

Proverbs Significance and Use within the Speech Community of Tlemcen

BENADLA, Lamia*

Aboubakr Belkaid University-
Tlemcen
(Algeria)
Email: benadla_lamia@live.fr

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Abstract:

Proverbs are inherited short sayings that reflect the wisdom and experience of one's ancestors. The present paper adopts a sociolinguistic approach to the study of proverbs in the speech community of Tlemcen. It collects data using a semi-structured interview, targeting a random sample population of 50 informants, varying in age, gender, and educational background. The paper analyses the data qualitatively to identify a list of proverbs commonly used in Tlemcen and to draw conclusions about their significance and use within the community. The objective of the investigation is to collect a corpus of commonly used proverbs, explore their meanings and usage, and classify them into different themes they convey.

Key Words: Proverbs, Speech Community, Tlemcen, Use, Significance.

* Corresponding author:

Introduction:

Proverbs serve as concise expressions of universal truths, wisdom, or guidance, often stemming from ancient origins and embodying practical insights and moral lessons. Within the broader Algerian community and specifically within Tlemcen region, these verbal nuggets hold a significant place, revered as ancestral wisdom that offers guidance. The utilization of proverbs is not merely a linguistic practice but a testament to one's sagacity within Tlemcen speech community. In the lexicon of Tlemcen speech community, proverbs are encapsulated by the term [əl mʃa:ni:], denoting not just literal meanings but the profound depth of wisdom inherent within these expressions. This linguistic heritage is deeply ingrained in the cultural fabric of Tlemcen, where adherence to linguistic traditions becomes emblematic of individual and collective identity. This research aims to explore the usage and significance of proverbs within Tlemcen speech community. Through semi-structured interviews conducted with 50 participants, we aim to explore their understanding of the community's utilization of proverbs, shedding light on both the meanings attributed to these expressions and their practical applications. Through rigorous analysis of these interviews, we seek to compile a comprehensive corpus of proverbs, offering insights into their cultural significance and linguistic nuances within Tlemcen community. The focal research question for the present paper is to what extent does Tlemcen speech community adopt proverbs in its daily communication? Hence, the two sub-questions that could be extracted are: First, are proverbs used by different members of the speech community? Second, what are the common themes and motifs expressed through the proverbs used in Tlemcen community? As hypothesis for the first research sub-question, though the degree of use of proverbs depends on different social factors, most Tlemcenian speakers prove use of proverbs in their daily linguistic practice. It is hypothesized, for the second sub-question, that the proverbs used in Tlemcen linguistic community will reflect prevalent cultural values, historical experiences, and societal norms.

I. Literature Review:

Establishing a solid foundation through definition of key concepts and synthesis of existing literature is paramount for effectively interpreting collected data from fieldwork. Prior to displaying the fieldwork data, it is imperative to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge surrounding the topic of proverbs. Furthermore, it is essential to present Tlemcen speech community as a case study, offering insights into its unique cultural and linguistic dynamics. By contextualizing the research within existing scholarship and framing Tlemcen community as a focal point, this approach sets the stage for a thorough examination of the subject matter and facilitates a deeper understanding of the collected data during fieldwork.

1. Proverbs:

Proverbs are recognized and used across different cultures to impart knowledge and convey universal truths in a concise and memorable manner. A proverb should be short to express views in '... a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which

is handed down from generation to generation' (Mieder, 2004, p. 3) p. The scientific study of proverbs is called paremiology, a deep and broad sphere that aims at collecting proverbs, studying their structures, and exhibiting their role in the socio cultural realm of a particular society. One of the pioneers of paremiology, (Taylor, 1931, p. 3) defines a proverb as "... a saying current among the folk" to include proverbs under the umbrella of folk literature, or what can be referred to as folklore. One of the simplest and the most comprehensive definitions that can be, then , adopted is the one proposed by (O'Dell & Mackcarthy, 2017, p. 26):

"Proverbs are short sentences which refer to something most people have experienced and which give advice or warnings. [...] their form is fixed, and it is not always possible to guess the meaning from looking at the individual words."

Therefore, Proverbs are often expressed in a metaphorical language and sometimes they have multiple-meanings. Thus, they depend on their contextual use (Mieder, 2004), and understanding or using them, necessarily, requires going beyond the mere level of lexis, into deeper semiotic levels. In addition, there are other proverbial features that concern style and reinforce the aesthetic level of language. In (Arora, 1994) , certain stylistic features are noted to be flagrant in proverbs. These compromise phonic markers like alliteration, rhyme, and meters.

Proverbs are associated with wisdom, often regarded as pearls of insight passed down through generations. They carry the weight of age, embodying the distilled experiences and knowledge of our ancestors (Oukali & Djouber, 2021). When someone quotes a proverb, they are tapping into this reservoir of wisdom, drawing upon it to navigate life's challenges with a sense of sagacity and understanding.

It's a common observation that individuals who frequently employ proverbs in their speech are often perceived as older in demeanor than their actual age. These individuals may exhibit a certain wisdom that transcends mere chronological years. In households where a venerable elder resides, proverbs become woven into the fabric of everyday conversation, serving as guiding principles for the entire family.

Although many proverbs are rooted in experiences common to both genders, there exists a perception that they are more closely associated with female discourse. Despite this stereotype, both men and women utilize proverbs to articulate their thoughts, express cultural values, and convey shared experiences. In diverse societies, proverbs serve as a unifying language, transcending gender boundaries to connect individuals through shared cultural heritage. (Moussa, 2022).

Proverbs often serve as a form of cultural shorthand, encapsulating the collective wisdom and values of a particular community or social group (Mamour & Kerbae, 2020). In some contexts, they function as a special code, excluding outsiders who may not understand their nuanced meanings or cultural significance. By invoking proverbs, members of a group reaffirm their cultural identity and reinforce their bonds with one another, creating a sense of belonging and solidarity (Maetouk & Leakrib, 2022). This is a particular feature of Tlemcen community, which is well known for its depth in history and its distinctive culture.

2. Tlemcen Speech Community:

Tlemcen, situated in northwestern Algeria, holds a significant historical and cultural importance in the Maghreb region. Historically, its borders encompassed areas established by the Zianides dynasty and its suburbs, though today it extends further, approaching the Mediterranean Sea in the North, and bordering the desert in the south. Despite its administrative expansiveness, historically, Tlemcen's core remains its city centre, marking its cultural and educational significance.

The linguistic landscape of Tlemcen reflects the diverse heritage of Algeria, encompassing Arabic dialects, Berber languages, Andalusian, Ottoman, and French (Benadla, 2012). Arabic stands as the dominant language, with various dialects used in daily communication. Additionally, Berber-speaking communities, notably the Zenati subgroup, contribute to the linguistic tapestry, primarily utilizing traces of Berber varieties (Kherbache, 2016). Nowadays Tlemcen dialect exhibits particular features that are believed to belong to the Andalusian era. One distinctive feature is their realization of the Arabic phoneme /q/ as a glottal stop [ʔ] (Dendane, 2007). Traces of the ottoman presence in the city are unnoticeable at the linguistic level, in comparison to the cultural one. French, influenced by Algeria's colonial past, persists in education, administration, and formal domains (Benrabeh, 1999) showcasing the intricate interplay of linguistic varieties within Tlemcen speech community.

Tlemcen linguistic evolution is marked by its urban pre-Hilali dialect, distinguished from bedouin-based vernaculars, which glided over Algeria later (Marçais, 1902). The city's linguistic roots trace back centuries, with successive waves of migration shaping its dialectal landscape (Benadla L. , 2023). While urban and bedouin varieties coexist in the area, ongoing migration and demographic shifts contribute to dialectal change and levelling, potentially paving the way for the emergence of a "...neo-koineized urban Tlemcenian variety" (Hammoudi & Dendane, 2022, p. 466). Despite these changes, certain demographics, particularly females and older generations, serve as custodians of the original dialect, highlighting the nuanced interplay of gender, age, and linguistic preservation in Tlemcen.

II. Fieldwork

Fieldwork in sociolinguistics plays a pivotal role in unveiling language use dynamics within diverse communities. Within our context, investigating the utilization of proverbs offers valuable insights into the cultural, social, and linguistic dynamics of Tlemcen community. This section focuses on fieldwork conducted in the linguistic community of Tlemcen, Algeria, aimed at understanding the usage of proverbs and their significance within this particular sociolinguistic context.

1. Research Methodology:

Tlemcen linguistic community presents a rich reservoir of linguistic diversity, with its unique blend of Arabic, Berber, and French influences. Despite the prominence of proverbs in Algerian culture, there exists a gap in our understanding of the usage and implications of proverbs within Tlemcen community specifically. Therefore, exploring the usage of proverbs in Tlemcen is crucial for comprehending the linguistic practices and cultural nuances shaping communication patterns within this community.

Through qualitative research methods, namely interviews with community members, this study seeks to compile a corpus of commonly used proverbs in Tlemcen. The research methodology being conducted relies on a semi-structured interview with 50 informants from Tlemcen city. The primary objective of the study is to explore the significance of proverbs within the cultural context of Tlemcen, known for its rich history and diverse cultural heritage. The research process involves identifying and recruiting a random sample of informants who represent various demographic characteristics, including age, gender, socioeconomic status, and educational background. Semi-structured interviews are then conducted with each informant, following a predetermined set of open-ended questions designed to elicit their perspectives on proverbs.

During the interview, participants are asked to share proverbs that they frequently hear or use in Tlemcen, as well as to describe the cultural, social, and personal significance of these proverbs. Through probing questions and active listening, the researcher aims to gain a deep understanding of how proverbs are woven into the fabric of everyday life in Tlemcen, and how they shape individuals' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors.

The data collected from the interviews are analyzed using qualitative research methods, such as thematic analysis or content analysis, to identify recurring themes, patterns, and meanings related to the proverbs discussed by the informants. The study aims to provide a comprehensive exploration of the significance of proverbs in Tlemcen, shedding light on their role in cultural identity, communication, socialization, and worldview.

2 Analysis of Proverbs in Tlemcen

When analyzing the collected data from interviews, proverbs used in the speech community of Tlemcen could be sorted by theme. Some proverbs are shared between Tlemcen speech community and all Arabic-speaking countries, while others carry linguistic features specific to the community. Regarding themes, proverbs serve as an interesting aspect through which the Tlemcenian identity is exhibited. We noticed that they carry deep meanings related to local life and socioeconomic activities. Examples of proverbs often emphasize important values like marriage and social relationships. Proverbs also have a rhetorical aspect, often employing an artistic style to create vivid imagery in the listener's mind and emphasizing the aesthetic aspect of sounds, aiming to attract attention. Below, a set of proverbs is presented under different themes, with explanations summarized from informants and additional analysis and interpretations provided by the researcher.

2.1 Universal proverbs

In this section we gathered proverbs that are shared among several speech communities out of Algeria. They could be either inherited from the Arab Islamic identity or could be transferred from other speech communities like Syrian or Moroccan ones, because of social mobility and contact.

a. [kfi elʔedra ʕ la fumhha təʃ bah ummha]

(reverse the pot, it will resemble to her mother)

This proverb highlights the extent to which a girl may resemble her mother, particularly in terms of behaviors and personality traits. It is a widely recognized concept within Arab communities, notably in Syria and Egypt. This adage underscores the notion that a daughter's character is often reflective of her mother's influence, echoing principles found in psychology and sociology. Recent research corroborates this long-held belief, which has been passed down through generations. The rhyme in the proverb, likening a girl to a pot and personifying it, serves not only to evoke vivid imagery but also to create a pleasing auditory experience, thereby enhancing its persuasive power.

b. [dreb ʔrndʒa w frndʒa]

(He wandered in krenja and frenja)

This proverb references two locations: Arundel and For-Endo. It is also commonly used within the Moroccan speech community, albeit with a reference to a moral city, Tandja. While it's difficult to ascertain if one speech community influenced the other, there is an undeniable resemblance between the two proverbs. Utilizing specific assignments is crucial in this proverb to enhance its persuasiveness. According to informants, the proverb signifies that a person has spent a considerable amount of time wandering and moving from one place to another.

c. [ħtta ja:b w ʕ alʔolo hdʒab], [w ʒabbawu ləl kuttab]

(they had him carry an amulet till he got grey hair, or, he didn't go to koranic schools, till he got gray hair)

For this proverb, we have received two versions. One refers to ancient practices where certain objects were believed to protect children from harm. Parents used to seek assistance from individuals knowledgeable about the Quran, asking them to craft items to safeguard their children from evil. This version of the proverb illustrates the concept of something being too late to implement.

The second version, commonly used among Arabs, emphasizes the tradition of enrolling children in Quranic schools for education. This practice is widespread among Muslims, as early childhood learning is highly valued in society. In this version, the proverb underscores the importance of beginning education at a young age.

Both versions advocate for timely action and emphasize the significance of not delaying important tasks until it's too late. This principle aligns with social norms and values. To further illustrate this proverb, a similar saying can be found: [əlli: fa:t, wəqtu: ma jətmaʕ f wəqt ənnaas] (when your time is missed, do not try to catch up in others' time). In Algerian society, each activity is typically associated with a particular age group, making it unusual to observe someone engaging in activities deemed inappropriate for their age.

Other proverbs that are typically used by Tlemcenian speakers are exposed next.

2.2 Local Proverbs

These proverbs utilize the local dialect, making them potentially challenging for non-members of the speech community to understand. This linguistic choice fosters a sense of intimacy among speakers of the dialect while also serving to exclude

outsiders attempting to enter the speech community. This sense of intimacy can imbue members with a feeling of being at home and facilitate closeness among them.

a. [si:di mʃa ʃja:lu wa:na nessenna f xya:lu]

(he is with his family, and I wait to see his shadow)

There is a symbolic use of the term "sidi," which is locally used to refer to someone of a higher social rank. This proverb employs a unique aesthetic by blending rhyme and hyperbole to convey a deeper meaning. It suggests that a woman should not overly invest her enthusiasm in someone who does not value her. This proverb serves as a moral lesson for any woman seeking to be desired by a man who completely disregards her. In similar situations, the straightforward advice of this proverb can guide individuals to make wise decisions.

b. [ana ntemtem w ntin fhem]

(I mumble, but you should understand)

Rhyme in this proverb is very attractive, as it allows the perceiver to grasp the idea more easily. This proverb is used to convey the notion that a person should be understood without much effort in explaining. It reflects a social skill that the community encourages, where individuals are adept at conveying messages without excessive speech. Interlocutors rely on intelligence and intuition to facilitate effective communication, while those outside the social group may struggle to decode the shared messages between the two parties.

c. [ana nʔullek sidi: w ttin 3ref ʔadrek]

(I call you 'sidi', and you should know your limits)

The term "sidi" symbolizes extreme respect. The proverb explains that just because I respect you and hold you in high regard do not give you the right to belittle me. Mutual respect is crucial.

The following proverbs are collected based on their relation to the social and economic activities well-known in Tlemcen.

2.3.Economic Activities

The city has always been known for its historical heritage, particularly in handicrafts, sewing, and baking.

a. [əl hdi:t wəl me ɣ zəl]

(Speech and spindle)

This proverb has been cited by a considerable number of informants and is widely recognized within the speech community. It illustrates the act of knitting using a traditional textile device, a common practice in ancient Tlemcen. Many families engaged in this activity, often working together in groups. During these sessions, practitioners would converse and sing folk songs while using their hands for work. The analogy drawn from this activity emphasizes the importance of multitasking and efficiency. It advises individuals not to halt work while speaking but rather to continue working while engaging in conversation, suggesting that it's advantageous to work with one's hands and speak simultaneously.

b. [əl hf: uma be:jna ʃla wdʒah ɔttarraħ]

(Shame is apparent on the baker's face)

This proverb is challenging to translate because it delves into two culturally nuanced concepts that are not easily translatable into Western cultures. The first concept revolves around feelings of shame or shyness, qualities viewed positively in Algerian culture. The second concept describes the role of a "terrah" whose responsibility involves baking bread and cookies in a large traditional oven. Due to the constant exposure to heat in his work, his face remains red, symbolizing shyness. In this context, shyness is linked to good manners and noble lineage. The imagery of a red face serves as an allegory, suggesting that outward appearances can be deceiving; akin to the English saying "All that glitters is not gold." Essentially, it cautions against placing blind trust in appearances, emphasizing the importance of discerning the true nature of individuals or situations.

The fourth theme identified in Tlemcen speech community revolves around the excessive use of animals in a highly rhetorical manner.

2.4. Animals in Proverbs:

These proverbs often incorporate metaphors and personifications to enhance clarity of imagery. Each animal is associated with a distinct image in the social psyche, representing specific qualities or features. By employing personification or metaphor, the interlocutor understands that the proverb does not literally refer to the animal itself, but rather to one of its characteristics.

a. [wle:d elkelba ka:m əl kle:b]

(The she-dog babies, are automatically dogs)

In the Algerian psyche, a dog, or she-dog, is commonly associated with someone who carries a burden or leads an undignified life. This association often personifies the dog as representing a person who lacks dignity. The current proverb refers to the tendency for children to inherit traits from their parents. If someone possesses negative qualities inherited from their parents or origins, they are unlikely to change their nature.

b. [əl madbu:ha tedhak ʕla elməslu:xa wl meʔt3a chebʕat dahk]

(Slaughtered cattle is laughing at the stripped one, and the chopped one is laughing to death)

Algerian society places significant emphasis on meat in its cuisine, with lamb being a crucial component of Algerian nutrition. In the present proverb, there is a reference to the subtle manner in which cattle are slaughtered. It compares the status of various cattle, ranging from bad to worse. The depiction of cattle serves as a personification, symbolizing individuals who mock or belittle others who may be in better circumstances than themselves.

c. [be:t mʕa əjde:d sebah jka:ki:]

(He dealt with chicken, and learnt their clucking)

"Jdad" is a term used in the Tlemcenian dialect to refer to chicken. This metaphorical image highlights the idea that some individuals may compromise their identity through mere interaction with others who are different from them. The proverb emphasizes the importance of maintaining one's identity while engaging with others.

d. [ldʒməl ma jʃu:fʃ hdebbtu: jʃu:f yi: hbebbet xa:h]

(Camel sees only his fellow's hump)

There is also a reference to camels' humps, which is a negative sign. This figure of speech is used to encourage people to focus on taking care of themselves rather than being preoccupied with the imperfections of others, as they themselves are imperfect.

e. [əl mǝndba kbi:ra w əl mijjət fa:r]

(a huge funeral for a mouse)

A mouse symbolizes something futile and insignificant. Holding a grand funeral for something worthless is a reminder not to exaggerate or give undue attention to things beyond their worth.

f. [əlli ʔare:h əddib hafdo: əsslu:gi]

(Learnt by a fox, mastered by a saluki)

In the Algerian psyche, there's a perpetual competition between the fox and the Saluki, a type of dog. In folk literature, the fox is frequently personified as wise and intelligent, while the Saluki consistently outshines the fox. This proverb illustrates that even if someone excels in a particular field, there will always be someone better than them, emphasizing that perfection is unattainable.

g. [əlli ʔarsa:tu: əlleffa ijxa:f mǝn dǝl əlhǝl]

(Bitten by a snake, cautious round a rope shade)

The snake is associated with poison, death, and a menacing demeanor, often regarded as a malicious and frightening animal. This proverb employs the snake as a symbol of danger, signifying that individuals who have experienced perilous situations will remain cautious. Anything reminiscent of the challenging circumstances they've faced will evoke fear in them.

Proverbs are, often, associated with good manners. They reflect ethics, and high values that are related to high standards. The next set of proverbs recommends some of these standards.

2.5.Virtues

Being an Arab Islamic country, ethics hold significant importance in Algerian society. Consequently, many proverbs emphasize ethical principles and good qualities. These proverbs serve as positive guidance for Algerian citizens to act virtuously in their lives

a. [Ki: ke:n haj ʃəwʔo:h f temra w ki: ma:t ʃalʔo:lo: ʃardzo:n]

(He missed a single date when he was alive and got a bunch of dates on his tomb).

This proverb is very common in Algeria. In general, it uses a figurative image showing that when a person is present or available, he might be ignored. But if he is not around, people will recognize his value and try in vain to give him what he dreamt of one day. This proverb is used to invite people to be good to others in the right moments and not after it is too late.

b. [kul tawxe:ra fi:ha xe:ra]

(Every delay, contains advantages)

This proverb is a reflection of Islamic philosophy, which emphasizes believing in God's destiny and accepting one's fate without regret. Sometimes, if a person misses something, it can turn out to be positive for them rather than negative. One can never

know the consequences of what happens to them. Sometimes, good luck can be wrapped in the Devil's cover.

c. [əzzu:x w ənnoux wəl ʕfa gərni:na]

(They, excessively, show off, while they cannot afford a dinner, and eat purcelane)

This proverb revolts against the bad habit of being arrogant: especially if one is a needy person. It shames people who insist on showing off when they can't afford the simplest life needs, like a dinner. Purcelane, or 'guernina', in local terms, is a natural plant that one can find in nature, it can serve as a food, especially during days of misery. So, referring to this plant is a symbol of famine.

The Algerian society is well known for glorifying family bonds (Ben Alia & Lekriz, 2021). The following section gathers some of the proverbs that assign family a sacred status, and exposes the importance of marriage in the Tlemcenian community.

2.6.Social Relationships

Like brotherhood, fatherhood and motherhood are very important pillars in the Algerian society in general, and particularly in the Tlemcenian community. Marriage is a focal tie in Tlemcen, so that it is highlighted in several folklore tales and sayings. The following proverbs illustrate this idea.

a. [zwe:dʒ li:la tɔdba:ru: ʕa:m]

(Wedding arrangements take a year)

Marriage is a highly significant social bond in Algerian society, therefore it is handled delicately. It is well-known that weddings in Algeria are very costly. Hence, in order to ensure their success, we tend to spend one year or more in preparation. This analogy is used to emphasize the importance of investing time and effort in serious preparations to ensure successful outcomes.

b. [səbbaʔ əl htab ʔbəl ma: juxtob]

(He prepared firewood before engagement)

Here too, the value of marriage in society is evident. This proverb shows that one should organize their priorities and never embark on the realization of anything before thorough planning.

c. [sa:m sa:m w fətar ʕla: bəsla]

(He broke his long fasting on an onion).

Onion, here, is used to refer to something disgusting or unpleasant as food. Indeed, an onion is difficult to eat, especially after a period of fasting. This whole metaphor refers to the fact that if someone is single and wants to get married, which is compared to the state of fasting, he should choose his partner carefully in order not to fall into someone who is really disgusting, like an onion. This proverb again shows how marriage is very important in Algerian society

The next proverbs highlight relationship with fathers and older people.

d. [əl ʔat jʕalləm əbbah jnət]

(The kitten is teaching his father how to jump)

In Algerian society, older people are always associated with wisdom, and younger people should respect them, listen to their instructions, and never manifest their disagreement openly. This proverb is used when a younger person wants to teach an

older one a skill. It often reflects a rejection of knowledge coming from a younger person, claiming that if someone is older, they are automatically more skillful in life and thus do not need guidance from a younger one.

e. [xu:k xu:k la: jɔrrək sahbək]

(Your brother remains your brother, so never be fooled by your friend)

This proverb glorifies the relationship between brothers and insists that blood relationship is stronger than any other relationship in the world. It emphasizes that a person should take care of, maintain, and prioritize their bond with their siblings.

f. [ellham ida xnəz jərfdɔ:h əmma:li:h]

(Rotten flesh is taken care of by its owners)

This proverb once again emphasizes the importance of blood relationships, suggesting that if a person encounters trouble, likened to rotten meat, they will automatically receive support from their family members. It illustrates how family members come together and stand by each other in difficult situations, despite any previous conflicts or issues within the family.

After showcasing some of the collected proverbs from Tlemcen speech community, a clearer image could be formed regarding societal values and the distinctive identity that characterize Algerian society in general and the Tlemcenian community in particular. We aimed to highlight the redundant proverbs provided by the informants, solely, although many were excluded due to the constraints of this study. This richness encountered in the Algerian culture, emphasizes the need for more committed research into decoding its secrets with the goal of preserving its diversity and richness.

Conclusion

Proverbs in the speech community of Tlemcen function as timeless expressions of cultural wisdom, embodying the collective experiences, values, and beliefs of society. They are more than mere aphorisms; they are threads woven into the fabric of social identity, shaping the way society members perceive themselves and others. Through generations, proverbs have been passed down orally, engrained in the Tlemcenian linguistic repertoire, and serve as markers of cultural continuity. In homes, workplaces, and social gatherings, proverbs act as linguistic bridges, connecting individuals across diverse backgrounds and providing a shared framework for understanding and communication, often using a rhetorical language, reflecting the artistic wit that our ancestors possessed.

Indeed, Tlemcen speech community conserves proverbs, facilitating intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, and ensuring that traditions and values are passed down from one generation to the next. They provide a repository of collective memory, preserving the wisdom of past generations and offering insights into timeless truths about human nature and society. In this way, proverbs serve as a link between the past, present, and future, fostering continuity and cohesion within societies while also allowing for adaptation and innovation.

Proverbs play a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of social identity. They serve as signposts, guiding individuals in navigating the complexities of social interaction and reinforcing cultural norms and values. By invoking proverbs, individuals signal their affiliation with particular cultural or social groups, asserting their belongingness and reinforcing their sense of identity. Proverbs are markers of inclusion, fostering solidarity among group members while simultaneously delineating boundaries that defines who belongs and who does not. They are not merely linguistic curiosities; they are essential components of our Algerian identity, serving as repositories of cultural wisdom, markers of social affiliation, and vehicles for intergenerational transmission of knowledge. As we continue to navigate the complexities of an increasingly interconnected world, the importance of proverbs in shaping our social identity and fostering cultural understanding cannot be overstated. They remain timeless expressions of human experience that still require to dive into their deep meanings and to explore the diversity of wise messages our ancestors aimed to transmit throughout generations.

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Appendices

Appendix1 Interview Schedule

1. age range ? gender? Origin?
2. Can you cite some of the proverbs mostly used in Tlemcen?
3. Would you explain in which instances do you, usually, use, or hear people using them?
4. Do you use, often, proverbs?

Appendix2: List of International Phonetic Alphabet for Tlemcen sounds as realizations of Standard Arabic phonemes.

Consonants:

[b] for ب

[t] for ت and ط, ث

[d] for د and ذ, ض, ظ, .

[k] for ك

[ɣ] for غ

[f] for ف

[s] for س and ص

[z] for ز

[ʃ] for ش

[dʒ, ʒ] for ج

[h] for هـ

[ʕ] for ع

[ħ] for ح

[m] for م

[n] for ن

[l] for ل

[r] for ر

[ʔ] for , ا, ق

[x] for خ

[j] for ي

Vowels: [i:, i, e] for close front vowels [u:, u, o] for close back vowels and [a: a] for front and back open vowels. Most vowels, are elided or realized as shwa [ə]

Appendix 3: List of proverbs written in Arabic Script

1. كفي القدرة على فهمها تشبه مها
2. ضرب أرنجا وفرنجا
3. حتى شاب وعلقولو حجاب ودخلوه للكتاب
4. في خيالو ونا نسنا سيدي مع عيالو
5. أنا نتمتم ونتين فهم
6. أنا نقولك سيدي ونتين اعرف قدرك
7. الحديث والمغزل
8. الحشومة باينة على وجه الطراح
9. ولاد الكلبة كلهم كلاب
10. المذبوحة تعيب على المسلوخة والمقطعا شبعنا عليهم ضحك
11. بات مع اجداد صبح يكاكي
12. الجمل ما يشوفش حدتو يشوف غيل حدبة خاه
13. المندبة كبيرة والميت فار
14. لي قاريه الذيب حافظو السلوقي..

15. لي قرساتو اللفعة يخاف من ظل لجل
16. كي كان حي شتاق تمرة وكي مات علقولو عرجون
- 17.. كل توخيرة فيها خيرة
18. الزوج والنوخ والعشا
19. زواج ليلة تدييرو عام
20. صام صام وفطر على بصلة
21. لقط يعلم باه النط
22. خوك خوك لا يغرك صاحبك
23. اللحم الا خنز يرفدوه مواليه