

**Contact-induced Lexical Obsolescence in Tacawit**  
**The case of Oum el Bouaghi**  
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**Received:** 24/12/2017

**Revised:** 28/11/2019

**Accepted:** 19/02/2020

**Abstract**

*The present paper discusses the findings of a quantitative study of lexical erosion in the variety of Tacawit spoken in the province of Oum el Bouaghi, east of Algeria. It traces the use of a number of Berber lexical variants across twelve localities in this province in order to determine whether lexical obsolescence is more prominent in some localities than others, and, if so, to highlight the factors that lead to such variation. A list of 17 lexical notions, which belong to the common Berber lexicon, was devised and administered to 428 informants who were asked to provide the Berber equivalent(s) for each item. The study has revealed that lexical erosion is the dominant trend for most lexical variables, but showed little variation across the localities covered in terms of lexical loss.*

**Keywords:** Tacawit, language contact, lexical borrowing, lexical obsolescence.

**الانقراض اللفظي الناجم عن الاحتكاك اللغوي في اللهجة الشاوية بأما البواقي**

**ملخص**

تستعرض هذه المقالة نتائج دراسة كمية حول الانقراض اللفظي في اللهجة الشاوية المستعملة بولاية أم البواقي، في الشرق الجزائري. تركز الدراسة حول استعمال بعض الألفاظ الأمازيغية الأصلية في اثني عشر مكانا في المنطقة المذكورة قصد تحديد الفروق المحتملة فيما يخص الانقراض اللفظي للكلمات المدروسة عبر هذه الأماكن، وكذا العوامل التي أدت إلى ظهور هذه الاختلافات. وقد تم الاعتماد في جمع البيانات على قائمة تضم 17 كلمة عربية قدمت لـ 428 مشاركا من الأماكن المذكورة لتحديد المرادفات الأمازيغية التي تقابل تلك الكلمات. وقد كشفت الدراسة أن الانقراض اللفظي غالباً معظم المتغيرات اللفظية في جميع الأماكن المدروسة لكنه أظهر تبايناً ضئيلاً عبر هذه الأماكن.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** لهجة شاوية، احتكاك لغوي، اقتراض لغوي، انقراض لفظي.

**L'érosion lexicale induite par contact en Tacawit:  
 Le cas d'Oum el Bouaghi**

**Résumé**

*Le présent article examine les résultats d'une étude quantitative de l'érosion lexicale de la variété de Tacawit parlée dans la province d'Oum el Bouaghi, à l'est de l'Algérie. L'étude retrace l'utilisation d'un certain nombre de variantes lexicales berbères dans douze localités de cette province afin de déterminer si l'érosion lexicale est plus importante dans certaines localités que dans d'autres et, dans l'affirmative, de mettre en évidence les facteurs qui conduisent à une telle variation. Une liste de 17 notions lexicales, qui appartiennent au lexique berbère commun, a été élaborée et administrée à 428 informateurs qui ont été invités à fournir l'équivalent berbère pour chaque élément. L'étude a révélé que l'érosion lexicale est la tendance dominante pour la plupart des variables lexicales, mais a montré peu de variation entre les localités couvertes en termes de pertes lexicales.*

**Mots-clés:** Tacawit, contact linguistique, emprunt lexical, érosion lexicale.

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## Introduction:

Vocabulary is the aspect most vulnerable to change in language. Compared to phonological, morphological and syntactic features, the lexical items of a language seem to be much less enduring. This is mainly due to the fact that lexicon is different, in nature, from other aspects. It is, fundamentally, an open-class system which remains susceptible to incessant renewal and modification. Lexical change accelerates whenever two, or more, languages get into contact with one another. The changes take place by means of a variety of linguistic processes, like code switching, code mixing and, in particular, lexical borrowing. Although, in language contact situations, both minority and dominant languages borrow from each other, the nature and the rates of borrowing differ depending on the direction of lexical transfer. From one perspective, lexical change, through borrowing, is viewed as an innovative force that makes language adjustable to extra linguistic changes. From another perspective, explicitly when lexical borrowing is massive and when it takes place within basic vocabulary, it is considered as a symptom of potential language obsolescence. Of keen interest is the decay of the lexical items of a minority language as a result of borrowing. The present study aims to cast fresh light on this particular area of language change, i.e. lexical obsolescence.

### 1- Contact-induced Lexical Obsolescence:

Lexical obsolescence was of importance to linguists for a long time. The interest was not only in a mere listing of obsolete or archaic words but also in understanding why such words disappear. Of the factors discussed in the literature we mention, for instance, insignificance of sound, lack of euphony and force, confusion through homophony, weakened onomatopoeic quality, presence of slangs, shift in meanings, polysemy, etc. There is less agreement, however, between linguists regarding these factors. Dike lists some of these factors as mentioned in previous works and exposed the problems inherited in their assumptions <sup>(1)</sup>. Visser argued against sweeping generalizations concerning the significance of linguistic factors such as difficulty in pronunciation, shortness and insignificance in sound <sup>(2)</sup>. The factor that most scholars seem to agree on, however, is the loss of words as a result of the disappearance of their referents from the environment in which they were being used <sup>(3)</sup>, <sup>(4)</sup>, <sup>(5)</sup>. Old tools, food, clothes, institutions, customs and even ideas become less useful and are replaced by newer ones and along with this process of innovation words are also replaced by others that fit the new referents.

Of more relevance to the present study is the obsolescence of words on account of a competition process between two or more forms that have the same meaning. Rivalry between synonyms was recognized by a number of linguists as a key factor in the loss of words <sup>(6)</sup>, <sup>(7)</sup>. In contact situations, in particular, the rivalry usually takes place between loanwords and words of native origin. There are two main types of lexical borrowings widely discussed by linguists: cultural borrowings which refer to foreign lexical items imported to designate meanings that do not have equivalents in the language of the recipient culture <sup>(8)</sup>, and core borrowings which duplicate concepts which already exist in the recipient language <sup>(9)</sup>. It is the latter, also called substitutive borrowing, which is associated with contact-induced lexical obsolescence. Weinreich points out that core borrowings affect the existing equivalents in “one of three ways: (1) confusion between the content of the new and old word; (2) disappearance of the old word; (3) survival of both the new and old word, with a specialization in content” (p. 54) <sup>(10)</sup>. In discussing the effects of borrowing, Hock contends that while need borrowings may enrich the lexicon of a given language, prestige borrowings can lead to a “competition between an inherited and an innovated form” (p. 424) and may also end in a marginalization of the inherited form <sup>(11)</sup>. Prestige, the motive for core borrowings, is in itself the explanation for the adoption of certain lexical forms at the expense of others.

Among the first studies in this area we mention Dike who compared more than 4000 competing words discussing how foreign loans caused the obsolescence of old English words <sup>(12)</sup>. Rynell studied the competition between 102 Old English words and their equivalent Scandinavian loans <sup>(13)</sup>. Two very recent works were conducted by Bator who studied the

obsolescence of Scandinavian loanwords in English and concluded that ‘the major reason for the disappearance of loans seems to be competition with both French and native synonyms’ (p. 286) <sup>(14)</sup>, <sup>(15)</sup>. Some researchers focused on one single concept: Chambers studied the replacement of chesterfield, associated with old speakers, by couch which is more frequent in the language of younger speakers <sup>(16)</sup>, and Welna traced how the Scandinavian loan tacan displaced the native verb nim (i.e. to take) <sup>(17)</sup>. A good monograph that discusses the influence of foreign loans in the case of the Berber language is Kossmann<sup>(18)</sup>. The Work presents the rate of Foreign loans, mainly Arabic, across a number of northern Berber dialects based on the Leipzig-Jakarta list. It also presents the influence of foreign loans on core vocabulary in a number of semantic domains, such as body parts, natural phenomena, metals, cultivated plants, etc.

## **2-The Sociolinguistic Situation:**

Tacawit is the Zenati Berber variety spoken in the Aurès and its surrounding territories in the east of Algeria. It is the second largest spoken Berber variety in the country, after the Kabyle, in terms of the number of its speakers, which remains hard to estimate in the absence of official censuses. Tacawit is a minority language whose status is an extension of that of Tamazight as a whole. Although it is not listed in UNESCO’s Atlas of World’s Languages in Danger<sup>(19)</sup> and is judged as a vigorous language, based on Ethnologue’s EGIDS scale (i.e., it is used for face to face communication within all generations and the situation is sustainable, Lewis, Simon and Fennig<sup>(20)</sup>), it remains uncertain how long this stability can be maintained given the hostile stance of policy makers on one hand and the negative attitudes of Tacawit speakers on the other. In addition, Ethnologue’s claim that Tacawit is used within all generation is in fact not completely accurate for the rate of intergenerational language transmission is not the same in the different regions of Tacawit speaking territory. Instead, we can speak of two distinct groups of Chaouia: one is maintaining and another is shifting. The language seems to be spoken by all generations including probably all children in the Aurès massif <sup>(21)</sup>. Intergenerational transmission seems to be somewhat interrupted as we move northward towards the Bellezma range and up north. Be that as it may, almost all parents and grandparents and most of the speakers of the young generation seem to be fluent in the language. Intergenerational transmission declines seriously, however, as we move towards the northeast of the Tacawit speaking territory. Tacawit speakers in many of those areas are middle-aged adults and older members of the community.

Second, language shift is more observed in urban centers than in rural areas. For instance, the situations in the capital cities of the provinces of Batna, Khenchela and Oum el Bouaghi, and in other large urban centers, especially in the north and northeast (e.g. Ain el Beida, Ain Mlila, etc.) suggest that language shift is the norm <sup>(22)</sup>. The speakers of Tacawit in such urban gatherings are usually the middle-aged adults and the elderly, or those who moved from rural regions and who learned Tacawit as their mother language. The situation described above corresponds, in our judgment, only to one form of language death, i.e. language shift. Lexical obsolescence is another symptom of instability in minority languages. The present study has the aim of studying the extent to which basic vocabulary in Tacawit of Oriental Aurès, namely in the state of Oum el Bouaghi, is affected by foreign loans and to what extent native Berber forms are preserved.

## **3- The Study:**

### **3-1- Participants:**

The number of participants who took part in the present study is 428. Of this total, females accounted for 252 informants, i.e. the majority (58.88%), whereas males accounted for 176 informants(41.12%). The participants range between 17 and 100 years old, with a range of 83 years and an average age around 46 years old. The subjects of the present study were selected from twelve different localities from the province of Oum el Bouaghi (see Map 1 below). Their distribution across such localities is as follows: A n Mlila (37), A n Kercha (60),

Hanchir Toumghani (35), A n Fakroun (46), Oum el Bouaghi (46), A n Babbouche(41), Berriche (18), A n Beida (48), Fkirina (27), Oued Nini (34), Dhalaa (22) and Meskiana (14).

### Map n 1: Geographical Scope of the Study



### 3-1- Method:

The subjects were presented with a 17-word list of lexical items in Standard Arabic and were asked to provide their equivalents in Tacawit. The list is built around six semantic domains: 'the physical world' (shade and ice), 'time' (morning, afternoon, winter and summer), 'animals' (fish, bird and pigeon), 'body parts' (beard, heel, eyelashes and span), 'food and drink' (salt and yeast) and 'sense perception' (heavy and light). As can be noticed, most of these notions belong to basic lexicon; the yare common to all human languages. We devised the list in Arabic and asked for the equivalent in Tacawit rather than the other way round so as to obtain the form used by each informant and not rely on word recognition as an indicator of language use. Even though this runs the risk of getting responses that are in the same language of the stimuli (i.e. loanwords rather than Berber words), empirical data, as can be seen below, showed that this is not the case for the majority of responses we obtained in this study. The responses obtained for words like ice, afternoon, bird, fish, heel, salt, etc. showed that the subjects in many cases, and sometimes most or all of the cases, provided answers that are not in any way an echo of the stimuli. In addition, it seems not reasonable to adopt the above interpretation in cases where the majority of participants opted for a single response.

#### 4-Results:

The results obtained for the present research showed some degree of variation with regard to the use of the Berber variants. Nonetheless, lexical loss remains the dominant trend. The results will be reported, here, by reference to the semantic domain of the lexical variables addressed in this work.

The results obtained for the first domain, ‘the physical world’, points to a tendency towards lexical replacement. However, the two notions addressed under this domain, ‘shade’ and ‘ice’, are by no means on an equal footing. The Berber equivalent for ‘shade’, t.ili [ .ılı], seems to be obsolete, being produced by two informants only (0.53%), as opposed to the Arabic loanword el[ ð ɪl , d ɪl ] which is substantially dominant (97.06%):  $\chi^2 = 357.04$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The Berber word for ‘ice’, ajris [a rɪs], on the other hand, was revealed to be still in use. It accounted for more than a quarter of the tokens produced for the lexical item in question (26.57%). However, Arabic borrowings, in particular l. emmad.a [ l. mmad.a] along with its different realizations and, much less frequently, j. lid [ lɪd] and l. gla [la. las ] were found to be dominant (73.43%):  $\chi^2 = 94.175$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ .

The findings obtained for the domain of ‘time’ revealed that the Berber variant for one notion is maintained whereas those of the other three are virtually obsolete. The Berber word for ‘summar’, anebdu [an bðu], turned out to be prominently preserved in the variety of Tacawit spoken in the region investigated (94.79%):  $\chi^2 = 370.98$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . It should be noted that this variant is the one used in the northern Berber languages, such as Tachelhit, Tamazight of Central Morocco, Tarifit, Kabyle, Ghadamès, Nefoussa, etc. (the variant iwilenis attested mainly in Tuareg). Arabic borrowings denoting the same notion, namely if [ss if], l. umman [l. umman] and awessu [aw ssu], were only produced by a tiny fraction of the subjects (2.73%). The data obtained for ‘winter’ show a completely different tendency. The Berber word for winter, t.ajres.t [a r st], can be described as obsolete in this region (0.29%). The overwhelming majority of speakers have produced the Arabic loan l.mecta [l.m. ta], occasionally ccta [ta] or cctewa [twa], (99.28%):  $\chi^2 = 413.01$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The Berber variant for ‘morning’, ti.fawt, was found to be completely missing in the data and, hence, can be described as obsolete as well. The alternative Berber variant, t.anezzay.t [an zzaj. ], also turned out to be outdated (1.67%). The Arabic borrowing, t.a eb i.t [as b i. ], on the other hand, was shown to be predominant (96.65%):  $\chi^2 = 386.473$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The analysis of the data showed similar findings with regard to the notion of ‘afternoon’. The Arabic borrowing, t.a ecwi.t [a wi. ] was revealed to be overwhelmingly dominant (96.25%):  $\chi^2 = 379.147$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The Berber variant, t.ameddi.t [am ddi. ], was produced by a very tiny fraction of informants (2.58%) indicating that it is a dated word in the region covered in the present work.

The findings obtained for the three notions chosen from the domain of ‘animals’ are not very different from what was obtained for the variables discussed above; lexical loss remains the dominant trend. The Berber equivalent for ‘fish’, aslem [asl m] or t.aslem.t [asl m, .asl m.t], was revealed to be marginally preserved (11.14%) as opposed to the Arabic borrowing, l. ut [l. ut], also realized as ta. ut.it [a. uti. ], (88.86%):  $\chi^2 = 283.605$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The frequencies of the Berber variants for ‘bird’ and ‘pigeon’, however, show that lexical loss is even more dominant. The Berber variant for the former, ac i [a t it], accounted only for 0.94% of the tokens produced compared to Arabic borrowings, a eyyar [at jjar] and af ux [afr ux], which dominated informants’ responses (95.51%):  $\chi^2 = 392.157$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . The number of speakers who produced the Berber variant for the latter, i.e. adbiri [aðbir] or t.adbiri.t [aðbir. ], is also insignificant, accounting only for 1.72% of all tokens produced in response to the variable. The number of participants who produced the Arabic loanword t.a mam.t [a mamt, .a mam ], on the other hand, is substantially dominant (97.54%):  $\chi^2 = 376.485$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ .

The domain of ‘body’ shows results which are, to some extent, different from the previously handled variables. The Berber variant for ‘heel’, realized mostly as nirz [nir z] but also as inirz [inir z], was revealed to be the most maintained of the three (46.74%). It was slightly more frequent than Arabic loans, l. afer [l. af r] and l. aqeb [l. aq b] (45.95%). The difference between the rates of the Berber variant and Arabic loans were shown to be statistically insignificant ( $\chi^2 = 0.025$ ,  $p = 0.873$ ). The Berber word for ‘span’, t.ardas.t [arðas.t, .arðas.t], was found to be maintained considerably (28.57%) although the Arabic loan ccber [b r] was much more frequent (69.47%):  $\chi^2 = 60.903$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . In a similar way, Arabic loans lle yet [ll j] and lle ya [ll ja] were revealed to be the prominent variants used to denote ‘beard’ (71.88%) compared to the Berber variant t.mar.t [mar. ] (26.89%):  $\chi^2 = 83.802$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . As opposed to the findings obtained for the three previous variables, the analysis has revealed that the Berber word for ‘eyelash(es)’, abel [ab l], often produced in the plural form abliwen [abliw n], was found to be dated in the Tacawit variety spoken across the province of Oum el Bouaghi (2.36%). Once again, the Arabic borrowing, realized asccfe [f r], ccife [ffif r], ccafe [af r] or acfe [af r] (pl. ccwafe [waf r], ccfa [far] or lecfa [waf r]) was overwhelmingly dominant (96.56%):  $\chi^2 = 342.86$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ .

Statistical analysis has revealed that both variables addressed within the domain of ‘food and drink’, ‘salt’ and ‘yeast’, are obsolete in the region covered. The Berber variant for the ‘salt’, t.isen.t [ is nt, is n ] was completely missing from the data (0.00%) as opposed to Arabic borrowings, l.ml [ l.m l , l .ml ] and rrb [rrb , rr b ], which are almost exclusive in the data (99.77%):  $\chi^2 = 429$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . A similar tendency was observed for ‘yeast’; the word amtun [amtun] was produced by only one single informant (0.25%). The Arabic loan t.axmir.t [ .axmir. ] was produced by almost all the subject who took part in the study (98.52%):  $\chi^2 = 396.01$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ .

The analysis of the data obtained for the last semantic domain ‘sense perception’ showed two opposing tendencies. The Berber variant for ‘light’ (adj.), y.fess [j f ss, if ss] or y.fsis [j fsis, ifsis], was shown to be completely obsolete (0.00%). The Arabic borrowing, realized most as y.xfif [j xfif, ifxif] and occasionally as y.xeff [j.x ff, ifx ff] or axfif / t.axfif.t [axfif, .axfif. ], turned out to be completely dominant (98.75%):  $\chi^2 = 394$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ . Conversely, statistical analysis revealed that the Berber variant for ‘heavy’ is considerably maintained in the region studied. The number of tokens produced for the variant yi. ag [jiz a ] or yi. ay [jiz aj] accounted for 52.82% of the total number of responses produced. The frequency of the borrowings, yetqel [j . q l] / ye.dqel [j . ðq l] were found to be slightly lower (46.48%). The difference between these proportions is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 1.723$ ,  $p = 0.189$ ).

The rates of the Berber variants as opposed to those of loanwords are displayed in Figure 1 below.

**Figure n°1: lexical replacement in the 17-wordlist**

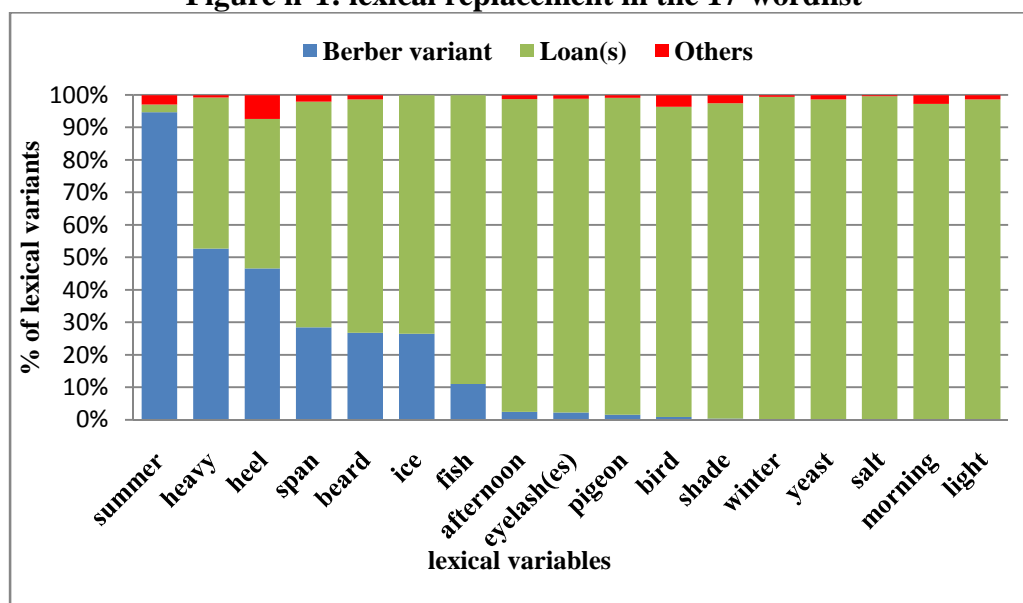
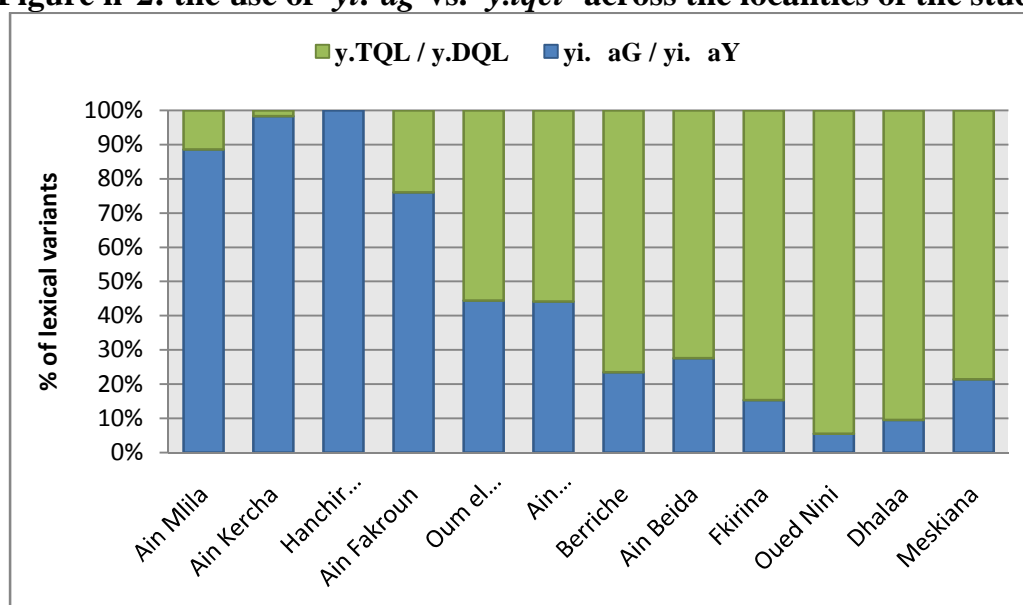


Table 1 below reports the ultimate findings of the present study. The Berber variants are presented in a decreasing order of lexical maintenance, i.e. from the most maintained to the least maintained, along with our judgment about its currency in the territory covered in the present study based on the findings displayed above. The rate of lexical loss is calculated by subtracting the rate of the Berber variant from the total, i.e. 100%. In other words, responses other than the Berber variant commonly used to designate the meaning targeted, such as the semantic extensions of other Berber words, which denote meanings more or less distinct, borrowings and other irrelevant responses are all considered as aspects of lexical loss.

**Table n°1: Summary of findings**

Lexical variable	Berber variant	Maintenance rate (%)	Loss rate (%)	Status
summer	anebdu	94.79	5.21	maintained
heavy	yi. ag/ yi. ay	52.82	47.18	moderately maintained
heel	i.nirz	46.74	53.26	moderately maintained
span	t.ardas.t	28.57	71.43	marginally maintained
beard	t.mar.t	26.89	73.11	marginally maintained
ice	ajris	26.57	73.43	marginally maintained
fish	t.aslem.t	11.14	88.86	marginally maintained
afternoon	t.ameddi.t	2.58	97.42	dated
eyelash(es)	abl.iwen	2.36	97.64	dated
pigeon	t.adbir.t	1.72	98.28	dated
bird	ac i	0.94	99.06	virtually obsolete
shade	t.ili	0.53	99.47	virtually obsolete
winter	t.ajres.t	0.29	99.71	virtually obsolete
yeast	amtun	0.25	99.75	virtually obsolete
salt	t.isen.t	0.00	100	obsolete
morning	ti.faw.t	0.00	100	obsolete
light (adj.)	y.fss / y.fsis	0.00	100	obsolete

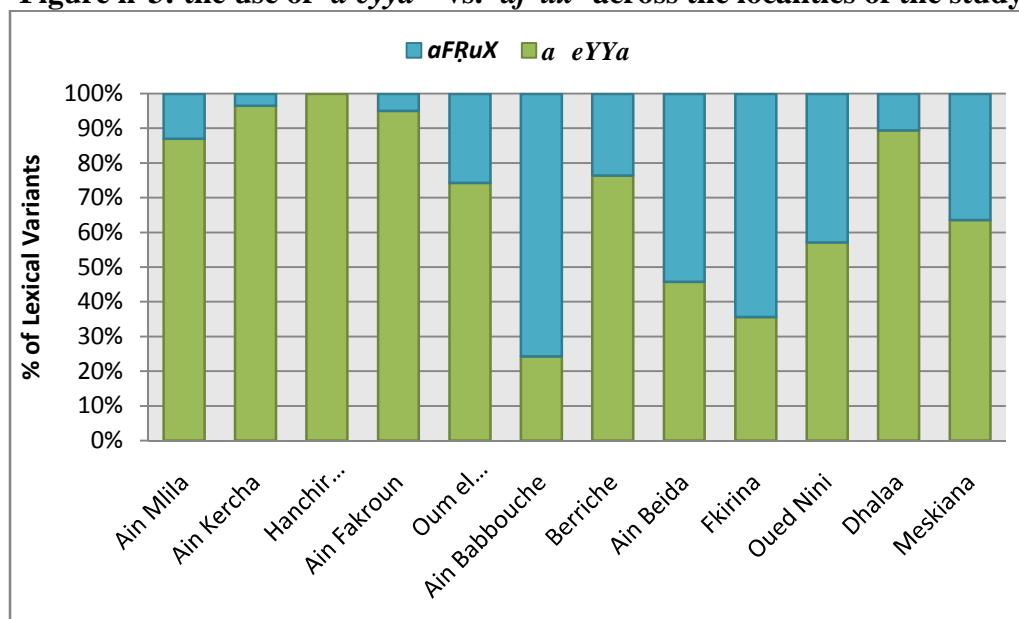
Differences in terms of lexical obsolescence across the twelve localities studied were shown to be statistically insignificant except for two notions, heavy and bird. The former shows such regional variation in a more prominent way. The analysis of data shows a progressive decline in the use of the Berber variant, yi. ag /yi. ag, as one moves to eastern localities (see Figure 2 below). There is, hence, a statistically significant difference between the western localities inhabited mostly by the Segnia (Ain Mlila, Ain Kercha, Hanchir Toumghani, and Ain Fakroun) and the eastern localities inhabited mostly by the Harakta (Ain Babbouche, Berriche, Ain Beida, Fkirina, Oued Nini, Dhalaa and Meskiana):  $\chi^2 = 173.73$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ .

**Figure n°2: the use of 'yi. ag' vs. 'y.tqel' across the localities of the study**

As to the second variable, bird, cross-regional variation was shown to be in the nature of loans used instead of one of contrast between loans and the Berber variant. The variant a eyya was found to be extremely dominant (92.35%) in the western localities compared to the variant af ux which is rare (4.7%). On the other hand, there is a balance between these two

variants in the eastern localities: *a eyya* (50%) vs. *af ux* (49.49%). The difference between the rates of these two Arabic loans in eastern and western localities is statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 87.19$ ,  $p = 0$ ).

**Figure n°3: the use of ‘*a eyya*’ vs. ‘*af ux*’ across the localities of the study**



## 5-Discussion:

The results of this study showed a decline in the use of the Berber variants in favor of Arabic loans for most of the lexical variables addressed. The Berber variant for only one variable was proved to be totally maintained, that is summer. The results also showed a balance between Berber and loan variants for two variables (heavy and heel). For the rest of the concepts, the results showed that Arabic loans are dominant, yet in different degrees. The Berber variants for some other variables, namely ice, beard, span and fish, though in decline, were shown to be still in use. For the remaining variables, namely morning, afternoon, bird, pigeon, eyelashes, shade, winter, salt, yeast and light, the Berber variant were found to either dated, virtually obsolete or completely obsolete.

Broadly speaking, data analysis showed little difference across the localities investigated in terms of lexical obsolescence. The existing difference is mainly in the proportions of the Arabic loans used for some terms, namely bird. The data, however, shows that there is more lexical obsolescence in eastern sites regarding the concept heavy. In other words, the dominant form used to refer to this notion is Berber (*yi ag/yi ay*) in the western part of the state whereas the Arabic loan (*ye.tql / ye.dql*) is more frequent in the eastern part.

A factor that is worth highlighting here is residential history. This factor seems to have had an impact on one concept at least, bird. As the analysis of data has shown above, the Arabic loans are dominant all over the twelve localities that were covered. The Berber variant *ac i* was provided by people who lived their early life outside the areas chosen for the study. Three of them are originally from Souk Naamane and one from Ras el Aioune. Both localities are situated in the region known as Bellezma where the Berber variant seems to be preserved to some extent, in particular in the localities of Ras el Aioune, Gosbat, Guigba and Souk Naaman, etc.

## Conclusion:

The present study showed the dominance of Arabic loans compared to the Berber variants in the varieties of Tacawit spoken in the province of Oum el Bouaghi. The spread of foreign loans in basic vocabulary, as the one included in the wordlist used, reflects the intensity of language contact between Tacawit and Arabic. It also reflects the spread of Bilingualism within the Tacawit speech community. Although the study showed little regional variation across the localities covered, in terms of lexical erosion, a longer list needs to be devised to

accurately account for cross-regional variation. Other factors (e.g., age, gender, mobility, etc.) need to be taken into account to have a deeper understanding of the nature of lexical obsolescence in a minority language.

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### Appendix-1: Questionnaire (Arabic version)

عزيزي المشارك

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة استعمال اللهجة الشاوية في منطقة أم البواقي. ولتحقيق هذا الهدف تم إعداد قائمة لبعض أهم الكلمات ذات الاستعمال اليومي. يرجى منك المساهمة في هذا العمل وذلك بتحديد الكلمة المرادفة من اللهجة الشاوية لكل كلمة عربية في القائمة الآتية.

ملاحظة هامة: يرجى منك الاعتماد في إجابتك على معرفتك الشخصية بهذه اللهجة دون الاستعانة بأي شخص أو وسيلة كالمقاموس والانترنت...إلخ.

المعلومات الشخصية

العمر: .....

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

السكن- قرية: ..... بلدية: .....

الشاوية

العربية

.....

الظل

.....	الجليد
.....	الصيف
.....	الشتاء
.....	الصباح
.....	المساء
.....	عصفور
.....	سمكة
.....	حمامة
.....	لحياة
.....	عقب (القدم)
.....	أشفا (العين)
.....	خميرة
.....	ملح
.....	ثقل
.....	خفيف
.....	شبر

شكرا

**Appendix-2: Questionnaire (English version)****Dear informant**

The present study aims at investigating the use of Tacawit in the province of Oum el Bouaghi. Please provide the Berber equivalent(s) for each of the notions in the list below.

**Note:** Please fill the questionnaire based on your own knowledge of Tacawit without seeking aid from any other speaker or means, like dictionary, internet, ...etc.

Age: .....

Gender: Male Female

Residence -Village: ..... Municipality .....

**Wordlist:**

shade  
ice  
winter  
summer  
morning  
afternoon  
bird  
fish  
pigeon  
beard  
heel  
eyelashes  
span  
salt  
yeast  
heavy  
light (adj)