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**A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variation  
in the Speech Community of Boussemgoun:  
Case of Tamazight (Shelha) Dialect.**

Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and Foreign Language in Candidacy  
Requirement of the Degree of 'Master' in Linguistics.

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## DEDICATIONS

**I** dedicate this humble work to the most beautiful soul and the most beloved parents in this world, God rewarded them, and their endless love, prayers and support. I cannot thank those gorgeous parents well enough.

**T**o my elegant brothers Djamel, Ali-Djawed and my sweetly sister Nerdjes Then to my sister in law Fatiha, without forgetting the prayers of my grandmother.

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# **ABSTRACT**

Sociolinguistic research investigates the speech community of Boussemgoun as one of the municipalities of the EL-Bayed state . The main purpose is to figure out the factors behind the maintenance of the indigenous dialect in the target speech community . This work is founded on a observation and recordings , in addition to questionnaire . Observation and recording toke place in different social setties in Boussemgoun whereas , the questionnaire is addressed to a random sample from the target population according to gender , age and level of education . The results have revealed that the indigenous variety in Boussemgoun speech community is characterized by Tamazight ( Shelha dialect ) which is spoken by the majority of population . Hence , the majority of Boussemgoun inhabitants use Shelha dialect in a great extent by all the categories of age and gender and in many occasions in their daily life . Therefore , this study has explored the major reasons behind the maintenance of Tamazight (shelha dialect ) such as the legacy of their ancestors and it is an integral part of their culture , also they consider it as a source of pride that must be taught to their children and preserved in the future .

## LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

AA: Algerian Arabic

BOUSS : Boussemgoun

DNA : Deoxyribonucleic Acid

Etc: Etcetera

H : High

IPA : International Phonetic Alphabet

L : Low

MSA : Modern Standard Arabic

P : Person

St : First

VS : versus

# LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

## 1. Consonants:

Tifinagh symbols	Tifinagh Pronunciation	Phonetic symbols	AA scripts	Tamazight lexeme	AA lexeme	English meaning
ⵜ	yab	/b/	ب	/bewɔ/	/faula /	bean
ⵜ	yat	/t/	ت	/tɔ:sbɪht/	/ʃæba:/	Nice
ⵏ	yad	/d/	د	/da:/	/hna:/	here
ⵉ	yatt	/t/	ط	/tʰarɔ :t/	/ri:ja:/	lung
ⵉ	yadd	/d/	ض	/ɖa : d/	/sbɔ: ʃ/	finger
ⵙ	yak	/k/	ك	/ka:r/	/nɔ:d/	Stand up
ⵙ	yaq	/q/	ق	/qel/	/ʃɔ :f /	look
ⵏ	yaf	/f/	ف	/fu:s/	/je:d/	Hand
ⵙ	yas	/s/	س	/sja:/	/mɜ:na/	There
ⵙ	yaz	/z/	ز	/zwa:n/	/ra: hɔ:/	They go
ⵙ	yach	/ʃ/	ش	/ʃek /	/nta:/	you
ⵙ	yaj	/dʒ/-/ʒ/	د-ج-ج	/ʒni :x/	ʒma : ʃt/	I seat
ⵙ	yass	/ʃ/	ص	/ʃfæwet/	/ndæfa:/	purity
ⵙ	yagh	/x/	غ	/xri :x/	/qri:t/	I read
ⵙ	ya ‘	/ʃ/	ع	/ʃɪæx/	/tʃbet/	tired
ⵙ	yahh	/h/	ح	/hɔnʒrx/	/bredt/	Chill
ⵙ	yah	/h/	ه	/hwi:x/	/hwa:dt/	Gt down
ⵙ	yath	/e/	ث	/eufet/	/ntfʌx:/	swelling
ⵙ	yadh	/ð/	ذ	/ðʌbrʃa :n/	/keha :l/	black
ⵙ	yaddh	/d/	ظ	/ɖauræx/	/tlefæt/	I turned
ⵙ	yam	/m/	م	/maɔʃ/	/gæt/	A cat
ⵙ	yan	/n/	ن	/ni:x/	/gɔlt /	I said
ⵙ	yal	/l/	ل	/lwædej/	/tæht/	under
ⵙ	yar	/r/	ر	/rwæl/	/herb/	run
ⵙ	yaw	/w/	و	/wræjen /	/ʃkaun/	who
ⵙ	yay	/j/	ي	/jezwæ/	/ra: h/	went
ⵙ	yag	/g/	ڭ	/glehwʌ/	/mli: h/	good
ⵙ	yakh	/x/	خ	/xa: ʃ/	/ʃli :k/	About y



## 2.Vowels:

Tifinagh Vowels symbols	Tifinagh Pronunciation	Phonetic symbols	AA script	Tamazight lexeme	AA lexeme	English meaning
ⵝ	ya	a	أ	/abri :d/	/tri:g/	path
ⵞ	yey	e	إي	/ejaor/	/tma: fΛ/	walk
ⵟ	yi	i	ئ	/i:træn/	/ndʒaom/	stars
ⵠ	you	u	ؤ	/ju;dau/	/drwæk/	now

## 3.Franch Phonetic Symbols :

Phonetic symbols	Example	English meaning
/ y /	/ ʒ y /	Juice
/ P /	/ pitza /	Pizza

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# General Introduction

## General Introduction

In every human society, language is considered as one of the basic foundation for communication with other individuals on the one hand, and with different groups on the other hand. Linguistics in studying language which have been widely flourished during the last century have raised many questions in several fields of research. Which lead for the progress of sociolinguistics as an important field of research.

As far as sociolinguistics investigates the field of language and society, it also aims at establishing a theory that provides a stimulating account of how language is used in society. In addition, it helps to understand why people speak differently in various social contexts.

This sociolinguistic research studies the speech community of Boussemgoun . Its main purpose is to figure out and explore the factors behind the maintenance of the indigenous dialect in the target speech community. Hence , the following problematics are raised:

What are the major reasons behind the maintenance of Berber language ( Shelha dialect ) by the population of Boussemgoun ? . Furthermore, the current study sheds light on the main sociolinguistic features of Boussemgoun dialect . Therefore, the following sub\_ questions are essentially explored at this level .

1. What characterizes the indigenous dialect of the population in Boussemgoun speech community ?
2. To what extent do people of Boussemgoun use their Shelha dialect ?

For these questions the following hypotheses are proposed :

1-The indigenous dialect may be characterized by the overwhelming use of Tamazight (shelha dialect) among its speakers and its continuous use in everyday life between old and young generation.

2-The majority of people in Boussemgoun may use ( shelha ) dialect in a great extent by all the categories of age and gender in many occasions in their daily life , in personal conversation , manifestation and markets .

Therefore, the present research work is structured into two chapters. The first one provides a review of the literature, it introduces a general overview of the field of sociolinguistics and how dialectology has contributed to its emergence . It sheds some light on the difference between language and dialect. It also highlights definitions of language variation and its concepts , and gives a general overview about the different sociolinguistic phenomena and the Algerian linguistic profile .

The second chapter is practical in form , the researcher gives a general presentation of Boussemgoun focusing on its geographical situation , and its indigenous population . It also presents the linguistic features of the area through the description of some phonological and lexical aspects of the variety spoken in Boussemgoun gathered through recordings . In addition, it seeks for the factors behind the maintenance of the indigenous features and the speakers attitudes through the questionnaire . Hence , this chapter establishes the research data analyses in both qualitative and quantitative approaches , and interpretation of data will reveal some results according to the stream of the methodology .



Chapter One:  
Literature Review

## **Chapter One**

### Literature Review

#### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.2. DILECTOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

#### 1.3. DIALECT VS LANGUAGE

#### 1.4. LANGUAGE VARIATION

##### 1.4.1. Social Variation

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##### 1.6.1. Diglossia

##### 1.6.2. Code Switching

##### 1.6.3. Bilingualism / Multilingualism

#### 1.7. THE ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC PROFILE

##### 1.7.1. Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

##### 1.7.2. Berber Language Situation in Algeria

#### 1.8. CONCLUSION

## 1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to give some definitions about a set of key-concepts which are considered to be relevant to our research. It sheds some light on dialectology and sociolinguistics , it highlights the difference between dialect and language, and it explores speech community definitions. In addition , this chapter explains basic sociolinguistic phenomena and concepts in general and Algerian linguistic profile .

## 1.2. DIALECTOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sociolinguistics is a field of linguistics, it is considered as the study of impact of all aspects of society, including cultural norms and the way of using such a language . On another hand , dialectology studies the differences in language, the way of words and grammatical features vary in a certain language . Dialectology also deals with topics such as the differences of local dialects that are located with regional areas . On this respect , **(Meyerhoff, 2006: 15) says :**

**(Social dialectology is the study of linguistic variation in relation to speakers' participation or membership in social groups, or in relation to other non-linguistic factors ).**

Dialectology examines different phenomena and factors related to the occurrence of speech in a language and the topic of the study of the division of a language into dialects and the reasons behind this division and with its relationship with the mother tongue and, the characteristics of dialects and its factors to turn it into a language, then its rules that a language went through in all this .

Sociolinguistics also examines language that varies among groups separated by certain social variables, such as: race , religion , gender , social level , level of education , age ...ect and how to use these rules to classify the individuals in different social categories .



### 1.3. DIALECT VS. LANGUAGE

Language in the world is the way of people communicate with each other, language is considered as the first communication method that distinguishes human from other living beings. Language provides the ability to express the feelings clearly, and it is one of the common factors that nations brings together. However, dialects are created after the emergence of language which may vary within one country as well, each region of the country is distinctive by its dialect , so that a dialect is a part of a language used in one society, where speakers with different dialects of the same language can understand each others, Hudson (1996:32) says that:

**[...] a language is larger than a dialect. That is, a variety called a language contain more items than one called a dialect [...] the other contrast between language and dialect is a question of prestige, a language having prestige which a dialect lacks**

Any language contains a combination of sounds representing words that can be expressed in writing symbols to formulate a sentence by grammar rules. Sapir (1921:7) describes language as **“a purely human and non instinctive method of communication ideas, emotions, and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”**.

Dialects arise from the different languages which dialects gradually deviate from the mother, language. Trudgill (1992:23) claims that dialect is **“a variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically and lexically from other varieties and which is associated with a particular social class or status group”**. Hence, dialects are a variety of language characterized by its features of phonology, grammar, vocabulary and its use, besides its users who are different either socially or geographically .

#### 1.4. LANGUAGE VARIATION

An interesting issue that has always been on the list of basic priority is the question of the different tongues of people of the world, even though they are all born from one father and one mother .Today, origin of the difference between languages in reality lies in the existence of innovation and invention in the human mind, they are creating new languages and formulating new sentences in order to secure their own needs .

In his interesting book<sup>(1)</sup> The British linguist **Guy Deutsher(1969)**, posed problematic questions about the language spoken by the people of each country, whether it is a reflection of the traditions of societies. **Deutsher** tries to give an idea that the language of a people reflects his culture, spirit and style of thinking .

During the 21<sup>st</sup> century, studies on language have widely developed and have their own schools. The views of the American linguist **Noam Chomsky(1928)** acquired many endorsements, from the question of instinct, most of the grammar in all the languages of the world began. **Chomsky's** schools asserts , that the rules of the world language are implanted in our DNA

**A human being is born with a brain equipped with special equipment for children to be education to enrich the child when he begins to acquire his mother tongue. The grammatical rules reflect a universal human natural (1988, p.16)**

Therefore , child is born with his instinct and this what makes him acquire language easily .

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(1) Book entitled." Through the language class , why the world looks different in other languages ?. The series (The world of knowledge). Translated by .Hanan Abdul-Muhsin Muzaffar .

### 1.4.1. Social Variation

Social variation is a feature of the universe change affects the aspects of life, whether physical or moral that affect individuals, groups and societies. Which affect values, customs and cultures, it is also related to development , progress, technology, media and, as well as socialization and way of life .

Diversity in social variation includes differences in choice of language, vocabulary , and variety of modes of expressions . In addition ,to some factors play a main role including region, social status (class), styles, age, sex, ethnicity, contact and social network. Even though, the various factors are treated as independent variables, in reality, it is an interaction of the various social factors that accounts for language variation in individual and group speakers.

### 1.4.2. Regional variation

Regional dialect is a language variation that used in a particular area and each variation differs from the other, the language of urban cities is completely different from the rural region. Hence, regional variation actually exists along a dialect continuum rather than having sharp breaks for one region to the next.

Regional variation is not simply a matter of two dialects of a single language but it can involve distinct and different languages. For example, although the Arabic language is the mother tongue of all Arab countries, but with dozens of dialects even in one country .

## 1.5. SPEECH COMMUNITY

Speech community is a group of people who share the same language; it means that they have the same kind of attitudes towards that language. A speech community as **Trudgill (2003:126)** says: **“is a community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same norms for linguistic behavior”**. Therefore, members of the speech community use the same vocabulary, same grammatical rules, similar

ideas, norms of language, activities, practices, beliefs, eye contact, body positioning for the same social function.

Speech community is a term in sociolinguistics used to describe a group of people who share one or more varieties of the same language, rules, speech characteristics, for using those varieties in every day communication.

## 1.6. SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

Sociolinguistics studies a range of topics related to what is linguistic and what is societal at the same time, such as language and society, standard language, specifications local dialects, geographical and social dialects, linguistic development, linguistic conflicts, the origin of language and its extinction, mother tongue, identity and social environment. In the same vein , **Hudson (1996:4)** states that sociolinguistics is “**the study of language in relation to society**”.

Sociolinguistics seeks to study language in the light of the social approach by linking the language to its communicative interactive and verbal context. Hence , the goal of these languages is to describe the various change and vocal changes identified by local and geographical languages and dialects and to compare between them. As well as understanding linguistic, and linguistic diversity, and its interpretation by age, gender, social classes and ethnicity . Therefore , the goal of sociolinguistics is to provide an organized description of linguistic in society .

### 1.6.1 Diglossia

Diglossia is a case in which two languages or two varieties of the same language are used in different situations within a community, frequently by the same speakers, the term is commonly utilized to describe languages with different types “ **high** “ ( formal language ) and “ **low** “ (vernacular ) such as Arabic, and each of them has a social function deferent from the other .

The term Diglossia was first used in English by Charles Ferguson in 1959, present and propose the varieties of diglossia, which he classified them into two types<sup>(1)</sup>: high(H) variety and low (L)variety the H variety is the language of educated people ( formal language ), and it is the language that thought at schools . While L variety is the language spoken by most population ( vernacular ) and it is spoken since the born .

Diglossia in Algeria, this linguistic phenomenon refers to numerous historical factors, Algerians use three languages. Including , first French the ( H ) the language of colonialism which is the language used in educational fields . Second one is Arabic language ( L ), the colloquial language which is more commonly used in the community in addition to Tamazight language .

### 1.6.2. Code switching

Code switching is a phenomenon studied by sociolinguistics, it occurs when a speakers alternates between two or more languages or dialects and varieties of language in one conversation during the speech . The term was given different definitions, and as a simple one can mention the definition given by Heller's (1988:1) says ; « **The use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode** » , and by Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) who says ; « **the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation** ».

Code switching appears when a speaker moves between two or more languages in the context of single conversation, single situation, and sometimes within a single sentence . where speakers use different elements from different languages in their conversation .

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(1)published in the journal world ( cited in wei 2000:75). April, 2019

<http://www.ello.uos.de/field.php/Sociolinguistics/DiglossiaFerguson>

Code switching in Algeria as a good example. Algerian people can switch between three languages: Arabic or Berber ( in some areas ) and French for instance Algerian speakers switch to French when they eliminate about the existence of synonyms in **AA** or even in **MSA**. For example the word “ super markets” Which refers to the French word “la supérette ” or the borrowing one [ superat] .

### **1.6.3. Bilingualism / Multilingualism**

Bilingual or multilingual are social phenomenon that means the use of an individual or community in a particular region for two languages or more . And this bilingual or multilingual languages is different in how people acquire it, some of them acquire it from home and street without formal schools education by nature. However , on the other hand some people learn a second language formal school education .

A bilingual or multilingual person, has the ability to communicate and talk to others more. Because , he has more than one language to communicate . Studies have shown that individuals who speak more than one language are smarter than others, and they can improve their cognitive skills easily .

There is a linguistic diversity in Algeria . The Algerian linguistics reality is different. The Arabic language and the French language are used only by the educated class, schools, universities and administrative places.

In addition to Tamazight (Berber) language, which is different from one region to another, and there is a clear difference between them ( Shawia . Kabily . Shelhy ...)

## **1.7. THE ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC PROFILE**

Algeria is a multilingual country where Algerians speak Tamazight ( with its different dialects) , Arabic language ( slang ) and French language . Algeria due to a number of historical and political factors, which were invaded by Spaniards, the Ottomans, and French settlers, each one has a great influence on the language.

The language in Algeria passed through three periods. The first was the Berber people who were the original inhabitants of Algeria and their Tamazight language. This was before the Arab Islamic conquest. After the resistance with the Arab culture, Islamic spreads in Algeria, Arabic language become an official language in Algeria. Later , the French language is the product of the French colonization of the Algerian country, which lasted more than a century , that is what made Algeria as a multilingual and a rich culturally country .

### **1.7.1. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria**

That Algeria has two official national languages (Arabic and Tamazight ), French as a foreign language as well as many dialects . Dr. Mohammed Daoud<sup>(1)</sup> in his lecture , he said that Algeria is distinguished by the fact that it is accommodates a wide range of local cultures which vary from one region to another , as well as a large geographical space that belongs to the African Arab, Islamic and Mediterranean depths , its history dates back to the present period geographical and historical make it a multi-state and diverse at all levels ( ... ) , which Algeria is a diverse continent with many customs and traditions such as clothing, food, which confirms the richness of our country in terms of its heritage .

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(1)A lecture by Mohammed Doaud and Bachir Buijra, entitled. (A multilingualism and cultural diversity in Algeria is under the microscope of academics) at “ Karsak”( Oran ). Cited in [www.djazair.com](http://www.djazair.com), April .2019



### 1.7.2. Berber language situation in Algeria

Tamazight language is an essential element of the Algerian identity and an important source of its historical tributaries, it is a national language in Algeria by constitution .

According to the Algerian historian Abdel-Rahman Al-jilali, in his book “ General history of Algeria “ , says That ( the first known in the recorder history of the population of this country are the Berbers, who are especially spread in the countries of Algeria, Morocco , Tunisia , Libya , and even Egypt . In the Tamazight language, the word “Amazigh “ means ( noble free man ) which Romans used name “ Berber ”, and the origin of the word is Greek means “ Barbarians “ .

The Amazighian people speaks Tamazight language , and its adopted line called “ **Tifinagh** “ . Among the most famous Amazigh characters , are Masinisa , Yogrta , El-kahina , Ibn-batouta , Tareq-Ibn-Zian , Abess Ibn-fness .However , the Amazigh in Algeria are mixture of ( Kabailia , chawia , shelhia , mzabiya , El-tawariq . )

According to **Smia Ben Yahia**<sup>(1)</sup> , the constitution of the Tamazight language in Algeria did not come as a basic component of the Algeria identity in a nowhere, it passed through a long and difficult struggle than began in 1949 . And the situation did not calm down until negotiation with representative of the Kabayel region, were announced by the presidents of Algeria declaration of the Tamazight language as a national language in 2002 and it is constitutional as a component of national identity .

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(1)accessed in <http://katehon.com/ar/article> , April .2019

## 1.8. CONCLUSION

In this theoretical chapter, the researcher has tried to shed light and give an overview on some basic concepts in dialectology and sociolinguistics. It explains it is social and regional variation. Many views and definition are reviewed for the speech community, in addition to the field of sociolinguistic phenomena and its concepts. In this section, the researcher reviewed some basic concepts to explain the linguistic situation in Algeria and the speech forms.

In the next chapter, the researcher will apply those concepts to the study of Boussemgoun speech community and its sociolinguistic situation focusing on its different linguistic features. The researcher will describe this community from the social and linguistic perspectives.

## Chapter Two:

# Linguistic Features of Boussemgoun

## Chapter Two

### Linguistic Features of Boussemgoun

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###### 2.8.2.1.Vowel aspects

###### 2.8.2.2.Consonant aspects

#### 2.9.GENERALE RESULTS ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

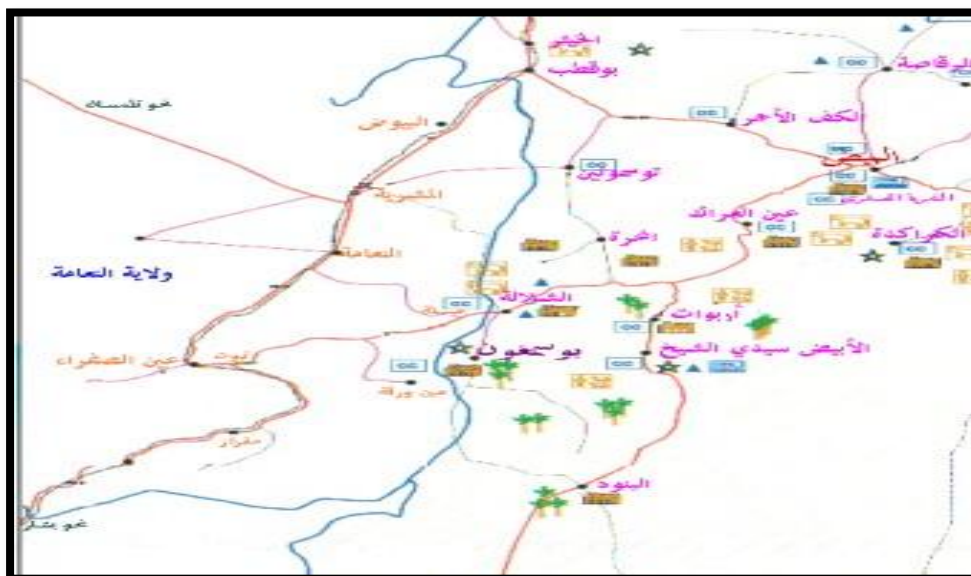
#### 2.10.CONCLUSION

## 2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter practical in its content form. The researcher provides an overview about the historical background of Boussemgoun , its geographical location, its population and its indigenous people . In this study, two research instruments are used including questionnaire and recording in order to collect and recognize a set of objective results. The results have been analyzed and interpreted by means of table, graphs and figures.

## 2.2. GEOGRAFICAL SITUATION OF BOUSSEMGHOUN

Boussemgoun or “**Aghrem**” in Tamazight language. It is a town located <sup>(1)</sup> in the mountains of palaces in the western part of the mountains known as the Saharian Atlas Mountains . Boussemgoun , is one of the municipalities of the EL-Bayedh state since the administrative division of 1984. It is surrounded by “**Mechria**” from the North in 110 km , “**Ain Sefra**” from the South-West by 100km and the **AL-ABYEDH-SID-CHIKH** from the East by 116km ( see figure 2.1 )<sup>(2)</sup> .



**Figure 2.1.** Location of Boussemgoun Speech Community

(1),(2).A.P.C Boussemgoun , brief over view of Boussemgoun .( Office construction and reconstruction) .

Boussemgoun has a population of 3500 , they speak Tamazight or Berber language .This Tamazight language is also spoken by the neighbours like ( Chelala . Assla . Tiout. ....) but to different extent .

### 2.3.SOCIAL SITUATION OF BOUSSEMGOUN

The great majority of Boussemgoun population is of Berber origin. The Arabic language is poorly spoken by the majority of inhabitants

#### 2.3.1. The Original Name of Boussemgoun

The oral history confirmed<sup>(1)</sup> the existence of several names for Boussemgoun . The area was called "**Wad El- Asnam**" because its people formerly believed in "**Idols**" before Islam . After Islam , it was labeled "**Wad Al-Safah**" in relation to the stones Armored in the valley. The oral stories confirm that the region had witnessed many conflicts between the people of those seven palaces because of the land borders and irrigation water, and when the good lord "**Sidi Boussemgoun**" <sup>(2)</sup> arrived in the region in which he resided and took the time to resolve disputes. He is of Moroccan origin **Al-Sakia Al-Hamra** , where he went to **Medina** to perform the **Hajj**, preferring to stay Fame among the population with its qualities and virtues, descended upon the tribe of the "**At-Ngite**", he completed his way to the **Hijaz**, and stayed to resolve the disputes and thanks to his ability to achieve what was left for this reason, and in view of his glorious work, the region is now called after his name . Thus, Boussemgoun was named after the name of the holy man "**Sidi Bousmagoun**" . who was buried there.

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(1),(2)accessed in , [www.Boussemgoun.com](http://www.Boussemgoun.com) . Marsh .2019

### 2.3.2. The Native People of Boussemgoun

The original inhabitants<sup>(1)</sup> of Boussemgoun are the native and the descendants of the tribes Berbers "Zenete" of the region of Telmcen .

Boussemgoun community consists of two ethnic elements<sup>(2)</sup> , the first is Berber which represent the majority and Arabs which represent the minority. The latter belongs to the Arabic tribes that formerly migrated in the countryside. In recent years, they moved to settle in Boussemgoun and its neighboring municipalities . As it is mentioned above, most of the population is Berber, speaking Berber or Tamazight, and they have been able to maintain it in comparison with Amazigh towns bordering Boussemgoun, such as (Chalala, Asala, Moughrar, Tiout and Sefisifa..).

## 2.5. STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING

The participants involved in this investigation are all from Boussemgoun . data have been collected randomly with informants, the researcher has met them in their houses, in the street, governmental institutions, educational institutions, and religious institutions . In this investigation simple random selection is used for the sake of representatives to make generalization.

The informants chosen for this research work are of different genders: males and females of different ages. The sample is made up of 60 informants: 30 males and 30 females aged between 05 and 90 years old. They are divided into age groups: 30 males and 30 females in each group.

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(1)DAHMOUN Mouna .2004-2005 .Boussemgoun palace, EL-BAYADH. An Archaeological and analytical study .Unpublished .Magester theses in Islamic monuments university of Algeria .

(2)cited in [www.Boussemgoun.com](http://www.Boussemgoun.com) . May , 2019



The following table summarizes the categories in which the informants are stratified and distributed:

**Table 2.1:** Sampling and Stratification of Informants

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
(05-30)	10	10
(31-45)	10	10
(46-90)	10	10
<b>Total</b>	30	30
	60	

## 2.6. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Two research instruments are used in this fieldwork. The first instrument is recording which may provide more real and fixed data . The second one is questionnaire with a set of respondents by asking some questions .

### 2.6.1. Recording

A recording is the recorded audio stored on a tape or an electronic device .In order to collect fresh data for the present research work, many conversations had been recorded by the use of a perfectly hidden mobile in different contexts: at **Al-Kser Al-Atik** at home, street and among friends. Some conversations had been recorded by informing the participants for social reasons. Some of them have been recorded by the researcher and sometimes between friends conversation is used. The recorder has to hide carefully the mobile without block the recording procedure in order not to influence the participants. Those records are stored as audio files and then transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

### 2.6.2. Questionnaire

The questionnaire is a data collection instrument which consists of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Seliger & Shohamy (1989:172) point out that **[Questionnaire are printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously]**. Thus, the present questionnaire aims at collecting information about the linguistic features of Boussemgoun speech community and its speaker's Tamazight (Shelha) dialect.

This questionnaire is used to test the two hypotheses. It is written in modern standard Arabic (MSA) to facilitate the task for the informants to understand. The questions are categorized into two parts; the first part includes demographic information about the informants (gender and age). Whereas the second one involves eleven questions that consist of 07 closed questions including (yes/no, multiple choice) questions, and 04 opened questions. This questionnaire is submitted to 60 informants, 30 males and 30 females their age was between 05 and 90 years old (table 2.1). The researcher has been always present in order to explain the questions in Tamazight (shelha) dialect especially to the old generation. Some answers were written by the researcher herself because some questionnaires were submitted to old persons.

The questionnaire (**Appendix II**) is organized as follows :

- **The question (1)**, aims at providing the meaning of the "Boussemgoun" to define the area of Boussemgoun and the origin of its name.
- **Question (2)**, enquires if the respondents have their Berber parents, it is for collecting and giving statistics of the majority inhabitants of shelha dialect in Boussemgoun and their origins.

- **In question (3)** , its aim is about the indigenous language that expresses the identity ,intends to assess the individual's sense of social belonging.
- **The question (4)** , it seeks if Tamazight ( shelha) dialect is hard to learn. To Find out how far the origins speakers want to introduce their shelha dialect to the non speaker shelha dialect .And the attitudes towards learning shelha dialect.
- **The question (5)** , its aim is about the maintained dialect for seeking from if they really remain their dialect and if they will use it in the future .
- **Question (6)** , is to know the reasons behind the factors and the motivations behind the maintenance of shelha dialect.
- **The question (7)** , it contains How often do speakers used shelha dialect in the daily life to see in which extent this dialect is used in the region.
- **In question (8)** , its main purpose is to know Boussemgounen speaker's use of Tamazight (shelha ) dialect to know where people of Boussemgoun use their dialect .
- **The question (9)** , it aims at the domains that cannot use Tamazight (Shelha) dialect in daily life to know in which domains people of boussemgoun Dispense from their dialect .
- **In question (10)** ,tries to find the languages that is less used in daily life in Boussemgoun , for collecting statistics for does who do not speaks shelha and vies versa .
- **Question (11)** , it seeks if parents want from their children to speak Tamazight (shelha ) dialect in their future life ,predict the Stability of Tamazight shelha dialect in the future .

## 2.7. RESEARCH RESULTS ANALYSIS

This section analyses the findings in terms of pie-chart and figures .

### 2.7.1. Recording Results Analysis

The Following examples are excerpts from daily life conversations collected in correlation with age and gender in different settings such as: home, street , and others about different topic such as: traditions of Boussemgoun and singing in Tamazight( Selha) .

The recording ( **Appendix I**) is organized as follows :

#### Old Participants :

**P1 : Female 53 years old :** “ Taqboucht tertter “ /taqpu:ft tertter / . **i,e** ( The pot is above the fire ).

**P2 : Female 90 years old :** “ khadrahen lomanssi ?” / xædrɛɲ Lu:mensɪ /**i,e** ( They go for dinner ? ).

**P3: Man 60 years old :”** yazwa akidd tmettott ness lomenssi “ / jezwa ækid tæmøɟt nes lɔmnsɪ / **i,e** ( he went with his wife to dinner ).

**P4: Male 52 years old :** “ Atef laghourin , tstned ..” / atɛf ləɣu:rim , tstnɛd / **i,e** ( enter there , and ask )

**P5:Female 44 years old :** “ Toussided galkar ? / tosɪdɛd gælkɑr ? / **i,e** ( You came by a bus ? )

#### Young Participants :

**P1 : Man 39 years old :** “ Laɛed odyozed , yafough “ / læʕɛd ɛdju:zɛd , jæfɔɣ / **i,e**. ( he did not come yet . he went out )

**P2 : Boy 05 years old :** “ Aqal , iyess amou “ /aqal , Iyes amu: / . **i,e** ( Look , do like this )

**P3 : Girl 25 years old :**”Manayen tlateqar terffiqt nemm ?” / mənjen tlatqər tərffiqt nem ? / .i,e ( what does your friend said ?) .

**P4: Guy 33 years old :** “ toughit ytafit dessebat “ / Teyit jtæfit dəsəbat / i,e. ( he found this as a reason )

**P5:Female 19 years old :** “ khadya3del inegh walou “ / xɔdjəydəl inəγ wælu: / i,e ( he will be late or not ) .

### 2.7.2. Questionnaire Results Analysis

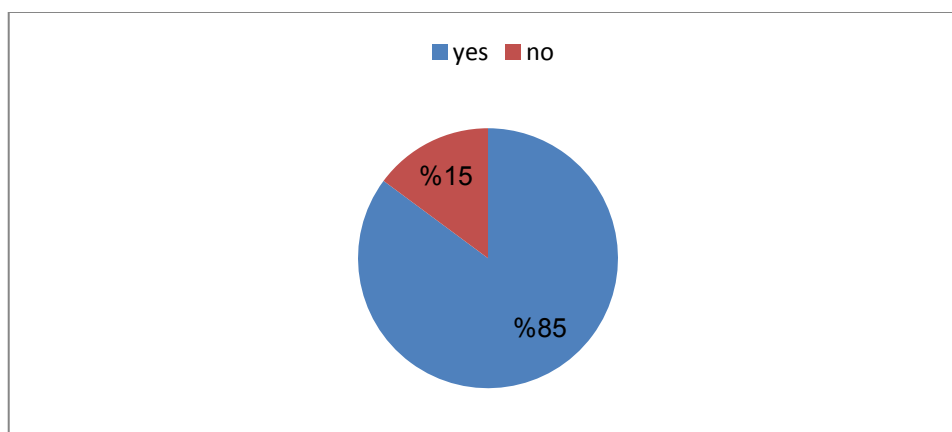
Since the questionnaire is composed of both opened and closed questions, the results are going to be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively . The questionnaire was distributed to 60 informants from Boussemgoun . They were asked to precise their age and gender .

**Question 01:** what does it mean “ BOUSSEMGHOUN ”?

The majority of the informants stated that the word” Boussemgoun” is called after the holy man Moulay Ahmed , known as Sidi Boussemgoun who was buried there and who was originated from the Moroccan region of AL-Saqia AL-Hamra .

A minority of them did not know the origins of the word “**Boussemgoun**”

**Question 02:** Do you have a Berber parents ?

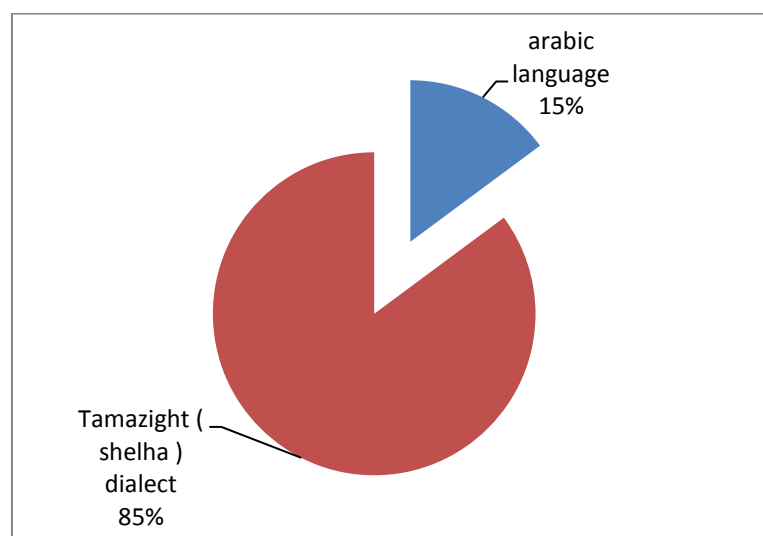


**Figure 2.2:** Parental Origin of the Population of Boussemgoun.

As it is presented in the pie-chart, the majority of the informants has Berber parents by 85% ( female –male ) whereas 15% ( female –male ) who their parents are not Berber .

**Question 03 :** what is your indigenous language that feel expresses your identity ?

As it is shown in the chart below , The majority of the speaker's in Boussemgoun by 86% ( female –male ) said their indigenous language is Tamazight ( shelha ) dialect , whereas 15% ( female –male ) said that Arabic language ( dialectal ) is their indigenous language .



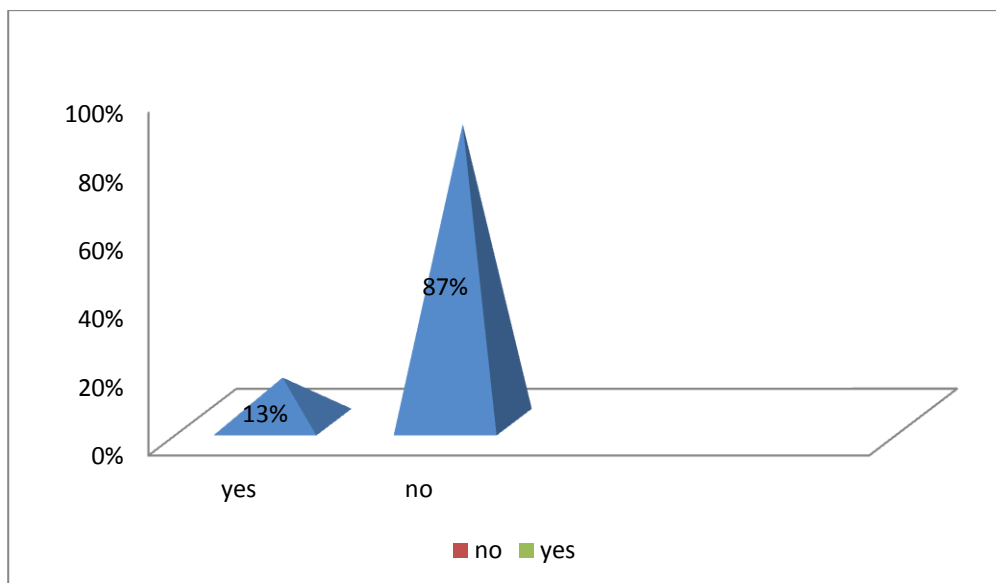
**Figure2.3:** The Indigenous Used

**Question 04:** Do you think that Tamazight (shelha )dialect is hard to learn ? why ?

The results obtained have shown that the majority of the informants induct that Tamazight shelha dialect is not hard to learn it by 87% . Where's the minority of theme by 13% said yes that Tamazight shelha dialect in Boussemgoun is hard to learn it .

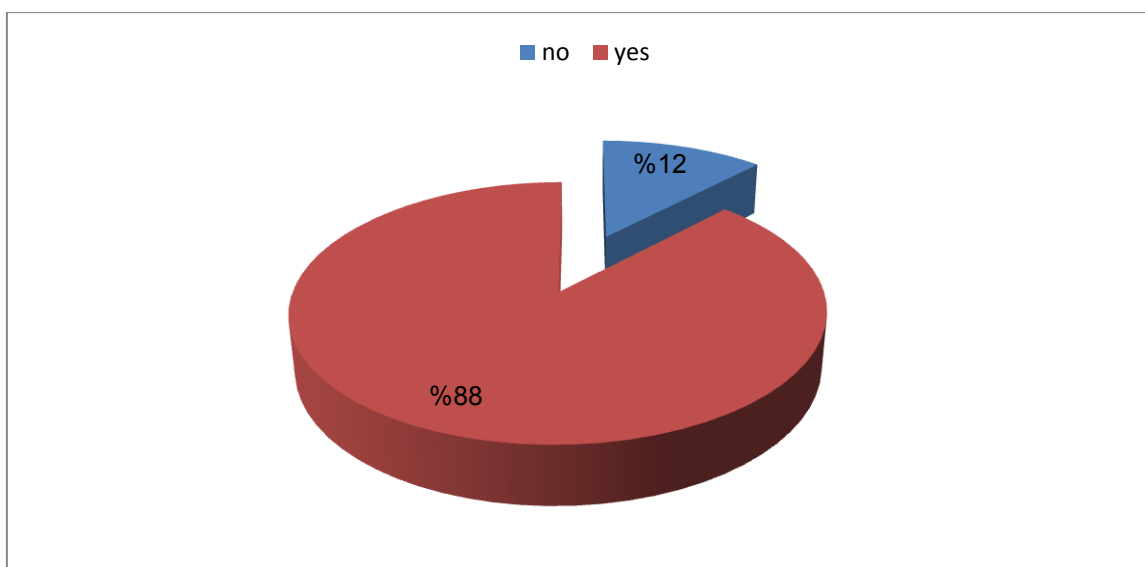
From those who said it is hard to learn , they tried to learnt it but , they failed .It takes a lot of time .

Whereas others they said is not hard to learn it , is just a matter of time .



**Figure2.4:** the Respondent's Opinion about Difficulty learning of Tamazight( shelha) Dialect

**Question 05:** Have you maintained your own Tamazight (shelha ) dialect ?



**Figure2.5:** The Maintenance of Tamazight Shelha Dialect by the Informants.

The results gathered have shown that the majority of them 88% says yes , maintained their shelha dialect .whereas few of them 12% who said No, and they did not maintained it , to see if they really maintain their shelha (dialect ) and if they will use it in the future.



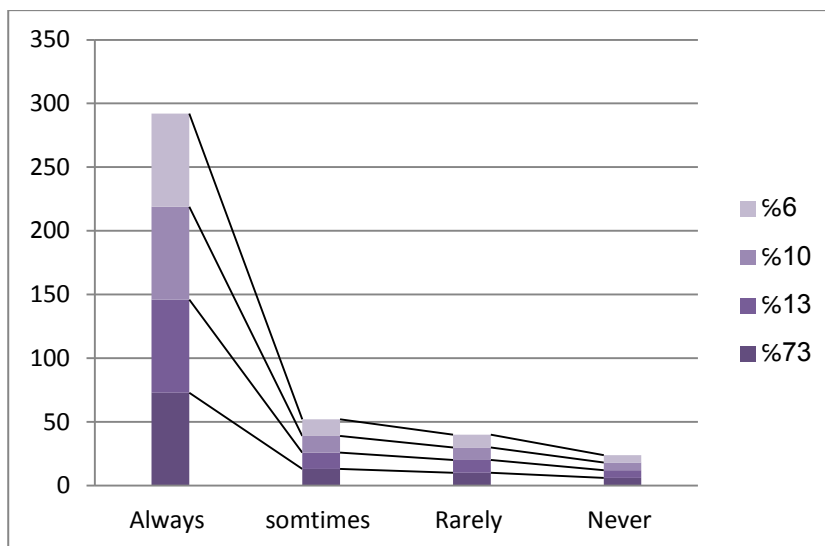
**Question 06 :** what are the factors and the motivations behind the maintenance of this dialect ?

This question intends to discover the reasons behind the maintenance of the dialect of Boussemghoun speakers. The informants stated the following reasons:

- 1- It is an integral part of the mother tongue of Tamazight language.
- 2- Daily use with family and friends.
- 3- It is my language since childhood and my parents and my grandparents language , and the original language of the region of Boussemghoun .
- 4- Making it an official language on national soil.
- 5- Our legacy of our ancestors and an integral part of our culture is a source of pride and pride that must be taught to our children and preserved in the future.
- 6- It is a cultural heritage distinguished from others.
- 7- The language of communication between members of the family from younger to older.
- 8- Speech language and communication among the general population of the city.

**Question 07:** How often do you speak Tamazight (shelha) dialect in your daily life?

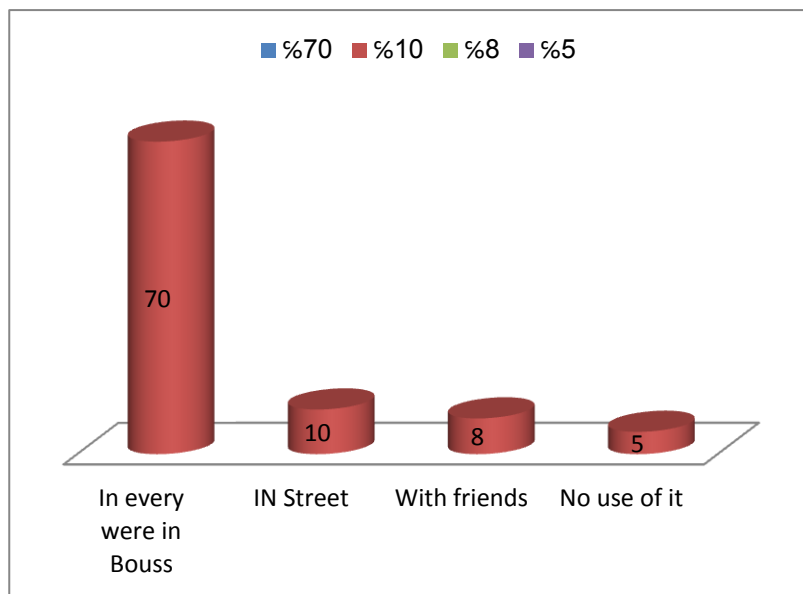
The aim of this question is to see The extent to which this dialect is used in the region .The majority 73% of inhabitation use always their Tamazight (shelha) dialect in their daily life. Some of them by 13% they use it sometimes . Whereas 10% rarely use it , and never by 06% of them they did not use Tamazight shelha dialect .



**Figure2.6:** The Speaker Shelha Dialect in their Daily Life

**Question 08:** you use your Tamazight( shelha) dialect mostly in ?

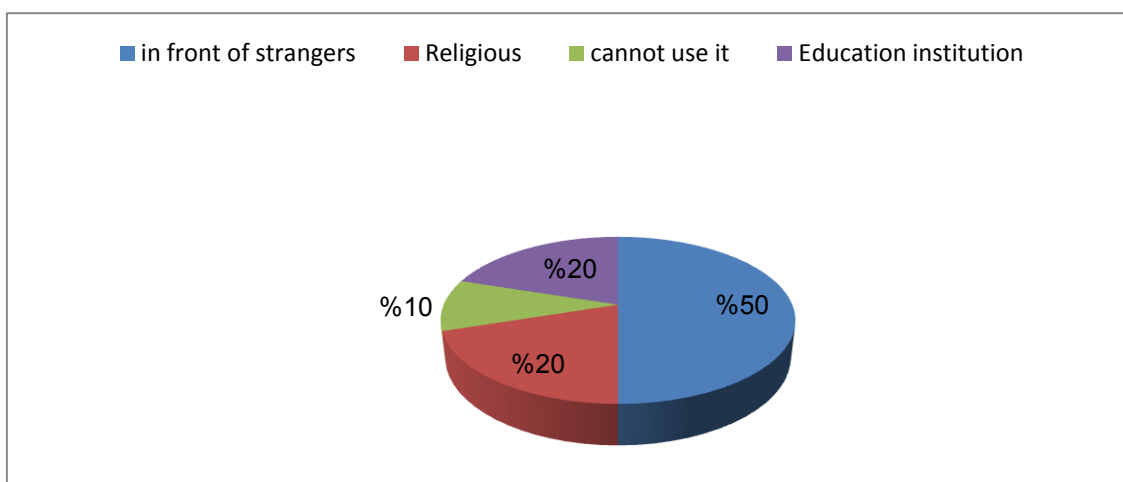
As it is shown in the graphic below , the majority of inhabitants in Boussemgoun use their shelha dialect at ( home, with friends, in street , in markets, the orchard .....), But few of them they do not use it at all .



**Figure2.7:** Places Where Informations Use Their Shelha Dialect

**Question 09:** what are the domains that you cannot use your Tamazight shelha ( dialect ) in your daily life ?

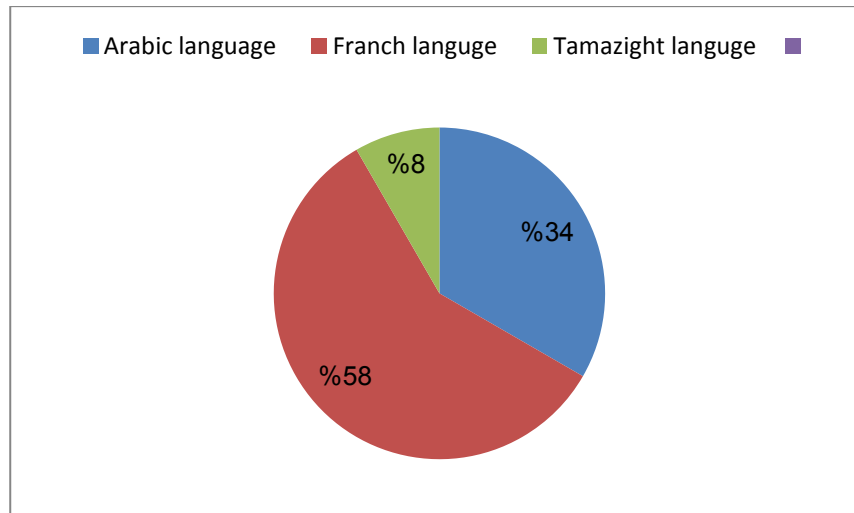
As the pie-chart presented that the majority by 50% of the inhabitants of Boussemgoun cannot use their Tamazight (shelha ) dialect in front of strangers , and 20% some of them cannot use it in religious context , and 10% few of them cannot use it at all .



**Figure 2.8:**Domains of Shelha Use

**Question 10:** what is the languages that you find less used in your daily life ?

The following pie-chart shows , The majority 58% of inhabitants did not use French language. Whereas 34% some of them use dialectal Arabic language . In addition 08% few informants do not use Tamazight shelha dialect.



**Figure 2.9:**Languages Less Used in Boussemgoun .

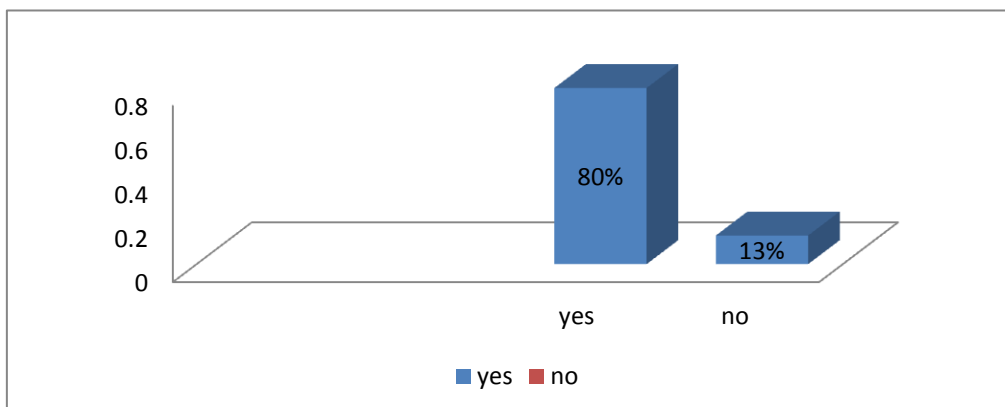
**Question 11:** would you like your children to speak Tamazight shelha dialect in their future life ?

The graphic shows the majority 80% predict the Stability of the shelha dialect in the future .Whereas the minority 13% of them says no .The informants stated the following reasons:

- 1- Yes and strongly must be preserved and taught to our children is the identity of our heritage and the legacy of our ancestors .
- 2- Our master, may God bless him said<sup>(1)</sup> :/taɣalamaw alælsi:næ fæi:na lkawli : i:nsæn li:san /. Our master Ali God's mercy his face: "learn the tongues every man has a tongue".
- 3- The saying <sup>(2)</sup>: /mɔn taɣlæma lɔxta qæwm ami:na ɣærahaum /. The old saying:" A nation's language, is a protection of their evil".

(1) سيدنا علي كرم الله وجهه يقول "تعلموا اللسانة فان لكل انسان لسان" (1)

(2) القول المأثور . "من تعلم لغة قوم امن شرهم .." (2)



**Figure 2.10:** The Attitude Towards Shelha Maintenance.

## 2.8. BOUSSEMGHOUN (SHELHA) DIALECT CHARACTERISTICS

Speech is different from one country to another. every Dialect is different from other dialects in grammatical rules or dictionaries for their vocabulary or methods of writing and pronunciation .

### 2.8.1. Lexical Features

While using a language, is relating to the words or vocabulary of a language .

#### 2.8.1.1. Berber vocabulary

Boussemghoun or “**Aghrem**” the area is characterized by the language of the origin inhabitation which is Tamazight( shelha ) dialect, this dialect is still used in Boussemghounian speech .The researcher gained the following examples .

**Table 2.2:** Some Tamazight Words Used by Boussemgoun Participants

BOUSS	MSA	English
Machgtlid/mæʃgtli:d/	/kʌjfa hʌlək/	How are you
Awid /æwi:d/	/æhdɾ/	Give me
Aghroum/æɣrəm/	/lɣəbz/	Bread
Amen /æmʌn/	/ma:ʔ/	Water
Tamethoth/tʌmθəθ/	/mar:ʔ/	Woman
Tamourth /tʌmərəθ/	/lard/	Earth
Abrid /æbri:d/	/tæri:q/	Street
Iles /i:leis/	/lisæn/	Tongue
Iynegh /I:neɣ/	/aʊv/	Or
Awel/æwal/	/kalem/	Speech
Imi/i:mi/	/fʌ:m/	Mouth
Nighas/ni: ɣas/	/qʊltə lʌ :h/	I said to him
Idaren/I:dʌrn/	/ri : ʒlæ:n/	Feet
Argez/ʌrgʌz/	/ræʒʊv/	Man
Tighmas/ti: ɣmes/	/æsnen/	Teeth
Nana /nænʌ/	/ dʒada/	Grand mother
Tinzrth/ti:nzrθ/	/an:f/	Nose
Iyni/i:jni/	/qʊv/	Say
Tit/ti :t/	/ ʕi :n/	Eye
Afough /æfəʊ/	/ aʊxredʒ/	Go out

### 2.8.1.2. French vocabulary

The French borrowed words are used a lot by Boussemgounians in their daily speech, due to the French colonization who lived in Boussemgoun at that time .The following table shows some French words use by Bousemgounians :

**Table .2.3:** French Borrowed Words Used by Boussemgoun Participant

Borrowed words	French	English
Lfamilet/lfæmilt/	La famille	family
Jernan /dʒrna:n/	Le journal	News paper
Tablasst /tablast/	La place	place
Serbittet /sʌrbi:tat/	La serviette	Wiper
Tvalizt /tvali:zt/	La valise	Bag
Tarmmith /tamrmit/	La marmite	The pot
Tsona /tsəna/	Il a sonné	Sounded
plakaret/plakaret/	Les placards	Cupboards
Jakitet /dʒaki : tt/	La vest / jacket	Coat
Tapiyat/tapjat/	Les tapis	Rugs

### 2.8.1.3. Arabic vocabulary

The samghounian people since their language is Tamazight ( Shelha ) dialect , does not mean that they do not have contact with the Arabs and their language . In fact, there are some words borrowed from the Arabic language , as shown in the following table .

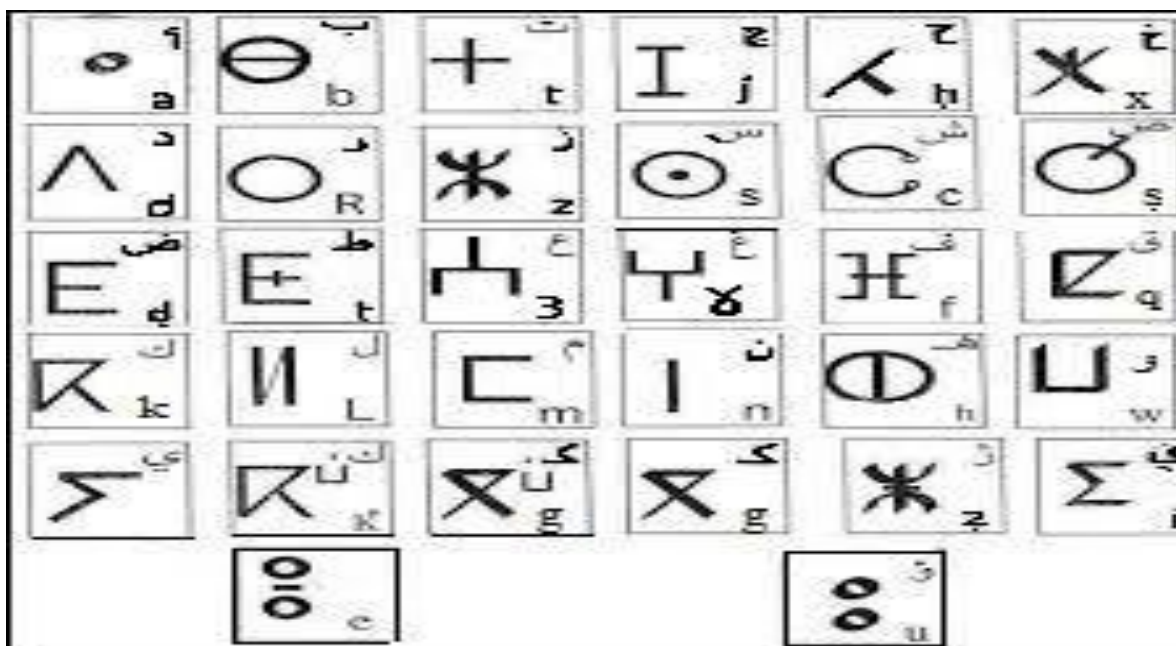
**Table2.4:**Arabic Borrowed Words Used by Boussemgoun Participants

Borrowed words	Arabic dialectal	English
Bella3t /belaʃt/	Bella3/balaʃ/	Close
Yrah / jrah/	Rah /ra :h/	Go
Jlid / dʒlid/	jlid/ dʒlid/	Ice
Sqor /sqʌvr/	Skout /skʌvt/	Keep silent
Zaydid /zajdi :d/	Zidni/zi :dni/	More
Taqeth /taqeθ/	Teqa /tæqa/	Windows
Fehmekh /fhmex/	Fhemt/fhmt/	Understand
Lemkhdet /lɪmxdet/	Mkhada /mxada/	Pillow
Lhid /lhi :d/	Lhitt/lhit/	Wall
Dwarej /dwʌrez/	Droj /draʊʒ/	Stairs

### 2.8.2.Phonology Features

Tamazight language is distinctive by many sounds which has 33 basic sounds , 4 vowels(/i/ ./u/. /a/.e/ ) and 29 consonants which are Tifinagh .





**Figure 2.11:**Tifinagh Script and it is Arabic and Latin Equivalent

### 2.8.2.1. Vowels aspects

Boussemgoun its Tamazight (shelha) dialect has transformed the vowels (u) to (I) , as in the following examples :

**Table 2.5:**Phonological Transformation Characteristics in BOUSS

Original form	New form	English
Laghourin /lavavri :n/	Laghirin /laviri:n/	There
Ouyghis /avhxi :s/	Ouykhsich/avjxsi/	Do not want
Outehli /avtehli:/	Touhli /tavhli :t/	Bad

### 2.8.2.2. Consonant aspects

1. /x/= /خ/ / is transformed into / x/ = /خ/ sound in Arabic language the following example :

Ligh da / lix da / → likh da / lix da / → am here

2. /y/ = /ي/ is transformed into /g/= /ف/ sound in Arabic language as the following example :

Macheytelid/mafjteli :d/ → machgtelid/mafgteli:d/ → how are you

**Note :** even the transformation but both pronunciations still used until now

## 2.9.GENERAL RESULTS ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The questionnaire and recording help the researcher to gather enough correct and relevant data for the linguistic features in Boussemgoun , mostly the phonology and lexical one. The first question is for discovering the real meaning of the word “ Boussemgoun”.

The latter means, actually word “Boussemgoun” it is in relation to honor of holy man Moulay Ahmed , known as **Sidi Boussemgoun** who buried there. Which he was originally from the Moroccan region of “ **AL-Saqia AL-Hamra .**”

The main cause is to find out the major reasons behind the maintenance of Berber Tamazight language ( Shelha ) dialect by the population of Boussemgoun under investigation . After collecting the necessary information and data from the recording and questionnaire , the results confirmed that the main reasons behind the maintenance of Tamazight ( shelha ) dialect among the population of Boussemgoun is the legacy of their ancestors since it is an integral part of their culture, also it is a source of pride and pride that must be taught to their children and preserved it in the future. It is a cultural heritage distinguished from others. In addition it is the language of communication between members of the family from younger to older.

The researcher has realized by virtue of questionnaire and recording as two kinds of research instruments . This questionnaire is used to test the two hypotheses. It is written in modern standard Arabic (MSA) to facilitate the task for the informants to understand .

The questions are categorized into two parts ; the first part includes demographic information about the informants (gender and age ). Whereas the second one involves eleven questions that consist of 07closed questions including (yes/no, multiple choice ) questions , and 04 opened questions. This questionnaire is submitted to 60 informants, 30 males and 30 females their age was between 05 and 90 years old ( Table 2.1.). Questionnaire has

confirmed the two hypotheses that the majority of the inhabitants of Boussemgoun still use Tamazight shelha dialect in a great extent by all the categories of age and gender with no difference between the old and the young generation , and in many occasions in their daily life .

Recordings has shows in the graphics that the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population of Boussemgoun still maintain their Tamazight ( shelha) dialect among the lines of the minority of them, and is known that Tamazight is characterized by a special neutral vowel not found in Arabic language which is the(“ə” schwa) vowel for example / əək / [you, for man ] and ./ əekmim / [you for plural ] .They strongly adhered to their dialect among all classes of age and gender and on every occasion in their daily life . This has confirmed the first and second hypotheses .

## **2.9. CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, the researcher has attempted to present a simple methodology using the analysis of the data collected through the recording and questionnaire. Then it was interpreted in terms of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

# General Conclusion

## General Conclusion

Sociolinguistics has always been associated with language variation from one region to another, and between individuals and groups as well . Thus , the purpose of this present research is to explore the sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Boussemgoun which is ( shelha ) . Its main purpose is to figure out and explore the indigenous dialect in the target speech community . It also attempts to discuss the reasons behind the maintenance of shelha dialect related to its linguistic features .

After great efforts to study the speech community of Boussemgoun and the extent distinction of its linguistic aspects . The research led to answer the questions that have been mentioned earlier in this research work The indigenous dialect may be characterized by the large use of shelha dialect and it is used it in a great extent by all categories of age and gender and it is one of the reasons of the maintenance of this dialect .

Therefore, after analysis the results show the factors behind the maintenance of Tamazight ( shelha dialect ) among the population of Boussemgoun such as the legacy of their ancestors and it is an integral part of their culture , also they consider it as a source of pride that must be taught to their children and preserved in the future . It is a cultural heritage distinguished from others , in addition, it is the language of communication between members of the family both younger and elder .

Furthermore , the question that can be raised for another research is : Will the indigenous inhabitants of Boussemgoun maintain their Tamazight( shelha dialect ) in the future ? .

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# Appendices

I.

## Observation and Recording

## Observation and Recording

Observation and recording take place in different settings in Boussemghoun speech community such as : institutions , homes , street and AL—Kaser AL-Aik . The following examples have been observed and recorded from ordinary conversations between population of Boussemghoun from different ages and gender .

### Old Participants :

**P1 : Female 53 years old :** “ Taqboucht tertter “ /taqpu:ft tertter / . **i ,e** ( The pot is above the fire ).

**P2 : Female 90 years old :** “ khadrahen lomanssi ?” / xædrɥn Lu:mensɪ /**i,e** ( They go for dinner ? ).

**P3: Man 60 years old :”** yazwa akidd tmettott ness lomenssi “ / jezwa ækɪd tæmøɥt nes lɔmnsɪ / **i,e** ( he went with his wife to dinner ).

### Young Participants :

**P1 : Man 39 years old :** “ Laʒed odyozed , yafough “ / læʒəd edju:zəd , jæfɔɥ / **i,e**. ( he did not come yet . he went out )

**P2 : Boy 05 years old :** “ Aqal , iyess amou “ /aqal , Iyes amu: / . **i ,e** ( Look , do like this )

**P3 : Girl 25 years old :”**Manayen tlateqar terffiqt nemm ?” / mænjen tlatqər tərffiqt nem ? / . **i,e** ( what does your friend said ? ) .

II.

Questionnaire

## Questionnaire

**Dear informants ,**

This questionnaire aims at collecting information about the region of BOUSSEMGHOUN and the dialect of its inhabitants ( the origins ). Therefore you are kindly invited to answer the following questions by putting the tick  on the appropriate answer or expressing your opinion where necessary.

*Thank you for your collaboration*

**Part one :**

Age : .....

Gender :

male

female

**Part two :**

1-what does it mean “ **BOUSSEMGHOUN** “?

.....  
.....

2- Do you have a Berber parents ?

yes

No

3- what is your indigenous language that feel expresses your identity ?

.....  
.....

4- Do you think that Tamazight ( shelha) dialect is hard to learn ?

yes

NO

**why ?** .....

5- Have you maintained your own Tamazight ( Shelha ) dialect ?

yes

NO

6- what are the factors and the motivations behind the maintenance of this dialect?.....

.....

.....

7- How often do you speak Tamazight (shelha ) dialect in your daily life ?

- Always

- Sometimes

- Rarely

- Never

8- You use your Tamazight (shelha ) dialect mostly in :

- In the street

- With friends

- At home

- Every where

**Other places** .....

9- what are the domains that you can not use your Tamazight (Shelha) dialect in your daily life ?

- Religious institution
- Education institution
- In front of strangers
- governmental institutions

**Other domains .....**

10- what is the languages that you find less used in your daily life ?

- Tamazight ( Shelha) dialect
- Dialectal Arabic
- French language

11- would you like your children to speak Tamazight (shelha ) dialect in their future life ?

.....  
.....  
.....

## استبيان

يهدف هذا الاستبيان إلى جمع معلومات حول منطقة بوسمغون ولهجة سكانها . لذا يرجى التفضل بالإجابة على الأسئلة التالية عن طريق وضع علامة  على الإجابة المناسبة أو التعبير عن رأيك عند الضرورة .

شكرا لتعاونك

### الجزء الأول :

السن : .....

الجنس :  ذكر  انثى

الجزء الثاني .

1- ما معنى كلمة ' بوسمغون '؟

.....  
....

2- هل لديك آباء بربر(امازيغ) ؟

نعم  لا

3- ما هي لغتك الأصلية التي تشعر أنها تعبر عن هويتك؟

.....

4- هل تعتقد أن الامازيغية (لهجة الشلحة) صعبة التعلم؟

نعم  لا

\*لماذا ؟ .....

5- هل حافظت على لهجة الشلحة الخاصة بك ؟

نعم  لا

6- ما هي العوامل والدوافع وراء المحافظة على الامازيغية (لهجة الشلحة) ؟

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



7- كم من مرة تتحدث بلمازيغية ( بلهجة الشلحة ) في حياتك اليومية؟

-دائما

بعض الأحيان

نادرا

ايدا

8- انت تستخدم الامازيغية ( الشلحة ) غالبا في :

في الشارع

مع الأصدقاء

في المنزل

في كل مكان

\* اماكن اخرى .....

9- ما هي المجالات التي لا يمكنك استخدام الامازيغية ( لهجة الشلحة ) في حياتك اليومية؟

-المؤسسات الدينية

-المؤسسات التعليمية

-المؤسسات الحكومية

-امام الغرباء

\*مجالات اخرى .....

10- ما هي اللغات التي لها أقل استخدامًا في حياتك اليومية؟

-اللهجة الشلحية

-الغة العربية (العامية )

-اللغة الفرنسية

11- هل تريد أن يتحدث أطفالك بالأمازيغية ( شلحة ) في حياتهم المستقبلية؟

.....  
.....  
.....