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**A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variation
in the Speech Community of Nedroma**

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the Requirement of the Degree of "Magister" in
Sociolinguistics*

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ABSTRACT

The present research work is an attempt to analyse the sociolinguistic situation of an Algerian town and one of the seven districts of Tlemcen, Nedroma. The area is situated 57 km North West of Tlemcen.

The main purpose of this research work is to describe and shed light on the linguistic features characterizing the speech community of Nedroma, mainly the phonological, the morphological and the lexical.

This research work consists of three chapters. The first one provides an overview of the field of sociolinguistics in general through defining the key concepts that we have dealt with. The second chapter draws an overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in general then of Nedroma in particular. And the third chapter provides a description of the linguistic aspects of the area under investigation; on this chapter we try to show how these features differ from other varieties and how it also differ from one speaker to another in the same speech community, through relating these linguistic features to social variables namely age and gender in addition to education on language change in the speech community of Nedroma. In doing so, we have collected data through using different methods. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the results, help us a lot in understanding the reasons behind such behaviour, and we have come up with the fact that the population mobility and the social and political factors that had affected the area led to linguistic consequences.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

- ❖ **AA** : Algerian Arabic
- ❖ **NA** : Nedroma Arabic
- ❖ **MSA** : Modern Standard Arabic
- ❖ **CA** : Classical Arabic
- ❖ { } : suffix boundary
- ❖ () : are used to represent the linguistic variable
- ❖ // : are used for CA articulation

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Language is the powerful medium of communication in any speech community. It has attracted the attention of many linguists who adopted different methods of investigating the complexity of this phenomenon. There is no doubt that language varies from one country to another and even within a single country, we may find a number of local varieties and even within individuals, some may have a variety of linguistic ways to express the same thing. This fact is explained by sociolinguists as language variation. The study of sociolinguistic variation has emerged since the 1960's partly as a result of inadequate methods in earlier approaches to the study of dialects, and partly as a reaction to Chomskyan linguistic theory which has neglected the study of language in its social context.

Language variation, as an important subject, has been discussed by many sociolinguists in different dimensions, but it was William Labov who opened the door to such a study, as he focused on the study of the relationship between social structure and linguistic structure. The social variables such as the speaker's age, gender, ethnicity and the social class, and the linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological and lexical are analysed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods.

The present research work aims at studying language variation in correlation with social factors. Linguistic features namely phonological, morphological and lexical are analysed in relation to age and gender differences in addition to extra linguistic factors including socio-economic and educational ones, in order to understand the linguistic variation of the speech community of Nedroma. In this light, the problem issue of this research work could be structured in the form of the following questions:

- What makes Nedroma speech different from neighbouring dialects?
- What makes Nedromi speakers change some linguistic features in their speech?
- What are NA speakers' attitudes towards such variation and change?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions, the following hypotheses have been put forward:

- Because of political and social reasons, the area has witnessed many changes in its population and therefore influences on its dialect.
- Because of some features in Nedroma Arabic which are felt to be stigmatized, in addition to extra-linguistic factors such as education which can cause differences in the speech community of Nedroma.
- As not all generations speak alike, the young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms, whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use.

The data needed in this work to answer our questions and verify our hypotheses will be collected by means of questionnaires and interviews addressed directly to a sample of informants who are originally from the area under investigation.

Therefore, the present research work is structured in three chapters. The first one opens with a review of the literature, providing a general overview of the field of sociolinguistics and how dialectology has contributed to its emergence. It also attempts to define some key concepts which constitute the basic materials for any sociolinguistic investigation: the notion of the speech community, the difference between language, dialect, variety and accent; linguistic variables and some social variables.

The second chapter throws light on the linguistic situation in Algeria in general, providing an overview on the Algerian linguistic profile and showing the co-existence of three languages, Arabic, French and Berber. It also presents the language contact phenomenon and shed some light on the classification of colloquial Arabic into Sedentary and Bedouin variants. After that, it gives an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Nedroma, with a particular reference to the area of Nedroma, its historical background, geography and population, with a focus on the linguistic features of the area through the description of some phonological, morphological and lexical aspects of the variety spoken in Nedroma.

Chapter three deals with the methodology and the basic approaches and procedures involved. It will present the data collected in Nedroma speech community by the use of questionnaires, recording and through speech observation to investigate NA. Then, the linguistic features of NA are analysed in relation with the social factors: age and gender. Finally the interpretation of the results reveals the factors leading to language variation in NA and the speakers' attitudes towards the use of NA.

CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction.

1.2 Dialectology and Sociolinguistics.

1.3 Language Varieties: Language, Dialect, Variety, Accent.

1.4 The Speech Community.

1.5. Speech Accommodation

1.6. The Arabic Language

1.6.1 Classical Arabic.

1.6.2 Modern Standard Arabic.

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1.7 Language Variation.

1.7.1 Linguistic Variables.

1.7.2 Social Variables.

1.7.2.1 Social Class.

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1.7.2.4 Gender.

1.8 Conclusion.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Language has been studied for many years and from different perspectives. At first, language was studied in term of its structure; however, with the advent of sociolinguistics, it began to be studied in relation to the society which uses it, which makes language described in an objective way, as there was a more scientific and descriptive approach to linguistic analysis with emphasis on the spoken usage.

The advent of sociolinguistics has attracted the interest of many researchers, and it is concerned with the connections between language and society and the way we use it in different social situations. It describes language variation in its social context and it was William Labov who opened the door to such a study, which had been neglected completely in linguistic theory. Speech variation as an important subject has been discussed by many sociolinguists in different dimensions.

Sociolinguistics, as a huge field, studies the wide variety of dialects across a given region, to the analysis of the different social variables influencing the speaker's language. It often shows us the humorous realities of human speech and how a dialect of a given language can often describe the age, gender, and social class or level of education... of the speaker.

In this chapter, we try to introduce some linguistic key concepts which are regarded as important and central in any sociolinguistic research.

1.2 DIALECTOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Language complexity has attracted considerable attention from linguists who have adopted different methods of investigating the phenomenon. Prior to the advent of sociolinguistics, language was studied in “abstraction from society in which it operates”. (Lyons, 1995:221), as treated by De Saussure (1916) and Chomsky (1965). The two scholars were interested in the study of language as a homogeneous system; their main aim was to introduce a set of rules which govern the appropriate use of language. Chomsky made a distinction, in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), between ‘competence’ and ‘performance’. This distinction was in part inspired by De Saussure’s contrast between ‘langue’ and ‘parole’. In this context, competence describes the knowledge, mostly unconscious, that a native speaker has of the principles that allow for the use of a particular language. Performance instead, is the implementation of that knowledge in acts of speaking. However, the focus on linguistic competence has shadowed and put aside performance. In fact it was dismissed as a free variation not worthy of scientific research. Chomsky noted that when speaking, people often make linguistic errors; he argued that these errors in linguistic performance were irrelevant to the study of linguistic competence, and thus linguists can study an idealized version of language. For him:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community..... (Chomsky, 1965:3)

Yet, the complexity of language lies not only in the linguistic system itself as characterized by Chomsky, but also results from the reality that language is used in various forms to convey information, thoughts, emotions and feelings, as well as, to communicate meaning between speakers, and to inform about their social and geographical background. This idea pushed linguists to study the variability of language and the research issue of linguistic research became, as Hymes put it,

the relationship between language and society; he writes that the purpose of sociolinguistics is to answer the following questions: who speaks, what language, to whom, and on what occasion?

Wardhaugh (2006:5) argues that:

[...] an asocial linguistics is scarcely worthwhile and that meaningful insights into language can be gained only if such matters as use and variation are included as part of the data which must be explained in a comprehensive theory of language; such a theory of language must have something to say about the uses of language.

In the latter half of the 19th century, language studies were based on collecting linguistic data. Such an investigation was called traditional dialectology or traditional dialect surveys. Dialectologists collected data in order to study the geographical distribution of linguistic items, in what they called regional dialects, focusing on rural areas and so-called NORMs: non-mobile, older, and rural males. (Chambers and Trudgill 2004:29).

Traditional studies in dialectology were generally aimed at producing dialect maps, dictionaries and atlases, for example: the linguistic atlas of USA and Canada in 1930 and the English dialect dictionary by Wright in 1905. From the 1960's onwards, many criticisms were formulated on traditional dialectology; the main one is the small proportion of the population who were old, rural and male. But a wider sociolinguistic study should also include the young, women and those living in towns and cities. Chambers and Trudgill (2004:45) say:

All dialects are both regional and social, all speakers have a social background as well as regional location, and in their speech they often identify themselves not only as natives or inhabitants of a particular place, but also as members of a particular social class, age group, ethnic background, or other social characteristics.

Unlike traditional dialectologists, modern dialectologists have turned their attention to social dialects, language variation and language change, in the complexities of large urban areas, taking into account the various social dimensions. So, this shift in interest from rural to urban, and from the focus on geographical distribution of different accents and dialects to the investigation of social factors such as age, gender and position in society, consequently led to the birth of sociolinguistics.

William Labov is considered as a pioneer researcher in studying language in relation to society, he says (1972: 261): “Every linguist recognizes that language is a social fact, but not every one puts an equal emphasis on that fact”.

His work, which consisted in the study of sociolinguistic variation in New York City, affected the scholars with interest in social variation. Many interesting facts would be missed in the study of language abstracted from its context of use. Hudson (1996:3) says in this respect, that

[...] to study speech without reference to the society which uses it, is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures that are used.

There are basically two types of dialect survey. The first and older type called traditional, is based on investigations in terms of regional distribution; this is often called dialect geography. The more recent type emphasizes the study of variation in speech according to social variables, often concentrating on a few selected features; it is called social dialectology.

Dialectology has contributed to the emergence of sociolinguistics, and each discipline completes the other, as Chambers and Trudgill say (2004:187-188):

For all their differences, dialectology and sociolinguistics converge at the deepest point. Both are dialectologies, so to speak: they share their essential subject matter. Both fix the attention on language in communities. Prototypically, one has been centrally concerned with rural communities and the other with urban centres.

The similarity of traditional dialectology studies and sociolinguistics is that both of them check and identify linguistic variables prior to data collection.

The main difference between them is that while regional dialectology does not correlate linguistic variation with non linguistic variables, social dialectology demonstrates the relation between linguistic variables and social ones such as age, gender, social class, ethnicity.... The study of social dialectology has brought the idea that:

Correlations like theses are crucial. *Socially significant linguistic variation requires correlation*: the dependent (linguistic) variable must change when some independent variable changes. It also requires that the change be orderly: the dependent variable must stratify the subjects in ways that are socially or stylistically coherent. (Chambers 2003:26).

So with such a study, another discipline of sociolinguistics appears, it is variationist sociolinguistics, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

1.3 LANGUAGE VARIETIES

When we look at any language, we notice that there are many varieties of it, which may range from the most formal and standardized to the most informal and colloquial. One of the most difficult theoretical issues in linguistics is how to make the distinction between language and dialect. Sociolinguists have tried to find a solution to such a dichotomy, and there are many ways of distinguishing them.

The term language “is used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms, and dialect is used to refer to one of the norms (Wardhaugh 2006:25), which means, as Hudson (1996:32) says; “a language is larger than a dialect. That is, a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect”. Dialects are considered to be sub categories of a language. So, if we take English as a language, we can find different dialects of it, such as: Cockney, Yorkshire....etc.

Dialects of a language are different from each other in term of grammar, lexis and pronunciation, and they can be divided into two kinds; regional and social. The former are studied by dialectologists, dialectal diversity develops when people are separated from each other geographically; regional dialects reveal where we come from, whereas the latter, social dialects, are spoken by a particular social stratum or ethnic group. A social dialect is characterized by its restricted use, nevertheless, the social code can be a symbol of group affiliation and ethnic identity, and in other words, speakers choose consciously their own dialect in order to display their belonging and membership. In the USA, the majority of black speakers tend to use the black vernacular English (B.E.V) to exhibit their ethnic identity and pride.

A language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. Such a definition characterizes a dialect as a sub part of a language, and provides a

criterion for distinguishing language and dialect. It means that, if two speakers can understand each other then they are speaking dialects of the same language, and if they cannot understand each other, then they are speaking different languages. This is what has been termed mutual intelligibility. At first sight, it doesn't satisfy the ability of communication, take for example the Scandinavian languages: Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. These are usually regarded as different languages, in other words, standard languages to distinct states, which means that they are all autonomous. However, speakers of these three languages can understand and communicate freely with each other, but in spite of this mutual intelligibility, it would not make sense to say that Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are really the same language, this would constitute a direct contraction of the political and cultural facts, i.e. linguistically Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are the same language, but politically and culturally they are three different languages. On the other hand, the non-standard dialects of Germany, Australia and German-speaking Switzerland are all heteronomous with respect to standard German, i.e. they are all varieties of the same language, but they are mutually unintelligible. Trudgill (1995:4) says in this respect:

The criterion of 'mutual intelligibility', and other purely linguistic criteria, are, therefore, of less importance in the use of the terms language and dialect and they are political and cultural factors, of which the two most important are: autonomy and heteronomy.

So, autonomy and heteronomy are the result of political and cultural factors rather than linguistic ones. It has been said that: 'a language is a dialect with an army and a navy' (Chambers and Trudgill 2004:12). This claim, as Chambers and Trudgill say, stresses the political factors that lie behind linguistic autonomy. And the process of standardization may explain such things as linguistic versus socio-political considerations.

The other contrast between language and dialect, is that a language is more prestigious than a dialect. A dialect is popularly considered to be “a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of a language.” (Chambers and Trudgill 2004:3). For most people, the level of prestige a variety has is dependent on whether it is used in formal writing. Varieties which are unwritten are commonly referred to as dialects, whereas those used in written form are considered to be ‘the proper language’¹. Standard English for example, is only a dialect among other dialects as it differs grammatically and lexically from other varieties of English. So, it is important to note that this variety has no linguistic prestige over others; the selection of a given variety depends on social, not linguistic factors.

Trudgill (1995:8-9) asserts the following:

The scientific study of language has convinced scholars that *all* languages, and correspondingly *all* dialects, are equally ‘good’ as linguistic systems. All varieties of a language are structured, complex, and rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers. It follows that value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are *social* rather than linguistic.

To avoid the problem of drawing a distinction between language and dialect, and to avoid negative attitudes to the term dialect, sociolinguists have chosen the use of the neutral term ‘variety’ to refer to the two, and to different manifestations of language. Holmes (2001:6) says that the term ‘variety’ “is linguistically neutral

¹ Hudson suggests that the variety of a language that we refer to as ‘proper language’ is a standard language. Web article: < [www.squidoo.com/language and dialect](http://www.squidoo.com/language_and_dialect).> accessed on December 15th 2010.

and covers all the different realizations of the abstract concept ‘language’ in different social contexts.”

Among language varieties that share different characteristics, we can mention: accent which marks the way in which people pronounce when they speak, since everybody speaks with an accent. So accent refers to the phonology of a given dialect, it consists of a way of pronouncing a variety. When we speak, we cannot avoid giving our listeners clues about our origins and the sort of person we are. Our speech generally shows where we come from, and what sort of background we have. Language can also reveals from which group or community we refer to. The language used by a group of people shows differences in phonology, grammar and lexis from another language’s group. This group is called a speech community.

1.4 THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

Sociolinguistics as a huge field deals with different varieties of language, and the speech community is one of its fertile fields of research.

Many debates arose about this latter; we can first say that a speech community is a group of people who speak the same language which differentiates that group from others. Moreover, a speech community, as Trudgill (2003:126) says, “is a community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same norms for linguistic behavior”.

The study of the speech community has drawn the interest of many linguists who give varied, i.e. do not agree, about the exact definition of ‘speech

community'. We can start with a definition put forward by John Lyons as a simple one: "all people who use a given language or dialect." (1970:326)¹.

According to such a definition, all the Arab countries are considered to belong to the same speech community as they share and use the same language. Corder (1973:53) states that: "A speech community is made up of individuals who regard themselves as speaking the same language."²

But as Dendane (2007:29) says:

In sociolinguistic terms, we cannot speak of a speech community when its members have virtually no 'direct' or 'indirect' contact, as they do not communicate with each other.

Bloomfield's definition in 1933 focuses on the frequency of social interaction: "A speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech."

Interestingly, Hymes later claims that a speech community is: "The definition of situations in which, and identities through which, interaction occurs is decisive." (1974:47)

Some linguists have regarded the speech community as a homogeneous entity. Hockett (1958:8), for instance, equates speech community with a single language, stating that: "Each language defines a speech community"³. This type of definition ignores some of the facts, that it is impossible to define the speech community on purely linguistic terms,

¹ Quoted in Hudson, (1996:24).

² Quoted in: <http://courses.essex.ac.uk/lg/lg232/SpeechComDefs.html>. Accessed on: 12/09/2010.

³ Quoted in Hudson, (1996:24).

especially when the social aspects of language are being considered. This is why, as Labov, (1972:158) argues,

A speech community cannot be solely conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same linguistic forms, but rather as a group who share the same norms in regard to language.

This is perhaps one of the most accurate definitions of speech community offered by William Labov. Emphasizing interaction, Gumperz (1968:114) states that a speech community is:

[...] an aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage.

Such definition seems more appropriate, assuming a shared set of grammatical rules, and also Gumperz in this definition argues for regular relationship between language use and social structure. Similarly, Romaine (2000:23) states that: “A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language”.

An example of this situation may be taken from the Berber speakers living in the non-Berber regions of Algeria where they use three different languages: Berber variety, Algerian Arabic and French, switching from one language to another, or more frequently mixing them in the same conversation according to the context of use. This results from their acquisition of the norms and rules of language use within these communities. In this respect, Fishman (1971:28) says: “A speech community is one, all of whose members share at least a single variety and the norms for its appropriate use”

All the efforts for defining the speech community share: “the concern for a definition of speech community as a real group of people who share something about the way in which they use language”. (Duranti, 1997:72). In an attempt at evaluating the various proposals, Hudson (1996:27) writes:

How do we evaluate these different definitions? One answer, of course, is that they are all ‘correct’, since each of them allows us to define a set of people who have something in common linguistically—a language or dialect, interaction by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range of attitudes to varieties and items.

Based on what Hudson has stated above, we may combine many definitions to get a suitable view of the speech community under investigation.

The definition given by Fasold (1990:42) may apply to the community of Nedroma:

People alter their norms for speech behavior to conform to the appropriate speech community, by adding, subtracting, and substituting rules of communicative behavior.

Indeed, speakers of rural areas in Nedroma often alter their speech, in order to make it like that of urban areas or that of the town, this process is called speech accommodation.

1.5 SPEECH ACCOMMODATION THEORY

In order to reach intelligibility and communicative efficiency, it is fundamental to share necessity for that and therefore find identification between the interlocutors. People or speakers may shift styles primarily in response to their audience; they adjust their speech towards their listeners if they wish to express or achieve solidarity. This approach is rooted in a social psychological approach to stylistic variation originally known as speech accommodation theory (Giles 1973, Giles and Powland 1975, Giles 1984); it explains some of the cognitive reasons for code choice, code switching and other changes in speech, as individuals seek to adjust their speech to the needs of the addressee.

Giles et al (1991b) state that speech accommodation began as “a socio-psychological model of speech-style modifications”¹. It then developed into communication accommodation theory in order to acknowledge that not only speech but other “communicative behavior” (Giles et al., 2007:134), affect interpersonal or intergroup interaction, i.e. an individual’s speaker identity is constructed from interaction with varying social groups. Each group constitutes a unique culture and social category. An individual’s membership of a social group will typically influence the individual’s linguistic choice. The individual will be a member of a group because he wishes to be part of the group. That is to say, in order to minimize the social distance between that individual and the group he wishes to be part of, he will then have to reduce the linguistic intergroup differences.

There are two strategies of speech accommodation: convergence and divergence. Being convergence when speakers are likely to adjust their speech to that of the interlocutors.

¹ Quoted from: <http://www.nanzan-tandai.ac.jp/kiyou/No.36/12Haris.indd.pdf>. p 252. Accessed on January 24th, 2011.

People will attempt to converge linguistically toward the speech patterns believed to be characteristic of their recipients when they (a) desire their social approval and the perceived costs of so acting are proportionally lower than the rewards anticipated; and / or (b) desire a high level of communication efficiency, and (c) social norms are not perceived to dictate alternative speech strategies. (Beebe and Giles 1984:8)¹.

However, if the individual don't want to have a contact and then distance himself from the addressee, he may choose to diverge from the speech of his interlocutors, under the following conditions:

[when speakers] (a) define the encounter in intergroup terms and desire positive in group identity, or (b) wish to dissociate personally from another in an inter individual encounter, or (c) wish to bring another's speech behavior to a personally acceptable level. (Beebe and Giles 1984:8)².

One can say, that explanation for stylistic shifting may be explained through both the motivations of the individual speaker and the social relations among speakers and interlocutors.

¹ Quoted in (Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling. Estes, 2006:279).

² Quoted in (ibid:280).

1.6 THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

The Arabic language is one of the great languages in the world as regards the richness of its vocabulary. It belongs to the Semitic sub group of the Afro-Asiatic group of world languages. It is the native tongue of more than 200 million people worldwide, and the official language of more than 20 countries in a region stretching from western Asia to the north of Africa.

In pre Islamic times, Arabic was spoken mainly in the Arabian Peninsula, where it was the medium of a great tradition of poetry, and with the rise of Islam, it extended north into the Levant, east into Iraq and west into the north of Africa due to the Islamic conquests in the mid 7th century and later.

There are three distinct forms of Arabic: classical Arabic, modern standard Arabic and spoken or colloquial Arabic.

1.6.1 Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic was based primarily on the language of the western Hijazi tribe of Quraysh, the language of pre-Islamic poetic koiné. It is the variety which is chosen by God to be the language of the holy book, the Quran; and for fear that the Quran would be read with a bad pronunciation, Arabic was codified in the 8th and 9th century during the Abbasid era by Arab grammarians. And therefore, it became the language which unified all the Arab countries from the Atlantic ocean to the Persian Gulf. It is the liturgical language of Islam. Thus, Arabic gained special importance with the advent of Islam, and as Islam spread, so did Arabic. Watson (2002: 6) says in this respect that: “the rise and expansion of Islam was not only a religious and hence cultural conquest, but also a linguistic conquest”.

1.6.2 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern standard Arabic is a modern version or variant of classical Arabic. It is different from classical Arabic in that it has included a large number of lexical items and technical words; however the morphological and the syntax have remained basically unchanged.

MSA is not acquired as a mother tongue, but rather it is learnt as a second language at schools. It is used in situations calling for great formality, i.e. associates with media and school enterprise, and used for purposes of written communication; but it can be also used for formal spoken communication as it is understood in all Arabic speaking regions.

The emergence of MSA goes back to the 19th century with the rise of nationalism; its central premise is that the people of the Arab world from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Sea constitute one nation bound together by a common language; their primary aim is the end of western influence in the Arab world.

1.6.3 Colloquial Arabic

Every Arab country has its unique dialect that differs from the standard Arabic in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. They are spoken languages which Arabic speakers acquire as their first language.

There are wide differences between the various Arab colloquial dialects; in fact, some of the differences are so large that many dialects are mutually unintelligible. For instance middle easterners generally cannot understand or we may say that they have trouble understanding north Africans, although the reverse is not true, and this can be due to the popularity of Middle Eastern media.

The Arabic dialects can be divided into two major groups: Maghrebi and Eastern dialects. The former is a variety spoken in the Maghreb including: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. It is characterized by many borrowings from the languages of colonizers of north Africa including France, Spain as well as the influence of the Berber. Whereas the latter, Eastern Arabic includes the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, Yemen), along with the Levantine countries(Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan) and Egypt and Iraq.

The two dialect groups differ from each other at all linguistic levels, here are some of the many differences (Margaret Omar, 1974):

- The most obvious difference in the pronunciation of Maghrebi Arabic is the absence of some vowels at the beginning of a word, which leads to complex consonant clusters. Note the following pronunciation of the following words:

Maghrebi Arabic:

ħməd

χtək

staħməlt

Eastern Arabic:

ʔahmad “Ahmad”(proper name)

ʔuχtak “ your sister”

ʔistaħməlt “I used”

The interdental consonants of classical Arabic / θ, ð, ð / have become /d/ and /t/ in Maghrebi dialects, whereas in Eastern Arabic they normally become /s/ and /z/.

The following table shows a number of examples to clarify the point:

| Classical Arabic | Maghrebi Arabic | Eastern Arabic | Gloss |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Maθalan | Matalan | Masalan | for example |
| ʔiðaaʕa | ʔiɗaaʕa | ʔiɜaaʕa | radio |
| biððabʔ | biɗɗabʔ | bizzabʔ | exactly |

- The distinction between /s/ and /ʃ/, and /z/ and /ʒ/ are often lost in Maghrebi Arabic.

| Classical Arabic | Maghrebi Arabic | Eastern Arabic | Gloss |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| zuʒaaʒ | zaʒ, ʒaʒ | izaz | glass |
| ʃams | semʃ, ʃems | ʃams | sun |

The basic factors account for the difference between Maghrebi and Eastern dialects in that, the indigenous languages underlying Maghrebi Arabic were Berber, as opposed to Semitic languages in the Eastern Arabic. Many of the ‘foreign’ features found in the Maghreb can be traced to the influence of the Berber language (Omar 1974), in addition to the influence of other languages including: Spanish and Turkish interferences and mostly the influence of the French language, as Maghrebi speakers tend to use loanwords from French in a conspicuous way.

1.7 LANGUAGE VARIATION

Sociolinguistics as a huge field has dealt with many disciplines in studying language, and language variation is one of the major areas of investigation in the field. It did not attract much attention of linguists until 1960's when it was developed by Labov. Chambers (2003:13) says that: "though linguistic variation may be obvious, no linguists analysed it systematically until the inception of sociolinguistics in 1960's".

Labov's work in 1966: *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* inspired linguists in studying language variation and thus led to the emergence of a new approach or discipline called variationist sociolinguistics. It treated language as a means which can vary from one speaker to another. The key to this approach is to study the correlations between linguistic and social variables, i.e. to focus on the linguistic system in relation to the social aspects of the individual and context. Labov's intent in the new approach of linguistic variation theory was: "an empirical, rigorous and reproducible approach to language as it is actually used, through a solid data and objective analyses"¹.

In his work, Labov opposed all those who ignore the heterogeneity of language and consider it as a set of grammatically correct sentences. Labov insisted on tackling language use (performance) and language heterogeneity, i.e. variability. For him, linguistic theory must involve not only formal linguistic structure, but also every social function that is related to language in one way or another. Wardhaugh (2006:5) says in this respect:

¹ Quoted in: <http://albuquerque.bioinformatics.uottawa.ca/Papers/labov.pdf>.

A recognition of variation implies that we must recognize that a language is not just some kind of abstract object of study. It is also something that people use.

So, it is necessary to study and focus on language use, so as to answer questions like: why does language vary from one speaker to another?

Schuchardt (1972:48) noted that: “the pronunciation of the individual is never free from variation”. Many factors affect language use; these might be social class, geographical location, ethnicity, age, gender...etc. Sociolinguistics often comes across as either too restricting to social categories such as class, gender, style, geography (the external factors), or too restricting to linguistic categories such as systems and rate of change (the structural factors).

Variationist sociolinguistics is most aptly described as the branch of linguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other, linguistic structure and social meaning. Those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation. (Tagliamonte 2006:5).

So, to see what happens to language when we look at it in relation to the social factors, it is necessary first to distinguish between dependent and independent variables. The former are linguistic variables, and the latter are social factors, characteristics that are assumed to be related to or to influence the dependent variables.

1.7.1 Linguistic Variables

It is derived from the pioneering work of Labov, along with other studies from different sociolinguists (e.g. Trudgill (1974), Detroit (1968), Wolfram (1969)...etc.)

The linguistic variable has been defined by Wardhaugh (2006:143) as: “a linguistic item which has identifiable variants”. For a long time, before the study of urban dialectology, linguists described linguistic variable as ‘free variation’.

By free they meant that there were no clear linguistic constraints which would predict when you got one variant rather than another. So free essentially meant unconstrained. (Meyerhoff 2006:10).

It means that the variants cannot be predicted by any factor. However since the 1960’s with the work of Labov on Martha’s Vineyard (1963):

Sociolinguists have amassed considerable evidence showing that speaker variability can be constrained by non linguistic factors (things external to the linguistic system) as well as by linguistic factors. (ibid).

Chambers (2003:14) says that: “the most casual observations of speech show that its variants are associated with social factors”.

The linguistic variable has also been defined by Chambers and Trudgill (2004:50) as:

A linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in co variation with other social and/ or linguistic variables. Linguistic variables can often be regarded as socially different but linguistically equivalent ways of doing or saying the same thing, and occur at all levels of linguistic analysis.

An example of a linguistic variable from the lexical level, saying for instance ‘automobile’ and ‘car’. Another example from the phonological level, where the variable /ng/ has two variants [ŋ] and [n] as in the word ‘singing’. We can say ‘singing’ with [ŋ] variant, or ‘singin’ with [n] variant. We might find two or even three or more variants in one linguistic variable, but this can be more complicated.

Labov (1972) has distinguished between three different linguistic variables which behave in different ways and carry different social values. According to him, a variable can be considered as an indicator, a marker or a stereotype.

An indicator is the most subtle type of variables, may vary with social attributes of speakers but are not socially marked. For example, in North America, some speakers make a distinction between the vowels in ‘cot’ and ‘caught’, while others do not. Labov (1972b:314) for instance provides the merger of the vowels in ‘hock’ and ‘hawk’ as an example of a sociolinguistic indicator. The degree to which these vowels are merged varies across groups and individuals, but often below the level of speaker’s conscious awareness.

A marker has been shown to correlate with social features or significance like class and ethnicity, as well as with styles of speaking. People are aware of markers. Wardaugh (2006:145) says that “markers may be potent carriers of social information”. For instance, the variable /r/ in Labov’s New York study (1966) marks the social stratification of people. If you pronounce the [r], you belong to a high class, and those who do not belong to a lower class. For e.g. in pre-consonantal [r]: [ha:rd] vs. [ha:d], and in final [r]: [ka:r] vs. [ka:]. It is the opposite in Britain.

The third type of linguistic variable, stereotypes, are the most marked type of variables. They are readily commented on by hearers and often become manipulated or avoided because they are stigmatized.

1.7.2 Social Variables

As opposed to rural dialectology, which was concerned with mapping the different geographical distribution of different linguistic features, urban dialectology came and became more interested on linguistic variation and adopted many techniques in investigating the nature of language and its relation to social factors, and this was due to Labov's works (1963,1966, 1972a, 1972b).

Taking the social dimension of linguistic variation was an important step to the study of language. Maclagan (2005:15) says:

Because speech is so much part of a person's identity, it is essential that speech language pathologists are aware of the regional and social variation that is present in the speech community in which they are working, before they undertake any treatment¹.

Language carries information on the speaker's identity and reveals for example his or her group membership (social class) and this is what we call language variation according to user, i.e. language which reveals speaker's place of origin, gender, age, social class, ethnicity.... etc. Thus, it is necessary and interesting to examine the factors influencing the way people speak.

The concept of sociolinguistic variable is defined by Fasold (1990:223-224) as:

A set of alternative ways of saying the same thing, although the alternatives, or variants, have social significance. More specifically, a sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic element that co-varies not only with other linguistic element, but also with a number of extra linguistic independent variables like social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style.²

¹ Quoted in Ball, M.J. (2005: 15).

² Quoted in: <http://www.criticism.com/linguistics/sociolinguistic-variable.php>.

Maclagan (ibid) says that: “social variation involves non-regional variation. The result of such things as social class, gender ethnic background and education”.

In the next step, we are going to look more at the relationship between language and social features as these latter is correlated with, or seem to influence, differences in how people use language.

1.7.2.1 Social Class

The term social class was first widely used in the early 19th century following the industrial and political revolution of the late 18th century. Trudgill (1995:23) defines social class or stratification as: “a term used to refer to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a society”. And Wardhaugh (2006:148) says that sociolinguists use a number of different scales for classifying people when they attempt to place individuals somewhere within a social system. Among such scales, we can mention an occupational and educational scale. For example, in Algeria, because of the diglossic characteristic, we cannot correlate linguistic variation with socio-economic groups, but we can classify people according to their level of education. However, in England, English speakers may guess that a speaker is of a higher or lower social status through the dialect he or she uses. Trudgill (1995:22) says that:

There are grammatical differences between the speech of two speakers which give us clues about their social backgrounds....these differences will be accompanied by phonetic and phonological differences.

He adds that: “different social groups use different linguistic varieties” (ibid).

Many works by different sociolinguists try to describe the speech characteristics of social groups. Gumperz's work (1958) in India shows a direct relationship between linguistic variation and caste membership. Also, Labov's work (1966) shows that the presence and the absence of the sound /r/ in words like 'car' and 'hard' is related to the speaker's social class.

Trudgill (1995:28) says that: "linguists have known for a long time that different dialects and accents are related to differences of social class background".

1.7.2.2 Ethnicity

An ethnic group is a group of people who are identified by a number of factors, being cultural, racial, economic, political, linguistic, religious...and may be more or less. Among these factors, we have language which is a primary characteristic that separates groups of humans from others. Language is always an important part of cultural identity and group affiliation. Trudgill (1995:41) notes that:

Language may be an important or even essential concomitant of ethnic group membership. This is a social fact, though, and it is important to be clear about what sort of processes may be involved. In some cases, for example, and particularly where language rather than varieties of a language are involved, linguistic characteristics may be the most important *defining* criteria for ethnic-group membership.

Chambers gave the example of Canada, where two main ethnic groups identify themselves as being native speakers of English or French. He also says (ibid) that:

In other cases, particularly where different varieties of the same language are concerned, the connection between language and ethnic group may be a simple one of habitual association, reinforced by social barriers between the groups, where language is an important *identifying* characteristic.

For example the differences that can be found in the English of black and white speakers in the USA. Speakers choose consciously their own dialect in order to display their belonging and membership. The majority of black speakers tend to use the B.E.V to exhibit their ethnic identity. In a similar way, Irish speakers in Belfast prefer to interact in their own English vernacular to differentiate themselves from others.

The term B.E.V was later on known as AAVE African American Vernacular English. In the United States, the most investigated relationship between language and ethnicity is that of AAVE. Such a speech correlates with phonological and grammatical features. On a phonological level, as Hinbel (2005) says, there is often a simplification of word-final consonant clusters and stress on the first syllable rather than the second.

Religion is also one primary ethnic characteristic that may be so strong that it causes a definite boundary within a group of persons that are otherwise identical. Religion is then a sufficient reason to list a group as a separate ethnic group.

In the Arabic-speaking community, we are differentiating as an ethnic group by our language Arabic, which is an important defining characteristic of ethnic group membership.

1.7.2.3 Age

We know that language changes over time, these changes have all been observed through diachronic studies of historical texts. And we can make a lot of progress by looking at the role of speakers' age in synchronic studies of linguistic variation. Age plays an important role in variation, as sociolinguists argued that young people sound different or speak differently from adults. And this can be explained in the phenomenon of age grading¹, which explains speech appropriate to age. Sankoff says that:

“Speakers might be changing various aspects of their language over the course of their lives”. (Quoted in: Carmen Fought, 2004:121).

Each generation of speakers modifies its linguistic behaviour at a particular stage in life, sometimes into adult hood. But the language itself does not change across generations. Child hears speakers of various ages and he notices that the younger the speaker, the more advanced the change.

Studies of linguistic change in progress relied on the concept of apparent time; this involves analyzing the speech of a structured sample of people of different ages. Labov (1994, 112) says that “generational change is the basic model for sound change”. Age stratification on linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life.

We can conclude by saying that language variation allows us as speakers to locate ourselves in a multi-dimensional society. Age is one of the dimensions on which we construct identities for ourselves and others. Gender also plays an important role in language variation as we have linguistic differences between male and female.

¹ Involves surveying the differences between the speech of people of different ages. (Chambers and Trudgill 2004 :151).

1.7.2.4 Gender

Prior to the advent of variationist sociolinguistics, many dialectologists based their surveys almost entirely on the speech of men and excluded women. However, sociolinguists turned their attention to the language of both men and women, and become more interested on language and gender as they proved that in most societies, the speech of men differs in certain respects from women's speech.

The men have a great many expressions peculiar to them, which the women understand but never pronounce themselves. On the other hand, the women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn. Thus it happens that in their conversations it often seems as if the women had another language than the men. (Rocheport 1665, cited Jespersen 1922: 237)¹.

Both Labov, in his study of the speech of New York, and Trudgill, in his study of Norwich in England, found that:

Within each social class group, and across each stylistic context studied, their female informants tended to use more 'prestige' or high status language features, and their male informants more vernacular language features².

Women as opposed to men are likely to speak in a more prestigious way. It has often been noted that women use more of the standard forms than men do especially in western societies. Trudgill (1995:69) says that: "Women on average

¹ Quoted in Rajend Masthrie et al. 2004: 214.

² (ibid: 218).

use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men.

Studies which were carried out by Trudgill of Norwich English showed that women use more of the [ɪŋ] variant, which is the variant of the standard English, and men use more of the [ɪn] variant, which is the variant of the vernacular or non-standard English. This pattern largely hold for the working class and the middle class speakers as well as. Trudgill (ibid: 72) says:

It has been pointed out that working class speech, like certain other aspects of working class culture in our society, seems to have connotations or associations with masculinity, which may lead men to be more favourably disposed to non standard linguistic forms than women.

A speaker uses one variant more than another, because as Mayerhoff (2006) says, he is constituting himself as an exemplar of maleness and constituting that variant as an emblem of masculinity. Whereas women use, as Labov concludes from his work (1966), prestigious forms to gain a remarkable position in society.

Trudgill pointed out that in western societies, men are evaluated more on what they do and women on how they appear. He suggested that this might make women pay more attention to stylistic markers in speech. (Meyerhoff 2006:208-209).

Romaine says:

Trudgill also argued (1972) that for men speaking non-standardly has “covert” prestige, while the “overt” prestige associated with speaking the standard variety is more important to women¹.

¹ Quoted in Holmes and Meyerhoff, (2003: 104).

However, in the Arab speaking communities, the situation is not the same. In 1980's, sociolinguists start working on that area and found that:

Studies of synchronic variation in Arabic seemed to be showing men using more of the overtly prestigious variants associated with classical Arabic, and women using more of the variants associated with the local colloquial variety of Arabic. (Meyerhoff, 2006: 218).

And as Meyerhoff (2006) says, in order to understand what is happening in the Arabic speech communities, it is helpful to consider the social role of women and men. In a study of social dialect survey done by Bachir (1986) in many arab countries, in Cairo, Iraq, Damascus, and Hama (Syria). He found that even if women have been well educated, they are likely to use local variants, whereas men use the classical Arabic variants more. This can be because as Meyerhoff (2006:219) argues that:

Even if a cairene woman is quite well educated in classical Arabic, her opportunities for participating fully in public life are nonetheless considerably more restricted than a man's. Many of the jobs which involve active use of C.A are dominated by men.

1.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have tried to give a clear picture about the field of sociolinguistics. Our concern was language variation, which explains the relation between variables and social factors. One of the most major contributions of sociolinguistic studies is that variation in language is not random. In their investigation, sociolinguists have used quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse and interpret the data and also to examine the frequencies of each linguistic feature in order to determine the correlations between dependent (linguistic) and independent (social) variables, and to what extent these latter variables determine our use of language.

In this chapter, we have reviewed some basic concepts relevant to our investigation to apply them in our study of Nedroma speech community.

CHAPTER TWO: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

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2.3 Diglossia.

2.4 Language Contact.

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2.7 Dialect Variation.

2.8 Conclusion.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

With the advent of sociolinguistics, considerable studies of language in its social context were achieved. Investigations in the colloquial forms of the Arabic-speaking world, including Algeria as a case of Maghrebi countries, are not exhaustive if we compare it with those of the Western world. The only scarce works available actually are those which were conducted by foreign scholars such as Marçais, Blanc and Cohen at a time where almost all the Arabs were under French or English rule.

Nowadays, Arabic sociolinguists have become more aware about the study of dialects and a great interest is growing among scholars in the examination of Arabic and its dialects. Suleiman (1994) says that research into Arabic sociolinguistics has recently gathered pace, and it takes its initial inspiration from Ferguson's pioneering work on diglossia in the late fifties. And it was later underpinned by the theoretical and methodological advances originated from Labov's work on the English language situation in its American context. Early researches on Arabic sociolinguistics then, concentrated on varieties and variation.

The linguistic situation in Algeria is very complex, as many codes display in the country, and this was due to historical, political and socio-cultural factors. In this chapter, we try to throw light on the Algerian linguistic profile and the relationship between Arabic and its varieties, as well as the use of French by Algerians in their everyday interaction, and then to shed light on one Algerian dialect, Nedromi Arabic, our interest in this research work.

2.2 THE ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC PROFILE

Algeria is considered as a complex multilingual country, a complexity that lies in the presence of three languages, the existence of which is due to many factors, historical, socio-cultural and political ones. For a long time, Algeria was considered to be an interest of many invaders mentioned for instance, the French settlement, the Spanish, the Turkish....all have left certainly a great impact on its linguistic situation.

The first language of North Africans was Berber. According to some historians, the indigenous people of the area were the Berbers who lived here for more than 4000 years. The introduction of the Arabic language by the Arab invaders in the mid 7th century, was a great event as Islam and Arabic were introduced to North Africa in general and to Algeria in particular. Algeria today defines itself as part of the Arabic and Muslim world and states that Arabic is the national and official language of the country. However, in spite of the profound impact of the introduction of Islam and Arabic in the country, some areas maintained their Berber vernaculars and continue to be used. The major Berber varieties are Kabyle, spoken in Kabylie mountains: the Kabyles represent the largest group of Berber; the Chaoui in the Aures range, and the Mzabi in the south. The Berber language represents a minority in Algeria as it is only spoken by about 15% of the Algerian population. It has been recognized as a national language by a constitutional amendment since May 2002 due to a strong social demand for that, and there is still a demand from Berbers to assert their existence as a distinct ethnic group.

Arabic appears in three forms which fulfill different sets of function: CA, the language of the Quran; MSA, a simplified version of the former is used in formal situations, generally associated with media and school enterprise; and

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Algerian Arabic in the form of a wide range of mutually intelligible geographical dialects restricted to informal contexts used spontaneously by the Algerian speakers to communicate. This situation and the relationship between MSA and its colloquial dialects is called diglossia by sociolinguists, a complex and intricate situation that will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

To have a complete image about the linguistic situation in Algeria, it is necessary to throw light on the most striking event that left a great impact on the Algerian society; it is the French colonization of the territory.

Although the French language has no official status in Algeria today, it is so widespread that you can hear everywhere in the country.

During the French colonization of Algeria, France used all the means to eliminate the Arabic language and replace it with French as the official language and Arabic as a foreign one. Their main aim and their policy was to exclude Arabic from any official use or educational practice, because as Chomsky says: “questions of language are basically questions of power”¹. The French controlled Algeria through a policy of cultural imperialism and suppression of the Algerian cultural identity. However, and after the independence, the Algerian government started a policy of linguistic Arabization in an attempt to regain the Algerian identity as an Arabic and Muslim country, and establish and state that Arabic is the solely and official language of the country. But in spite of that, the French language had so deeply influenced the Algerian community, that today, after almost five decades since the departure of the colonists, it continues to play an important role in both the spoken and written domains. French is widely used in urban cities, as French is considered and believed to be a prestigious variety.

¹ Quoted in <http://webs.uvigo.es/ssl/actas2002/04/02.ZoulikhaBensafi.pdf>.

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French is also used in scientific and business university courses, regarded as the language of science and technology.

Even after independence, French continued to be used for about ten years in education to teach all subjects (Arabic was taught as a 2nd language). However, the process of Arabisation started to be applied (1971). Soon, French started to be taught as a 2nd language. At first the ministry decided to teach the French language as a subject from the fourth year of the primary level. However, recently it began to be taught from the second year, almost as early as children are taught MSA.

So with the existence of at least three languages, Algeria is then considered as a multilingual country. We have said that the relationship between these codes can lead to a diglossic situation (MSA and AA), and it can also lead to a bilingual one (Arabic and French, or Berber and French) which will also be discussed in this chapter.

Any discussion of Arabic linguistic situation will be incomplete without mentioning diglossia.

2.3 DIGLOSSIA

The term diglossia refers to the existence of two varieties of the same language, used under different conditions. The term was first introduced by the French linguist William Marçais (1930) to describe the situation of the Arab world though he did not mention the specialization function of each variety. Two decades later (1959), Ferguson was the first to introduce it in the English literature on sociolinguistics. He (1972:232) defines diglossia as: “Two varieties

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of the same language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play”, in order to describe the situation found in four places: Greece, Switzerland, the Arabic speaking world in general and the Island of Haiti. In all these societies, there is the existence of two distinct varieties of the same language used under different conditions, in which one is used only on formal occasions, while the other is used in informal situations. The two varieties are called high and low, or standard and vernacular. Wardhaugh (2006:89) describes diglossia as follows:

A diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set.

In Algeria, the Arabic language is the national and official language, and it usually appears in its two forms: Classical Arabic or MSA which is a simpler and easier form of it, and dialectal Arabic. MSA prevails in all situations of an official or formal setting; it is theoretically the language of the educational system, administrative institutions, the media, and writing in general. Dialectal Arabic is used in the acts of every day communication. This distinction might be explained by the fact that MSA is defined as a language of prestige, seen as more logical and more beautiful than AA which is perceived as a language of lesser prestige. Freeman (1996) says in this respect:

An important component of diglossia is that the speakers have the personal perception that the High variety is the "real" language and that the Low variety is "incorrect" usage. In Arabic people talk about the High variety as being "pure" Arabic and the dialects as being corrupt forms.¹

¹ Quoted in:

<http://www.modlinguistics.com/Sociolinguistics/diglossia/Andrew%20Freeman's%20Perspectives%20on%20Arabic%20Diglossia.htm>

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The H and L varieties differ from each other as Romaine (1994:46) says:

[...] not only in grammar, phonology and vocabulary, but also with respect to a number of social characteristics namely: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability.

Diglossia could also characterize countries of western Europe (monolingual countries), and to refer to such a situation Trudgill (1983) used the term: standard-with-dialect situation as opposed to diglossic situation. The code choice is made by the speakers in terms of level of formality. The difference between diglossic and standard-with-dialect situations is that in the Arab countries the high variety is never acquired as a mother tongue by any portion of the community, it is only learned in the process of schooling. In contrast, standard English or French are acquired as a mother tongue by a number of people.

In his original definition of diglossia, Ferguson said that the two varieties are in complementary distribution. However, in some cases we mix the low variety with the high variety, for example when talking about religious facts or matters, as we are obliged to use some high variety items that have no equivalents in the low variety. Linguists agree that the high variety has grammatical categories and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which are reduced or absent in the low variety. Wardhaugh (2006:91) says in this respect:

The low variety often shows a tendency to borrow learned words from the high variety, particularly when speakers try to use the low variety in more formal ways. The result is a certain admixture of high vocabulary into the low.

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This matter has led many Arabic speakers to use CA or MSA in a spontaneous way. In this case we can say that diglossia is not a stable phenomenon as noticed by Ferguson in 1959, and Ferguson himself has argued on the weaknesses of his original article in his recent one 'Diglossia revisited' (1991).

The term diglossia is used to express a bilingual situation whenever two varieties are related, i.e. belonging to the same language. However, Fishman (1967) extended the term and the scope of diglossia to cover situations where the high and low varieties are genetically unrelated. He refers to Paraguay as an example of a diglossic community, although the high and low varieties are: Spanish and Guarani, an Indian language, totally unrelated to Spanish. Romaine (1994:48) states that: "The notion of diglossia is also extended to include more than two varieties or languages which participate in such a functional relationship". Algeria represents not only the case of classical diglossia, but also a good instance of extended diglossia, as French is used as a high variety in some faculties and scientific streams along with the Algerian Arabic as a low variety.

Fishman (1967) distinguishes between four situations: diglossia with bilingualism, which means two different languages that are genetically unrelated used for different functions. An example of this situation is the use of French and AA in Algeria as mentioned above. The second situation is diglossia without bilingualism, a case of classical diglossia, meaning the use of two varieties of the same language with the specification of functions for each variety. The third situation is bilingualism without diglossia. In this case, there is the use of two different languages without separate functions. And the fourth situation is neither diglossia nor bilingualism, which means that only one language is used (monolingual communities), a situation that is rarely found.

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In Algeria, with the existence of more than one code due to colonization, the linguistic situation becomes more complicated as the Algerian speakers switch from one language to another (French and Arabic), or mix the two languages at the same time. Such a phenomenon is a speech behaviour that has led to an intricate Algerian situation occurring as an outcome of language contact.

2.4 LANGUAGE CONTACT

During the last few decades, sociolinguists have made great advancement in the field of contact linguistics, since languages in contact have always been an interesting domain in the field of linguistic investigation.

The book of Weinreich in 1953 '*Language in contact*' is considered as pioneering in the field. Language contact has always been recognized by sociolinguists as the outcome of socio-cultural factors resulting from wars, colonization, migration, slavery and globalization. When speakers of different linguistic systems interact with each other, it is obvious that these languages influence each other. Speakers of one language may be influenced by the other language by introducing to it new features or words, a process called borrowing. For example in Algeria, and after a hundred and thirty two years of French colonization, the French language is today commonly used by the Algerian people and in a spontaneous way, sometimes the Algerian speakers use French without even knowing that they are speaking French. This is due to the great number of French loanwords that have entered Algerian Arabic. Language contact can also cover many phenomena such as bilingualism and code switching.

2.4.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a sociolinguistic phenomenon considered as the major outcome of language contact. It refers to the existence and use of two verbal codes or more. It can refer to either the language use or the competence of an individual, or to the language situation in an entire nation or society.

In 1980, Fishman distinguishes between bilingualism as an individual phenomenon and as a societal one. The former, individual bilingualism or bilinguality, refers to the ability to alternate between two or more codes in day-to-day interaction. Bilinguality, therefore, is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication¹. So it concerns the ability of individuals to perform and behave linguistically in more than one code depending on the individual's level of education, interest and motivation.

Being bilingual does not imply complete mastery of the two languages, so we can distinguish between balanced bilinguals, i.e. those who use both their languages equally and equally well in all contexts, while unbalanced bilinguals, do not have the same competence in both languages, that is, those whose competence is higher in one language than in the other.

Individual bilinguals can also be classified as being active bilinguals or passive ones, be they active through speaking and writing or passive through listening and reading. Societal bilingualism or multilingualism is characterized by a group of people or a community or a particular region, and is created by contextual factors

¹ Hamers and Blanc (2000:1) use the term “bilinguality” to denote an individual use of two languages and reserve the term “bilingualism” for the study of how two languages and more function in a given society.

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such as international migration, colonization, and the spread of international languages.

As already mentioned, Algeria is characterized by Arabic-French bilingualism. The French language has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society as a consequence of the French colonization of the country that lasted more than a century.

At the macro-level, that is society, bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous since not all the population is bilingual. Some areas are monolingual, whereas others, especially in the Northern part of the country, are bilinguals or multilingual.

Moving to micro level, individual bilinguals can be considered in terms of active and passive. Many Algerians, especially educated ones, are active bilinguals that is they have an active ability in productive and receptive skills as they can speak and understand French. Others (old or uneducated people) however, are passive bilinguals since only their receptive skills are relatively developed, that is they understand French but do not speak it.

What is noticeable in the Algerian community is the high use of French language by old generation speakers rather than the young one, and here we can say that the variable of age plays a very important role in the use of language among Algerian speakers. The reason behind such a fact is that the old generation were taught in French schools. This is why they prefer to read French newspapers or listen to news or programmes in French, whereas the young generation who were educated during the process of arabisation are more likely to read Arabic rather than French.

French has had a deep impact in the Algerian community in spite of the process of Arabisation; it is still read and spoken by many educated Algerians, and even non-educated Algerians. Many bilingual people, if not all, mix the two languages within their speech or in a conversation, a behavior that had led to a complex phenomenon called code switching.

2.4.2 Code Switching

Most speech communities have more than one code and this is due to many factors being historical and socio-economic one. We can mention for instance colonization and migration which led to language contact. As a result, most speakers of these bilingual communities switch from one language to another. This alternative use of two or more codes is called code switching.

The contact between languages may have great impact on the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. Algeria provides a good example of such a situation. The alternation is usually between Arabic (or Berber in some areas) and French, as Algerian speakers adopted the French language after a long time of French colonization and mix it with the local variety.

The phenomenon of code switching has attracted the attention of many scholars and thus was studied from different perspectives. The term was given different definitions, and as a simple one we can mention the definition given by Myers Scotton (1993: vii) which sees it as: “the use of two or more languages in the same conversation”. The switch can be in the same conversation, but also in the same utterance. However, certain circumstances or rules have to be taken into consideration. Hudson (1996: 51) explains the point as follows:

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Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances, the first considerations; of course, is which language will be comprehensible to the person addressed; generally speaking, speakers choose a language which the other person can understand.

The Blom and Gumperz's work (1972) on *Social meaning in linguistic structures* is considered to be the starting point in the study of code switching. In their work, Blom and Gumperz have distinguished two types of code switching: 'situational code switching' and 'metaphorical code switching'. The former refers to the use of different codes in different situations, one code is used in a particular setting and the other in an entirely different one, because as Hudson (1996: 52) says, "The switches between languages always coincide with changes from one external situation to another".

In Algeria for example, CA or MSA are used in the mosque while French is used in the university in a medical lecture. So the choice of language here is specified by the setting.

Language choice is also controlled by social rules which the individuals learn from their daily linguistic behaviour. On the other hand, metaphorical code switching relies on the use of two languages within a single social setting; here, as Hudson (1996: 23) says, "it is the choice of language that determines the situation". Algerian speakers may use French to talk about a computer program, and then switch to AA to discuss a football match.

Poplack (1980) distinguishes three types of code switching:

- a) Intersentential code switching: the switches in this type occur at sentence and/or clause boundary, saying for example: [lbæreħ dʒɪt lʃandək mais je trouve personne]. ‘Yesterday I come to you but I haven’t found anyone’.
- b) Intrasentential code switching: in this type the switches take place within the sentence or even inside the word. For example: [kɪ hdær mʃæjæ la première fois directement rɪjaħtlo]. ‘When he talked to me for the first time I directly relax to him’.
- c) Extra-sentential code switching: is used to refer to switches between a tag and the base language, like saying for example: [kɔnt temmæ C’est pas vrai]. ‘You were there that is not true’

Almost every language shows influence of other languages due to language contact. Speakers of two languages mix the two in the same speech, and this may be seen most clearly in countries where colonization left a deep influence by imposing its language as is the case in Algeria where the French language has been deeply rooted in the community. In AA, the influence that can be found is for example the Arabic inflection that can be added to the French verb, saying for instance [enregistrito] ‘I have recorded it’, or [inscriti, inscrito?] ‘have you registered’ ; the French verbal root is conjugated with an Arabic inflection.

Depending on cultural background and language attitude towards each language, speakers may prefer to use Arabic words instead of their French borrowed counterparts and vice versa. We may also add that this phenomenon of how someone speaks and what words or language they use and choose is often an indicator of their level of education and position in society.

Many authors (Marçais, Blanc, and Cohen) have considered the Arabic language in a number of subdivisions, as shown below.

2.6 COLLOQUIAL ARABIC: SEDENTARY VS BEDOUIN VARIANTS

Every language has its dialectal varieties. Arabic in general and Algerian Arabic in particular have several varieties. Algerian dialects can be classified in two main groups: sedentary dialects and Bedouin dialects.

The invasions that Algeria witnessed are considered as a turning point in its history at all levels: cultural, social, religious and linguistic. In the 7th century,

Islam and the Arabic language were introduced to Algeria. It was arabized during two different periods. The first one started with the Muslim invasions who introduced Arabic and Islam to the indigenous inhabitants, the Berber. Those Arabs brought with them a sedentary or urban type of Arabic. The second period began in the 11th century with the Arab settlers Banu Hilal who were considered at that time as a nomadic population. They brought to the area a Bedouin or rural dialect with specific characteristics different from those of sedentary dialects. The distinction between the two types of dialects lies in the realization of some phonological, morphological and lexical features that were described by Marçais (1960) as follows:

- The uvular /q/ is realized as [g] in Bedouin dialects, whereas it is kept the same as CA in sedentary dialects. For instance it is realized as /q/, in Beni Snous a region of Tlemcen and in Nedroma our area of investigation, and as [k] in Ghazaouet, and as a glottal plosive [ʔ] in Tlemcen city.

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- The interdentalals /θ, ð, ð/ are realized as /d, t, d̥ or t̥/ in sedentary dialects, while in Bedouin dialects they are kept the same. According to Cantineau (1960:44), Bedouin dialects are marked by presence, within their consonantal systems, of these interdental fricatives which have become plosives in the sedentary varieties. The word /θelʒ/: “snow” for instance, is realized as [telʒ] in sedentary dialects and as [θelʒ] in Bedouin ones.
- No gender distinction in some sedentary dialects, whereas in Bedouin dialects gender is differentiated by adding the suffix {i} when addressing a woman. For example the word [kul]: “eat” is used in sedentary dialects to address both a man and a woman. However, in Bedouin dialects [kulɪ] is used to address a woman and [kul] for a man.
- Bedouin dialects are characterized by the use of the suffix {ah} with the third person singular masculine, both as an object pronoun as in /kətbah/: “he wrote it”, and as a possessive one as in /kta:bah/: “his book”. In contrast, in sedentary dialects, its counterpart {u} is used as in /kətbu/ and /kta:bu/.
- The distinction between the two types also lies in the different realizations of a number of lexical items; here are some of the examples from Tlemcen speech as opposed to rural speech.

| Urban vocabulary | Rural vocabulary | Gloss |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| kæməl | gæ:ɣ | all |
| ʔæɖzi | ʔarwa:h | come |
| ħabb | bɣa | he wanted |
| ʔæsəɱ | wæ:f | what |
| fæjən | wi:n | where |
| nəħhi | ʔəglæ ɣ | take off |
| jaɣməl | jdi:r | he does |

Table 2.1 The distinction between Sedentary and Beouin dialects in the different realizations of a number of lexical items.

- But the most salient feature opposing the two types of dialects is the realization of the phoneme/q/. Cantineau (1938:82) states that:

Only a mute pronunciation of /qaf/ has a decisive meaning: all the sedentary dialects, and only the sedentary dialects have this pronunciation.¹

According to such classification, Nedroma dialect, which is our concern in this research work, has the characteristics of the sedentary dialects, and therefore is a sedentary one.

¹ This is a translation of the original text in French : « Seule une prononciation sourde du *qaf* a un sens décicif: tous les parlers sédentaires, et seuls les parlers sédentaires ont cette prononciation ». Quoted in Dendane (1993 :33).

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The sedentary dialects can also be subdivided into urban (city) and rural (village) dialects. This is the case of Nedroma where the dialect is divided into the city and the village, and our interest in this work is to look at the linguistic differences between these two sub groups. Martine Haak (1997:12) says that, like the Bedouin- sedentary opposition, the distinction between urban and rural dialects is not based entirely on the current social status of the speakers, and should thus partly be regarded as a genetic classification. She also says that (ibid):

The gradual processes of linguistic adaptation made by communities undergoing ecological change, and thus becoming ruralite rather than bedouinite, or urbanite rather than ruralite.

In the following section, we will see what are the linguistic features of NA and the difference between rural and urban dialects in Nedroma.

2.6 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN NEDROMA

The language variety under investigation in this research work is spoken in the area called Nadroma. It is one of the seven districts of Tlemcen, and which shares with it a number of the linguistic feature

2.6.1 Historical Background

Nedroma was constructed by Abdel Moumen Ben Ali, the founder of “El Dawla el Mowahidiya” in 1160 (555 Hegira). The area was previously populated by the Berber tribes and was called at that time ‘Fellaoucen’ like the mountain adjacent to it. The town was considered as the capital of the Trara region¹ which

¹ The name « Trara » which is the plural of the singular form « Trari » originally refers to the Berber tribes of « Leônata, who came from Tunisia. (Derni, 2002:8).

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is situated in the north of Tlemcen between the Mediterranean Sea and the mountain of Fellaoucen. It also extends from Oued Kiss in the west to Oued Tafna in the east. The region was Arabised in the 5th and 6th century. The tribe of Trara is divided into different ethnic groups: Beni Mnir, Beni Abed, Beni Khellad, Beni Meshel, Djebala, Souahlia, in addition to Oualhassa, Beni Ouarsous and Msirda.

The developments that occurred in this town during the French occupation affected its population. From 1952, Nedroma witnessed many changes and several transfers of its population, as many of the families committed to abandon Nedroma and emigrate to Morocco and to other Algerian cities, while the populations of the countryside started rushing to the city. This rural exodus lasted from 1956 to 1960. Almost 40% of the population of Nedroma are from rural origin. At the time of the rural exodus, 35% came from Beni Mnir, 36% from Souahlia, and 33% from Beni Meshel. However, many of the families who had left the town returned in 1966. This led to the existence of two groups of people in Nedroma. Grandguillaume called them: “citadins et campagnards”. He defined (1976: 145-146) the two groups as follows:

Les citadins sont ceux qui se considèrent les vieux habitants de la ville, les descendants des nobles familles installées à Nédroma par Abd-el-Moumen.....Les campagnards sont couramment appelés par les citadins *qbayel*, ou gens des tribus¹.

So all such mobility and changes of Nedroma population, affected the linguistic situation of the region, which led to diversity in its linguistic system as we will see in this chapter.

¹ The tribes that were surrounding Nedroma. And they are called *qbayl*, as the area was previously populated by berber people.

2.6.2 Geography and Population

Nedroma is located about 60 km East of Tlemcen, 18 km north of Ghazaouet, and 60 km west of Maghnia. It is not very far from the Moroccan borders, about 45km. Nedroma has a surface of 14,094 hectares, and a population of about 35,000 inhabitants.



Map 2.1 The Geographical Location of Nedroma.

2.6.3 The Dialect of Nedroma

Every dialect has features specific to it, and differs from other dialects in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. The dialect of Nedroma is considered as one of the urban dialects that were brought by the Muslim conquerors in the 7th century as opposed to rural ones that were implanted in 11th century by the Arab

settlers Banu Hilal. The two dialects are distinguished by different realizations of a number of phonological, morphological and lexical features (see 2.5). To make things clear, in our case we will consider the contrast between the dialect of the urban areas of Nedroma or of the city, and the rural surroundings countryside or the village. In the past, Nedroma was surrounded by a number of tribes. During French colonization, a number of the families of Nedroma abandoned the city, which led many of these tribes to enter Nedroma in order to defend it. After independence and for better opportunities of work and school, made a great number of rural or surrounding tribes to come to Nedroma. These tribes, which later become members of the community of Nedroma have specific features in their speech. Grandguillaume (1976:57) says that “le dialect Arabe parlé à Nedroma se distingue des dialectes ruraux qui l’entourent”.

So this is why we have such diversity in the speech community of Nedroma, and this is what we will see in this chapter and will discuss in the next chapter.

2.6.3.1 NA phonological features:

- The uvular plosive /q/:

It is the feature which characterized urban dialects as opposed to rural dialects. While CA qaf is maintained as uvular stop [q] in many urban dialects (Algiers, Constantine, Nedroma and others), it is realized as [g] in rural dialects and as [ʔ] in Tlemcen. Except in a number of words where /q/ is realized as [g], here are some illustrating examples:

[gasʔa]: “basin”.

[gnina]: “rabbit”.

[mængu:ʃ]: “earring”.

Dendane (1993:72) explains the phenomenon of the intrusion of /g/ by a tactic that Trudgill (1978:72) calls “the strategy of transfer”. He says that /g/ occurs by

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means of ‘transfer’ of lexical items, it means as he says that we ‘picked up’ from rural speech words of things in that shape, i.e. with [g] that it do not use by urban people and have no equivalent words in urban speech.

- Absence of interdentalals /θ, ð, ð/:

In most Maghrebi dialects, the interdentalals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð/ have lost their interdental characteristic and thus are realized respectively as [t], [d], and [d] or [t].

Examples:

/ð/ is replaced by /d/:

| CA | NA |
|---------|-----------------|
| /ðahab/ | /dhab/: “gold”. |
| /ðiʔb/ | /di:b/: “wolf”. |
| /hæða/ | /hæda/: “this”. |

/θ/ is replaced by /t/:

| | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| /θu:m/ | /tu:m/: “garlic”. |
| /θæma:nija/ | /tmənja/: “eight”. |

/ð/ is replaced by /ɖ/ in the city and by /t/ in the outskirts areas of Nedroma:

| CA | NA of the city | NA of the outskirts |
|---------|----------------|-----------------------|
| /ðill/ | /ɖɔll/ | /tɭila/ : “shade”. |
| /ðahri/ | /ɖahri/ | /tʰahri/ : “my back”. |

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However, there are some areas where this feature has been preserved (in Chlef for example), in addition, these are hypercorrected. It means, even in words where /d/ original in CA. for example: /ḍaraba/ → [ḍ̥araba].

- /d/ → [d] or [t]:

Originally in most Algerian varieties /d/ is realized as [d], except for some areas (Chlef) where /d/ is realized as [ḍ̥] (hypercorrection). As far as Nedroma is concerned, people usually think that /d/ is realized as [t]; but through the recording, we find that only the surrounding countryside use [t]. However /d/ is used in the city.

Examples:

| CA | NA of the city | NA of the outskirts |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------|
| /baid/ | /biid/ | biị̥/: “eggs”. |
| /marid/ | /mriid/ | /mrị̥/: “ill”. |
| /ḍaraba/ | /ḍrab/ | /ṭrab/: “to beat”. |

In spite of the fact that (ḍ): [t] is a characteristic feature of Nedromi speech, Nedromi citizens, especially those of the city, say that [d] is normally used; whereas people of the outskirts use [t].

- The diphthongs /ai/ and /αv/ are phonological features preserved in some rural varieties such as Sebdou, where people tend to say [ʃaif] and [χavf] as realized in CA. However, these features /ai/ and /αv/ lose their diphthong characteristic and are realized as long vowels, respectively [i: ~ e:] and [u: ~ o:], as is illustrated in the following examples:

| CA | NA | Gloss |
|--------|--------|--------|
| /ʃaif/ | [ʃe:f] | summer |
| /ɖaif/ | [ɖe:f] | guest |
| /zait | [zi:t] | oil |
| /lavn/ | [lu:n] | colour |
| /ɖavʔ/ | [ɖɖo:] | light |

2.6.3.2 NA morphological features:

It is important to look at the morphological features of the speech community of Nedroma to show the use of some variables specific to this community.

- **The feminine marker {i}:**

In most AA dialects, the feminine marker {i} is used as a suffix when addressing a woman, as in [ru:hi, ku:li] “go, eat”. However, what is particular in sedentary dialects and thus in NA and few other dialects, like those of Tlemcen, Ghazaouet and Beni Snous, is the drop of the feminine marker {i} in the 3rd person feminine singular in all Arabic three tenses, whereby both man and woman are addressed the same way. While in CA, we address a woman saying for example, in the imperative (2nd person singular), [ʔuʃrubi:] as also in many rural varieties [ʔuʃʃurbi], in Nedroma we say, for instance [(ʔu)ʃrəb]: “drink”, as to the past [ʃrəb]: “you have drunk”, and in the future [taʃrəb]: “you (will) drink”, to both a man and a woman.

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In addition [nta] or [ntina] “you” are used for both man and woman. However we find that the word [nta] is avoided by some Nedromi speakers when addressing a woman, as most of them look at it as a stigmatized feature, especially when speaking to non Nedromi speakers.

- **The suffixes {u, a, əm } vs {əh, ha, həm}:**

Another morphological realization that characterizes Nedroma speech and other varieties of urban dialects is the suffix {u} as opposed to {əh} of rural dialects. Dendane (2007:182) says that the suffix {əh} bears two clearly distinct morpho-syntactic functions: it is used both as object pronoun, as in [kətəh], ‘he wrote **it**’, or [ktəbləh], ‘he wrote to **him**’. And a possessive, as in [kta:bəh], ‘his book’. However, in urban dialects in general and in Nedroma in particular, there is the use of its counterpart {u} in the two forms, as object pronoun and possessive. {u} is used with the 3rd singular masculine and with the feminine, {a} is used and the suffix {um} for plural form.

For example, to show possession of something.

/bitu/, / bita/, /bitum/: “his,her, their room”.

/ħaqqu/, / ħaqqa/, /ħaqqum/: “his, her, their right”.

However some of the Nedromi speakers tend to use the glottal ‘h’ and this is due to many reasons, which we will discuss in chapter three. And we here for instance:

/bitu/, / bitha/, /bithum.

/ħaqqu/, / ħaqqha/, /ħaqqhum/.

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- **Duality:**

Another feature of NA is the retention of dual marker [jen] in a restricted number of nouns, saying for example those related to time measurement:

/saɣtæjen/: “two hours”.

/ju:mæjen/: “two days”.

/ʃæhra:jen/: “two monts”.

/ʎæmæjen/: “two years”.

And those referring to dual parts of human body, we have two realizations:

/ʎi:næjen/ or /ʎajni:n/: “two eyes”.

/jeddæjen/ or /jeddi:n/: “two hands”.

2.6.3.3 NA lexical features:

One of the aspects of dialect diversity is obvious in differences in vocabulary which marks different regions or geographical areas. This is the case of Nedroma where speakers of the city show some differences in some words from those of the outskirts. Here are some examples:

| NA of the outskirts | NA of the city | Gloss |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------|
| /ʔəsqarr/ | /skut/ | “shut up” |
| /ʔəʕli/ | /tməʃfa/ | “walk” |
| /laheb/ | /maʕli:f/ | “never mind” |
| /ɣam/ | /ʃuf/ | “look” |
| /laħa:dər/ | /bala:k/ | “may be” |

We may say that some lexical items of the outskirts in Nedroma are a result of semantic shift. Words like /ɣam/ and /ʔəsqarr/, their original meaning is /ɣamməm/ ‘to look in(to)’ and /ʔɪstaqara/ ‘to settle, or to stay’, then these words are changing meaning to be restricted to ‘seeing’ and ‘shut up’.

Another feature characterizing outskirts speech of Nedroma, is the use of the word /fa/: “mouth”, which is not used in the city, where we have rather the word /fum/ (the two forms occurs in CA). Marcais (1960:375) states:

.....It is, however, Arabic and even Arabic of ancient stock, as it is witnessed by certain archaism, such as the preservation of the old monoliteral “fa”: mouth in the Nedroma district...¹

Some of the words characterizing the speech of the outskirts of Nedroma are tended to be eliminated especially by young speakers as they are considered as stigmatized features, as it will be discussed in chapter three.

¹ Quoted in Derni (2002:59).

Another feature of NA is the use of the Article ‘di’ and ‘ntaʕ’ to show a possession of something. Saying for example: [əddar ddi ɣali] or [əddar ntaʕ ɣali]. The word ‘ntaʕ’ can be reduced to ‘taʕ’, [əddar taʕ ɣali]. Here, as Dendane (1993: 128) says, /n/ is a dental, and thus homorganic with /t/, is assimilated and dropped by losing its nasality. We may also say, [ntaʕi]¹ and [dʒali] “mine”, to express possession.

2.8 DIALECT VARIATION

One of the characteristics of sociolinguistics is the emphasis and analysis of the use of language by either a social group or an individual, and how his/ or her choice of lexical items, pronunciation and grammatical structures are related with social variables.

Because language is both an individual and social possession, every individual or social group has a set of characteristics in his dialect which may differentiate it from the other group. Chambers and Trudgill (2004:5) say in this respect:

If we travel from village to village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes these differences will be larger, sometimes smaller, but they will be CUMULATIVE.

¹ At an earlier stage, /n/ was a bilabial /m/, as the word is obviously a reduced form of CA /mata:ʕi:/ ‘my goods’. There are indeed, a few varieties in the eastern part of Algeria, and in Tunis as well, where the expression is realized [mtæʕi]. (Dendane 1993:128).

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Variation in speech has always been an interest and central of many sociolinguists, although it has been ignored in the past as it was considered as some kind of corruption, and as we had seen in chapter one and will prove it in chapter three, a number of variables are responsible for such a variation. Linguistic variation correlates with religious, ethnic or regional affiliation, age, gender and social class. Language also reveals the speaker's level of education, all together they make up the individual identity and reveals his/or her group membership. Wardhaugh (2006:130-131) says that:

It is quite apparent that no two individuals are exactly alike in their linguistic capabilities, just as no two social situations are exactly alike. People are separated from one another by fine gradations of social class, regional origin, and occupation; by factors such as religion, gender, nationality, and ethnicity; by psychological differences such as particular kinds of linguistic skills, e.g., verbality or literacy; and by personality characteristics. These are but some of the more obvious differences that affect individual variation in speech.

Dialectal differences are reinforced by the so called communication barrier which can be social, political, racial, class or physical like mountains and rivers which separate one group of speakers from the others. In Nedroma for instance, people of rural areas have different characteristics from those of urban areas in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, it means that they don't behave linguistically the same.

Contact between different groups is obviously a social phenomenon, and once different linguistic groups are in a direct contact, they have a tendency to bypass the language barriers. Individual may accommodate their speech to that of the others; this is what we call speech accommodation as we have seen it in chapter one. And this is the case of Nedroma, our area of investigation, where people of

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outskirts especially young speakers tend to accommodate their speech to those of the city as a result of stigmatized features in their speech and then want to avoid them. Meyerhoff (2006:24) says in this respect:

There is a similarly strong desire for speakers to avoid using forms that will bring scorn or censure in their speech community. This may involve avoiding variants that sound ‘old-fashioned’, or that are strongly associated with another group that a speaker would rather not identify with. In other words, avoidance is sometimes just as important a factor as identification. Speakers may stay away from a variant if it has negative associations for them, and they may use another one if they feel that this will minimize the social risk they expose themselves to.

In the next section of this research work, we will attempt to explain the reason behind such a diversity and variation in the speech community of Nedroma, and to shed light on the substitution of some and particular linguistic characteristics, mostly phonological, morphological and lexical, as the data analysis will show, correlating linguistic variables with a number of social variables.

2.8 CONCLUSION

The study of linguistic variation has always been an important aspect of linguistic research; it provides insights in historical, social, and geographical factors of language use in society.

Each dialect has its phonological, morphological and lexical features that differentiate it from other varieties. This chapter is an attempt to describe the linguistic features characterizing the speech community of Nedroma. In fact, we have found it such a complex speech. Our investigation shows a great deal of variation at almost all linguistic levels.

When we talk about language variation, there is no doubt that we are referring to the ways language differs among individuals in a given speech community under a number of circumstances, and this is the work and the aim of sociolinguistics, to explain and analyse linguistic diversity.

The diversity that we have in the speech of Nedroma is the result of the many factors, historical and socio-cultural factors, and such an intricate situation will be more explained and in details in the next chapter. In trying to do so, we will need to collect reliable and representative data using suitable research instruments. The data collected will be interpreted, analysed and compared with the high variety MSA for the sake of getting reasonable sociolinguistic interpretations.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology, Data Collection and Analysis.

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

Language variation is the interest of all sociolinguist researchers as it is a characteristic of all languages in the world. It refers to the way how language varies from one region to another and how it can even differs among individuals.

Every language has a number of its varieties. Arabic for example has several colloquial varieties which differ from one country to another, and even within a single country we may find a number of local varieties. In Algeria, for instance, great variation can be observed in its dialects. Algerian Arabic is differed from one town to another; each dialect possesses a number of features that makes it different from the other. Nedroma Arabic, one of the various dialects of Algeria, shows specific features to it at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. In this research work we try to show how these features differ from one speaker to another and why, by relating these linguistic features to social variables namely age and gender in addition to the impact of education on language change in the speech community of Nedroma. In doing so, sociolinguistic data has to be collected from native speakers of the community.

In the previous chapter, we have exposed some linguistic features characterizing NA. And in the present chapter, we seek to investigate why individuals of the same speech community may display linguistic differences. In this work, we have based primarily on a quantitative analysis, and we have also relied on a qualitative method which has enabled us to have a deep understanding of the reasons behind such behaviour.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Language as an important subject has attracted the attention of many scholars and thus studied from different dimensions. Traditional linguistic analysis of language emphasized structure where the aim of the researcher was to identify the structure of words and their relationships in larger structures. However, with the advent of sociolinguistics, sociolinguists become more interested in language use and in the way people speak differently in different contexts. In any speech community, we observe that there are many variables in speech. The language spoken in one region is different from the one spoken in another region, such variation is called geographical variation. Later on, sociolinguists find that many social factors are responsible for language variation in the same town or city, and for the choice of a given code, and thus this variation has known as social variation. In the former kind of variation, which started in the second half of the 19th century, dialect geographers were interested in producing dialect maps and atlases, whereas the latter, in the late 1960's includes the work of William Labov in New York city, and which has been regarded as the basic study of linguistic variation and emerged as a reaction against inadequate methods in earlier approaches. In investigating speech variation, variationists have developed systematic techniques for collecting data.

The methodology involved in this research work is the Labovian method¹. Linguistic variables whether phonological, morphological or lexical are to be studied quantitatively in relation to the social variables of the speech community of Nedroma, in which we have found that age has a relation in language accommodation, as younger speakers of the village in Nedroma alter their speech making it similar to the one of the cities when they are in contact with them. Gender and the level of education have also an impact on language variation in the speech community of Nedroma. Our evidence of this language behavior

¹ Involve quantification analysis of sociolinguistic findings. The results are represented under the form of tables, charts and graphs.

comes from our observation of the phenomenon, and to reach this fact, relevant data has been collected.

3.2.1 BASIC METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In analysing language use in relation to social variables, a number of hypotheses have to be formed, and to test these, participants are assigned to different techniques of data collection which may confirm or refuse these hypotheses. In this section, we try to define and look into some sociolinguistic methods for data collection relevant to our research. Different data collection techniques have been employed in sociolinguistic research, each with varying degrees of success.

3.2.1.1 Participant Observation

The first instrument used in this research work is observation. As I am a member of the community under investigation, so it has been easy for me to gain a large amount of data through taking notes from natural interactions or behaviours of Nedromi speakers. Milroy and Gordon (2003:68) say that: “the principal benefits of participant observation are (a) the amount and quality of the data collected, and (b) the familiarity with community practices gained by the investigator”. They add that (ibid: 71): “Participant observation can be an enormously fruitful method for sociolinguistic analysis. It produces a tremendous supply of high quality data and crucial insight into community dynamics”. Indeed, observation has given us deeper understanding of the community under investigation. The objective of such a method is “to understand the sociolinguistic dynamics of the community from the perspective of the community itself”. (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1996:106)¹. The difficulty of this method is the problem of analysing the results, this is why other approaches are needed to be combined with such a method.

¹ Quoted in Milroy and Gordon (2003).

3.2.1.2 The Questionnaires

In early dialect studies, dialectologists employed the method of written questionnaire in collecting data. It was Georg Wenker who first used it in his studies of northern German dialects in the 19th century, and it was a kind of postal questionnaires. With the advent of sociolinguistics, the use of questionnaires differs from that of dialect geographers, as Milroy and Gordon (2003:51) say: “not so much in the instruments used but how they are applied”. The difference between the two is that with the process of urbanization and mobility, sociolinguists in their study include all population centres and of different age, social and educational backgrounds; in contrast to early researchers who tended to focus only on few older male speakers. In the new method, many scholars raised the question of reliability because the presence of the fieldworker in the field work with the respondents may create what Labov has called: “the observer’s paradox”. This is why Chambers (1998) suggests that questionnaires data are more reliable when they are gathered through a postal survey than directly by a fieldworker”¹.

In having the advantage of getting reliable data and avoiding the observer’s paradox, the data were anonymous because the respondents were not asked to provide their names which give them a certain freedom in answering naturally. Since the informants are of different ages and distinct levels of education, the questionnaires are written in standard Arabic to facilitate the understanding of different linguistic features characterizing the speech variety of Nedroma.

¹ Quoted in Milroy and Gordon (2003).

3.2.1.3 The Recordings

For the sake of getting reliable data, recording is another method of data collection that we have used, in particular because of the problem of illiteracy, especially among old people. The conversations have been recorded without the participants being aware, through the use of a hidden recorder, to avoid any pressure on the informants. The recordings took place at home with relatives, with neighbours and in shops.

3.2.2 RATIONALE OF THE WORK AND INFORMANTS SELECTION

The main concern of this research work is to enrich Algerian Arabic studies, and to describe and analyse the linguistic features characterizing my birth- place, Nedroma, and how some of these linguistic features are dropped by a category of the community. So in showing this, we will try to correlate linguistic features with social variables. Following Labov's hypothesis that language varies according to age and gender, our objective in this research is to show the impact of age and gender, in addition to education, on language variation and even change, as some characteristics are dropped in the speech community of Nedroma.

The participants involved in this research work are all from Nedroma. The data was collected in primary, middle and secondary schools, in addition to some participants we have met in the street or in their homes. The research is based on a sample population of 120 informants of different sexes and different ages (between 5 to 85 years old) and of different levels of education. The representation for such categories of informants is shown in the table below:

| Age group | Male | Female | Total |
|--|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| From 5 to 15 years old (Children and Young adolescents) | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| From 16 to 25 years old (Adolescents) | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| From 26 to 59 years old (Adults) | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| From 60 to 85 years old (Elder informants) | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| Total | 60 | 60 | 120 |

Table 3.1 Age/ gender sampling of the informants.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION IN NA: LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

As mentioned before, in the past, Nedroma was considered as the capital of Trara, consisting of a group of tribes surrounding Nedroma; this latter had specific linguistic features (see 2.6.3). However, later on and due to many factors like social mobility and the process of Arabisation, some of these linguistic features have changed.

In chapter two, we made a distinction between speakers of the village and those of the town. The speakers of the village are those people who were in the past members of the tribe of Trara and entered Nedroma during the French colonization, settled there and then became members of the community. The people of the town are the original people of Nedroma. In our analysis of the speech community of Nedroma, we tried to separate speakers of the village from those of the town, but we found it difficult especially with the population shift towards the cities. So in our analysis of the data, the two groups are treated as one community.

3.3.1 NA PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES

In phonological variation, we will examine the variable (q) and the variable (d) which is subject to variation, as it is pronounced as [t] and [d]; we will also examine variation in the use of the sound /dʒ/ realized as [ʒ] or [g]. These variants are examined and interpreted according to age and gender.

3.3.1.1 The Variable (q)

The /q/ sound is the linguistic feature characterising the speech community of Nedroma. And through the examination of some words containing the words [qalli] “he said to me”, and [qadra] “pot”, the data gathered show the use of this variable by all the informants of the variety. The percentage of the 120 examined speakers is 100%, which shows the maintenance of this sound among speakers.

3.3.1.2 The Variable (d)

Among the variables that have been our focus in this research, is the sound [t] as a realization of the CA phoneme /d/. In spite of the fact that (d): [t] is a characteristic feature of Nedromi speech, our observations have shown that most Nedromi citizens, especially those of the city, say that [d] is normally used in words having /d/ particularly in initial and final position, for instance /dʁab/: ‘he bits’, and / bjad/: ‘white’. However, these words are indeed realized with [t] and we suppose that the speakers do not acknowledge the realization of [t] as characterizing Nedromi speakers, and we suppose that these people may unconsciously avoid the stigmatized feature as there is a negative attitude towards the devoicing of [d]. In addition, education today has made people more conscious of the fact and speakers try to avoid [t]. This change of the phonetic system is reflected through the quantitative results as shown in the table below:

| | /t/ | /d/ |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| Male speakers | 21 | 39 |
| Female speakers | 27 | 33 |
| Number of occurrences | 48 | 72 |
| Percentage | 40% | 60% |

Table 3.2: Scores of the variants [t] and [d] in correlation with gender.

Table 3.2 exposes the scores of the variants [t] and [d] for both male and female informants. The results obtained from the data and from the observation of the linguistic behaviour of Nedromi speakers reveal that gender plays an important role in the use of [t] vs. [d] as the following graph indicates:

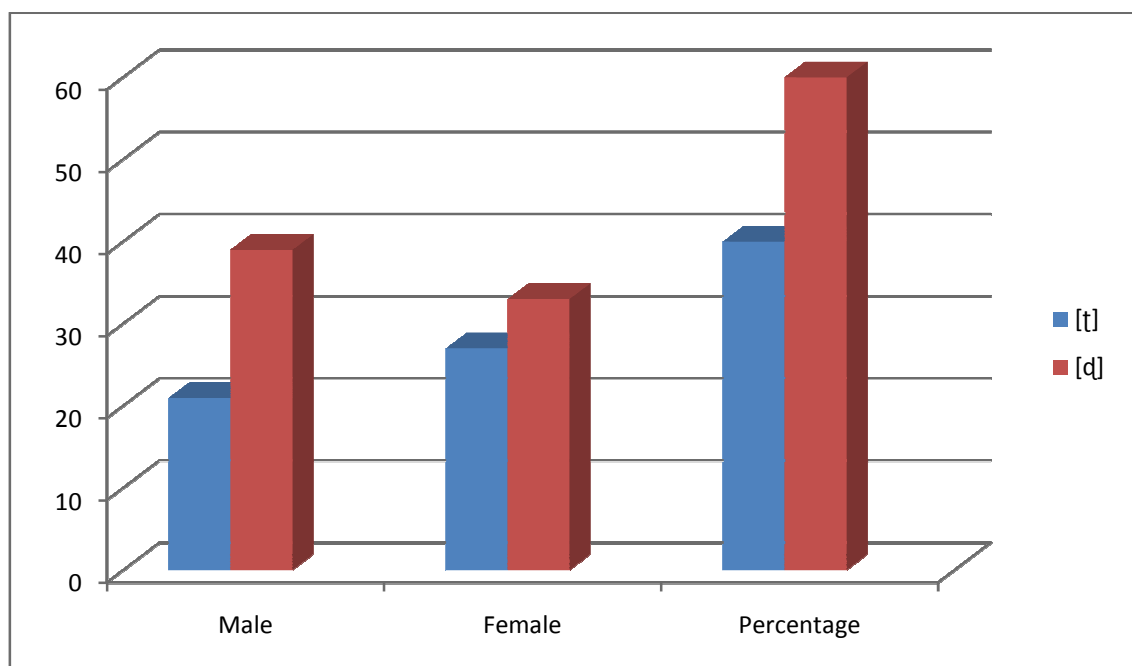


Figure 3.1: Scores of variants [t] and [d] in correlation with gender.

The results show a higher rate of [d] articulation than [t] by males compared with those of females, this leads us to say that male speakers are more likely to use [d] than females, which allows us to say that male speakers tend more to avoid the stigmatized feature [t] than females. The data obtained also show variation according to speaker's age, as the following table indicates:

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 |
|-----|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| [t] | 09 | 09 | 13 | 17 |
| [d] | 21 | 21 | 17 | 13 |

Table 3.3: Scores of the variants [t] and [d] in correlation with age.

The results show that age plays a vital role in the varying articulation of [t] and [d]. The use of [d] is highly scored in the first two categories of age compared with the last two categories, while the use of [t] is highly scored in the last category and decreases in the other categories as figure 3.2 below shows:

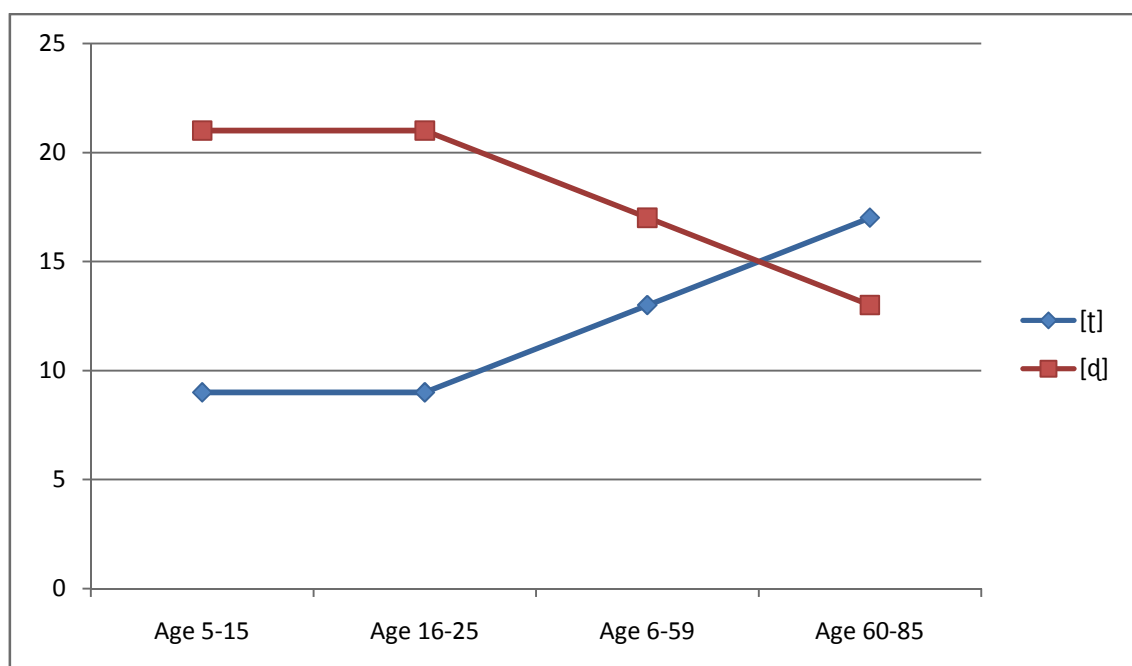


Figure 3.2: Scores of the variants [t] and [d] in correlation with age.

During our investigation in the area of Nedroma, we have noticed that this dialect has two realizations of the CA phoneme /d/, [t] and [d], and as mentioned in chapter two, [d] is a characteristic of the people of the city, and [t] of those of the village. However, through our observation we notice that even older females of the city use the voiceless stop [t] and it has spread even among younger women and little girls as these acquire their linguistic features from their mothers. On the other hand, we find that males are more likely to use [d] instead

of [t]. As we went back to the questionnaires, we observed that young educated girls realize that [t] is a mistake and try to switch to [d], as in CA we say for instance /mariidɑ/ and not /mariitɑ/ ('ill'. Feminine singular). So among educated speakers, this sound has nearly disappeared, while uneducated middle aged and elder women are more likely to use it. So here we can say that education plays a significant role in the use of the voiced emphatic [d] instead of its counterpart [t]. Through this investigation we can conclude by saying that thanks to education, the tendency of using the sound [d] is increasing, while the use of the sound [t] is declining.

3.1.3 Consonantal Variation [g] and [ʒ]

NA is characterized by the articulation of the CA phoneme /dʒ/ as a back velar [g] in a number of lexical items, in particular when the word includes either a voiceless fricative [s] or a voiced sibilant [z], as in [gazza:r] and [gəbs] ('Butcher, 'plaster'). The data collection shows that Nedromi speakers tend to substitute the sound [g] by [ʒ] especially by the new generation. To examine variation in the use of [g] or [ʒ] we have chosen three words: [ʔaʃdʒizu]: 'I feel lazy', [dʒibs]: 'plaster', [dʒazza:r]: 'butcher'. The results show swinging scores from one age-group to another and from one gender to another. The following tables summarize the scores of the variable (ʒ) in correlation with age and gender.

| Word | Gloss | Articulation | Males | Females | percentage |
|------------|---------------|--------------|-------|---------|------------|
| [ʔaŋdʒizu] | 'I feel lazy' | a)/naŋʒəz/ | 16 | 06 | 18,33% |
| | | b) /naŋgəz/ | 44 | 54 | 81,66% |
| [dʒibs] | 'plaster' | a)/ʒəbs/ | 19 | 09 | 22,33% |
| | | b) /gəbs/ | 41 | 51 | 76,66% |
| [dʒazzar] | 'butcher' | a)/ʒəzza:r/ | 27 | 15 | 35% |
| | | b)/gəzza:r/ | 33 | 45 | 65% |

Table 3.4: Scores of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in correlation with gender.

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 | Percentage |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| a)/naŋgəz/ | 19 | 26 | 25 | 28 | 81,66% |
| b) /naŋʒəz/ | 11 | 04 | 05 | 02 | 18,33% |
| a)/gəbs/ | 17 | 22 | 26 | 27 | 76,66% |
| b) /ʒəbs/ | 13 | 08 | 04 | 03 | 23,33% |
| a)/gəzza:r/ | 08 | 21 | 22 | 27 | 65% |
| b) /ʒəzza:r/ | 22 | 09 | 08 | 03 | 35% |

Table 3.5: Scores of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in correlation with age.

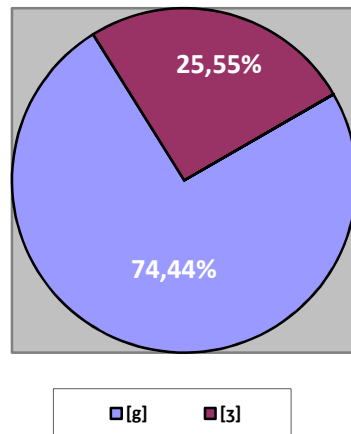
Table (3.4) reveals that males are more likely to use the sound [ʒ] than female. And we have summarized the overall scores of the three words in percentage in correlation with age, and it is clearly shown the use of the sound [ʒ] by younger speakers, the first category, especially with the word [dʒazzar]. As the table (3.5) shows, 22 persons (aged between 5 to 15) out of 30 tend to replace the sound [g] by [ʒ]. And this is due to education and probably because they have realized the misuse of the variant [g] and corrected it. However, though the three first categories are educated people, the use of [ʒ] remains not as widespread as the use of [g].

In many sociolinguistic works, sociolinguists like Hudson (1996) and Trudgill (1972) reveal that in western societies, female speakers tend to use more standard forms than male. However, in Arab speaking communities we have found the contrary, which means that male’s speech is more associated with the standard form and women with the local and colloquial form as Meyerhoff (2006:218) argues on this point (see chapter 1.p:31). This is what we have found in our work: men are more likely to use the CA form [ʒ] than women who prefer the variant [g]. We have summarized the scores of the three words: /ʔaʕdʒizu/: ‘I feel lazy’, /dʒibs/: ‘plaster’, /dʒazza;r/: ‘butcher’, with correlation with gender in the following table:

| | Male | % | Female | % |
|-----|------|--------|--------|--------|
| [ʒ] | 62 | 34,44% | 30 | 16,66% |
| [g] | 118 | 65,55% | 150 | 83,33% |

Table 3.6: Number of occurrences of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in relation with gender with percentages.

The results show that the variant [g] is far more frequent in the two genders than [ʒ]. The total number of the variant [g]: 268, which means 74, 44%. And the total number of the use of the variant [ʒ]: 92, which means 25, 55%.



Pie Chart 3.1: Percentages of the use of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in relation with gender.

In trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speaker’s age, we have come up with the following scores:

| | Age 5-15 | % | Age 16-25 | % | Age 26-59 | % | Age 60-85 | % |
|-----|----------|---------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| [ʒ] | 46 | 51, 11% | 21 | 23,33% | 17 | 18,88% | 08 | 08,88% |
| [g] | 44 | 48,88% | 69 | 76,66% | 73 | 81,11% | 82 | 91,11% |

Table 3.7: The total number of occurrences (90) of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in correlation with age with percentages.

From the tables above, it is clearly shown that younger speakers realize the variant [ʒ] more than [g]. 46 occurrences of the variant [ʒ] which means 51, 11% vs. 44 of the variant [g] that is 48, 88%. Which leads us to conclude that young people are more likely to shift to the CA form /dʒ/ → [ʒ], and this may be due to education, probably because they have realized the misuse of the variant [g] and

correct it. However, we have found that the three other categories especially the middle aged speakers, preserve the use of the variant [g] though they are educated people. Moreover, one may notice in these scores, the high percentage of the use of the variant [g] by old speakers 91, 11% vs. 08, 88% of the use of the variant [ʒ]. All these results are represented in the following graph:

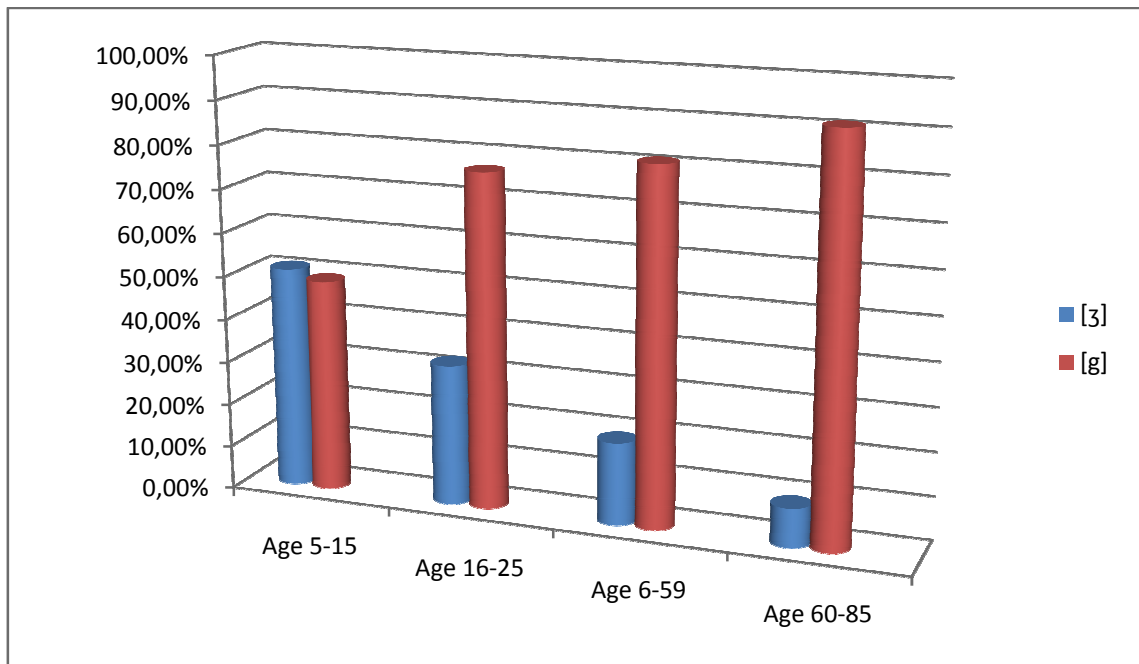


Figure 3.3: Scores of the variants [ʒ] and [g] in correlation with age.

3.3.2 NA MORPHOLOGICAL VARIABLES

As far as morphology is concerned, we are interested in the examination of two linguistic variables: the use and the drop of the glottal [h] of the suffix morphemes {ha} and {hum}, and the use of the dual marker {ajn(i)} as {ajən} or {i:n}. These two variables are examined according to age, gender in addition to other social variables like the level of education.

3.3.2.1 The Object Pronoun Suffixes {-a}, {-əḿ} vs. {-ha}, {-həḿ}

While the masculine pronoun {-hu} maintains the [h] sound in many dialects (particularly rural areas) and drop the final vowel, as in [ɖarbah]. (For CA /ɖarbahu/, 'He hit him'. [h] is dropped in others (particularly in urban varieties) as in [ɖarbu]. The feminine singular pronoun {-ha} (also represented {-haa}) is preserved with its glottal fricative [h] in most Arabic colloquial varieties (though the lay vowel [aa] is shortened to [a]). But in NA and some other dialects in the area (as well as in some countries like Syria and Lebanon), [h] is dropped, and [ɖrabha] is realized [ɖarba]. The same phenomenon occurs with the plural suffix pronoun {-hum} and NA speakers usually say [ɖarbəḿ] not only with [h] drop but also a vowel reduction /u/ → [ə].

It is worth noting that these object pronouns occur not only with verbs, but also with nouns having in this case the function of possession as in /bejtahaa/ and /bjtahum/ (her house or room, their house or room), realized in NA [bita] and [bitum].

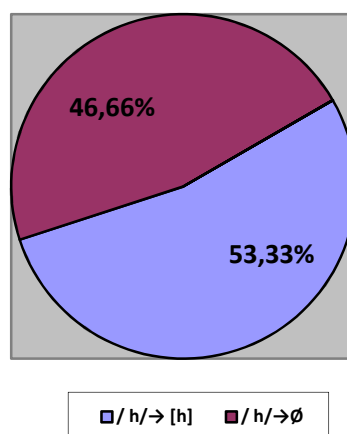
And we can say that this characteristic, it means the drop of the glottal [h], is specific to the tribe of Trara (Nedroma, Ghazaouet, and some other areas like Honaine). However, Nedromi speakers tend to reconstitute the glottal fricative, it means use the glottal [h]. These linguistic variations are illustrated in the table below:

| | Male | % | Female | % |
|--------------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| / h/→∅ {a}, {əm} | 52 | 43,33% | 60 | 43,33% |
| / h/→ [h] {ha}, {həm} | 68 | 56,66% | 60 | 56,66% |

Table 3.8: Number of occurrences with percentages of the object pronouns {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} in relation with gender.

The results show high percentage of the use of the glottal [h] especially by Males: 56, 66% vs. 43, 33% of those who drop the glottal [h], whereas females reveals an average use of each pattern.

The total number of the use of the glottal [h] by both males and females is: 128, which means 53, 33%, whereas the total number of the drop of the glottal [h] is: 112, which means 46, 66%. The overall percentages are shown in the following pie chart:



Pie Chart 3.2: Percentages of the use of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} by both Males and Females.

In trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speaker’s age, we have come up with the following scores

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 |
|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| / h/→∅ {a}, {əm} | 32 | 36 | 26 | 30 |
| / h/→ [h] {ha},{həm} | 28 | 24 | 34 | 30 |

Table 3.9: The total number of occurrences of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} in correlation with age.

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 |
|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| / h/→∅ {a}, {əm} | 53,33% | 60% | 43,33% | 50% |
| / h/→ [h] {ha},{həm} | 46,66% | 40% | 56,66% | 50% |

Table 3.10: Percentages of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} in correlation with age.

These results are put in the following figure where we explain the use of these morphemes {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} in correlation with age.

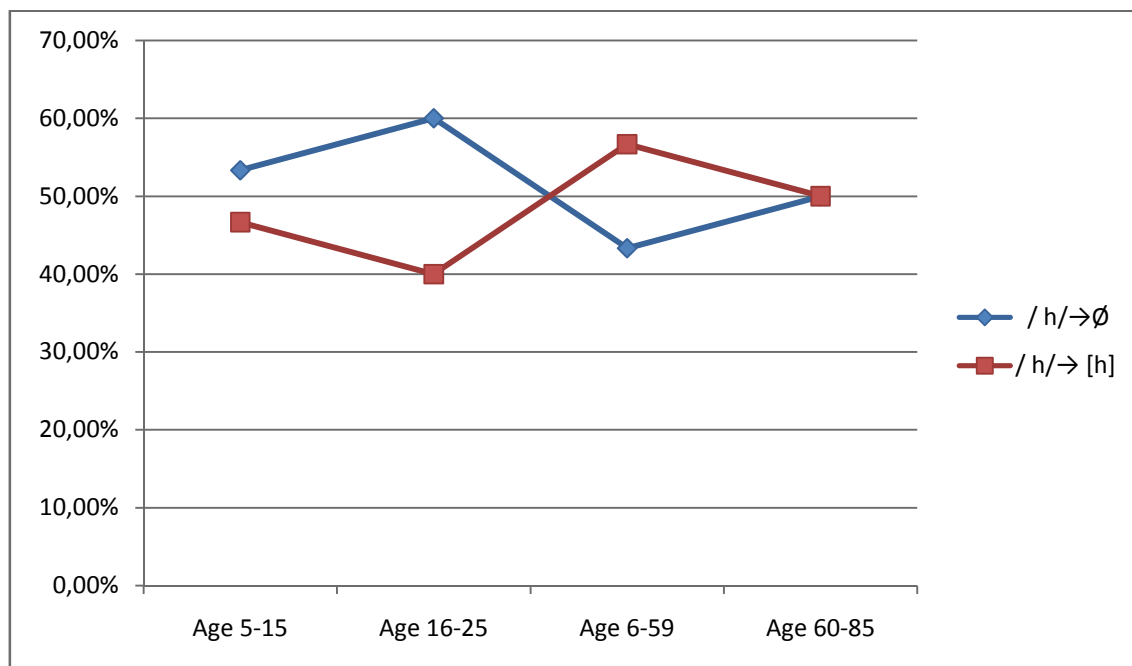


Figure 3.4: Scores of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {ə̃m} vs. {ha}, {hə̃m} in correlation with age.

The scores above clearly indicate that the local affixes {a}, {ə̃m} occur noticeably more than the other forms {ha}, {hə̃m}, except for middle aged speakers who tend to use the glottal [h] more.

The results of the occurrences of {a}, {ə̃m} vs. {ha}, {hə̃m} in correlation with gender shows that male speakers are more likely to use the glottal [h] than females, and this can be due to the fact that males are more likely to use the standard form than females, as the glottal [h] stands in CA. In addition, this can be explained in relation to the contact with other dialects, which leads us to say that men are likely to shift linguistically more than women, as they are more exposed to contact situations with non local speakers than women.

3.3.2.2 Variation in the Dual Form

Duality in CA is marked by the suffix {ajn(i)} (in the genitive and accusative cases). In NA we have the retention of the dual maker {ajən}, like the classical form with the insertion of a schwa. Saying for instance: /saʎtæjen/: “two hours” and /ʎæmæjen/: “two years”, however, it is modified by NA speakers through using the suffix {i:n}, like saying for example: /saʎti:n/, /ju:mi:n/, /ʎæmi:n/. To examine variation in the use of the suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} we have chosen two words: the first one refers to time measurement and the second word to dual parts of the human body. The results show swinging scores as the following tables indicate:

| Word | Gloss | Articulation | Male | Female | percentage |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|------|--------|------------|
| [saʎatajni] | ‘two hours’ | a) /saʎtajən/ | 32 | 40 | 60% |
| | | b) /saʎti:n / | 28 | 20 | 40% |
| [ʎajnajni] | ‘two eyes’ | a) /ʎinajən/ | 22 | 26 | 40% |
| | | b) /ʎini:n/ | 38 | 34 | 60% |

Table 3.11: Scores of the use of the dual suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with gender.

We have also collected data according to age sampling to show how linguistic variation is reflected in different age categories and we have obtained the following results:

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 | Total all age groups |
|---------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| a) /saʎtajən/ | 22 | 09 | 10 | 24 | 65 |
| b) /saʎti:n / | 08 | 21 | 20 | 06 | 55 |
| a) /ʎinajən/ | 17 | 12 | 13 | 19 | 61 |
| b) /ʎini:n/ | 13 | 18 | 17 | 11 | 59 |

Table 3.12: Scores of the use of the dual suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with age.

The tables above show clearly the wide use of the suffix {ajən} among Females in comparison with males with words referring to time measurement, whereas, males and middle aged speakers are more likely to use the other suffix {i:n} especially with words referring to dual parts of the human body. We have summarized the overall scores of the two words in percentage with the suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in the following tables:

| | Male | Female |
|--------|------|--------|
| {ajən} | 45% | 55% |
| {i:n} | 55% | 45% |

Table 3.13: Percentages of the use of the dual suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with gender.

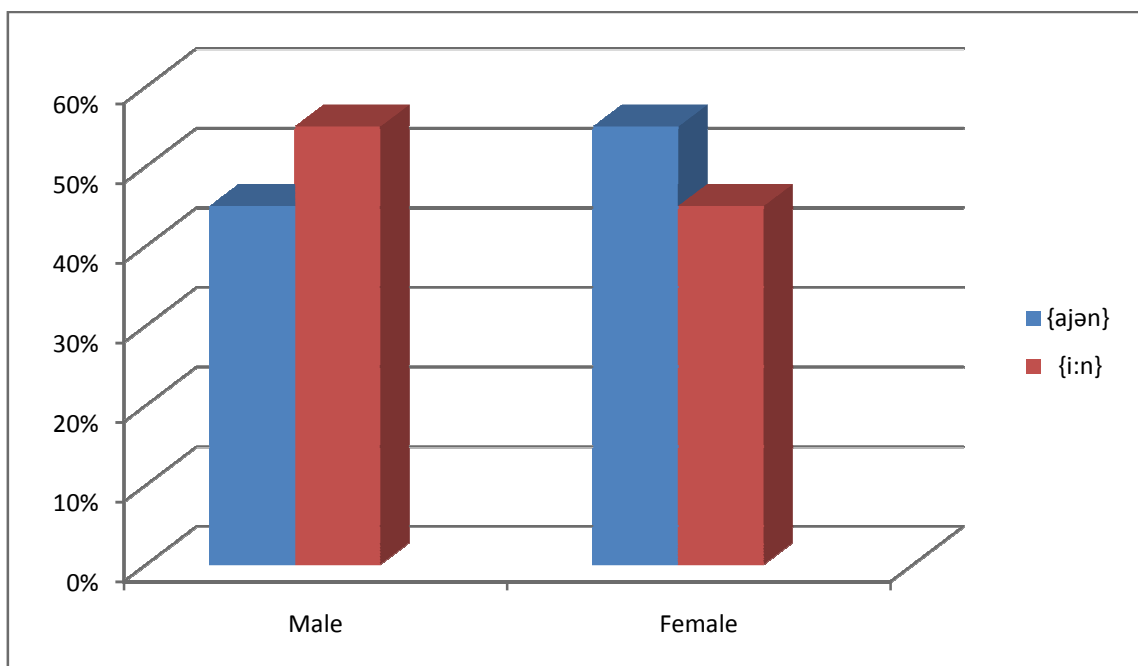


Figure 3.5: Percentages of the use of the dual suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with gender.

And in trying to reflect upon this variation onto the speaker’s age, we have come up with the following scores:

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| {ajən} | 58,33% | 45% | 45% | 71,66% |
| {i:n} | 41,66% | 55% | 55% | 28,33% |

Table 3.14: Percentages of the use of the suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with age.

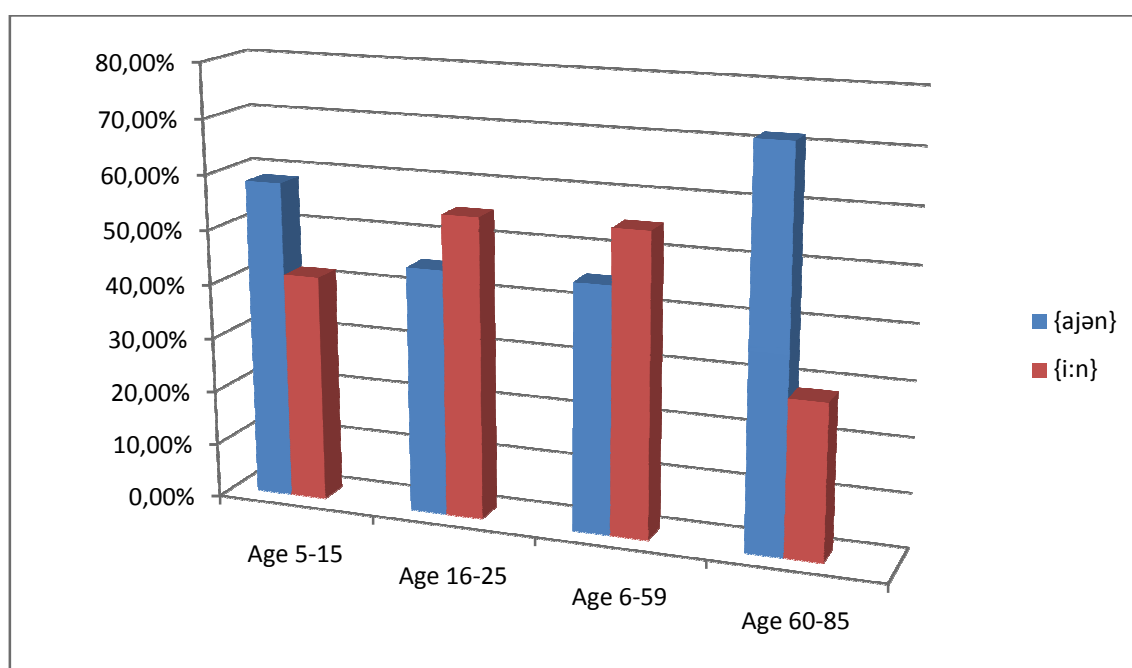


Figure 3.6: Percentages of the use of the suffixes {ajən} and {i:n} in correlation with age.

From the tables and the graphs above, it is clearly shown that the use of the suffix {i:n} is more common among males and middle aged speakers than in the other categories, which means that these categories participate in the variation of the suffix {ajən}, while the females, the young and old age categories show a strong tendency to the preservation of this suffix .

The question that imposes itself here is: Why do these speakers shift to {i:n} which is rural use suffix? The answer that can be provided here is that Nedromi speakers especially males and middle aged speakers replace the local suffix {ajən} by the rural one {i:n} because they are more exposed to contact with rural dialects than the other categories, and thus causing a loss of Nedromi linguistic items.

3.3.3 NA LEXICAL VARIABLES

Differences in the lexis are one aspect of dialect variation which is noticeable in all types of speech communities. These variations can be within the same dialect, for example in AA there exist various colloquial dialects, and lexical variation can be found even within the same speech community. Therefore, the variety under investigation shows variation with other Algerian dialects and also within its members. Such differences are reflected especially in variation according to age groups, the new generation or the younger try to make for themselves new words so it can be symbols of youth. They also try to avoid what they call the traditional forms used by elders. For instance in the outskirts of Nedroma, its members have specific lexical items, like saying for instance /χamm/: “look”, /laħa:dər/: “may be”, /(ʔə)χli/: “walk”. Such words are only used by elders of the outskirts of Nedroma but not by the younger; instead they say: /ʃʊf/, /bala:k/ and /tməffa/.

As already mentioned in chapter two, people of the outskirts show linguistic differences with those of the town. So we may also add that lexical differences in Nedroma occurs between people of the outskirts and those of the city, and occur even within the members of the outskirts between its younger and elders.

3.3.3.1 The Use of the CA Pronoun /ʔanta/ ‘you’ as [nta], [ntina]:

In our investigation, we are also interested about the use of a feature worthy of attention, which is the lexical item [ntina] “you”, a singular personal pronoun from CA pronoun /ʔanta/ which is used to address a male and /ʔanti/ to address a female. In most AA varieties, just like CA, the two gender are addressed differently: [nta] and [ntaja] vs. [nti] and [ntija]. However, what is specific to NA, and also to Tlemcen speech, is the use of the pronoun [ntina] to address both a man and a woman. However we have found that this item [ntina] is avoided by some Nedomi speakers when addressing a man, as it is regarded as a stigmatized feature, especially when speaking to non Nedromi speakers. We have asked our informants about the use of the pronoun [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man and we have obtained the following results:

| | [ntina] | [nta] |
|------------|---------|-------|
| Male | 02 | 58 |
| Female | 50 | 10 |
| Percentage | 90% | 10% |

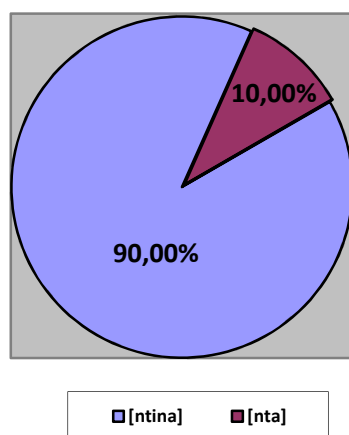
Table 3.15: Scores of the use of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man in relation with gender.

Similarly, we have asked about its use in correlation with age, and we have come up with the following results:

| | Age 5-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 |
|---------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| [ntina] | 04 | 01 | 00 | 05 |
| [nta] | 11 | 14 | 15 | 10 |

Table 3.16: Scores of the use of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man in relation with age.

From the above tables, we may quickly realize that Nedromi speakers especially males and middle age speakers are more aware about the fact that the pronoun [ntina] is stigmatized when addressing a man and therefore they avoid it as they feel it an item used to address a woman. These results are put in the following figure where we explain the use of these pronouns in relation with age and gender of the speaker:



Pie Chart 3.3: Percentages of the use of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man in relation with gender.

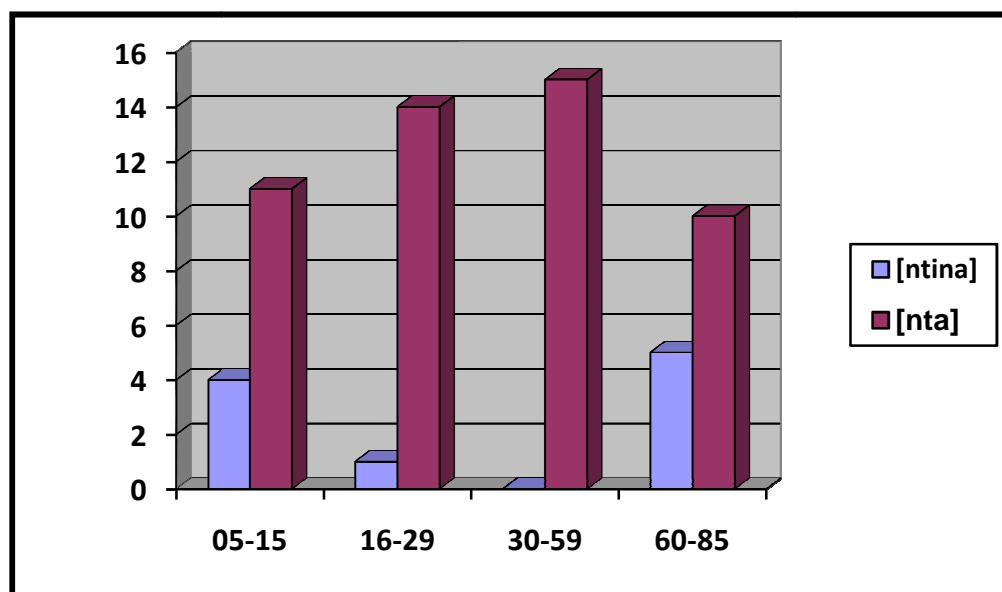


Figure 3.5: Scores of the use of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man in relation with age.

So Nedromi speakers avoid this stigmatized feature not only when speaking to non-Nedromi people, but also with family or with friend conversations. So from such behaviour we can say that some Nedromi linguistic items loss and this can be explained through the degree of stigmatization of the linguistic item and the speakers' attitudes.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: FACTORS LEADING TO LANGUAGE VARIATION IN NA

Language is a heterogeneous system of communication; variation affects all languages as members of any society are different in terms of social variables such as age, gender and the level of education. Languages are also affected by change and this may be due to various extra linguistic factors which can be political, social and economic. Our investigations have proved that the speech community of Nedroma has been affected by a number of social and external

pressures, thus promoting language variation which in turn leads to language change. The motivation of language change can be introduced from other language systems or in relation to social attributes, and it can also be explained through mutual contact and accommodation processes. So, the interplay of the internal, external and extra-linguistic motivations will be examined in relation to the speech community of Nedroma.

3.4.1 Political Factors and Population Mobility

The area of Nedroma witnessed a great population movement during the French colonization; from 1952, it witnessed many changes and a great movement of its population.

In the past, Nedroma was surrounded by a number of tribes and it was supposed to be their capital. During the French colonization, many of the Nedromi families were committed to abandon Nedroma and immigrated to Morocco, which led many of the surrounding tribes to enter Nedroma in order to defend it. This rural exodus lasted from 1956 to 1960. Almost 40% of the population of Nedroma is from rural origin, while at the same time, many of the Nedromi families who had left the town returned in 1966. And this led to the existence of two groups: people of the city, the original people of Nedroma; and people of the surrounding villages who entered Nedroma during the French colonization. One should be mentioned, in the past all the tribe of trara, it means Nedroma and the surrounding tribes, shared the same linguistic features. However, because of this population mobility and other extra-linguistic factors which we will discuss later on, some of the linguistic features especially of the town of Nedroma have changed as we have seen in this chapter.

3.4.2 Age and Gender Differences

As already mentioned, age and gender play a significant role in linguistic variation and change. Findings in the previous analysis demonstrate that younger speakers tend to be more accommodating to other dialects than their elder counterparts. In addition, females stick more to the local forms than males. The explanations that can be given for this linguistic behaviour is that men are more exposed to contact situations with non local speakers, whereas women spend most of the time at home, in the domain of family looking after its members. Concerning age differences, it is noticed in all languages that not all generations speak alike. The young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms, whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use. So from these results, we can say that the speech of men and the youth in the speech community of Nedroma is more convergent than that of women and elders. We can also add that this linguistic variation and change in NA is also motivated by the influence of education.

3.4.3 Education

Education is important in the development of any society. During the French colonization, Algerians received French teaching; the French language was imposed as the official language. After independence, Algeria introduced the policy of Arabisation and declared Arabic as the national and official language of the country. Although French had its effects on language use of all Algerians, this policy has a great effect: people, especially the new generation tend to use Arabic words rather than French words; and even tend to correct mistakes, they look at them like this, in their speech. For instance, young Nedromi speakers considered the sound [t] as a stigmatized feature and as a mistake and shift to the

CA one which is [d], as we saw previously, so here the impact of education can clearly be seen on language change in NA.

3.5 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG NA SPEAKERS

In this chapter, we have first introduced phonological, morphological and lexical variables in comparison with MSA and in relation to social variables such as age and gender in addition to the level of education. Our aim behind such a study is to shed light on some of the reasons and motivations behind language variation in the speech behaviour of Nedromi speakers. By means of the use of certain techniques, we have been able to show the main reasons why Nedromi speakers tend to change some of the linguistic features in their speech. It should be mentioned that members of the same speech community show different linguistic behaviour, and even members of the same family do not speak or interact in the same way. The point that we want to raise here is that language is determined by its speakers as a relation to social variables. Through our analysis, we have come up with the result that the speaker's intention behind the use of certain linguistic features is due to personal motives in addition to psychological matters, and this phenomenon studied by sociolinguists is called language attitudes, and it is defined as the speaker's reaction or feeling toward language, which can be either their own language variety or the language varieties or languages of others.

Our interest in this study is to focus on the reasons why the youth tend to avoid some Nedromi linguistic features, in particular the emphatic consonant [t]. In spite of the fact that (d): [t] is a characteristic feature of Nedromi speech, our observation has shown that most Nedromi citizens, especially those of the city, say that [d] is normally used in words having /d/ particularly in initial and final position. However, these words are indeed realized with [t] and we suppose that the speakers do not acknowledge the realization of [t] as characterizing Nedromi

speakers, as there is a negative attitude. It is worth noting that education which make people more conscious of the fact and try to avoid the devoicing of [d]. Concerning people of the outskirts of Nedroma, although they stick on the pronunciation of the variant [t], the youth there have become more aware about the misuse of the variant [t] and try to correct it and therefore use the [d] sound, especially when speaking to people of the city.

As we have seen in this chapter, Nedromi speakers tend also to change other linguistic characteristics: (dʒ): [g], and the use of the glottal [h] when showing possession. So from these results we can conclude that there is a loss of some of the Nedromi linguistic characteristics, most likely because of the negative attitudes towards these variants. On the other hand, we find that Nedromi speakers stick to the use of the [q] sound. We have asked them if they keep it when speaking to non Nedromi people and we have got the following results:

| | Males | Females | Percentage |
|------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|
| [q] | 54 | 58 | 93.33% |
| [g] | 06 | 02 | 06.66% |

Table 3.17: Scores of the use of the variant [q] of Males and Females when speaking to non NA Speakers.

The results in the table above demonstrate that a high percentage of Nedromi speakers tend to maintain the use of the uvular [q] even with non NA speakers, whereas a small number of these speakers switch to the variant [g]. The switching to the variant [g] of Males is higher than Females.

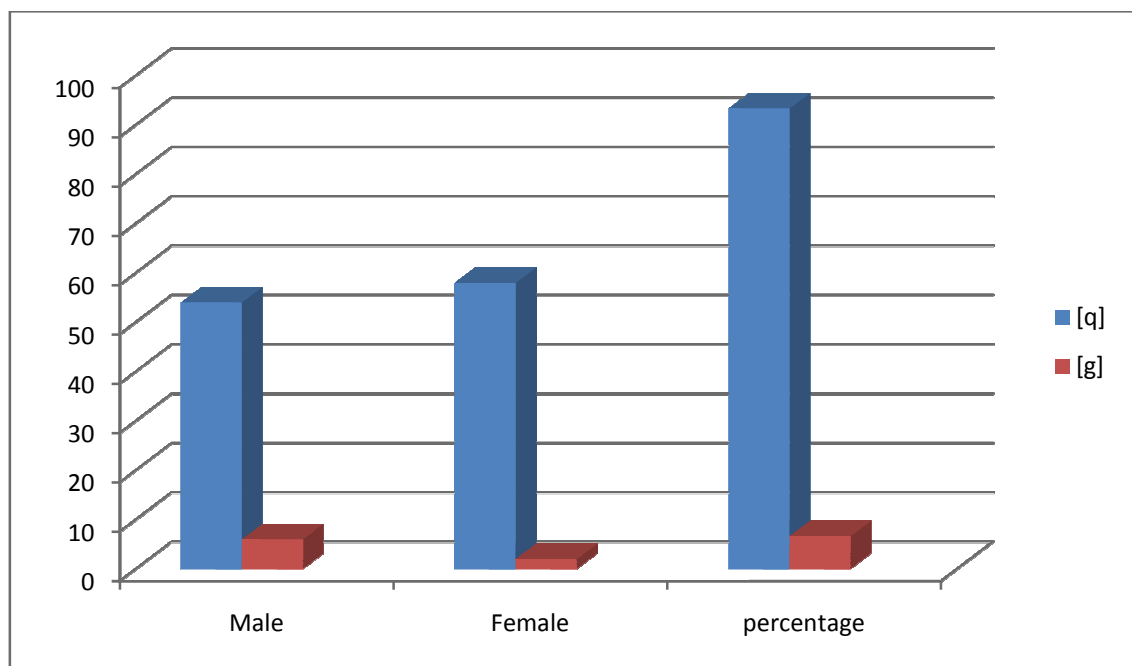


Figure 3.6: Scores of the use of the variant [q] of Males and Females when speaking to non NA Speakers.

In the following table, our data is quantified according to age sampling, and we have come up with the following results:

| | Age 05-15 | Age 16-25 | Age 26-59 | Age 60-85 | Overall % |
|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| [q] | 30 | 24 | 28 | 30 | 93,33% |
| [g] | 00 | 06 | 02 | 00 | 6,66% |

Table 3.18: Scores of the use of the variant [q]when speaking to non NA Speakers in correlation with age.

The results show clearly that the very young and the old generations of NA speakers preserve the use of the [q] sound. In contrast, the scores of the variant [g] indicate increase in the other generations (age from 16-25 and from 26-59).

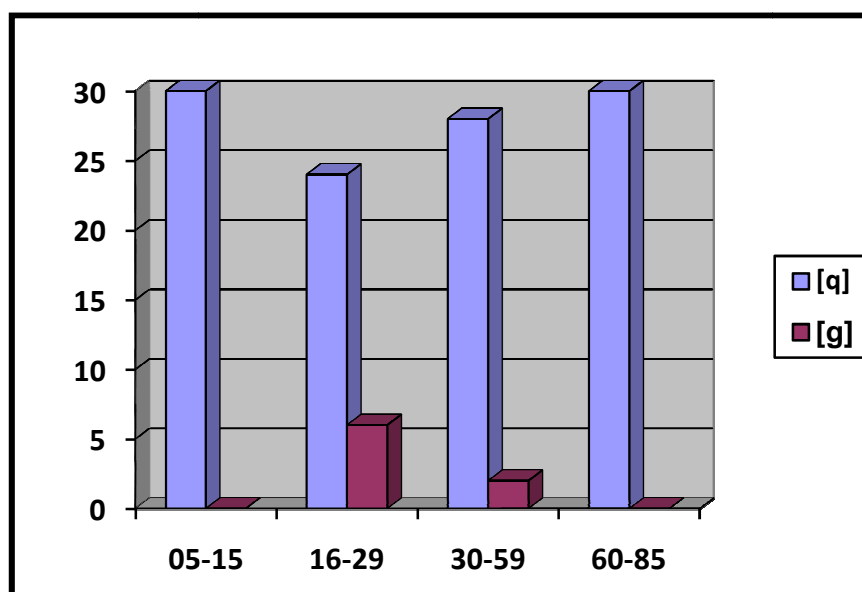


Figure 3.6: Scores of the use of the variant [q] when speaking to non NA Speakers in correlation with age.

In general, the Nedromi speakers show a strong tendency to the preservation of the sound [q] by scoring high rates, while we have a slight participation in the variation of this sound by males and middle aged speakers. From all this, we can conclude that Nedromi speakers have a positive attitude towards the uvular [q]. Age and gender are considered important factors in identifying the choice of certain linguistic characteristics. From the data collection and from our analysis, the majority of those who tend to shift to other linguistic features are males and younger speakers.

The individual choice of certain linguistic features over others is explained by the different attitudes to language use, and not only from the hearer's part but also from the speaker's part.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic studies have proved that all languages are affected by variation, and all speech communities are heterogeneous as their linguistic features are related with those social variables such as the speaker's gender and age in addition to several other factors being social, political and economic ones.

In the speech community of Nedroma, we have tried to correlate two social variables: age and gender in addition to the level of education that play a significant role in causing language variation among the speakers of the speech community. Our analysis has permitted us to conclude that this variation may lead to the loss of some of NA linguistic characteristics and many factors have contributed to such a process: population mobility, political factors and education.

One can say that the choice of certain linguistic features by the individual is determined by the speaker's category and its attitude towards certain linguistic characteristics.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic studies have always emphasized on how language varies from one region to another or even among persons or groups, and thus our aim in this investigation has been to examine sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Nedroma. Following Labov approach (1966) to study the interaction between the social structure and the linguistic structure, in our study the interplay of social variables such as the speaker's age, gender and the level of education with some linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological and lexical are analysed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods. By applying such method, the present research work aims at exploring and clarifying the reasons behind language variation in Nedroma speech community.

Our attempts to describe the linguistic aspects characterizing NA lead us to discover interesting remarks concerning this speech community. The following points represent a summary of our research work findings. First, we have shed light on the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in general which has become extremely complex as many languages and language varieties are found in the country as a result of historical, political and socio-cultural factors. Second, we have drawn some conclusions on NA in particular. Our investigation has led us to answer our questions stated earlier in this research work. The motivation of language variation and change in the speech community of Nedroma can be introduced from other language systems or in relation to social attributes and it can also be explained through accommodation process.

Findings in our analysis demonstrate that the young are more convergent than their elder counterparts as they tend to avoid the traditional forms and use new forms to make their own speech specific to youth. In addition men are more likely to use the standard form than females and tend to be more accommodating to other dialects, as they are more exposed to contact situation with non local speakers, whereas women spend most of the time at home looking after its members. So this linguistic change is motivated by the influence of other dialects in addition to education.

One can say that social, political, cultural in addition to educational norms, all are motivations of language variation and change, and contribute in explaining individual language variability. In addition, the individual choice of certain linguistic features over others is explained by the different attitudes to language use, and not only from the hearer's part but also from the speaker's part. This makes another aim of this study which is considering the reasons behind variation and change in NA speech.

The question that can be raised is: What will be expected from NA speakers after some years, will they preserve their linguistic items or will there be other changes in NA linguistic characteristics?

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE

Date and Place of Birth:

Occupation:

Level of Education:

Gender: male female

Part1: Phonological Variables

A-Variable (q): Realization of /q/ as [q] or [g]

1-Choose the word that you use frequently with NA speakers and then circle it:

-/qala li:/ “he said to me” → [qalli] [gəlli]

- /t̪ari:q/ “the street” → [t̪ri:q] [t̪ri:g]

- /qɪdr/ “pot” → [qadra] [gədra]

2-Do you use the sound (q) when talking to non-native speakers of your dialect?

B-Variable (d̪): Realization of /d̪/ as [d̪] or [t̪]

1- How do you say? Put a circle on 1- or 2-

-/baid/ “eggs” 1-[biid̪] 2-[biit̪]

-/ðɑhr/ “back” 1-[d̪har] 2-[t̪har]

-/d̪ɑraba/ “he bites” 1-[d̪rab] 2-[t̪rab]

C-Variable (dʒ): Realization of /dʒ/ as [ʒ] or [g]

1- How do you say? Put a circle on 1- or 2-

-/ʔaɪdʒizu/ “I feel lazy” 1-[naʒəz] 2-[naʒgəz]

-/ dʒibs / “plaster” 1-[ʒəbs] 2-[gəbs]

-/ dʒazzar / “butcher” 1-[ʒəzza:r] 2-[gəzza:r]

Part 2: Morphological Variables

A-Variants {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm}:

| 1- How do you say? | Put a circle on 1- or 2- | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| -/baituha/ “her room” | 1-[bitha] | 2-[bita] |
| -/ haquha / “her right” | 1-[haqha] | 2-[haqqa] |
| -/baituhum/ “her room” | 1-[bithum] | 2-[bitum] |
| -/ haquhum / “her right” | 1-[haqhum] | 2-[haqqum] |

B- Variation in Duality:

1- Circle your answer

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| -/ saʕatæjni / “two hours” | 1-[saʕtæjen] | 2-[saʕti:n] |
| -/ jauma:n/ “two days” | 1-[ju:majen] | 2-[ju:mi:n] |
| -/ ʕaina:n / “two eyes” | 1-[ʕinæjen] | 2-[ʕini:n] |
| -/ jada:n/ “two hands” | 1-[jeddæjen] | 2-[jeddi:n] |

Part 3: Lexical Variables: put an x in the box

A. To address a woman, how do you say?

[nta] [ntina] both

b. To address a man, how do you say?

[nta] [ntina] both

استفسار

تاريخ ومكان الإزدياد

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

المستوى الدراسي

المهنة

إليكِ الإستفسارات التالية، ضع (ي) دائرة على الكلمة التي تستعملها مع أفراد منطقتك.

الجزء الأول: المتغيرات الفونولوجية

(أ) - المتغير (ق)

قال لي: قالي - قالي - كالي

الطَّرِيق: طَّرِيق - طَّرِيق - طَّرِيق

القِدْر: القِدْرَة - القِدْرَة - الكِدْرَة

هل تستعمل (ق) مع أفراد ليسوا من منطقة ندرومة

(ب) - المتغير (ج)

أَعْجَزُ: نَعَجَزُ - نَعَجَزُ

جَبَسَ: جَبَسَ - قَبَسَ

جَزَارُ: جَزَارُ - قَزَارُ

(ج) - المتغير (ض) و (ط)

بَيَّضَ: بَيَّضَ - بَيَّطَ

مَرِيضٌ: مَرِيضٌ - مَرِيطٌ

ضَرَبَ: ضَرَبَ - طَرَبَ

ظَهْرِي: ظَهْرِي - طَهْرِي

ا

الجزء الثاني: المتغيرات المورفولوجية

أ- المتغيرين

دَارُهَا: دَارُهَا - دَارَ

حَقُّهَا: حَقُّهَا - حَقَّ

وفي صيغة الجمع

دَارُهُمْ: دَارُهُمْ - دَارَمَ

حَقُّهُمْ: حَقُّهُمْ - حَقَّوْا

ب- المثني

سَاعَةٌ: سَاعَتَيْنِ - سَاعَتَيْنِ

يَوْمٌ: يَوْمَيْنِ - يَوْمَيْنِ

عَامٌ: عَامَيْنِ - عَامَيْنِ

عَيْنٌ: عَيْنَيْنِ - عَيْنَيْنِ

يَدٌ: يَدَيْنِ - يَدَيْنِ

الجزء الثالث: المتغيرات المعجمية

عندما تخاطب امرأة تقول

نَتَّ - نَتَّيْنِ - أو الإثنتين

عندما تخاطب رجل تقول

نَتَّ - نَتَّيْنِ - أو الإثنتين

المخلص:

الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة السوسiolغوية هو تحليل بعض جوانب التغير السوسيو لغوي، خاصة الفونولوجي، المورفولوجي و المعجمي منه، بمنطقة ندرومة - تلمسان. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى ربط و إظهار العلاقة المتبادلة بين متغيرات لغوية و عوامل إجتماعية في هذه المنطقة، معتمدين في ذلك على عينات وصفية و كمية مأخوذة من منطوق بعض السكان المحليين لمنطقة ندرومة.

كلمات مفتاحية :

التغيرالسوسiolغوي- المتغير اللغوي- المتغير الاجتماعي - العلاقة - الخصائص الفونولوجية، المورفولوجية ، و المعجمية- الوصف و الكم .

RESUME :

Notre principal objectif de cette étude sociolinguistique est d'analyser certains aspects de la variation sociolinguistique particulièrement phonologique, morphologique, et lexical, dans le village de Nedroma -Tlemcen. Cette étude st consacrée à montrer des corrélations entre des variables linguistiques et des facteurs sociaux en se basant sur des échantillons qualitatifs et quantitatifs pris du parler de quelques habitants natifs de cette région.

Mots- Clé :

Variation sociolinguistique- variable linguistique- variable sociale- corrélation- caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques, et lexicales- qualitatif et quantitatif.

ABSTRACT

The main goal of this sociolinguistic study is to analyze some aspects of sociolinguistic variation (mainly: phonological, morphological, and lexical) of the region of Nedroma-Tlemcen. It aims to correlate the linguistic and the social structures relying on the qualitative and quantitative samples taken from the native speakers of Nedroma.

Key Words:

Sociolinguistic variation- linguistic variable – social variable- correlation – phonological, morphological, and lexical features-qualitative and quantitative.