the future as in:

- |d@jj@S ddi ndi:r|@k ?ana| (ديش دّي نديرلك أنا؟) ‘What can I do for you?’

e) The price as in:

- |d@jj@S ddi t@swa hadi| (ديش دّي تسوى هدي؟) ‘It is worth nothing’.

2) |da:S| (داهش): This item is a blend which serves as a question marker in the dialect of Jijel. It is obtained by the fusion of three features existing in standard Arabic. They are: |ha:Da:| (هذا) ‘This’, |?ajjU| (أي) ‘What’, |Sei?| (شيء) ‘Thing’. |ha:Da:| is converted into |da:| (دا) via some transformational rules where the functions of deletion and substitution are performed, i.e., |ha:| is deleted, |da:| substitutes for |Da:|. |?ajjU| is deleted by means of assimilation, and |Sei?| becomes |S| for short. The result is |da:S| to mean ‘What’.

Another possible explanation could be that |da:S| comes from |?ajjU Sei?| (أي شيء) (أي شيء), i.e., no |ha:Da:| is involved. The feature |da:| is an element typical to the dialect of Jijel which is inserted at the beginning of almost any utterance or word, for example:

- |da:S dda:ni nru:h0 m;a:h| (داهش داني نروح معاه؟) ‘I shouldn’t have gone with him’.

3) |da:h| (داه): This question marker is usually used alone as an answer when someone calls us. In this context it means ‘yes’ or ‘what do you want?’. Apart from this, it is never used in a full interrogative sentence.

4) |?a:S| (أش): It is used in several speech communities such as: Algiers and Morocco. Evidence comes of Algerian and Moroccan songs in which |?a:S| is heard, for example: |?a:S dda:ni nxa:lt0U| (أش داني نخالطو) ‘I shouldn’t have gone out with him’. Evidence of the wide spread use of |?a:S| also comes from the popular riddle which says: |?arbija

Za:t m@lla;rab qa:l@t ?a:S ha:D l@;Z@b @l f@d0d0a ra:kba faUq @DDhab| عريية
 'An Arab woman came from Arabia, she says: What's this amazement? Silver is riding gold!' (Mortad, 2007: 78).

5.3.2 The Question Marker Set of 'Which one'

The second set contains the question markers |dama| (داما), |waina| (واين), |daina| (داين), |wi:na| (وين). They all mean 'which one?'. The most rejected ones are:

- 1) |dama| (داما): This question marker is typical to the variety of language spoken in the community of Jijel. It is unknown to the other speech communities in Algeria. Most probably it is influenced by |?ama| (أما) 'which one' which is used in Algiers. The Jijel speakers have taken it as it is and have added to it the feature |d@| (د) to adapt to the Jijel dialect. In Algiers people say, for instance, |?ama hUwa lfilm lli ;aZb@k| (أما هوّ الفيلم اللّي عجبك؟) 'Which film did you like much?' In Jijel people say |dama hUwa lfilm ddi ;aZb@k| (داما هوّ الفيلم ديّ عجبك؟) 'Which film did you like much?'. That is, only the item |d| (د) makes the difference between the two questions. |?ama| is prestigious while |dama| is stigmatised.
- 2) |daina| (داين): This item is also typical to the Jijel variety and is rejected though phonologically not far from |waina| (واين) – its equivalent in the region of Constantine; they differ only at the level of the first phonemes |d| and |w|. This rejection is not linguistic or phonological as much as it is a social rejection. Sometimes it is not clear to the ear whether the Constantinians actually say |waina| or |wainah| (وايناه), i.e., with an 'h' sound at the end. The same thing is true for |daina| which is sometimes heard |dainah| (دايناه).

5.3.3 The Question Marker Set of ‘Why’

The third set is composed of such question markers as |ḥla:S| (علاش), |ḥla:h| (علاه), |ḥlama:S| (علاماش), |ḥlijj@S| (علّيش), |ḥlawah:h| (علاواه) which all mean ‘Why’. The most rejected ones are:

1) |ḥlijj@S| (علّيش): This element is a question marker that serves for asking about the reason. Not only is it typical to the variety of language spoken in the Jijel speech-community, but to the city centre of Jijel. It derives from three different elements which are: |ḥala:| (على), |ʔajj| (أيّ), |Seiʔ| (شيء) fused together to give the blend |ḥlijj@S| which is equivalent to the Standard Arabic |lima| (لم) or |lima:Da:| (لماذا) which mean ‘Why’ in English.

|ḥlijj@S| may precede the verb as in:

- |ḥlijj@S dda:w@h mḥa:hUm| (علّيش داوه معاهم؟) ‘Why did they take him with them?’

Or the noun as in:

- |ḥlijj@S d0d0U hadi fl@bju:t b@lk@l| (علّيش الضو هدي فلبوت بالكل؟) ‘Why this light in all the rooms?’

Or the pronoun as in:

- |ḥlijj@S had @zzu:r| (علّيش هد الزور؟) ‘Why this injustice?’

Or the preposition as in:

- |ḥlijj@S mḥah@m hdar zijj wmḥana hdar zijj xla:f| (علّيش معاهم هدر زي و معانا هدر زي) ‘Why with them he talked some way and with us he talked some other way?’

Or the adjective as in:

- |ḥlijj@S kbira hakda| (علّيش كبيرة هكد؟) ‘Why is it that big?’

It may be perceived that |ḥlijj@S| differs from |ḥla:S| (علاش) – which is not rejected – only at the level of the long vowel |a:| in |ḥla:S| replaced by the semi-vowel |j| in

|ħlijj@S|; and it has already been said that the Arabs either omit or replace the vowel |a| by |j|. |ħla:S| and |ħlijj@S|, thus, can be used interchangeably without loss or change of meaning.

- 2) |ħlamaS| (علامش): No difference is there between |ħlamaS| and |ħla:S| except that the feature |ma| is inserted in the former. Most probably this feature derives from the equivalent Standard Arabic question marker |ħala:ma| (علام) which means the same as |ħlamaS|. The feature |S| which is the shortening of |Sei?| (شيء) is very much used in non-Standard Arabic languages, and, thus, |ħala:ma| becomes |ħlamaS| in the variety spoken in the community of Jijel, but for no apparent reasons |ħlamaS| is stigmatised, |ħla:S| is not. The rejection of |ħlamaS| and |ħlijj@S| proves again that people stigmatise other groups' words or structures not on the basis of their linguistic or phonetic characters, but on the basis of social considerations.

5.3.4 The Question Marker Set of 'When'

In the fourth set which contains |faiw@k| (فيوك), |w@qta| (وقته), |w@qta:h| (وقتاه) and |faj@k| (فيك) and which are all question markers used to ask for time, the following are the most rejected items by the informants:

- 1) |faiw@k| (فيوك): This word is a blend obtained from three different words. These are: the preposition |fi:| (في) 'in', the question marker |?ajji| (أي) 'which', and |w@qt| (وقت) 'time' which read altogether |fi: ?ajji w@qt| (في أي وقت) whose word-for-word translation would be 'in which time?', but whose actual equivalent in English would be 'when'. By the word blend phenomenon, the three words |fi: ?ajji w@qt| have undergone some changes to become |fajw@k|. That is, the |?| is deleted from |?ajji|, the t-sound is also deleted from |w@qt|, the q-sound is converted into |k| in the dialect of Jijel; the result is |fajw@k|, a separate word which serves as a

question marker to mean ‘When’. The functions of deletion and substitution which are applied on |ʔajji| and |w@qt| are universal properties.

- 2) |faj@k| (فَيْكُ): What applies to |fajw@q| applies to |faj@k| in addition to the deletion of |w| (و) from |w@qt|. They are used interchangeably and may be used by the same speaker without any intention of choice between the two. In other words, any person from the province of Jijel may say, for example, |faiw@k Za| (فيوك جا؟) ‘When did he come?’ or |faj@k Za| (فَيْكُ جَا؟) ‘When did he come?’ without really thinking of this or that question marker.

5.3.5 The Question Marker Set for the ‘yes’ ‘no’ Question Auxiliaries

The last set of question markers given to the informants contains only two items. They are: |ɣ@nni| (عني) and |mm@lli| (مَالِي), the equivalent of which in English would be any auxiliary used before any noun or pronoun to serve for asking ‘yes’ ‘no’ questions.

- 1) |ɣ@nni| is a question marker typical to the speech of the province of Jijel. It derives from the Standard Arabic question marker |ʔaʔin| (أَإِنْ) by the phenomenon known as |@l ɣanɣana| (العنعنة), (the phenomenon of replacing the sound |ʔ| (أ) by |ɣ| (ع) as is explained by (Dif, 1994), is common to some Arabic tribes namely in the languages of Temim, Kays and Assad where they say, for example, |ʔaShadU ɣannaka rasu:IU LLa:h| (أشهدُ عنكَ رسول الله) ‘I testify that you are the messenger of God’ instead of |ʔaShadU ʔannaka rasu:IU LLa:h| (أشهدُ أَنْكَ رسول الله). – |ʔa| (أ) in |ʔannaka| (أَنَّكَ) is replaced by |ɣa| to give |ɣannaka| (عَنَّكَ).

It should be useful to say that in the extreme east of Jijel – in the regions of El-Milia – |ɣanni| is used only to ask for the future – for example: |ɣanni t@kraU G@dUa| (عني تَكرَاو غدوة؟) ‘Do you have class tomorrow?’, whereas in the rest of the

province it is used with all tenses, and, thus, |ḡanni kritU lbar@h0| (عني كريتو لبارح؟) ‘Did you have class yesterday?’ is possible.

- 2) |mmalli| (مالي): This question marker might have derived from the Standard Arabic |?ama:| (أما) which is used to formulate ‘yes’ ‘no’ questions as in: |?ama: Dahabta baḡd| (أما ذهبت بعد؟) ‘Haven’t you gone yet?’ As usual, the sound |ʔ| (أ) is deleted for easiness, and |lli| (لي) is inserted maybe to sound like |ḡanni| (insertion, deletion, rearrangement, and substitution of elements may be performed without known reasons). |?ama: Dahabta baḡd| is said in the dialect of Jijel, and namely in the rural areas of the extreme east of the province |mmalli mazal ma: rUh0tS| (مالي مازال ما روحتش؟) ‘Haven’t you gone yet?’ In conclusion to this section, we can say that the structures and question markers given all perform their purposeful task, but some are far from stigma whereas some others are not. This type of stigmatizing other people’s speech is social more than it is linguistic or phonetic.

Conclusion

The task performed on the structures and question markers with the investigated informants has yielded the most general conclusion that the vast majority of structures and question markers which have been rejected pertain to the Jijel dialect. However, we have tried – through description and comparison – to show that the way sentences are structured or interrogated in a language do not relate to ‘pretty’ or ‘ugly’ languages, but should be treated in accordance with the nature and characteristics of the language they belong to. Sociolinguists have found that all languages are complex socio-culturally determined linguistic phenomena which are equally valid as means of communication.

Any attempt, therefore, to consider that a people’s knowledge about the form and order of their words is inadequate, is an implicit accusation that these people lack

competence, a reality which may be found in children and foreign language learners who do not speak some particular language adequately. Evidently, languages differ, but they differ only at the level of form, not in what they can express.

Chapter VI

Prejudiced talk

Introduction

One of the major theses of this chapter is that prejudice is culturally and socially reproduced through talk. If we really want to understand how this important characteristic of the social communication of group attitudes functions, we have to examine such discourse structures in detail. By ‘in detail’ we mean how prejudice is applied at the level of contexts and more specifically at the level of forms. Such analyses not only make it easy to assess how hidden attitudes are strategically expressed in discourse in various social contexts, but may give us clues about prejudice, its strategies and its cognitive organization. That is, discourse is, in a way, “the central element in the processes of the interpersonal communication of prejudice” (Dijk, 1987: 30) and discourse analysis is involved in everyday conversation, and in face-to-face verbal interaction, among members of the majority group population.

The chapter will be divided into four basic sections. The first section will be concerned with storytelling about minorities, its characteristics and how it is structured, illustrated by some sample stories. The second section will be about jokes about out-groups, how they are told, where, and to whom with some sample jokes. The third section of the chapter will introduce popular sayings about minorities to show how the inhabitants of certain regions are dressed up by stereotyped traits of characters. Finally, section four will introduce nicknames attributed to out-siders for the purpose of showing that both form and content are important in presenting certain groups negatively.

6.1 Story Structure

Story telling about minority groups generally takes place in public areas where there is high contact between people of the same clan. The stories told in such areas usually have an argumentative function. They are not like other types of conversational narratives. In fact, storytellers do not aim at entertaining the audience; nor do they tell about their experiences to show off to look as heroes. They rather mean to use these stories as a form of complaints – the way other forms of everyday talk about out-groups are used. By so doing, the storytellers portray themselves as victims of the existence of out-siders in their neighbourhood. Thus, the narration of such experienced events serves as good premises for planned and evaluative Conclusions. They are a big step within an argumentative strategy of presenting the others negatively and a positive self-presentation. In such a way, negative stories make negative Conclusions believable and even defensible.

Stories told in everyday conversations theoretically show general properties of both conversational and narrative structures. In their interactions, they tend to make not only the frame of only one turn played by the teller, but, rather come in a sort of constructed dialogue. That is, the speaker – the primary storyteller – speaks about some events to tell personal experiences with out-siders in sequences of narrative steps, and the listener may repeatedly stop him to make comments, show surprise, ask questions, or relate the happenings of the story to his own experiences with those people. That is, the storyteller cannot dominate the situation from the beginning of the story to the end. The taking of the floor is, thus, shared by the participants unless they all agree that the story is really interesting, relevant, and worth telling. What we can notice about such stories is the fact that they often deviate and may even remain uncompleted. In other words, the conversational structure of this type of conversational stories may not be respected in a

straightforward way and “may need permanent local modifications and adaptations to the ongoing communicative context” (Dijk, 1987: 63).

6.2 The Spontaneity of Story Telling

Occasions where people engage in the telling of stories and jokes about the others are given in almost any piece of conversational data between friends or members of the same family belonging to the in-group. In all cultures of the world people gossip, complain, and tell stories and jokes about other people. These ‘other people’ generally belong to out-group inhabitants. This is why, probably, the ability to tell a good story or joke is regarded by discourse analysts as high talent. Stories are a category of related discourse types that have a general narrative shape in common. They also display an overall narrative pattern that identifies them as stories. These narrative structures have long been the concern of a considerable number of men of letters notably early anthropologists, sociolinguists, and psycholinguists in determining the nature of story formation rules. Like the formal structure of a sentence in structural linguistics, studies of this type are explained by means of typical categories and rules summarized in a model developed by Labov (1972). The model specifies elements that are commonly found in normal narratives. These categories involve, for instance, Abstract (or Summary), Setting, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda (or Conclusion).

To attract the listeners’ attention, the storyteller must provide them with an important clue about the interestingness of the story. This is often done through a summary which may make an association between the story and the development of the conversation. In sum, Abstracts are elements of what the story is going to be about, for example, ‘I found myself in a difficult situation this morning and I must tell you about it’, or ‘without the intervention of some neighbours yesterday, no one would know the result of a quarrel with the peasant who lives upstairs’. The Setting specifies the location where

the events take place, time, and participants (generally fiends and members of the family) and may be extended to the core of the event or the happening of the story. The Orientation of the story displays the special circumstances that lead to the Complication, e.g., ‘you know that person who lives in the building just opposite to us...’. The Complication is usually composed of the main events, or the core of the story that makes the story altogether take place, e.g., ‘the front door of the building has been broken by some three youngsters unknown in our neighbourhood’. The Complication most of the times contains events that are contrary to the expectations, the goals, and the wishes of the storytellers. The Resolution is how the events sort themselves out; the actions performed in such problems, with or without success. For example, ‘the inhabitants of the building collected a sum of money to repair the front door’. Evaluation is an element which is constantly present throughout the whole story to make it worth listening. It is meant to express the personal opinions or emotions of the storyteller about the happenings. Attempts to make the story interesting can be made either by directly telling the audience, for example (‘listen to this! You will like it’, or ‘I’m not saying the following is the funniest joke in the world, but I like it’) or indirectly by introducing some devices internal to the story such as fear, exaggeration, or simply constant Evaluations of individual events as in, ‘I really felt the danger’, or ‘I was really afraid’, or again ‘they tied that huge male sheep in the balcony one month before l’Aïd (Greater Bairam – the day of slaughtering ritual) etc. Finally, the Coda (or Conclusion) usually aims at strategically conveying a negative opinion about outsiders. Such expressions as, ‘I’ll never forget that’, ‘one has really to be careful’, ‘that was as true as you can see me now’ are good examples of that. Codas, that is, provide a bridge between the story’s events and the moment of telling it.

It should be useful, however, to say that not all stories are categorized this way; some of the given premises, such as abstracts and Codas, may be absent but would not

diminish from the making of the story a real one as long as the other elements are present. On the basis of what has been given so far on story telling about minority groups, one can understand that such stories and jokes are told collaboratively. That is, more than one person are involved, and practically all show predisposition to denigrate minority group members. The details given are often jointly recalled and an agreed end is often arrived at via alternating contributions (See Edwards and Middleton 1986). The other notable thing is that listeners are constantly reacting to the narrative and keeping on asking questions to fill out all the details possible, though, in most cases, the storytellers tend to end up their stories by such negative opinions as, “this does not mean that I hate them...” or “I have nothing against them, but...” or “I am not racist, but...”. That is, often are there final touches which aim at showing the good side of the in-group members towards the out-group members.

6.3 Sample Stories

The following is a story which probably illustrates the general theoretical notions given above. The story is a concrete example told about someone who, one day, moved to Jijel and decided to open a supermarket.

- Storyteller: One day uhh... this happened in the city of Jijel, you know where people are conservative
- Participant: Oh yes, very... yes
- Storyteller: A young girl uhh aged about nine went to the supermarket, in the city center
- Participant: It was there... yes
- Storyteller: That was long ago...
- Participant: Yes
- Storyteller: I believe it belonged to a Mosabit

- Participant: Very known in trade and commerce
- Storyteller: And that young girl bought a needle. She left the store and came back and said ‘this is not the right needle’
- Participant: Hmm
- Storyteller: Then the store keeper very politely...: ‘Daughter, you need a bigger one or a smaller one? The young girl replied ‘I don’t want the needle, I want my money back’,
- Participant: Hmm
- Storyteller: Still, very politely, the store keeper took out all types of needles in the store and asked her to choose.
- Participant: And then
- Storyteller: Then the girl started to shout, ‘I want my money back, I don’t want your needles’,
- Participant: Oh!
- Storyteller: At that time the store keeper...you know... he tried to explain uh the girl throws the man that needle on the chest, goes out and closes the door violently
- Participant: Yes
- Storyteller: Everybody knows this story.

This rather characteristic story about the population of Jijel known for its closed character vis-à-vis the out-siders shows the main narrative elements that have been discussed above. Because such stories about the Hrika out-group members are very much told in public places in Constantine – the in-group community –, there is no need for a special introduction or summary. The storyteller uses a direct start with a description of the Setting where both time and place are given (‘One day’, the indicator of time in the far

past, is deliberately chosen to show that the event was important enough to the storyteller to be remembered, and the place is the out-group origin location). The Orientation describes the whole situation including the characters where problems are expected to take place and to be told in the Complication category when the story develops. The Complication is composed of various events, which conversational narratives often display: Bringing back the needle, shouting at the store keeper, throwing the needle at the chest of the store keeper, and the closing of the door violently (as a reaction for not being given the money back for the needle!). The Resolution consists of two events: the politeness of the store keeper, and the taking of all types of needles in the shop.

The storyteller generates his own Conclusion and Evaluation about the happenings which imply that the out-group people are 'distant', 'impolite', and they quickly take on terribly – an Evaluation which describes the out-siders in negative terms. Although the storyteller and his participants are involved in a story that treats an isolated case – an event between a young girl and a shop keeper, it is perceived as a representation of two groups and what happened is no less than a stereotypical image about all out-siders without any exception. By the look at how the story is presented, one might have the impression that it is innocent and real, but, in fact, it might be locally invented and constructed in such a way to be convincing and believable. It goes without saying that the story narrative reproduction argues for a number of prejudice opinions (they are distant, unpleasant to meet or to talk to, aggressive, impolite and thankless). The pronoun 'they' is often used by the in-group members because they believe that these out-siders are not even worth naming.

Notice that the story is, of course, told from the majority group side, and that some significant details are missing from the story. For example, it is not said why the young girl brought back the needle (was she asked to pay more money for it than its real

price?). From this small observation, one may conclude that the story, and many others like it, are subjectively biased and incomplete, meant at putting the storyteller and the majority group in a positive side and the minority group in a negative one. This simply means that such a story is not a mere account of personal experiences, but rather an expression of man's social experiences as members of the majority group. They are far from being I-stories, but we-stories, something which makes them spread quickly in informal communication. That is, the story may be reproduced in the community by any member of that community who becomes the storyteller. The main objective of any story or storyteller is to give evidence for negative opinions about the minority group.

6.3.1 Another Sample Story

- Storyteller: One day, it was night... I could not go out... I was a bit sick... I came to the balcony to have some fresh air, and I looked down the street, I saw them... they were two,
- Participant: Yes, certainly not from ours,
- Storyteller: Of course not, you know who they were... as usual.
- Participant: And then?
- Storyteller: Then they moved to a car, yes a new one... at first I thought it was theirs... then I saw them uh breaking open the door... I peered into the darkness,
- Participant: Could you get a description?
- Storyteller: Oh yes, a good description, I was too sick at the time to go out,
- Participant: What about the police?
- Storyteller: No one was there... only then could I realize to what extent we are insecure. To frighten them I started coughing uh coughing loudly, then quickly I dropped a bottle,

- Participant: And they ran away
- Storyteller: Of course they did, but I think they took it... yes I'm sure they did...
- Participant: The radio-cassette,
- Storyteller: Yes, the radio-cassette. I went in quickly and phoned the police, I waited in the balcony... I made sure no one could see me from outside... I was watching...
- Participant: The police did not come,
- Storyteller: As if nobody is doing their job in this country, I was watching for more than half an hour and uh no one came uh no, no uh the police did not come.
- Participant: Well, uh this is it.

This story reflects much of the real situation in our cities and the prejudice held on the out-siders. It features the above narrative categories: The Setting, designated by time, location, and characters (one day, car parked in the street before the block, two 'out-siders?', a daily life Orientation (staying at home because of sickness and looking through the balcony), and a Complication which instantly holds a prejudice opinion generalized on all minority group members). This Complication is neatly explained by the breaking open the door of the car. The man's vigilance (the watching through the balcony, the coughing loudly, the dropping of a bottle) is only part of the Resolution. In other words, the real Resolution – which is absent in the story – is, in principle, the rapid intervention of the police, and punishment through court. But, much like in other out-group stories, the government is held responsible for the total absence of firmness. Finally, the Conclusion displays a value judgment on these people and a general treatment of such problem makers ('well, this is it...') – an expression which implies that this situation is imposed on the in-

group people who have to admit that this is their destiny. Note that the storyteller managed to give the impression that he was a good citizen by showing that calling the police to catch the thieves was his duty. This element in the story may be considered as a step which presents him as a positive person in his society.

6.3.2 A third Sample Example

This story is about ‘those’ people being ungrateful.

- Storyteller: I remember I was driving. It was the rush-hour. I was about to be late. I thought I could never get out of that traffic jam. There were three lanes...
- Participant: Someone wanted to go past you I can guess,
- Storyteller: Yes, that’s it, I was coming to that... you know who it could be. One of theirs,
- Participant: I told you, I was sure
- Storyteller: He drove an old car... yes as old as a container...
- Participant: Yes, he wouldn’t worry about it,
- Storyteller: No, not at all, I could feel he didn’t even know his priority.
- Participant: They all buy the driving license
- Storyteller: He was really in difficulty... he wanted to change direction, he definitely wanted to go past me.
- Participant: So...
- Storyteller: Well, I said... well I reduced speed and uhh made him a sign... yes, asked him to go,
- Participant: He said ‘thank you’, at least.
- Storyteller: The whole story is here, he did not even raise his hand, you know these people are thankless.

This story is a good example of what drivers suffer from traffic in our cities. But it is also an implication that traffic problems relate to ‘these’ people – out-siders. This story falls into the categories mentioned above: the Setting is indicated by time (the rush-hour), location (road, three lanes), characters (someone of theirs), a daily life Orientation (driving), Complication (the man’s determination of going past the driver), which holds a generalized opinion on all out-siders. The Resolution consists in the wise reaction of the storyteller and his tolerance (his asking the man to go). Finally, the Conclusion stereotypes the others, all of them, – they are all thankless, whereas the storyteller implicitly transmits the message that the in-group members are comprehensive, civilized, and tolerant.

6.3.3 A fourth Sample Example

We said earlier that public areas are generally the scene for such minority stories. But, this does not mean that women are far from involving themselves in such stories. Other areas may be used as public places and, thus, scenes where women express their opinions about minority group members. The following storyteller is a woman who tells a story about the others in a form of gossip in her place of work:

- Storyteller: Well, opposite my window is their kitchen, I have to open my window anyway. I can see it all right. I think they have moved there for more than five years now, of course it is non of my business, sure... but when I look through the window, I have never seen a sponge or cloth on their windows... no washing at all, in their kitchen uh, you see, well you can see a complete mess – unwashed plates and sauce pans and uhh that is always like that. They are used to it. We are not like that, are we?

In this story, the participants do not contribute; the storyteller says everything. The Setting is made clear by the present time, the balcony and the kitchen (the location), and the characters (storyteller and ‘they’ – the out-siders), a daily life Orientation (looking

through the window and cooking in the kitchen), the mess, the dirty window, and the unwashed dishes mark the Complication. The Resolution lies in the fact that, fortunately, they are not like the storyteller and the group to which she belongs. Finally, the Conclusion is, as usual, taxing the whole minority group as being dirty, and no sign is there to indicate any change (they are used to it), and showing the majority group as being different from them.

6.3.4 A fifth Sample Story

Again, the following is a story told by a woman. It is about her neighbours who live upstairs and who have never stopped dusting off their blankets, sheets, and carpets from above their balcony.

- Storyteller: It was during the week-end, I was home preparing lunch... suddenly I heard that clapping over me... it was upstairs, at the window uhh as usual you know...
- Participant: It happened to me before I moved to the city of 'Belle-vue'.
- Storyteller: Yes, but I am not moving anywhere. These people have exaggerated. They must stop it, there must be a change!
- Participant: Yes, but...
- Storyteller: There is no 'but', I decided to do something... yes... definitely I had to do something.
- Participant: and, then?
- Storyteller: Then, I went up to her...
- Participant: hmm...
- Storyteller: At the beginning before I threatened her uhh, yes it was before I threatened her she raised her voice,
- Participant: Oh!

- Storyteller: Yes, she even said, I can remember, “If you don’t want to be disturbed, look for a villa for yourself”
- Participant: Oh! Yes, the block is her property, private property (ironically)
- Storyteller: At that time I said, “OK! We will meet in court, you do it again and we meet in court.”
- Participant: And then?
- Storyteller: Then, when she felt threatened... uhh when she heard the word ‘court’, uhh she... she changed her way of speaking.
- Participant: Do they fear court?
- Storyteller: Yes, no, it’s not court that they fear really, they fear fines...
- Participant: Oh! Yes, they kneel before money...

The over all implication behind this story is that these minority group people do not respect their neighbours, but rather behave in a brutal way. This is on the one hand, on the other hand they are obsessed by money. The story within itself reflects a mundane situation and the prejudice held not on one person only, but on all out-group members. The narrative categories given above are featured as follows: Time, Location, and characters designate the Setting (during the week-end, the woman storyteller was home, a woman neighbour up stairs), a mundane Orientation (being at home preparing lunch), and a Complication (the dusting off the blankets, sheets, and carpets), then the Resolution (threatening), and finally a Conclusion which serves as an Evaluation (the changing of the woman’s attitude fro fear of being fined). Notice that the Conclusion and Evaluation do not just concern the woman neighbour, but all minority group members. The final move of the story (going up to her, and threatening to introduce her into justice) situates the storyteller in a positive position in that she has contributed to bring a change to her society. In fact,

the general aim of such stories is to present majority group members as positive people and minority-group members as negative people.

6.3.5 A Sixth and Last Sample Story

This final story is about those people who bring sheep for the greater Bairam one month before the feast and attach them in the balconies. Although both in and out-group members of the community do that, prejudice is held on out-group members only.

- Storyteller: Look at those peasants again, they bring sheep one month before the feast, yes, what's today's date? Yes exactly one month.
- Participant: Yes, they grow them in the countryside; they don't buy them in animal markets.
- Storyteller: True... they have relatives in the countryside, yes members of the family... they send them their part; they also have their share of olive oil...
- Participant: Yes, uh I sometimes see some countrymen here around, yes, with a jerry can of oil...
- Storyteller: Well, last year we all blamed them... yes, that is we all complained of that situation, and uh I can remember, they all promised they wouldn't do it again.
- Participant: Yes, but they never keep their word.
- Storyteller: Yes, that's it... we will have to bear that babbling, and yes, yes that horrible stink.

This final story about minorities neatly features the above mentioned categories: 'They bring greater Bairam's sheep one month before the feast' designates an introduction which, at once, functions as a summary of what these people are; the time (last year), and the characters (all people attaching sheep in the balcony – the place) designate the mundane Orientation; the babbling and the horrible stink designate the Complication;

blaming them, complaining of that situation, and the promising they wouldn't do it again all designate the Resolution; and, finally, the Conclusion, which is at once an Evaluation, is designated by stereotyping the minorities: They never keep their word, and the majority-group members have nothing to do but accept the situation as it is: "That's it... we will have to bear that babbling, and yes, yes that horrible stink".

In conclusion to this section, it can be said that stories about minority groups tend to be told as an argument to show that minorities are somehow problematic, mostly by breaking the law or the life style of the majority group, and that in-group people are the victims of such behaviours. It can also be said that while the Complication typically features such 'deviant acts', the Solution is often not easy to be found, and the whole society together with the authorities are often blamed.

6.4 Jokes about Minorities

Unlike stories, jokes take the frame of only one turn played by the teller only in a form of monologues. That is, the teller of the joke is the main speaker, and the listeners just laugh and may make comments when the joke is over. It should be noted that joke telling is not given to any member of society but there are persons who are known in that domain to the extent that when their friends or members of the family see them coming – be it in public areas or at home – they hasten to ask them for a new 'one' – a new joke. By implication, everybody knows that if any 'new' is there, it is going to be about minorities and that the pronouns 'they' and 'them' are always used to refer to them – they are often not called by their name, but if they are, they are called by their nicknames. Again, the core of the jokes is usually about negative acts which represent a real nuisance for the majorities. If the jokes are not about acts, really, they are at least about cultural differences which, still, show the others in a negative light.

6.4.1 Sample jokes

- Joke teller: Listen to this! You've never heard this one, uh... that in which he wanted to take it lit... no, you haven't. One day, two Hrika youngsters wanted to steal a bulb. It was night, one of them climbed the pole, yes the public lighting pole, while the other one was looking left and right in case the police would appear suddenly... the one in the pole removed the bulb yes, but took much time to come down... his friend asked him: "What are you doing? Why do you remove it and then set it up again?" the other replied: "I want to take it lit".
- Listeners: laughs.

Although this type of jokes is different in form from stories, it is similar in content. As far as form is concerned, only the speaker dominates the situation; the listeners implicitly accept to leave the floor for the teller because of two things: The joke is new – they have never heard it, and it is worth telling – as long as it is about the others. Notice that the joke is polysemous: it means whenever there is any stealing the stealers are out-siders, and it means the out-siders are stupid (I want to take it lit), it also means that the out-siders cause decay to the town, and above all, it means that the listeners are ready to accept any story or joke about minorities without discussion. Yet, a very simple question would discredit the whole joke: 'Who can say that the two characters in the joke are really Hrika youngsters?' Unfortunately such questions are never asked by listeners, and they are not part of the technique of joke telling.

6.4.2 Another Sample Joke

- Joke teller: This is the best! You will like it, it's really funny... very funny, OK!
A young Hrika immigrated to France... like many Algerian youngsters, you know. Just one year after his emigration, he came back home. On his arrival, all

the members of his village were envious to see him married and driving a new car. His mother asked him: ‘How come that you could marry and buy a car like this in no more than a year of you leaving the village?’ The son replied: ‘You know mother, in France marriage is free and cars are cheap.’ The mother said: ‘Oh! If what you are saying is right, then leave them to your brother and when you go back to France look for another bride and buy yourself a car.’

- Listeners: Laughs.
- A listener comments: This can happen only with a Hrika... yes, this is typically Hrika.’

Again this joke is polysemous in that it presents the Hrika people as being stingy, stupid, and immoral. They are stingy in the sense that they do not want to spend money on the marriage of their son, stupid in the sense that they do not consider the reaction of their emigrant son and that of his bride, in addition to whether the emigrant has the right to leave one’s wife to a brother is not normally feasible. But the overall aim of such jokes is agreed on – at least implicitly – by both the teller and the listeners. It is to show the others in a negative light.

6.4.3 A Third Sample Joke

- Joke teller: This is the newest of all. I’m sure you’ve never heard that one... A Hrika trader bought a computing price scale. You know... in order not to lose anything of what he weighs... Someone came and asked him for a kilo of dates... the scale indicated some grams extra... the trader removed two or three dates from above the scale... the scale indicates some grams below the kilo... then he perceived that the problem was within only one date; when he removed it the scale indicated a bit below a kilo, and when he added it the scale indicates

a bit above a kilo... so he cut the date into two, put a half on the scale and the other half in his mouth.

- Listeners: Laughs.

Although the joke concerns an isolated story about a Hrika trader, the teller's aim is to stereotype all the Hrika population by presenting them as extreme stingy people. Note that the joke teller started by influencing the listeners by introducing such expressions as 'this is the newest of all. I'm sure you've never heard that one', to convince the audience to listen to him without any attempt to take the floor from him. By that, the listeners expect the joke to be worth telling and, thus, have but to listen without interruption. Note also that the teller is not innocent in the sense that he wants to entertain the audience, but to give a negative image about others

6.4.4 A Fourth Sample Joke

This fourth joke aims at presenting outsiders as lazy, stupid, and subjective people.

- Joke teller: (Directly, without any introduction, without any abstract). A Hrika was sleeping under a tree. It was during the summer. When the shadow moved, he woke up and found out that his head was under the sun. He waited until someone – another Hrika – was passing by and asked him to displace his head a bit toward the shadow... the passer by apologized and said, 'I am too tired to do that'. At that time he had nothing to say but to treat the passer by as a lazy person.
- Listeners: Laughs.

The purpose of this joke is to present the Hrika people as being subjective. The joke meets the famous popular saying which says that the humped camel does not see its hump, but only the other camel's humps. Much in the same way, he who was unable to make the effort of displacing his head to the shadow – which is extreme laziness – treated

the person who did not displace it for him with laziness – which is extreme subjectivity. It should be noted that using jokes to stereotype the others is a universal property to the extent of finding similar jokes told in different cultures. For example, the well-known Mexican joke about laziness is very similar to the one just given. It tells the story of a Mexican person – Mexicans are stereotyped of being the laziest people in the world – who was said that if he could show the laziest attitude on earth he would win an important sum of money. On hearing that, he pointed to his pocket (he wanted to imply that taking the money and putting it in his pocket was too much an effort to make). Of course such jokes are great exaggeration but anything that types out-siders as being lazy, stupid, subjective, and stingy or whatever are accepted.

6.4.5 A Fifth Sample Joke

This fifth joke typically concerns the Hrika people. This joke is as old as the early years of Algeria's independence.

- Joke teller: This one is very old. But, still you will like it. You've certainly heard of that Hrika peasant who came to visit some of his relatives in Constantine and when he went back he took the coach driver's seat. Well, it was long ago... just after independence... a Hrika countryman paid a visit to some relatives in Constantine. And when he wanted to go back he went to the coach station. Remember it was down town. There were many passengers disputing their places in the coach; there were lots of transportation problems at that time you see... and then, as simple as the peasant could see it, he took the driver's seat. Then, the coach driver came and asked the person to clear off. The person refused to leave place under the pretext of taking the seat before him. The driver explained that he was the coach driver... at that time the peasant said angrily, "OK! Take your steering wheel and look for another seat for yourself".

This joke, though very exaggerated, implies that the Hrika people are primitive, uncivilized, and are not apt to advance. Note that despite the fact the content of the joke is very far from real, yet it is still reproduced in everyday discourse of the majority group and the listeners administer the same amount of pleasure when hearing it as when they hear other jokes and stories about out-group people. That is, as has been said before, anything that treats ‘these people’ negatively is welcomed by the in-group members. It should be noted, however, that such jokes and stories about minorities do not mean to harm people as much as to express a deep seated feeling about a category of people.

6.4.6 A Sixth Sample Joke

This joke is to show that the Hrika people are obsessed by money, and at once shows that they are stupid.

- Joke teller: This is the latest thing. I heard it only this morning. Here it is... A Hrika was wandering in the market. It was in El-Milia... and then, he remembered that they asked him at home to buy one kilo of Sardines... he asked for the price... it was eighty dinars a kilo... he thought it was expensive and decided to buy them from Jijel where a kilo cost only sixty dinars... By that he thought he would save twenty dinars... he took the bus for fifty dinars, bought one kilo of sardines from Jijel and went back to El-Milia for some other fifty dinars.

The joke not only shows that the Hrika people are obsessed by money in that to save twenty dinars the person travelled fifty kilometres, but stupid in that the return travel cost him one hundred dinars.

6.4.7 A Seventh Sample Joke

This is another joke where money is involved.

- Joke teller: You haven't heard of the Hrika and the fortune teller, have you? It was in the City Center... A Hrika was stopped by a fortune teller who asked him to give his hand. The Hrika did and the fortune teller started reading her prophecies... "I can see you will be the owner of a luxurious store, and very nice cars; you will be a very rich person anyway..." The fortune teller asked him to pay her. So he said "I will pay you when I become that rich person."
- One of the listeners: Finally a Hrika is perceived to be intelligent.
- Joke teller: No, they are intelligent only when money is involved.

Notice that the listener speaks only about one Hrika, while the teller uses the pronoun 'they' – as usual – to mean they are all the same. This type of generalization is found in all stories and jokes about minorities. Notice that money is introduced in the first statement uttered by the teller to incite the audience to listen to his joke.

6.4.8 An Eighth and Final Sample Joke

If the jokes told so far covertly present the out-siders negatively, and covertly mean that the majorities dislike minorities, the following overtly expresses the negative attitude of in-groups towards out-groups.

- Joke teller: Four men were going back home from Algiers by train. One was Berber, the second Shaoui, the third Constantinian, and the fourth Jijli. The Berber was carrying a bucket of olive oil and the Shaoui a sac of wheat. When they arrived at a bridge the Berber threw the bucket of oil away. When his companions asked him why he had done that he replied that they had plenty of it in their region. When they arrival at another bridge the Shaoui threw away the sac of wheat under the pretext of having plenty of it in their region. They went on their way and when they arrived at another bridge the Constantinian threw the Jijli away and said, "We have plenty of these people in our region".

This joke neatly reflects the non-acceptance of the out-group members in the community of Constantine, and the readiness of the in-group members to express that attitude overtly. It might be useful to state that such jokes come into existence as a result of the many stories told about minorities. In other words, it seems that the majority group members have had enough of telling stories and what they have experienced and experience with out-siders, and thus have replaced them by jokes which they find easy to tell and which do not aim to seek any solution.

In conclusion to this section, one can say that stories and jokes about others meet in context and differ in form. They meet in context in the sense that they treat the same topics – laziness, brutality, stinginess, stupidity etc, but differ in form in that stories display functional hesitations, local repetitions, and mutual confirmations and so on while jokes are told by only one person, often known for such a task and the listeners are there just to listen and laugh.

6.5 Common Sayings about Minorities

Either by the spirit of humour or by stubborn value judgements sometimes, the inhabitants of certain regions are dressed up by stereotyped traits of characters. These attitudes may lead, evidently, to the creation of problems between individuals or even groups. But, despite the evidence of literacy, psychology, and sociology, these attitudes do not seem to disappear, at least in the near future. People coming from stereotyped regions often hear popular sayings and proverbs which illustrate the stereotypes of the inhabitants of those regions. For example, |mja:t jhUdi wla: wa:h0@d bli:di| ميات واحد يهودي وْلا واحدْ (بيدي) which means ‘we prefer one hundred Jewish persons to one person from Blida’. Blida is province not far from Algiers; and whose inhabitants are stereotyped of not being generous and for their selfishness to the extent that – it is told about them – when a relative

pays them a visit, they do not hesitate to let him know that they have not intention to invite him to spend the night. Such expressions as, 'there is a coach at 4:00 P.M, or tonight we are invited to a party' are often said before the guest so that he would understand that he has to leave. The popular saying, thus, relates the Blidi people to the Jews who are known for their hostility towards the Arabs and Muslims (the Algerians' rejection of the Jews is declared overtly).

The aim of this section is to give evidence that such sayings and proverbs about given regions exist in all cultures of the world, and to show that the character of rhyming dominates over these sayings to the extent of having the same saying in a culture used in a fully different culture with the name of the stereotyped region or people that differs. For example, the just mentioned saying |mja:t jhUdi wla: wa:h0@d bli:di| is used in Iraq with the change of 'Blidi' which is said 'Kurdi' and, hence, |mja:t jhUdi wla: wa:h0@d kurdi| (ميات يهودي ولا واحد كردي) is a popular saying in Iraq. Notice that, 'Blidi' and 'Kurdi' have the same rhyme. Rhyming is the base for such sayings to spread.

It is true that there is a bit of reality within such sayings, but one should not generalize. There are good and bad people everywhere. Some youngsters who were in the army in Blida witness that they have known some very generous and hospitable people from Blida, and that they have maintained good friendships with them even when they gave up the army. In fact, what a visitor to Blida may easily notice is that the Blidi people are firm in their trade and commerce; they know how to spend their money and have a tendency to teach their children the principles of relations with others in terms of business. This 'quality' of resourcefulness – the ability of convincing their customers and sometimes taking them in – makes the others say about them |mja:t jhUdi wla: wa:h0@d bli:di|. In addition, the Blidi's women are said to be known for their asceticism and precaution; a

bottle of oil, for instance, can last one month for a Blidi's wife, something which would account for negative sayings to be told about them.

Common sayings are not just a characteristic of a given people, but exist all over the world. In Egypt, for instance, hearing such sayings about other regions and people is a quite current culture. The Saidi people – the inhabitant of the south of Egypt – are the first victim of that. They are called all the names under the sun to present them as stupid, stingy, stubborn, harsh, and untrustful etc. The inhabitants of Damanhour in the province of Beheira – nicknamed the Fahlawi (from |fh0@l| (فحل) 'resourceful' are sometimes treated as crooks together with the inhabitants of Faraskour in Damiet – another region in Egypt, typed of being stingy. People say about them, |mit nUri wala: damanh0uUri ?aw faraskUri| (ميت نوري و لا دمنحوري أو فرسكوري) 'One hundred crooks and not a citizen from Damanhour or Faraskour'. Other popular sayings illustrate the stereotype of the inhabitants of Menoufia, another region of the south of Egypt marked of being ungrateful. Such sayings as 'If you come across a snake, leave it and if you meet a Menoufi, kill him', are a good illustration that a Menoufi is more harmful than a snake. Of course, the killing here is used connotatively and is no more than an expression of hatred.

This very saying is entirely used in Algeria; only the person's origin differs, e.g. 'If you come across a snake, leave it and if you meet a Hrika, kill him' – a saying known in the community of Constantine, and in other communities all over Algeria with the replacement of 'Hrika' by the categorized people's origins. Other people go further to fuse the feature of two regions and, thus, kill two birds with one stone, as in the case of Menoufia and Damiet where people say ironically, 'If a Menoufi marries a woman from Damiet, they will give birth to a stingy child', a saying used in Cairo to show that the two regions are equally stereotyped.

The use of popular sayings about others actually gives an idea about the stereotyped people and, thus, one initially knows how to conduct with them on the basis of their specificities which differ from others. A picture is drawn about the population of Jijel from the sayings which are said here and there and which are transmitted by word of mouth. It portrays them as being reserved, difficult to get to know, and inhospitable. Someone tells that he has been working in Jijel for more than four years and he has always been looked at as a foreigner, and no one has ever invited him home for a cup of tea. Another one tells that he has worked in the province of El-Taref – not far from the frontiers of Tunisia – as an executive, and has known two executives from Jijel in the same province. In the week-ends the teller gives them a lift on his way home (they live in Jijel, and he lives in Taher – about 17 kms to the east of Jijel). During the Ramadan – the fasting month – he drops them before their houses, and although it is already time to break the fast, they never invite him to come in; they just say ‘good bye’. In turn, no member of their families has ever thought to ask him to come in. What is astonishing about all that is the fact that the inhabitants of Jijel admit ‘proudly’ that inviting people home is not part of their traditions. A third person from Oran – the capital city of the west of Algeria – tells that when he was in the military service in Tlemcène – a town not far from Oran – he made the acquaintance of a youngster from Jijel. When they got to know one another well they would always spend the week-end together at the Orani’s home until the two military service years were over. After some time, the Orani person happened to go to Jijel, he called his friend who met him in the station but who took him to the hotel.

When such stories are told about a group of people, it will be legitimate to categorize its population negatively, though there are always exceptions. The point is, when the above stories happen repeatedly, they make room for prejudice to be held about

that group of people. Consider the following sayings which are heard in the community of Constantine and that of Jijel, whose both inhabitants hold stereotypes about out-siders:

- |s@rdu:k mila ?@t0t0aꞥmU ꞥa:m majꞥaSSi:kS li:la| (سردوك ميلة، اطعمو عام ما يعشّيكش ليلة).

This popular saying is said to a thankless person or group of people who are compared to Mila's cock, you feed it for the whole year, it does not satisfy your hunger in a dinner. Mila is a town that shares borders with Constantine and, thus, is likely to be stereotyped to stop its inhabitants from immigrating to Constantine to avoid sharing with them or taking their resources.

Look at how the choice of words is very important for the saying to be learned and to be easily reproduced locally and regionally. The 'cock' already exists in a famous popular saying that refers to hypocritical people. It says |kidfa:r ss@rdu:k rri:h0 lli: jZi j@ddi:h| (كدفار السردوك، الرّيح اللي يجي يديه) which means that hypocritical people are like the cock's tail, wherever the wind inclines, it inclines with it. In fact, without the notion of prejudice, all cocks are the same, be they from Mila or from elsewhere. The words 'Mila' and 'Lila' (night) are also cunningly chosen to give a certain rhyme to the saying, and it is actually the rhyming which accounts for the long lasting of such sayings. The third main point in the saying is the choice of the word |?@t0t0aꞥmU| 'to feed' which has a great semantic value in the Arab culture. The Arabs are known for their faithfulness and gratitude to any person who provides them with food. These three main elements in the saying make of it an appropriate proverb to use in any context of ingratitude.

- |tgu:lSi Sa:wi maꞥza walaw t0a:r@t| (تقول شي شاوي معزة ولو طارت). This saying is said to a stubborn person who sticks to his opinion even if ample evidence is given to show that he is wrong. The saying means that if a Shaoui is determined to take a bird for a goat, it

is a goat even if it flies before his eyes. This negative stereotype comes from the fact that the Shaoui people are stubborn and do not easily accept any surpassing.

- |kraht l@ʕs@l m@n naqm@t bUlaʕs@l| (كرهت لعسل من نقمة بولعسل). This saying has a direct relation with a whole family via its family name. It should be specified that the item ‘bU’ which precedes nouns is a phenomenal element which literally means ‘the owner of’, but it is far from having that meaning really. It is no less than part of several family names such as, |bUlaʕs@l| (بولعسل), |bUlqamh0| (بوالقمح), |bUmaʕza| (بومعزة), |bUlfu:l| (بولفول) etc. Whose literal translation would be ‘the owner of honey’, ‘the owner of wheat’, ‘the owner of goat’, ‘the owner of bean’ respectively, in the saying beforehand, there is a play on words in that a link is made between honey and the family name whose literal meaning is ‘the owner of honey’. That is, because the family name reminds the people who hate that family of honey, (|bUlaʕs@l| (بولعسل) is associated with |l@ʕs@l| (لعسل), honey is also hated. Again, some elements in the saying make it valuable. Evidently the most important element is honey. Honey is almost sacred in the life of the Arabs in general and Muslims in particular. It is found in practically all Arab and Muslim homes for the purpose of cure. The value given to honey comes from its being cited in the Quran |fi:hi SifaʔUn linna:si| Sourah En-nahl sign (69) (فيه شفاء للناس) ‘In it (honey) there is cure for people’. The selection of the word ‘honey’ is intelligently made because honey is not easy to hate. Such an overt declaration leaves no room for doubt that the degree of hating any member of the name ‘Boulassel’ is high. A similar saying is that which says |kraht @zzi:t m@naqm@t bUzzi:t| (كرهت الزيت من نقمة بوالزيت). This time, instead of honey, it is oil which is hated only because |bUzzi:t| – literally ‘the owner of oil’ – is associated with |@zzi:t| ‘oil’. Once again, the selection of oil is cunningly made because of the nutritive value and the benefits of oil – olive oil, namely cholesterol regulation.

- |l@mxajjar f@wla:d ra:bah0 kilk@lb ddi ma: js0ajj@d ma: jna:b@h0| (لمخيّر فولاذ رابح
(كلكلب دّي ما يصيّد ما يباح) 'the best member in Ouled Rabah – a region in El-Milia – is like
a dog that does not hunt and does not bark (does not guard)'. Of course the user of this
saying does not mean what he says. A deep investigation of this saying will reveal
extreme aversion that is unlikely to be held toward any individual or group especially
when one knows that in the Arab culture comparing someone to a dog carries lots of
negative connotations, such as: meanness, untrustfulness, nastiness etc. The negative
connotations are not limited to the fact of comparing the best element of a group to any
dog, but to a dog which does not hunt and does not bark. A dog of this type is sin to
possess according to Islam. Mot probably, the saying does not mean to carry such
extreme aversion, but the choice of the words |ma: js0ajj@d ma: jna:b@h0| (ما يصيّد ما
(ما يباح) is just for the purpose of rhyming – the raison-d'être of sayings.

Not just groups, but nations also are concerned with sayings and proverbs:

- |ja: ?ahl @l ʒira:q ja: ?ahl nnifa:q w@SSiqa:q| (يا أهل العراق! يا أهل النفاق و الشقاق!) 'Hey you
people of Iraq, people of hypocrisy and discord!' is a good example of that. Treating a
nation like Iraq of hypocrisy and discord does not just lead to conflict but to wars as
well. Saying of such greatness are not just categorizing but insulting. However,
whatever each saying's content is, rhyming is the central core of the saying – |ira:q|,
|nifa:q|, |Siqa:q| all have the same rhyme.

Sayings and proverbs have not spared women who are seen as a threat to men in
that they are taking man's jobs and responsibility posts. In front of that reality, the only
men's defence mechanism is to reproduce sayings which aim at diminishing of women's
value. Such sayings as:

- |rab; nsa: w@l qarba ja:bsa| (رَبْعُ نَسَاءٍ وَ الْقُرْبَةُ يَابِسَةٌ) 'Four women but the jar is empty' are
a good example of that. The purpose of the saying is to imply that women's work is

insignificant, or, rather women are useless. The historical background of the saying goes back to the period of peasant life where women would carry water from public fountains or wells. When the house holder, for instance, notices that there is no water at home, he shames his wife and daughters or daughters-in-law for being useless. The saying thus, means ‘you are four women at home, but you are all useless in the sense that no one of you made the effort of carrying water’.

Another well-known popular saying which aims at diminishing of women’s value is that which says:

- |@lGi:ra tr@dd l@;Zu:za s0Gi:ra| (الغيرة تردّ لعجوزة صغيرة) ‘Jealousy converts elderly ladies into young girls’. In addition to the criterion of rhyming (|@lGi:ra| and |s0Gi:ra|) which is present in almost any saying, there is also the criterion of generalization: |l@;Zu:za| here does not refer to a particular old lady, but to all old ladies. This is again one of men’s defence mechanisms used to cancel their jealousy or envy towards women. This saying is generally said to women who are determined to stick to life until their last moment of their lives.

In conclusion to this part, it would be useful to say that sayings and proverbs about others strengthen stereotypes and prejudices. They are rule-governed in the sense that they are built up by means of both form and content, though, most of the times the form exhibits more aversion than content actually does. It is so, only because the form sometimes requires violent words for the purpose of rhyming. Rhyming is an important factor which is always present in the building up of sayings. Another important factor is, , overgeneralization.

6.6 Nicknaming

Speak when you're spoken to!
The Queen sharply interrupted her.
But if everybody obeyed that rule," said Alice, who was
always ready for a little argument," and if you only spoke
when you were spoken to, and the other person always
waited for you to begin, you see nobody would ever say
anything.

(LewisCarroll: *Through the Looking Glass*).

This dialogue between 'Alice' and 'the Queen' reminds us of a story that happened in the city of Constantine and which was told by a taxi driver. Two ladies, and a girl aged about nine were taking a taxi. From time to time the two ladies talked to one another. Everything was all right until the young girl spoke to them; the ladies were embarrassed and started pricking her to shut up, and then the taxi driver heard them say in secrecy 'we told you not to speak, you speak only when you are back home!' the taxi driver added that the girl's speech sounded Hrika and that was why the two ladies did not allow her to speak – they feared being categorized. Isn't it painful to feel so ashamed of one's mother tongue?

A similar story is that of the grand-mother who was allowed to go out to the market with her grand-daughter only under the condition that she should not speak. The story is, elderly people who live in Constantine and who originate from the region of El-Milia suffer from the problem of communication. The problem is, their grandchildren and mainly their granddaughters who now belong to the young generation are ashamed of their origins and, thus, avoid walking with their parents and grand parents in the street for fear of being heard by their peers and would be laughed at. Let alone the story of the girl student who fell in love with a solicitor from El-Milia but her mother refused him under the pretext that she would be object of mockery among her neighbours and her relatives,

although they all witnessed he was a nice person. And the story of the girl who accepted to marry a Hrika student after graduation in the condition that he would change his way of speaking and live in Constantine. People live these and other sufferings because of prejudices held on certain groups of people.

The clues behind such sufferings are no more than just how categories of people are named. In England, people from Liverpool are named Liverpoodlians in a denotative way, but scousers connotatively. That is, 'Liverpoodlians' is neutral, but 'scousers' is insulting. Manks or Mankies refer to people from Manchester and scallies to their neighbours in Salford. Manks or Mankies are neutral because of the prestige that Manchester enjoys as a big city, but 'scallies' is insulting. Bormies are people from Birmingham who are categorized because of their disliked accent. These ways of calling people are only socially made positive or negative. Yet, in some contexts, there are negative names or nicknames attributed to some groups or teams but are taken positively. Consider the following:

- Red devils: This nickname is attributed to many football teams, for instance, and they are proud of it, though in its referential meaning, it is negative in the sense that no one individual accepts to be called a devil.
- Yellow grasshoppers: For no apparent reason some people not only accept to be called grasshoppers, but find in this nickname a certain special positive categorization. The premiere league football team of Bordj Bouariridge is a good illustration of that (Bordj Bouariridge football team players are called grasshoppers).
- Sanafir: In its denotative meaning this word means mice, but socially it refers to both the players and the supporters of a well known foot-ball team in Constantine. The players and supporters of that team are proud of being called

‘Sanafir’ – mice – a nickname which is not given to them by any part, but which is given to them by themselves. The secret behind the acceptance of that name is probably to transmit the message that despite their being poor (most of the supporters come from slams) they have managed to create a big national team.

The acceptance or rejection of nicknames, thus, refers to various social considerations. The nicknames attributed to the citizens of Jijel when immigrating to big cities like Algiers, Oran, Annaba, and Constantine, all carry negative connotations. As has been said in the first chapter, after Algeria’s independence, many young people from the region of Jijel left their homes in the direction of other cities in search for work. Most of them worked as waiters in cafés and restaurants. Bit by bit the notion of in-siders and out-siders emerged and, as a result, they were given names which have been passed on from one generation to the next. In Algiers they are called either |@SSabraq| (الشبرق) or |h0@lgazUza| (حالفروزه) or |h0@lmmati mmati| (حلماتي ماتي), in Oran they are called |l@qba:j@l| (لقبايل) or |l@rUbjja| (لعروبية), in Annaba |@SS@lk| (الشلك), and in Constantine |h0rika| (حريكة) or |h0ra:j@k| (حرايك) for the plural. Below are some linguistic meanings, social and historical backgrounds of these names:

- |@SSabraq| (الشبرق): This term is used as a nickname to people immigrating from Jijel to Algiers. It is often used in the expression |@SSabraq j@braq la:b@s l@zraq| (الشبرق يبرق لابس لزرق) to mock those immigrants. According to Ibn Mandour (a great Arab grammarian) (in: Ennahas: 1997) |@SSabraqa| (الشبرقة) is a word borrowed from Persia which means ‘different types of food or cloths’. It is clear from the expression |@SSabraq j@braq la:b@s l@zraq| that the name |@SSabraq| refers to the way the disliked immigrants dress – they look ridiculous.

- |h0@lgazUza| (حالفروزه): In Algiers people call the minority immigrants who originate from Jijel |h0@lgazUza| only because in the Jijel dialect lemonade is called |h0@lgazUza|. Thus, when those immigrants ask for a lemonade they say |?a;t0ini h0@lgazUza| (أعطني حالفروزه) ‘give me one lemonade, please!’ That’s how it has been attributed as a name to the speakers of Jijel, although, it should be noted that the word |qazu:za| (قازوزة) is purely standard. A glance at any Arabic dictionary will show this. In Egypt it is |?azu:za| (أزوزة), i.e., the phoneme |q| (ق) is replaced by |?| (أ) as has been shown in chapter three. Evidence comes from the Egyptian song which says, |ma:@SrabSi SSa:j b@Srab ?azu:za ?ana| (ما اشربش الشاي، بشرب أزوزة أنا) ‘I don’t drink tea but I drink lemonade’.
- |h0@lmmati mmati| (حلمّاتي مّاتي): On hearing the Jijel speakers say |h0@lmmati mmati|, which is in fact a deformation of the French expression ‘un moitié moitié’ ‘one fifty fifty, please!’, people in Algiers made of that deformed expression a nickname to mock the users of the dialect of Jijel. The expression simply means half coffee half milk, which later on was replaced by the Arabic expression |nVs0s0 nVs0s0| (نصّ نصّ) ‘fifty, fifty’.
- |l@qba:j@l| (لقبايل): The Oranese population calls the Jijli immigrants |l@qba:j@l| wrongly; |l@qba:j@l| means the Berbers, and there is nothing negative about that. They actually mean the Barbarians – the brutal and uncivilized people, but because the words ‘Berber’ and ‘Barbar’ are phonologically similar, laymen tend to mistake ‘Barbar’ for ‘Berber’ whose equivalent in dialectal Arabic is |l@qba:j@l|.

By empirical experience, if you ask any person in Oran why they call the Jijli immigrants |l@qba:j@l|, they would say “because they are Barbaric and uncivilized

people”. They also call them |l@rUbija| (لعروبية) from the standard Arabic |@l ?a;ra:b| (الأعراب), which means ‘the peasants’.

- |@SSalq| (الشلق) ‘the lamprey’: This term is given to the Jijli immigrants in Annaba. This naming denotes that this group of people presents a nuisance to the population of Annaba exactly the same way the lamprey is a nuisance for both the other fishes and fishermen. The lamprey is a kind of fish which is characterized by being a parasite and a nuisance.
- |l@hOrika| (لحرريكه): The plural of this term is |l@hOra:j@k| (لحررايك). It is used in Constantine to refer to immigrants who originate from Jijel and mainly from the region of El-Milia (See introduction and chapter one for more information).

Conclusion

In conclusion to this section, we can deduce that although it is a fact that science kills prejudice, such nicknames attributed to individuals and groups are first produced by educated people and then by the process of hearsay reproduced by ordinary people. Then, once minority groups are called by those negative names, educated people intervene to stop them and to show that they are above those negative attitudes. This can be proved by the fact that laymen have no knowledge or background of those names. In other words only educated people are well aware of the meaning of, say, |@SSabraq|, |mmati mmati|, |@SSalq|, |la;rUbija| etc... I can remember that when we were as young as primary school children, we would wonder about the reason of calling some persons in our societies ‘Joseph’, ‘Jacob’, ‘David’, etc. It was only when we grew up and entered the university that we could understand that they were called so in accordance with their equivalents in Arabic, |ju:s@f| (يوسف), |ja;qu:b| (يعقوب), and |da:wu:d| (داود) respectively.

Conclusion

This research work is both social and psychological. We have examined a particular language stigmatisation and negative attitudes held on the speakers of that language. For centuries, linguists and speakers alike have taken it for granted that only Standard languages deserve prestige, respect, and consideration. Consequently, all types of language study have been focussed on setting up rules for the speakers and compelling them to follow those rules. From those attitudes, such beliefs as 'Greek and Latin are the best languages of the world' have always been accepted without discussion. Any attempt, therefore, to discredit that 'sacred' theory would face fierce attacks to the extent that approaching languages and their varieties in equal terms has become a taboo.

Departing from the principle that all natural language varieties are systematic and rule-governed, the study has provided ample evidence that the strong judgements held by certain groups of people on some other groups' languages are no more than value judgements based on some social or historical backgrounds.

The study is based on sociolinguistic theoretical and empirical researches which all agree on the fact that almost any language on earth coexists with some other varieties of the same language which differ from one another because of regional or social aspects, but which share a common origin in terms lexicon and structure. The Arab world illustrates that perfectly in that almost each community or each village makes use of a variety of Arabic which differs slightly from the other varieties spoken in other communities or villages in the Arab world, be they close or far. These differences may be grammatical, phonological, or lexical. The study has attempted to show that differences between languages do not at all mean make one language better or worse than the other, but just different.

The study has dealt with two main levels of structure: one surface representing a dialect stigma through the linguistic aspect of the matter, and the other, deep representing deep seated feelings through the psychological aspect of the matter. The former is often an expression of the latter. It is part of the everyday talk of the in-group people. It manifests itself in a form of friendly speech in which the social function of language dominates. The latter is often hidden, but emerges in cases of anger, hard times, and discomfort.

The methods of data collection have been based on empirical and personal observations, and have been modelled on prominent methods of research, namely those of Labov and Trudgill. Twenty informants aged from fifteen to sixty five, and from illiterate to high level of education have been recorded to test the hypotheses of departure: The speech of the 'Hrika' community – the out-group – is highly stigmatised by the population of Constantine – the in-group. This is on the one hand; on the other hand, the out-group members are often the people to blame for all sorts of problems that the in-group members suffer from.

The results of the study largely confirm the hypotheses. The majority of the informants overtly expressed their negative attitudes towards the Jijel dialect and the Hrika speakers. Most of the words and structures which are not known by the informants belong to the dialect of Jijel, something which would confirm the cautious attitudes of the population of Jijel and the geographical barriers which mark the isoglosses between its speech and those of the neighbouring populations.

Difficulties of the research

Like any other field research, the present study has encountered some difficulties the most important of which are:

- The impossibility of covering all parts of the provinces under study and their rural regions.
- The impossibility of recording women in public areas and, thus, limiting the places of recording women to places of work and homes.
- The ‘having’ to answer each informant’s curious questions about the aims of the recordings and the study as a whole.

But these difficulties are insignificant in comparison with the ways the recordings have been performed:

- No one informant showed refusal to be recorded.
- All informants took the questions friendly and answered with total sincerity.
- All informants welcomed this type of research work which they found a good way of ‘discovering other people’s cultures and traditions through speech’.

Recommendations for Further Research

Through a highly stigmatised dialect in Algeria, the present study has attempted to identify a linguistic and attitudinal phenomenon which is a product of society. This phenomenon is twofold – it makes the speakers of the stigmatized dialect feel ashamed of their language on the one hand, but identifies and makes it famous on the other.

Such studies on varieties of Arabic should not be the concern of westerners only, but Arab linguists as well. Research of this kind – combining sociological and linguistic data in an attempt to increase one’s understanding of language and society by combining their reciprocal influence – is recommended for our post-graduates. The reason behind that

is the peculiarity of the linguistic situation in Algeria where, despite the prestige given to standard Arabic, in that it is taught in schools, protected by the constitution, and encouraged by the mass media, the majority of the population continues to speak anything but Standard Arabic. The different varieties spoken in Algeria display a wide cultural and traditional heritage which strengthens the nation's unity.

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Appendices

The appendices represent the tasks performed where the informants were asked to represent the unknown words in (x) and the most rejected words, structures, and question markers in numbers where (1) represents the most stigmatised ones.

The sets of words

Appendix 1

Set n ₌ ^o (1) All items in this set mean 'to be angry'	j@Gd0@ b (يغضب)	j@z;@f (يزعف)	j@tG@SS@ S (يتعشش)	j@tn@rva (يتنارفا)	j@tn@rv@z (يتنرفز)	j@Gt0@b (يغطب)
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Set n=° (2) All items in this set mean 'to leave way'	ta:zi (تازي)	z@h0h0@m (زَحَم)	d@nni (دني)	@dd@nna (انتي)	@h0S@r (حشر)
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Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'shippers'	@SSlaka (الشلاكة)	@t0t0@rbka (الطريقة)	@lb@Smak a (البشمكة)	@lb@Sma:q (البشماق)
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Set n=° (4) All items in this set mean 'to look for'	jh0@ww @s (يحوّس)	jdu:h0 (يدوح)	jf@tt@S (يفتّش)	jwa:li (يوالي)	lahhat0 (يلهّط)
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Set n=° (5) All items in this set mean 'look!'	SUf (شوف)	[@nD0ar (انظر)	[@nt0ar (انظر)	[@xzar (اخزر)	[@h0fat0 (احفظ)
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Set n=° (6) All items in this set mean 'go to the back'	s@xx@r (سخر)	w@xx@r (وخر)	b@i@d (بعد)	@rZ@i llUra (ارجع اللورة)	tiwra (تيورة)
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Set n=° (7) All items in this set mean 'down'	t@h0t (تحت)	:@LLu:t0 (اللوط)	lah0d0u:r (لحضور)
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Set n=° (8) All items in this set mean 'shut'	@Glaq (اغلق)	@qf@l (اقفل)	k@ff@l (كفل)	s@kk@r (سكر)	b@ll@; (بلع)
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Set n=° (9) All items in this set mean 'couscous'	@t0t0; a: m (الطعام)	@lb@rbu :S (البربوش)	@lb@rbu :Sa (البربوثة)	@lk@sksi (الكسكي)	s@ksU (سكسو)	@nn@; m a (النعمة)
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Set n_° (10) All items in this set mean ‘curled couscous’	@l_i:S (العيش)	bUrd0ima (بورضيمة)	b@rkUk@s (بركوكس)	@nn@_ma dd@xSina (النعمة الدخشينة)
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Set n_o (11) All items in this set mean ‘going through’	faj@t (فايت)	m _ɔ @ddi (معدى)	Zaj@z (جايز)	ɔ@ddajzi (عداي)	a:g@b (عاقب)
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Set n=° (12) All items in this set mean 'ear rings'	@l;@llaja:t (العلايات)	@lflaj@k (الفلايك)	@lmnag@S (المنافش)
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Set n=° (13) All items in this set mean ‘to find’	@lka (الکی)	@lga (القی)	@Zb@r (جبر)	s0a:b (صاب)	@lqa (القی)
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Set n=° (14) All items in this set mean 'pain'	@t0t0Ga (الطَّغَة)	lewZ@٤ (لوجع)	@d0d0@rr (الصَّر)	@sst0ar (السَّطْر)
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Set n=° (15) All items in this set mean 'towel'	s0@rfit0a (صرفيطة)	b@Ski:r (بشكير)	fu:t0a (فوطه)	m@nSfa (منشفه)	s@rbita (سربيثه)	t0@rSu:na (طرشونه)
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Set n=° (16) All items in this set mean 'stood up'	ħa:n (عان)	Ta:r (ثار)	qa:m (قام)	na:d0 (ناض)
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Set n=° (17) All items in this set mean 'all'	b@lk@l (بالكل)	bQk@l (بوكل)	ka:m@l (كامل)	gaḥ (فاع)	gaḥitik (فاعتيك)
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Set n=° (18) All items in this set mean 'now'	dlUk (دُلوك)	d@lw@k (دَلوك)	d0rUk (دُروك)	d@rw@k (دَروك)	dUkati (دوكاتي)	d0ark (دَرَك)
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Set n₂^o (19) All items in this set mean 'once'	m@rra (مرّة)	x@t0ra (خطره)	h0@lm@rra (حلمرة)	h0@lx@t0ra (حلخطرة)	h0@d0d0@r ba (حالضربة)
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Set n=° (20) All items in this set mean 'jump'	k@ff@z (كفّر)	\@kf@z (اكفر)	n@gg@z (نفر)	n@kk@z (نكر)	s0Ut0i (صوتي)
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Set n=° (21) All items in this set mean 'maize'	?afUZa:l (أفوجال)	@lm@stUra (المستورة)	@lb@Sna (البشنة)
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Set n=° (22) All items in this set mean ‘come down’	h@ww@d (هَوِّد)	\@hb@t0 (اهبط)	\@nz@l (انزل)	h0@dd@r (حدّر)
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Set n=° (23) All items in this set mean 'two'	zu:Z (زوج)	Zu:z (جوز)	tni:n (تئين)	Tni:n (تئين)
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Set n=° (24) All items in this set mean 'car'	@t0t0QmU bi:L (الطوموبيل)	@tUmUbi:l (الثوموبيل)	@ssijara (السيارة)	@lk@rrUs0 s0a (الكروسة)
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Set n_° (25) All items in this set mean 'oil'	@zzi:t (الزَيْتُ)	@zzeit (الزَيْتِ)
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Set n=° (26) All items in this set mean 'fear'	@lxu:f (الخَوْف)	@lx@Uf (الخَوْف)
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Set n _° (27) All items in this set mean 'hospital'	[@ssbit0a:r] (السبيطار)	[@ssbeit0a:r] (السبيطار)
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The sets of structures

Appendix 2

Set n ^o (1) All items in this set mean 'I am not going'	maraj@h0S (مَا رَايْحُسْ)	maniS ra:j@h0 (مَانِيْسْ رَايْحْ)	maSni ra:j@h0 (مَا سْنِي رَايْحْ)
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Set n=° (2) All items in this set mean 'I don't know'	maɣlabaliS (مَا عَلَابَالِيْش)	maniS ɣa:r@f (مَا نِيْشُ عَارْفُ)	maSni ɣa:r@f (مَا شْنِي عَارْفُ)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
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Informant (11)			
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Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'I'm eating'	rani ga:ç@d nakul (راني فاعد ناكل)	kanak@l (كناكل)	kinak@l (كناكل)	kUnak@l (كناكل)
Informant (1)				
Informant (2)				
Informant (3)				
Informant (4)				
Informant (5)				
Informant (6)				
Informant (7)				
Informant (8)				
Informant (9)				
Informant (10)				
Informant (11)				
Informant (12)				
Informant (13)				
Informant (14)				
Informant (15)				
Informant (16)				
In2formant (17)				
Informant (18)				
Informant (19)				
Informant (20)				

Set n=° (4) All items in this set mean ‘my uncle’s house’	da:r Ga:li (دارٌ خَالِي)	@dda:r ddi Ga:li (الدار الدِّي خَالِي)	@dda:r di Gali (الدَّار دي خَالِي)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
Informant (10)			
Informant (11)			
Informant (12)			
Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Set n ^o (5) All items in this set mean 'I bought a new book'	Sri:t kta:b Zdi:d (شريت كتاب جديد)	Sri:t h0@lhta:b Zdi:d (شريت حلتاب جديد)
Informant (1)		
Informant (2)		
Informant (3)		
Informant (4)		
Informant (5)		
Informant (6)		
Informant (7)		
Informant (8)		
Informant (9)		
Informant (10)		
Informant (11)		
Informant (12)		
Informant (13)		
Informant (14)		
Informant (15)		
Informant (16)		
Informant (17)		
Informant (18)		
Informant (19)		
Informant (20)		

Set n° (6) All items in this set mean 'it is true'	d@s0s0ah (د الصَّح)	d@ttbit (د التَّيِّب)	s0ah0h0 (صَح)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
Informant (10)			
Informant (11)			
Informant (12)			
Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Set n=° (7) All items in this set mean 'it's not me'	?ani maniS @na (أني منيش أنا)	Gat0i @na (خاطي أنا)	madanaS (ما دناش)	maSi @na (مأشي أنا)	?@wmadanaS (أو ما داناش)
Informant (1)					
Informant (2)					
Informant (3)					
Informant (4)					
Informant (5)					
Informant (6)					
Informant (7)					
Informant (8)					
Informant (9)					
Informant (10)					
Informant (11)					
Informant (12)					
Informant (13)					
Informant (14)					
Informant (15)					
Informant (16)					
Informant (17)					
Informant (18)					
Informant (19)					
Informant (20)					

Set n=° (8) All items in this set mean ‘I desperately besought him’	h0a:w@ltu h0@tta nSb@;t (حاولتو حتى نشبعت)	daG@lt fih h0@tta kr@ht (داخلت فية حتى كرهت)	h0@ll@ltU h0@tta Sb@;t (حللتو حتى شبعت)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
Informant (10)			
Informant (11)			
Informant (12)			
Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Set n=° (9) All items in this set mean 'she stayed a lot'	t0awl@t b@zza:f (طوّلت بزّاف)	k@d@t h0am@kUd (كعدت حمكعود)
Informant (1)		
Informant (2)		
Informant (3)		
Informant (4)		
Informant (5)		
Informant (6)		
Informant (7)		
Informant (8)		
Informant (9)		
Informant (10)		
Informant (11)		
Informant (12)		
Informant (13)		
Informant (14)		
Informant (15)		
Informant (16)		
Informant (17)		
Informant (18)		
Informant (19)		
Informant (20)		

Set n=° (10) All items in this set mean 'I spent the night in my uncle's house'	bitt ɣ@nd Ga:li (بِتْ عِنْد خَالِي)	b@tt ɣ@n Ga:li (بِتْ عَن خَالِي)	b@tt fi da:r Ga:li (بِتْ فِي دَار خَالِي)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
Informant (10)			
Informant (11)			
Informant (12)			
Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Set n^o (11) All items in this set mean 'not yet'	mazal (ما زال)	mazal @ssaḡa (ما زال الساعة)	mazal ?@ḡe (ما زال أعًا)
Informant (1)			
Informant (2)			
Informant (3)			
Informant (4)			
Informant (5)			
Informant (6)			
Informant (7)			
Informant (8)			
Informant (9)			
Informant (10)			
Informant (11)			
Informant (12)			
Informant (13)			
Informant (14)			
Informant (15)			
Informant (16)			
Informant (17)			
Informant (18)			
Informant (19)			
Informant (20)			

Sets of question markers

Appendix 3

Set n=° (1) All items in this set mean 'what'	weS (وَأَشْ)	weSi (وَأَشِي)	\?aS (أَشْ)	deS (دَاشْ)	d@jj@S (دِيَّشْ)	deh (دَاه)
Informant (1)						
Informant (2)						
Informant (3)						
Informant (4)						
Informant (5)						
Informant (6)						
Informant (7)						
Informant (8)						
Informant (9)						
Informant (10)						
Informant (11)						
Informant (12)						
Informant (13)						
Informant (14)						
Informant (15)						
Informant (16)						
Informant (17)						
Informant (18)						
Informant (19)						
Informant (20)						

Set n₂^o (2) All items in this set mean 'which one'	dama (داما)	waina (واين)	daina (دين)	wi:na (وين)
Informant (1)				
Informant (2)				
Informant (3)				
Informant (4)				
Informant (5)				
Informant (6)				
Informant (7)				
Informant (8)				
Informant (9)				
Informant (10)				
Informant (11)				
Informant (12)				
Informant (13)				
Informant (14)				
Informant (15)				
Informant (16)				
Informant (17)				
Informant (18)				
Informant (19)				
Informant (20)				

Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'why'	la:S (علاش)	la:h (علاه)	lamaS (عَلاماش)	lizz@S (عليش)	lawah (علاواه)
Informant (1)					
Informant (2)					
Informant (3)					
Informant (4)					
Informant (5)					
Informant (6)					
Informant (7)					
Informant (8)					
Informant (9)					
Informant (10)					
Informant (11)					
Informant (12)					
Informant (13)					
Informant (14)					
Informant (15)					
Informant (16)					
Informant (17)					
Informant (18)					
Informant (19)					
Informant (20)					

Set n_° (4) All items in this set mean 'when'	faiw@k (فيوك)	w@qta (وقته)	w@kta:S (وكتاشُ)	w@qta:h (وقتاه)	faj@k (فَيَك)
Informant (1)					
Informant (2)					
Informant (3)					
Informant (4)					
Informant (5)					
Informant (6)					
Informant (7)					
Informant (8)					
Informant (9)					
Informant (10)					
Informant (11)					
Informant (12)					
Informant (13)					
Informant (14)					
Informant (15)					
Informant (16)					
Informant (17)					
Informant (18)					
Informant (19)					
Informant (20)					

Set n_° (5) All items in this set mean 'is it...? Are you..? Are they...?'	@nni (عَدِّي)	mmalli (مَالِي)
Informant (1)		
Informant (2)		
Informant (3)		
Informant (4)		
Informant (5)		
Informant (6)		
Informant (7)		
Informant (8)		
Informant (9)		
Informant (10)		
Informant (11)		
Informant (12)		
Informant (13)		
Informant (14)		
Informant (15)		
Informant (16)		
Informant (17)		
Informant (18)		
Informant (19)		
Informant (20)		

The appendices represent the results obtained by the informants where (x) stands for the unknown words to the informants. The numbers represent the degree of the rejection of words, structures, and question markers where (1) means complete rejection.

The sets of words

Appendix 1

Set n=° (1) All items in this set mean 'to be angry'	j@Gd0@ b (يغضب)	j@z;@f (بز عف)	j@tG@SS@ S (يتعشش)	j@tn@rva (يتنارفا)	j@tn@rv@z (يتنرفز)	j@Gt0@b (يغطب)
Informant (1)						1 x
Informant (2)	3				1	2
Informant (3)				3	2	1 x
Informant (4)						1 x
Informant (5)				2	1	3
Informant (6)					1	2
Informant (7)				3	2	1
Informant (8)	4			3	2	1 x
Informant (9)		4		3	2	1 x
Informant (10)	4			3	1	2
Informant (11)					2	1 x
Informant (12)		4		3	2	1 x
Informant (13)	3			3	1	2
Informant (14)					2	1
Informant (15)	3				1	2 x
Informant (16)		3			2	1 x
Informant (17)					2	1 x
Informant (18)				3	2	1
Informant (19)	4			3	1	2 x
Informant (20)				3	2	1 x

Set n^o (2) All items in this set mean 'to leave way'	ta:zi (تازي)	z@h0h0@m (زَحْم)	d@nni (دني)	@dd@nna (التي)	@h0S@r (حشر)
Informant (1)		1	2 x	x	
Informant (2)		1 x	2 x	3 x	4
Informant (3)		1	2	3	4
Informant (4)		1 x	2 x	3 x	
Informant (5)		1 x	3 x	4 x	2
Informant (6)		1 x	3 x	2 x	
Informant (7)		1	2	3	
Informant (8)		1	3 x	2 x	4
Informant (9)		1 x	2 x	3 x	
Informant (10)		1 x	3	2 x	
Informant (11)		1 x	2	3 x	
Informant (12)		1 x	3	2 x	4
Informant (13)		1	2	3	
Informant (14)		1 x	x	x	2
Informant (15)		1	2	3	
Informant (16)		1	3	2	
Informant (17)		1 x	3 x	2 x	
Informant (18)		1	2	3	
Informant (19)		1	3	2	
Informant (20)		1 x	3 x	2 x	4

Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'shippers'	@SSlaka (الشلاكة)	@t0t0@rbka (الطريقة)	@lb@Smak a (البشمكة)	@lb@Sma:q (البشماق)
Informant (1)	1 x		2	
Informant (2)	3	2	1	
Informant (3)	2 x		1	
Informant (4)			1	
Informant (5)	2 x	3	1	
Informant (6)	1 x		2	
Informant (7)	2 x		1	
Informant (8)	2 x	3	1	
Informant (9)	1 x		2	
Informant (10)	1 x		2	
Informant (11)	2 x	3	1	
Informant (12)	2 x	3	1	
Informant (13)			1	
Informant (14)			1	
Informant (15)	1 x		2	
Informant (16)			1	
Informant (17)	2 x	3	1	
Informant (18)	3	2	1	
Informant (19)			1	
Informant (20)	1 x		2	

Set n=° (4) All items in this set mean 'to look for'	jh0@ww @s (يحوّس)	jdu:h0 (يدوح)	jf@tt@S (يفتّش)	jwa:li (يوالي)	jahhat0 (يلهّط)
Informant (1)				1 x	
Informant (2)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (3)		3		2 x	1
Informant (4)		3		2 x	1
Informant (5)		2 x		3 x	1
Informant (6)		1 x		2 x	3
Informant (7)		2 x		3 x	1
Informant (8)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (9)		2 x		1 x	3
Informant (10)		2 x		1 x	3
Informant (11)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (12)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (13)		2 x		3 x	1
Informant (14)		2 x		3 x	1
Informant (15)		3		2 x	1
Informant (16)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (17)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (18)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (19)		1 x		3 x	2
Informant (20)		1 x		2 x	3

Set n₌° (5) All items in this set mean 'look!'	SUf (شوف)	[@nD0ar (انظر)	[@nt0ar (انظر)	[@xzar (اخزر)	[@h0fat0 (احفظ)
Informant (1)			2 x		1 x
Informant (2)			2 x		1 x
Informant (3)		4	2 x	3	1 x
Informant (4)		2	3		1 x
Informant (5)			2 x	3	1 x
Informant (6)			3	2	1 x
Informant (7)			2 x		1 x
Informant (8)		3	2 x	4	1 x
Informant (9)			1 x		2 x
Informant (10)		3	2 x		1 x
Informant (11)			2 x	3	1 x
Informant (12)		4	2	3	1 x
Informant (13)		3	1 x	4	2 x
Informant (14)		4	2	3	1 x
Informant (15)		3	2	4	1 x
Informant (16)			2 x		1 x
Informant (17)			2		1 x
Informant (18)		3	2		1 x
Informant (19)			1 x	3	2 x
Informant (20)		3	1 x		2 x

Set n=° (6) All items in this set mean 'go to the back'	s@xx@r (سخر)	w@xx@r (وخر)	b@i@d (بعد)	@rZ@i llUra (ارجع اللورة)	tiwra (تيورة)
Informant (1)					1 x
Informant (2)		3		2	1 x
Informant (3)					1 x
Informant (4)		2			1 x
Informant (5)					1 x
Informant (6)					1 x
Informant (7)					1 x
Informant (8)		2		3	1 x
Informant (9)				2	1 x
Informant (10)				2	1 x
Informant (11)					1 x
Informant (12)					1 x
Informant (13)					1 x
Informant (14)		3		2	1 x
Informant (15)					1 x
Informant (16)					1 x
Informant (17)		2			1 x
Informant (18)					1 x
Informant (19)				2	1 x
Informant (20)					1 x

Set n=° (7) All items in this set mean 'down'	 t@h0t (تحت)	 \@LLu:t0 (اللوط)	 lah0d0u:r (لحضور)
Informant (1)			1
Informant (2)		2	1
Informant (3)			1 x
Informant (4)		2	1
Informant (5)		2	1
Informant (6)			1 x
Informant (7)			1
Informant (8)			1
Informant (9)			1
Informant (10)		2	1
Informant (11)			1 x
Informant (12)			1
Informant (13)			1
Informant (14)		2	1
Informant (15)			1
Informant (16)		2	1
Informant (17)			1 x
Informant (18)			1
Informant (19)			1
Informant (20)			1

Set n=° (8) All items in this set mean 'shut'	@Glaq (اغلق)	@qf@l (اقفل)	k@ff@l (كفل)	s@kk@r (سگر)	b@ll@; (بلع)
Informant (1)			2	1	
Informant (2)		1	2		3
Informant (3)			1	2	3
Informant (4)			1	2	3
Informant (5)		4	2	1	3
Informant (6)			1		2
Informant (7)			2	1	
Informant (8)			2	1	
Informant (9)			1	2	3
Informant (10)				1	2
Informant (11)			2	1	
Informant (12)			1	3	2
Informant (13)			1	2	
Informant (14)			2	1	
Informant (15)			2	1	3
Informant (16)			1		2
Informant (17)			2	1	3
Informant (18)			1	2	
Informant (19)			1	2	
Informant (20)			1	2	

Set n=° (9) All items in this set mean 'couscous'	@t0t0; a: m (الطعام)	@lb@rbu :S (البربوش)	@lb@rbu :Sa (البربوثة)	@lk@sksi (الكسكي)	s@ksU (سكسو)	@nn@;m a (النعمة)
Informant (1)					1 x	
Informant (2)		2			1 x	
Informant (3)	3			2	1 x	
Informant (4)	1				2	
Informant (5)	2	4		3	1 x	
Informant (6)			1		2	3
Informant (7)	2				1 x	
Informant (8)	2				1 x	
Informant (9)	1				2	
Informant (10)	3	1			2	
Informant (11)				2	1 x	
Informant (12)	2				1 x	
Informant (13)	1	2	3		4	
Informant (14)	3	2			1 x	
Informant (15)					1 x	
Informant (16)		1			2 x	
Informant (17)	2				1 x	
Informant (18)	1	3			2	
Informant (19)	2	3			1 x	
Informant (20)	1	3			2	

Set n_° (10) All items in this set mean 'curled couscous'	@l_i:S (العيش)	bUrd0ima (بورضيمة)	b@rkUk@s (بركوكس)	@nn@i_madd@xSina (النعمة الدخشينة)
Informant (1)		1 x		2
Informant (2)		1 x	2 x	3
Informant (3)		1 x	2	3
Informant (4)		1 x	3	2
Informant (5)		1 x	2	3
Informant (6)		1 x		2
Informant (7)		1 x		2
Informant (8)		1 x	3	2
Informant (9)		1 x	2 x	3
Informant (10)		1 x		2
Informant (11)		1 x		2
Informant (12)		1 x		2
Informant (13)		1 x	2	3
Informant (14)		1 x	2 x	3
Informant (15)		1 x		2
Informant (16)		1 x		2
Informant (17)		1 x	3	2
Informant (18)		1 x		
Informant (19)		1 x		
Informant (20)		1 x	2 x	

Set n_o (11) All items in this set mean ‘going through’	faj@t (فايت)	m _o @ddi (معدى)	Zaj@z (جايز)	_o @ddajzi (عداي)	a:g@b (عاقب)
Informant (1)				1	
Informant (2)				1	
Informant (3)		3	1	2	
Informant (4)		2	3	1	
Informant (5)	3	2		1	
Informant (6)	3	2		1	
Informant (7)		3	2	1	
Informant (8)	4	2	3	1	
Informant (9)		3	1	2	
Informant (10)		2	3	1	
Informant (11)			1	2	
Informant (12)		2		1 x	
Informant (13)		2	3	1	
Informant (14)	2			1 x	
Informant (15)	2		3	1	
Informant (16)				1 x	
Informant (17)		3	1	2	
Informant (18)			2	1	
Informant (19)	2	4	3	1 x	
Informant (20)	4	3	2	1	

Set n=° (12) All items in this set mean 'ear rings'	@l;@llaja:t (العلايات)	@lflaj@k (الفلايك)	@lmnag@S (المنافش)
Informant (1)	1 x		2
Informant (2)	1 x		2 x
Informant (3)	1 x		2
Informant (4)	1 x		2 x
Informant (5)	1 x		2
Informant (6)	1 x		2
Informant (7)	1 x		
Informant (8)	1 x		
Informant (9)	1 x		
Informant (10)	1 x		2
Informant (11)	1 x		
Informant (12)	1 x		2
Informant (13)	1 x		
Informant (14)	1 x		2 x
Informant (15)	1 x		
Informant (16)	1 x		2
Informant (17)	1 x		
Informant (18)	1 x		
Informant (19)	1 x		
Informant (20)	1 x		2

Set n=° (13) All items in this set mean 'to find'	@lka (الكى)	@lga (القى)	@Zb@r (جبر)	s0a:b (صاب)	@lqa (لقى)
Informant (1)	3		1	2	
Informant (2)	2		1 x		
Informant (3)	2		1		
Informant (4)	3		1 x	2 x	
Informant (5)	3		1 x	2	
Informant (6)	1		3	2	
Informant (7)			2	1 x	
Informant (8)	3		1	2	
Informant (9)	1		2	3	
Informant (10)	1		2	3	
Informant (11)	2		1 x	3	
Informant (12)	3		1	2	
Informant (13)	1		2	3	
Informant (14)	1		2	3	
Informant (15)	3		1 x	2 x	
Informant (16)	3		1	2	
Informant (17)	1		2	3	
Informant (18)	2		1 x		
Informant (19)	1		2		
Informant (20)	2		1 x		

Set n=° (14) All items in this set mean 'pain'	@t0t0Ga (الطَّغَة)	lewZ@٤ (لوجع)	@d0d0@rr (الصَّر)	@sst0ar (السَّطْر)
Informant (1)	2		1	
Informant (2)	1			
Informant (3)	1 x		2	
Informant (4)	1 x		2	
Informant (5)	1 x		2	3
Informant (6)	2		1	
Informant (7)	1		2	
Informant (8)	2		1	
Informant (9)	1 x		2	
Informant (10)	1 x			
Informant (11)	1 x			2
Informant (12)	1 x		2	3
Informant (13)	1 x			
Informant (14)	1 x		2	
Informant (15)	2		1	
Informant (16)	1		2	
Informant (17)	1 x			
Informant (18)	1			
Informant (19)	1 x		2	
Informant (20)	1			2

Set n_° (15) All items in this set mean 'towel'	s0@rfit0a (صرفيطة)	b@Ski:r (بشكير)	fu:t0a (فوطه)	m@nSfa (منشفه)	s@rbita (سربيته)	t0@rSu:na (طرشونه)
Informant (1)		2 x			3	1 x
Informant (2)		2 x			1	3
Informant (3)		3			1	2 x
Informant (4)		2 x			3	1 x
Informant (5)		1 x		2	3	4
Informant (6)		2 x		3	1	4
Informant (7)		1 x		4	2	3
Informant (8)		3		4	1	2
Informant (9)		3		4	1	2
Informant (10)		2 x			1	3
Informant (11)		2 x			1	3
Informant (12)		1 x			2	
Informant (13)		1 x			2	
Informant (14)		2 x			1	3
Informant (15)		3			2	1 x
Informant (16)		1 x			2	3
Informant (17)		1 x			2	3
Informant (18)		1 x		3	2	4
Informant (19)		2		3	1	4
Informant (20)		3		4	1	2

Set n=° (16) All items in this set mean 'stood up'	ħa:n (عان)	Ta:r (ثار)	qa:m (قام)	na:d0 (ناض)
Informant (1)	1 x			
Informant (2)	1 x	3	2	3
Informant (3)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (4)	1 x	2		
Informant (5)	1 x	2 x		3
Informant (6)	1 x	2 x	2	
Informant (7)	1 x			
Informant (8)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (9)	1 x	2		
Informant (10)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (11)	1 x			
Informant (12)	1 x	2		
Informant (13)	1 x			
Informant (14)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (15)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (16)	1 x	2		
Informant (17)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (18)	1 x	2 x		
Informant (19)	1 x	2		
Informant (20)	1 x	2 x		

Set n=° (17) All items in this set mean 'all'	b@lk@l (بالكل)	bQk@l (بوكل)	ka:m@l (كامل)	gaḥ (فاع)	gaḥitik (فاعتيك)
Informant (1)	3			1	2
Informant (2)	1			2	3
Informant (3)	1			2	3
Informant (4)	1			2	3
Informant (5)	1			2	3
Informant (6)	3			2	1
Informant (7)	3			1	2
Informant (8)	3			1	2
Informant (9)	1			2	3
Informant (10)	1			2	3
Informant (11)	1			2	3
Informant (12)	1			2	3
Informant (13)	1			2	3
Informant (14)	1			2	3
Informant (15)	3			1	2
Informant (16)	1			2	3
Informant (17)	1			2	3
Informant (18)	3			1	2
Informant (19)	1			2	3
Informant (20)	1			2	3

Set n=° (18) All items in this set mean 'now'	dlUk (دُلوك)	d@lw@k (دَلوك)	d0rUk (دُروك)	d@rw@k (دَروك)	dUkati (دوكاتي)	d0ark (دَرَك)
Informant (1)		1	3	2	4	
Informant (2)	1	3			2	
Informant (3)	2	3			1 x	
Informant (4)	1	3			2	
Informant (5)	2	4	3		1 x	
Informant (6)	1	3			2 x	
Informant (7)	2	3			1 x	
Informant (8)	1	2	4		3	
Informant (9)	1 x	2			3	
Informant (10)	1	2			3	
Informant (11)	2	3			1 x	
Informant (12)	2	3			1 x	
Informant (13)	4	3	2		1 x	
Informant (14)	4	3	2		1 x	
Informant (15)	1 x	2	3	4	5	
Informant (16)	1 x	2				
Informant (17)	1	2	5	4	3	
Informant (18)	2	3	4	5	1 x	
Informant (19)	1	2	3	4	5	
Informant (20)	1 x	3	4	5	2 x	

Set n₂^o (19) All items in this set mean 'once'	m@rra (مرّة)	x@t0ra (خطره)	h0@lm@rra (حلمرة)	h0@lx@t0ra (حلخطرة)	h0@d0d0@r ba (حالضربة)
Informant (1)			3	2	1 x
Informant (2)			2	3	1 x
Informant (3)			2	3	1 x
Informant (4)			2	3	1 x
Informant (5)			3	2	1 x
Informant (6)			2	3	1 x
Informant (7)			2	3	1 x
Informant (8)			2	3	1 x
Informant (9)			2	3	1 x
Informant (10)			2	3	1 x
Informant (11)			2	3	1 x
Informant (12)			3	2	1 x
Informant (13)			3	2	1 x
Informant (14)			2	3	1 x
Informant (15)			2	3	1 x
Informant (16)			2	3	1 x
Informant (17)			3	2	1 x
Informant (18)			3	2	1 x
Informant (19)			2	3	1 x
Informant (20)			2	3	1 x

Set n=° (20) All items in this set mean 'jump'	k@ff@z (كفّر)	\@kf@z (اكفر)	n@gg@z (نفر)	n@kk@z (نكر)	s0Ut0i (صوتي)
Informant (1)	2			1	
Informant (2)	3	2		1	
Informant (3)	3	2		1	
Informant (4)	2			1	
Informant (5)	3	2		1	
Informant (6)	1			2	
Informant (7)	1	2		3	
Informant (8)	1	3		2	
Informant (9)	3	2		1	
Informant (10)	2	3		1	
Informant (11)	1	2		3	
Informant (12)	1	3		2	
Informant (13)	1	3		2	
Informant (14)	1	3		2	
Informant (15)	2	3		1	
Informant (16)	3	1		2	
Informant (17)	2	1		3	
Informant (18)	3	2		1	
Informant (19)	2	3		1	
Informant (20)	2	1		3	

Set n₌^o (21) All items in this set mean 'maize'	ʔafUZa:l (أفوجال)	@lm@stUra (المستورة)	@Ib@Sna (البشنة)
Informant (1)	1 x	2	
Informant (2)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (3)	1 x	2	
Informant (4)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (5)	1 x		2
Informant (6)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (7)	1		
Informant (8)	1	2	
Informant (9)	1 x		
Informant (10)	1 x		
Informant (11)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (12)	1 x		
Informant (13)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (14)	1 x		
Informant (15)	1		
Informant (16)	1 x	2 x	
Informant (17)	1 x		
Informant (18)	1	2 x	
Informant (19)	1 x		
Informant (20)	1 x	2 x	

Set n_o (22) All items in this set mean 'come down'	h@ww@d (هَوِّد)	\@hb@t0 (اهبط)	\@nz@l (انزل)	h0@dd@r (حدّر)
Informant (1)	2			1
Informant (2)	2			1
Informant (3)	2			1
Informant (4)	2			1
Informant (5)	2			1
Informant (6)	1		2	
Informant (7)	1			
Informant (8)	1			2
Informant (9)	2			1
Informant (10)	2			1
Informant (11)	1		3	2
Informant (12)	1			2
Informant (13)	2			1
Informant (14)	1			
Informant (15)	1			2
Informant (16)	2			1
Informant (17)	2			1
Informant (18)	1			2
Informant (19)	1			
Informant (20)	1			

Set n=° (23) All items in this set mean 'two'	zu:Z (زوج)	Zu:z (جوز)	tni:n (تئين)	Tni:n (تئين)
Informant (1)		1		2
Informant (2)		1		2
Informant (3)		1		2
Informant (4)		1		2
Informant (5)		1		2
Informant (6)		1		2
Informant (7)		1		
Informant (8)		1		
Informant (9)		1	3	2
Informant (10)		1		
Informant (11)		1		2
Informant (12)		1		
Informant (13)		1		
Informant (14)		1		
Informant (15)		1	2	3
Informant (16)		1		
Informant (17)		1		2
Informant (18)		1		
Informant (19)		1	2	3
Informant (20)		1		

Set n=° (24) All items in this set mean 'car'	@t0t0QmU bi:L (الطوموبيل)	@tUmUbi:l (الثوموبيل)	@ssijara (السيارة)	@lk@rrUs0 s0a (الكروسة)
Informant (1)		1	3	2
Informant (2)		1	3	2
Informant (3)		1	3	2
Informant (4)		1		
Informant (5)		1		2
Informant (6)		1		2
Informant (7)		1		
Informant (8)		1		2
Informant (9)		1		
Informant (10)		1		2
Informant (11)		1		
Informant (12)		1		2
Informant (13)		1		2
Informant (14)		1	2	3
Informant (15)		1	3	2
Informant (16)		1		
Informant (17)		1	2	3
Informant (18)		1		
Informant (19)		1		
Informant (20)		1	2	3

Set n_° (25) All items in this set mean 'oil'	 @zzi:t (الزَيْتُ)	 @zzeit (الزَيْتِ)
Informant (1)	1	
Informant (2)	1	
Informant (3)	1	
Informant (4)	1	
Informant (5)	1	
Informant (6)	1	
Informant (7)	1	
Informant (8)	1	
Informant (9)	1	
Informant (10)	1	
Informant (11)	1	
Informant (12)	1	
Informant (13)	1	
Informant (14)	1	
Informant (15)	1	
Informant (16)	1	
Informant (17)	1	
Informant (18)	1	
Informant (19)	1	
Informant (20)	1	

Set n=° (26) All items in this set mean 'fear'	@lxu:f (الخَوْف)	@lx@Uf (الخَوْف)
Informant (1)	1	
Informant (2)	1	
Informant (3)	1	
Informant (4)	1	
Informant (5)	1	
Informant (6)	1	
Informant (7)	1	
Informant (8)	1	
Informant (9)	1	
Informant (10)	1	
Informant (11)	1	
Informant (12)	1	
Informant (13)	1	
Informant (14)	1	
Informant (15)	1	
Informant (16)	1	
Informant (17)	1	
Informant (18)	1	
Informant (19)	1	
Informant (20)	1	

Set n _° (27) All items in this set mean 'hospital'	[@ssbit0a:r (السبيطار)	[@ssbeit0a:r (السبيطار)
Informant (1)	1	
Informant (2)	1	
Informant (3)	1	
Informant (4)	1	
Informant (5)	1	
Informant (6)	1	
Informant (7)	1	
Informant (8)	1	
Informant (9)	1	
Informant (10)	1	
Informant (11)	1	
Informant (12)	1	
Informant (13)	1	
Informant (14)	1	
Informant (15)	1	
Informant (16)	1	
Informant (17)	1	
Informant (18)	1	
Informant (19)	1	
Informant (20)	1	

The sets of structures

Appendix 2

Set n ^o (1) All items in this set mean 'I am not going'	maraj@h0S (مَا رَايْحُسْ)	maniS ra:j@h0 (مَايَيْشُ رَايْحُ)	maSni ra:j@h0 (مَا شْنِي رَايْحُ)
Informant (1)	2		1
Informant (2)	2		1
Informant (3)	2		1
Informant (4)			1
Informant (5)			1
Informant (6)	2		1
Informant (7)			1
Informant (8)	2		1
Informant (9)			1
Informant (10)			1
Informant (11)	2		1
Informant (12)			1
Informant (13)	2		1
Informant (14)	2		1
Informant (15)			1
Informant (16)	2		1
Informant (17)			1
Informant (18)	2		1
Informant (19)			1
Informant (20)			1

Set n=° (2) All items in this set mean 'I don't know'	maɣlabaliS (مَا عَلَابَالِيش)	maniS ɣa:r@f (مَا نِيْشُ عَارْفُ)	maSni ɣa:r@f (مَا شْنِي عَارْفُ)
Informant (1)		2	1
Informant (2)		2	1
Informant (3)	2		1
Informant (4)	2		1
Informant (5)	2		1
Informant (6)		2	1
Informant (7)	2		1
Informant (8)	2		1
Informant (9)	2		1
Informant (10)			1
Informant (11)	2		1
Informant (12)			1
Informant (13)	2		1
Informant (14)			1
Informant (15)			1
Informant (16)			1
Informant (17)	2		1
Informant (18)			1
Informant (19)			1
Informant (20)			1

Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'I'm eating'	rani ga:ç@d nakul (راني فاعد ناكل)	kanak@l (كناكل)	kinak@l (كيناكل)	kUnak@l (كناكل)
Informant (1)		1	2	3
Informant (2)		1	2	3
Informant (3)		2	3	1
Informant (4)		1	3	2
Informant (5)		1	3	2
Informant (6)		2	3	1
Informant (7)		2	3	1
Informant (8)		1	3	2
Informant (9)		1	3	2
Informant (10)		1	3	2
Informant (11)		1	3	2
Informant (12)		2	3	1
Informant (13)		2	3	1
Informant (14)		1	3	2
Informant (15)		1	3	2
Informant (16)		1	3	2
In2formant (17)		2	3	1
Informant (18)		1	2	3
Informant (19)		1	2	3
Informant (20)		1	3	2

Set n=° (4) All items in this set mean ‘my uncle’s house’	da:r Ga:li (دارُ خالي)	@dda:r ddi Ga:li (الدار الّدي خالي)	@dda:r di Gali (الّدار دي خالي)
Informant (1)		1	2
Informant (2)		1	2
Informant (3)		1	2
Informant (4)		1	2
Informant (5)		1	2
Informant (6)		1	2
Informant (7)		1	2
Informant (8)		1	2
Informant (9)		1	2
Informant (10)		1	2
Informant (11)		1	2
Informant (12)		1	2
Informant (13)		1	2
Informant (14)		1	2
Informant (15)		1	2
Informant (16)		1	2
Informant (17)		1	2
Informant (18)		1	2
Informant (19)		1	2
Informant (20)		1	2

Set n=° (5) All items in this set mean 'I bought a new book'	Sri:t kta:b Zdi:d (شريت كتاب جديد)	Sri:t h0@lhta:b Zdi:d (شريت حلتاب جديد)
Informant (1)		1
Informant (2)		1
Informant (3)		1
Informant (4)		1
Informant (5)		1
Informant (6)		1
Informant (7)		1
Informant (8)		1
Informant (9)		1
Informant (10)		1
Informant (11)		1
Informant (12)		1
Informant (13)		1
Informant (14)		1
Informant (15)		1
Informant (16)		1
Informant (17)		1
Informant (18)		1
Informant (19)		1
Informant (20)		1

Set n=° (6) All items in this set mean 'it is true'	d@s0s0ah (د الصَّحْ)	d@ttbit (د التَّيْبِت)	s0ah0h0 (صَحْ)
Informant (1)	2	1	
Informant (2)	2	1	
Informant (3)	2	1	
Informant (4)	2	1	
Informant (5)	2	1	
Informant (6)	2	1	
Informant (7)	2	1	
Informant (8)	2	1	
Informant (9)	2	1	
Informant (10)	2	1	
Informant (11)	2	1	
Informant (12)	2	1	
Informant (13)	2	1	
Informant (14)	2	1	
Informant (15)	2	1	
Informant (16)	2	1	
Informant (17)	2	1	
Informant (18)	2	1	
Informant (19)	2	1	
Informant (20)	2	1	

Set n=° (7) All items in this set mean 'it's not me'	?ani maniS @na (أني منيش أنا)	Gat0i @na (خاطي أنا)	madanaS (ما دناش)	maSi @na (ماشى أنا)	?@wmadanaS (أو ما داناش)
Informant (1)		3	2	4	1
Informant (2)			2		1
Informant (3)			2		1
Informant (4)			2		1
Informant (5)			2		1
Informant (6)			2		1
Informant (7)			2		1
Informant (8)		4	2	3	1
Informant (9)			2		1
Informant (10)			2		1
Informant (11)		4	2	3	1
Informant (12)			2		1
Informant (13)			2		1
Informant (14)			2		1
Informant (15)			2		1
Informant (16)			2		1
Informant (17)		4	2	3	1
Informant (18)			2		1
Informant (19)			2		1
Informant (20)			2		1

Set n^o (8) All items in this set mean 'I desperately besought him'	h0a:w@ltu h0@tta nSb@;t (حاولتو حتى نشبعت)	daG@lt fih h0@tta kr@ht (داخلت فية حتى كرهت)	h0@ll@ltU h0@tta Sb@;t (حللتو حتى شبعت)
Informant (1)		1	2
Informant (2)		1	2
Informant (3)		1	2
Informant (4)		1	2
Informant (5)		1	2
Informant (6)		1	2
Informant (7)		1	2
Informant (8)		1	2
Informant (9)		1	2
Informant (10)		1	2
Informant (11)		1	2
Informant (12)		1	2
Informant (13)		1	2
Informant (14)		1	2
Informant (15)		1	2
Informant (16)		1	2
Informant (17)		1	2
Informant (18)		1	2
Informant (19)		1	2
Informant (20)		1	2

Set n=° (9) All items in this set mean 'she stayed a lot'	t0awl@t b@zza:f (طوّلت بزّاف)	k@d@t h0am@kUd (كعدت حمكعود)
Informant (1)		1
Informant (2)		1
Informant (3)		1
Informant (4)		1
Informant (5)		1
Informant (6)		1
Informant (7)		1
Informant (8)		1
Informant (9)		1
Informant (10)		1
Informant (11)		1
Informant (12)		1
Informant (13)		1
Informant (14)		1
Informant (15)		1
Informant (16)		1
Informant (17)		1
Informant (18)		1
Informant (19)		1
Informant (20)		1

Set n=° (10) All items in this set mean 'I spent the night in my uncle's house'	bitt ɣ@nd Ga:li (بِتْ عِنْد خَالِي)	b@tt ɣ@n Ga:li (بِتْ عَن خَالِي)	b@tt fi da:r Ga:li (بِتْ فِي دَار خَالِي)
Informant (1)	1		
Informant (2)	1		
Informant (3)	1		
Informant (4)	1		
Informant (5)	1		
Informant (6)	1		
Informant (7)	1		
Informant (8)	1		
Informant (9)	1		
Informant (10)	1		
Informant (11)	1		
Informant (12)	1		
Informant (13)	1		
Informant (14)	1		
Informant (15)	1		
Informant (16)	1		
Informant (17)	1		
Informant (18)	1		
Informant (19)	1		
Informant (20)	1		

Set n=° (11) All items in this set mean 'not yet'	mazal (ما زال)	mazal @ssa;al (ما زال الساعة)	mazal ?@;e (ما زال أعًا)
Informant (1)		2	1
Informant (2)		2	1
Informant (3)			1
Informant (4)			1
Informant (5)		2	1
Informant (6)			1
Informant (7)		2	1
Informant (8)			1
Informant (9)		2	1
Informant (10)		2	1
Informant (11)		2	1
Informant (12)			1
Informant (13)			1
Informant (14)		2	1
Informant (15)		2	1
Informant (16)			1
Informant (17)			1
Informant (18)		2	1
Informant (19)			1
Informant (20)		2	1

Sets of question markers

Appendix 3

Set n ₌ ^o (1) All items in this set mean 'what'	weS (وَأَشْ)	weSi (وَأَشِي)	\?aS (أَشْ)	deS (دَاشْ)	d@jj@S (دِيَشْ)	deh (دَاهْ)
Informant (1)			4	2	1	3
Informant (2)				2	1	3
Informant (3)			4	2	1	3
Informant (4)				2	1	3
Informant (5)			4	2	1	3
Informant (6)			4	2	1	3
Informant (7)				2	1	3
Informant (8)			4	2	1	3
Informant (9)			4	2	1	3
Informant (10)				2	1	3
Informant (11)			4	2	1	3
Informant (12)			4	2	1	3
Informant (13)				2	1	3
Informant (14)			4	2	1	3
Informant (15)			4	2	1	3
Informant (16)			4	2	1	3
Informant (17)			4	2	1	3
Informant (18)			4	2	1	3
Informant (19)				2	1	3
Informant (20)				2	1	3

Set n₌^o (2) All items in this set mean 'which one'	dama (داما)	waina (واين)	daina (دين)	wi:na (وين)
Informant (1)	1		2	
Informant (2)	1		2	
Informant (3)	1		2	
Informant (4)	1		2	
Informant (5)	1		2	
Informant (6)	1		2	
Informant (7)	1		2	
Informant (8)	1		2	
Informant (9)	1		2	
Informant (10)	1		2	
Informant (11)	1		2	
Informant (12)	1		2	
Informant (13)	1		2	
Informant (14)	1		2	
Informant (15)	1		2	
Informant (16)	1		2	
Informant (17)	1		2	
Informant (18)	1		2	
Informant (19)	1		2	
Informant (20)	1		2	

Set n=° (3) All items in this set mean 'why'	la:S (علاش)	la:h (علاه)	lamaS (علاماش)	lizz@S (عليش)	lawah (علاواه)
Informant (1)	3		2	1	
Informant (2)			2	1	
Informant (3)			2	1	
Informant (4)			2	1	
Informant (5)	3		2	1	
Informant (6)			2	1	
Informant (7)			2	1	
Informant (8)			2	1	
Informant (9)			2	1	
Informant (10)	3		2	1	
Informant (11)			2	1	
Informant (12)			2	1	
Informant (13)			2	1	
Informant (14)			2	1	
Informant (15)			2	1	
Informant (16)	3		2	1	
Informant (17)			2	1	
Informant (18)			2	1	
Informant (19)			2	1	
Informant (20)			2	1	

Set n_° (4) All items in this set mean 'when'	faiw@k (فيوك)	w@qta (وقته)	w@kta:S (وكتاشُ)	w@qta:h (وقتاه)	faj@k (فَيَك)
Informant (1)	1				2
Informant (2)	1				2
Informant (3)	1				2
Informant (4)	1				2
Informant (5)	1				2
Informant (6)	1				2
Informant (7)	1				2
Informant (8)	1				2
Informant (9)	1				2
Informant (10)	1				2
Informant (11)	1				2
Informant (12)	1				2
Informant (13)	1				2
Informant (14)	1				2
Informant (15)	1				2
Informant (16)	1				2
Informant (17)	1				2
Informant (18)	1				2
Informant (19)	1				2
Informant (20)	1				2

Set n _° (5) All items in this set mean 'is it...? Are you..? Are they...?'	@nni (عَنِّي)	mmalli (مَالِي)
Informant (1)	2	1
Informant (2)	2	1
Informant (3)	2	1
Informant (4)	2	1
Informant (5)	2	1
Informant (6)	2	1
Informant (7)	2	1
Informant (8)	2	1
Informant (9)	2	1
Informant (10)	2	1
Informant (11)	2	1
Informant (12)	2	1
Informant (13)	2	1
Informant (14)	2	1
Informant (15)	2	1
Informant (16)	2	1
Informant (17)	2	1
Informant (18)	2	1
Informant (19)	2	1
Informant (20)	2	1

Résumé

Les idées préconçues sur les langues, de manière générale, et les dialectes, en particulier, ne datent pas d'hier. Malgré les percées de la sociolinguistique, ces préjugés sont loin d'être éradiqués des esprits. En effet, rien ne semble empêcher le commun des mortels de raconter des blagues sur les dialectes régionaux et de propager des stéréotypes d'ordre social qui transcendent la langue elle-même. Ce phénomène existe comme un produit de la société et se manifeste à travers les attitudes d'un groupe social majoritaire envers des communautés minoritaires où deux langues sont en conflit. Les dialectes de Liverpool et de Birmingham, en Angleterre, qui sont souvent sujet à mépris, illustrent bien cet état de fait. Le dialecte de Jijel est un exemple vivant de ce genre de situation sociolinguistique en Algérie.

L'objectif de cette recherche est de soutenir, à travers une analyse des attitudes envers le dialecte de Jijel, la position selon laquelle toutes les langues se valent et toute idée de la supériorité ou infériorité d'un dialecte constitue un jugement d'ordre social et non pas d'ordre linguistique. La plupart des sociolinguistes s'accordent à dire que pratiquement toutes les langues académiques coexistent avec leurs dialectes locaux qui sont relativement différents mais qui sont, néanmoins, génétiquement reliés à celles-ci et préservent une distinction en matière de culture et de traditions.

L'aspect théorique de ce travail de recherche est descriptif et comparatif et vise à montrer que toute attitude négative envers les langues, en général, et les dialectes, en particulier, n'a aucun fondement linguistique. Seule une compréhension complète de la manière avec laquelle les langues fonctionnent est à même de purifier les discours de ce genre de flétrissure. Son aspect pratique est un appel lancé à ceux qui persistent à avoir des notions erronées sur les dialectes des autres de s'abstenir de se moquer de ces dialectes et des groupes qui les parlent. Afin d'atteindre ce but, une recherche domaniale, qui

consiste à administrer des tests aux sujets enregistrés afin d'évaluer leurs attitudes envers le dialecte en question, est effectuée.

ملخص البحث

إن التنكيت باللغات عموماً واللهجات خصوصاً ليس وليد اليوم، ورغم التقدم الملحوظ الذي عرفه ميدان اللسانيات الاجتماعية، فإن المجتمعات لا ترى سبباً للكف عن سرد القصص التي تسيء للهجات واستحضار الصور النمطية لمجتمع ما والتي تتعدى إلى ما وراء اللغة نفسها، وما هذا سوى نتاج المجتمع. فلهجات مدن ليفربول وبرمينغهم، مثلاً، تعتبر أمثلة حية عن هذه الظاهرة، فهي لهجات ينظر إليها بدونية وهو حال اللهجة الجبيلية في الجزائر التي عانى ويعانى أهلها من نفس النظرة السلبية.

يهدف هذا البحث من خلال تحليل بعض المواقف السلبية من لهجة منطقة جيجل إلى دعم النظرية الألسنية التي مفادها أن كل اللغات متساوية وأن أي اعتقاد أو حكم يتفوق لهجة على أخرى أو دونيتها عنها لا يمكن أن ينبع من فكر ألسني موضوعي وسليم. يتفق أغلب علماء الألسنية الاجتماعية على أن جل اللغات الأكاديمية تتعايش مع لهجاتها المحلية التي تختلف عن بعضها البعض إلا أنها لها صلة وراثية بهذه اللغات الأكاديمية وتحافظ على السمات الثقافية والعرفية لمتحدثيها.

يغلب على الجانب النظري للبحث الطابع الوصفي والمقارن ويسعى إلى إظهار أن المواقف السلبية تجاه اللغات عموماً واللهجات خصوصاً لا أساس لها من وجهة نظر ألسنية وأنه لن يتأتى تطهير خطاب الناس من كثير من الأفكار المسبقة إلا بفهم سليم وشامل لطبيعة ووظيفة اللغات. أما الجانب التطبيقي فيتمثل في نداء موجه إلى كل من تتزاحم مثل هذه الأفكار في عقولهم حول لهجات غيرهم من الناس أن يكفوا عن التهكم والسخرية منها. ومن أجل ذلك تم بحث ميداني يتمثل في تحليل تسجيلات المستجوبين حول مواقفهم من اللهجة الجبيلية.