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***ATTITUDES OF OLD TLEMCENIAN WOMEN
TOWARDS MODERN STANDARD ARABIC***

**Dissertation submitted to the department of English as a partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of *Master* in Language Studies**

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this humble research work to

My wonderful and exceptional mother for her advice, patience and for believing in me.

My husband Ahmed who supported me emotionally and psychologically with motivating words of encouragement in my down moments.

My little princess Assil without whom this work would have been completed two years earlier.

My dear Yasmine Kara Terki with whom I was supposed to do this work with, May God bless you wherever you are.

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Abstract

The present sociolinguistic study focuses on attitudes of old women towards Modern Standard Arabic, there is no doubt that Algeria has a rich and complex linguistic market and MSA is part of its diversity and unity. The Tlemcenian community was selected as a case study. Various adequate instruments were used for this research work such as the questionnaire with open, open-ended and closed questions to have further elaboration about the work and audio-recordings to have accurate data. The findings collected were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. The results revealed that most of the participants have positive attitudes towards MSA and consider it as a part of their identity but still they have categorized it as a religious language. Also, the educational level is an important feature that influence the participants' attitudes towards MSA.

List of abbreviations

- MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
- CA: Classical Arabic
- TA: Tlemcenian Arabic
- TF: Tlemcenian French
- H: High variety
- L: Low variety

List of phonetic symbols

Table 1: Arabic Phonetic Symbols

<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>
أ	ʔ	ز	z	ق	o
ب	b	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	ʃ	ل	l
ث	θ	ص	ʂ	م	m
ج	ʒ	ض	d	ن	n
ح	ħ	ط	t	ه	h
خ	χ	ظ	ð	و	w
د	d	ع	ʕ	ي	j
ذ	ð	غ	ɣ		
ر	r	ف	f		

Table 2: Vowels of plain consonants

<i>Short vowels</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Long vowels</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
i	kila	Measurement	i:	fi:l	Elephant
u	ħulm	Dream	u:	tu:t	Blueberry
a	qalb	Heart	a:	χa:l	Uncle

Table 3: Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

<i>Short vowels</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Long vowels</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
e	dejjaʕ	Lost	e:	fre:ða	Testament
o	ʂor	Wall	o:	fʔo:r	Lunch
a	ramla	Sand	a:	ba:b	Door

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General Introduction

Language plays a vital role in society; it is also a mean of showing identity and solidarity among individuals and groups within the same society. On the other hand, society impinges the language and even shapes the way people speak in everyday interaction. That is why the sociolinguists try to find a systematic way of how and why people vary in their speech and how linguistic variation leads to language change over time.

Language relationship with society is better observed through the various social factors including: the participants; the setting; the topic and the function. Each one of these factors affects language and seals its relationship with a giving linguistic community. In fact, age and gender have a crucial effect on variation in dialects; old females tend to have their own and unique way of communication which makes this variety an interesting topic. Language attitudes constitute a long-term phenomenon that tends to become more specific over generations.

The Algerian linguistic situation is very complex due to the many historical and political events. The coexistence of Algerian Dialectal Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English has changed the attitudes and perceptions of languages in Algeria. The present work tries to investigate the different attitudes held towards MSA by Old Tlemcenian Women learning Quran in a Quranic school in Tlemcen.

This research work will try to answer the following questions:

1. What are the attitudes of old Tlemcenian women learning the Quran towards Modern Standard Arabic?
2. Are attitudes towards MSA the same among educated and non-educated old women?
3. Do old women use only Modern Standard Arabic or switch to Tlemcen dialect while learning Quran?

Trying to answer these questions, the following hypotheses were put forward:

- Old Tlemcencian women have positive attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic because it is a language in which they can identify with a religious Islamic heritage.
- Educated Tlemcenian old women seem to have more positive attitudes than non-educated ones because of some advantages in terms of correct pronunciation.
- Though old women strive to use MSA, there are some interferences of TD (Tlemcen Dialect) especially on phonological level.

In fact, the seek to reach the previously set objectives required selecting a group of Tlemcenian women learning Quran in Imam Ibn Rabah Mosque. The case study will lead to collect qualitative data from different sources relying on a set of research tools. Unfortunately, due to the rapid diffusion of the Covid-19 pandemic Algeria is experiencing a lock down that concerns several facilities among them the mosques. Thus, questionnaires and audio-recordings are the only and the safest research tools available at the moment.

This research is divided into two chapters. Chapter one sheds light on language in contact and its outcomes, in addition to the language situation in Algeria. Furthermore, diglossia is the key concept that provides a better understanding of this situation along with the code switching and the code mixing in Algeria in general and in Tlemcen in particular. The second chapter introduces the methods and the methodology required to collect data. It depicts the research instruments, the participants, and the data gathering process. It also provides an analysis and interpretation of data. On the whole, this practical part will confirm or refute the hypotheses put forward.

**CHAPTER ONE: PRELIMINARIES TO LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
THEORITICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

1.1 Introduction

In recent years, the study of language has become an essential topic of investigation in social science studies. Due to the complex linguistic profile of Algeria; Arabic and its regional varieties in most of the country, Berber, French and English people start to have preferences for using one language or another depending on with whom they are speaking, or which activities they are performing, among other factors. Most songs are in local dialects. Modern Standard Arabic is not actually used for spoken communication. Radio news is in MSA. Friday and religious sermons are also in MSA whereas chat shows on radio are all in spoken dialects. Moreover, due to the influence of languages, people's attitudes towards these languages have been studied from the 1960s to the present day. Both concepts, language use and language attitudes, are key terms for sociolinguistics, and their study provide us with results that reveal the linguistic behavior of people from a given social sector, as well as evidence of the use of languages and the choices made depending on different variables and contexts.

1.2 Language attitudes

Language is the primary means of human communication. It is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information. It also indicates both personal and social characteristics of the speaker. Depending on the particular listener, a speaker's accent, speech patterns, vocabulary, intonation, etc. can serve as markers for evaluating that speaker's appearance, personality, social status and character, among other things. (Obiols, 2002, p. 31) defines attitude as a "mental disposition towards something", it acts as a bridge between opinion and behavior.

Giles & Ryan (1982, p. 7) define language attitudes as: “Any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or speakers”.

1.2.1 The Notion of defining Attitudes

Our experiences and reactions are shaped by the way we see the world. We do not respond to the world itself, but to our image of the world, to our mental representations and social constructions of reality, which are not entirely accurate.

As (Korzybski, 1958, p. 58) said, “a map is not the territory it represents”. These images are captured by attitudes, which help making sense of the world and aid decision making by providing cognitive simplicity, as they divide the universe in things one likes, dislikes, or has no opinion about. Whereas (Oppenheim, 1982, p. 39) defines attitudes as following:

“a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior”.

(Baker, 1992, p. 10), on the other hand, defines it as: “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior”. The concept of attitude is hypothetical, representing a psychological construct, which means that attitudes cannot be observed directly and have to be inferred from their manifestations.

Language attitudes definition by Garrett was based on the general attitude definition provided by Sarnoff, who stated that an attitude is “disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects”. (Sarnoff, 1970, p. 279). He concluded that “an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc.”(Garrett, 2010, p. 20). In other words, language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes through their object.

Another definition to language attitudes was suggested by Moreno, (1998, p. 179): “Language attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of the individuals, distinguished by focus and specific reference to both language and its use in society; and when discussing ‘language’ any type of linguistic variety is included”.

Thus, language attitudes do not strictly refer to general languages, but include all linguistic variety. In addition, attitudes toward language use also form part of the concept. Consequently, attitude shows to be a valuable factor in sociolinguistic research as it can predict a given linguistic behavior: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty, and language prestige.

1.2.2 The Evaluation of Language and Speakers

Language is used as a symbol of personality and allegiance by those who speak it, according to attitudinal language research. According to Fishman, language is a referent for loyalties and animosities as well as an indicator of status and relationships within every speech community.

The way a person speaks is inextricably related to their personality. As a result, whether speaking a native language, switching between two languages or dialects, one is adopting some of the identity markers of another cultural group.

Language attitudes are often inferred from hearers’ evaluative reactions to speech variations. Its study frequently resides at the core of interaction analysis. Social scientists have approached this form of research from the perspective of both the listener and the speaker. While the findings have varied across variables of culture, dialect, accent, and context, scholars have argued that determining the effects of language on social judgment is an integral part of uncovering the communication process. As (Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac, 1994, p. 211) argued, “language is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information”.

The development of speaker evaluation profiles can be grounded within attribution theory (Hewstone, 1989). The word *causal schema* was coined by (Kelley, 1972), one of the pioneers in this field. He claims that people mentally store their schemata and then use these mental elements to judge others. On the other hand, Giles

and (Powesland, 1975) claim that once flaws in language perceptions are identified, speakers of that language can change their speech patterns to better fit into mainstream society.

1.2.3 Language Attitude Theories

In general terms, language attitudes as a concept are the feelings and thoughts people have about their own language or the language of others. They are the beliefs and stereotypes that individuals hold toward linguistic varieties which are informed by (or reactions against) dominant societal language ideologies

From the 1960s to the present day, the research carried on language attitudes has been developed according to a number of different theories. The two most important are the mentalist view and the behaviorist view, which differ mainly in their conception of attitude. The mentalist approach understands language attitudes as being located in the human mind, and that cannot be identified directly, but can be inferred using the right motivating force; on the contrary, the behaviorist theory sees attitudes as responses or behaviors to a given situation. However, it can be inferred using the right stimuli. For behaviorists attitudes only have one component the affective. This approach has a serious scientific disadvantage since the affective component alone cannot predict verbal conduct. This is not the case with the mentalist approach since attitudes, for the mentalists, have three components: the affective, the conative and the cognitive. This approach makes it possible to predict linguistic behaviour and has therefore become the first choice for developing theoretical models on language studies (Obiols, 2002)

Language attitudes can be assessed in two ways: directly and indirectly. Both allow the assessment of language attitudes from the perspective of a person and a community of language speakers. Both methods gained prominence, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, when several techniques for measuring attitudes, such as the matched guise technique, were developed. This technique was founded by Lambert in the 1960s to assess bilingual French Canadians' attitudes toward French and English.

This sociolinguistic technique helped to determine the beliefs of a subject towards a language, dialect, or accent. The matched guise technique is the most representative practice for measuring attitudes indirectly. To maximize the effectiveness of the matched guise technique, all the factors such as intonation, pitch, etc., that might affect the participants' reactions and thoughts have to be minimized. It is often assumed that people tend to not only classify other people regarding their accent or dialect, but also try to define the speaker's personality depending on how he speaks. Thus, language seems to reveal very much about a person, and when an individual hears a foreign language spoken, different attitudinal reactions are activated in him, which have usually to do with a group of people who speak the language.

1.3 Language and Age

One of the main questions in the study of language and age is how age influences people's language use. Language differs significantly depending on age, gender, and ethnicity all over the world. According to Holmes (2008), the characteristics of people's speech differ at different ages. It is the sociolinguists' general consensus that not only pitch, but also vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar, will distinguish age groups.

Regarding vocabulary, age-graded pattern or slang, may reflect a person's age by signaling membership in a specific group. When people are in the same chronological age group, they are thought to speak similarly. As there are many different age groups in a community, an individual may use different linguistic features with a range of other speakers.

Age-related studies in sociolinguistic field are usually related to language change which can be conducted according to apparent time or real time (Chambers, 1995; Eckert, 1997; Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell, 2007; Murphy, 2010; Duszak & Okulska, 2011). (Bowie, 2011, p. 29) said: "the relationship between aging and sociolinguistic variation has not often been studied directly".

Nevertheless, "a number of studies have been conducted that test the apparent time construct, and this must deal indirectly with issues of aging and variation, due

to the nature of the topic” (Bowie, 2011, p. 29). According to (Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell, 2007, p. 206), apparent-time studies are “a technique used to access language change by comparing the speech of younger speakers and older speakers within the same speech community at the same time” while real-time studies are “sociolinguistic investigations often of a longitudinal nature which follow real change over time” (p. 227).

By the same token, (Romaine, 2000) discusses many age-related findings in her novel. Previous study has found that people of all ages use words in ways that are appropriate for their age group. Age has been shown to affect behaviors and people have differing views on language usage based on their life stage. According to (Chambers, 2009) various life phases have a sociolinguistic effect on our vocabulary.

1.4 Language vs. Dialect

Linguists have long debated over the definitions of the terms language and dialect. People who cannot understand each other seem to speak different languages, while those who do understand each other but have subtle differences in their speech seem to speak various dialects of the same language. For instance, various varieties of Chinese that may or may not be mutually understandable but are commonly referred to as "dialects"; and Swedish and Danish that are mutually understandable but are generally referred to as "languages" (Austin & Sallabank, 2013, p. 4). This suggests that the distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' is mostly made on social and political grounds rather than merely linguistic ones (Austin and Sallabank, 2013, p: 4; Boberg & Dominic, 2018, p. 5; Edwards, 2009, p: 5, and Greenberg, 2004, p. 14) This phenomenon gives rise to the saying, commonly attributed to the linguist Max Weinreich, “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (quoted in Edwards, 2009, p. 5). As a result, the line between what is a language and what is a dialect can be blurred.

A language is made up of all mutually intelligible speech varieties, and non-mutually intelligible varieties are called separate languages. Linguists, on the other hand, sometimes refer to dialects as speech varieties or subdivisions of a language

that are distinctive to a certain community of speakers that differ from others. There are usually mutually intelligible regional or social variants that vary in aspects such as phonology, syntax, and vocabulary. (Haugen, 1966, p. 924-931; Edwards, 2009, p. 63; and Chambers and Trugill, 2004, p. 5). Therefore, language is the superordinate term that can be used without reference to dialects, while dialect is meaningless unless it is inferred to other dialect(s) and to a language that they belong to. Thus, “every dialect is a language”, but not “every language is a dialect” (Haugen, 1966, p. 923).

1.5 Language situation in Algeria

Algeria, as a country is heterogeneous in the sense that there is no single dialect or language. Its position is complex because it is at a crossroads of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the modern national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and numerous Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies. (Tabory & Tabory, 1987)

In order to understand the complexity of the language situation in Algeria, a look back in time to the indigenous people of Algeria, the Berbers, who experienced long-term occupation by Romans and Byzantines before the arrival of the Arabs, when Islam spread and certain areas of the world began to be Arabized is needed. Most of the country's Berber varieties were replaced by Arabic over time, but some groups retained their linguistic identities and adopted Islam as their new religion, and thus Arabic as its language. The Ottomans and the Spanish had some linguistic influence on some cultures, but it was French colonization that had the greatest effect.

Algeria was under the French rule for 132 years (1830–1962). According to (Holt, 1994, p. 25) “One hundred and thirty years of language and educational policy determined by an outside power have evidently left deep scars”. In the early years of colonization, France's policy was to suppress indigenous cultures rather than replacing them with French ones. French was obviously the official language of the

country and France ultimate goal was to eradicate MSA¹, the French took control of the religious endowments that provided the financial foundation for education and closed all Quranic schools, allowing only the French education. It is important to point out that the education was based on religion and generally provided by Muslim religious institutions in which children learnt MSA by memorizing the Qur'an. As a result, Algeria's old school regime crumbled and this was clear when comparing the level of literacy before and after colonization the results are quite startling.

According to (Gordon, 1978) the level of Arabic literacy at the onset of colonization was 40–50 %. This is definitely high for the time, given that the teaching methods were very basic and printing was not in use. Unfortunately, things deteriorated in a blink of an eye, by the time the French left Algeria 90 % of Algerians were illiterate as reported by (Holt, 1994).

Algeria adopted the policy of Arabization after independence. According to (Mostari, 2004, p. 26), Algerian nationalists and political figures promoted Arabization in order to create a place for themselves in the midst of a French-speaking aristocracy. In September 1962 Ben Bella was elected President of the Democratic Republic of Algeria, and the country's constitution was established in October 1963. The preamble of the latter (September 10, 1963) stated that:

“Islam and the Arabic language have been efficient means of resistance against the attempts of the colonial regimes to de-personalize the Algerian people. Algeria needs to affirm that Arabic is its national and official language, and that it draws its main spiritual force from Islam; and yet, the Republic guarantees to all that their views and beliefs shall be respected, and that all shall be free in their religious worship.”(Tigrizi, 2004, p. 291)

However, as will be made clear below, Arabization faced several obstacles.

¹ MSA : Modern Standard Arabic

1.5.1 The Arabization of Algeria from pre-colonial to post-colonial

In comparison to the well-known historical case (the Roman Empire and the Latin language), Arabization emerged with Arabic serving as the vehicle of a vast and fast campaign of Islamization. The major distinction between Arabic and the so-called "hypercentral" or "supercentral" languages such as English or French is that the spread of Arabic was fundamentally based on religion. The Arabic dominance in North Africa started with the arrival of the Arabs and the Islamization of Algeria in the seventh century, has been maintained by leaning on two foundational pillars: on the one hand, Islamic legitimacy which fed off the inextricable relationship between Islam and Arabic, and on the other hand, nationalist legitimacy.

Then, Algeria faced a whole new era where it was colonized by the French for 130 years. The majority of Algerians received French education during France's 130-year occupation of the country; however, using the language of past dictatorship as a primary mean of tutoring or communication would be considered a national embarrassment. Algeria dealt with a huge language crisis after independence, with many languages and dialects coexisting for several years. It would be more convenient to have one language. As a result, after independence, the country's leaders were primarily responsible for restoring the country's cultural identity. Arabic was undoubtedly an important factor to consider during the process as described by (Djité, 1992, p. 21):

“In the Tripoli program of June 1962, the FLN² restated that the role of the revolution was to restore Arabic, the very expression of the cultural values of the country, its dignity and its sufficiency as a language of civilization”.

Arabization refers to the substitution of Arabic for French as the official language in all social, cultural, and economic practices. In a broader context, it means instilling Arabo-Islamic culture and values in the next Algerian generation, as well as restoring Arabic's legal status, which it had lost to the French language for many years.

²Front de libération National : National liberation Front

In executing an Arabization process to unite the Algerian people after 130 years of instability, conflict, and lost peace, Algerian government wanted to reinstate its Arabo-Islamic heritage. However, Arabic as its national language is too fragile to suddenly be reintroduced after a long period of time. This is initiated in Taleb Ibrahimi's speech when he said that: "Arabization is essential but it must not be rushed or chaos will follow". (Gordon, 1978, p. 191)

As a result, the process of Arabization must have progressed. Teaching is one of the other reasons that adds to the challenge of arabizing the region. Since more than 80% of Algerians were illiterate, the country's arabization began with teachers who were not qualified, and it took time to educate teachers at the primary, secondary, and university levels. The children were taught Arabic correctly between the ages of six and eleven. (Nyrop, 1974, p. 122) refers to this aspect as having adopted a deliberately moderate and pragmatic position on the language issue, the Boumedienne government is not likely to enact drastic measures. This policy was in perfect concord with the communist tendency of the country. As (Ageron, 1974, pp. 122-123) states it clearly: "It is not possible to build socialism without arabizing".

Table 4: The Evolutionary Steps in the Arabization Process in Algeria after independence

Date	Steps
1964	1. Creation of a school of translation
1968	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All administrations had to prove themselves to be competent in Arabic. 2. Arabization of media (time allocated to French speaking programs dropped to 43%). 3. Arabization at the university (Literature, Philosophy, History).
1973	1. Progress in the arabization process at the university level (Geography, Sociology, Pedagogy) in addition to a partial arabization of 40% of the students in the faculties of law in Algiers, Constantine and Oran.

1974	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public Primary school system Arabized, French was to be taught as a second language starting from the third year. 2. Arabization of all literary subject at the secondary school level.
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As a result, the arabization of the country was one of the most significant elements in the restoration of Algerian national identity, as well as a fundamental ideological decision.

1.6 Diglossia

The word diglossia was first coined by (Ferguson, 1959) to describe the coexistence of two varieties of the same language in different social contexts in a speech culture, one of which is considered as *High* and the other *Low*. In his article ‘diglossia’ Ferguson (1959, p. 336) initially defined diglossia as:

*“A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation”.*³

Then, (Fishman P. A, 1980) defined it as where two languages are used in a complementary way. In other words, diglossia represents an enduring societal arrangement, such that two languages each have their secure, phenomenological legitimate and widely implemented functions.

³ Italic in original.

Diglossia, according to Ferguson, is distinct from a condition in which various dialects exist within a speech community. In diglossic communities, there is a highly valued variety H (high), that no one speaks natively, it is taught in schools and used in formal situations; whereas, the L (low) variety or the non-prestige is used locally and informally in everyday conversations.

Another key point according to Ferguson, the most critical criterion for diglossia is that the language varieties in question must be functionally allocated within the community concerned (Fasold, 1995, p. 35). Ferguson emphasizes that H variety and L variety must be in a complementary distribution functionally; diglossia for him is a relatively stable phenomenon for instance if a society is changing and diglossia is starting to fade away there will be a mixing between the H variety and the L variety and thus an overlap between the functions of H and L (Ferguson, 1959, p. 356). In accordance with what has been stated before by Ferguson, he also exemplified some situations in which only H variety is appropriate:

1. Sermon in church or mosque
2. Speech in parliament, political speech
3. Personal letters
4. University lecture
5. News broadcast
6. Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture
7. Poetry

As he gave situations in which L is the only variety used:

1. Instructions to servants, waiters, workers and clerks
2. Conversation with family, friends and colleagues
3. Radio, soap opera
4. Caption on political cartoon
5. Folk literature

(Adapted from Ferguson, 1972)

By the same token, it is only fair to mention that Ferguson's definition has been widely criticized and debated even by Ferguson himself (Ferguson, 1996 [1991]), despite the fact that he was discussing a broad linguistic situation. He wasn't attempting to explain Arabic diglossia as language standardization; rather, he was attempting to define diglossia cross-linguistically as it applies to standardization problems. He admitted that he was giving an idealized image of the situation.

Fishman (1967) has adopted the term diglossia from Ferguson (1959) and extended it to make it cover different varieties in one language (speech communities) and even different languages. Both Fishman and Ferguson agreed that diglossia is mainly used in different high and low social functions and situations. The main difference between them is that Ferguson has limited the use of diglossia to different varieties in one language, while Fishman argued that diglossia can also occur between different languages.

1.6.1 Features of diglossia

Ferguson defined cases of diglossia based on his observation of the relationship and use of two languages or varieties in some communities around the world. For him, the most important feature of diglossia is the specialized function each variety has within the community. He observed that in specific situations only one variety was appropriate and the overlapping in the use of both varieties was very low. When diglossia is present in a society, the two languages/varieties tend to be valued differently. There is usually a language/variety that is considered superior (High) or more prestigious in relation to different aspects. It could be regarded as more formal, elegant or scientific, among other viewpoints (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 2000/1967, among others).

Post-1959 research on diglossia has concentrated on a number of variables and features (Function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition ...) in order to clarify the ambiguity and to effectively function within a speech community, whether one is a native or a learner, they must have knowledge of each variety and know how and when to use each and how to mix them.

- ➔ **Function:** Diglossia is distinguished from bilingualism by the practical distinction of disparate varieties. Each variety H and L has its own specific situation and place. The use of L variety instead of the H variety can be easily spotted by native speakers due to the miss-use of their domain.
- ➔ **Prestige:** The High variety is considered as a prestigious way of speaking because it is used in formal situations and it is the variety used in canonical religious texts, ancient poetry and official ceremonies. Conversely to the Low variety which is seen as a less worthy and undignified variety.
- ➔ **Literary Heritage:** In most diglossic languages, H-variety is the proper language to use; there is no written use of the L-variety except for “dialect” poetry, advertising, or “low” restricted genres or some traditions use it to show that certain characters are rustic, comical or uneducated as in Shakespeare’s plays.
- ➔ **Acquisition:** L-variety is the mother tongue, the language that is learnt first however, H-variety is learnt through schooling and that is why linguists consider L-variety as a primary language when native scholars see only the H-variety as THE language.
- ➔ **Standardization:** H as stated before is learnt through schooling so it has its own set of rules as grammar that were set by native grammarians, L on the other hand has no defined rules and if they were found it would be by outsiders or researchers on ancient languages.
- ➔ **Stability:** Diglossia is more stable being protected from change by its association with written texts and by an educational system. Evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years.
- ➔ **Lexicon:** Lexicon is often shared, but there are differences; H has vocabulary that L lacks, and vice-versa.
- ➔ **Phonology:** The sound system of High and Low constitute a single phonological structure of which the L-variety phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of the H-variety phonology are either a subsystem or a substrate.

1.6.2 Diglossia in Algeria

Change is an inherent characteristic of any current language and is evinced in different parts of the linguistics of a language, such as phonology and lexicon. For a language to have its own dialects is a manifestation of that change. Any language is prone to develop dialects, and those dialects have the potential, through time, to develop into individual related languages.

Linguistically, Algeria has been subjected to continuous contact with numerous cultures, dialects of Arabic, and languages, all of which had their impact on its language. Nevertheless, it can be seen as a relatively stable dialect in the face of all the “linguistic impacts” it has endured. In the Algerian speech community the people use two varieties of the same language, H for the official paper, ceremonies and formal situations; L on the other hand is used in the everyday speech.

In this case, Modern Standard Arabic is the high variety which is called “Al-fusha”, and it is used in education, administration, mosque and formal speech, whereas, Algerian Arabic dialects are the low variety which is called “Addaridja”, and they are used at home, street, markets and in one's private life. (Hassaine, 2010, p. 39)

On the other hand, (Sridhar, 1996, p. 55) explains that because of its relation with Islam and Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic is the high variety that is used in formal situations and which is highly appreciated by people whereas the Vernacular variety is not prestigious at all. This contrast between the superiority of the Modern Standard Arabic and the inferiority of the other dialects has a relation with Islam. Indeed, the Classical Arabic, the language of the Quran, comprises the entire Arabic grammar including the grammar and the lexicon of the Modern Standard Arabic which is considered as a modern version of the Classical Arabic.

Modern Standard Arabic is highly codified; it is the written form of Arabic whereas colloquial Arabic does not possess standard norms. These two varieties, either classical or colloquial co-exist side by side and are in complementary distribution, but they fulfill different functions. (Ferguson, 1959, p. 359) adds: “These two varieties, classical and colloquial, exist side by side in the Arabic

speech community in a Diglossic relationship.”

The linguistic situation in Algeria is known for its complexity as colloquial Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic; French, and Tamazight by some Algerians are used in different occasions.

1.7 Code Switching and Code Mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing constitute a controversial area of debate in the analysis of language contact phenomena. Linguists and researchers have overlapping views and hold different opinions on code-switching and code-mixing (Muysken, 2000)

1.7.1 Code switching

Code-switching is defined as the shifting from one variety to another by a single speaker. It refers to a linguistic action that is recurrent in bilingualism and in diglossia. In the case of individual bilingualism, switching from one language to another depends on the addressee. For example Arabic-French bilinguals from parents who speak the two languages, would choose to speak Arabic with their Arabic speaking relatives, and would switch to French when speaking with the relatives from the other parent's side. According to Hudson's description of situational code switching, it can be argued that this is exactly what happens in diglossia when an individual switches from H to L depending on the situation e.g. an Imam who gives the religious ceremony in MSA would switch to his Arabic dialect when greeting people after the end of the ceremony.

Code-switching can also be used to mark formal linguistic situations from informal situations, as a means of exerting control and as a way of aligning speakers with others in specific circumstances (Gudykunst, 2004). It can also “function to announce specific identities, create certain meanings, and facilitate particular interpersonal relationships” (Johnson, 2000, p. 184). The concept of code-switching is an area of sociolinguistics that is easily assessable to non-linguists.

1.7.2 Code mixing

The difference in the level of awareness of one's switching between varieties is clearer when comparing between “code-switching” and "code-mixing". In code mixing, the choice to use a specific variety is not necessarily based on the addressee or on the situation, but it is a phenomenon of mixing the two varieties in the same situation. This mixing is not only of the lexicon of the two varieties but can also include applying the syntactic rules of one variety to another. (Hudson, 1996)

The factors that cause code-mixing to occur are yet to be researched (Wardhaugh, 2006) Code-mixing can be seen in Arabic diglossia in the variety called “Educated Spoken Arabic” in which the L form is used with linguistic features borrowed from H on the phonological, lexical and syntactical levels (Agius & Shivtiel, 1992). According to (Bassiouney, 2009), some linguists make a distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, differentiating them by the labels “inter-sentential” and “intra-sentential” while others may regard this distinction as creating confusion.

1.7.3 Code switching and code mixing in Women’s speech

Women and men have to communicate, sometimes they use different languages or varieties to the same situation and it is totally natural. Men and women have different conversational norms for instance; women tend to code switch Arabic and French because the latter is more prestigious and well esteemed. Gendered differences are those that society associates with men and women and are not necessarily the outcomes of biological factors. In other words, it is the society that shapes the speech frame for each gender.

On the sociolinguistic level, code-switching is a communication strategy and could be traced to language dominance and pride, where one language is the dominant language. In Algeria, for instance, French is commonly used by women as it is obvious in females greeting for example “Bonjour, Bonsoir” (Good morning, Good evening) is the greeting the most used even in non-formal situations.

Diglossia, code-switching or code mixing is linked with ones level of education. The higher the educational level was, the higher the frequency of switching occurs.

Women's code switching and mixing is socially motivated, functional and strategic. It fulfills the rational, referential and communicative functions of language which amount to inter-lingual unity. It provides continuity in speech rather than interference and it makes allowance for speakers to increase the impact of their speech and use it in an effective manner. "It is a discourse phenomenon in which speakers rely on the juxtaposition of grammatically distinct sub-systems to generate conversational inferences". (Gumperz, 1982, p. 97)

1.8 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Tlemcen

Tlemcen is a western Algerian town of about 200,000 inhabitants, situated at about 350 Kms from the capital Algiers and 100 Kms from the Moroccan border. The surrounding towns are Oran (143 Kms), Sidi Bel Abbes (97 Kms) and Maghnia (80 Kms).

The sociolinguistic situation of Tlemcen is quite complex, the split at the institutional level (Arabic, French and the recent introduction of English); and at the individual speakers' level (Tlemcenian Arabic, Tlemcenian French) between official policy, which proclaims and is implementing a policy of total Arabization (i. e. the replacement of French and Algerian Arabic by Modern Standard Arabic) and "observable" sociolinguistic realities characterized and dominated by Tlemceian Arabic, Tlemcenian French (interlingual) diglossia on the one hand, and MSA/F bilingualism on the other.

1.8.1 Dialect of Tlemcen

Tlemcenian Arabic is unique in Algeria because of its use of the glottal stop [ʔ] instead of the voiceless uvular plosive [q] or the voiced velar plosive [g], it is considered as an indicator of Tlemcenian speakers. The use of the voiceless uvular plosive [q] is rarely used especially among the women even in the formal conversations and this is because women are generally more resistant to linguistic change and the use of the glottal stop is a mark of being Tlemcenian therefore, the use Tlemcenian Arabic even with non-native speakers and outside of Tlemcen as well. Men on the other hand, tend to use [q] and [g] in their conversation because the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is a sign of ‘effeminate’ so they use the glottal stop [ʔ] just with the native speakers of the same member of their community. Except in a number of words they remain the same, here are some illustrating examples:

[jegʃud] : ‘sit’

[gru:n]: ‘horns’

[gəntɾa]: ‘vault’

[gərnɯ:ʃ]: ‘artichoke’

The social variables (age, gender, geographical situation, social class ...) have an impact on the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for instance the old Tlemcenians use it a lot because to them it is a mark of their identity and culture; younger males of the other hand, minimize its use because it is somehow shameful to use it outside especially with non-native speakers. The geographical situation is also an important variable for instance Tlemcenians who lives in Oran or Sidi Belabes or any other city change their Tlemcenian Arabic to avoid some conflict, to be more clear in TA ‘you’ is [ti:na] which refers to male and female, some men take offense when they are addressed with it; so, Tlemcenian shift into [nta] to avoid such misunderstanding.

In addition to the glottal stop, there is the drop of the feminine ending {i} in verb forms as in:

[ku:l] instead of [ku:li] ‘eat’

[rʔəd] instead of [rʔədi] ‘sleep’

The point is that there is no gender distinction.

Also, there are other phonetic features such as the affricate [dʒ] as well as the typical use of some lexical items, for instance my brother is [χai] in TA.

1.8.2 MSA and Old Tlemcenian women's speech

Tlemcenian Arabic as stated before is seen as a prestigious language, used only by the native habitants of Tlemcen, it differentiates them from the rest of society and is part of their identity. The fundamental principles of the culture include the language and TA is the foundation for them. Old people and especially women communicate mostly in TA to preserve their culture. Modern Standard Arabic on the other hand, for them is the language of the News, the official papers and the Quran so it is rarely used and if so Old Tlemcenians tend to code mix TA and MSA, for instance:

Table 5: MSA words and their TA pronunciation

<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/marid/	/marit/	Sick
/muʒtamaʕ/	/muʒtamaʕ/	Society
/ʔala/	/qala/	Said

1.8.2.1 MSA of old Tlemcenian women linguistic features

→ The glottal stop [ʔ]

It is the feature which characterized Tlemcenian, it replaces the voiceless uvular plosive [q] or the voiced velar plosive [g]. In this vein, (Marçais, 1902, p. 17) asserts that: "...At last, it must be noted that a number of Tlemcenians seem reaching the impossibility of pronouncing the q, in their mouth, it sounds as that of the inhabitants of Cairo and Damascus, by a loud hamza..."⁴. By the same token, Tlemcenians in general and old women in particular use the glottal stop a significant

⁴The original version :« ...Enfin il faut noter que nombre de Tlemceniens semblent atteints de leur impossibilité de prononcer le ق ; dans leur bouche, il se traduit comme dans celle des Cairotes et des Damasquins, par un fort hamza... »

feature of their speech community and this is why it is preserved and maintained as an authentic reference of Tlemcen speech community.

On the flip side, MSA which takes its normative rules from CA is regarded as the idealized and highest form. MSA varies across the territories where it is used and according to individuals themselves depending on their language proficiencies hence, the old Tlemcenian women use the MSA with their own modification.

Table 6: Old Tlemcenian women realisation of the sound /q/

<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/bunduq/	/bandaʔ/	Hazelnuts
/fa:ru:q/	/faruʔ/	Faruk
/barqu:q/	/barʔoʔ/	Plum

→ From /d/ and /ð/ to /t/

The second obvious feature in the Tlemcenian women speech is the de-voicing of the velarized (emphatic) dental stop in almost all words and in all positions as illustrated below:

Table 7: Old Tlemcenian women realisation of the sound /d/ and /ð/

<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
[ramaɖa:n]	[ramɤa:n]	Ramdadan
[ħa:miɖ]	[ħa:mət]	Sour
[ðahr]	[tħar]	Back

Thus, when old women speak MSA they tend to realize the voiced post-dental emphatic stop /d/ and the voiced post-interdental emphatic fricative /ð/ as a voiceless post-dental emphatic stop /t/ due to the fact that they have lost their interdental characteristic.

→ The affricate /dʒ/

This is an important feature in TA in general and more importantly old females, they do not use the sound /dʒ/ as it is used and pronounced in MSA. In this vein, (Marçais, 1902, p. 15) also added that “the current pronunciation of ζ in

Tlemcenian dialect is j (English j): it is not a pure fricative, but a double letter (an affricate) comprising an initial dental element, and equivalent to the group dj pronounced in one emission of sounds”⁵.

Table 8 : Old Tlemcenian women realisation of the sound /dʒ/

<i>MSA</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/ʒanna/	/dʒənnə/	Paradise
/zawa:ʒ/	/zwa:dʒ/	Marriage
/θalʒ/	/təldʒ/	Snow

➔ **The feminine ending {i} in verb forms**

Another important feature of TA is the drop of the feminine mark {-i} of the third person singular in verbs when addressing female speakers. The point is that there is no gender distinction as illustrated below

Table 9: Masculine and feminine verb forms of Old Tlemcenian women

<i>MSA</i>		<i>TA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine and Feminine</i>	
/kul/	/kuli/	/ku:l/	Eat
/ʔuḥsub/	/ʔuḥsubi/	/ḥsəb/	Calculate
/ʔugʃud/	/ʔugʃudi/	/gʃud/	Sit

⁵ The original version: “La prononciation courante du ʒ en Tlemcenien est j (j Anglais); ce n’est pas une sifflante pure, mais une lettre double comportant un élément dental initial, et équivalente au groupe dj prononcé en une seule émission de voix”.

1.9 Conclusion:

This chapter has given an account to the conceptualization of language attitudes, diglossia and code mixing for what it has of an important relation with what the study is about. Also, it has presented the information needed for this research work in a theoretical background in addition to the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general and Tlemcen in particular. The focus of the study is to investigate the attitudes of old Tlemcenian women towards MSA on the lexical, morphological and phonological level.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

2.1 Introduction

This section discusses the methodological approach and the instruments used to gather the information analyzed. It also provides a brief description of the participants and scenario in the study. As previously mentioned, this work aims to study old Tlemcenian women's attitudes towards MSA; based on two different tools in the collection of data, in order to obtain a more confident interpretation and help to gain a better understanding of this case.

2.2 Methodology, Research Design and Instrument

The study adopted a mixed approach of qualitative perspective with acceptance of quantitative data which are preferred because they help build a broader picture. The targeted sample was 50 old Tlemcenian women learning Quran in Imam Ibn Rabah Mosque in order to have accurate answers related to knowledge, attitudes and personal opinions. The two main research instruments for collecting and analyzing data are: the questionnaire and recordings. It consists of a range of organized close 'yes and no' questions, open and open ended questions. As for the audio recordings, are used to come up with suitable and reliable information related to the purpose of this research.

Unfortunately, these were the only two research method possible to conduct due to pandemic situation we were and still going through, all mosques are closed (for study purposes) and there is no gathering or group visiting. Some participants answered the questionnaires before the pandemic situation and other answered it online; same case for audio recordings, some were recorded before Covid-19 in the mosque and the others were recorded via mobile's calls.

2.2.1 Research participants

Only old Tlemcenian females were selected for the present work which aims at analysing women's attitudes toward MSA. This study involved 50 speakers of Tlemcenian Arabic. The gender and the age were already determined however, the educational level was not. They were studying Ahkam Quran in Imam Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque. In an effort to control other potentially confounding factors, additional personal information was requested regarding the respondent's current place of residence and whether they have lived in another town for more than a year. Moreover, the age range of the sample was felt to be relatively narrow, with the overwhelming majority of the informants aged between 50 and 78 years of age. Hence, in terms of these social factors the sample was considered relatively homogeneous.

2.2.2 The questionnaire

Questionnaires were used to collect information from old Tlemcenian women in order to get a wide range of knowledge on opinions and views concerning their attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic. This helped to compare data, and information was collected within a short time. It was administered by self and voluntary cooperation of respondents. Questionnaires were distributed to fifty old women studying Quran in Imam Bilal Ibn Rabah mosque.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information based on numerical scales, it was handed in different languages Arabic and French. The following quantitative method was based primarily on anonymity for the confidentiality of the respondents and also in order to have true responses. The first part of the questionnaire elicited demographic information. It included age, education, occupation and place of residence. The second section was made up of open-ended questions asked mainly to get the suitable answers needed about the research in general, in addition to close ended questions, Yes/No questions and multiple choice questions in relation with the personal points of view about their attitudes towards MSA.

2.2.3 Audio recordings

Many researchers (Labov, 1972; Kenworthy, 1987; Major, 1998; 1995) have found that the more formal or controlled the speech task, the more accurate the learners and the high rate of the phonetically target-like productions. The situations in which participants are engaged in natural are difficult to obtain if speakers are being recorded. In fact, it is rare to find studies of this kind in which the researcher has no direct participation in the taping episodes. This is a problem that has been referred to in the literature as the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972). A way to control this is to study the subject in his or her own natural social context interacting with his or her peer group. Most of the conversations recorded for this study took place in Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque or via Mobile while the old Tlemcenian women were reciting Quran or attending an Ahkam (rules) session and asking questions. It was the only possible way to record them while speaking MSA. The recording device was hidden in order to get an accurate results.

There were a total of ten hours of recorded speech. Participants did not know that there was a recording device so they can speak freely and carry on normal conversations, to provide evidence of how they would normally speak in that context.

2.3 Data Analysis, Data Interpretation and Discussion of the Results

A qualitative data analysis method looked for themes or patterns that were found to be common among the respondents and organize the data based on the theme or pattern that is noticed. Once the data collection process was completed, the collected data was analyzed and interpreted. The qualitative analysis was progressed manually. After the participants finished their session and the recording was over, the data was transcribed and translated then analyzed.

2.3.1 The questionnaire

From the first part of the questionnaire, the respondents' personal information were obtained. The respondents included only old Tlemcenian female of 50 to 73. The figure below illustrates the age of the 50 informants.

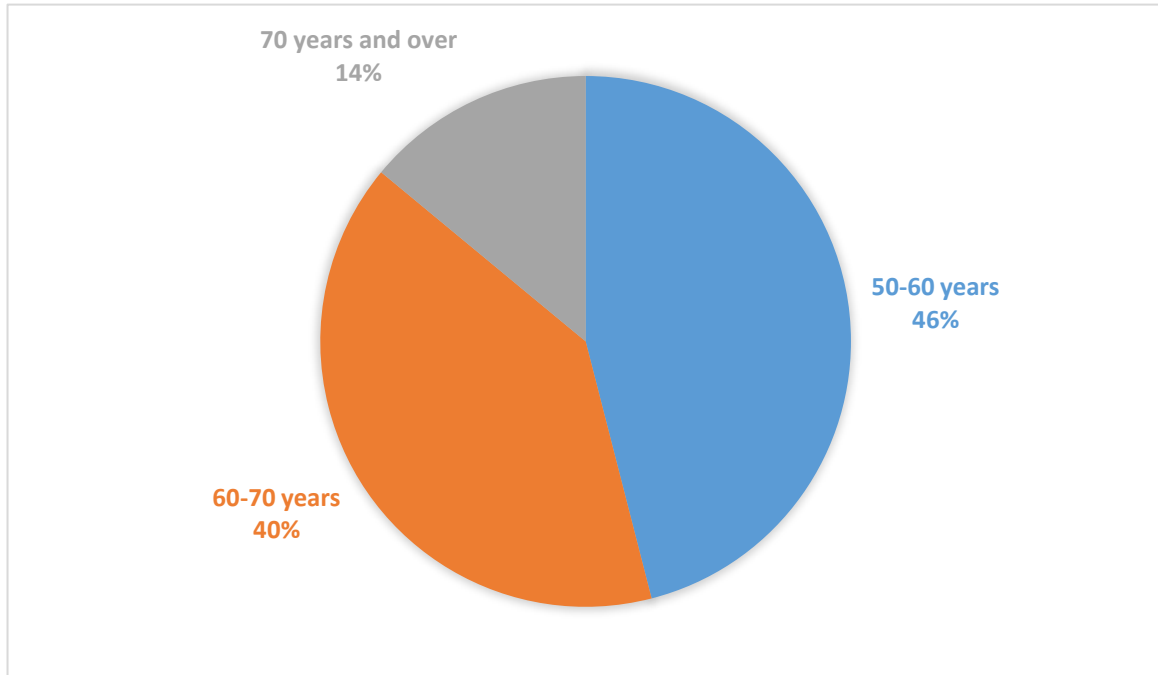


Figure 1: Old Tlemcenian women age distribution

For 47 respondents, Tlemcen was their current place of residence, only 3 were guests here and lived in Oran and Sidi Belabess. Moreover, most of the respondents have been lived in Tlemcen their entire live (38 participant) the rest lived in Oran, Sidi Belabess, Algiers and some foreign countries. for a while and it was more than one year so some of them have integrated well since the towns above have different dialects, others could not keep up with the change of their speech community and had a rough time with the residents and their ways of communication.

Another important variant to this study is the educational level of the participants because it can affect their attitudes towards MSA, Educated people can never perceivethings as non-educated ones do. They understand and interpret issues differently. The figure below show the different educational levels of the respondents.

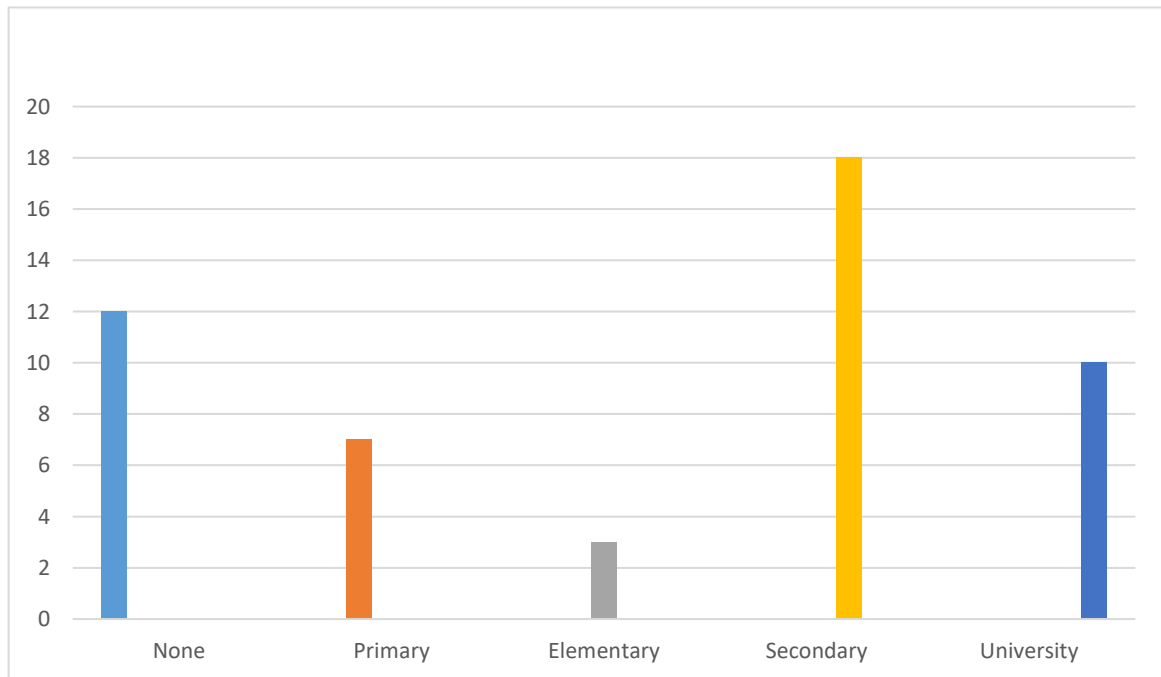


Figure 2: The educational level of the participants

The second part of the questionnaire is mainly about language attitudes towards MSA by old Tlemcenian women. It attempts to get a better understanding and some accurate answers to this situation.

Q1: What is the status of Modern Standard Arabic in Algeria?

In this question, the participant were given the opportunity to express her thoughts and the answers were as followed: 63% of the participants said that it is the official language of the country and the language used in formal situations (school, administrations, court...) sometimes administrative forms are giving in French but the respondent answers in Arabic and it is acceptable because of its in also in the radio, television and the News. Among the answers, 32% of the respondents defined it as the language of the Quran, to them it is only related to religion because the Holy Quran is in Arabic, its Ahkam are taught in Arabic, Prayers, Eid and Friday's Khutba are also in Arabic however, in the other fields French managed to take its place and replace it even in the formal situations. The remaining 5% simply did not answer this question.

Q2: What is your opinion about Modern Standard Arabic?

Modern Standard Arabic is the official language of the country but it not used in everyday speech. Thus, the attitudes towards its grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary differentiate from a speech community to another, as is the case of our participants. The table below demonstrates their attitudes:

Table 10: Participants' opinion on MSA

Participants	26	5	11	5	3
Answers					
Difficult Grammar	X	X		X	
Easy grammar			X		X
Difficult pronunciation	X	X		X	
Easy pronunciation	X		X		X
Difficult vocabulary	X	X	X		
Easy vocabulary				X	X

The percentages of each attitude is illustrated below for a better understanding

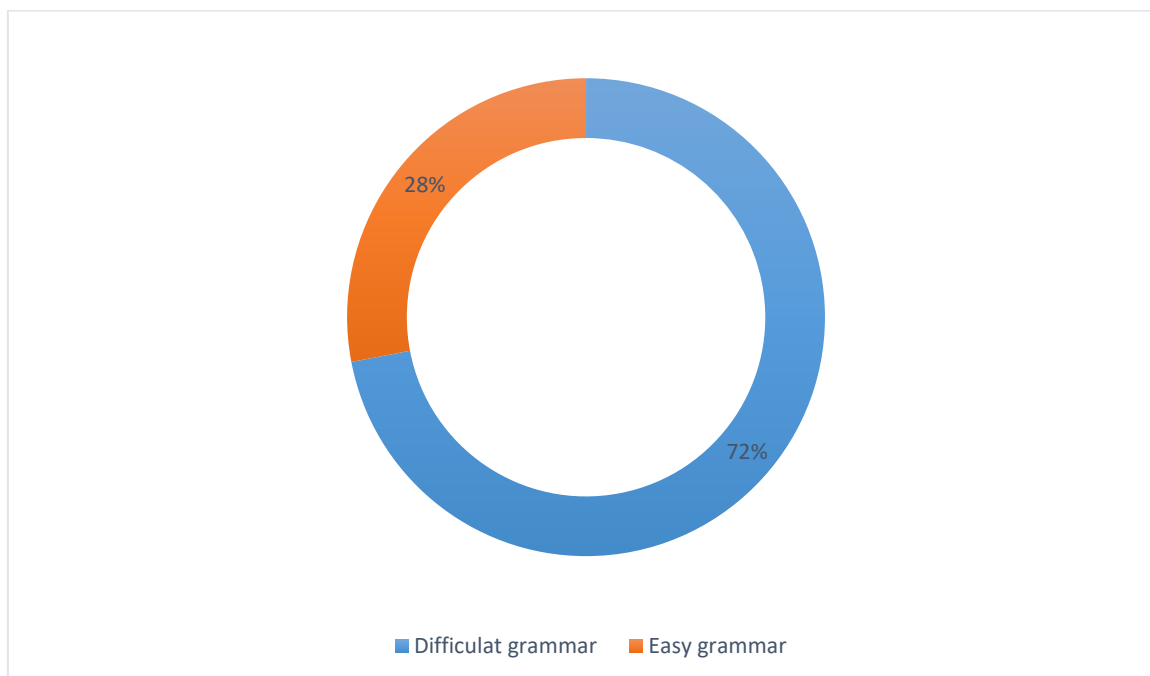


Figure 3: Old Tlemcenian women opinion about MSA's grammar

As shown above 72% of the respondents thinks that MSA's grammar is difficult because of the conjugation, sentence structure and plural since it differ a lot from Tlemcenian Arabic and French, the two languages that they use and understand their rules. The 28% who thought that MSA's grammar is easy were mostly educated with a high degree or Arabic teachers.

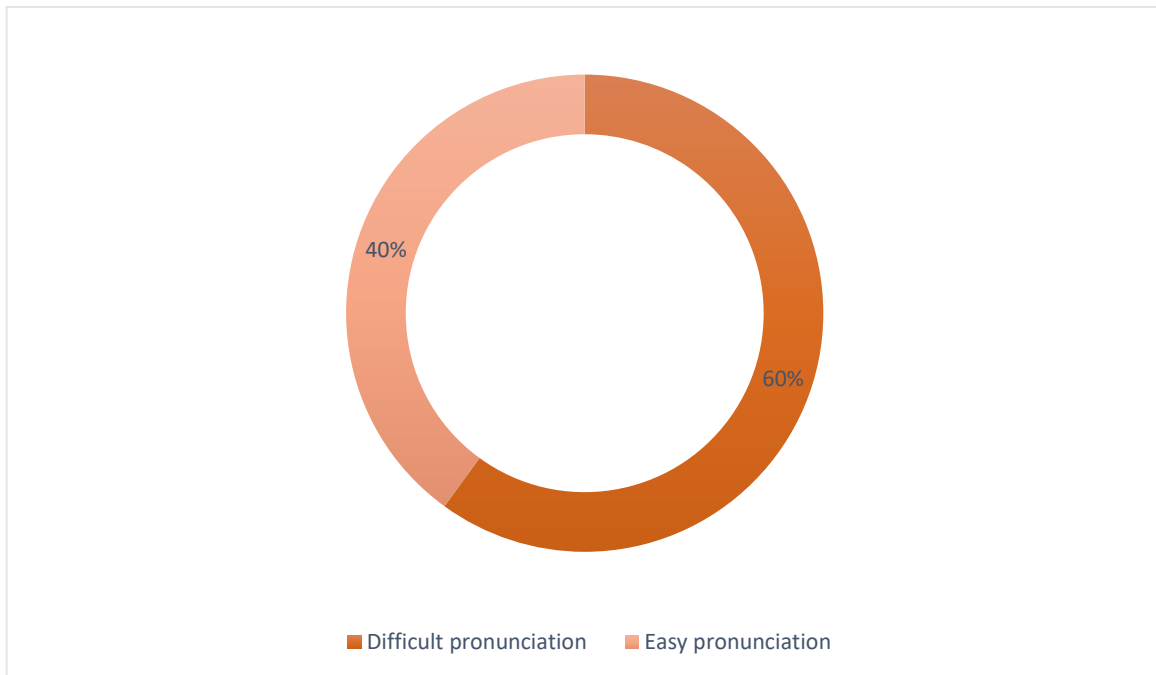


Figure 4: Old Tlemcenian women opinion about MSA's pronunciation

Then, we have the second variable old Tlemcenian women opinion about MSA's pronunciation, 60% of the participants claimed that it is easy and does not have a lot of complicated sounds. However, the other 40% saw that it was difficult and complicated, the majority of those who found it difficult was the very old Tlemcenian that struggle with the voiceless uvular plosive [q] and some other sounds such as /q/ and the affricate /dʒ/.

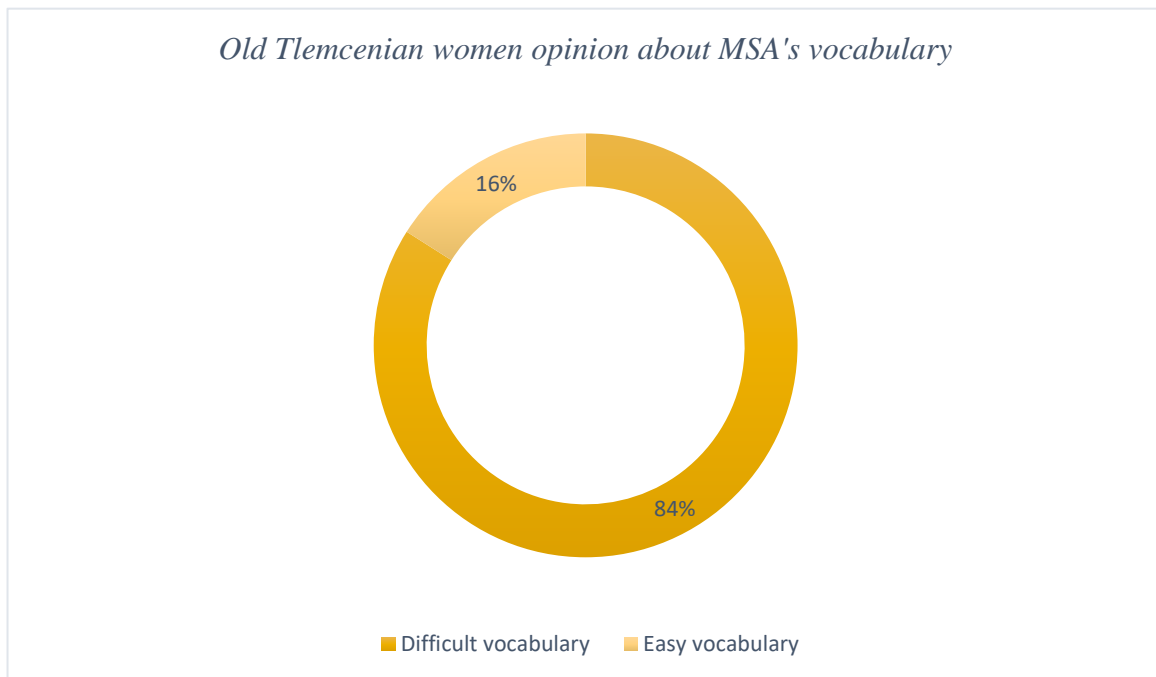


Figure 5: Old Tlemcenian women opinion about MSA's vocabulary

The final point is the old Tlemcenian women's opinion about MSA's vocabulary. The majority (84 %) of the respondents believe it is difficult and hard to remember MSA vocabulary. The complexity of the vocabulary is seen as an obstacle for those who has just began learning MSA. It is important to mention that most of the old Tlemcenian women studied in French during the colonial period. Furthermore, some found the difficulty because some words have the same written form but different meaning which confuse the learner. On the other hand, the 16% of the participants said that the vocabulary was easy and not more complex than any other language, it is only fair to mention that all of them were educated and have received Arabic teaching in an early age.

Q3: What is your opinion on those who speak Modern Standard Arabic?

The table bellows the attitudes of the participants towards who speaks MSA:

Table 11: : Old Tlemcenian opinion on those who speaks MSA

Participants	8	12	18	7	4	1
Answers						
They are harsh						
They are intelligent	X	X	X		X	
They are civilized	X		X			
They not civilized				X		
They are religious	X	X	X	X	X	X
They are pretentious				X		
They are sociable					X	
Other						

According to the table results, all of the participants agreed that people who speak MSA are religious and this idea is well rooted since Quran and MSA are linked, even in the Algerian Scholar system the teacher of MSA and Islamic science is the same. Also, most of the participants saw that the people who speak MSA are intelligent because it is kind of a rich but complex language, especially in its grammar and vocabulary. Only 4 participants choose sociable for those who speak MSA, since it is neither used variety in Tlemcen nor in Algeria. Furthermore, being civilized was once linked to French speakers only, however this vision changed with wild spread of knowledge that why more than half of the participants agreed that speaking MSA is an indicator of being civilized contrary to the 7 respondents who claimed the opposite. At last, only 7 of the participants saw MSA speakers as pretentious and none of respondents saw them harsh.

Q4: In which order do you rank the Modern Standard Arabic among the following varieties in Tlemcen?

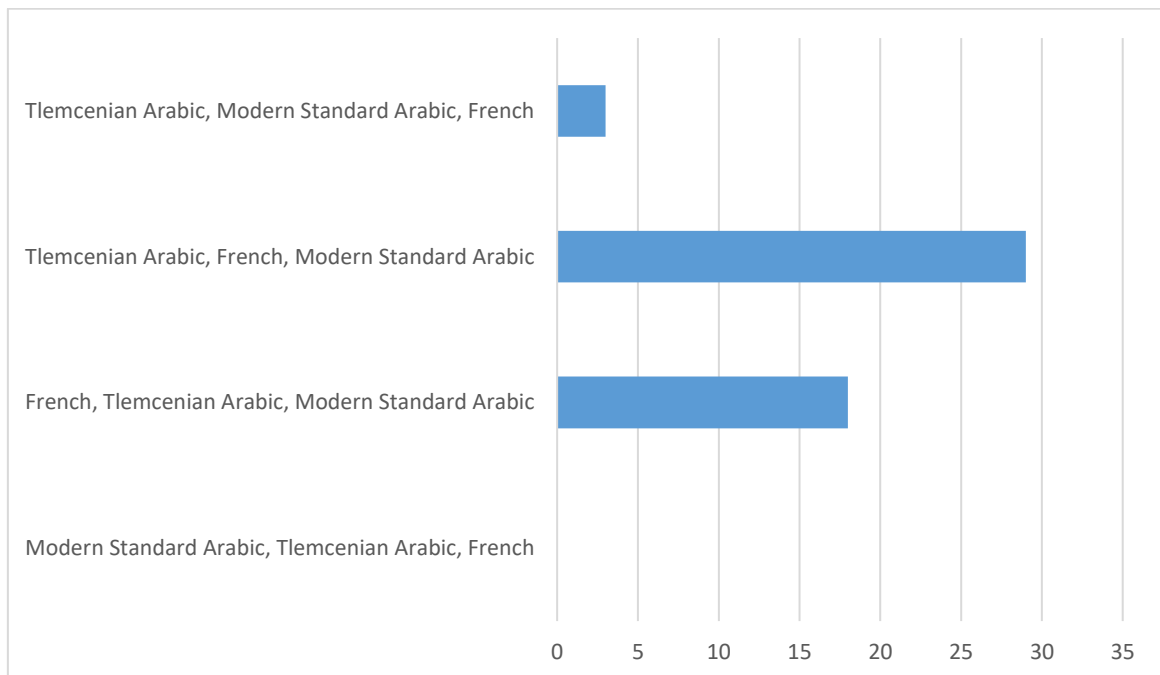


Figure 6: MSA rank according to the participants

The figure above shows MSA rank among other varieties, the majority (29 participants) agreed to place it at the end after TA and French since they are the dominant varieties that govern the Tlemcenian speech community. Results show that 18 of the respondents consider MSA at the end while French was the first choice. Only 3 participants put MSA in the second place after TA because do to not acknowledge French as a language for their speech community but the language of the colonizer since they have witnessed a lot in that era. To conclude, none of the participants choose to rank MSA first, simply because it is seen are a formal variation and not an everyday language.

Q5: Do you think that the Tlemcenian Arabic has an impact on the Modern Standard Arabic?

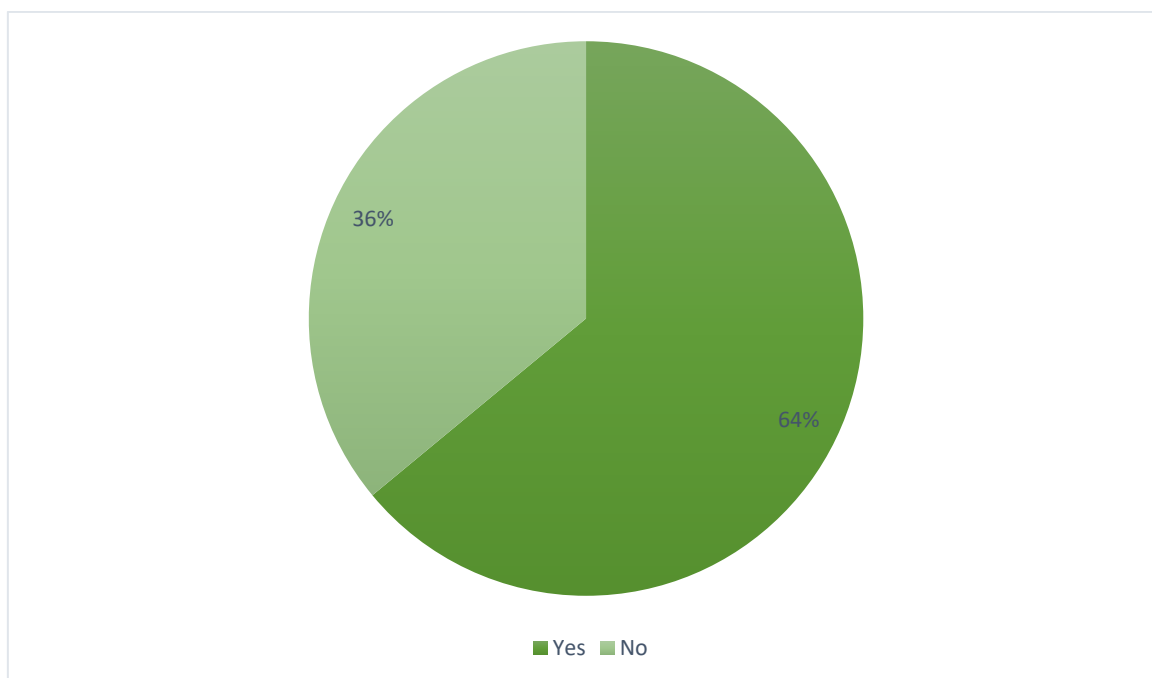


Figure 7: Does TA have an impact of MSA?

Findings show that 64% of the participants believe that TA has an influence on MSA which is seen in their way of speaking, on the flip side 36% denied that their MSA is influenced by TA.

Q6: Do you think the educational level of the speakers has an influence on the pronunciation and the vocabulary use of the Modern Standard Arabic? If yes, how?

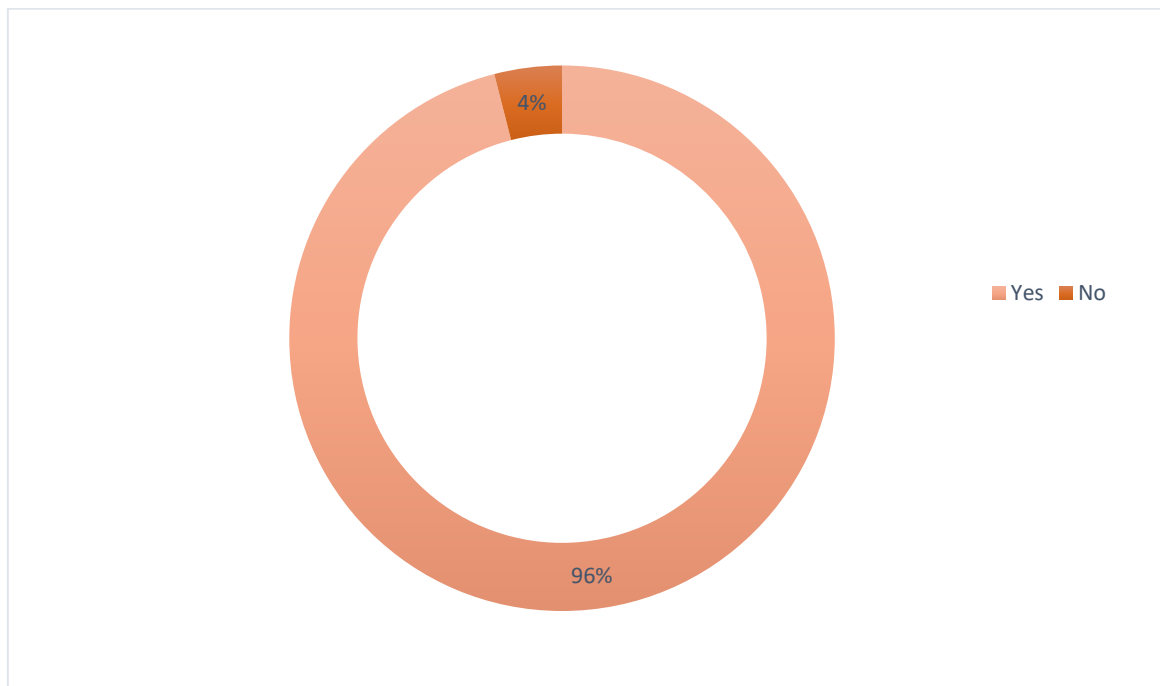


Figure 8: The influence of the educational level of the speakers on the pronunciation and the vocabulary use of MSA

According to the majority of the respondents, the educational level has an impact on their perception of MSA and its pronunciation and vocabulary. Poor literacy due to poorer education that is why educated participants have fewer issues in pronunciation and understanding MSA vocabulary because they are familiar with the language. Also, reading newspapers and books add to their verbal repertoire as watching documentaries and News enhance their perception of the language and thus mastering the language. However, only 4% denied the influence of the educational system on MSA vocabulary and pronunciation.

Q7: How often do you use Modern Standard Arabic in your everyday speech?

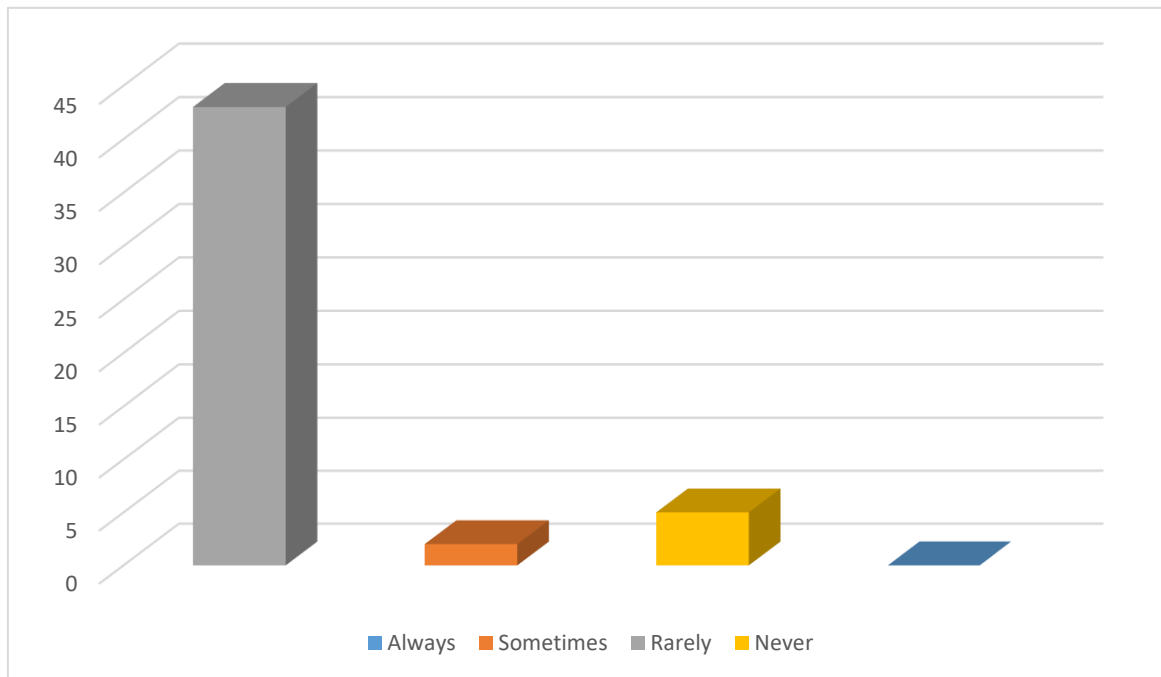


Figure 9: The frequency of using MSA in everyday speech

The above figure reveals that MSA is rarely used in the everyday speech except when speaking about religious matter or sometimes when translating words from foreign language. Some of the participants never use it unless it is a formal situation.

Q8: Do you code mix Tlemcenian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic while reading Quran?

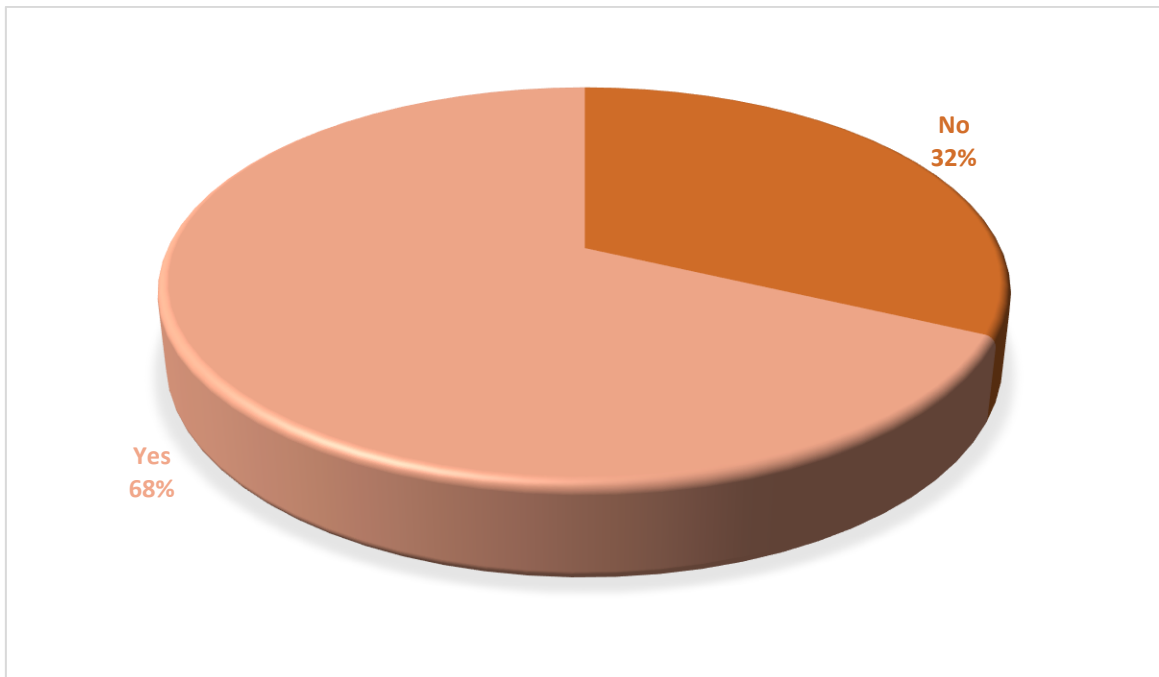


Figure 10: Code mixing TA and MSA while reading Quran

The results to the eight question show that most of the participants do code mix between TA and MSA because it is difficult to them to produce some sounds that is why they alternate between the two while reading Quran. However, 32% of the participants claimed otherwise.

Q9: If your previous answer is yes, you alternate between languages.....

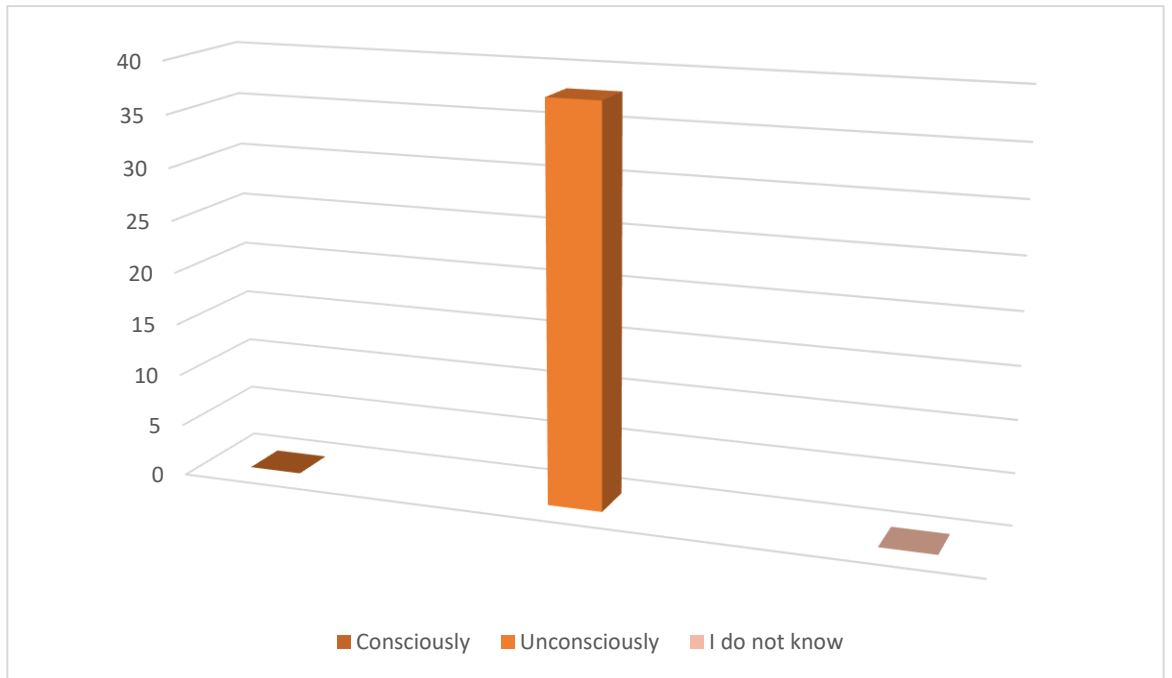


Figure 11: Alternation between TA & MSA while reading Quran

Findings reveal clearly that all of the women who alternates between the two codes while reading Quran do it unconsciously.

Q10: Do you consider Modern Standard Arabic as a part of your identity?

The fundamental principles of the culture include the language and MSA is the foundation for Tlemcenian speech community. Nearly all of the participants agreed that MSA is an important part of their identity and they cannot lose under any circumstances since it helps keeping the Arab world united in addition to religion that is why all the non-educated women joined Arabic courses to get to read the Quran and understand the sermons. Furthermore, the participants who lived abroad for a while made sure that their kids learn Arabic, not only the dialectal but MSA. Only 3 participants did not consider MSA as a part of their identity but a part of their religion.

2.3.2 Audio recordings

The audio recordings were used to obtain qualitative data and this technique helped by controlling the vocal characteristics of the speaker by recruiting a single speaker. Twenty six women were recorded some in the mosque before the pandemic and the others were recorded via phone while recitation Quran or while learning Ahkam via Zoom application. This method helped establishing a control on the level of speech produced as the mother tongue is the level of speech speakers feel comfortable and confident producing. Thus the participants did not know that they were being recorded to obtain an insight into the variability of the phonological features under investigation.

A total of 10 hours of speech was recorded then analyzed and the table below shows the obtained results:

Table 12: Audio-recordings results

<i>The glottal stop [ʔ]</i>		
Arabic verses	Old Tlemcenian women realisations	Gloss
<p>...فَيَقْسِمَانِ بِاللَّهِ لَشَهَادَتُنَا أَحَقُّ مِنْ شَهَادَتِهِمَا...⁶</p>	<p>/fajoʔsima:ni/ /ʔaħaʔ/</p>	<p>...and have them swear by God, “Our testimony is more truthful than their testimony...</p>
<p>... أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ ...⁷</p>	<p>/taʕʔilu:na/</p>	<p>...will you not understand ?...</p>
<p>... فَاسْتَمْتَعُوا بِخَلْقِهِمْ...⁸</p>	<p>/biħala:ʔihim/</p>	<p>...They enjoyed their share...</p>
<p>... وَكَانَ الْإِنْسَانُ قَنُورًا...⁹</p>	<p>/ʔatu:ran/</p>	<p>...The human being has always been stingy...</p>
<i>The sound /θ/</i>		
<p>... ثُمَّ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ...¹⁰</p>	<p>/tummæ/</p>	<p>...Then We gave Moses the Scripture...</p>

⁶Surat Al-Ma'idah (107)

⁷Surat Al-A'raf (169)

⁸Surat At-tawbah (69)

⁹Surat Al-Isra (100)

¹⁰Surat Al-An'am (154)

11" ...إِذْ أَرْسَلْنَا إِلَيْهِمُ اثْنَيْنِ ..."	/ʔitnajni/	...We sent them two messengers...
12" ...ثُمَّ كُلِي مِنْ كُلِّ الثَّمَرَاتِ ..."	/ʔattamara:ti/	...Then eat of all the fruits...
13" ...وَتَرَى كُلَّ أُمَّةٍ جَائِعَةً ..."	/dʒa:sijatan/	...You will see every community on its knees...
The sounds /ð/, /q/ and /ð/		
14" ... وَلَا تُمْسِكُوهُنَّ ضِرَارًا لِيَتَعْتَدُوا ..."	/dira:ran/	...But do not retain them to hurt them and commit aggression...
15" ...ضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الذِّلَّةُ ..."	/duribat/ /addilatu/	...They shall be humiliated...
16" ... وَأَنِّي فَضَّلْتُكُمْ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ ..."	/faddaltukum/	...and that I favored you over all nations...
17" ... لَا تَقُولُوا رَاعِنًا وَقُولُوا انظُرْنَا ..."	/ʔundorna/	...Do not say ambiguous words, but say words of respect...
18" ... لَا يُصِيبُهُمْ ظَمَأٌ ..."	/damaʔ/	...they never suffer any thirst...
19" ... فَأَنْذَرْتُكُمْ نَارًا تَلَظَّى ..."	/faʔandartukum/ /taladda: /	...I have warned you of a Fierce Blaze...

The results above are some words produced by old Tlemcenian women while reading the Quran, the most obvious change that occurs to MSA while reading it, like:

- The voiceless uvular plosive [q] is replaced by the glottal stop [ʔ].
- The voiceless dental fricative [θ] is replaced with either [s] or [t].

¹¹Surat Yaseen (14)

¹²Surat An-Nahl (69)

¹³Surat Al-Jathiyah (28)

¹⁴Surat Al-Baqarah (231)

¹⁵Surat Ali 'Imran (112)

¹⁶Surat Al-Baqarah(47)

¹⁷Surat Al-Baqarah(104)

¹⁸Surat At-tawbah(120)

¹⁹Surat Al-Layl(14)

- The voiced interdental fricative [ð], the voiced post-dental emphatic stop [d̤] and voiced post-interdental emphatic fricative [ð̤] are replaced by the voiced dental stop [d].

2.3.3 Conclusion

The second chapter constitutes the cornerstone of the research. It portrays the field work conducted to answer the research questions, devoted to collect data and analyzes the old Tlemcenian women's questionnaire and audio recordings. The results obtained confirm the whole research hypotheses in which it shows that the old Tlemcenian women have positive attitudes towards MSA because it is a part of their identity they can identify with a religious Islamic heritage. Also the Educated Tlemcenian women have a more positive attitude because of the advantages in term of correct pronunciation.

General Conclusion

This thesis attempted to examine the attitudes towards the use of Modern Standard Arabic and to investigate the reasons old Tlemcenian women have for such attitudes. It also tried to highlight the Tlemcenian linguistic situation due to its rich linguistic historical background. Therefore, the old Tlemcenian women learning Quran Akham (rules) in Imam Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque were taken as a case study.

In order to confirm or invalidate the hypotheses of the present study, data were collected using a questionnaire as well as recordings as research instruments. While the questionnaire's results were analyzed quantitatively, the data obtained using recordings and were analyzed qualitatively.

The research findings confirmed the hypotheses stated previously by the researcher: Old Tlemcenian women have positive attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic because it is a language in which they can identify with their religious Islamic heritage. Also, the educated Tlemcenian old women seem to have more positive attitudes than non-educated ones because of some advantages in terms of correct pronunciation. Though old women strive to use MSA, there are some interferences of TA especially on phonological level. Nevertheless, MSA according to the participants is linked to religion mostly even though it is the official language of the country but it does not really stand for.

Throughout this research work, the researcher faced difficulties in obtaining sources related to Tlemcen Dialect and the Tlemcenian speech community in general. Also, all of the old Tlemcenian women were willing to answer the questionnaire nor to record their reciting even though the anonymity of their identity was assured but they still refused. On the flip side, this research work can open up a wide range of information for other researchers about the Tlemcenian Dialect, and can in-depth in this research from different angles in the future.

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Appendices

→ **English version of the questionnaire**

This is a questionnaire in the context of sociolinguistics research about “Attitudes of old Tlemcenian women towards Modern Standard Arabic”. Please read the questions and choose the answer that reflects your point of view.

Section 1: demographic information

1. Age:

50-60 years

60-70 years

70 years and over

2. Current place of residence:

.....

3. Have you lived in another city for more than 1 year? If yes, where?

.....

4. Level of education:

None

Primary

Elementary

Secondary

University

Section 2: Language attitudes by the old Tlemcenian women

1. What is the status of Modern Standard Arabic in Algeria?

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. What is your opinion about Modern Standard Arabic?

- Its grammar is easy
- Its grammar is difficult
- Its pronunciation is easy
- Its pronunciation is difficult
- Its vocabulary is easy
- Its vocabulary is difficult

3. What is your opinion of those who speaks Modern Standard Arabic?

- They are harsh
- They are intelligent
- They are civilized
- They are not civilized
- They are religious
- They are pretentious
- They are sociable

Other

4. In which order do you rank the Modern Standard Arabic among the following varieties in Tlemcen?

- Modern Standard Arabic, Tlemcenian Arabic, French
- French, Tlemcenian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic
- Tlemcenian Arabic, French, Modern Standard Arabic
- Tlemcenian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French

5. Do you think that the Tlemcenian Arabic has an impact on the Modern Standard Arabic?

- Yes, it does
- No, it does not

6. Do you think the educational level of the speakers has an influence on the pronunciation and the vocabulary use of the Modern Standard Arabic? If yes, how?

Yes, it does

No, it does not

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

7. How often do you use Modern Standard Arabic in your everyday speech?

Always

Sometimes

Rarely

Never

8. Do you code mix Tlemcenian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic while reading Quran?

Yes, I do

No, I do not

9. If your previous answer is yes, you alternate between languages.....

Consciously

Unconsciously

I do not know

10. Do you consider Modern Standard Arabic as a part of your identity?

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

***Thank you for the valuable time you have spent answering these question.
Your answers are greatly appreciated***

الملخص

تناولت هذه الدراسة في اللسانيات الاجتماعية موضوع موقف التلمسانيات المسنات تجاه اللغة العربية الفصحى، العينة المأخوذة تكونت من 50 تلمسانية اللواتي كن يدرسن احكام القران في مسجد الامام بلال ابن رباح بتلمسان. عملية البحث تمت عبر توزيع استبيانات للمشاركات وتسجيل صوتي لهن أثناء استظهارهن للقران. النتائج المتحصل عليها أسفرت عن العوامل المؤثرة على موقف التلمسانيات تجاه اللغة العربية الفصحى المتمثلة في مكان السكن والخلفية الدراسية.

Résumé

Ce travail est une étude sociolinguistique sur les attitudes des Tlemceniennes âgées vis-à-vis l'Arabe standard moderne. 50 Tlemceniennes qui apprenaient Ahkam (Les règles du Coran) à la mosquée Bilal Ibn Rabah à Tlemcen ont été sélectionnées comme échantillon d'études. L'investigation a été basée sur un questionnaire qui a été donné pour les participantes ainsi que des enregistrements vocaux durant leur récitation du Quran. Les résultats obtenus montrent que les attitudes des Tlemceniennes âgées dépendent principalement des facteurs comme: le lieu de résidence et l'éducation.

Summary

This work is a sociolinguistic study of attitudes of old Tlemcenian women towards Modern Standard Arabic, 50 old Tlemcenian women who learnt Ahkam (rules) in Imam Ibn Rabah mosque in Tlemcen were taken as a sample. The research process was built on questionnaire and audio-recordings of the participants while reciting Quran. The findings show that the attitudes of old Tlemcenian women depends on many factors; mainly, the place of residence and the educational level.