THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON LANGUAGE INTERACTION AND IDENTITY

THE CASE OF THE WEDDING CEREMONY IN THE CITY TLEMCEN WEST ALGERIA

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الملخّص:

تقتضي الممارسة الأنثربولوجية اللسانية في يومنا هذا، فهم الدور الفعّال الذي تلعب اللغة في بناء المجتمع مع تمثّلاته الثقافية. ومن هذا المنظور، قام الأنثربولوجيون اللغويون بالبحث في طبيعة اللغة، آخذين بعين الاعتبار السياق الاجتماعي والمظاهر الثقافي الاعتبار التفاعلي. إن المصطلحات المعجمية المستعملة في حفل الزفاف بمدينة تلمسان ترمي إلى إظهار هوية المتحاورين، ممّا يسهّل تمييزهم عن غيرهم البعض.

ABSTRACT:

Linguistic anthropology as practiced today is the understanding of the crucial role by language played in the constitution of society and its cultural representations. In this perspective, linguistic anthropologists have investigated in the nature of language taking into account the social context cultural aspects of the and interaction.

Lexical items used in the wedding ceremony of the city Tlemcen pave the way to the emergence of the identity of its people, and therefore make them easily recognized among the other citizens of the country Algeria, just because language and culture go hand in hand.

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The Correlation between Linguistics and Human sciences :

The empirical investigation into the nature of language has paved the way for scientists to notice very crucial knowledge in the field of linguistics. In fact, much evidence has been accumulated recently, revealing the close relationships between language and other human sciences, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, ethnology and so on.....

Actually, the correlation which operates between the two fields is not to be denied. Linguistic has contributed greatly to the development of social research.For instance, if we consider the word psycholinguistics, we will find out that it is made up of two linked words which are psycho + linguistics, in other words «language and mind».

Noam Chomsky is regarded as one of the linguists who has put the emphasis on the matter. Thanks to his research, we have come to the conclusion that the human mind is determined by words and expressions he tends to use in different situational conversations. That is what linguists call «language determinism », or

Sapir Whorf hypothesis in the 1940' which is associated with the american scholars Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, also known as the « linguistic relativity » hypothesis. This theory became popular in the 1950' It suggests that people's habitual thoughts pattern and ways of perceiving the world are conditioned to a certain extent by the categories and distinctions that are available to them in their native language. « Speakers of different languages may therefore have rather different world-views, depending on how different the languages are from one another semantically and grammatically » ⁽¹⁾.

So, language mediates or structures thinking. It means that language determimes the view of the word. Noam Chomsky said : «As I write the sky is darkening and a radio warns that a storm is heading towards Boston, expected to bring heavy rain and strong winds, flooding of rivers, damage to trees and homes and loss of power. The preceding statement is manifested in an external medium and understood in various ways by speakers and hearers, which enter into the ways they interpret it. Communication depends on similarity among these states. In such ways, language engages the world». ⁽²⁾

N. Chomsky considers linguistics as a part of individual psychology and of the cognitive sciences. Its ultimate aim is to characterize a central component of human nature, defined in a biological setting. ⁽³⁾According to psycholinguistics discipline, language influences such things as memory, attention, reason.

For N. Chomsky, every normal human being knows the mother tongue. This knowledge of language is a state of mind which he calls « internalized language » Every normal member of our species attains this state of mature linguistic competence during the first years of life. Chomsky's conception of language is

psychological, biological, thus language instinct. ⁽⁴⁾This theory is an explanation of language development and it awakens awareness that in primitive times, language developed from human's basic need of communicating. It leads the way to agree with Darwin's theory of human evolution.

On the other hand, one should not ignore the close relationship between linguistics and sociology. Indeed, interdependency of linguistics and sociology has been the source of heated debates widely due to William Labov and Edward Sapir question on the subject. Sociologists have long been engaged in the study of ways we use language in our social interactions because they are so deeply embedded in our daily affairs.

Edward Sapir said : « language is primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often accused justly of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general ». ⁽⁵⁾ Thus the domain of sociolinguistics deals mainly with stylistic and social facts taking into account some personal sociocultural aspects.

As far as anthropology is concerned, it has given an important contribution in learning the nature and development of culture and language as well because it is a social phenomenon that is central in ethnicity. Consequently, linguistics is regarded as the interdisciplinary study of how language influences social life. A great deal of work in linguistic anthropology investigates questions of socio-cultural identity. Its aim is to explore how language shapes communication, builds social identity and group membership.

This empirical fact is well explained by structuralist theoricians such as the French anthropologist « Claude Levi – Strauss » and « Roman Jakobson » in the 1942.

A structuralism approach came into existence which may study activity as food-preparation, religious rites, literary and non-literary texts; and other form of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced within the culture.

The Importance of Identity in Socialization :

According to structural theory in social anthropology, meaning is produced within a culture through various practices and activities that serve as systems of significance.

Identity is about how individuals or groups see and define themselves, and how other individuals or groups see and define them . Identity is formed throughout the socialization process and the influence of social institution like the family, the educational system and the mass media. If some people didn't have any identity, they would lack the means of identifying with or relating to their peer group, to their neighbours, to the communities in which they lived or to the people they came across in their everyday lives.

Identity, therefore fits individuals info the society in which they live.

Religion, race, customs, beliefs, clothes, food, music and language may hold a great significance in a large majority of people's lives ; and therefore in the shaping of the member's cultural identity.

The Research Question of the Topic :

The research question that we have to deal with in this study has much to do with three crucial questions.

1-What are the specific socio-cultural notions of people of Tlemcen, the city located west of Algeria ?

2-How does the cultural background of people of Tlemcen affect their way of speaking ?

3-Do items and expressions used by people of Tlemcen in wedding ceremonies take off the veil to their socio-cultural identity ?

Some possible answers to the questions :

As regards to the empirical study of linguistics anthropology, we may draw the following hypothesis :

1-It might be that the particular terms spoken in some situational interactions and way of pronouncing them ought to be a hint of their socio-cultural identity.

2-It is probably that special ceremonies and rites in the tlemcenian style of life incite them to build up a language register conceived in specific social interactions.

Before we start developing these points, we thought it would be appropriate, may be compulsory to point out that the investigation has been undertaken through qualitative research which aims at getting a better understanding with first hand experience, truthful reporting of actual conversations.

It is based mainly on both observation of behaviours of people in their environment and analyses of how their meaning influences their behaviour.

The Sapir Whorf Hypothesis :

The power of language to reflect culture was first proposed by the anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Whorf in the 1950'. The Sapir Whorf hypothesis states that the way we think and view the world is determined by our language. The instances of cultural language differences are evidenced in that some languages have specific words to illustrate a specific concept. For instance, the classical arabic language comprises many specific words for designating a certain type of horses and camels. This kind of specific designation does match with occidental culture such as in Britain or America.

The Ritual Wedding ceremony in the city of Tlemcen, north west Algeria :

As far as the society of Tlemcen is concerned and taking into consideration the wedding ceremony we may come across numerous words which are related to this ritual and are seldom used elsewhere.

This is mainly due to the fact that people originated from Tlemcen give a great importance to the wedding ceremony which consists of special clothes of the bride, the jewels she wears, the orchestra music played the night, the kind of food served to the guests.

The reason is that the wedding ritual of Tlemcen is a part of the intangible cultural heritage of Algeria. That's why some people decided that the year of the international islamic culture should take place in this city by the year 2011.

In fact known as the pearl of the Maghreb, Tlemcen is one of the oldest city in Algeria that passed through different dynasties enriching it with different cultures and heritages arabic, islamic and hispanic.

Thus, for a city to be nominated the capital of islamic culture(2011) by the islamic educational scientific and cultural organization (ISECO), it has to meet certain criteria, like being a historical city with great monuments serving islamic culture and having scientific contributions. Among the most famous islamic historical sites in Tlemcen, are the great mosque the medina of EL ABBAD; mosque El kebir (Jamaa El kebir), sid El halwi, and the mosque and tomb of the soufi sidi Boumediene. Another important traditional place is the market of alkissaria where one can view Tlemcen's traditional clothing such as (Chedda) (Kaftan), (Karaku) and so on....

The ritual wedding ceremony commences in the parents' home of the bride, where she is dressed in a traditionally woman golden silk dress surrounded by her friends and married female relations; who have to wear their own wedding costumes.

Symbolic henna designs are applied to her hands and an older woman helps her put on the caftan, embroidered in velvet, jewellery and a conical hat.

The henna tattoo, referred to it also as Mehndi is a kind of designs which women put on their hands. It is mainly used in some special events such as the wedding ceremony. It symbolizes joy, beauty, spiritual awakening, while Moroccans often paint doors with henna to bring prosperity and chase away evil. The exact origins of henna tattooing aren't clear, however, the tradition dates back as far as ancient Egypt. It was said that Cleopatra used henna to adorn her body and Egyptians used the dye to paint the nails of mummies before they were buried. Row of baroque pearls protect her vital and reproductive organs against evil spirits. On leaving the house, the bride is covered with a gold veil of silk. During the wedding feast, a married woman from the bride's relatives draws

red and white designs beneath the veil on the bride's cheeks and under her lower lip to purify and protect her against evilness. Young girls of Tlemcen are initiated into the costume tradition at an early age, while the craftsmenship are involved in making the precious wedding costume transmitted from generation to generation. The rite symbolizes the alliance between families and continuity between generations. On the other hand, the craftsmanship has an important and major contribution to give, in perpetuating the artistic creativity and thus, preserving the cultural identity of the Tlemcen community.

Lexical items mostly spoken in Tlemcen wedding ceremony interaction :

The language register in wedding ritual context of Tlemcen comprises the following items :

Caftan: (kæftAn): it is a special costume which the bride wears during the night of her marriage. It is made of velvet and its patterns are embroidered in a magnificent way. The Tlemcenian bride leaves her parents' home wearing the caftan. It is representative of stylishness and elegance. Since ancient times designers used to make the bride's caftan for the ritual of leaving the family's home.

It is at the parents' house that the bride starts the ritual of this special costume. She wears it proudly to look beautiful near the guests. Her chest is covered with jewels and gold to chase the bad spirits away from her sexual organs.

Mendil (mendul): it is a ceremonial headscarf finished with silk fringes. It goes in harmony with the caftan costume. It is used for hiding the bride's face. According to tlemcenian custom, it is the groom who takes the mendil off her face.

The ceremonial mendil headscarf is finished with silk fringes. Women learn this craft. Old people used to do it for ages.

Chedda (**fe'dæ**): it comprises all the items of the caftan costume like the mensouj silk, **« hzem » (belt), « chechiya » headgear, « fouta »** wrapped cloth and gold jewels. The word (**chedda**) is derived from the classical arabic verb (**chedda**) which means « to tighten ». It has something to do with tightening the clothes. The chedda costume is regarded by (**UNESCO**) as the first cloth added to cultural patrimony of humanity in December 2012.

Hayek ('fiæjek) : it is women's cloth worn in Algeria a long time ago up to now. Neverthless, it is seldom worn by young girls nowadays except for some occasions. It is of white colour, rectangular and covering all the body. It is held in tight by a belt. The face of the woman remains uncovered. It is a traditional and cultural heritage that should not be associated with religious beliefs.

The etymology of the word (hayek) comes from the word (haka) which belongs to classical arabic. It has a significance : to embroid a piece of cloth, intended especially for women ⁽⁶⁾. Thus, the piece of cloth (hayek) is conceived to hide the woman's body from passers by contemplation. Nowadays, in Tlemcen society the bride puts the (hayek) on when leaving the parents' house in order to be protected from evil spirits. This cloth remains in the history of Algeria and Tlemcen in particular as the identity of the Algerian woman made up of grace, beauty and courage.

Henna (he' $\eta \alpha$): It is a colourful powder that the bride makes beautifully in the hands to give her elegance and grace. Henna (lawsonia inermis, also known as hina, henna tree, mignonette tree) is a flowering plant that grows 12-15 feet height and comes from the sole species of lawsonia genus. The English name henna comes from arabic (hinna).

The name (**henna**) also refers to the dye prepared from the henna plant and the art of temporary tattooing.Henna has been used for centuries to dye skin, hair and fingernails, as well as fabrics including silk, wool and leather.The plant grows best in heart up to 120 degrees and contains more dye at this temperature.Henna is traditionally used for special occasions like holidays, birthdays and weddings in Africa; Pakistan; India and the middle east. The most popular of the traditions is the mehndi (**henna**) night; where the bride, her relatives and close friends get together to celebrate the wedding to come.But nevertheless, henna remains a symbol of beauty, art and happiness.

In Tlemcen, the bride covers her hands with beautifully small designs (**tatoos**) which gave her charm and grace.Tradition holds that as long as the henna stain appears on the bride's hands, she doesn't have to do any housework.The darker the stain is, the better the marriage and the mother in law will be.So, the bride insists on the darkness of the henna in her hands, so that prophecy comes true.

Sala ('sælæ) : it is the place where the ceremony takes place. Guests are expected to have meals in (sala) and dance to the music it is played all night along. It is a loan word from the French language (salle) ⁽⁷⁾. In the English language, we use the expression « village hall ».

The French colonialism which lasted 132 years in Algeria, had laid foundations to the emergence of the linguistic situation (diglossia). Indeed, some people of Algeria have the tendency to use some French borrowed words in their daily conversation. This is what linguists use to call the tongue interference.

Elawad (elæwəd): it is the horse which the groom has to ride to get to the village hall, surrounded by his relatives and friends. The word has the same meaning in classical arabic.

Burnous ('barnos): it is a cloth of black colour made of cotton, widespread in arab countries during the period of middle ages. It is a symbol of courage and bravery. The groom should put it on, while he rides the horse, so as to perpetuate the arab tradition. The word is borrowed from classical arabic ⁽⁸⁾.

Thel ('tbəl): it is a kind of drum music accompanied with trumpets sounds to spread optimistic atmosphere round the people who come to praise the groom and approve the apex of bliss that emanates from the festivity. The origin of the word comes from classical arabic (tbel) that has the same meaning. This traditional sound of music has a specific word in Tlemcen (Tbel). Whenever this word is pronounced, it rings a bell in people's mind which is closely connected with rites of wedding celebration.

Sociologists sand anthropologists have long been engaged in devising such indices. Insofar, as their methods exploit and objectify the criteria which underline our intuitions, they provide the most useful guidelines for coming to grips with the concept of linguistic behaviour.

A key to understanding social aspects of language use in a given community, is to be aware of its traditions and customs. That is to say, that language derives from human's basic need of socialization.Edward sapir said : « language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists »⁽⁹⁾

Karakou (kæræko): it is a typical dress conceived for ceremonies. It incorporates a velvet jacket embroidered in gold and silver worn with the traditional saroual (arab pants). It comes from Algiers, the capital of Algeria and has been widespread in the city of Tlemcen thanks to its elegance and beauty. Young women of Tlemcen wear it proudly on special occasions like religious feasts, or wedding ceremonies for the sake of good looking and being graceful. It is either one of the bride's clothes .There is a strong emphasis on intricate decoration and colours .Reds, yellows, greens and blues, as well as many other colour combinations are intermingled with gold and silver threads.

The costume karakou has been introduced to Tlemcen by women from Algiers by means of travelling and trade. Algiers is the capital and also the biggest city of Algeria. Consequently, it contains fashionable clothes and up to date goods. Just like people of other parts of the country, Tlemcenian use to travel to Algiers in order to be in touch with modern lifestyle. Karen Fog Olwid has mentioned in her book (sitting culture): Impressed by the growing importance of travel in the modern world, anthropologists began to critique the idea that settled life in particular places necessarily, is a normal state of being.

These cultural and traditional clothes attain their significance because they are identified with particular places, as the same time as they accommodate the global conditions of life which have long characterized people of Algeria; and Tlemcen.

Tefore (**'tefo:**) : It is a small table made of wood on which the groom and the bride get on together. The tradition of the ceremony requires from some guests hold the table on their shoulders, carrying the groom and the bride surrounded with relatives clapping their hands and dancing to the rythm of the music.

The term (**tefore**) comes from the arabic word **« tafara »** which has the significance that a man has climbed in a very high position.

Djellaba (d3e'læbæ) : It is a traditional cloth, most of the time of white or yellow colour .The groom is expected to wear it the night of the ceremony, or the day after it. Craftsmen from the city of Fes (Morocco) are well skilled in the making of this typical cloth. People have the tendency to call it « djallaba fassia». The word (fassia) refers to the city Fes, where it is originated.

Whereas the etymology of the word (**djallaba**) is derived from the arabic word (**jilbab**) ⁽¹⁰⁾ which women are expected to wear in order to hide their bodies. It is not associated with religious beliefs. Citizens of Tlemcen, and especially men

use to wear djallaba not for the same purpose as women do, but for the sake of showing their elegance.

Belgha ('belræ): It is a traditional pair of shoes of white or yellow colour that goes in harmony with the djellaba. The groom has to wear it. It is made of leather, and embroidered with hands. People also use to wear it especially on Friday, so as to go to the mosque for the sake of the prayer. It comes from the cities (**Fes and Marrakech**) situated in Morocco, but the etymology of the word(belgha) is from the classical arabic verb (balagha) (belræ) which has the meaning of someone reaching a given place ⁽¹¹⁾. So, there is a close relationship between the pair of shoes (belgha) and the act of walking, so as to get to some place.

It has become evident for someone who lives in an other city far away from Tlemcen to recognize easily a Tlemcenian native speaker thanks to the words deeply rooted in his cultural background as they emerged when leading a social interaction. So, communication in foreign language is based on the ability to understand an idea, to express and explain thoughts, feelings, beliefs and ways of lives in a socio-cultural context.

Thus, this linguistic situation is well illustrated by Juan and Flor (2008) who claim that the act of using the language appropriately in different contexts with various ethnic persons requires the knowledge of both the language usage and language use.

This fact arises awareness towards teachers of foreign languages who are accustomed to overload their students with norms and grammar rules without taking into consideration the social and ethnic aspects of the target language. It is highlighted by Hymes to define communicative competence, as a reaction to Chomsky who argued that language should be studied in isolation with culture. Hymes believes that there are rules of use, without which the rules of grammar could be regarded as useless.Communicative competence has pushed many scientists and researchers into the introspection of its subject, such as Canle and Swain (1980) Bachman (1980), (Celce- Murcua) (1995) who maintain that communicative competence lies on four competencies :

1-Grammatical competence (I.e knowledge of the language code and rules)

2-Sociolinguistic competence (I.e knowledge of the social aspects, the cultural identity and ways of lives, in order to deal with in a socio-cultural context.

3-Strategic competence (I.e knowledge of how to use communication strategies, to handle breakdowns in communication).

4-Discourse competence (I.e knowledge of achieving coherence and cohesion in a daily conversation).

<u>Chehra</u>('fehræ): This word is used in conversation by citizens of Tlemcen to refer to the wide range of the bride's clothes that she has to wear during the night of the ceremony. It is the mother's bride who should look after this task. The equivalent word in French language is **« trousseau ».**

The word (**chehra**) comes from classical arabic. It means the appearance of something. So, we can make a link between the word and the appearance of the bride's clothes, being exhibited near the guests at the ceremony.

Lewzir('lew'ʒi:r): He is the person whose task is to look after the groom during the cermony. Generally, he is one of his best friends. The equivalent expression in french language is « garçon d'honneur » whereas in English, it is «best man». The word (lewzir) exists in arabic language and means « the minister ». The groom, being considered as the king during the night of the festivity, the word « lewzir » (minister) is well appropriate.

Cortege('ko:ted3): it is a group of persons who serve as a company to someone in order to do him honour in special occasions such as wedding or funeral ⁽¹²⁾. It is a kind of procession. It is a loan word from the French language. In the social context of Tlemcen, the word refers to a group of persons, constituted mainly of the groom's relatives who should take their cars so as to bring the bride and her family to the village hall (sala), where the ceremony is expected to take place. The word (cortege) is also used in the english language.

Lwata (lwA'tA): it is the plural from of the word (loto). It designates the group of cars that are supposed to be the cortege. The word is originated from the French language (**auto**) which has the meaning of « **car** » in English.

Tarab elgharnati ('tærʌb elrærnʌtı): it is the kind of music being played during the night of the festivity. It is a mixture of andalusian music with arab poems which tell authentic stories of belovers through the ages, place and time. It is also called "andalusian music." It came into existence in the ninth century in a region known El Andalus, south Iberia, ruled by the caliphate Cordoba. The Persian musician, Ziryab who later became court musician of Abd al Rahman II in Cordoba, is sometimes credited with its invention. Later, the composer, poet and philosopher Ibn Bajah of Saragossa is said to have combined the style of Ziryab with western approaches to produce a wholly new style that spread across Iberia and North Africa. Once it reached North Africa, it was carefully preserved from changes by both Muslim and Jewish musicians who wanted to maintain the pure form of music as they had first heard it.

The eleventh to thirteenth century traditions of troubadours are believed to have been inspired by andalusian classical music. Today, they are andalusian classical music to be found in cities of Algeria, such as Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Morocco and Tunisia. All intended to preserve the traditions of this ancient style of music.

Tefida ('tefidæ): it has a significance of the gift which the young man is supposed to offer to his fiancé everytime he pays her a visit at her parents' home. It is a custom widespread in Tlemcen society. The word is originated from the classical Arabic language. It means, to ask for something while it is away.

<u>Tiafa</u> ('tiafa): youngsters of Tlemcen city are accustomed to use this lexical item when the bride's parents make an invitation for a dinner to the groom's relatives so that the two families could be well acquainted. It is borrowed from the classical word (daif) that means the guest.

Bestela (bes'tela): it is a very tasty meal made of chicken and almonds. It is cooked in an oven. Only wealthy families of Tlemcen can afford to serve this kind

of food to the guests; because the ingredients intended for its making cost too much expensive.

This kind of meal has been introduced to Tlemcen through citizens of Fes who are well known in ceremonial cooking. Whereas, the etymology of the word (**bestela**) is of Spanish language (**pasteleria**). It means a piece of cake. ⁽¹³⁾

Gueadat ('geadAt): It is the group of persons who are expected to have meal together. Every group consists of six persons. The lexical item has its significance in the classical arabic language. It means the sitting. As far as phonology is concerned, there is a special speech sound that makes tlemcenian people recognized from other citizens of the other parts of the country Algeria. It is the glottal stop/?/.

Nevertheless, before we tackle this phonological variable of Tlemcen speech community, it would be useful to give a brief idea about the glottal stop. It is a consonant sound produced when the flow of air is stopped by the glottis closing and, then released. In the English language, glottal stop are often used in this way to reinforce a voiceless plosive at the end of a word, as in « what ». It is generally regarded as an allophone of/t/.This is called glottal replacement; and is most noticeable in the form that it takes in several regional accents of British English (eg : cockney Glascow), where syllable final (t) is between two vowels replaced by/ ?/; for example :

Better ('be?ə). <u>bottle</u>('bo?l). Whereas in arabic language, the hamzah is the arabic letter specifically designated as the glottal stop ; and it has the symbol of ([†]) (alif). The classical arabic phoneme /q//qaf/ is undoubtedly the most important phonological variable in terms of multiplicity in allophonic realization throughout the arabic speaking world but the speech variety of Tlemcen community has distinguished itself from other Algerian arabic dialects by numerous linguistic features, such as the glottal stop /?/. So, the realization of /q//qaf/ in classical arabic, changes into the glottal stop /?/ in tlemcenian speaking dialect as in : /?hwa/in stead of /qahwa/ which designates coffee.

Elorss (alo:s): It is the wedding ceremony. The word is also used in classical arabic language.

Laroussa: It means the bride in the tlemcenian dialect ; whereas the groom is called /laross/ (laros) ; which is derived from classical arabic language.

Conclusion

Linguistic anthropology is an interdisciplinary field intended to the study of language from an anthropological perspective. That is to say, it deals with the study of language in its social context. Linguistic anthropologists refer to language as a system that contributes to the constitution of a society and the reproduction of specific cultural practices. The correlation between language and culture is not to be denied. It has played a crucial role in the identification of people, things, ideas, emotions, rites and beliefs.

Thanks to some lexical items pronounced in the wedding ceremony of Tlemcen, it has become very easy to a foreigner from Tlemcen to recognize a tlemcenian dialect.

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The reason is that the city of Tlemcen is well known for the practices of the wedding ceremony rites all around the country of Algeria. The items spoken are deeply rooted in the tlemcenian language register. The language belongs to the customs and traditions. In other words, we cannot separate language from culture. Linguistic anthropologists have never considered language in isolation from social life; but have insisted on its interdependence with cultural and social structures.

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