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Borrowing in Tabeldit, the Berber Speech of Igli Speech Community

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This paper analyzes the phenomenon of borrowing in one of Berber varieties spoken in the southern part of Algeria. Borrowing is one the most important sociolinguistic phenomena which exists in all the language varieties. The Berber variety which is analyzed in this paper is named “Tabeldit” and it is spoken in the area of “Igli” which is located in Bechar. Data analysis and results in this paper are based on the primary data which were collected from questionnaires and interviews. In fact, the loan words which are found in ‘Tabeldit’ are not taken from Standard Arabic or the Algerian dialect, particularly the one used in Bechar, but also from the French language.

Keywords: Tabeldit, Borrowing, Berber, Standard Arabic, French.

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Introduction

The origins and the history of the Northwest African countries return to Berber. Those areas involve different speakers of various Berber languages. In the past, the Berbers have formed strong and important regions which attracted the attention of many powerful countries and empires, and had particular traditions and customs. Before the advent of Islam into Northwest Africa, Berbers faced many colonization acts which contributed a lot to the emergence of different languages and cultures. The language brought by the Islamization movement became more dominant than the languages of the other invaders. This religion pushed most of the Berbers to be Arabs, though they still preserve the use of their Berber varieties. Later, many foreign languages appeared because of European control on those countries for long periods of time. Today, Berber is still used in the areas of Northwest Africa as a sign of preserving the original, historical, and cultural identity. The different varieties of this language have been the main interest of many linguists and scholars, including this article which deals with one of the Berber varieties spoken in the rural areas. It seeks to analyze the sociolinguistic phenomenon of borrowing in the Berber speech of the area of Igli which is located in Bechar; that variety is named Tabeldit.

Through this study, we seek to enrich the field of sociolinguistics in general with a new study of a neglected Berber variety, since the dialects used in the Sahara receive little attention and study. It also tries to show the importance of Tabeldit and make it known by the readers. Unfortunately, this variety has probably never been analyzed before; this is why finding previous studies and secondary data about it was a hard task. But, there have been many studies which talked about the other Berber varieties, mainly the one spoken in Kabilya.

Other research was done by European investigators during their settlement in the area. One of those investigators is André Basset, who contributed to many studies into linguistic geography, and whose maps are valuable contributions in Berber linguistics. In 1929, André Basset produced his monograph on the Berber verb. He also illustrated the methodology which was developed by scholars who were interested in describing a general structure for all the Berber languages. In 1952, Basset published his monograph on the general features of Berber. Another significant work in the Berber domain is that of Joseph R. Applegate (1958, 58) "An Outline of the Structure of Shelha". Applegate introduces in his book some of the major phonological, morphological, and syntactic problems with proposed solutions.

Berber in Algeria

The origins of the Berbers are not clearly defined. Some people have believed that they might come from Europe; others say that they crossed over from the Iberian Peninsula thousands of years ago. But most historians regard them as the indigenous people who settled in the area of Northwest Africa since about 3000 BC (Bousquet 1967;55). They have a sequence of areas starting from the Oasis of Siwa in the western desert of Egypt, and extending westward through Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco to the Atlantic Ocean. Over the Mediterranean Sea, the area extends southward through the Sahara Desert in Niger and Mali, in addition to small parts in Mauritania and North Senegal (Applegate 1985, 589). The name "Berber" appeared at first after the end of the Roman Empire in 476 AD. The use of this term

spread in the period following the arrival of the Vandals during their major invasion; thus, people of the region were described as "Barbarians". Today, many Berbers call themselves "Amazigh", which means "a free man" or "a noble man". This term is also used to indicate a native Berber speaker.

Most of the Berbers live in Morocco and Algeria, in addition to small groups in Libya and Tunisia. Most of them speak Arabic and French due to the French colonization of the Maghreb. In Algeria, around 20% of the population is Berber, living in the north in Kabylia, and in the Aures. In the south, there are different groups of the Touareg and the Mzab, in addition to some regions next to the Moroccan border in Bechar. The Berbers are now protesting against the undervaluation of their language, culture, and identity, and particularly about the lack of a political consideration. This situation has been noticed in Algeria and is quite evident in Morocco. These two countries have modified their policies. Berber is now a national language in Algeria and it is taught in some Berber speaking areas as a non-compulsory language.

The Berber languages are one of the oldest languages in human culture (Chaker 1991, 25); they are made up of 300 Berber dialects which belong to the Afro-Asiatic language family (Abdeslam 1997). The alternate term "Tamazight" is used to refer to northern Berber languages; it etymologically means "the language of the free" or "the language of the noblemen". This concept is used by many Berber groups, including the Middle Atlas, the Riff, the Sened, and the Touareg. Other names are used by other groups, such as: "Taznatit" or "Zenati" in many parts of western Algeria, "Taqbaylit" or "Kabyle" in Kabylia, "Tasiwit" in the Siwa, and "Shelha" in the south. The oldest form of Berber writing is called Lybico-Berber inscriptions, which stem from the pre-Islamic period, but these inscriptions are undated and difficult to interpret (Kossmann and Stroemer 1982, 462). The so-called Tifinagh script is still used in Touareg, the Arabic script is rarely used, whereas the Roman script is found for scientific and practical purposes.

The Berber Cultural Movement, which was born in the aftermath of the Berber Spring in 1980 continues to claim peacefully the rights of the Berbers' culture and language, and demands the recognition of Tamazight with full education and cultural benefits. Tamazight has recently been recognized among the languages that are taught in schools. In most of the Berber speaking regions, one can notice a strong social demand for the Berber language and culture. Many Berber speakers are writing in their language, and in Kabylia, where the linguistic and identity awakening is particularly noticeable, one can even talk about a Berber linguistic demand (El Mountassir 1994; 69)

On July 5th, 1991, a controversial law was passed announcing that Standard Arabic is the only language which must be used in all official documents as well as the other formal settings (Berger. (2002). Consequently, the Berbers' anger soon turned against the state and its Arabization policy, and they asserted that the new law was a heavy-handed attempt by the government to reaffirm its Arabic identity. On the other hand, the supporters of the Arabization process argued that the recognition of Berber as an official language would probably weaken the status of Arabic. The Berbers still demand the recognition of their language as a national and official

language in Algeria, and as the first language in the Berberphone areas; they also ask for linguistic and cultural autonomy in order to preserve their customs, and to cherish their heritage. Berber became a national language in Algeria according to a constitutional amendment on May 8th, 2002. It is used along with Standard Arabic, the Algerian dialect, and French, in addition to other foreign languages such as English, Spanish, German, etc. Tamazight Berber started to be taught in some primary and secondary schools, besides the mass media play an important role in broadcasting a daily edition in one of the three main Berber varieties.

The Spoken Dialects in Bechar

Like all the Arab regions in general and the Algerian ones in particular, Bechar adopts Standard Arabic as its national official language and uses a local version of it in its daily communication. The most well known dialects used in Bechar are five, four of them are Arabic and the fifth one is a variety of Berber called "Shelha". Each of these dialects is spoken by a given group of people. The first and the most common dialect is called the dialect of the majority, which seems to be spoken by people who have various origins, and those who came from other regions out of Bechar and lived there. On the other hand, the four other ones are specified for three definite ethnic groups.

The second dialect is spoken by Doui Mnii, the third dialect is used by Ouled Djrir, the fourth one is used by the Ksouria, and the fifth is Shelha, which is spoken by various Berber groups living in the Ksours. The first dialect is somehow typical for its inclusion of a large number of slang words, such as: [xwi] which means to "go", [ʃəfʃi] means "coward", etc. These words are usually used by teenagers, particularly boys, in the streets, markets, and elsewhere. Owing to the geographical boundary between Bechar and Morocco, the dialect of the majority shares many lexical items with Moroccan Arabic, such as: [makanəzəm] ndirha waħdi "I cannot do it alone", [makəjəlʃab] milh "he does not play very well".

The dialect of Doui Manii is particularly used in the area of Abadla and by some people of the same origin living in the town. This dialect is mostly spoken by old people as a sign of their solidarity, while youngsters use it less frequently because of their chance to know other languages thanks to education. Examples of their speech are: [ħajəd ʃani] "get away from me", [ja wil maatək] "pay attention", etc. This dialect is the only one which is characterized by the use of affix [ɣa] instead of [ɣir] which means "just" or "only"; like in: [ɣa ʃwi] "a few", [rah ʒab ɣa lbatata] "he brought just some potatoes".

The dialect used by Ouled Djrir is almost identical to the dialect of Doui Mnii since, for some historians, both groups formed only one in the past and for many reasons, mainly wars, they were separated. Nevertheless, they still have a slight difference in pronunciation and in the meaning of some words, such as: [køl] in D2 and [gaʃ] in D3 "all"; [baz] in D2 and [tʃøl] in D3 "baby". Unlike the previous one, people who speak this dialect live in the center of Bechar and usually form small groups in distributed places. The ksourians are groups of people living in the Ksar of Kenadsa and the Ksar of the center of Bechar or "Takda". Their dialect is very typical for its association with a unique accent that easily determines its speakers. It is also very close to the Moroccan dialect with which they share many lexical terms

which were brought by the first comers to Kenadsa and are still used by the Ksouria; examples of those terms are: [xizzɔ] ‘carrot’, [ɣtar] ‘slate’, [maɟiʃa] ‘tomato’, [waxa] for ‘yes’ or ‘ok’.

Shelha, or Berber, is a very old variety used by different groups who live in small villages in Bechar. It is considered among the Northwest African Berber languages, though its use has decreased after the coming of Islam and the Arabic language. It is spoken in the regions of: Beni Ounif, Igli, Wakda, Berbi, Lahmar, Boukayes, Moughel, and Tabelbala. The Berber varieties used in those regions have many similarities with each other, mainly at the levels of lexis and phonology, except the one used in Tabelbala, which consists of a unique vocabulary and a different phonological system. They also share many characteristics with Tamazight, Chaouia, and Touareg. The existence of these Berber varieties in Bechar creates a complex linguistic situation, mainly when their speakers meet together and use those Berber varieties in the same situation. These people can understand each other and can also switch between the different Berber varieties. Shelha in those areas is spoken by elderly people more than by the youngsters who acquire other languages of their generation. Of the lexical terms which are used in all those varieties of Berber are: [argaz] “man”, [təməɟɔt] “women”, [aman] “water”, etc. In spite of the large similarities between these varieties, they can be distinguished from each other because of their different accents. Berber or Shelha is typical for only the Berber groups who live in distributed areas, but when these people communicate with other people who have other origins, they use the dialect of the majority (Fitte 1947; 25)

Code switching in Bechar

Because of the French occupation of the country for 132 years, many French terms leaked into the Algerian dialects, leading to one of the most important sociolinguistic phenomena, which is code switching. The dialect of the majority is one of those dialects which also witnessed such linguistic effects. Borrowing is an important element of code switching, since the terms used in the switching process are borrowed or loan words taken from another language. It is simply a process used by bilingual speakers to provide one language, especially their own, with words taken from another language or languages (Spolsky. (1998;89). These loan words become integrated in the receiver language, and they are used frequently, like the other local terms (Trudgill 1992, 14). Code-switching, therefore, occurs “when a bilingual speaker introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech” (Haugen 1966; 65).

Code switching in Bechar is well noticed both in formal circumstances as well as informal ones. Most of the population in Bechar uses terms like: ‘portable’, ‘stylo’, ‘cartable’, ‘climatiseur’, etc. They say: [ʃtini lɔɔrɟa:bl] “give me the mobile phone”, [ʃrit stilɔ zreg] “I bought a blue pen”, [had lkartable rah tqi:l] “this school bag is heavy”, and [ʃaʃal lklimatizə:r] “switch on the air conductor”. The choice of the borrowed words on formal occasions depends on the field of study or work. That is, doctors in the hospital code switch using terms related to medicine. They can say, for instance: [hada le malad rah fi ka uɣzen lazem yroh la sal d operation] “this patient has an urgent case, we must take him to the room of operation”. Similarly, a professor at university would say: [rezulta ntaʃ le etudjan had lʃam rahi mliha] “the

students' result of this year is quite good", while sociologists say [la situaʃn sosjal ntaʃ nna:s fi had la vi:l raha sa va pa] "the social situation of people in this town is not good". On the other hand, uneducated people in the street can also use French words in many situations, like in the market, street, home, shop, etc. they can say for instance: [rani rajeh l marʃe] "I am going to the market", [rak retar ljum] "you are late", [ljum nɔymalmn nedxɔl a wita:ɣ] "I normally enter today at eight, etc.

People may also suffer from the absence of the appropriate words or expressions that are needed at the time of speaking, i.e. the lack of the appropriate terminology in one language (Hudson 1996:23). Or they code switch when they find that some things are better expressed in other languages, more appropriate in one language than in another. Code switching therefore helps in emphasizing a particular point, and it may be considered as a means of communication by which people can communicate a message or intent. Speakers sometimes code switch unconsciously; they are often unaware that they are shifting from one language to another, while others may code switch just to show off. That's to tell others that they are educated people and that they are capable of using two different languages. The final reason is the dominance of the French language because of the long colonial history that Algerian society lived in the past.

Tabeldit

"Tabeldit" is a Berber variety spoken in Igli; it means "Baladya" in SA, but it is known only in Glaoua, whereas other people call it "Shelha" or "Tashelhit". Igli is situated southwest of Bechar at a distance of 152km, and 65km north of Taghit, 75km south of Ben Abbes, 10km east of West Erg, and 440km west of Tabelbala. Igli is surrounded by a series of sand dunes named "Erg". In the north of the region, two rivers border Igli; these are "Oued Zouzfana", which comes from "Oued Namous" in Beni Ounif, and the second one is called "Oued Guir", which comes from Morocco. The meeting point of these two rivers is the Igli, and according to local beliefs, the Igli takes its name from this phenomenon (melga al widan).

The Berbers of Northwest Africa are divided into three groups: Kotama in the north, Senhaj in the middle, and Zenata in the Sahara. Igli belongs to Zenata; its inhabitants are referred to as "Glaoua". There have been many hypotheses concerning the origins of Glaoua. Some people say that they might come from Morocco, while others say that they have originated in Igli since ancient times. Today, Igli involves various groups of people, such as: Ouled El Ayachi, Ouled Ibrahim, and Ouled Bouziane. These groups have different origins; the first one came from Timimoun, and the second one came from Touat. The origin of the third group returns to a Jewish man who came from Touat, but he converted to Islam and settled in Igli. Other groups are Ouled Said and Ouled Amer, whose origins are still unknown. Recently, Igli has received newcomers, whites and blacks, from different places around Bechar. But for Glaoua, the native people of Igli are restricted to Ouled El Ayachi and Ouled Ibrahim. Briefly, we will try through this research work in general, and this chapter in particular, to give a detailed sociolinguistic study on the Berber variety, which is called Tabeldit.

There have been many hypotheses about the origins of Tabeldit. Some people say that Tabeldit originates in Igli, while others say that it came as an invader from

Morocco out of trade contact. In the past, Igli was regarded as a bridge for the traders who were traveling from Morocco to "Touat". The primary language of the Moroccan traders was "Shelha"; therefore, it was necessary for Glaoua to acquire this Berber variety so as to communicate with the traders. The use of Shelha started to increase among Glaoua until it became the only medium of communication in the area, and then the native language of the following generations. Perhaps what pushes these people to adopt this idea is the existence of a small community called "Igli" in Morocco. Thus, Tabeldit, for them, was at first a lingua franca, then it became a "Pidgin", and then a "Creole". Other groups, on the other hand, say that it was brought by Ouled Al Ayachi from Timimoun.

Earlier, Tabeldit was acquired before SA and AA by Glaoua; besides, it was given the status of the first language variety in the community. But today this is not the case, most younger Glaoua, mainly the younger generation, prefer to communicate and acquire SA, AA and French more than Tabeldit for many reasons we will discover later. Among all the Berber varieties of Bechar, Tabeldit is typically the easiest one to acquire. It doesn't have a specific accent, and its users are not easily recognized. We mean that if someone from Wakda, Barbi, or Mazzer speaks SA or French, we can recognize his origin, i.e. the accent of his Berber variety influences his use of other languages. On the other hand, if a Tabeldit speaker uses SA or French, no one can discover his origin. Glaoua are therefore able to use any language without the influence of their local variety.

Tabeldit has names for all the local objects, mainly the old ones, but the new objects, like radio, TVs, cinemas, villas, etc, those do not have names because Tabeldit appeared when those things did not exist. Therefore, the new generations tend to borrow names of the new objects from SA or French, but with a slight difference in the pronunciation or a change in one or two elements. Nevertheless, Tabeldit still has many lexical characteristics, and some of them are original and others are the result of the influence of other languages, mainly Arabic and French. The most important feature of Tabeldit is its inclusion of very old terms; some of them are abandoned or forgotten and others are replaced by words from Arabic. Some of the lexical terms which are totally abandoned are: /aqrab/, "handbag", and /taqli:lt/ "jar". Most of the lost words are specific to Igli, and are related to agriculture because it was the most important and survival activity in the past. In spite of the absence of a writing system, Tabeldit has grammatical rules through which its speech patterns are organized.

Borrowing and Code Switching

Borrowing is a process used by bilingual speakers to provide one language, especially their own, with words taken from another language or languages. These loan words become integrated into the receiver language, and they are used frequently, like the other local terms (Trudgill 1992, 14). This linguistic phenomenon exists in all the languages of the world, especially the Arabic ones. Tabeldit has borrowed many words from Arabic and French, and it uses them when it loses some of its lexical terms or neglects them. Borrowing in Tabeldit is very special. Loan words usually take the place of the terms which have already existed in its repertoire, and in this sense borrowing is said to be a "replacement". But since

the loan words are taken from different languages, it can only be referred to as “borrowing”. Borrowing in Tabeldit is divided into two types; the first one is borrowing words so that they can replace the old ones, and these terms are usually taken from SA or AA, such as: /aʒərdan/ became /asərwal/ “trouser”.

/anfif/ became /səbala/ “tap”.

/aramən/ and /taxəlabi:t/ both refer to “lock” and they became /qfəl/.

/aməga:r/ became /asəjəd/ “hunt”.

/ənha:f/ became /arwa:h/ “come”.

/atəs/ became /khəz/ “move”.

The second type is borrowing new words which do not exist in Tabeldit, like:

SA/D	TB
/ɣərfa/	/ɣərɣət/ “room”
/taqa/	/ttaqət/ “window”
/təbla/	/təblət/ “table”
/bəra:d/	/abəra:d/ “pitcher”
/qməʒa/	/qmʊʒət/ “chemist”

The borrowed words do not keep their original form when used in Tabeldit. Sometimes they lose one segment and sometimes they add another. The masculine loan words are prefixed by /a-/ or /i-, while the feminine ones are affixed by /t-ət/ or /-ət/. Tabeldit also borrows words from other Berber varieties like: /jələl/, which becomes /jəʃləm/ “he’s got”. The French language has also provided Tabeldit with many lexical terms due to the French colonization of Igli; some of these words have also replaced the old ones, like:

/isəbdad/ became /pi:li/ “column”.

/tirəslt/ became /pəntə/ “electric column”.

/təzəmt/ became /rəʃər/ “helix”.

/ləjət/ became /verəʒ/ “deviation”.

/lələm/ became /stilə/ “pen”.

Other terms are names of modern techniques, such as: /mʊtu:r/ “motor”, /tilifu:n/ “telephone”, /tilivizjʊ/ “television”, /pərdinatə:r/ “computer”, /kamjʊ/ “lorry”, /bisklet/ “bicycle”. The borrowed words, such as the Arabic and the French ones, have been integrated into Tabeldit and have become important parts of it, and their use is clearly noticed when they are used within sentences.

Borrowing is an important part of code switching because terms which are used in the switching process are loan words taken from other languages. When Glaoua uses the words of SA, they will be considered in a diagnostic situation. The highest variety for all the Algerians is SA, whereas the lower one is the Algerian dialect, and both languages belong to the same language. For Glaoua, H is SA while L is Tabeldit, but the two languages have different origins. Diglossia for all Algerians refers to the alternate use of SA and the different Algerian dialects, and for Glaoua it is the alternate use of SA and Tabeldit. Code switching in Tabeldit has two types; Glaoua switches into the Algerian dialect, mainly the dialect of Bechar, or into the French language. Switching into a dialect occurs more than switching into French, as in:

/ijər ʃlja lkər/ “he threw me with stones”.

/arwah ldadi/ “come here”.

/mɔhamed iza gə tɪjarət/ “Mohammed went by plane”.

/ʃa:r ɔarku:t/ “he became tired”.

/khəz ɣəldi:n/ “move over there”.

The French language also has a respective percentage of intervention in Tabeldit, like in: /mɔhamed igɔ laksidəŋ gəl veraz/ “Mohammed did an accident at the deviation”.

/awid tilifu:n/ “give me the telephone”.

/tot egal a tot/ “this one equals this one”.

Sometimes code switching occurs at the level of the three languages, i.e. Tabeldit, Arabic, and French, as in: /awid stilo atkətbəʃ a:kəb/ “give me the pen to write”. Borrowing and code switching are the most important sociolinguistic phenomena in Tabeldit. Although Glaoua considers diglossia as moving from SA to Tabeldit, they rarely do it.

Speech Variation at the Levels of Age, Gender, and Ethnicity.

Speech variation in Tabeldit occurs at the level of use more than lexis. If any person visits Igli, he will notice that old people use Tabeldit more than young people. It has been estimated that less than 40% of the population use Tabeldit nowadays, and this percentage involves the generation that is between 50 to 80 years old or more. It also includes a few members who are between 40 and 49 years old and who support the idea that Tabeldit must be preserved in daily communication. The new generation, which represent 60% of the population, use Tabeldit rarely with integrated Arabic and French words. These groups usually involve people who are between the ages of 5 to 15, 16 to 25 and 26 to 30s; these people have the chance to learn other languages thanks to schools and universities. Thus, the use of Tabeldit decreased progressively among these groups. One argument that made us notice the frequent use of Tabeldit by the olds more than the youngsters is that the data presented in this research work, especially the old lexical terms, are obtained from the old people more than the young one. We have explained before that variation in Tabeldit occurs at the levels of age, gender, and ethnicity, and these are described as follows.

At the level of age, it seems that the old people use the original terms of Tabeldit more than the young people, whose speech is full of borrowed words. The original terms refer to those which are lost or abandoned, like: /aqrab/ “handbag”, and /taqli:lt/ “jar”, or words related to agriculture and old practices like the words: /tagəja:rt/ which is a piece of wood put around the well to prevent sand from going inside; /agmu:n/ which refers to a land suitable for agriculture/afəgəz/ which is an instrument made up of wood used to sew covers. On the other hand, the new generations use the new lexical items which are borrowed from Arabic, such as: /ɣɔrfət/ “room”, /ttaqət/ “window”, /təblət/ “table”, or from French like: /pi:li/ “column”, /pɔtɔ/ “electric column”, /rɔsɔr/ “helix”. Tabeldit also has specific terms taught to children in their early stages of development, but these are ignored as children get older. Briefly, youngsters have a rich vocabulary which is formed by Berber and Arabic components more than the olds who are more conservative about Tabeldit old terms.

Speech variation at the level of gender is not well noticed as age; Glaoua, including men and women, follow at a high percentage the same pattern as Tabeldit. There is a low percentage of variation between men and women in terms of use. Women use Tabeldit more than men because they have less opportunity to meet people who speak other languages like men. As far as lexis is concerned, women do not use the lexical items related to agriculture like men. On the other hand, men do not use the lexical words related to handicraft as much as women. The weak use of Tabeldit among the younger generation involves both males and females, though this phenomenon touches girls more than boys at a given percentage.

Speech variation at the level of ethnicity returns to history. In the past, Igli included only the original inhabitants. After that, it started to welcome many people of different races. The newcomers acquired Tabeldit easily but not like the original people, they have also contributed a lot to creating changes and adding many Arabic terms to it. Although those groups can use Tabeldit like the local people, they still deviate from the basic structure of the language in some circumstances. Black people, in particular, have their own specific pattern of speech which seems similar to the one used by children in their first stages of development; moreover, their rules of grammar are considered as incorrect. Their speech is like the Black English Vernacular (BEV), lower in style and prestige, and includes some lexical items not used by the others, i.e. the whites. It is regarded as inferior, while the speech of the real inhabitants is said to be superior. Notice the difference in these examples: the whites say: /arwah ldadi/, while the blacks say: /arwah dadi/ “come here. The whites use: /nəʃni:n anigu:r/, and the blacks say: /nəʃni:n xanigu:r/ “we walk”.

Conclusion

In the past, Tabeldit had the highest status and prestige in Igli; it was the native language of Glaoua. But today, with the influence of SA and the French, Tabeldit is losing its value. Tabeldit started to lose its status among two groups for many reasons. The first group is the new generation who started to gradually ignore its use in many fields. The reason for this is the new educational system which claims that Tabeldit handicaps the process of learning other languages, especially SA. But this is topped by the parents’ way of thinking toward their local variety. In the past, children acquired Tabeldit before Arabic, but today it is not the case. Now, parents push their children to acquire Arabic before Tabeldit, arguing that if their children speak Tabeldit during their early stages of development they will not possibly acquire SA and other languages. These parents are not aware that Tabeldit has a very important role in the acquisition of other languages, since it is not similar to them; it means that its lexical items can not intervene in their repertoire. Although old people prefer to communicate through it, for the sake of their children, they choose to talk in the Arabic dialect and sometimes in French. Even though the new generation has abandoned, to some extent, the use of Tabeldit; they still identify it and recognize it as their native language. However, they have started to collect all the lexical items, especially the old ones, on a website in order to preserve their speech variety from total loss. Other groups started to investigate Igli in different domains, such as its geography, population, and linguistic characteristics. Perhaps in the future we will

provide another research work about the morphological and the semantic characteristics of Tabeldit.

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قرض گرفتن در تبدلیت، زبان بربر جامعه اقلی

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این مقاله پدیده قرض گرفتن را در یکی از گونه‌های بربر که در بخش جنوبی الجزایر صحبت می‌شود، تحلیل می‌کند. وام گرفتن یکی از مهم‌ترین پدیده‌های زبانی اجتماعی است که در همه گونه‌های زبانی وجود دارد. گونه بربر که در این مقاله مورد تجزیه و تحلیل قرار می‌گیرد، «تابلدیت» نام دارد و در منطقه «اقلی» واقع در بشار صحبت می‌شود. تجزیه و تحلیل داده‌ها و نتایج در این مقاله بر اساس داده‌های اولیه است که از پرسشنامه و مصاحبه جمع‌آوری شده است. در واقع، واژه‌های قرضی که در «تابلدیت» یافت می‌شود، تنها از عربی استاندارد یا گویش الجزایری، به‌ویژه لهجه‌ای که در بشار استفاده می‌شود، گرفته نشده‌اند، بلکه از زبان فرانسوی نیز گرفته شده‌اند.

واژه‌های کلیدی: تبدلیت، وام گرفتن، بربر، عربی استاندارد، فرانسوی.

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