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**Language Change and Lexical Variation in
Youth Language:**

Tlemcen Speech Community

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Candidacy for the Degree of “Magister” in Sociolinguistics*

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Dedication

In memory of my father

My first and last gratitude goes to Almighty Allah who blessed me with everything I have and everything I am.

This work is dedicated to my mother for being a constant source of support, encouragement, generosity, and affection.

To my husband Mourad who helped me at times of extreme stress without complains, gave me support and love, and never ceased to push me forward.

To my children Hanaa, Rania, and Abdelkrim Mehdi.

To my brother Nazim and his wife, my sister Mounya and her husband.

To my nephews Manel, Wassim, Malek, Ahmed Ali, Nadir, Iméne and Djazia.

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Abstract

Within a sociolinguistic scope, the present research work is set to describe and examine lexical variation in youth language including the motives which lead to language change or more precisely dialect change at the level of vocabulary in Tlemcen speech community. The dissertation concentrates on three main objectives : First, it focuses on the different reasons that lead youngsters (mainly adolescents) use a specific language including innovations and how these innovations are established and integrated as part of colloquial Arabic in the whole speech community. Second, it investigates the role of age and gender in language change. Finally, it examines adults' attitudes towards youth language.

In order to analyse lexical variation in youth language, we apply the Labovian paradigm taking into consideration the factors relevant to the speakers' social and cultural identity within the society they belong to, while adults' attitudes are approached on the basis of Lambert's matched-guise technique.

At first, we are concerned with the theoretical part which aims at presenting the concepts related to language variation and change. Then, we deal with the situation in Algeria from a historical and a sociolinguistic perspective. In addition, we try to explore youth language and culture in the Algerian society. Finally, through the use of different methods of data collection and elicitation techniques, such as questionnaires and interviews, this study attempts to shed light on the reasons why the youth use a different vocabulary from that of adults as well as the impact on language change in terms of lexis.

The overall findings are elaborated in the general conclusion which confirms that the results of our study seem to support the hypotheses related to the mentioned objectives. Finally, some suggestions are made for further research.

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Transcription and Transliteration

These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

Consonants

Plosive consonants: Examples: English Gloss:

[b]	[bNnt]	'room'
[t]	[taʔi]	'mine'
[d]	[dBrwaʔ]	'now'
[k]	[kla]	'he ate'
[g]	[gamra]	'moon'
[t]	[tɑɑr]	'it flew'
[d]	[d̪baɪ]	'hyena'
[q]	[qalam]	'a pen'
[ʔ]	[ʔæʒN]	'come!'

Flap Consonant:

[r]	[radFəɪ]	'a man'
-----	----------	---------

Nasal Consonant:

[m]	[mɪNNh̃]	'good'
[n]	[nuwaara]	'rose'

Lateral Consonant:

[l]	[ɪNNɪ]	'night'
-----	--------	---------

Approximant Consonants:

[w]	[waalu]	'nothing'
[j]	[jBdd]	'hand'

Fricative Consonants:

[f]	[fummm]	'mouth'
[s]	[sNNf]	'sword'

[z]	[zNNt]	'cooking oil'
[G]	[Grab]	'he drank'
[F]	[Fa]	'he has come'
[x]	[xaaf]	'he feared'
[ʁ]	[ʁurbaal]	'sieve'
[ħ]	[ħbBl]	'a rope'
[ʕ]	[ʕabba]	'he took'
[h]	[hrab]	'he escaped'
[s]	[sʔaʔt]	'he blow'
[z]	[raʔaʔzʔe]	'hornet'

Vowels:

Vowels of plain consonant:

Short Vowels:

- [N] → [xudmN] : 'knife'
 [u] → [kursN] : 'chair'
 [a] → [ħall] : 'he opened'

Long vowels:

- [NN] → [sNNf] : 'sword'
 [uu] → [fuul] : 'broadbeans'
 [aa] → [baab] : 'door'

Vowels of Emphatic Consonants:

Short vowels:

- [e] → [beda]: 'white'
 [o] → [fota] : 'towel'
 [ɑ] → [Gʔɑħ] : 'he danced'

Long vowels:

- [ee] → [ʔomaʔeeG] : 'tomatoes'
 [oo] → [ʕoor] : 'wall'
 [ɑɑ] → [ʔɑɑ] : 'it lasted'

Key to Abbreviations

AA : Algerian Arabic

MSA : Modern Standard Arabic

CA : Classical Arabic

TA : Tlemcen Arabic

H : High Variety

L : Low Variety

CS : Code-switching

General Introduction

In our everyday experience we witness a generation gap between youngsters and adults in terms of communication. Many examples of vocabulary items used by teenagers and young adults often seem to need 'translation' for older age groups. So, communication between generations of people is not always easy ; while people of older generations tend to be conservative, younger ones do their best to be innovative in style, behaviour, dressing and language as well.

Since language is the mirror of society, by using it, people try not only to communicate meanings but also « to establish and maintain social relations », as Trudgill (1974) says. Accordingly, the field of sociolinguistics has always been interested in the use of language in the socio-cultural context.

As the subject of language is worth studying, its variation and change have for many years prompted interest and sociolinguists in their investigations attempt to explain the factors and motivations involved in the process of language change. Among the various factors that affect language change, age has often been studied as the one that locates people in the society and causes language variation.

In our everyday interactions, language change may not be apparent . But in fact, languages do evolve and this is clearly noticeable in communication between members of different generations, mainly between adolescents and adults. We notice nowadays that the language or more precisely the dialect (as we are concerned with Tlemcen Arabic) used by adolescents and young adults in our society is sometimes 'bizarre' in the ears of adults because youngsters tend to code-switch, code-mix, and borrow words from foreign languages especially the French language due to the influence of the French culture on them, on the one hand, and the spread of the new technologies, the evolution of the mass media and the internet on the other. The result is the use of new structures and words giving birth to innovations that did not exist a few years ago but seem to be gradually adopted and integrated in our language, though some lexical items and expressions might be ephemeral.

With the spread of science and technology, the present world is changing very fast and in order to follow the flow of human development, Algeria has entered the world of globalisation. The advent of the internet, for example, has changed people's lives making them share common interests, exchange ideas and communicate with each other sometimes sharing a common language.

As variability is persistent and omnipresent in language and because languages do not vary only in different countries but also within a speech community, this research work seeks to discover more about patterns of linguistic variability and change in Tlemcen.

In general terms, this research work has the objective of finding out the motivations which lead to language variation and subsequent change, especially during the period of adolescence on the one hand, and to shed light on adults' attitudes towards youth language on the other. The scope of research lies in the following research questions :

- * What makes adolescents use a specific type of language and how does their use of innovations affect language use at the lexical level ?
- * Is lexical variation gender-related ? What gender contributes most in language change ?
- * To what extent does youth language affect adults' speech and what are older people's attitudes towards youngsters' language use ?

As the dissertation attempts to explain the patterns of language variation and change in Tlemcen Arabic (henceforth TA), it will check some hypotheses which start from the following assumptions :

- * Various factors and motives make teenagers contribute in language change, the most important one being age, in addition to other social factors.

* Gender constitutes an important sociolinguistic variable since boys appear to be frequently using innovations and borrowings in their speech, a persistent linguistic behaviour that might lead to language change.

* Adults' speech is sometimes affected by youth language, but in most cases it is stable and this makes older people show negative attitudes towards innovations and change.

The present investigative research has the objective of finding out patterns of lexical variation in TA which correspond to social factors, mainly age and gender differences. Three interrelated chapters study the different aspects of the topic.

The aim of chapter one is to provide an overview of the theoretical guiding principles about the most important aspects and concepts of language variation and language change exploring these in correlation with social factors such as age and gender. It also attempts to provide a broad theoretical description of youth language.

The second chapter will be devoted to the linguistic situation in Algeria dealing with some concepts such as bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, innovations.

At the outset of the last chapter, a concise summary about the methodology conducted including data collection. The main results are then discussed, analysed, and interpreted as objectively as possible to check the validity of the aforementioned hypotheses.

The main focus of this dissertation is then to shed light on the differences between youth and adults' language in terms of lexis since youth language has a high rate of circulation through the input of new words and expressions on the one hand, and loss of older ones on the other. Finally, the purpose of the research is the study of lexical variation in TA, showing differences in vocabulary between young people and adults and how these correlate with social factors, mainly age and gender.

Chapter One

Language Variation and Change

1.1. Introduction

Nobody denies the fact that the relationships between language and society have long intrigued linguists. As language can be studied from different angles and in different domains, researchers find its subject interesting and worth studying. In Applied linguistics, for example, linguists investigate how to learn and teach different languages, in Psycholinguistics, they study how our brain works and how children learn languages. In Anthropology, they look for the role of language in different cultures and in Sociolinguistics, they check the different varieties of language people use, and why there are linguistic differences in different groups. In formal linguistics, language has always been seen as an abstract object to be studied without reference to social and cultural concerns of any kind. Chomsky (1965 :3) writes :

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by grammatically irrelevant conditions such as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

So, according to Chomsky (1965 :4), language is studied as a system in the form of individual competence (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) rather than of individual performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations) .

In addition, David Crystal has defined language as « the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression » (1997 :400).

Sociolinguists focus on the close relationship between language and society. They believe that individuals interact with each other and engage themselves in various kinds of verbal exchanges creating systems for communication which are not based only on the rules of language as a formal system but also on their knowledge of the social context on the one hand, of the individual whom they are addressing, and of the topic on the other hand. Holmes (1992 :16) says that : « the sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and of the choices people make when they use language ».

As we are interested in lexical variation and language change among young people, we are going in this theoretical chapter to deal first of all with sociolinguistics and language variation explaining some basic concepts in relation to language then, we will review adolescence and youth language in general.

1.2. Sociolinguistics as a Field Study

Sociolinguistics is a field which studies language in society, i.e., in its social context. In other words, we can say that it investigates the different uses of language in relation to social contexts since language is not used in the same way by all people and in all situations. Language may vary between speakers of different regions or socio-economic background. On the other hand, it can also vary within the same speaker when she/he moves from formal to informal situations. So, sociolinguistic research aims at finding out the social factors which affect language variation.

As language may vary from one place to another, from one social group to another or from one situation to another, the task of the sociolinguist is to investigate the influence of language on the society and vice versa (i.e the impact of society on language). From this point of view Trudgill (1992 :68) defines sociolinguistics as :

...a term used to describe all areas of the study of the relationship between language and society...Sociolinguistic research is thus work which is intended to achieve a better understanding of the nature of human language by studying language in its social context and/ or to achieve a better understanding of the relationship and interaction between language and society.

In his book *Sociolinguistics* (1996 :4), Hudson defines sociolinguistics as ‘the study of language in relation to society’ which means that language is closely related to society and to the context in which it occurs including the speakers who are part of it. In addition Downes points out that sociolinguistics is :

That branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages which require reference to social, including contextual factors in their explanation.

Downes (1998 :9)

Indeed, the role of the sociolinguist is to explore the different ways of language use by different individuals in different contexts.

1.3. Language Variation

A great interest in sociolinguistics is given to the study of language variation which is now one of the most rapidly expanding subfields of linguistics and nowadays, the study of sociolinguistic variation becomes much wider taking into consideration the speaker’s style and his / her different ways of speaking in relation to the places (geographical variation) and social groups (social variation). Because no speakers of a language speak exactly the same way, different varieties occur within this language. Then, a variety is defined as : « A neutral term which

simply means any particular ‘way of speaking’ ; it is applicable to any linguistic phenomenon we want to treat as a single unit » Downes (1998 :17).

In sociolinguistics a variety, also called a lect, is a specific form of a language. This may include languages, dialects, accents, registers, styles or others, as well as the standard variety itself. People’s way of speaking can differ from one individual to another depending on age, sex, social status etc, or on the person addressed to and finally on the situation or context in which the conversation occurs. In addition, language may vary from one person to another or from one social group to another, from one place to another, and from one situation to another on all linguistic levels : phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic.

1.4 Language and Dialect

The most widely recognized types of language terms are the notions of ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, but people often ask about the differences between the two. According to Haugen (1966) cited in Hudson (1996), English made no distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’.

No such distinction is made. For example according to Einar Haugen (1966), this was the case in England until the term dialect was borrowed in the Renaissance, as a learned word from Greek. In fact, we may see our distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ as due to the influence of Greek culture.

Hudson (1996 :31)

The term ‘dialect’ was borrowed from the Greek language in the Renaissance and because of the influence of Greek culture a distinction was made between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ and then their meanings were quite different. The meaning of the word ‘dialect’ is closer to French than to Greek language since it coincides much more with the word ‘dialecte’ used to refer to regional varieties which are

written than to the term 'patois' which refers to regional varieties which are not written. (ibid :31).

According to Haugen (1966), The distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' can be made in two separate ways which are 'size' and 'prestige'. On the one hand, a language is bigger than a dialect. It contains more linguistic items than a dialect. An example can be given : if we take Arabic as a language, we might consider all the varieties spoken in the Arab World as dialects of the Arabic language or if we consider Classical Arabic in the Algerian speech community as a language, it is sure that all language varieties that are spoken in different parts of the country are called dialects of this language. On the other hand, language is more prestigious than a dialect. A dialect is considered as :

A substandard, low status, often rustic form of a language, lacking in prestige. Dialects are often being thought as being some kind of erroneous deviation from the norm. An aberration of the 'proper' or standard norm of language.

Chambers and Trudgill (1998 :5)

As a result, most people in England consider Standard English as a language because it is written and used by the Royal family whereas all the unwritten varieties are called dialects.

1.4.1. Standard Language

A standard language is a variety used by educated people and in important professions in society such as : politics, law court, educational and scientific documents. Holmes (2001 :76) pointed out that the standard variety is generally written, and has undergone a degree of regularisation and codification. That is, the standard variety has a written form and is regarded as more correct and socially acceptable than the other varieties. According to Haugen cited in Hudson (1996:33), a typical standard language will have passed through the following processes :

- 1- Selection : It means that the variety is selected to be considered as a standard language. The choice is a matter of great social and political importance since the variety will gain prestige among people.
- 2- Codification : The variety is written in dictionaries and grammar books so that its correct forms are learned and used by people.
- 3- Elaboration of Function : The variety is used in many domains and functions associated with government and in writing such as law, education...
- 4- Acceptance : The selected variety should be accepted by people as the variety of the community and thus usually as the national language of the country.

1.4.2. Vernacular Language

The term vernacular language generally refers to a language which has not been standardised or codified. It is the native variety of a particular speech community, acquired in early childhood. According to Holmes (2001: 74), the « distinction between a vernacular language and a standard language is a useful place to start. [...] The term vernacular is used in a number of ways. It generally refers to a language which has not been standardised and which does not have official status » .

The vernacular language was also defined in 1951 by a committee from the UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) as follows :

A language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in another country.

UNESCO (1968 :689-690)

For example, Spanish is not considered as a vernacular in the United States of America because it is an official language in Spain, Chile and Uruguay.

1.5. Regional and Social Variation

Whenever we move from one region to another within the same country, we always encounter regional or social variation. Forms which may be unacceptable in one region or social class may be usual in another. Nowadays, in sociolinguistics, variation is central. It is seen as an integral and essential part of language.

In the 1960's, sociolinguists led by William Labov developed methods of studying language variation and their work has produced something of a revolution in the study of language. One of the early descriptions, variation divided language into two categories : variation according to the user and variation according to use (Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens, 1964 :87). On the one hand, variation according to the user includes the language aspects that a person always carries with him like gender, age, social class, ethnicity, education. It means that all these are part of the individual's identity. On the other hand, language variation according to use occurs in anyone's speech as they move from one situation to another.

A mother who is a teacher for example, will vary her language use as she moves from talking to her children, to giving a lecture in a classroom, to talking to her colleagues...But, in all these situations her speech will still reveal her accent, her sex, and social class (i.e language variation according to user), and in the same time she will also make changes and adjustments according to the situation she is in and to the people whom she is talking to (i.e language variation according to use).

1.5.1. Regional Variation

Regional variation makes us discuss about 'dialect geography' since regional dialects refer to the differences in speech within a given area. The study of how languages change over time has encouraged linguists and especially dialectologists in mapping dialects on a regional basis. Regional variation occurs because people often speak differently in different places. Indeed, when we travel from one place to

another we usually find a lot of language differences. Chambers and Trudgill (1998 :5) say in this respect :

If we travel from one 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. The further we get from our starting point, the larger the difference will become.

The point is that languages differ when speakers distance themselves from one another depending on time and place and the result is the creation of different dialects. So, any variation found within a language happens because of the two factors, time and distance. In order to study regional variation dialect geographers have attempted to reproduce their findings on maps called Dialect Atlases by drawing lines called isoglosses and trying to show the geographical boundaries of the distribution of a particular linguistic feature. The further the distance is, the less mutual intelligibility occurs. Hudson (1996 :38) states the following :

The dialect geographer may then draw a line between the area where one item was found and areas where others were found, showing a boundary for each area called an isogloss.

It is consequently very difficult to specify boundaries between dialects since those boundaries often coincide with either geographical factors such as mountains, rivers... or political ones.

Lexical differences play a significant role in the study of regional variation, as explained by Bloomfield (1933) for whom innovations or new words spread among speakers and the tendency of people in adopting new concepts leads to the rise of variation in speech and thus to the differentiation between dialects. He argues that :

The reason for this intense local differentiation is evidently to be sought in the principle of density. Every speaker is constantly adopting his speech habits to those of his interlocutors ; he gives up forms he has been using, adopts new ones, and perhaps oftenest of all, changes the frequency of speech forms without abandoning any ones or accepting any old ones that are really new to him.

Bloomfield (1933 :328)

Since everybody knows that our speech is not only affected by the place we live in, that is, it can also be affected by social and cultural background like age, gender, race, social status, education, etc, studying the geographic origin alone represents a serious weakness in studying language variation.

1.5.2. Social Variation

Variation in language, as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, may be characterized, as we have already explained, by the geographical and the social background of the speaker. In the 18th century, dialectologists considered language variation as a result of the geographical origin of the speaker.

It was only in the 1960's that sociolinguists started to investigate and concentrate on the social factors and their impact on language variation. Dialect differences are not only geographical, social factors too contribute to speech variation between groups of people living in one geographical area .

This is the reason for which sociolinguists agreed that the dialectologists' point of view was too restricted, and that geographical location was not enough to account for linguistic variation. They believe that language is subject to constant change because of the mobility of the speakers of different dialects which causes modifications or substitutions of linguistic features. Members of the speech community speak differently from each other, and their language obviously reflects whether they are educated or not, what kind of occupation they have, to which social class they belong, how old they are and what their gender is .So, social factors also contribute to speech variation between groups of people living in the

same geographical area. Yule (1985 :190) defines social dialects as « ...varieties of language used by groups defined according to class, education, occupation, age, sex and a number of other social parameters ».

The study of sociolinguistic variation is governed by what Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) called 'orderly heterogeneity' or what is known as 'structured variation'. This structure is found when sociolinguists correlate the social structure with the linguistic one. One well-known pattern found for dialect features that are stable (i.e not undergoing change) shows the correlation of the absence of third person present tense marking (eg : 'she play', 'the boy sing') with social class membership in the city of Norwich in England (Trudgill 1974).

The 'higher' the social class of the speaker, the lower the absence of –s marking. Another observation made by Trudgill (1974) when undertaking his research in Norwich showed the correlation of social class, speaker's sex and the use of non-standard [n] variants of unstressed –ing suffixes. He found that within each social class group, women consistently use less non-standard pronunciation than men.

In most communities, we can find differences in the social status of people. Social classes can be ordered from those with the highest prestige to those with the lowest. It has long been recognized that there are differences in the speech of people of different social classes, but it was only in the 1960's that this began to be studied systematically, in America by Labov (1963, 1966, 1972) and in Britain by Trudgill (1974, 1983).

Mugglestone, L. (2003) tells us what happened in England. For centuries, England had had a standard written form but not a spoken one, but the situation had changed when the middle class wanted to improve its social status and people consciously changed their speaking habits in the direction of the most prestigious variety of spoken English, which was the variety used only at the Royal Court in London. By contrast, the lower class spoke local dialects. As a result, the middle class established the new spoken standard.

Another area where social group differences are reflected strongly in the lexicon is in the variation according to age groups particularly in the slang of

teenagers and young adults. A slang may be characterized as an informal language variety that includes new and sometimes not polite words and meanings. It is often used among young people be they teenagers or young adults and includes items which are relatively short-lived (Wolfram,1991).

1.6. Linguistic vs Social variable

1.6.1. The linguistic variable

For a long time, variation has been a very interesting field of research to linguists. But, what has added a new dimension to these investigations is the study of the linguistic variable. So, in order to study how language varies in any community, sociolinguists have used different ways and techniques which were based on Labov's methods. To-date, they have given great attention to linguistic variation and consider the variables as tools which enable them to investigate, recognize and at last analyse particular speech patterns. Wardaugh (2006 :143) exemplifies the linguistic variable as follows :

A linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has identifiable variants. For example, words like *singing* and *fishin'* are sometimes pronounced as *singin'* and *fishin'*. The final sound in these words may be called the linguistic variable (ng) with its two variants [E] in *singing* and [n] in *singin'* .

The phonological and the grammatical variables have greatly interested linguists. Among them, Labov (1966), when in New York City, chose five phonological variables : the (th) variable, the initial consonant in words like *thin* and *three* ; the (dh) variable, the initial consonant in words like *there* and *then* ; the (r) variable, r-pronunciation in words like *farm* and *far* ; the (a) variable, the pronunciation of the

vowel in words like *bad* and *back* ; and the (o) variable, the pronunciation of the vowel in words like *dog* and *caught*. Trudgill (1974) also chose certain

phonological variables in his study of the speech of Norwich (Wardough 2006 : 144).

1.6.2. Social variables

Sociolinguists working with the linguistic variable have always been interested in the relationship between linguistic and social variation. In order to draw conclusions from their research, they try to relate the variants to quantifiable factors in society such as social status, age, gender, ethnicity, and so on.

1.6.2.1. Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable

Any individual speaker or group of speakers represents at the same time a place in history and a life stage. The analysis of linguistic variables in relation with age can be found in the change occurring in the speech of the community as it moves through time and which is known by historical change on the one hand, and on the other hand, by the change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through time, a phenomenon known as 'age grading'.

In this respect and in order to understand the process of language change in relation to age, some questions should be taken into consideration : To what extent can a speaker's language change over time ? How does age interact with social variables such as class, gender, and level of education ?

So, in order to answer these questions we have to understand the linguistic life course. Coupland (2001 :203) points out that : « Sociolinguistics has assumed that age is mainly of interest as a resource for the study of language change ».

i) Definition of Age

In recent times, age and ageing have been studied in various domains such as biology, psychology, sociology and anthropology ; each field has tried to analyse the process from a particular point of view. In biology, for example, research has sought to understand the biological changes that are part of ageing, while in

psychology the investigation has tended to examine ageing of mind. Work from a sociological viewpoint has dictated how a person perceives and reacts to the aging process (Barrow 1989 : 3), while anthropology was one of the first areas to recognise the social and cultural importance of age (Kertzer and Keith 1984 : 7). Three principles have influenced language and age-related research :

- 1- Ageing can be understood only in dynamic terms. The aging process cannot be separated from the social, cultural, and historical changes that surround it. People do not grow up and old in laboratories. Therefore, we must learn how different age cohorts and how society itself is changed by these differences.
- 2- Ageing can be understood only from the perspective of its socioculturally patterned variability, both within a society and across societies.
- 3- Ageing can be understood only within the framework of the total life course. People do not begin to age at any specific point in life. Rather, ageing occurs from birth (or earlier) up until death. And within the total society, people of all ages are interdependent.

(Kertzer and Keith 1984 : 8)¹

These principles seem to reveal important subjects for sociolinguistic research on age and aging. (1) and (2) outline the necessity of studying individuals in their natural context (i.e in their speech community) because the process of ageing cannot be detached from ties such as society, culture and history. (3) examines age within the life course. This perspective has been supported by linguists such as Eckert (1984, 1997) since the early 1980's.

1.6.2.2. Gender as a sociolinguistic Variable

Because men and women are biologically and socially different, they are expected to have different behaviours. As we are interested in studying language change and how it can be affected by gender, we first try to shed light on the

¹ Cited in : *Corpus and Sociolinguistics : investigating age and gender in female talk* (by Brona Murphy) p. 1-2.

difference between sex and gender, then we highlight some interesting claims about language and gender. Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet (1992 :90) state :

Women's language has been said to reflect their [our] conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, defence, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. A man's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control.

Since the early 1970's, the study of how men and women use a language has interested sociolinguists and a major question is : Do men and women who speak a particular language use it in different ways ? In order to answer this question, two domains of language behavior were investigated : first, speech behaviour of men and women on the phonological level, ; second, the interaction behaviour (conversational styles) between women's and men's discourse.

1.6.2.2.1. Gender and sex

To resolve the ambiguity between gender and sex, the two concepts have to be clarified. The British sociologist Giddens defines 'sex' in terms of « biological or anatomical differences between men and women », whereas, 'gender' « concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females » (1989 :158). It is clearly noticeable nowadays that the current vogue is the use of the term 'gender' rather than 'sex'. According to Wardaugh (2006 :315) « sex is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females ». So, while the term 'sex' is used in biological studies, the term 'gender' is rather concerned with psychological, social and cultural differences between men and women. Cameron (1998b :280) states that :

Men and women... are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating. They do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking

‘appropriate’ to their own sex ; they learn a much broader set of gendered meanings that attach in rather complex ways to different ways of speaking, and they produce their own behavior in the light of these meanings...

1.6.2.2.2. Language and gender

Early studies on language and gender usually considered women’s language or speech behavior of women in terms of a deficiency model, that is, men’s speech behaviour was considered as stronger, more prestigious, and more desirable (Lakoff, 1975).

The investigation of gender-specific language variation started in the 1960’s with the sociophonological surveys of William Labov, especially his study on Martha’s Vineyard (1965) and his New York study (Labov, 1966b). In order to collect reliable and authentic data for his research, he introduced the sociolinguistic interview, carefully designed to elicit different speech styles within a single interview.²

His studies show a stratification of phonological variables according to sex/gender, age, socio-economic status, and situational context. As a result, he found that : First, women of higher classes use more standard variants than their equivalent men. Second, the lower middle class (LMC) « hypercorrects » its language ; it copies features of the middle class (MC), whose language behavior is more standard, in order to gain social prestige. From the findings Labov highlighted the role of gender as an important factor in sociophonological variation but he didn’t explain the reasons for which women use more standard forms than men. He just pointed out that :

Women... are said to be more expressive than men or use expressive symbols more than men or rely more on such symbols to assert their position », and « women are said to rely more on symbolic capital than men because they possess less material power » .

(Labov, 1990 :214)

² Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Coulmas, Florian (ed). Blackwell

Working within a similar framework to that of Labov, Trudgill, in his study of Norwich (1972) tried to find out the reasons for which women use more standard forms than men. He assumed that men are judged according to their work, whereas women are assessed according to their appearance.

Trudgill (1972 :91) states :

The social position of women in our society is less secure than that of men... It may be... that it is more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically .

Two theories are worth mentioning as far as research in language and gender is concerned : difference and dominance theories.

i) Difference theory

The founder of this theory is Deborah Tannen (1990). In her research she has tried to show how girls and boys are brought up differently. According to her, gender differences in language become established early and are then used to support the kinds of social behaviour males and females exhibit. It is mainly when males and females interact that the behaviour each uses separately becomes noticeable.

As she says :

The differences between women and men in ways of interacting may be the result of different socialisation and acculturation patterns. If we learn the ways of talking mainly in single sex peer groups, then the patterns we learn are likely to be sex-specific. And the kind of miscommunication which undoubtedly occurs between women and men will be attributable to the different expectations each sex has of the function of the interaction, and the ways it is appropriately conducted.

(Holmes, 1992 :330)

i i) Dominance theory

According to this theory, language behaviour reflects male dominance. This means that men in all situations try to take control and to dominate. Consequently,

since women are relatively powerless they adopt more prestigious language forms to protect themselves in dealing with the more powerful. (Wardaugh, 2006 :327). For example, in cross-gender conversations men frequently interrupt women but women interrupt men much less frequently (Zimmerman and West, 1975). James and Clarke (1993) looked at fifty-four studies that addressed the claim that men are much more likely than women 'to use interruption as a means of dominating and controlling interactions' (p.268). As a conclusion, we may say that in their interactional patterns in conversation, men and women seem to often exhibit the power relationship that exists in society, with men dominant and women subservient. (Wardaugh, 2006 :326).

1.6.2.2.3. Social status

Social class has been a central concept in sociolinguistic research and linguists have been aware that differences in language are closely tied to social class. Until the 1960's, most studies of variability were primarily concerned with regional variation, it was only during the latter half of the twentieth century that sociolinguists became really interested in studying language variation in relation to social class. Labov's work (1966) in New York city showed that variation in speech of and between individuals, was not free, it was rather conditioned by social factors such as social class, age, gender, etc. When doing investigations on language variation, sociolinguists generally followed the sociological methodology which relies on indicators of social status such as education, income, etc. They grouped individuals into social classes on the basis of these factors, then looked to see how certain linguistic features were used by each group.

Labov (1966, 1972) and other sociolinguists have distinguished between 'change from above' and 'change from below' to refer to the differing points of the departure for the diffusion of linguistic innovations through the social hierarchy. Change from above is conscious change originating in more formal styles and in the upper end of the social hierarchy, whereas change from below is below the level

end of the social hierarchy, it is also below the level of conscious awareness originating in the lower end of the social hierarchy.

1.7. Language Change

As the societies change, languages change too. Thanks to the new technologies realized in all the fields of life, our ways of living have changed and among these our lifestyles, attitudes, traditions and language. The change in the way we use the language is not easily apparent or obvious in day-to-day communication since people are not conscious about it. As Shigemoto³ (1996 :1) states :

We are so intimately connected to our language that we may fail to see its changes, in much the same way that our closeness to our children obscures perception of their development. But languages do indeed change.

Thus, language is not static but changes over time. The change is gradual in the sense that individuals of two subsequent generations can understand each other and can communicate without any constraints. Language changes are usually more apparent when a speech community is separated into two parts because of wars and revolutions. As a result, the distance between the languages of the two speech communities steadily increases. Within the same language, there are some levels of linguistic structure which are more subject to change than others. For example the frequent changes are lexico-semantic whereas the least frequent concern the grammar of the language.

Some theorists assert that language change occurs in three situations : spontaneous change, borrowing, and imposition. Spontaneous change means the change over time, not on purpose but rather through interaction because « no two people speak exactly the same » (Jones and Esch, 2002 : 123), and because people tend to adopt new words and utterances. Borrowing is the adoption of foreign

³ Joan Shigemoto is a Pacific Educator in Residence (PEIR), Pacific Resources for Education and Learning, formerly the Pacific Region Educational Laboratory (PREL).

features and new concepts in one's language. Imposition occurs either through colonisation or invasion by forcing the weaker communities to adopt another language, one aim being to eradicate their cultures. It is also reflected through language planning and policy where language planners are seeking for official or national languages in order « to assimilate minority language groups into officially sanctioned language(s) of Nation-State » , as Diamond (1993 :2) states.

1.7.1. Types of Language Change

Language change is the phenomenon whereby some language features vary over time. There are two main linguistic disciplines which are concerned with studying language change : historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. Historical linguistics examines how people used language in the past on the one hand, and on the other hand it tries to determine how subsequent languages derive from previous ones and relate to one another. Sociolinguistics which studies the origins of the language changes and seeks to explain how society and changes in society influence language. Chambers (1995 :147) claims that the study of language change in progress might be 'the most striking single accomplishment of contemporary linguistics'.

Language change may be broadly divided into two categories : external change and internal change. External change is mainly caused by the adoption of borrowing whereas internal change is caused by the addition and loss of sounds and lexical items, coinage of new words and extensions. The three main aspects of language change defined by sociolinguists are : lexical change, phonological change, and grammatical change.

1.7.1.1. Lexical change

Vocabulary change is the most frequent one and can be easily recognized. New words are adopted in the native language. The vocabulary of a language is called 'lexis', and it is the lexical items which are examined. Lexical change can be

divided into three categories : loss of lexical items, change of meaning, and creation of new lexical items. Differences in vocabulary is quite noticeable between the different geographical areas or regions. For instance ‘ a carbonated soft drink’ might be called ‘pop’ in the inland North and West of the United States, ‘Soda’ in the Northeast, ‘tonic’ in Eastern New England, and ‘cold drink’, ‘drink’ or ‘dope’ in various parts of the South (Carver 1987 :268).

Many sociolinguists point out that lexical differences are not very important in distinguishing the speech of different social or socioeconomic classes. So, when investigating language variation, they rather concentrate on differences in phonology and grammar. But it is worth noting that one area where social group differences are reflected strongly in the lexicon is in variation according to age group, particularly in the slang of teenagers and young adults. The introduction of new vocabulary and the change in lexis spread rapidly. Thus, lexical change is a frequent type of linguistic evolution and certainly the easiest to observe.

a- Word Gain vs Word Loss :

When interacting and according to the situations and the reasons, many speakers mainly teenagers, tend to avoid some words and replace them by other alternatives. Because many words go out of fashion, they are substituted by new fashionable ones that match best the demands of the new generation. As a result, the old words tend to disappear and become therefore lost. For example, the term [ʃwAlɔ] is no more used by adolescents since it is considered out of fashion and replaced by the new fashionable term [bBzrA], this metaphoric item might be ephemeral while the other term [drahBm] can be attested as more stable.

b- Borrowings and Interferences :

Borrowing and linguistic interferences are some of the most often described phenomena of language contact situations. Borrowing is concerned with the transfer of an element from a donor to a recipient language. It usually refers to single lexical

items notably, words whether nouns or adjectives, they are also called *loan words*. Generally, Algerian speakers make use of loans that have already been adapted to the Arabic system. For example, the term [fBrma:F] is an adapted form of the word 'fromage' in French meaning 'cheese'. Linguistic interference is therefore concerned with the types of adaptation that may include any element or feature in the language system. In Algeria, which is a bilingual country, nobody speaks Arabic or French independently i.e., many French linguistic features have been infiltrated in the recipient language because of historical, cultural and sociolinguistic reasons.

1.7.1.2. Phonological change

Phonological change or change in pronunciation may occur in the pronunciation of single words or the pronunciation of a particular sound. One relevant aspect of phonological variation is that it is often conditioned by the phonetic environment, that is, the place where in an utterance the sound occurs.

Concerning the change in the pronunciation of words, an example is given by Hudson (1996 : 170) about the word 'controversy'. Older speakers tend to pronounce it with a stress in the first syllable i.e. 'controversy, while younger people tend to stress the second syllable i.e. con'troversy. On the other hand, concerning the change in pronunciation of a particular sound or vowel the word 'dune' is pronounced by older people with /j/ sound between the first consonant and the vowel, i.e. /dju :n/ but substituted by /ʃ/ sound by younger speakers. Then, the word is pronounced like 'June' /ʃu :n/.

1.7.1.3. Grammatical Change

Grammatical change is the less apparent change because it spreads slowly and takes a longer time than for lexical change. Yet, it is more apparent in vernacular forms. For instance, the dialectal English of New York gang members, who tend to omit the final -ed of the simple past in verbs like 'to miss' and 'to pass' ; instead, they use : ' He miss the bus yesterday' and 'It pass me' respectively (Holmes, 2001).

Grammatical variation involves two sub-types : morphology and syntax.

Morphology refers to the structure or forms of words, including the morphemes or minimal units of meaning which comprise words, for instance the morphemes {un} ‘not’ and {happy} ‘happy’ in ‘unhappy’, or the morphemes {cat} ‘cat’ and {s} plural in ‘cats’.

Syntax refers to the structure of larger units like phrases and sentences, including rules for combining and relating words in sentences.

1.7.1.4. Semantic Change

In diachronic (or historical) linguistics, semantic change is a change in one of the meanings of a word. Every word has a variety of senses and connotations which can be added, removed, or altered over time, often to the extent that cognates across space and time have very different meanings.

Semantics deals with the study of meanings in language. It checks the relations that are established between linguistic expressions and the different phenomena they may refer to. Thus, semantic change refers to the alternations that may affect the meanings of words in relation to the factors that affect the interpretation of linguistic structures. The process is involved whenever a new sense becomes attached to a word or conversely when a new word becomes attached to a sense. According to McMahon (1999), there are many forces which trigger semantic change. Blank (1999) has also tried to create a complete list of motivations for semantic change. These can be summarized as : linguistic, psychological, sociocultural and cultural forces. The term [χ ubza] for, instance, which is basically used to describe a loaf of bread, is used nowadays to hold a variety of meanings. In the widely spread saying [$l + \chi$ ubza # mBrra] which can be literally translated into ‘The bread is bitter’ for instance, the meaning of the word extends to seize a whole mode of life through including the idea of struggle and resistance to labour. Other cases of semantic shift include terms like [bumba], [Garika] which have shifted from

the original meanings 'bomb' and 'company' to associate persons who are 'very beautiful' and 'very rich', respectively, in the dialect⁴.

According to McMahon (1999 : 174) 'Changes in meaning and in lexical inventory tend to have a higher profile among native speakers than other types of change...'. There is therefore less resistance in the change of the semantics of linguistic structures than in their grammars.

Yet, the field raises challenging obstacles to linguistic analysis. of meaning with culture. Consequently, a good understanding of meaning requires a good grasp of the socio-cultural milieu of the linguistic elements involved.

It is not easy to discern laws and to regulate patterns of semantic change. Even so, there is a general assumption that ascribes that in order to convey new meanings ; speakers can combine old words in a new way allowing therefore new compounds and new structures in the language. They can also merely change the meaning of old words through advocating new denotations and connotations to a lexical item. According to Kearns (2000) the basic components of semantic change can be presented in two directions :

1- $F_a > F_b$ Form F with sense 'a' acquires an additional sense 'b'.

2- $F_b > F_a$ Form F with senses 'a' and 'b' loses 'a'.

Accordingly, the process is about a gain of a new meaning or a loss of a denotation to an already existing form. Below we view three types of semantic change so that in addition to the cases of gain and loss, a third case is added to relate to the adoption of a new sense at the expense of the existing sense. This may be presented as follows :

$F_a = F_b$ sense 'a' linked with form F is replaced by sense 'b'.

Semantic change therefore unfolds three procedures and not only two as it was postulated by Kearns (2000). Following McMahon (1999), we suggest three basic procedures to change words meanings. Broadly, Semantic representations of words may change either via becoming broader or narrower, or via shifting whereby a new sense is attached to the lexical item.

⁴ The terms have been transferred into the dialect through contact with Oran Spoken Arabic. The spread of Rai music may have caused this transference too.

a- Semantic Broadening :

Semantic broadening or widening is about an extension of meaning whereby the change is from a subordinate level to a superordinate level i.e., a generalisation process. When broadened semantically, the word takes on a wider and more general meaning than it had previously. The word 'isis' for instance is restricted to one category of commercial soap, but used nowadays to include all kinds of soap flakes which are available in the market.

b-Semantic Narrowing :

Semantic Narrowing, which is less frequent than semantic broadening, is about a change from a superordinate level to a subordinate one i.e., a process of specialization. It is about a restriction of meaning in other words, if semantic broadening widens the range of meanings conveyed by a lexical item, semantic narrowing conversely reduces the number of contexts a word can be used in.

c- Semantic Shift :

Semantic shift deals with the shift in meaning of a lexical item. The two most important examples of semantic shift are : metaphor and metonymy. According to Warren (1992)⁵, metaphor, whereby an old word is transferred to fit a new concept or object which belongs to a different semantic domain on the basis of some perceived similarity between the source and the target whereas, metonymy, whereby a particular item is used to denote some other entity within the same domain. The process involves the substitution of a noun for another closely associated noun.

1.8. Survey of research on age and Language

One of the most particular kinds of sociolinguistic variation which has been given great attention by sociolinguists is the study of language change, the essential factor being time. So, in order to study language change in progress, sociolinguists examine differences across different generations of speakers, that is, observing

⁵ Cited in Derni, A. (2009 : 160). . Doctorate Thesis. University of Tlemcen

change in apparent time or revisiting the same community at different periods, which is observing change in real time.

Before the advent of sociolinguistics, it was generally thought that observing language change in progress was impossible. Structural linguists such as Bloomfield (1933) and Hockett (1950) assumed that studying changes in progress was theoretically impossible and that the only way changes could be seen was by observing language patterns at two (or more) discrete points on a time line (Chambers 2002 : 355).

1.8.1 ‘Apparent time’ and ‘real time’

The notions of ‘apparent time’ and ‘real time’ are not specific to the more recent studies on sociolinguistic variation and of change in progress. In fact, they have been present in the linguistic literature since the early days of the structuralists (Bloomfield 1933, Hockett 1950). Apparent time is the study of comparing the speech of people from different age groups, to find out differences that could indicate change, whereas in a real time study, the researcher studies the language in a given community and then comes back to it after a number of years to study it again, comparing the actual with the previous results and finding out any changes. Two kinds of studies shed light on the relationship between age , apparent time and real time : trend and panel studies.

A trend study deals with collecting samples of comparable (i.e. the same population) but different individuals at successive points in time (usually the study is carried again 10 or 15 years later), whereas a panel study follows the same individuals across time. In spite of the fact that restudying a community, or following a group of speakers across time is a serious affair, it generally involves serious methodological complexities, and problems of interpretation. For example, one of the methodological difficulties frequently found when dealing with studies of language change in apparent time is the way of choosing the age of the consultants that will best serve to obtain samples of spontaneous speech of sufficient quality. Although real time evidence seems to be the ideal mechanism for exploring language change (Bailey 2002 :325), it also poses a number of problems. This is

the reason for which many researchers have attempted to overcome these problems by combining trend and panel methods.

Studying the relationship between the ageing process and language use has generally been analysed from two points of view : the age-specific approach and the generation-specific approach. The former studies the changing language used during the lifespan of an individual and the latter considers the language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community. However, it is not always possible to separate the two approaches since they are closely related to each other. Eckert (1997 : 151) points out that : « Age and ageing are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history » .

She also distinguishes between three categories of ages (*ibid* : 156) : first, the chronological age which refers to the number of years since birth, second, the biological age which has a relationship with physical maturity and finally, the social age which is tied to life events such as family status (including marriage or birth of first child) or legal status (Eckert gives examples like naturalization or date of first arrest).

1.8.2 Age –grading

Age-grading refers to change of behaviour with age that repeats itself in each generation. Some writers use the term to refer only to the language used by children that is repeated in every generation without ever being used by adults (Hockett 1950 :423), such as children's skipping chants or terms used in childhood games. For him, differential distribution of use in a given variable across different age groups might not represent any change in the variety of a particular speech community, and instead might represent a pattern typical of age grading, repeated generation after generation. Changes that are age-graded , that is, correlated with a particular phase in life and repeated in successive generations, have long been recognised as potential problems for the apparent time construct (Bailey

2002 :324). According to Coupland (2001 :189) age-grading is « when people of more or less whatever birth cohort and their behaviour generally change as they age ».

Chambers (1995 : 188-193) cited two examples of the phenomenon : firstly children, in Southern Ontario and Canada who were regularly using the form ‘zee’ and then replacing it with ‘zed’ before adulthood. Secondly, age-grading was found in Macaulay’s (1977) study in which the middle class ten-year-olds used stigmatised glottal stops but lost them by the age of fifteen.

1.9. Language and age

The recent life-span approach highlights that the broad changes and continuities that constitute a person’s identity and growth occur in all stages of the life course, from birth to death (Seifert, Hoffnung and Hoffnung 2000).

As we are concerned with youth language in comparison with the adults’ one, we are going to consider two stages of the life course : adolescence and adulthood.

1.9.1 Adolescence

The word adolescence is Latin in origin, derived from the verb *adolescere* which means ‘to grow into adulthood’. Adolescence is a time of moving from the immaturity of childhood into the maturity of adulthood noting that there is no fixed or exact time which denotes the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence since every individual has his /her own characteristics. According to Gale Encyclopedia of Children’s Health⁶, adolescence, sometimes referred to as teenage years, youth, or puberty, is the transitional period between childhood and maturity, occurring generally between the ages of 12 and 20. But according to the United Nations « the operational definition and nuances of the term ‘youth’ often vary

⁶ Gale Encyclopedia

from country to country, depending on the specific socio-cultural, institutional, economic and political factors ».⁷

During the International Year of the Youth, the United Nations defined youth as those between 15 and 25 years of age.⁸ Helve, H, and Gunilla Holm. (2005 : 3). Thus, youth overlaps with the category of ‘childhood’, which is commonly defined as anyone under the age of eighteen (De waal, 2002a). In its Western usage, the category of youth is elastic. For example, Galambos and Kolaric (1994) distinguish between ‘young adolescents’ (10-14), ‘teens’ (15-19)

and ‘young adults’ (20-24). Further, in common Anglo American usage, the term ‘teens’ is reserved to those 13-19 years of age. The term ‘adolescent’, previously used for a wider age category (15-24) is now used interchangeably with ‘teens’.

Many experts agree on the fact that adolescence is affected by a set of transitions which influence many aspects of the individual’s behavior, development and relationships. These transitions are biological, cognitive, social and emotional.⁹

1.9.1.1 Adolescence- to- adult transitions

a-The biological transition

Also called puberty, it refers to all the physical changes which occur in the growing girl or boy when moving from childhood into adulthood. It is perhaps the most observable sign that adolescence has begun.

b- The cognitive transition

Unlike children, adolescents adopt a quite different way of thinking which is generally more efficient and more complex. This is evident in five distinct areas of cognition.

1- During adolescence individuals start to think hypothetically in other words, they start thinking about what is possible rather than limiting that thought to what is real.

⁷ Source : United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development

⁸ This definition was made during preparations for the International Youth Year (1985), and endorsed by the General Assembly (see A/36/215 and resolution 36/28,1981).

⁹ Gale Encyclopedia of Children’s Health

2- As adolescents, they become better able than children to think about abstract concepts as friendship, love, faith, religion...

3- During adolescence, individuals start to investigate more often about the process of thinking itself what is called metacognition. So, adolescents may show increased introspection and self-consciousness.

4- Comparing to children who are limited when thinking of things one aspect at a time, adolescents are able to describe themselves and others in a more differentiated way and find it easier to look at problems from multiple facets.

5- Adolescents are more likely than children to see things as relative, rather than absolute; this means that they are less likely to accept 'facts' as absolute truth.

c- The emotional transition

This period is characterized by changes that occur in the way adolescents view themselves and in their ability to act independently. As a result, they start to understand their own personalities and become more autonomous.

d- The social transition

Researchers have spent considerable time looking for the changes that take place with friends and with family members as individuals move into adolescence. One of the most interesting aspects of the social transition into adolescence is the increase in the amount of time individuals spend with their peers. The importance of peers during early adolescence coincides with changes in individuals' needs for intimacy.

1.9.2 Adulthood

Compared to adolescence, adulthood seems to have been neglected in terms of research. According to Coupland (2001 :185) adulthood « has been mainly viewed in research as the empty stage upon which the other variables are played out in their various contexts ». Indeed, adulthood has been considered as an unmarked demographic class which has not greatly interested sociolinguists who were rather

interested in investigating language variation in youth language. This is because adulthood has been treated ‘ as more or less a homogeneous age mass’ (Eckert 1997 : 157). Just like Coupland (ibid), Eckert (ibid :165) refers to the stage of adulthood as « a vast wasteland » .

In our investigation, we will check the validity of this hypothesis and see whether adults’ language is stable. However, Eckert notes that there are some contextual changes during adulthood, such as changes in family status or place of residence which undoubtedly impact in some ways on sociolinguistic patterns. Eckert (1997 :151) also shows that, in community studies of variation, increasing age has sometimes been found to positively correlate with increasing conservatism in speech. She says that « The speech of an age group would have to correspond in a predictable way to the state of the language at some fixed life stage » . This is to show that an individual’s language use is predictable and stable through adult life. In the following section we are going to show how youth language can be affected by the spread of the new technologies mainly in mass media due to the process of globalization.

1.10. The Impact of Globalization on Youth Culture and Identity

Everybody knows that the term globalization refers to changes that occur across the world. Many people agree on the fact that globalization is not a new concept since human beings have been experiencing it since ancient times in the way that modernization and industrialization based on the industrial revolution have clearly been globalization processes, although they have not yet reached every part of the world. Globalization has been an on-going process in the modern world and this is due to the explosion of mass-communication, world trade, tourism and language contact. This kind of revolution has made every kind of information accessible from anywhere and to everywhere in the world.

As a result of globalization some very noticeable similarities between young people from different parts of the world, especially the youth of the developing countries like Algeria, Tunisia or Morocco who are influenced by the culture of

Western and European countries try to imitate their youth in their modes of speech (as using slang, taboo words when speaking to each other), styles of dress and music. Best and Kellner (2003)¹⁰ say in this respect : « Today's youth are the first generation to be enculturated into global media from the beginning of their lives, and their media experiences are far more extensive and intensive than any other generation in history » .

Today, as a result of globalization and the spread of the new technologies, the daily aspects of human social life are changing. The internet as a means of communication has permitted to enlarge adolescents' world of peer interactions. It has opened new paths of communicating outside their own community on the one hand, and on the other hand it has broken the barriers of distance, age, ethnicity and religion.

Concerning music, one of the most modern music which influences the youth in Algeria is Rai. In Arabic 'rai' means 'opinion'. Rai is rooted in the North West traditional music of Algeria, it is based on the Arabic dialect of the West. The songs describe the problems that the Algerian youth face in their social life and most of these youth support this kind of music and are influenced by its vocabulary because it reflects their feelings, their hopes and their dreams for a better life.

Algerian urban youth have developed 'Rai' music as a cultural space separated from the world of adults, within which they explore and negotiate the duality of traditional and modern influences (Schade- Poulsen, 1999).¹¹

1.10.1. Youth language

One of the most characteristic features of youth language is its vocabulary since it is considered as a means that unifies the group (i.e the teenagers) and excludes the outsiders. Youth language is generally characterized by an informal code, whose fundamental features are a particular jargon sustained by generational differences. This has been characterized by many authors (Aguirre et. al 2001) as

¹⁰ Cited in 'Glocalised' youth culture as linguistic performance: media globalisation and the construction of hybrid identities. By Joe Grixti.

¹¹ Men and popular music in Algeria : the social significance of rai (by Marc Schade-Poulsen (1999) cited in : Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective (by Anna-Brita Stenstom, Annette Myre Jorgensen (2009) John Benjamins Publishing Company.

one of several indicators of a kind of youth rebellion, of claims and demands of the teenagers that until now have appeared in oral communication and that are complemented by other expressive manifestations : behaviour, dressing, etc. (Rodriguez, 2002 :21).¹²

Briz' definition (2003 :142) of youth language is interesting to mention at length here:

We understand that teenage language is the social interaction between the young, a submodality, a sub-group that is marked socially and culturally, that in accordance with these marks and those of the specific situation, presents several verbal and non-verbal characteristics (a fact that does not deny that these marks could be present in other situations, and therefore, in other varieties of young talk). That is, what has been called youngtalk is inserted into the oral tradition, in the conversational discourse[...] is, thus, marked by the communicative immediateness and refers specifically to the colloquial modality.

Adolescence represents the transition from childhood into the social order i.e the society. Adolescents try to become independent from adults (especially parents and teachers) and impose their identity in their environment (family and school). They try to show off and distinguish themselves by elaborating different styles from the adults' ones in various domains such as clothing, make-up, hair-styles, jewelry, food consumption, and perhaps most importantly, language.

Youth language is certainly one of the most interesting field for slang studies today. Sorning (1990) considers young people in urban environments as important social carriers of slang today. Young people's speech is the data source for slang and sociability (Eble, 1996). A brief outlook on the word 'slang' which has been described by Fishman (1991 :147) is « ...a quite restricted set of new words and meanings of older words, mixed with linguistic items with a much larger social distribution ».

Despite numerous dictionaries, slang still remains « an understudied part of language » from the scholarly point of view (Eble, 1998 :42). According to Hudson, slang « merits serious research by sociolinguists » (Hudson, 1980 :53). In

¹² Aguirre et. All (2001), Rodriguez (2002), Briz (2003) are cited in : Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective by Anna-Brita Stenstom, Annette Myre Jorgensen.(2009).

lexicography most dictionaries agree that the word 'slang' may be defined with at least two senses. First, slang is the restricted speech of marginal or district subgroups in society and, second, it is quite temporary, unconventional vocabulary characterized primarily by connotations of informality and familiarity¹³. In Trumble and Stevenson (2002), for instance, slang is described both as « the special vocabulary and usage of a particular period, profession, social group » and as « language that is regarded as very informal or much below standard educated level ».

Slang may be divided as either specific or general. Basically, specific slang is language that speakers use to show their belonging to a group and establish solidarity or intimacy with the other group members. It is often used by speakers to create their own identity, aspects such as social status and geographical belonging, or even age, education, occupation, lifestyle and special interest¹⁴.

General slang is language that speakers deliberately use to break with the standard language and to change the level of discourse in the direction of informality. Slang can be contrasted with 'jargon' (technical language of occupational or other groups) and with 'argot' or 'cant' (secret vocabulary of underworld groups). Some writers use the terms 'cant', 'argot,' and 'jargon' in a general way to include the foregoing meanings. 'cant' comprises the restricted, non-technical words and expressions of any particular group, as an occupational, age, ethnic, hobby, or special-interest group. 'Jargon' is defined as the restricted, technical words and expressions of any particular group, as an occupational, trade, scientific, artistic, criminal or other group. 'Argot' is merely the combined 'cant' and 'jargon' of thieves, criminals, or any other underworld group.

¹³ The Pervasiveness of Slang in Standard and non-standard English. By Elisa Mattiello. (<http://www.ledonline.it/mpw/>).

¹⁴ Flexner (1960 : xii-xiii) : « Slang can be one of the most revealing things about a person because our own personal slang vocabulary contains many words used by choice, words which we use to create our own image ».

1.11. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to give a the theoretical background to the study of language variation and change in addition to the social variables that influence language, mainly age and gender which are the most important factors that affect youth language. In the next chapter (chapter two), we will outline the linguistic situation in Algeria reviewing major linguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, style shifting and diglossia on the one hand. On the other hand, we will explain the methodology including the methods of data collection for the study of youth language in Tlemcen speech community and its impact on adults' speech.

Chapter Two : The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

Algeria is considered as a perfect example of linguistic complexity and its linguistic diversity is not only a result of geographic and social criteria, but also a matter of history. It is a multilingual country where different languages are highly present in its society . The sociolinguistic profile of Algeria involves Arabic with its three varieties, Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic (i.e. Colloquial Arabic), French and Berber varieties scattered in a restricted number of areas.

2.2. Algeria from a Historical Perspective

As reported by Queffélec et al. (2002 : 11-13) Algeria was invaded by people from many countries and it was deeply influenced by their civilizations (Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines Arabs, Turkish and French). It was first invaded by the Phoenicians, then by the Romans in 146 B.C. who settled for nearly seven centuries, then it became part of the Byzantine Empire in 534 A.D. with all the countries of North Africa. The arrival of the Muslim Arab conquests was in the 7th century and almost nine centuries later. The country came under the Ottoman Empire in 1518. The Turkish rule persisted in Algeria until the French conquest in 1830. By 1848, the French administration declared Algeria a French territory.

After France took over the whole country, the French administration declared the French language as the only language of administration i.e. the official one. After that, in 1938, the French passed a law making Arabic a foreign language. So, French became the official language and the French occupation lasted one hundred and thirty two years, until Algeria gained its independence in 1962.

2.3. Algeria from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

To have a clear image concerning the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, one has to shed light on the three languages that are used in its territories. These are Arabic, French and Berber.

1- **Arabic** : It was introduced in the late seventh century and early eighth century by the great conqueror Okba Ibn Nafi ¹⁵ whose introduction of Islam profoundly altered the character of the area, bringing with it a new language with new sociolinguistic norms. Nowadays it is classified into three varieties : Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic (the Colloquial).

a/ Classical Arabic : It is the language of the Quran and Islam. It is very sacred and highly appreciated. It is the form of Arabic language used in literary texts from Umayyad and Abbasid times (7th to 9th centuries). It is based on the Medieval dialects of Arab tribes.¹⁶

b/ Modern Standard Arabic : It is the direct descendent used today throughout the Arab World in writing and in formal speaking, for example, prepared speeches, some radio broadcasts, and non-entertaining content ¹⁷. This form of Arabic results from the modernity of the Classical one to meet human needs and demands. In short it is the language of formality, culture and writing.

After independence, the Algerian leaders especially the nationalists adopted the slogan : « Islam is our religion, Algeria is our mother country, Arabic is our language » ¹⁸, a slogan promoted by Abdelhamid Ben Badis, one of the founders of the learned men association.

¹⁵ Khaoula Taleb Ibrahimi, *Les Algériens et Leur(s) Langue(s)*, 2nd edition. El Hikma, 1997, p23.

¹⁶ Bin-Muqbil 2006. p14.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ K. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997). « L'islam est notre religion, l'Algerie est notre patrie, la langue Arabe est notre langue ».

MSA was declared as the national and official language in almost all sectors : educational, political, cultural and economic and for the Nationalists, Arabic was considered as the most important vehicle of communication without which Algeria would probably lose its identity. So, in order to keep this identity, Algeria launched a campaign of Arabisation in various public domains especially Administration and Education. The principal aim of the Arabisation policy was to displace French from its colonial position as the dominant language in various formal settings. Many laws were passed insisting on the arabisation and the status of the Arabic language. One of the last laws is the one of January 1991 which excludes the use and practice of French from public administration, education, hospitals, and economic sectors. In essence, this law imposes the use of the Arabic language and considers French as a Foreign language (Miliani 2003 :18).

c/ Algerian Arabic (AA): It represents the dialectal Arabic also called ‘El ammiya’ or ‘eddaridja’, it is also the mother tongue of the vast majority of the Algerian population. It is used in all situations in everyday conversations and has an oral form only. Its vocabulary includes a great number of words from French, but also a few from Turkish and Spanish. In fact, Algerians consider these borrowings as part of their mother tongue.

2- **Berber** : Besides Algerian Arabic, Berber has been able to survive in spite of its orality. The ancient Berber scripts are called Tifinagh, the divine words. Brahim (2000 :71) writes that : « Berber is spoken in a number of African countries including Mali, Niger, Mauritania and Morocco ». In Algeria, it has four spoken dialects which are : Kabyle spoken in Kabylia, East of Algiers ; Shawia in the Aures, South East of Algeria, Mozabite in the Mzab and Tamashekt in the Sahara ¹⁹.

In the ‘Law of April 10th, 2002’, Tamazight was recognized as a national language, and the government demanded to promote its use in all Algeria’s institutional sectors (Queffélec, et al. 2002 :32). Nowadays Berber is taught in

¹⁹ Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1994 :39-40).

schools and universities in Tizi Ouzou, books are printed in it and TV and radio programmes and advertisements are broadcast in Berber too.

3- **French** : Because the French settlement in Algeria lasted for 132 years , Algeria was one of the Arab countries which suffered the most from the heaviest colonial impact that attempted to suppress the Algerian culture and identity and remold it along French lines. The attempts to eradicate the use of Arabic as a language of education and written communication made French play a fundamental role in the country and till nowadays it continues to have a privileged position in Algeria since its use reached every domain such as administrations, media and education.

2.3.1. The Arabization Process in Algeria

In reaction to French cultural and linguistic imperialism, the leaders of the war of Independence (1954-62) and successive governments decided to revive Arabic and establish it as the national language in order to restore a national identity and personality for the new state and population. So, in the late 1960's the government of president Houari Boumediene decided upon a complete arabization and began the first steps to promote Arabic in administration and in education. As a result, many laws, decrees and ordinances were enacted. On May 14th, 1975, President Boumediene attributed to French the status of 'foreign language'. He says in this respect :

... la langue arabe ne peut souffrir d'être comparée à une autre langue, que ce soit le français ou l'anglais, car la langue française a été et demerera ce qu'elle a été à l'ombre du colonialisme, c'est -à-dire une langue étrangère et non la langue des masses populaires...la langue arabe et la langue française ne sont pas à comparer, celle-ci n'étant qu'une langue étrangère qui bénéficie

d'une situation particulière du fait de considérations historiques et objectives que nous connaissons.²⁰

Here, President Boumediene insisted that “the Arabic language cannot bear to be compared to another language, either French or English, because French was and is still in the shadow of colonialism i.e., a foreign language and not the language of the masses...the Arabic language and the French language are not to be compared, the latter being only a foreign language that enjoys a special position because of historical considerations and objectives that we know”²¹.

Arabization was introduced slowly in schools, starting with the primary level. It was only in the 1980's that Arabic began to be introduced as the language of instruction in some grades and in some subjects at the secondary level²². However, French remained the main language of instruction in the universities since it constituted the medium of modernization and technology on the one hand, and, on the other, it facilitated the access to Western commerce and to economic development. It is worth mentioning that the policy of arabization has partly failed in reaching its aims ; at the oral level, the Algerian speakers are still Arabic/ French bilinguals, whereas, at the written one, such a policy has partly succeeded in some institutions and failed in other domains. As a result, despite the fact that French has always been conceived as a foreign language, it still competes with Arabic in a number of domains making of Algeria a bilingual country.

2.4. Bilingualism

The terms bilingualism and multilingualism have been used interchangeably in the literature to refer to the knowledge or use of more than one language by an individual or a community. Bilingualism in a general sense refers to the ability of

²⁰ President Boumediene, discours du 14 mai 1975, in http://www.asays.com/article.php3_article=304.

²¹ My translation.

²² <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-365.htm/>

speaking two languages. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished : societal and individual. Hamers and Blanc (2000 :6) say in this respect :

The concept of bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism) ; but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism). Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication.

Individual bilingualism (or bilinguality) considers differences between one bilingual and the other in terms of skills or knowledge of the other language. Moreover, it is explained as a mental phenomenon making people use another language by own wish or motivation. On the other hand, societal bilingualism may develop from a variety of language contacts both within and between countries and communities because of constant interchange through visits, trade, wars...From the discrimination made above, we can say that the most prominent characteristic of bilingualism is that it has a multiplicity of aspects whether we consider it at the individual or the societal level. In describing these two characteristics, Trudgill (1983 :141) claims that « individual bilingualism is not actually a necessary consequence of societal or national multilingualism », whereas Romaine (1994 :23) states that « It is not possible to make a neat separation between bilingualism as a societal and individual phenomenon, particularly in the treatment of certain aspects of bilingual behaviour, such as borrowing and interference ».

What is clearly observable in today's linguistic reality in Algeria is that individual bilingualism is an outcome of societal bilingualism. It is worth mentioning that Algerian bilingualism is not homogeneous, for not all the population is bilingual. The point is that Algerian speakers hold varying degrees of bilingual proficiency, i.e., they do not perform in equivalent ways the four basic language skills : listening, speaking, reading, and writing. In this respect, distinction should be made between active bilinguals (those who are able to understand, speak

and write one of the two languages, i.e., either French in the Arabic speech community, or Berber in the Berber speech community) and passive bilinguals (those who are able to understand both languages, but only one language is spoken

correctly without being able to read or write in either language. Miliani (1986 :126) sums up the bilingual situation of the Algerian society in the following diagram :

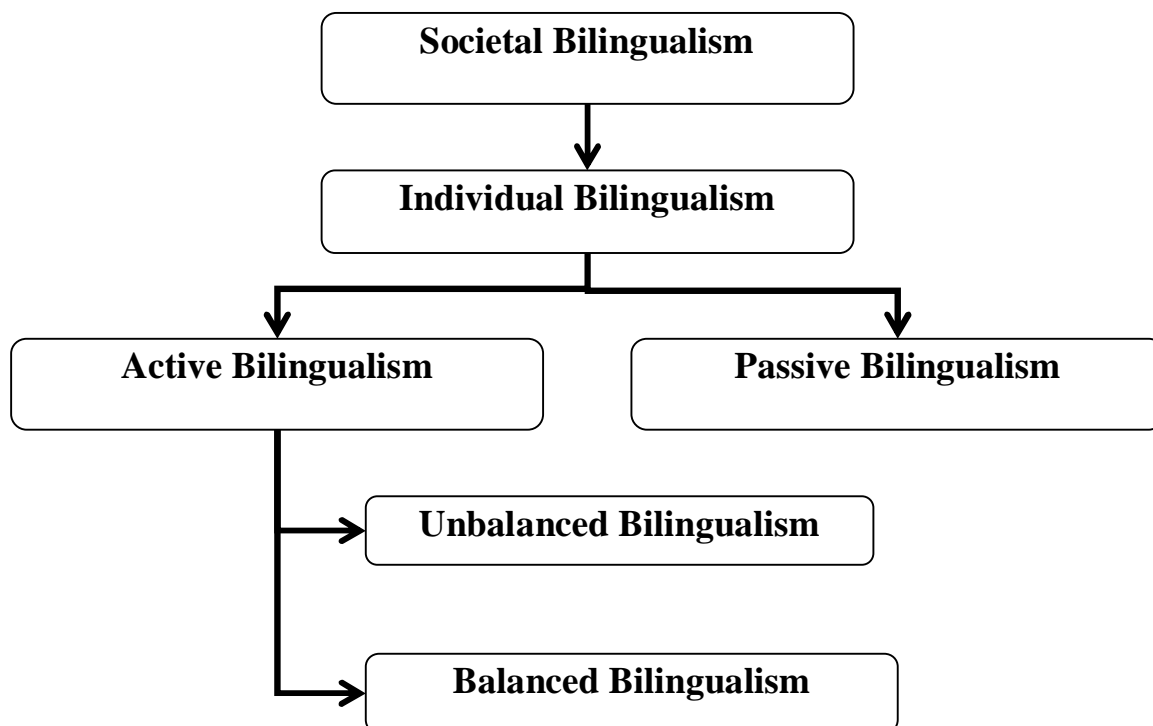


Diagram 2.1. Aspects of Bilingualism in Algeria (Miliani 1986 :123)

Algeria is characterized by the co-existence of two languages that are totally different : Arabic and French which is still playing an important role in the Algerian society in both spoken and written domains. Moreover, the use of Berber in some Algerian speech communities makes Algeria considered as a multilingual society. Romaine (1995 :30) states that « If individuals possess two languages and can function reasonably effectively in producing and perceiving both, they are

considered bilinguals ». The Algerian society makes a very intricate situation since a large proportion of the population can operate in more than one code.

What is noticeable is that all Algerians, even illiterate people, do use and / or understand at least a few words either from MSA or French in their everyday interactions. In other words, a big amount of French borrowings, adapted and even non-adapted can be observed in the majority of speakers' conversations, especially in urban areas. Moreover, though MSA is widely spread in education and has replaced French in almost all educational levels (except in some scientific streams), French continues to be used in many domains such as : economy, finance, mass-media...since it is regarded as the language of technology and progress. Because of its long history in the Algerian context, French has been given the status of a widespread language not only in societal spheres but also in educational, political and cultural domains.

2.5. Diglossia

It is of great importance to shed light on the sociolinguistic realities of the Algerian speech community eminently characterised by what Ferguson (1959) has referred to as 'diglossia'. It was William Marçais (1931)²³ who made a first attempt to describe this phenomenon in the Arabic language by using the term *diglossie* to account for two contrasting aspects of the language, though he did not mention explicitly the specialized functions of each when he said that the Arabic language is considered under two different aspects : a literary language and spoken dialects :

« La langue arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents : 1) une langue littéraire...2) des idiomes parlés... »²⁴.

Ferguson (1959a), who borrowed the term from W. Marçais, introduced the concept of *diglossia*. This can be defined as the use of two different varieties of the

²³ Hubner (1996 :17) mentions Ferguson's borrowing of the term 'diglossia' from W. Marçais (1930-31). Mentioned in Dendane (2007).

²⁴ Cited in Dendane (2007 :99) .

same language or different languages for two different set of functions. Ferguson (1959 :336) states the following :

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

In this definition, the Arab speaking world is described as diglossic where two distinct varieties of the same language are used. One is used in formal situations called ‘high’ variety (H) and the other in less formal or informal situations called ‘low’ variety (L) or vernacular. In the case of Algeria, the high for MSA, generally used in lectures at university, sermons in mosque, political speeches and poetry. The low variety refers to the spoken forms of Algerian Aabic used at home, in the street, market, sometimes on radio and TV. Standard Arabic is recognized in formal situations and it is highly appreciated by people because of its inherited status from the Quran and Classical Arabic, whereas the Vernacular variety (see section 3/c) is not prestigious at all (Sridhar, 1996 :55). Freeman (1996)²⁵ 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.

Thus, the Algerian linguistic situation is known by its complexity : it is diglossic, characterized by the use of Algerian Arabic and MSA ; bilingual by the use of Arabic and French ; and even multilingual by the use of Arabic, French and Berber though this latter language is restricted to just a few areas in the country.

²⁵ Freeman, A. (1996). Web article : « Perspectives on Arabic Diglossia ».

According to Ferguson, diglossia is applied to situations where the H and the L are variants of the same language. However, Fishman (1972) points out that diglossia could be extended to situations found in many societies where two genetically distinct languages « come to divide up the domains in the linguistic repertoire of the speech community » Spolsky (1998 :64). This is what Fishman calls 'extended diglossia'. In other words, Fishman extends the application of the term '*diglossia*' to bilingual and multilingual contexts where the High variety is another language than the Low one. As the varieties involved in the Algerian context are Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French, and Berber, the (H) and (L) possible distributions are as follows :

- MSA vs Algerian Arabic (intralingual diglossia).
- French vs Algerian Arabic (interlingual diglossia).
- MSA vs Berber (interlingual diglossia).
- French vs Berber (interlingual diglossia).

Taking into consideration intralingual diglossia in Algeria, it is worth mentioning the position of Arabic in the Algerian context. Benghida (2006 :36) suggests the following diagram :

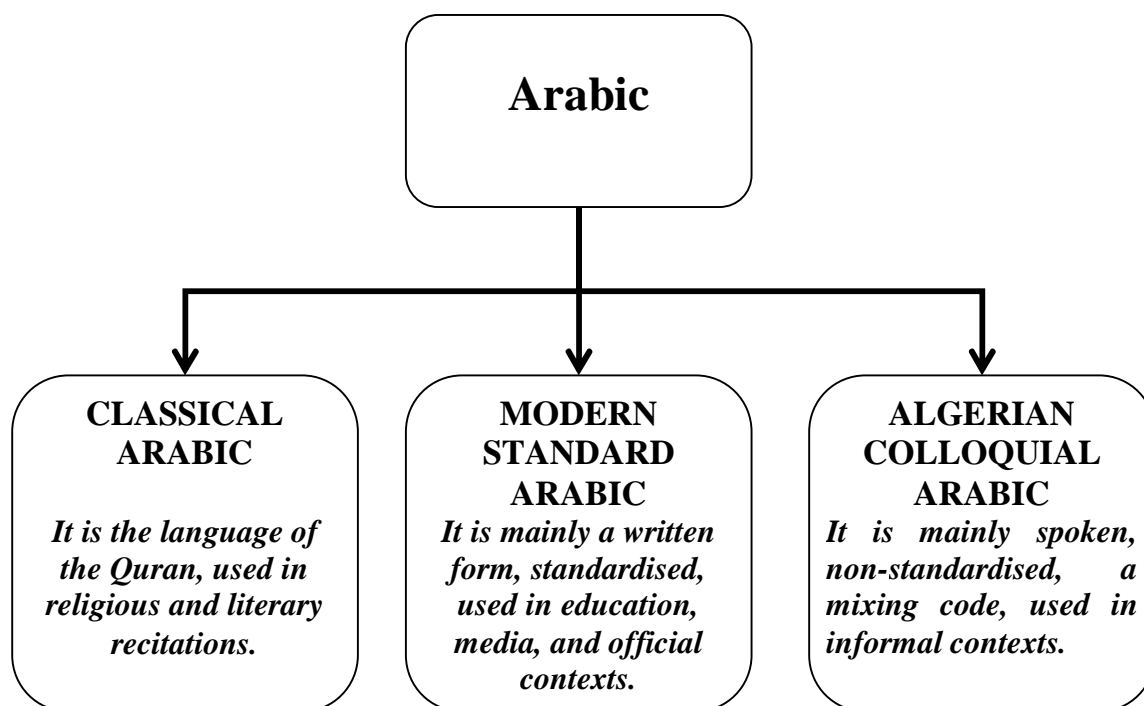


Diagram 2.2. Intralingual Diglossia in Algeria (in Benguida 2006 :36)

2.6. Code-switching

A common mode of speech used in situations where two or more languages co-exist is the switching of languages within sentences, which some researchers (Bokamba, 1988 ; Kachru, 1992a ; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980) ²⁶, refer to as code mixing. Despite the fact that there are many studies which have dealt with code-switching, (e.g Gumpers & Chavez, 1972 ; Poplack, 1980) most linguists have not come into agreement about a definite definition . Many researchers explain the term by supplying many definitions. Thus, code-switching is generally defined as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same interaction. Sridhar (1996 :56) writes in this respect :

When two or more languages exist in a community, speakers switch from one language to another. This phenomenon, known as *code switching*, has attracted a great deal of research attention in the last two decades.

It is an inevitable consequence of bilingualism and diglossia as, when two or more languages exist in a community, speakers frequently switch from one language to another. The choice of languages in bilingual communities is controlled by social rules because the different languages are used in different situations. So, the choices about how code-switching manifests itself are controlled by a number of linguistic and social factors. According to Gumperz (1982 :59), code-switching is « the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems ». The point is that code-switching is regarded as a phenomenon in which the interlocutor moves from one language to another or from one variety of the same language to another, i.e., code-switching occurs not only between languages, but also between dialects of the same language. Myres-Scotton (1993 :1) agrees with Gumperz when she refers to the term as

²⁶ Cited in *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* (2010) by Nancy H. Hornberger and Sandra Lee Mckay.

« alterations of linguistic varieties within the same conversations ». For his part, Nilp (2006 :1) defines code-switching as follows :

Code switching is the practice of selecting or alternating linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in interaction. This contextualization may relate to local discourse practices, such as turn selection, or various forms of bracketing, or it may make relevant information beyond the current exchange, including knowledge of society and diverse identities.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced two patterns of CS, namely ‘situational CS’ where the speaker switches languages according to the change of situation and ‘metaphorical CS’ where the speaker switches languages to achieve a special communicative purpose, a switching influenced by the topics of the conversation and not by the social situation. In 1976, Gumperz developed this concept and introduced the term ‘conversational CS’ when the speaker switches within a single sentence, and even does so many times. Besides, in an attempt to examine how linguistic constraints operate in CS, Poplack (1980) distinguishes between three types of CS :

- Extra-sentential or tag-switching where tags and certain set phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance of another language.

- Intra- sentential switching where switching occurs within a clause or sentence boundary.

- Inter-sentential switching where a change of language occurs at a clause or a sentence boundary.

(Harmers and Blanc 2000 :259-260)

Here are some examples of CS that are very frequent in the speech of many Algerians :

- ‘ intersentential’ CS occurs at sentence or clause boundary, as in, for example, [ma 7AG lbArBħ]...c’est dommage. (He didn’t come yesterday...It’s a pity).

- 'intrasentential' CS occurs inside clauses and adopted borrowings, for example, [kij 7N Bl] week-end [nBmGNw nħa0s0l] la plage. (In the week-end, we'll go to the beach).

To deal with the linguistic aspect of CS, Myers-Scotton (1993a :75) also develops Gumperz' situational and metaphorical dichotomy and presents the Markedness Model which views speakers' decision to choose one code or another in terms of social motivations. The point is that, unconsciously, speakers usually choose the unmarked choice when interacting. She (ibid) describes her model in the following terms :

The theory behind the markedness model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place. This markedness has a normative basis within the community, and speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices.

2.6.1. Code- switching and code-mixing

In many situations of languages in contact, constituents of one language can be found with the constituents of another language in a number of linguistic phenomena: the most important ones are borrowing, transferring, interference, calquing, relexification, code-switching and code-mixing. These two latter are the two linguistic phenomena considered as the most dominant and common modes of interaction among bilingual speakers. Hudson (1999:53) defines code-mixing as "a kind of linguistic cocktail- a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on". Therefore, It is very difficult to make a distinction between code-switching and code-mixing. Some linguists reject the distinction between the two. Hill and Hill (1980:122), for

example, use the term interchangeably without seeing any difference between them. They claim that “there is no satisfactory way to draw a neat boundary between the two phenomena”.

2.6.2. Reasons for Code Switching

“Why do bilinguals switch languages?” is the most interesting question of sociolinguistic studies of code-switching. One of the prominent reasons for using CS is to fulfil the interpersonal functions of communication and it is used to convey both social and linguistic meanings. Trudgill (2000:81) states that “The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes”. The examples below, given by Gumpers (1982:144), illustrate where CS serves to convey the mentioned earlier meanings. These examples are the following:

- To appeal to the literate.
- To appeal to the illiterate.
- To convey precise meaning.
- To ease communication, i.e., utilizing the shortest and the easiest route.
- To capture attention, i.e., stylistic, emphatic, emotional.
- To emphasize a point.
- To communicate more effectively.
- To identify with a particular group.
- To close the status gap.
- To establish good will and support.

Furthermore, speakers in bilingual communities switch codes deliberately to express solidarity with a particular social group and/or to exclude someone from the conversation which may lead to a variation lexis.

2.7. Lexical Variation

All the structural aspects of language are subject to change: pronunciation, morphological patterns and lexis. The introduction of new vocabulary and the

change in lexis spread rapidly among language users. The process of lexical replacement or change may be best observed by comparing old and new words. In diglossic situations, many words in the L variety are found in the H one, but there are variations in form, use and sometimes in meaning between the two varieties.

Concerning Algeria, people borrow words either from MSA or French and are adapted to the local variety. The following examples will illustrate the proximity which exists between H and L vocabulary.

MSA	AA	Gloss
[dArAbA]	[drab]	'He beat'
[dAUAI]	[dUAI]	'He entered'
[ʔA:ʔA]	[ʔA]	'He came'
[bNntOn]	[bBnt]	'a girl'
[ʔAnfOn]	[nN:f]	'a nose'
[kAssArA]	[kAssAr]	'He broke'
[wAlAdOn]	[wBld]	'a boy'

Table 2.1: Illustration of the proximity between MSA and AA vocabulary

We notice that words of MSA and of AA are quite similar. The French borrowed words that people use also became part of their lexicon. Some examples are provided in the following table:

French	AA	Gloss
Television	[televNzNj2]	‘Television’
Table	[tAbIA]	‘Table’
Frigidaire	[frNFNder]	‘Refrigerator’
Cartable	[kArtAb]	‘School-bag’
Cuisine	[kOzNnA]	‘Kitchen’
Poste	[boGtA]	‘Post-office’

Table 2.2: Words borrowed from French

What is noticed is that people do not use borrowed words as they are used in the original language. Holmes (2000:42) says in this respect: “Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker’s first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker’s first language”.

2.8. Borrowing

In everyday conversations, speakers may use words from another language in order to explain, describe and express a given idea or an object. Sometimes, the equivalents of these words are not available in their mother tongue. This phenomenon is known as ‘borrowing’. Spolsky (1998:49) writes that: “the switching of words is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language”. Borrowing is another way in which switching between languages may take place. It involves mixing languages at the level of language-systems as opposed to code-switching and code-mixing that involve the mixture of languages at the level of speech. In this respect, Hudson (1996:5) asserts that: “...borrowing involves mixing the systems, because an item is ‘borrowed’ from one language to become part of the other language”.

Borrowing is concerned with single lexical items notably, words whether nouns or adjectives, they are called *loan words*. It is different from code-switching and code-mixing where speakers have the opportunity to choose which words or phrases they will use. Loan words are adapted to speakers' mother tongue and are used in ordinary speakers' native language. They may occur at two levels: lexical i.e. the borrowing of words (loan words) or loan translations (or "calques"), and structural which consists of phonological, morphological and syntactic borrowings. Myers-Scotton (1993a:206) divides lexical borrowing into *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing*. The cultural borrowed forms are used for objects that are new to the culture of the recipient language, such as internet, sms, web and so on, and also for new concepts and the core lexical borrowed forms consist of words that more or less duplicate already existing words in L1, such as 'auto', 'bus', 'frigo'.

Concerning the situation in Algeria, French is deeply rooted in the daily life of Algerian speakers and French words have become an integral part of AA such as college, manège, stylo, tablier... Integration of foreign verbs takes place in a colonial context, in which a European language acts as the superimposed language.²⁷ Some other loan words are borrowed from other languages like Spanish or English as 'bye-bye', 'week-end'... This lack of vocabulary obliges Algerians to borrow words mainly from French. Hudson (1998:55) states that speakers use loan words for different reasons:

One reason for using a word from such a language is to pretend, just for a moment, to be a native speaker with whatever social characteristics we associated with the stereotype. Another reason, of course, is that there is simply no other available word, in which case the link to the country may be irrelevant, or at least unintended.

Thus, all languages borrow words from other languages with which they come into contact, and specifically for the lack of vocabulary items in the recipient language so that borrowing becomes a linguistic necessity if new concepts and their

²⁷ In Arabic Dialectology by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong (2009).

corresponding linguistic items do not exist in the native language. Haugen (1950) classifies the different types of borrowing under two subcategories which are: '*Lexical Borrowing*' and '*Grammatical Borrowing*'.

a/ *Lexical Borrowing*: It is defined as "the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect" (In Appel & Muysken, 1987:162). This subcategory is also divided into: loanwords, loan shifts, loan translations, and loan blends

- *Loanwords*: It is the most widespread kind of borrowing where morphemes are imported but the substitution may occur at the level of the phoneme (Hudson, 1996). So, loanwords are lexical items which have been transferred from one language to another but have kept their basic form and meaning and have been integrated in the borrowing language with more or fewer differences at the level of phonology or grammar.

- *Loan Shifts*: They represent purely the semantic transfer which consists of a native pattern whose meaning has shifted to cover an introduced concept. (Haugen 1953:126). This means that only the meaning is imported but the form is native.

- *Loan Translation (or Calque)*: According to Haugen (1950), loan translation is 'morpheme-by-morpheme translation'. For example, the expression: 'I've told him I don't know how many times' is a direct calque of the French expression: 'je lui ai dit je ne sais pas combien de fois'. Bloomfield (1933:457).

- *Loan Blends (or Hybrids)*: For Boas (1930:85), a loan blend consists of "a combination of native and borrowed morphological material". In this sense, both importation and morphemic substitutions are involved. One part of the model is kept or imported as it is, and the other part is substituted for another element which belongs to the borrower language. An example of that is the verb "chatter", which is formed from the native root "chat" in English and the borrowed suffix {-er} which is a marker of the infinitive in French.

b/ Grammatical Borrowing: According to Appel & Muysken (1987:153), grammatical borrowing is defined as “the incorporation of foreign rules into a language”. It involves on the one hand, changes in the syntax (sentence order) of the borrower language and, on the other hand, the morphology of the patterns of the borrower language such as: word formation, inflection, and affixation.

2.9. The Youth in Algeria

Youth as a massive social group is omnipresent in Algeria, a predominantly youthful country. Nowadays, the status of the Algerian youth is socially reflected through the Algerian social and economic position, it is also associated with ‘social evils’ such as unemployment, drugs, violence, ‘harragas’,²⁸ etc. Paradoxically, the Algerian youth is rarely seen as a good resource for the country or as an opportunity for the Algerian government. It is rather considered as a burden for it which is difficult to manage. This is the reason for which young people develop a feeling of abandonment and revolt.

At the last general census (April 2008), the Algerian population was estimated at 34.8 million inhabitants. The Algerian youth(aged between 15 and 30 years old) represents one third of the Algerian population, that is to say 30% more than the previous population census realised in 1998. But the overall weight of youth is of importance within the society as nearly 67% of Algerians are under 30 years old. In 2007, young people aged from 15 to 29 years old represented over 32% of the overall population, that is to say around 10.7 million inhabitants (provisional estimate of the National Office of Statistics).

2.9.1. Tlemcen Speech Community

Tlemcen city is situated in the North West of Algeria. According to the census of 2007, its population counted more than 140,000 inhabitants. Tlemcen city

²⁸ ‘Harragas’ are those who emigrate clandestinely.

has constantly fascinated people, and for a long time it was considered as one of the crucial and economic centres in North Africa. It was founded by the Romans in the 4th century under the name of Pomaria. It was a centre of a large Christian population for many centuries after the city's Arab conquest in the 7th century. After that, Tlemcen became the capital of the Zianids. In the 11th century, the Almoravid leader Yusuf Ibn Tachfine founded the city of Tagrart which merged with the settlement and since became known as Tlemcen. By the end of the 13th century, the Merinids of Fez waged war against the Zianids and laid siege to Tlemcen in 1299 by constructing the city of Mansourah. The siege lasted until 1307.

A big struggle between the Zianids and Merinids continued for decades until finally the Zianid dynasty declined in the 15th century. In 1553, the kingdom of Tlemcen came under the protection of the Ottoman Empire, which was fighting a naval war against the Spaniards across the Mediterranean. Consequently, Tlemcen and the Algerian provinces gained effective independence in 1671. Then under the French occupation of Algeria in the beginning of the 19th century, Tlemcen was established as an administrative centre. Because of the fertility of its lands, Tlemcen continued to attract people (especially those looking for a job), particularly from the rural areas nearby. Consequently, language contacts occurred between the citizens of Tlemcen (i.e. the natives of Tlemcen) and those coming from the rural areas. During the last two decades of colonial rule, the district called *Boudghen*, established in a peripheral area of Tlemcen in 1943 and housing at that time about 3,000 rural migrants, was extended and sheltered up to 15,000 people, a number which represents then one-fifth of the whole town population ²⁹.

Nowadays, the language situation in Tlemcen involves significant variation at all linguistic levels, mainly because of the socio-economic and historical contact established between the inhabitants of Tlemcen and the imperialist rulers in the past, particularly during the Turkish and the French occupations. Thus, considerable linguistic interferences began to emerge between the local and the external varieties. It is worth mentioning that Tlemcen speakers are so deeply characterized by the

²⁹ Prenant, 1968 mentioned in Lawless and Black (1976 :80). In Dendane (2007 :159).

use of the glottal stop [ʔ], and its users are easily known anywhere in Algeria as belonging to Tlemcen.

2.9.2. Youth language in Tlemcen Speech Community

The language of young speakers of Tlemcen city shows a considerable amount of lexical innovations making use of neologism which is a prominent source from which new words are supplemented to the vocabulary stock of this variety. But, before examining some cases, it is important to define this term. Rey (1995:77)³⁰ defines neologism as:

A unit of the lexicon, a word, word element or phrase, whose meaning or whose signifier-signified relationship, presupposing an effective function in a specific model of communication, was not previously materialised as a linguistic form in the immediately preceding stage of the lexicon of the language. This novelty, which is observed in relation to a precise and empirical definition of the lexicon, corresponds only to one of its special usage, or as belonging to as a subject-specific usage may be specialised or general.

Some lexical items stretch their meaning through a widening process. The word ‘money’, for instance, has acquired a bundle of terms which are originally dialectal. Young speakers are inclined to use frequently the word [drAhBm]. Yet, this word seems to be losing ground at the moment and it has been replaced by the term [lbBzrA] or the term [lhAbbW:t]. The potential of occurrence of these new terms is escalating in urban contexts which are open to change. This lexical replacement may explain the influence of the mass media on young speakers³¹.

Loan translation or calque is one of the forces that lead this phenomenon and therefore new structures and constructions are added to a particular dialectal use. In calques, the forms of the loan words and their meanings are taken on as models for lexical creations on the basis of a native stock. Consequently, the newly-built forms,

³⁰ Quoted in Niska, Heldge. (1998). ‘Translational Creativity : strategies for interpreting neologisms’.

³¹ [lhAbbWt] has been launched in an Algerian TV programme *bMâh0d00d* from the regional station of Oran.

while patterned morphologically and semantically on another language, are felt native. Most of the calques attested in our corpus are based on a French model. Here are some loan translations used by the youth:

- [rʔe:ʔkBlmBsmA:r] / [rqe:qkBlmBsmA:r] = maigre comme un clou = “as thin as nail”.

- [ʔAbbNwBIIAUBIIN] / [ʔBddNwBIIAUBIIN] = c’est a prendre ou a laisser = “take it or leave it”.

The following table will demonstrate some loan words borrowed from French and adapted into Arabic (generally used by the youth):

Loanwords	French	Gloss
[stNkN]	Astiquer	‘To polish’
[mkerrez]	En crise	‘In crisis’
[negreG]	Grincheux	‘Grumpy’
[nBpwentN]	Je pointe	‘To clock in and out’
[meskentN]	Esquinté	‘Messed up’
[mfOtN]	Foutu	‘Knackered’
[digOrdN]	dégourdi	‘Smart’

Table 2.3.: French words adapted into Arabic

In their everyday conversations, the youth talk about various topics concerning their life such as studies, sport, entertainments, girl-friends and boy-friends. These themes are omnimprsent in their language, in addition to unemployment, emigration and their uncertain future. Here are some expressions that express their feelings towards their actual life: [bAʔNnfAħħAt], [bAʔNneskNvN],

[bAɣNnAħreg], [bAɣNnAɣtNhA], [bAqNɣNr Bl hBdda]. All these meaning ‘I want to escape’ i.e. ‘I want to emigrate’.

- [ʔAnnu:G] and [ʔAnnu:GA] refer to young rich people.
- [rAnN wNwN] means ‘I don’t have money’.
- [rAh jsenter] means ‘he needs money’.
- [mAtAħreg IN OnNtN] means ‘stop talking’.
- [GOf hadBlbOmbA] means ‘look at this beautiful girl’.
- [tBtmmBGGA wAtɣArrAd] means ‘she is very proud’.
- [ħAbbA] or [fN:m] means ‘very beautiful’
- [GARnkA] means ‘a rich person’.
- [GrNkN] means ‘my intimate friend’.

2.10. Language and Culture Change

Language is closely attached to culture. Thus, they are both in a constant change which results either from internal causes such as conflicts among groups of people or political decisions, or from external ones like colonizations and language contact. Consequently, change in culture will certainly lead to change in language.

The influence of Western life styles and ways of thought in the Algerian community helped in the emergence of materialistic principles. The respect and admiration for old age, hard working, politeness and other high morals have therefore been replaced by admiration for youth, fashion, wealth and the like. Such change in values and standards has led to a change at the linguistic level. As a result, new words, structures, and meanings come to appear in the Algerian speech community. For example, the slogan which is often used in everyday conversations among the youngsters and which implicates this change in values: [lINɣAndOjeswA wellNmAɣAndOG mAjeswAG] implying : ‘ the rich are in all cases well considered and well esteemed, whereas, the poor in spite of their high morals are not listened

to, dealt with or even asked for advice'. As it is noticed, this slogan gives value to money rather than to values. The evidence in community change leads to language change in the society.

2.10.1. Youth Culture and Trend

The Algerian society is positioned between tradition and modernity. During the past decades, two factors of the Algerian cultural identity have gone through tensions, revolts and political manipulations :language and religion. The Arabic language witnessed tensions including the uncompleted attempts of arabization and the presence of the French language -still strong- on the one hand, and the recognition of the Amazigh language³², on the other. Even if they consider themselves as 'hittists'³³, especially those who were excluded from schools, young people, many teenagers still have many leisure activities such as practising sport, watching television (satellite dishes have considerably enlarged the cultural visions of young Algerians), listening to music, especially Rai music, Algerian Rap, but also Eastern and Western music. In addition, teens like surfing on the internet, playing with video games, chatting, etc.

2.10.2. Youth Culture and its Components

The way in which the youth communicate, view and position themselves in the society depends on their values and participation. Because of their concern with culture and media, the youth contribute to the values of lifestyles. In order to establish their identity, aspects of youth have included language, music and clothing in varying combinations. Thurlow (2003:50)³⁴ says that; “ adolescents are routinely misunderstood by adults and whose communicative power or capital is greatly

³² Law No. 02-03 relative to the constitutional revision adopted on April 10th, 2002, notably allocating to Tamazigh the status of national language.

³³ 'Hittists' refers to young people leaning on walls (the meaning being 'jobless') ; [ħN:t] means wall in the dialect.

³⁴ Thurlow (2003) cited in Contemporary Society Essays (www. Antiessays. com).

reduced i.e., devalued or dismissed”. In conversations with youth and adults the recipe for conflict is clearly apparent. Consequently, this recipe of misunderstanding is also present in the interactions between parents and the youth.

Because the youth are part of the society, they are likely to engage in a process of cultural borrowing, from modes of dress to language. The globalisation of culture – the effect upon culture of the “increasing connection of the world and its people” – is perhaps nowhere more visible than in the changing nature of the relationship between the world’s youth and their sense of identity (Solomon & Scuderi, 2002:13). The fact that culture is influenced by people who engage in its practices, youth culture can be considered to be socially constructed, that is, created and sustained by the people who experience it (i.e. the youth). The media, music and fashion play a considerable role in modelling youth identity. In Algeria, for example, most adolescents are influenced heavily by music of varying genres, more importantly ‘rap’ and ‘rai’. In the 1980’s ‘rai’ became de facto national music of Algeria in terms of the number of cassettes sold. The recordings provoke pleasure among the youth and become one focal point of a discussion of Algerian society. Algerian youngsters are highly influenced by such music because through it they can express an independent identity in relation to the parental generation and in relation to younger groups.

One of the prominent ‘rai’ singers well appreciated by the youth (mainly in the West of Algeria) is Cheb Billal ³⁵ since he uses a language destined to the youngsters including code-switching, borrowings, and innovations. Here is an extract of his famous song ‘Chriki’.

[GrNkN]

[wAħAd mA jʕAmmArIN lgoffA]

[jAhhAdr0 wFOh ImNzNrNjA IIN nAʕʕhOm FNʕA:n]

[jAhhAdr0 IIN jAkIO IFelfA]

Chorus

³⁵ We have to mention that Cheb Khaled is considered as the ‘king’ of ‘rai’ music.

[GrNkN AstAlAvNstA hA GrNkN]

[GrNkN denjA ʔeddArA]

[GrNkN GrNpAkNtA hA GrNkN]

[GrNkN nnAs hAddArA]

[debbar rA: ʒek nAvNgN hA GrNkN]

[jelIN tter ntA tA:nN hA GrNkN]

[wellA kulIGN belħAbbA:t kulIGN tNkN]

[wellA kulIGN belfAnN]

As we notice, new expressions are used in the song such as [lħAbA:t], [tNkN] meaning 'money'. [nAvNgN], [pAkNtA] which are French words adapted and introduced in the Arabic language and then, become part of it. The use of [AstAlAvNstA] which is a Spanish expression meaning 'see you' shows that borrowing is also present in the song. [GrNkN] denoting 'friend' is often used by the youth.

2.10.3. Innovations in youth Language

Because of the influence of the occidental culture, especially the French one on the youth, language has been modified in a crucial way leading to a shift from the established colloquial variety based on the Arabic language to a variety in which French is the dominant one in some topics. Here are some examples:

- [nbNpi] : From the English 'beep'. The word has been introduced into colloquial Arabic from the French 'bip', which, in turn, has been borrowed from French. The term means a short high-pitched sound basically made by the horn of a car (Oxford, 2000), but now its meaning has extended to the signal made by electronic device such as cell phones. In TA (and in Algerian dialect as a whole), the word is adopted as a verb and may be conjugated in all tenses: present = [nbNpN], past = [bNpNt],

future [mAGN nbNpN]. Consequently, the word has changed its grammatical category and has been modelled to the norms of the Algerian verbs such as: I *eat* [nAkOl]; I *wear* [nelbes]. According to Haugen (1950)³⁶ “ If loanwords are to be incorporated into the utterances of a new language, they must be fitted into its grammatical structure”. This word is used by the youth since there is no equivalent for it in Algerian Arabic.

- [nkOppi] : The word is introduced into the dialect through the process of borrowing from the French word ‘couper’ i.e. ‘to cut’ in English. Its equivalent in Arabic is [qAtAʕA] but in colloquial Arabic, it is associated with the telephone to mean ‘hung up’. We notice that the word is never used in its literal meaning which means that the change here is at the level of semantics known by the semantic narrowing (see chapter 1). Another modification has occurred at the level of morphology in that it has undergone all types of inflection according to tense, gender and number as in [kOppit] for ‘I’, [kOppA] for ‘he’ and [kOppaw] for ‘they’.

- [n5Ate], [nkCnekte] : These words are frequently used by the youth since they are in fashion. It is a result of the widespread use of the internet in Algeria and it has been easily integrated in the Algerian society because almost all teenagers are users of the internet. It is worth noting that the words have no equivalent in Algerian Arabic.

- [nAvigN] : The word has been borrowed from the French verb ‘naviguer’ (‘navigate’ in English), which means literally to guide or to steer a ship or aircraft (Oxford Dictionary, 2000), but there exist another figurative meaning in French which is ‘être débrouillard’ (‘to be resourceful’ in English). In using this word, adolescents use only its figurative meaning.

³⁶ In Dil (1972 :88).

- [5C:kN:t] : This verb is borrowed from the French verb ‘être choqué’ (‘to be shocked’ in English). The word is borrowed to fill the lexical gap in the language since the standard equivalent [nʃdʒamt] is not used in Algerian Arabic.

- [A:ktNvN] : It originates from the French verb ‘activer’ (‘to speed up’ in English). In spite of the existence of its equivalent in Algerian Arabic as [UBffBf] or [UBff] or [ʔAʔzBm] (generally used by females in TA), this item is widely spread in youth language.

- [feGles] : It originates from the French word ‘faiblesse’ (‘weakness’ in English). Here, what is borrowed is not the meaning of the word (since its equivalent exists in Arabic [fGBI]) but the structure of the French nouns ending with the suffix ‘esse’ such as ‘finesse’ (‘delicacy’) and ‘noblesse’ (‘nobility’).

- [RGOfAbI] : The youth in Temcen use this word to joke with their friends since they know that it is neither French nor Arabic. In fact, only the structure of the word has been borrowed from the French adjectives : prefix (in) + root + suffix (able). The root is the verb [GO:f] (‘to see’ in English). This adjective is used to qualify a horrible thing (or situation), even though, there exist other words to express the same meaning as [mAGNmli:ħ].

2.11. Conclusion

Observing and analysing youth language in comparison with adults' one is an interesting and motivating task since this language is fuelled by new words and expressions and in a constant change. Innovations, for example, are integrated in youth speech after they have undergone morphological and phonological changes to fit the structural rules of TA (and of Algerian Arabic as a whole); then, those new words are sometimes adopted in the speech of older generation.

In the next chapter, we will try to know the degree of youth language impact on adults. The data will be collected by means of questionnaires, interviews directed to two samples of population: teenagers and adults from distinct social statuses and levels of education and originated from Tlemcen speech community in addition to a matched-guise technique that was conducted to evaluate adults' attitudes towards youth language in the same speech community. After that they will be analysed and studied quantitatively and then represented under the form of results drawn in tables, graphs, charts...

Chapter Three: Methodology, Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.1. Introduction

This section of our sociolinguistic research work provides a general research methodology in which the general plan for the research is exposed, it delineates the research strategy and the design chosen to best achieve the objectives of this study. It also reports the findings from several data collected in this investigation including : the questionnaires ; the interview ; and the matched-guise technique. The results are discussed in such a way that the data are presented in three sections. The first section concerns those data taken from the questionnaires ; the second section reports the data from the interview while the third section presents results of the matched-guise technique. Thanks to the different research tools used for providing rich data, we aim at providing foundation for discussion to our research questions which are studied throughout this research.

3.2. General Research Methodology

The research methodology will investigate lexical variation and its impact on language use among the youth in Tlemcen speech community. We have used the triangular approach which includes three parts : the first part will include two questionnaires, one given to young people and the other to adults from Tlemcen. The second will deal with interviews and the third one consists of the matched-guise technique which will mainly approach adults' attitudes towards youth language.

3.2.1. The Fieldwork : Participants and Procedure

3.2.1.1. Description of The Sample Population

Our data is collected from a sample of 160 participants from Tlemcen speech community. 80 males and 80 females falling under four different age groups [11-

14], [15-18], [19-23], [35-65]³⁷. Age is taken into consideration as a principal criterion of demarcation between the informants. Those of [15-18] are my pupils in Yaghmoracen secondary school. The others are their friends, brothers, sisters, cousins, parents, uncles, aunts or neighbours. I have explained to my pupils how to fill in the questionnaire then, I asked them to explain the procedure to the other informants.

3.2.1.2 Methods of Data Collection

The inquiries we will investigate are mainly about lexical variation and language change among the youth in Tlemcen city today and the degree of its impact on adults' speech in addition to the attitudes of adults towards this language. For doing so, the primary research instruments on which our study is based are questionnaires, interviews and a matched-guise test conducted in the area under investigation with informants both males and females, young and adults in the speech community of Tlemcen .

3.3. Research Instruments

3.3.1. The Questionnaire

The first instrument of research in this study is a questionnaire with a group of informants (young people) by which some questions are asked in trying to give some indications about youth language, their use of innovations, code switching, code mixing...

The second questionnaire is given to adults in order to evaluate the degree of influence of youth language on adults. All the informants get the questionnaire written in MSA, the questions asked to the youth and to adults are the same except for the first, the third and the fourth questions. The first question for the youth is :

³⁷ At the beginning I decided to collect the data of 200 informants. So, 200 sheets of the questionnaire were distributed but when I started the analysis, I faced some problems and I was obliged to take into consideration 160 sheets only (see 3.3.1.1).

Do you use the same way of speaking of your parents or adults in general ? In parallel the one for adults is : Do you use the same way of speaking as your children or young people in general ?, whereas, the fourth question for the youth is : Do you talk with your friends as you talk with adults ? For adults it is : Do you talk with your friends as you talk with the youth ?

In fact, the questionnaire is an important tool the investigator has at his disposal as it enables him to collect information in a short time. The type of questionnaire administered during the fieldwork contained two types of questions : open-ended and closed questions.

- Open-ended questions : The questions are asked but no answers are provided, the informants may answer by 'yes', 'no', 'sometimes', 'usually'...or by answering the question 'why' with precisely stating their choice or arguing it.
- Closed questions : In this kind of questions, the subject is provided with a choice of answers for a particular question (eg : question 7).

Because the informants are of distinct ages and different levels of education, the questionnaire was compiled in Standard Arabic and French since the adults are not all competent in MSA. Then, because the obstacle of illiteracy particularly among the adult category, the questionnaire was conducted in the form of an interview and notes were taken from those informants.

3.3.1.1. Language of the Questionnaire

When starting our research, we designed a questionnaire to four age groups :

- First age group from 11 to 14 years old, i.e. pupils of the Middle School.
- Second age group from 15 to 18 years old, i.e. pupils of the Secondary School.
- Third age group from 19 to 23 years old, i.e. students of the University.
- Fourth age group from 35 to 65 years old, i.e. adults.

Being a teacher in a Secondary School, I provided my pupils with the questionnaire destined for them (i.e. the second age group), I explained them the procedure of answering, then I asked them whether they could give other sheets to brothers, sisters, neighbours, cousins or friends from the first and the third age group. My pupils were really helpful and enjoyed the task given to them. So, I distributed about thirty sheets for each age group.

Few days later, they gave me the questionnaires. After that, I gave out to them the questionnaire destined for adults and asked them to give them to adults they know (parents, uncles, aunts...), to explain them the questions and the procedure again. My pupils were really pleased to do it.

Four to five days later, the questionnaires were given back to me.

When starting the selection and the analysis of the questionnaire I faced some unexpected problems. First, I found that the number of the questionnaires given back was not equal with the initial number i.e. I distributed sixty copies for each category (thirty destined for males and thirty destined for females) which equals two hundred and forty questionnaires. As a result, I collected about twenty six or twenty seven for each category. Second, not all the questionnaires were answered adequately (some questions were misunderstood by the informants). So, I didn't take them into consideration. Third, when I gathered fifty copies of the questionnaire for each category of ages twenty five for males and twenty five for females (i.e. two hundred copies of the questionnaire as a whole) which were well answered by the informants, I faced another big problem: I found that many informants were not resident in Tlemcen city and this was considered as an obstacle for my research since I am investigating lexical variation and language change in Tlemcen city³⁸.

I found the following :

³⁸ Many pupils of Yaghmoracen Secondary School do not live in Tlemcen city, they live in the outskirts of it like Oujlida, Zedigua, Ain Fezza, Oum Laalou, Ouled Mimoun, Ouchba, Saf Saf, Chetouane and Abou Tachfine.

- **First group cohorts [11-14]** : 44 informants from Tlemcen city (20 males and 24 females), 1 from Mansourah, 2 from Oujlida, 1 from Saf Saf, 1 from Chetouane, 1 from Oum Laalou).
- **Second group cohorts [15-18]** : 40 informants from Tlemcen city (20 males and 20 females), 2 from Ouled Mimoun, 1 from Zedigua, 5 from Ain Fezza, 1 from Oum Laalou, 1 from Saf saf).
- **Third group cohorts [19-23]** : 42 informants from Tlemcen city (22 males and 20 females), 1 from Abou Tachfine, 3 from Oujlida, 2 from Ain Fezza, 1 from Ouchba, 1 from Chetouane).
- **Fourth group cohorts [35-65]** : 41 informants from Tlemcen city (21 males and 20 females), 4 from Ain Fezza, 2 from Oujlida, 1 from Saf Saf, 1 from Chetouane, 1 from Oum Laalou). This heterogeneity may be taken as the reason for which I decided to choose forty (40) informants from each category of age i.e. twenty (20) males and twenty (20) females who are resident in Tlemcen city.

The first part of the questionnaire consists of 12 questions which are originally written in MSA.

3.3.1.2. The questionnaire Layout

When preparing the questionnaire I gave importance to the following points :

- **The aim of the questions** : The questions were destined to achieve a specific purpose which is answering the research issues.
- **The order of the questions** : In order to follow a logical order in asking the questions, I started by investigating the difference between youth and adults' language in terms of lexical variation and moved to the influence of teens' language on adults' speech.

The questionnaire consisted of a series of questions that the informants had to answer. Then the answers were checked for their completeness and accuracy. They were found to be largely complete except for a few of them. So, they were not taken into consideration and did not affect our research since from the beginning we gave a sufficient number of questionnaires for each sample of age (35 for each).

3.3.1.3. The participants

As already mentioned, the participants involved in this investigation live in Tlemcen city. Most of the data were collected in Yaghmoracen secondary school. It is worth mentioning that in spite of the fact that the participants live in Tlemcen city, many of them are not native speakers of Tlemcen Arabic in addition to their wide range of socio-economic and diverse environment backgrounds.

3.3.1.3.1. Sampling and Stratification

The questionnaires employed in this sociolinguistic study have been conducted with a sample population of 160 participants between the age of 11 and 65 falling in four age groups : [11-14], [15-18], [19-23], [35-65]. The informants were stratified by age and gender.

The table below reveals the sample population undertaken by means of four age groups of 20 male informants and 20 female informants for each category.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
11-14	20	20	40
15-18	20	20	40
19-23	20	20	40
35-65	20	20	40
Total	80	80	160

Table 3.1. : Sampling and Stratification

3.3.2. The Interview

Interviews are used in order to look for information based on emotions, feelings and experiences, on the one hand, and on privileged insights and experiences, on the other. Thus, interviews are considered as a primary method of data collection.

In order to obtain a more in depth understanding of the impact of youth language on adults', sixteen (16) face-to-face individual interviews were directed for this research (i.e. eight interviews for each category : four for males and four for females of each category). Some main points were taken into consideration :

- a- The interviews were conducted in an informal setting (streets, bus station, school yard). We have chosen this relaxing atmosphere in order to help the interviewees give their opinions about language use without any constraints.
- b- The interviews were conducted in the local variety, i.e. TA.
- c- The interviewees were free to choose whatever variety they preferred when answering.
- d- The duration of the interviews : in most cases, the interviews lasted about 10 to 15 minutes maximum.
- e- The interviews started after collecting data from questionnaires.³⁹

During the interviews, we took handwritten notes of key points. In some cases especially when the interviewee has not enough time to devote to me I tape recorded the interviews. At the end, all the draft notes of the interviews were typed and summarized in order to be then analysed.

³⁹ During data analysis, the identities of the interviewees are coded to gender (M /F) followed by a number. - For example, M1 refers to « Male interviewee n1 », M2 refers to « Male interviewee n2 » ; F 1 refers to « Female interviewee n 1 », F2 refers to « Female interviewee n 2 » and so forth.

3.3.2.1. The Interview Questions

The following is a list of questions used in the interviews. In all interviews the method was the same, it consisted principally in an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee under the form of discussion that lasted 15 to 20 minutes.

Q1 (To young people) : Why don't you speak like your parents or like adults in general ?

- The aim of the question : Investigating the reasons and motives which lead young people to use a particular language.

Q2 (To adults) : What is your point of view about youth language ?

- The aim of the question : investigating adults' attitudes towards youth language.

Interviewees	Age	Sex
Interviewee 1/2/3/4	[11-18]	Male
Interviewee 1/2/3/4	[11-18]	Female
Interviewee 1/2/3/4	[35-65]	Male
Interviewee 1/2/3/4	[35-65]	Female

Table 3.2. Interviewees by age and gender

3.3.3. The Matched-Guise Technique

The Matched-Guise Test is a sociolinguistic experiment technique employed by a method and its most related research in two or more guises, which has been lately known as matched-guise technique or matched-guise model. This experiment was first introduced by Lambert in 1960's to determine attitudes held by bilingual French Canadians toward the languages in contact (Davies & Elder 2004 : 189). The procedure in our work aims at evaluating adults' attitudes towards youth

language. The test was carried out by twenty (20) adults (10 men and 10 women aged between [35-57]. They were teachers (colleagues) in Yaghmoracen Secondary School who were very helpful (I asked them to listen to the three varieties and to fill in the questionnaire ⁴⁰).

The experiment intends to elicit the informants' reactions to the different varieties tape-recorded by a single speaker (a girl of 14 years old) in three different 'guises' representing the following :

- Variety one : Adult language (using TA).
- Variety two : Youth language (using TA).
- Variety three : Youth language (using RA).

According to the matched-guise test, the informants are called judges because they are asked to judge and evaluate the speakers of the different 'guises' on a number of dimensions.

In fact the judges thought they were listening to three different persons and no one guessed they heard only one. The passage was read in approximately one minute ⁴¹. In composing the youth passage, I was helped by two teenagers (16 years old) who are my pupils ; they helped me choose the suitable words (generally used by the youth). Concerning the adults' one I just wrote it the way I speak since I am an adult using TA.

The questionnaire administered is in the form of the 'semantic differential' proposed in Osgood *et al.*(1957) ⁴² : i.e. relevant adjectives describing both the variety and the speaker are presented at both ends of a seven-point scale ranging from one extreme to the other, that is, from what is regarded as positive to negative (e.g. polite... impolite). Each of the seven points on the scale is given a score, from 6 on the left (positive) i.e. (6 points for 1 ; 5 points for 2 ; 4 points for three...) to zero on the right (negative).

We have added the rural variety to youth language because a great number of boys of the age group [11-18] do not use TA (see Questionnaire : Q2)

⁴⁰ The assessment was carried out in the teachers' room.

⁴¹ See the scripts in appendix E.

⁴² Mentioned in Ryan and Giles 1982 in Dendane, Z. (2007) Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour in an Algerian Context : The Case of Tlemcen Arabic. Unpublished Doctorate Thesis. University of Oran.

3.4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.4.1. The Questionnaire :

a) Part one

The first pole of our investigation will be geared by a questionnaire. So, in order to analyse the results obtained in it, we are going to introduce different tables and graphs which will give us various percentages of the findings. It needs to be stressed that all the data collected from the questionnaire are analysed in terms of age differences as well as gender differences. Moreover, the attention is to be focussed on the fact that some of the tables are introduced in the section of appendices since the most important ones are analysed in this chapter. We have to remind that all percentages of all questions are calculated from tables that contain scores according to age and gender.

Question 1 :

a) to the youth

- Do you use the same way of speaking of your parents or adults in general ?

b) to adults

- Do you use the same way of speaking of your children or young people in general ?

The intention from this question is twofold. Firstly, we wanted to set the field of investigation. Secondly, we intended to collect information about the frequency of youth language use among adults and its impact on them and vice-versa i.e. the the impact of adults' language on the youth.

In the table below we consider the total occurrences with reference to the youth without gender stratification.

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]
Frequently	03	04	15
Sometimes	15	13	12
Never	22	23	13
Total	40	40	40

Table 3.3. Youth total scores in using adults' language

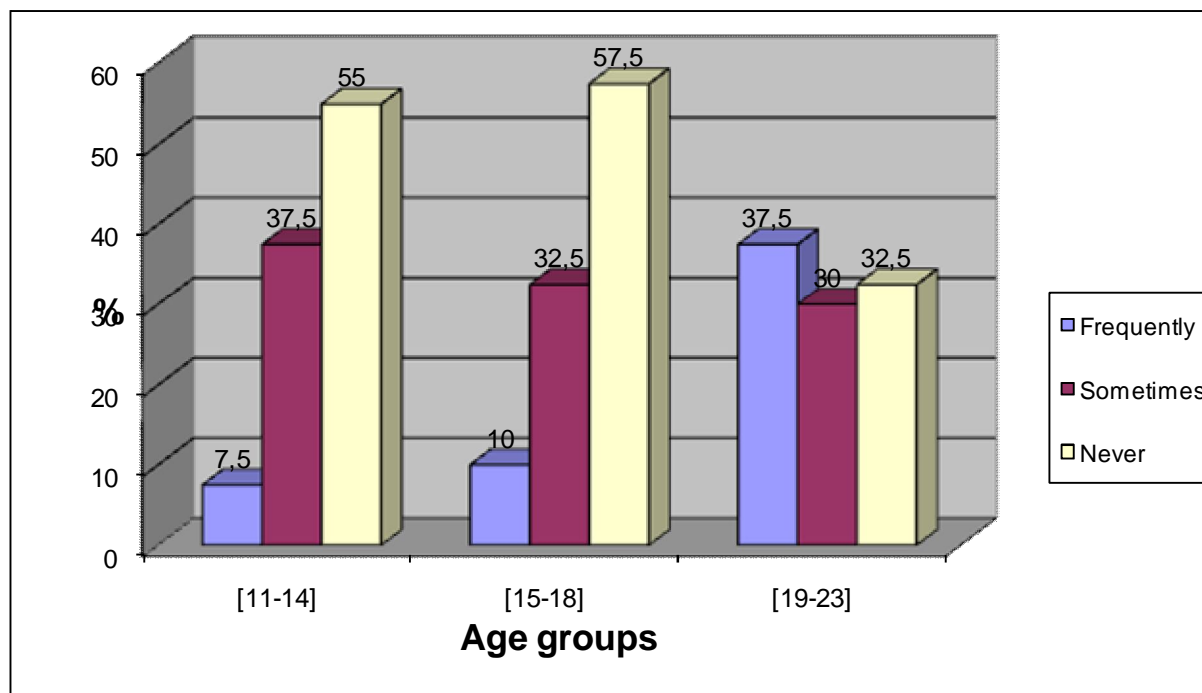


Fig. 3.3. Youth use of adults' language⁴³

The results obtained for the first question showed that in [11-23], the total number of positive answers is 22 which represents 18.33% of the total number of the youth whereas, the one of negative answers is 58⁴⁴ out of 120 informants which represents the scores 48.33% . The score of 'sometimes' is 40 which represents 33.33%. Comparing the results, we notice that the highest score is the one of negative answers which means that the great majority of the youth does not use the same way of speaking of adults. The answers with 'sometimes' tend to be more

⁴³ We have started numbering the figures by 3.3. so that each figure corresponds to its table (tables 3.1. and 3.2. do not have figures).

⁴⁴ In order to simplify the diagrams, we have combined the scores of 'yes' and of 'frequently' since both of them refer to positive answers.

negative than positive, the youth say that they are generally different from adults when speaking except in some cases when they may use adults' language ⁴⁵.

It is worth noting that in [11-18] which generally refers to adolescence, young people are affected by a set of transitions that influence not only their behaviour but also their language, these are biological, cognitive, emotional and social (see 1.9.1.1). In other words young people try to build and impose their personalities by showing off in different domains such as clothing, hair-styles...as well as when speaking by using new words and expressions different from those of adults.

It is important to stress that in [19-23] the score of positive answers increases whereas, the one of negative answers decreases which means that in late adolescence, young people tend to be influenced by adults' language. The question is what makes youth language change in late adolescence ? In other terms what is the impact of age on language change ?

As we are dealing with the generation-specific approach which studies the language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community (see 1.8.1), we are going to shed light on the reasons which make adolescents be influenced by adults' language in late adolescence. At this age, which is considered as the starting point of adulthood, language use is stable and predictable (see 1.9.2).

Answers \ Age	[35-65]
Frequently	03
Sometimes	12
Never	25
Total	40

Table 3.4. Adults' scores in using youth language

⁴⁵ The cases will be discussed later.

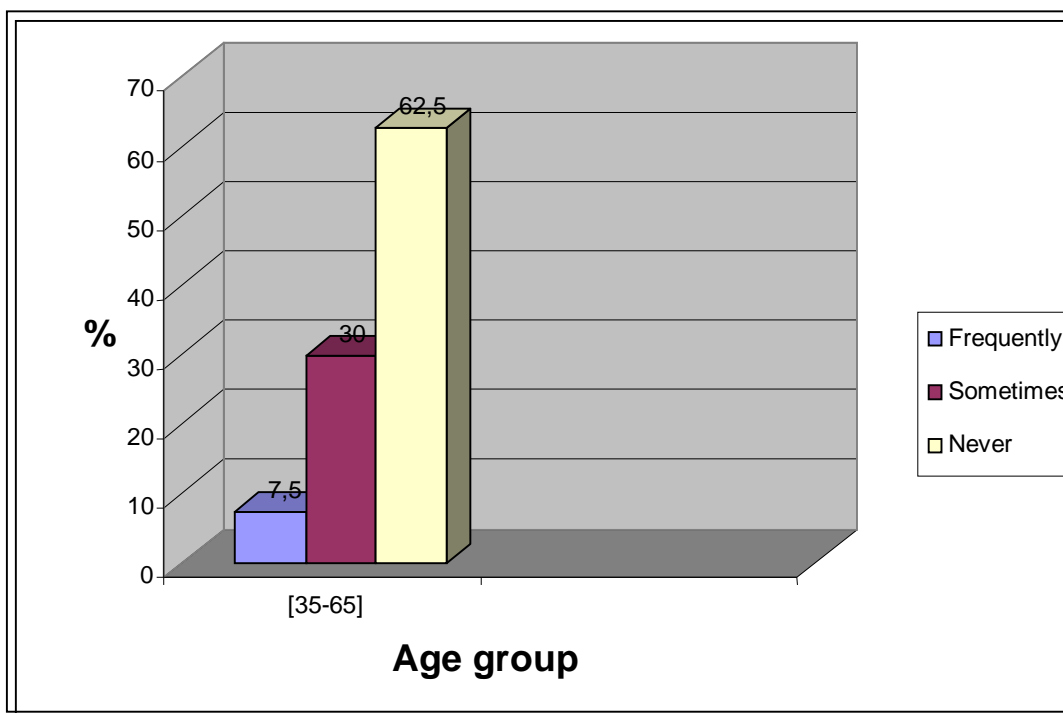


Fig. 3.4. Adults' use of youth language

In [35-65] we notice that the dominant answer is 'never' with 25 out of 40 adults which represents 62.5% comparing to 3 positive answers which represent 7.5%. 'sometimes' is represented by 12 informants who represent 30% of adults ⁴⁶. As a conclusion, most of the adults do not use youth language which means that in most cases they are not influenced by youth language i.e., adults' language is rather stable.

Age /Gender Answers	[11-23]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	10	12
Sometimes	20	20
Never	30	28
Total	60	60

Table 3.5 : Youth total scores in using adults' language according to gender

⁴⁶ 'sometimes' answers tend to be more negative than positive (this is the informants' point of view).

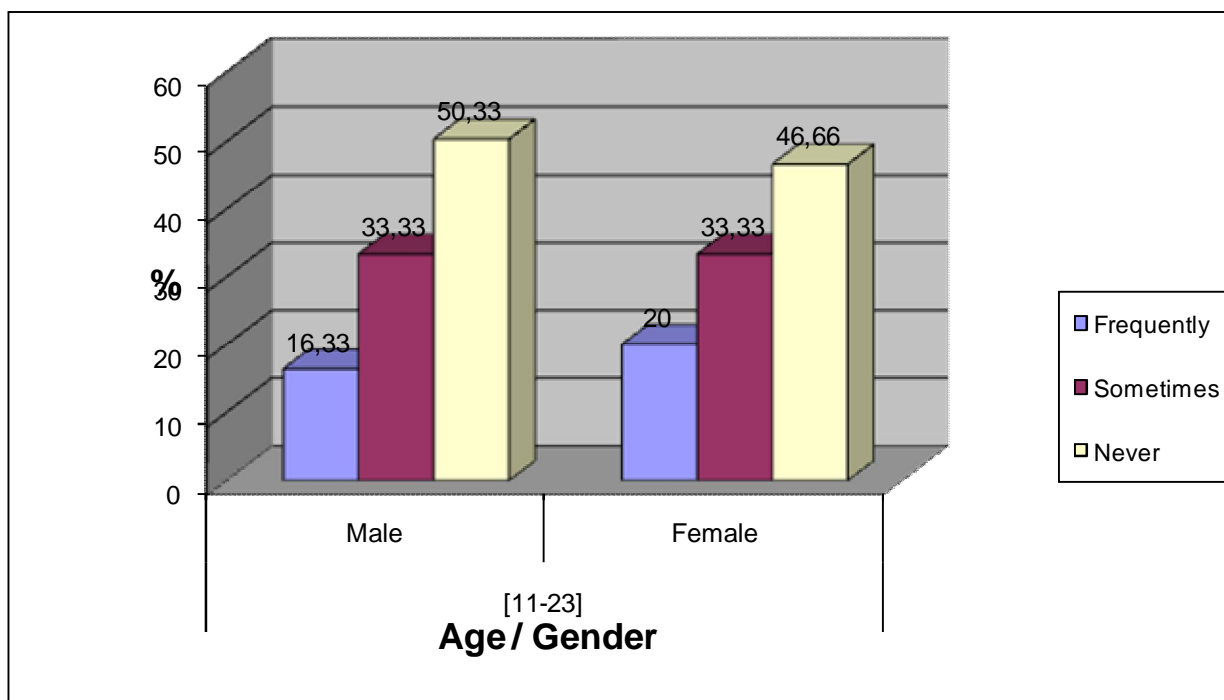


Fig. 3.5. Youth use of adults' language according to gender

In considering youth results according to gender, we notice that the higher score is the one with 'never' in males' category with 50.33%, followed by 46.66% in females' category, this proves that boys more than girls in [11-23] do not use adults' language. In addition, only 16.33% of boys comparing to 20% of girls do use it. Here again, we confirm that girls are more influenced by adults' speech than boys.

Age /Gender Answers	[35-65]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	02	01
Sometimes	06	06
Never	12	13
Total	20	20

Table 3.6. Adults' scores in using youth language according to gender

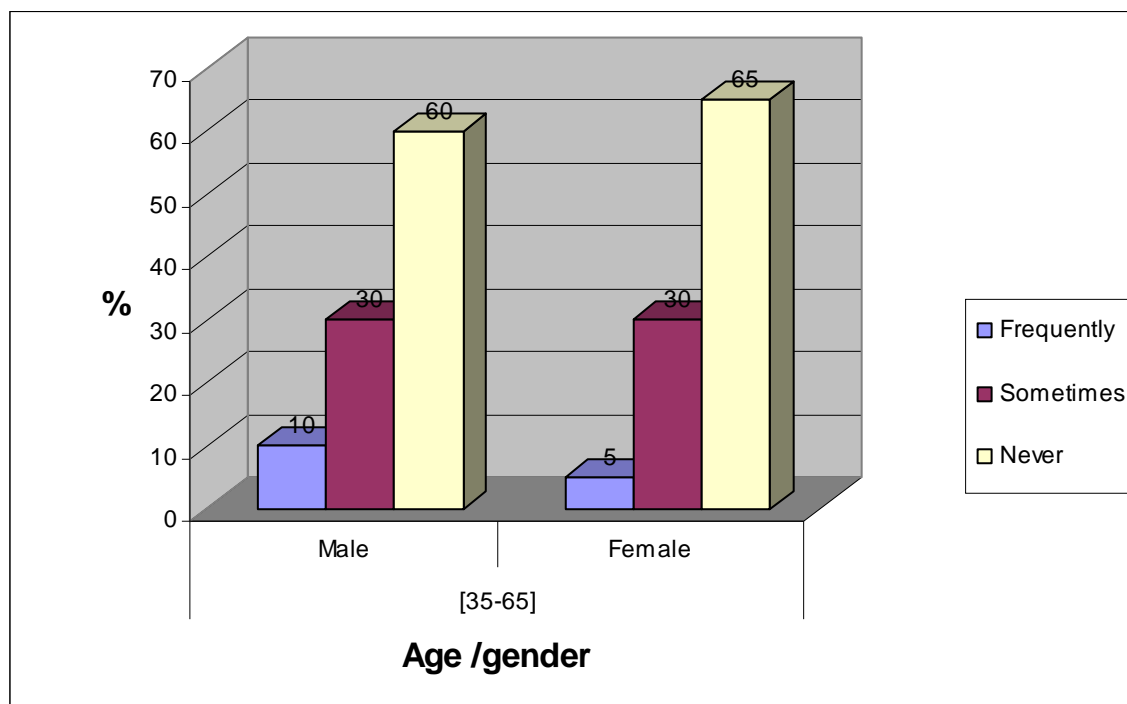


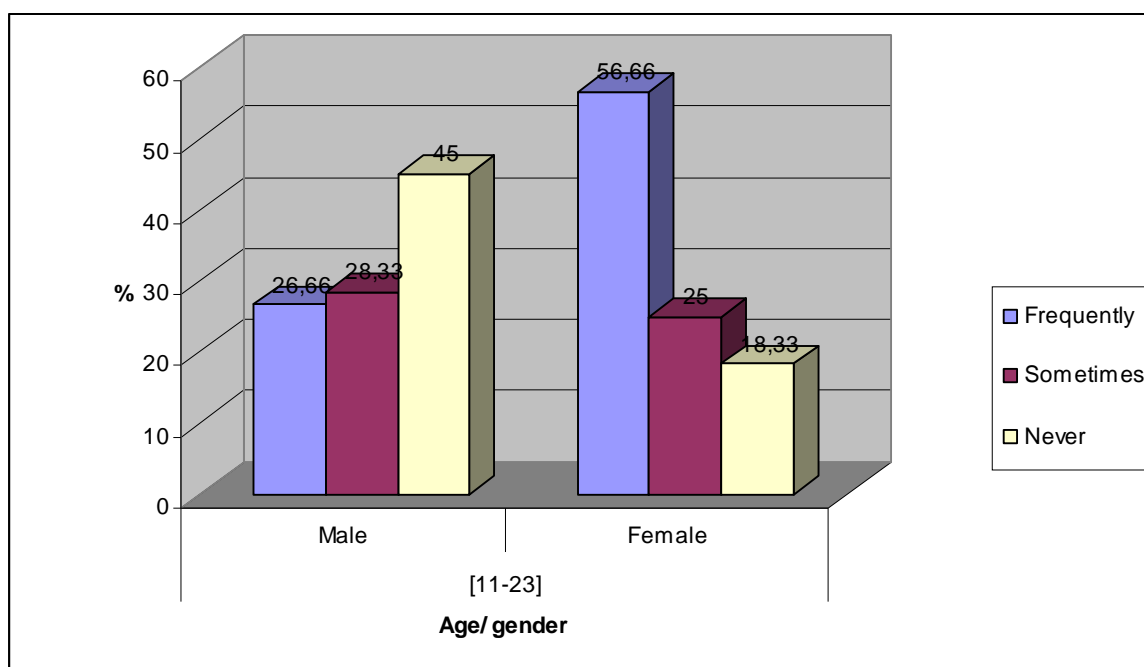
Fig. 3.6. Adults' use of youth language according to gender

The above table and figure 3.6 show that the greatest majority of adults do not speak the way adolescents do. 65% of females comparing to 60% of males do not use youth language and only 5% of females comparing to 10% of males frequently use it. This proves that generally adults are not affected by youth language, more importantly females comparing to males. It is worth mentioning that a small percentage of adults do frequently use youth language, this concerns males more than females (10% males and 5% females) who are rather conservative in keeping their language. So, what makes women more conservative than males? Probably two theories should be introduced at this level: difference theory and dominance theory (see 1.6.2.2.2). As far as the former is concerned, « the differences between women and men in ways of interacting may be the result of different socialisation and acculturation »⁴⁷. According to Tannen (1990), girls and boys interact differently because they are brought up differently and men try to control and dominate in all situations. So, we can say that in most cases adults' language is not affected by youth speech but there are cases where adults do use youth language.

⁴⁷ Holmes, 1992 :330.

Question 2 : Do you use TA when speaking ?

Age /Gender Answers	[11-23]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	16	34
Sometimes	17	15
Never	27	11
Total	60	60

Table 3.7. Youth total scores in using TA according to gender**Fig. 3.7.** Youth use of TA

The objective of such a question is to ensure the fact that the degree of use of TA is widespread among females which means that women are more conservative than men in keeping the use of TA. The above findings showed that the number of positive answers is bigger with young females (56.66%) than with young males (26.66%) as opposed to the negative answers which represent (18.33%) with females and (45%) with males. In addition, the score of the alternative ‘sometimes’ is quite important in both genders which means that the use of TA is widespread

among the youth mainly among girls and even among boys depending on some situations which are going to be discussed later on.

Age /Gender Answers	[35-65]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	03	12
Sometimes	07	05
Never	10	03
Total	20	20

Table 3.8. Adults' total scores in using TA according to gender

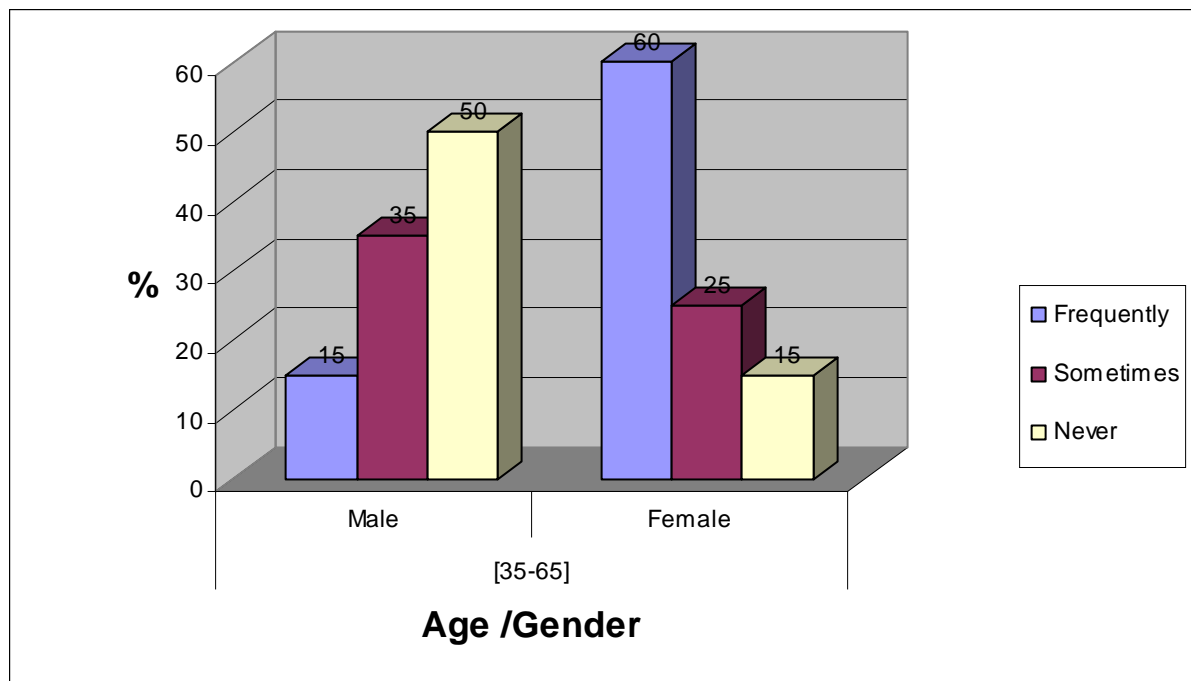


Fig. 3.8. Adults' use of TA

During adulthood and out of the analysis, we found that TA is extensively used by females (60%) as opposed to men (15%) but it is worth noting that the percentage of 'sometimes' answers are important especially with males who do use TA in specific situations which will be discussed in Q3.

Question 3 : ⁴⁸**a) to the youth**

With whom do you use TA ?

- with people of the same age (i.e. young people) ?
- with people of different age (i.e. adults)

Age and gender	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Frequently with males	00	12	00	12	00	15	00	09
Frequently with females	06	13	07	12	05	15	04	10
Sometimes with males	00	01	01	01	01	03	01	03
Sometimes with females	03	02	02	01	04	03	03	04

Table 3. 9. Youth scores in using TA with the same and different generation

As this question is closely related to the previous one (i.e. Q2), we have started at first by eliminating all the respondents who do not use TA. As a result, in this question we worked with 109 informants.⁴⁹ It is of great importance to stress that the number of answers is higher than the number of respondents since most of them have chosen more than one alternative⁵⁰.

When asking the question to the youth, we noticed that the highest scores were those of females for the two alternatives ‘ frequently with males’ and ‘frequently with females’ for all age groups⁵¹. TA is used by youngsters when addressing people from the same age group. In addition, females use TA with both genders and both generations with no difference. However, we have noticed that the

⁴⁸ This question is related to the previous one (see Q 2).

⁴⁹ We have subtracted the totality of informants who do not use TA (i.e. 51 of them) from the whole number of informants (i.e. 160).

⁵⁰ E.g some have answered ‘yes with females ‘ and ‘sometimes with males’ at the same time.

⁵¹ See table 3.9.

majority of young males use TA only when speaking with females. The question is what makes young males change their language when addressing females ?

b) to adults

With whom do you use TA?

- with people of the same age (i.e. adults) ?
- with people of different age (i.e. young people) ?

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Frequently with males	00	10	00	09	00	09	00	15
Frequently with females	05	10	09	09	03	09	04	16
Sometimes with males	00	02	00	02	00	08	01	00
Sometimes with females	03	04	02	05	03	08	03	04

Table 3.10. Adults' scores in using TA with the same and different generation

Concerning the adults, the same observation is noticed ; adult females use TA with both genders and with different ages whereas, adult males use TA to a lesser degree than females and only when addressing females of both generations (i.e. youth and adults). So, why do not males, both young and adults, use the same language when addressing both genders ? Why do they use TA only when addressing females ?

Among the different manifestations of dialect change are dialect convergence which involves changes in speech patterns in various interactions and dialect divergence which deals with the conservation of existing forms in the language system. As a result, when interacting, the speaker might not only change his way of speaking but furthermore, « psychological accommodation (convergence or divergence) has to do with the communicative intentions and attitudes of a speaker towards his interlocutor or audience ». (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005 :6). So,

we think that when interacting with women, men generally converge in order to show sympathy on the one hand and to demonstrate that they approve what women are saying on the other hand if not, they generally diverge which means that they use their own dialect. The idea is that in speaker contact situations (Ross : 2003), speakers, and in various face to face situational interactions, usually accommodate their speech to that of the addressee or the addressees. As a conclusion, it is assumed that convergence and divergence are therefore the psychological reactions that an individual may prove in accommodation processes which means that males are likely to accommodate to females' communication styles when interacting with them if they want and are ready to do so if not they do not accommodate their speech.

Question 4 :

a) to the youth

- Do you talk with your friends the way you talk with adults ?

Answers \ Age	[11-23]
Frequently	18
Sometimes	23
Never	79
Total	40

Table 3.11. Youth-to-adults' speech

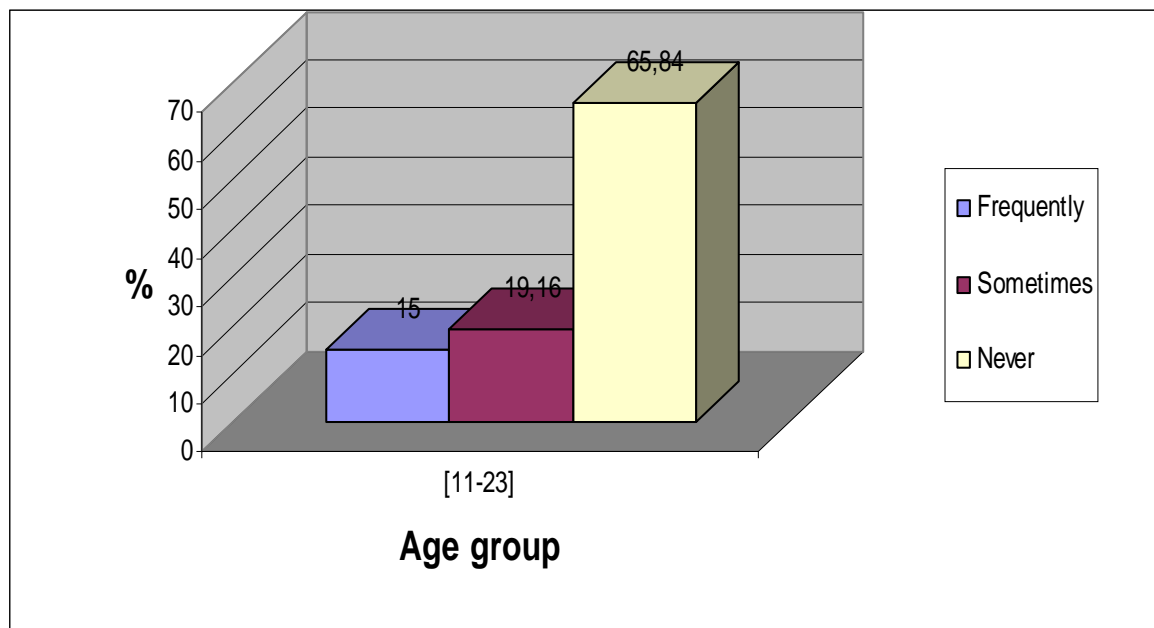


Fig.3.11. Youth-to-adults' speech in percentage

In this question, we intended to highlight the importance of contact situations. The point is that we will show that speakers in different face to face situational interactions, usually accommodate their speech depending on the addressee or addressees they are talking to.

As expected, the results of the above table showed that the number of informants who answered negatively to the question was considerably high. This means that the language used with friends (mainly with peers of the same age group) is quite different from the one used with members who do not belong to the same group. So, youth language also changes depending on group members' relationship including age, class, gender and other social parameters (see 1.5.2) ; in short, language variation may change according to the user as well as to use (see 1.5).

b) to adult

- Do you talk with your friends the way you talk with the youth ?

Answers \ Age	[35-65]
Frequently	32
Sometimes	03
Never	05
Total	40

Table 3.12. Adults to-youth speech

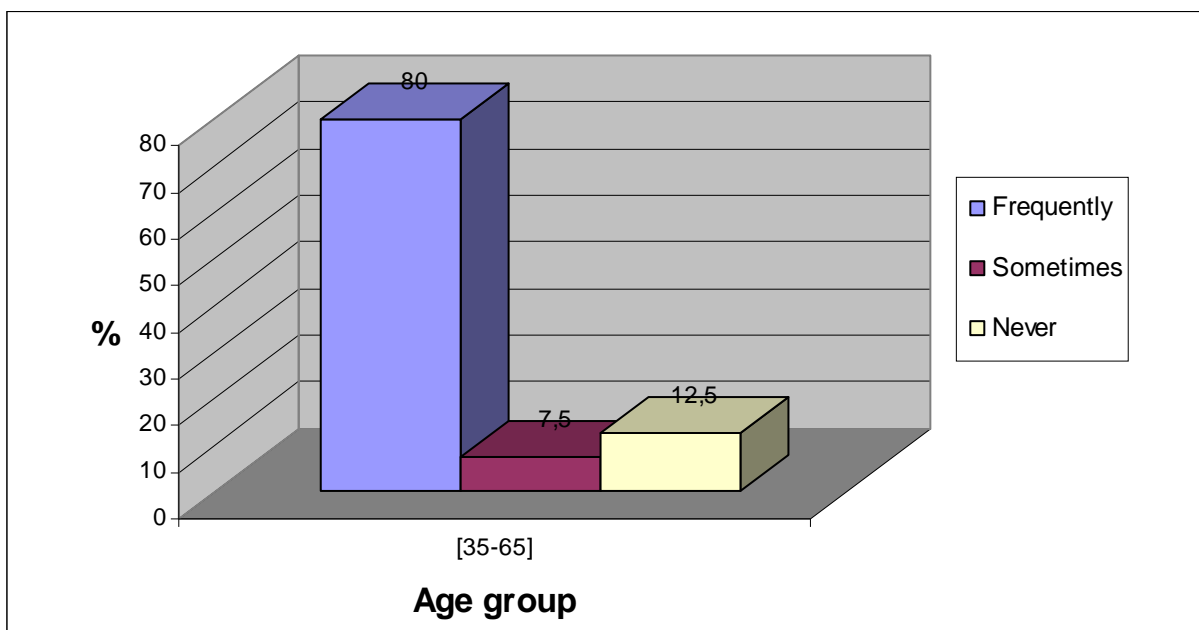
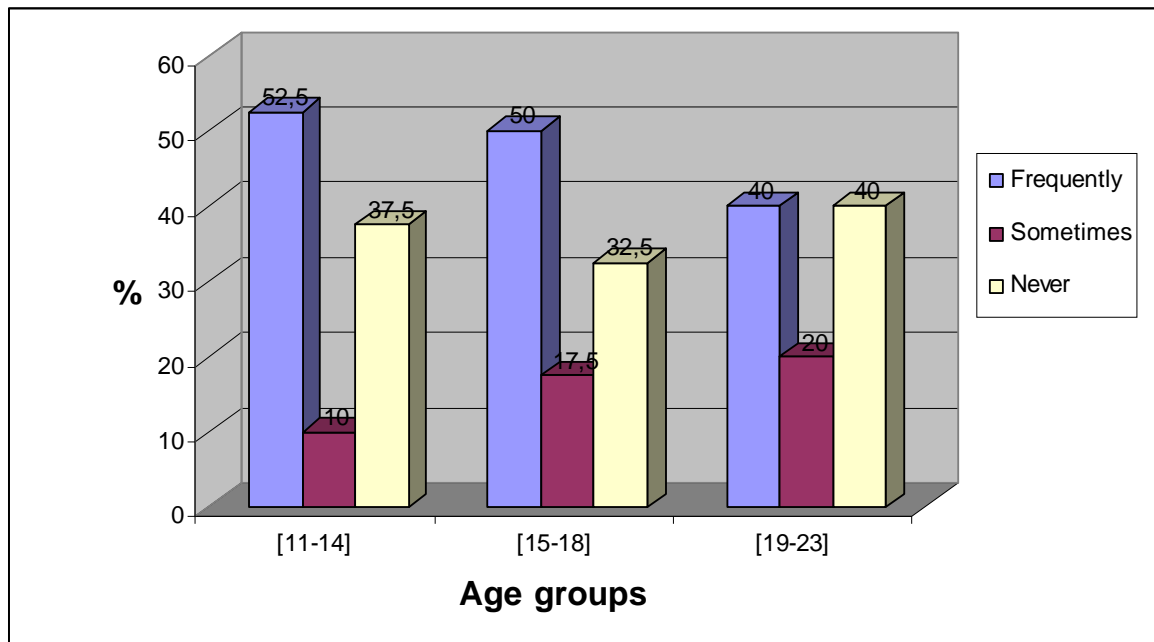


Fig 3.12. Adults-to-youth speech in percentage

In considering the above scores, we notice that ‘frequently’ scores are the highest during adulthood (80%) as opposed to ‘never’ (12.5%) which proves that generally adults use the same language when addressing both generations which means that adults’ language is rather stable since the generation itself is considered as ‘more or less a homogeneous age mass’ (Eckert 1997).

Question 5 : Do you try to show off when speaking ?

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]
Frequently	21	20	16
Sometimes	04	07	08
Never	15	13	16
Total	40	40	40

Table 3.13. Youth scores in showing off when speaking**Fig. 3.13.** Youth percentage in showing off when speaking

The tendency for such a question was to verify whether the youth (mainly adolescents) aim at showing off when speaking. In fact, according to the scores of fig.3.13. we noticed that the younger the person is, the more he/she tends to show off. It is worth mentioning that the score decreases in late adolescence and early adulthood.

Answers \ Age	[35-65]
Frequently	07
Sometimes	06
Never	27
Total	40

Table 3.14. Adults' scores in showing off when speaking .

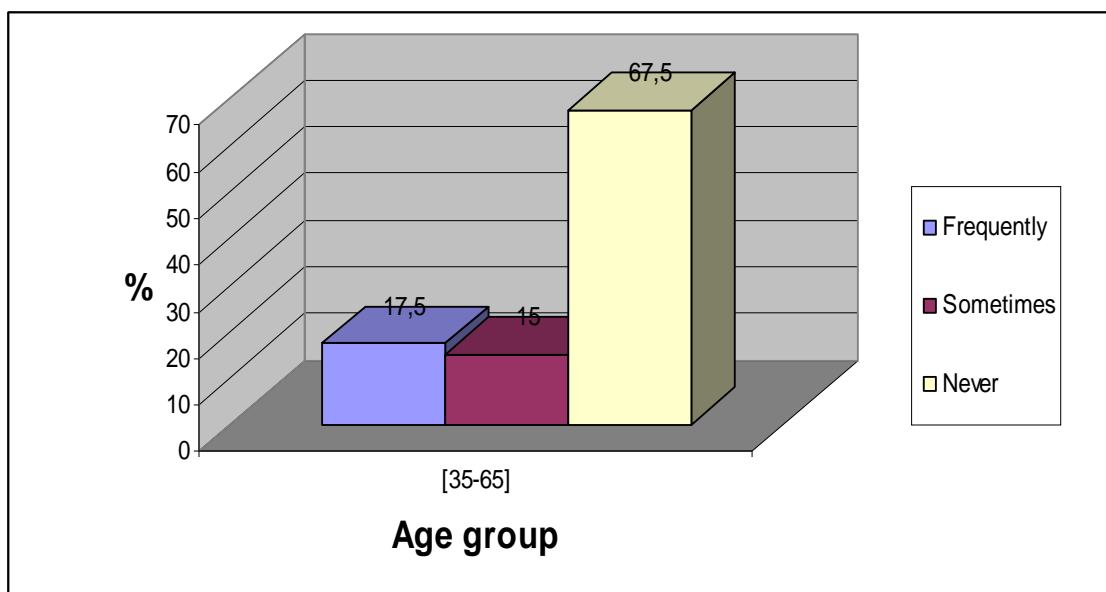


Fig.3.14 Adults' percentage in showing off when speaking.

Contrariwise, in [35-65] most adults do not show off when speaking but it is worth mentioning that there exist a small number of them who sometimes or frequently do it, may be for other reasons than those of youngsters.

Age /Gender Answers	[11-23]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	31	28
Sometimes	09	10
Never	20	22
Total	60	60

Table 3.15. Youth scores in showing off when speaking according to gender

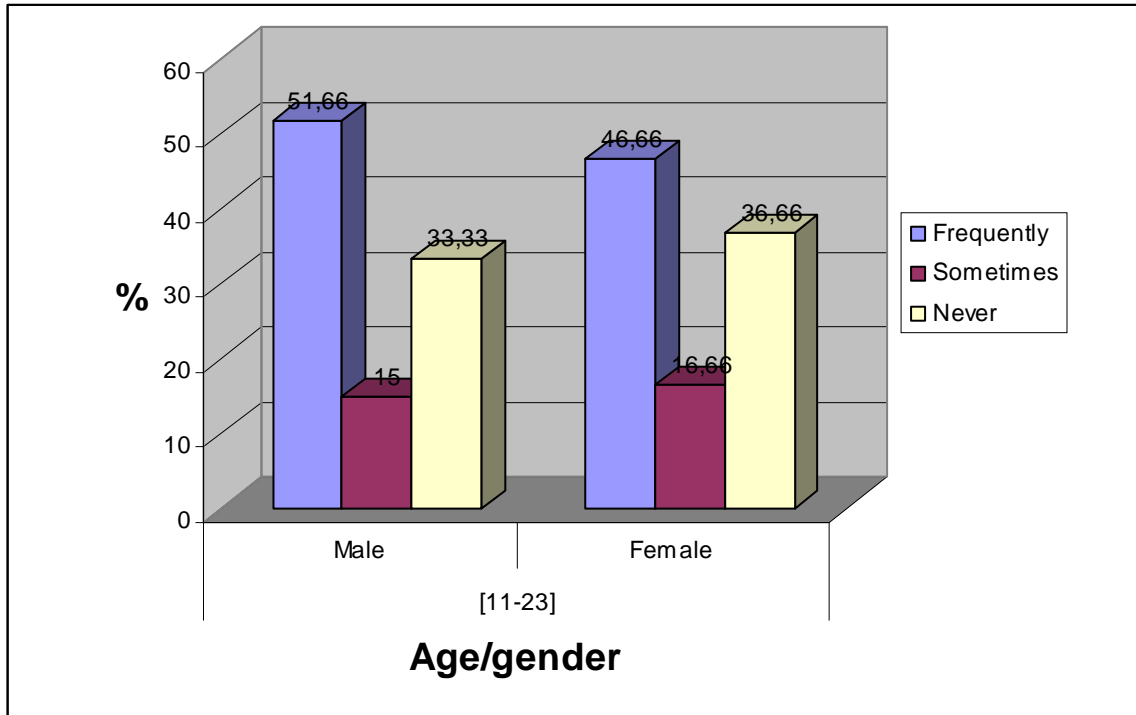


Fig 3.15. Youth percentage in showing off when speaking according to gender

Age /Gender Answers	[35-65]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	04	03
Sometimes	03	03
Never	13	14
Total	20	20

Table 3.16. Adults’ scores in showing off when speaking according to gender

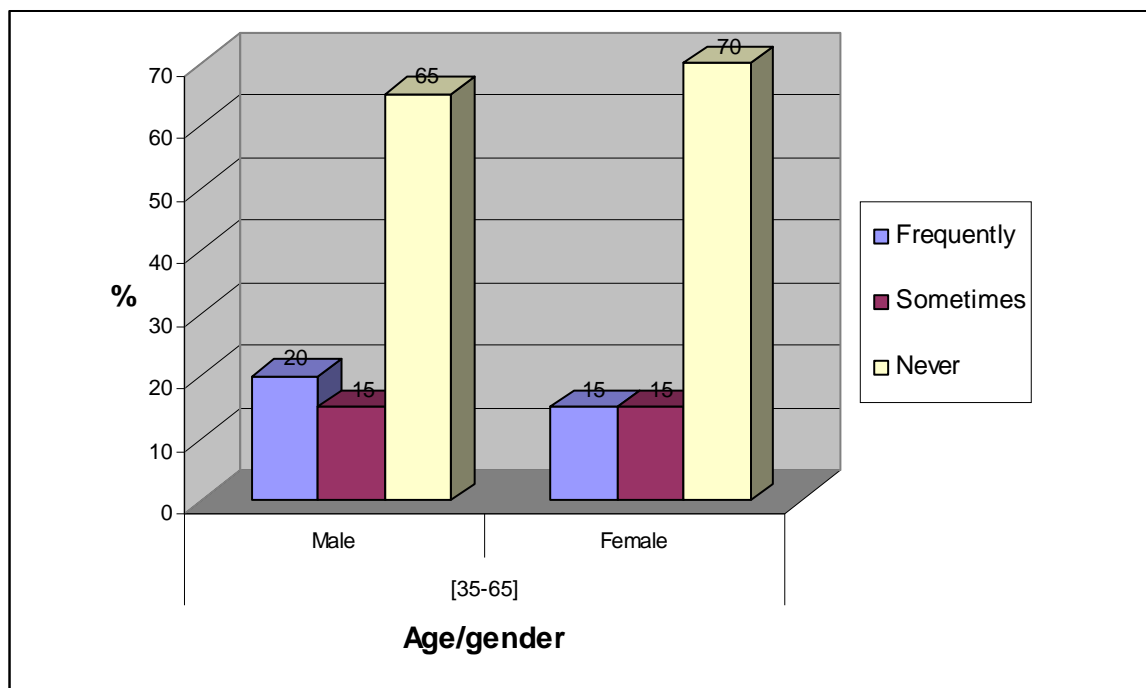


Fig.3.16. Adults' percentage in showing off when speaking according to gender

In considering Fig 3.9 and 3.10, we found that in both age groups [11-23] and [35-65] boys tend to show off more than girls (51.66% for males vs 46.66% for females during adolescence and 20% vs 15% during adulthood). Because men and women are socially different, they are expected to have different behaviours. As a result, the language used by both genders is different thus, gender affects language as confirmed by Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet. (see 1.6.2.2) and as expected in hypothesis two of our research.

Question 6 : Do you use new words or expressions ?

a- To the youth

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]
Frequently	27	26	21
Sometimes	08	13	13
Never	05	01	06
Total	40	40	40

Table 3.17. Youth scores in using innovations

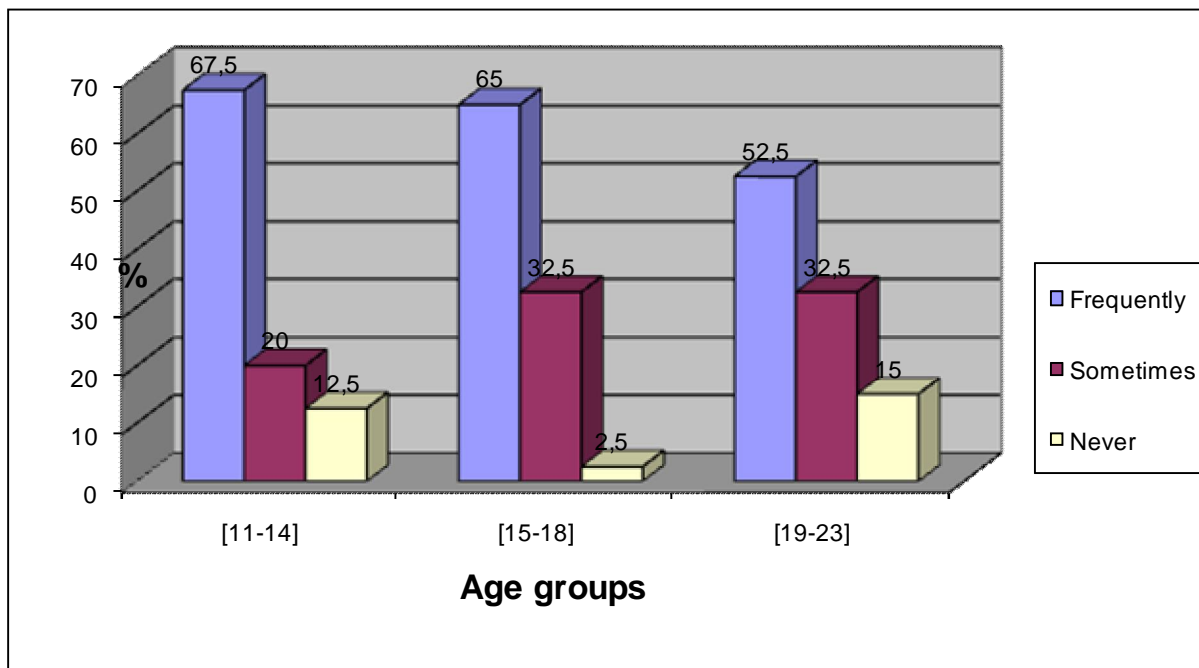


Fig 3.17. Youth percentage in using innovations.

In order to fulfil the purpose in view, we put this question in order to check whether young people use innovations when speaking, which age group and which gender is most influenced by new words and expressions. As was expected, and according to the results of table and Fig 3.17., the scores of positive answers in early adolescence is higher than in mid and late adolescence.

b- To adults

Answers \ Age	[35-65]
Frequently	06
Sometimes	07
Never	27
Total	40

Table 3.18. Adults' scores in using innovations

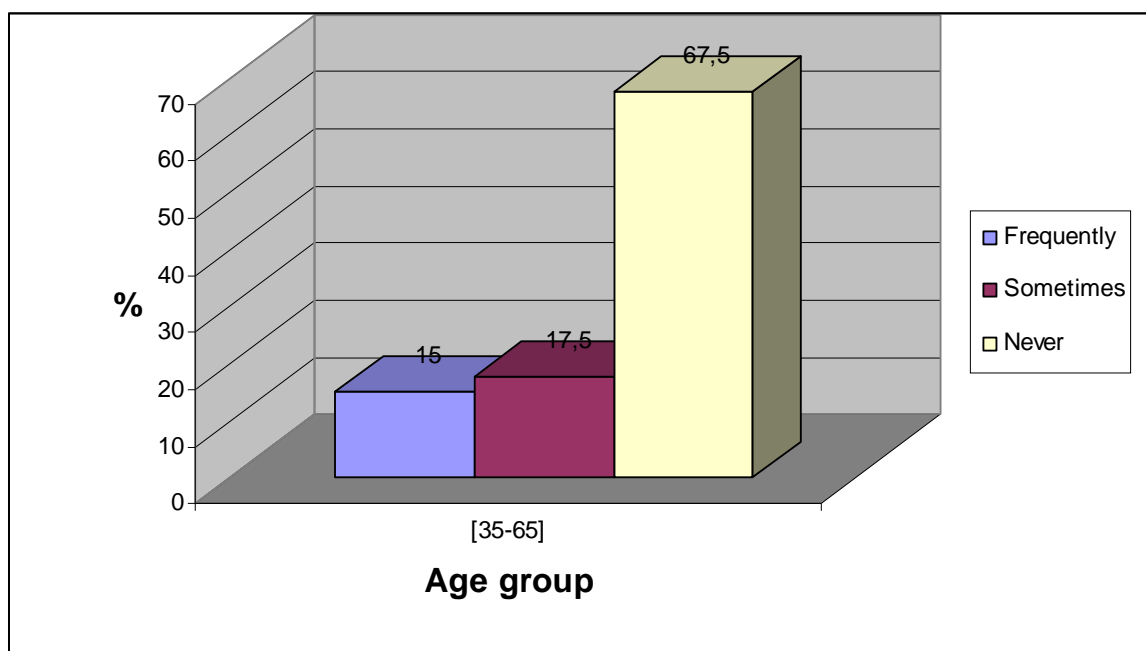


Fig.3.18. Adults' percentage in using innovations.

As noticed in the table above, the higher score is the one of alternative 'never' which shows that generally adults are not concerned with the use of new words and expressions i.e., innovations when speaking. But what must be taken into consideration is that 15% of adults do frequently use innovations and 17.5% of them sometimes do it. As the percentage is important, we assert that adults' language is sometimes affected by youth speech.

Age /Gender Answers	[11-23]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	42	36
Sometimes	12	19
Never	06	05
Total	60	60

Table 3.19. Youth scores in using innovations

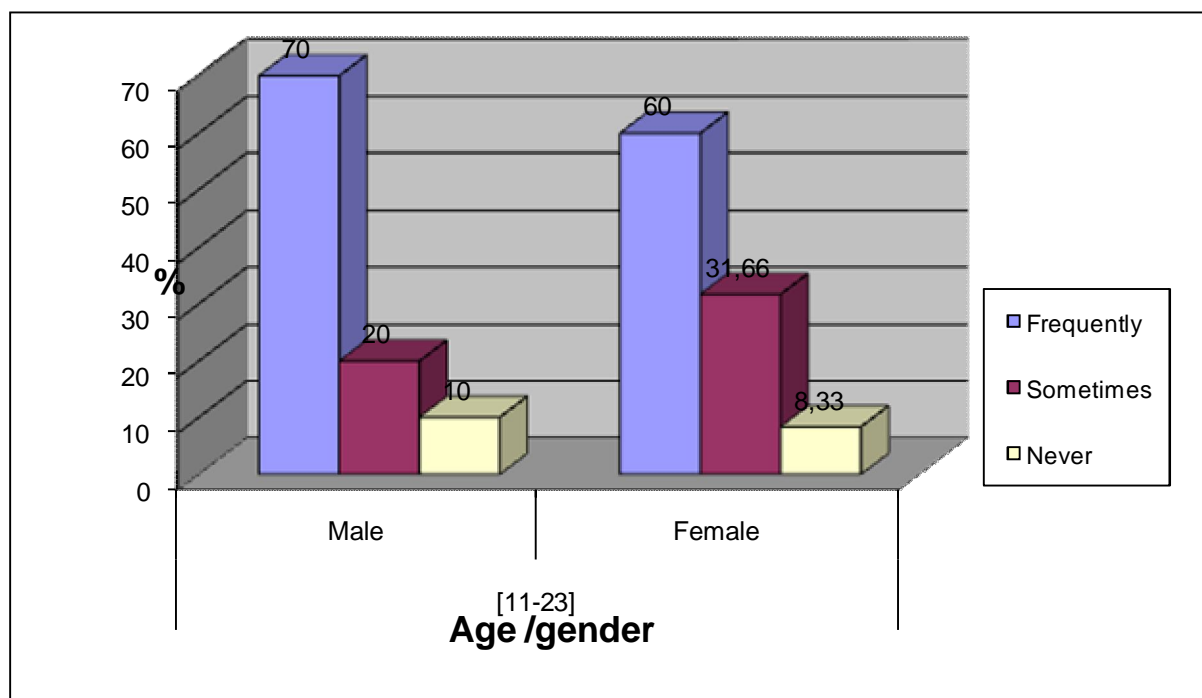


Fig 3.19. Youth percentage in using innovations according to gender.

In addition to that and in taking gender into consideration, we notice that 70% of males vs 60% of females in [11-23] are concerned with it. The question is that what makes the use of innovations more significant in early adolescence and mainly with boys ?

In fact, early adolescence is the first step towards a transition from childhood into the social order which is the society. Adolescents (more importantly boys) try to escape from adults' authority and want to impose and distinguish themselves by elaborating new and different styles in various fields and the most distinguished one is language.

Question 7 : From where do you obtain these words and expressions?

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]	[35-65]
From the street	19	29	27	23
From TV	23	23	21	23
From the internet	10	17	20	02

Table 3.20. Total scores of Question 7 according to age

Age and Gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
From the street	13	06	15	14	15	12	14	09
From TV	09	14	06	17	06	15	09	14
From the internet	05	05	09	08	11	09	02	00

Table 3.21. Scores of Question 7 according to age and Gender

The intention in this question was to check the source of innovations. We wanted to collect information about the impact of the society (the street), the media (TV and internet) on youth language. In considering the results ⁵² mentioned in table.3.20. we noticed that during adolescence the youth are firstly influenced by the street (they collect innovations from the society around them), secondly by TV then by the internet. The results obtained in table 3.21. revealed that in adolescence, males are mostly influenced by the street (the impact of the society) whereas females are rather influenced by TV. It needs to be stressed that males are then influenced by TV and to a lesser degree by the internet however, females are rather influenced by the street and to a lesser degree by the internet.

In [15-23], males are still influenced by the street and females by TV but the second source that influences males is the internet and not TV as in early adolescence. The position does not change for females. Moreover, during adulthood, we noticed that males who use innovations i.e. 15% when speaking are firstly influenced by the street, then by TV and finally by the internet. Contrariwise, females are highly influenced by TV, then by the street. More importantly, we noted that the females are not influenced by the internet at all (the score of answers is nil). We conclude that the impact of the street (i.e., the society) plays a significant role in language change especially during adolescence since language is closely related to society and to the context in which it occurs as Holmes (2001 :1) confirms

⁵² The number of answers is higher than the number of respondents because some of them have chosen more than one alternative at the same time.

'sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and context in which it is used' (see 1.2).

Question 8 : How is your use of the French language ?

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]	[35-65]
Nonexistent	00	00	00	00
Occasional	15	09	05	11
Average	16	24	27	20
Extensive	09	07	08	09
Total	40	40	40	40

Table 3.22. Youth and Adults' use of French.

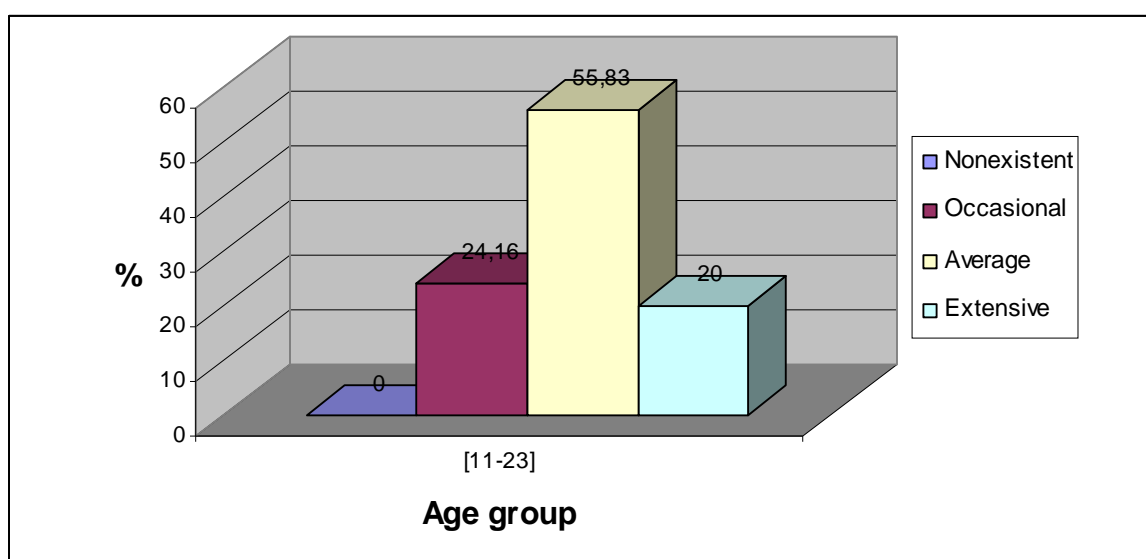


Fig.3.22. a-The Degree of French use among youngsters.

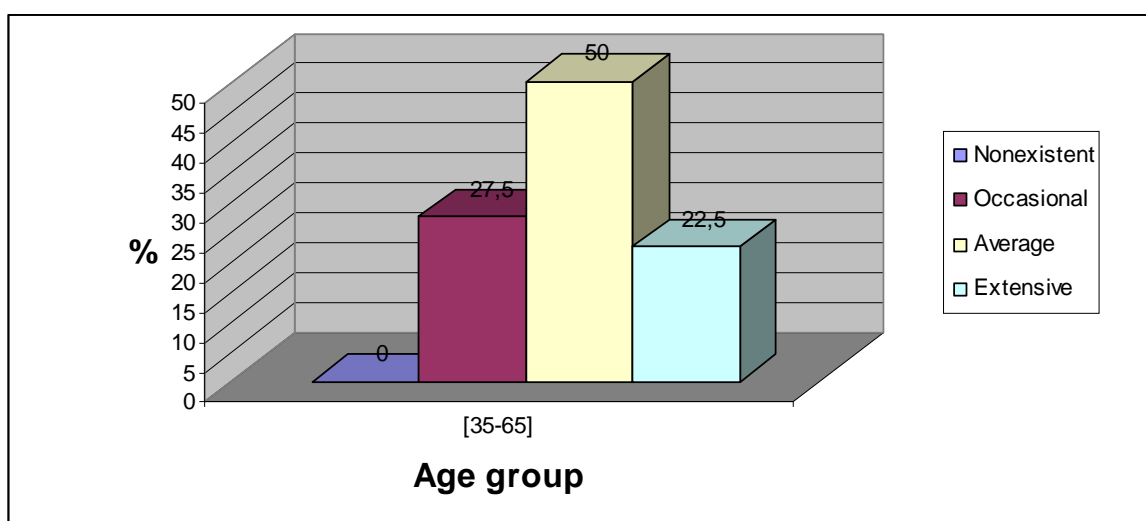


Fig.3.22. b-The Degree of French use among adults.

The objective of such a question was to show that the French language is omnipresent in the Algerian society. In other words, we wanted to be assured that the impact of the French language and culture is still apparent among Algerians in general and among a great number of Tlemcenians in particular since most speakers use borrowings from French in addition to code-switching and code-mixing which are still found in the Algerian society.

After analysing the results of table 3.16, we found that all informants use French, 25% of them use it occasionally, 54.37% of them have an average use of it and 20.62% of them use it extensively. As a result, the use of French is apparent in all age groups.

Answers	Age/gender	[11-23]		[35-65]	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Nonexistent		00	00	00	00
Occasional		18	15	04	05
Average		26	28	12	10
Extensive		16	17	04	05
Total		60	60	20	20

Table 3.23. French use among the youth and adults according to gender.

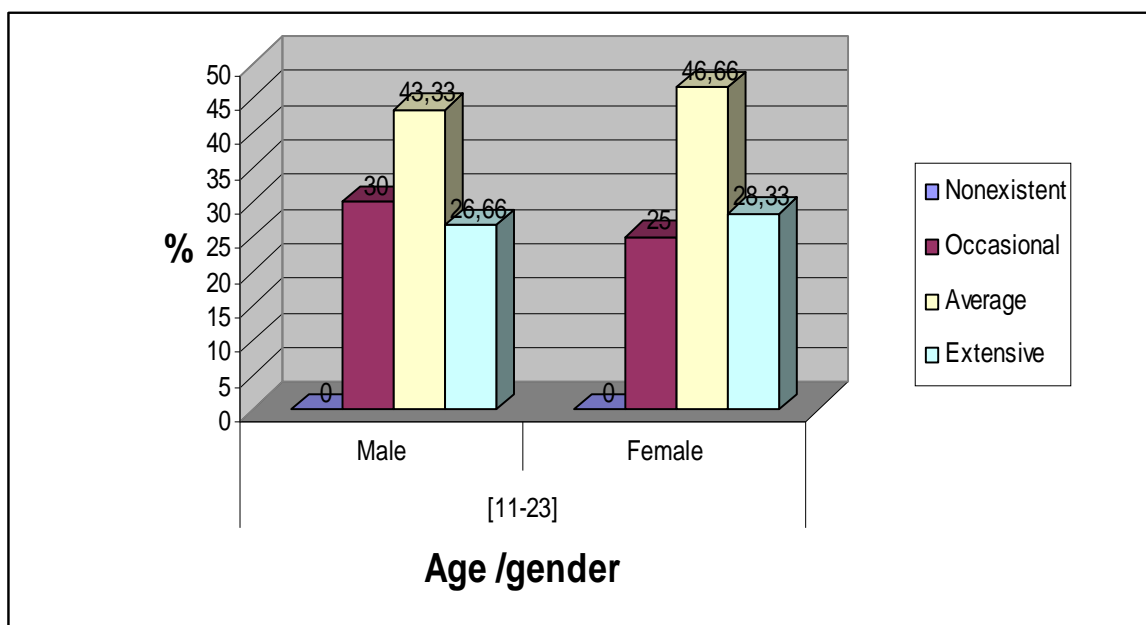


Fig.3.23.a- French use among youngsters according to gender.

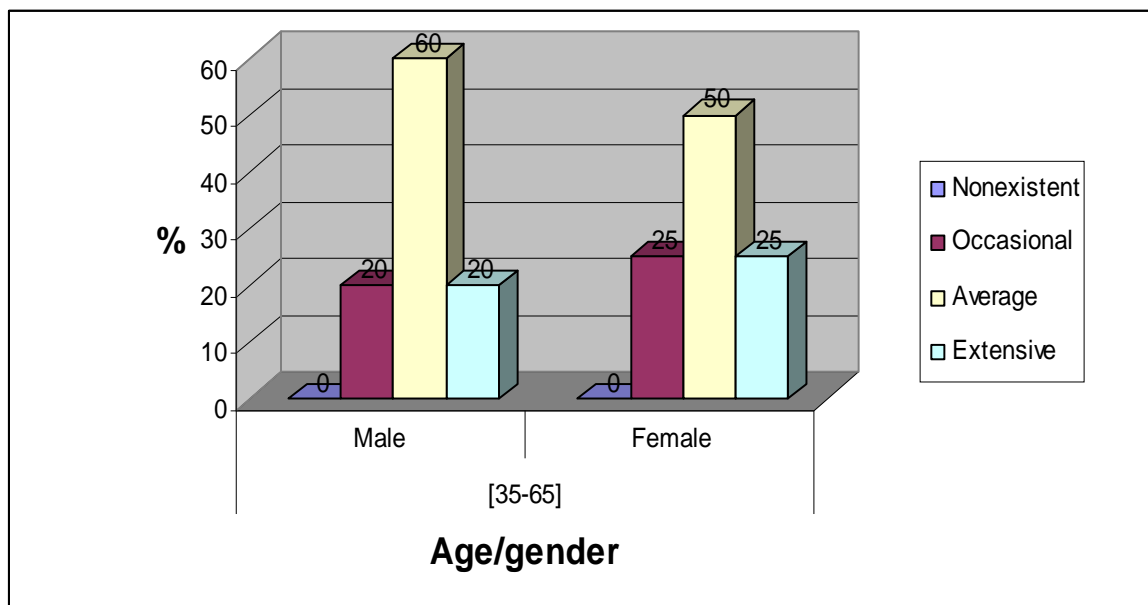


Fig 3.23. b- French use among adults according to gender.

The scores obtained from table 3.23. showed that in [11-23], females' average and extensive use of French is higher than of males whereas, in [35-65], the highest score is the one of males for the alternative 'average'. As a result, French is used by all speakers of all age groups. Its widespread use is average among all the population especially among youngsters. Henceforth, we ascertain that French is used to a large extent in Tlemcen speech community which is certainly due to the long settlement of French colonialism in Algeria (132 years) and which tried to suppress the Algerian culture, language and identity (see 2.3/ 3).

Question 9 : Do you use words from Modern Standard Arabic when speaking?

In this question, we wanted to check the degree of MSA influence on youth and adults' language. In fact, 26 respondents out of 160 claim that they frequently use MSA when speaking ; 44 of them sometimes use it and finally 90 of them say that they never use it. When analysing the total answers of MSA use we got the following results :

Answer \ Age	[11-23]
Frequently	20
Sometimes	36
Never	64
Total	120

Table 3.24. Youth use of MSA

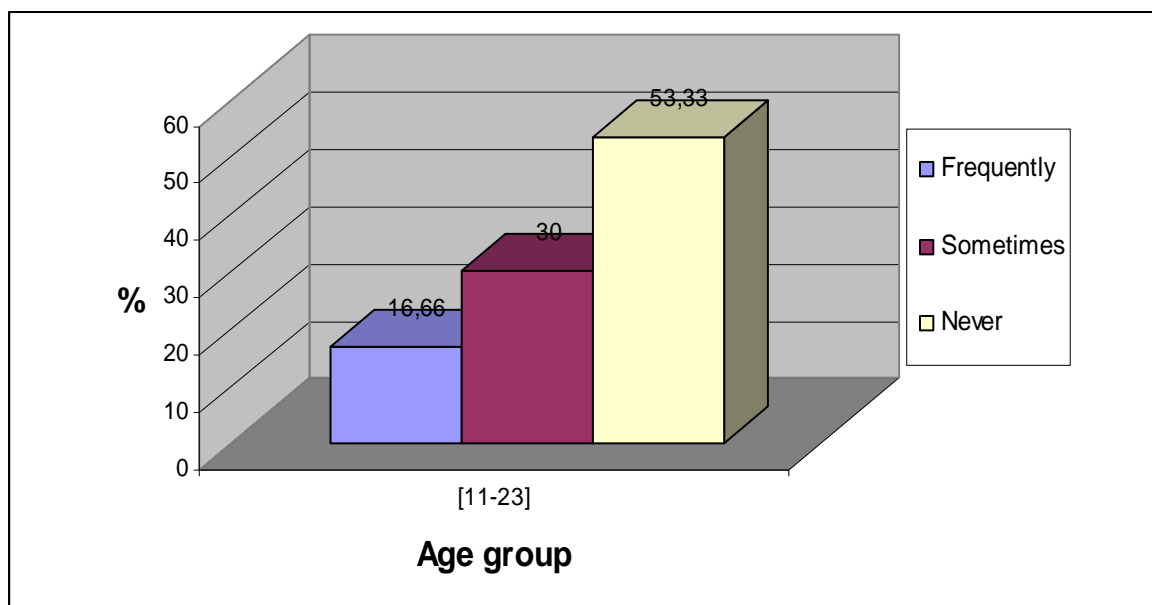


Fig 3.24. Youth use of MSA in percentage

Answer \ Age	[35-65]
Frequently	06
Sometimes	08
Never	26
Total	40

Table 3.25. Adults' use of MSA

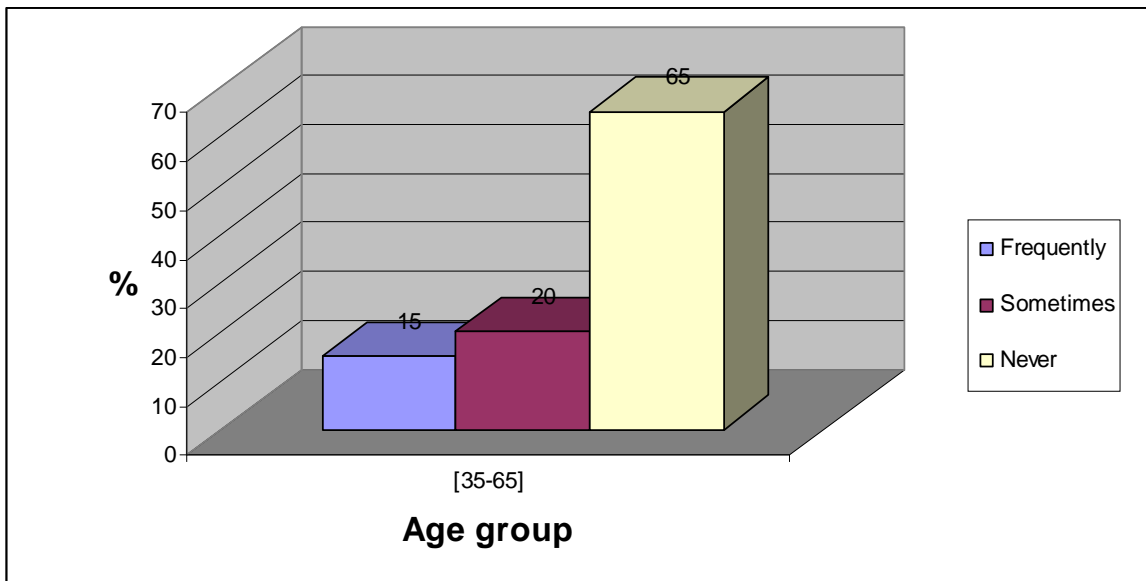


Fig 3.25. Adults’ use of MSA in percentage

Age /Gender Answers	[11-23]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	08	12
Sometimes	19	17
Never	33	31
Total	60	60

Table 3.26 .Youth use of MSA according to gender

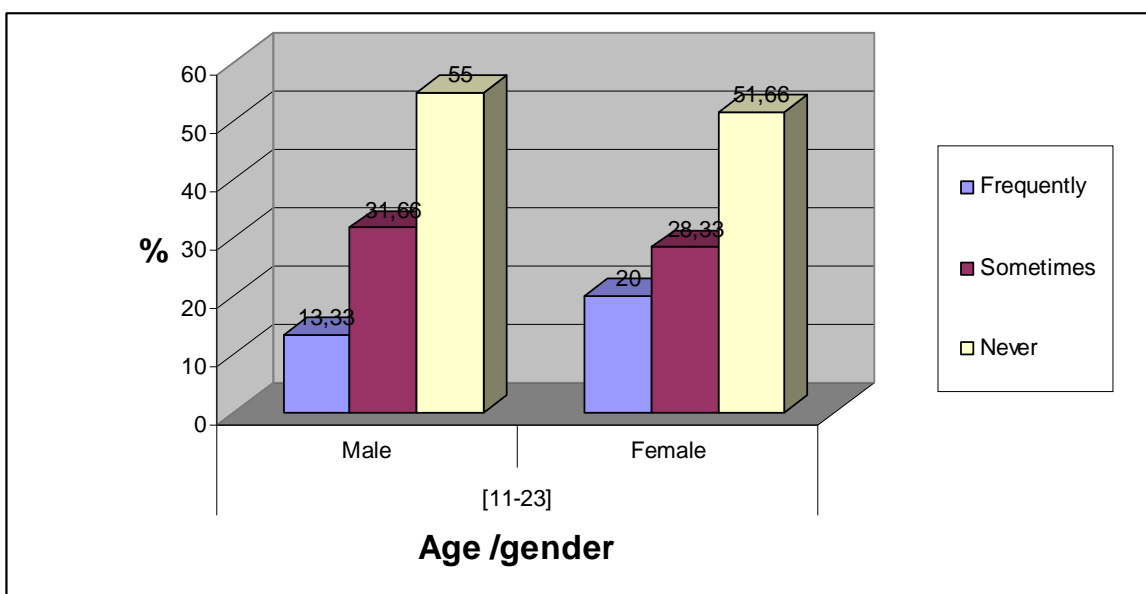


Fig 3.26. Youth use of MSA according to gender in percentage.

Age /Gender Answers	[35-65]	
	Male	Female
Frequently	02	05
Sometimes	05	03
Never	13	12
Total	20	20

Table 3.27. Adults' use of MSA according to gender.

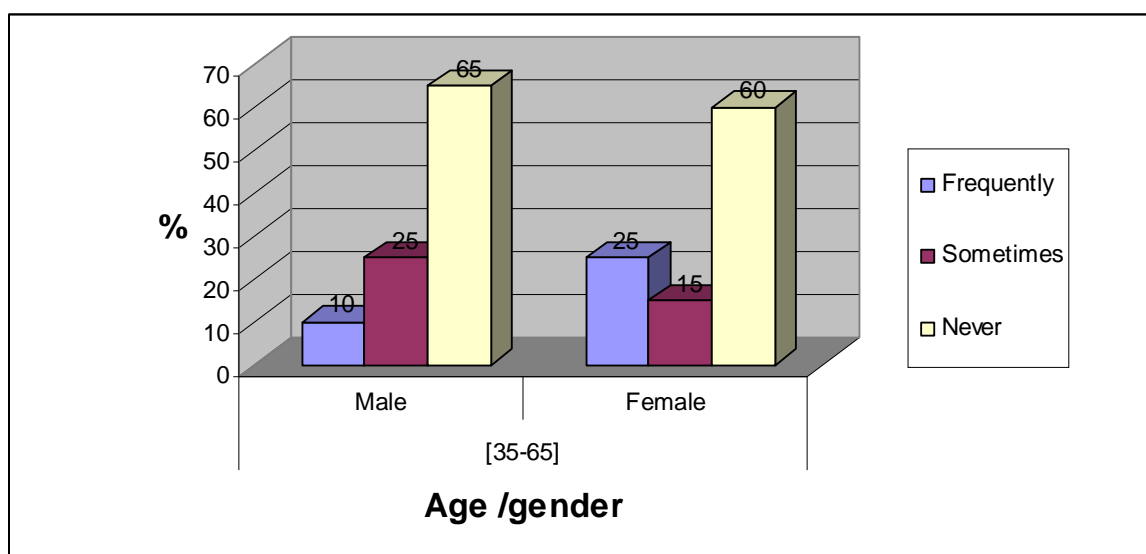


Fig 3.27. Adults' use of MSA according to gender in percentage.

In considering gender and according to the above figures, most of the answers tend to be negative which means that most informants in all age groups are not influenced and do not use MSA when speaking but there exist a number of them who do use MSA (i.e, some words or expressions from it). What is noticeable is that females are the ones who are the most influenced by this use. In [11-23] the percentage of MSA use is of 20% for females and of 13.33% for males whereas, in [35-65], it is of 25% for females and 10% for males. The result is that the highest use of MSA occurs is mainly performed by females. The question is then, what makes women use MSA more than men when speaking ? Does television play a role in this ? The answer will be discussed in the following question.

Question 10 : Are you influenced by Syrian, Egyptian, Moroccan or other Arabic dialects used in serials or films shown on TV ?

The aim from this question was to check whether the Syrian, Egyptian, Moroccan and other Arabic dialects used in translated serials or films shown on TV have an influence on people, especially on women who tend to watch these serials much more than men.

Age	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Frequently	03	05	04	06	01	06	00	04
Sometimes	04	09	07	10	04	06	04	06
No	13	06	09	04	14	09	16	10
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20

Table 3.28 : Total Scores to Question (10) according to age and gender

According to the above table (3.28), the results reveal that in all age groups the dominant answer is negative which proves that MSA is not so widely spread as French, but we do have some positive answers given most importantly by females (21/80 i.e, 26.25%) of them have chosen the alternative ‘frequently’ which shows clearly that these latter are the ones who are the most influenced by TV serials. In addition, the choice of the alternative ‘sometimes’ is important too since the scores are considerable (31/80 i.e, 38.75%) and should be taken into consideration.

As a conclusion, we can say in all age groups informants are more influenced by the use of French but some women are sometimes influenced by the use of MSA in their speech. So, the question is what are the causes which make them affected by the use of words or expressions from MSA ? Do broadcasting and mass media play a role in this ?

Question 11: Do you introduce words or expressions from these dialects in your own dialect ?

Answers \ Age	[11-14]	[15-18]	[19-23]	[35-65]
Frequently	06	06	04	01
Sometimes	12	19	12	08
No	22	15	24	31
Total	40	40	40	40

Table 3.29. The influence of Arabic dialects on speakers of Tlemcen speech community.

Similarly with this question, we intended to collect data about how much Arabic dialects used in serials influence teenagers and adults. Taking into consideration the number of positive answers only, we noticed that in [11-23] 16 informants have answered positively which represents 13.33% ; on the contrary, 61 of them have given negative answers which represents 50.83%. Some of them have chosen the alternative ‘sometimes’, they constitute 43 informants and represent 35.83%⁵³. In [35-65] most of the answers were negative (77.5%) which proves that adults do not introduce such words or expressions in their dialect, they are conservative in maintaining their own dialect.

So, the results showed that the majority of informants are not really influenced linguistically by such serials in other words they neither imitate nor copy words or expressions from other Arabic varieties except for a minority of them (more importantly adolescents) who may be sometimes influenced by such Arabic dialects but will not lead to language change since the number of words copied or imitated from other Arabic varieties is not important, and their use is certainly temporary.

⁵³ The alternative ‘sometimes’ tends to be more negative than positive.

Question 12 : Why ?

Taking into consideration the results of the former question since this one is closely related to it, and after analysing the respondents' comments we found that most of those who do introduce those words or expressions in their own dialect (who are for the majority adolescents) do it just to show off in front of their friends . On the other hand, those who do not introduce them in their dialect assert that they do not like to imitate others and prefer the Algerian dialect since it is a part of their personality. They also say that they are proud of being Algerians.

b) Part Two :

Q : How do you name the following words in your dialect ?

The aim of this part is to show the difference between youth and adults use of vocabulary. It is worth mentioning that we have chosen these words and expressions because we have noticed a wide range of semantic broadening and semantic shift concerning them mainly among adolescents. So, we wanted to measure the degree of influence that youth language has on adults.⁵⁴

1- Beautiful / جميل

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[ʃbWWb]	12	09	02	09	04	07	16	15
[entNk]	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
[ArtNst]	02	02	09	13	05	04	00	01
[mliih]	00	00	00	00	01	00	02	01
[ʔAnn0G]	01	00	03	00	01	02	00	00
[ħAbbA]	03	04	03	03	04	02	00	00
[bogos]	04	02	02	02	05	03	02	02
[fiim]	00	04	07	03	02	08	00	01
[vre]	01	00	02	01	00	00	00	00

⁵⁴ In this part the number of answers may sometimes exceed the number of respondents because some informants have given more than one proposition.

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ʃbWWb], a total of 74 answers, the adults having a higher score.

- [11-14] : 12 males vs 09 females = 21 / 40.
- [15-18] : 02 males vs 09 females = 11 /40.
- [19-23] : 04 males vs 07 females = 11 /40.
- [35-65] : 16 males vs 15 females = 31 /40.

The second position is for the word [ArtNst] with a total of 36 answers mainly used by adolescents (one adult only uses this word).

In spite of the fact that the word [ʃbWWb] is not a fashioned one, it is also widely used by adolescents. Most of them use it not only because it is understood by all the generations, but because it encompasses the description of persons, things or even events i.e., we may say the person is beautiful ([ʃbWWb]), the marriage or the film is nice ([ʃbWWb]). Contrariwise, words like [ArtNst], [ħAbbA], [entNk] are rather used for describing persons, [fiim] and [vre] for things.

2- Money / نقود

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[drAhBm]	11	14	09	10	10	11	17	15
[fluus]	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
[IArF2]	02	02	00	03	01	02	00	01
[ʃwAldA]	00	00	00	00	01	00	02	01
[bBzrA]	10	09	13	09	12	07	01	02
[ħAbbWWt]	01	00	02	00	02	03	00	01

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [drAhBm], a total of 95 answers, which is mostly used by adults.

- [11-14] : 11males vs14 females = 25 /40.
- [15-18] : 09 males vs 10 females = 19 /40.
- [19-23] : 10males vs 11 females = 21 /40.
- [35-65] : 17 males vs 15 females = 32 /40.

The second position is for the word [bBzrA] with a total of 64 answers mainly used by adolescents (Three adults only use this word).

What is noticeable is that the word [drAhBm] is generally used by females more than males in all age groups. The word [bBzrA] is rather used by young boys who want to show off when interacting since according to dominance theory, men in all situations try to take contrôle and to dominate (see 1.6.2.2.2). Consequently, Girls who are relatively powerless try to adopt a more refined and prestigious vocabulary to show a nice image of themselves on the one hand, and to be well accepted in the society on the other one.

Concerning the word [fluus], it was used only by one young boy. This word is widely used in Morocco. So, the adolescent's parents may be be originated from this country.

3- Rich / غنى

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[mrBffah]	13	14	07	13	07	13	14	16
[GArNkA]	01	02	05	01	01	01	01	00
[mxBnzBr]	00	01	01	02	00	03	01	02
[bxirAṢINH]	00	00	01	01	00	03	03	02
[mbezzBr]	02	02	05	03	05	03	01	00
[bOrFwA]	03	04	01	03	01	03	00	01

For Q3, some male informants in [15-18] have given other propositions which are : 01 for [bNjN] and 02 for [tNkN].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [mrBffah], a total of 97 answers, mostly used by adults.

- [11-14] : 13 males vs 14 females = 27 /40
- [15-18] : 07 males vs 13 females = 20 /40.
- [19-23] : 07 males vs 13 females = 20 /40.
- [35-65] : 14 males vs 16 females = 30 /40.

The second position is for the word [mbezzBr] with a total of 21 answers mainly used by adolescents (One adult only uses this word).

Here again the word [mrBffah] is mostly used by females. The same remarks made for the use of the word [drAhBm] can apply here. It is worth mentioning that there are some French words adapted and introduced in the Arabic language such as [bNjN], ('billet' in French) and [tNkN], ('tiquet' in French).⁵⁵

4-I'm tired / أنا متعب

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[FBswNfAtNgN]	04	06	02	05	04	04	00	00
[rAnNfAjjan(A)]	15	09	09	13	07	15	17	17
[rAnNmBsh0t(A)]	00	01	01	00	01	00	00	01
[rAnNmkbmmBI(A)]	01	00	00	01	03	00	02	02
[rAnNkaL]	00	01	00	00	00	01	00	00
[rAnNmdBgdBg]	00	03	02	00	01	02	01	00

Here are some other propositions given by the respondents to Q4 :

- [15-18] males : 03 [rAnNtAjBb], 01 [rAnNmgBrBš], 01 [bAtrNfebl], 01[rAnimbBqlBF]
- [15-18] females : 01[rAnNtAfjA], 01[rAnNmNjtA], 1[bAtrNfebl].
- [19-23] males : 01[rAnNfWGBl], 01 [rAhfNjAlAfeGIBs].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [rAnNfAjAn(A)], a total of 102 answers, mostly used by adults but also widely spread among young people.

- [11-14] : 15males vs 09 females = 24 /40.
- [15-18] : 09 males vs 13 females = 22 /40.
- [19-23] : 07 males vs 15 females = 22 /40.
- [35-65] : 17 males vs 17 females = 34 /40.

The second position is for the word [FBswNfAtNgN] with a total of 25 answers generally used by young girls who want to introduce French words and expressions in the Arabic language to show prestige since French is given an important status in cultural, educational and political fields (see 2.4.).

⁵⁵ See 2.10.2.

5-Hurry up / أسرع

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[xaff/xBffBf]	10	07	06	13	06	08	14	12
[?B7ri]	02	02	01	00	00	01	04	03
[?a?zBm]	01	00	00	00	01	02	01	02
[fNssA?]	02	03	00	02	00	02	01	02
[?AI?Abxiif]	02	00	04	02	02	00	00	00
[?AktNvN]	04	01	07	04	05	04	00	00

Here are some other propositions given by the respondents to Q5 :

- [11-14] females : 2 [fevNt].
- [15-18] males : 1 [tlegr0hBk].
- [15-18] females : 1 [tlegre7INk].
- [15-18] females :1 [tlegre7INk].
- [19-23] females : 1 [tIB?rA?Bk].
- [35-65]females :2[fevNt]. .

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [xaff / xBffBf], a total of 76 answers, mostly used by adults but also used by the youth since it is understood by both generations.

- [11-14] : 10males vs 07 females = 17 /40.
- [15-18] : 06 males vs 13 females = 19 /40.
- [19-23] : 06 males vs 08 females = 14 /40.
- [35-65] : 14 males vs 12 females = 26 /40.

The second position is for the word [?AktNvN] with a total of 25 answers only used by young boys when interacting with people of the same age. It is a French word adapted into Arabic.

6- Welcome / أهلا

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[sAlAm]	06	07	04	08	05	05	10	05
[wAhjA]	02	01	02	01	00	00	00	00
[saly]	04	05	04	04	05	10	00	02
[fWjBn]	07	03	10	06	03	02	00	00

Here are some other propositions given by the respondents to Q6 :

- [11-14] females : 06 [haN].
- [15-18] females : 02 [haN].
- [19-23] males : 02 [mArĥBbA], 3[AhIA], 2 [haN].
- [19-23] females : 02 [mArĥBbA], 2 [ʔAssIAmA], 1 [haN].
- [35-65] males : 05 [mArĥBbA], 2 [ʔAssIAmA], 3 [AhIA].
- [35-65]females :07 [mArĥBbA], 7[ʔAssIAmA].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [salem], a total of 51 answers, mostly used by adults. The word is also used by the young generation. It is adapted from CA/MSA [BssAlAm] usually associated with religion, literature and formal education.

- [11-14] : 06 males vs 07 females = 13 /40.
- [15-18] : 04 males vs 08 females = 12 /40.
- [19-23] : 05 males vs 05 females = 10 /40.
- [35-65] : 10 males vs 05 females = 15 /40.

The second position is for the word [saly] with a total of 34 answers (Two adults only use the word). Other borrowings are used such as: [haN] ('Hi' in English and 'Salut' in French).

7- My friend / صديقي

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[AmN]	03	02	03	02	04	06	00	04
[ṣAḥbN] / [ṣAḥḥab tN]	11	15	09	13	08	09	19	13
[ḥbNbN] / [ḥbNb tN]	00	01	00	02	00	03	00	03
[GrNkN]	06	02	08	03	06	01	00	00

Here are some other propositions given to Q7 by the respondents :

- [19-23] males : 2 [x0jA].
- [35-65] males : 2 [x0jA].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ṣAḥbN / ṣAḥḥab tN], a total of 97 answers, generally used by adults in addition to young people.

- [11-14] : 11 males vs 15 females = 26 /40.
- [15-18] : 09 males vs 13 females = 22 /40.
- [19-23] : 08 males vs 09 females = 17 /40.
- [35-65] : 19 males vs 13 females = 32 /40.

The second position is for the word [GrNkN] with a total of 26 answers, it is considered as an innovation mostly used by young boys.

8- Next week / الأسبوع المقبل

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[sNmAnAlFAjA]	16	12	14	09	17	09	17	12
[sNmAnAlmA7jA]	00	02	00	03	00	04	01	06
[IAsemenpxoGen]	04	07	03	09	03	10	00	05

Here are some other propositions given to Q8 by the respondents :

- [15-18] males : 1 [s0kBlmAFN].
- [15-18] females : 1 [s0?BlmA7N].
- [35-65] males : 3[s0qBlmAFN].
- [35-65] females : 3 [s0?BlmA7N].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the expression [sNmAnAlFAjA] , a total of 106 answers, mostly used by adults.

- [11-14] : 16 males vs 12 females = 28 /40.
- [15-18] : 14 males vs 09 females = 23 /40.
- [19-23] : 17 males vs 09 females = 26 /40.
- [35-65] : 17 males vs 12 females = 29 /40.

[sNmAnAlmA7jA] is rather used by females since it is part of TA. The second position is for the expression [lAsemenpxoGen] with a total of 51 answers used mainly by young girls to show prestige (Five adults do use the same expression).

Concerning the alternatives [s0qBlmAFN] / [s0?BlmA7N] used by some informants, they originate from the word [Bssuuq] which means 'market', the semantic shift comes from the fact that 'market day' was held once a week (refer to 1.7.1.4). No one has used the expression [?alusbu0?Blma7i] ,which is used in CA and MSA, since it is never used in ordinary speech interaction by any portion of the society, [?lusbu0?] is rather used in higher level discourse (TV, school...) and represents a supra-language associated to religion, literature and formal education. In addition, the word doesn't fit with [Blma7i] or [BlFaN], the MSA expression is [Bl?usbu0?Blqaadim].

9- I do business / أنا أمارس التجارة

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[nbN?wnBGrN]	02	02	00	03	00	01	01	03
[nbBznBs]	07	07	13	13	07	07	03	02
[ntAFBr]	06	06	01	01	00	02	10	04

Here are some other propositions given to Q9 by the respondents :

- [11-14] males : 01 [ndNrlkomers].
- [11-14] females : 03 [ndNrlkomers].
- [15-18] males : 05 [ndNrlkomers] / 2 [nAvNgN].
- [15-18] females : 03 [ndNrlkomers].
- [19-23] males : 10 [ndNrlkomers] / 2 [nϕAbrF] /1[nAvNgN].
- [19-23] females : 07 [ndNrlkomers].
- [35-65] females : 05[ndNrlkomers].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [nbBznBs]. , a total of 59 answers, mostly used by adolescents aged between 15 and 18. (Five adults do use this word).

- [11-14] : 07 males vs 07 females = 14 /40.
- [15-18] : 13 males vs 13 females = 26 /40.
- [19-23] : 07 males vs 07 females = 14 /40.
- [35-65] :03 males vs 02 females = 05 /40.

Since business is one of the most important occupations of the youth, they refer to ‘doing business’ by the word [nbBznBs] which is a borrowing from English which is considered as an international language used to communicate all over the world. Because of the influence of the Western culture which is widely spread through the process of globalization (internet, TV...), the young generation tries to be up-to-date in order to show their belonging to the modern world (as it is explained in 1.10).

. 10- I’m desperate / أنا فاقد للأمل

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[rAnNkArAh]	09	08	08	06	08	10	12	09
[rAnNmdNg0tN]	07	04	05	06	07	02	05	02
[rAnNmdemmBr/A]	01	01	04	01	01	01	02	01
[rAnNq(ϕ)AtAϕINjBs]	03	05	01	01	01	02	01	05

Here are some other propositions given to Q10 by the respondents :

- [11-14] males : 01 [rAnNmzaʕAf].
- [11-14] females : 01[rAnNdNprNmN].
- [15-18] males : 02 [rAnNdNmorAINzN] / 01 [rAnNkAreh].
- [15-18] females : 02 [morAltAjBħ].
- [19-23] males : 02[krAht] / 01[rAnNdNmorAINzN].
- [19-23] females : 02 [pAdGSs] / 01[melINnt] / 02 [morAltAjBħ].
- [35-65] males : 03 [mAʕAndNGBzhAr].
- [35-6] females : 02 [mAʕAndNGBzhAr] / 02 [rAnNmdejKA].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the expression [rAnNkArAh]. , a total of 70 answers. This alternative is used by all the generations but mostly used by adults.

- [11-14] : 09 males vs 08 females = 17 /40.
- [15-18] : 08 males vs 06 females = 14 /40.
- [19-23] : 08 males vs 10 females = 18 /40.
- [35-65] : 12 males vs 09 females = 21 /40.

The second position is for the word [rAnNmNgOtN] with a total of 38 answers used mainly by adolescents. [mdNgOtN] is borrowed from French ‘dégôût’ (which means disgust) and adapted into Arabic (‘el ammiya’) to become part of it. The same thing happens with the words [mdNprNmN] and [dNmorAINzN] meaning that the person feels really down (from French ‘déprimé’ and ‘démoralisé’).

11- A narrow-minded person / إنسان متعصب و غير متفتح

Age and gender Answers	[11-14]		[15-18]		[19-23]		[35-65]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
[mnervN]	04	04	01	04	04	02	05	04
[mbAlIAʕ]	04	02	04	02	04	06	03	02
[mʕBndef]	03	03	02	03	02	01	04	01
[komplNkN]	03	04	01	00	01	02	00	01
[mʕBIIbq]	02	03	03	07	04	04	01	01
[kAfN]	02	00	04	03	02	00	02	01

Here are some other propositions given to Q11 by the respondents :

- [11-14] males : 1 [mrObBG]/ 1 [hAkOG].
- [11-14] females : 1[7OhAIN]/ 1[mbOqBl].
- [15-18] males : 2 [m᠑AntAḥ] / 2 [ḥW :bBs]/ 1 [mbOGN].
- [15-18] females : 1[mbOGN] / 1[mrObBG].
- [19-23] males : 1 [ḥAbBs]/ 1 [mxeGGBn] / 1[borne].
- [19-23] females : 2 [m᠑aqqBd].
- [35-65] males : 2 [borne]./ 2 [mbOGN] / 1[7AhBl]/ 1[xGNn].
- [35-65] females : 4 [7ahel] / 1[borne].

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [mnervN] , a total of 28 answers, mostly used by adults.

- [11-14] : 04 males vs 04 females = 08 /40.
- [15-18] : 01 males vs 04 females = 05 /40.
- [19-23] : 04 males vs 02 females = 06 /40.
- [35-65] : 05 males vs 04 females = 09 /40.

The second position is for the word [mbAllA᠑] with a total of 26 answers used mainly by adolescents.

Among the eleven words (and expressions) introduced in this part, the results analysis showed that ten of them are frequently used by the youth despite the fact that they are part of adults' vocabulary. This means that in most answers the dominance is for adults' language except for the expression⁹ 'I do business' : (the dominant answer is 'nbBznBs') which is taken from the youth 'repertoire' and is mostly used by teenagers [11-18] ⁵⁶. In addition, it is worth noting that some adults are sometimes influenced and do use some of youth vocabulary such as for the words [bBzrA], [mbezzBr], [saly], [lAsemenpxoGen], [nbBznBs].

In spite of the fact that adulthood is considered as a homogeneous and a stable age, the above results confirm that adults' vocabulary is not always stable, it may be affected but at a very low degree by youth speech mainly because of the use of innovations which may cause language change. So, we assert that youth language does sometimes affect adults to some extent as it was stated in the third hypothesis of our dissertation.

⁵⁶ Refer to the word n 9.

As a conclusion, we notice that generally most adults do not, and do not want to use youth vocabulary and do frequently show negative attitudes towards it. This point is going to be considered in the interview and the matched-guise technique.

3.4.2. The interview

Our interview is a semi-structured one. We have decided to ask two open questions (one for adolescents and one for adults) having the purpose of qualitative analysis since the quantification was done by means of a questionnaire.

- **Q1 (To adolescents [11-18])** : Why don't you speak like your parents or like adults in general ?

Concerning the causes and motives which make them use a different language (or more appropriately a different dialect) from the adults', all interviewees (males and females) agree on the fact that they wanted to be different from adults, they wanted to declare a rebellion against them because of their different personalities, adding that they wanted to show off in order to impose themselves in the society. Moreover, they asserted that their aim in using a distinctive vocabulary was to be closely related to their peers of the same age group on the one hand, and to be detached from the world of children as well as from the world of adults, on the other.

- **Q2 (To adults [35-65])** : What is your point of view about youth language ?

When asking the question to adults we obtained the following :

F1, F2, F3, F4 show a negative attitude towards youth language, they agree on the fact that in Tlemcen most of the families are conservative and this is the reason for which the young should not use a slangy vocabulary, especially girls because this will give a bad image in the society.

According to M1 and M4, they admitted their neutrality towards this phenomenon. They reported that they were neither for nor against it. They added that since the world is changing because of globalisation and technology, adults should not blame the youth when using a different language. For M1 and M4, this is just a passing phenomenon (related to adolescence) that will not last for a long time. At last, they added that they preferred not hearing their children use a slangy vocabulary at home.

M2 and M3 showed a negative attitude towards youth language, They were really against it (especially among girls) since they thought that people who used that language were not well brought up.

At last we got the following results :

- F1, F2, F3, F4, M2, M3 showed a negative attitude towards youth language.
- M1, M4 showed a neutral one.

As a conclusion, we found that most of the adult interviewees showed a negative attitude towards youth language.

3.4.3. The Matched-Guise Technique

In order to collect more qualitative as well as quantitative data, we have introduced the technique firstly used in sociolinguistics by Lambert. It is the matched-guise test. So, in order to evaluate the judges' attitudes (i.e. the adults) towards youth language, we have made them fill in a table about the three language varieties that each guise-speaker used and on each of the three traits : pleasantness, status, urbanity⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ We have used the same four traits and followed the same procedure initially introduced by Dendane (2007) in his doctorate thesis. (cf. bibliography).

a) Pleasantness

Table1 : How pleasant do you find each variety ?

Pleasant-----Unpleasant

N = 20 Guises	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7=0pts
Adult TA	17	2	1	0	0	0	0
Young TA	12	3	2	2	1	0	0
Young RA	10	5	3	1	1	0	0

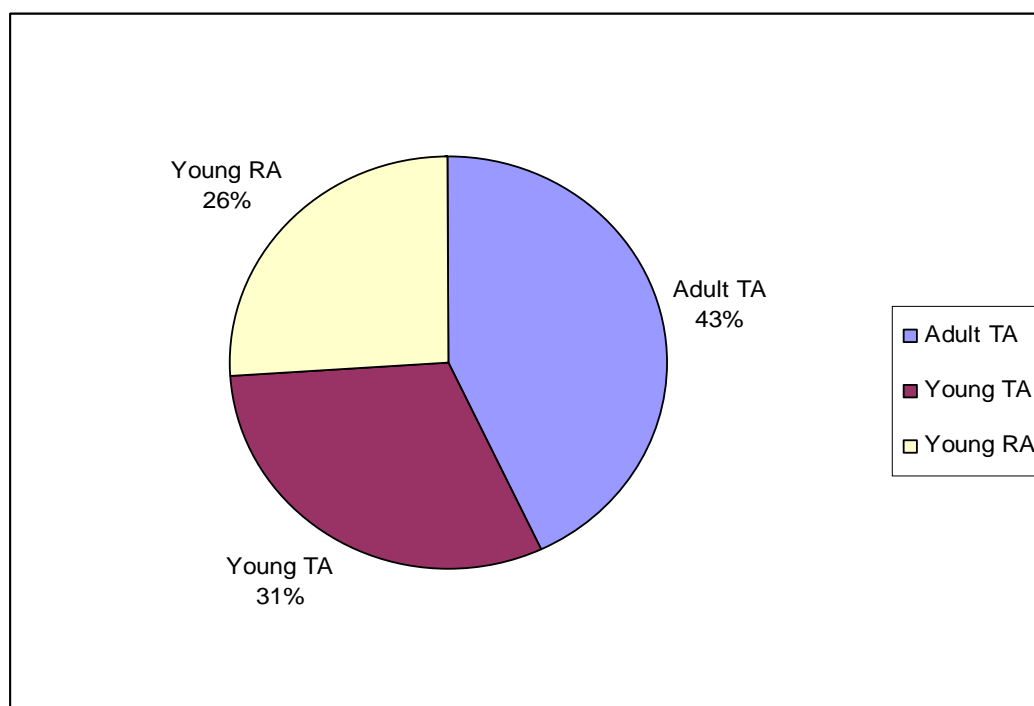


Fig 3.28.: Adults' evaluation of pleasantness.

Out of the analysis of the above pie-chart, the results reveal that adults' language is viewed as the most pleasant, while youth language either the one using TA or the one using RA is valued lower. Most importantly, as expected, the rural

variety is perceived as the least pleasing since it reaches only a 26% overall percentage comparing to TA which reaches 31%.

b) Status

Table 2 : How do you consider the status of each variety ?

High -----Low

N = 20 Guises	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7=0pts
Adult TA	14	03	02	01	00	00	00
Young TA	12	02	04	01	01	00	00
Young RA	03	02	09	04	01	01	00

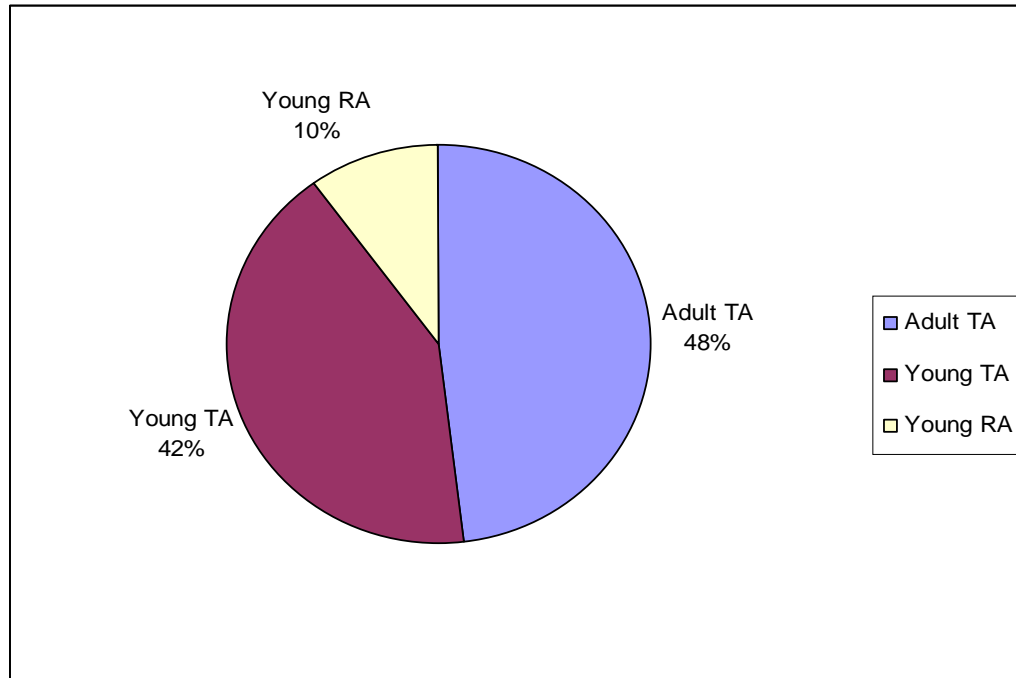


Fig 3.29. : Adults' evaluation of status.

The results show that adult TA variety is perceived as having the highest status according to adults' point of view since the scores are of 48%. Young TA is valued slightly lower with 42% .By contrast, young RA is considered as the one with the least status with 10% only. Considering the results, we confirm that adults' language with TA is viewed as the highest variety which enjoys prestige in Tlemcen speech community. More than in the previous question, young TA scores are much higher than the ones of young RA (42% vs 10%) which demonstrates that youth language may be appreciated and tolerated by the adults only if it is accompanied with TA. The most important point is that TA is evaluated by adult native and non-native speakers as pleasant and with a higher status variety.

c) Urbanity

Table 3: Which variety do you think is more urban ?

Urban -----Rural

N = 20 Guises	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7=0pts
Adult TA	17	01	01	01	00	00	00
Young TA	12	03	02	01	01	01	00
Young RA	01	01	01	03	05	06	03

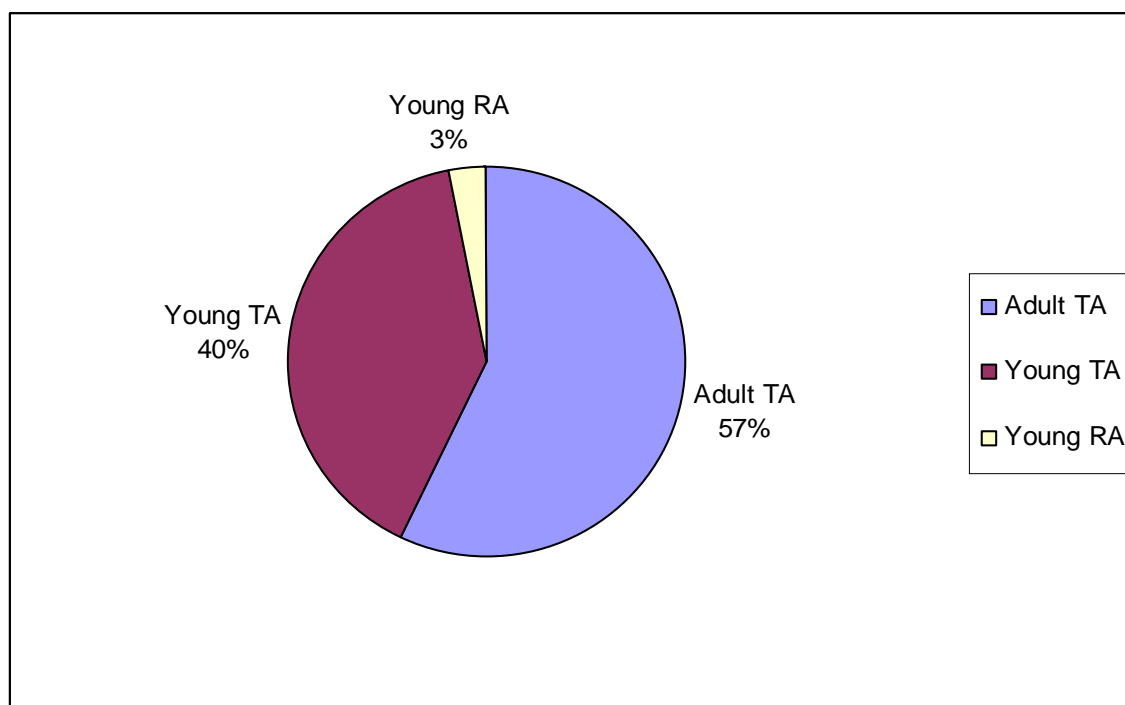


Fig 3.30. Adults' evaluation of urbanity.

As expected, the results of the above pie-chart confirm that the adults' variety is perceived as more urban than young RA. Because of the appropriate use of French which may give access to a wide and high status (in guise 1 : see appendix) and the use of TA, adults' language is more appreciated than the youth. With its very weak percentage (3%), youth language with RA is really and rightly evaluated as more rural.

3.5. Interpretation of the findings

This section summarises and concludes our work. It also discusses some implications of the investigation.

As we are interested in language change and lexical variation in youth language, linguistic choices are to be studied in accordance with social motivations since language is part of the society. Downes (1984 :15) believes that : « Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of

language and languages which require reference to social, including contextual factors in their explanation ». So, throughout the data analysis we have attempted to shed light on the motives which lead young people use a 'different' language, a language 'specific' for them. Two important criteria which are pertinent to the process of language change are age and gender. These were taken into consideration all along our investigation.

Let us start with the motives for language change. Investigating the social origins of language change has gained much importance since Labov's (1963) article on Martha's Vineyard. Since then, many works in sociolinguistics have proved that age, as a sociolinguistic variable, and as a part of the speaker's identity, is among the most important social attributes of linguistic variation (Trudgill :1986, Romaine : 1989, Labov : 1994, Chambers :1995 and Kerswill :1996).

Joining theory to practice with reference to our findings, the results show that the youth use innovations, borrowing...because of many reasons : Firstly, they confirm that they do it in order to show off (see section3.1/ Q 5), they want to be different from the others and to express themselves through a particular vocabulary. What happens is that because adolescents experience some physical changes in the body, they want to display in a relative way reactions to these changes. At this critical age, 'some of the most dramatic changes seem to come about' (Kerswill 1996 :196). As Chambers (2003 :187) says. this can be expressed in « distinctive outer markings...It is also marked in a linguistically superficial way, by the use of a distinctive vocabulary called slang, in which terms become fashionable and serve as markers of in-group members, and then quickly become outmoded in order to mark their users as outsiders » .

This is what we found in results to Q4 (see 3.2.) where young people, mainly teenagers, use a common language with their peers (of the same age group) i.e. in-group members different from out-group members.

In addition, the results show that among the motives which lead the youth to use a 'different' vocabulary is the influence of the society on the one hand (the street), and of the media on the other (see Q7 section 3.3) such as: TV,

internet...Consequently, by the introduction of the internet and of the parabolic satellites in Algeria, the youth are exposed to extensive contact with Western and Eastern cultures and thus, languages and dialects.

As far as the society is concerned, in his article entitled ‘*The Status of Linguistics*’, Sapir (1929) defines language as a guide to ‘social reality’ saying that :

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group.⁵⁸

So, it is of great importance to mention the role of the society in modelling the speakers’ language and this was also one of Labov’s greatest interests when studying sociolinguistic variation. Because speakers live in different socio-cultural environments, their language is exposed to variation and thus to change. For this, we have to postulate that the speech community is an important factor in language change since it provides a great influence on the speaker who is a member of it. Referring to section 3.1/Q2, we found that females are really affected by the society i.e. by Tlemcen speech community since more than 50% do use TA. In addition, within the same section Q7, the results show that the first source for collecting innovations is the street for males. Gumperz asserts in this respect that :

Verbal interactions is a social process in which utterances are selected in accordance with socially recognized norms and expectations....In analyzing linguistic phenomena within a socially defined universe...the study is of language usage as it reflects more general behavior norms. This universe is the speech community...

(Gumperz 1968 :219)

⁵⁸ Quoted in Hoijer in Hymes 1964 :142.

Other social factors such as social class, education, social status play an important role in language change. Yet, it is age and gender which are among the most important ones as they ‘exert a tacit and largely irrepressible effect’ (Chambers 2003 :7).

Considering the role of the media in general and of TV in particular, results showed that teenagers (more importantly females) are highly influenced by TV (see section 3.1 /Q7). The mass media play a significant role in conducting change in language. In Algeria, for example, people spend more time watching television than any other activity apart from school and sleep. Moreover, we have found that the internet also affects youth’ language (see section 3.1/Q7) mainly males.

One common feature among the youth in Tlemcen speech community, and supposedly in the rest of Algeria, is the use of innovations (see section 3.1/ Q6 +part 2) such as : [bezrA], [ħAbAAt], [wAhjA] including borrowings such as [nriskN], [zmAgrA], [nAvNgN]... Colonial expansion, science and commerce have all contributed in their introduction and spread. We have to mention that French still plays a considerable role in youth language in comparison with MSA (see section 3.1/Q8-Q9) since it is the result of a long period of language contact (French colonialism) that lasted about one hundred thirty years in Algeria. In this respect, two sorts of change are distinguished : a contact- induced change where the inherited language is retained and a shift-induced change wherein the speakers shift to the language they come in contact with (Hickey : 2003). In our case, there is much evidence that every speech includes a situation where speakers keep their inherited language (Arabic) and one where they switch to the language they are in contact with (French).

3.6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to bring to light findings related to the motives which lead to lexical variation and language change in youth language, on the one hand, and to adults' attitudes towards young people's speech and the degree of their influence on adults linguistic behaviour, on the other.

From the data analysis we have found that first, various motives lead adolescents to use a 'different' and 'new-fashioned' language, the most important ones being the impact of the street culture including the speech community, the influence of the mass media, in particular TV and the internet, the language contact situation, education and other factors. But most age and gender too are crucially important since much language change occurs at different ages and among both genders.

Second, and with reference to the results, we have observed that in [11-18], most of adolescents do not speak the way adults do; they rather use new expressions such as innovations since at this age they are generally affected by a set of transitions: biological, social, cognitive and emotional (see 1.9.1.1). Contrariwise, according to the results of Q1/Section 3, in [19-23], 37% of them start using adults' language, more importantly females who seem to be affected by it. In [35-65], the great majority of adults is not influenced by youth vocabulary but as expected, we discovered that innovations are really present at this age since 15% of adults frequently use them (see fig.3.18) and that 7.5% of them do frequently use youth language (see fig.3.4); this concerns males more than females (see fig.3.6) which really proves that adults' language is somehow affected by youth language and that it is not always stable.

Third, throughout the interview and the matched-guise technique, we found that most of the adults showed a negative attitude towards youth language (since the positive attitudes were towards the adults' language). Moreover, we have shown that the least appreciated variety in youth language was the rural one.

To sum up, we can construe that lexical variation and language change occur mainly during adolescence, and the phenomenon is caused more importantly by

males, whereas in late adolescence and early adulthood females play an important role in language maintenance since they are more conservative in using an innovative vocabulary. This was also proved by a study of lexical change that shows that females are slightly more conservative in their usage of “new” lexical forms than males (Bayard 1989:32).

Thus, we may ascertain that most of the hypothesised ideas converge ideally with the actual findings.

General Conclusion

Because the study of lexical variation and its impact on language has always been of great importance and interests in the field of sociolinguistics, the aim of this dissertation as formulated at the outset of the study, is to find out the factors and motives of language change in youth speech. Moreover, one particular side is to estimate whether gender constitutes an important sociolinguistic variable. Finally, this work has tried to investigate the attitudinal dimensions of adults towards youth language.

The dissertation includes a theoretical part devoted to the review of literature in addition to the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria, and a practical part which includes the methodology and the analysis of the data collected. Different methods are used in collecting data. First, a questionnaire and an interview were set to find out the reasons which make youngsters use a 'different' language, and to demonstrate the role of gender in language change. Then, a matched-guise technique was introduced to analyse adults' attitudes towards youth speech.

The present study is conducted in order to explain the reasons behind the adoption of new borrowed words (innovations) mainly from French to Algerian dialect and the contribution of the youth in the phenomenon of language change. From the investigations, it was found that the younger generation in Tlemcen (and supposedly in Algeria as a whole) represented by adolescents and young adults, is responsible for language change as they shift from Algerian Arabic to a new variety that includes innovations resulting in highly mixed speech with a dominance of French, since this latter is considered more prestigious and practical than Arabic. From all what has been said, one might deduce that the youth in Algeria tend to modify their language in a crucial way leading to a shift from the established colloquial variety based on the Arabic language to the emergence of a new variety which involves language change. As a result, we can say that age, as a

sociolinguistic variable, plays a prominent role in language change in terms of vocabulary which allows us to confirm our first hypothesis.

In addition, the analysis of the data has shown that during adolescence males tend to use innovations more than females . It is worth noting that innovations are integrated in speech after they have undergone morphological and phonological changes to fit the structural rules of the Algerian dialect, then, those new words are firmly adopted in the speech of the young generation and sometimes even in adults' one until they spread to the whole society leading to language change (or more exactly, a dialect change). Moreover, it was noticed that the need for borrowing and using innovations was not only because their equivalents do not exist in AA but because the younger generation finds that their language is poor and inferior comparing to French, so they feel that they cannot express themselves without referring to French words. This is confirmed by the study of Fasold (1984 in Kamwangamalu, 2003 :227) about language shift, in which he states that the need of adopting a new language is : « a feeling that the language being shifted from is inferior to the one being shifted to ». So, we can state that the decrease of the cultural values among youngsters, the influence of the occidental cultures, especially the French one, on their education and habits have led to the wide use of borrowings and the increasing bilingualism which procures in the youth a feeling of having more prestige and occupy a more important status in the society. As a result, we assert that in addition to age, gender is also a relevant sociolinguistic variable.

Fortunately, the results concerning adults' attitudes towards youth language reveal that adults' speech is in most cases stable. This does not mean that it is not affected by youth' language but the degree of youth influence is not very high since most of the adults (especially women in Tlemcen speech community) show negative attitudes towards youth language and try to maintain their dialect. As a conclusion, we ascertain that most of the hypothesised ideas are confirmed by the actual findings.

The sum of results has indicated that language change at the lexical level in Tlemcen is mainly caused by the youth who inculcate new words and concepts that are not part of the Algerian culture through the process of borrowing and using

innovations. In fact, this phenomenon is the result of languages in contact and bilingualism, and thus becomes a natural and vital practice in the Algerian society.

This study has attempted to examine the impact of youth language on adults' one and identify the different sociolinguistic factors that emerge in youth speech and lead to language change. In the future, it would be interesting to be able to supplement the findings of this study to check whether other variables may lead to language change. In addition, it would be valuable to investigate why adults' language is most of the time stable. In other words one can try to explore what happens to the youth when they enter adulthood.

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استبيان

هذا الاستبيان يهدف الى جمع البيانات حول طريقة الكلام عند الشباب مقارنة مع طريقة الكلام عند الكبار في مدينة تلمسان
يرجى منك الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة

الجزء الأول:

- السن:
مكان الإقامة:
الجنس:
المستوى الاجتماعي
المستوى الدراسي:
- ذكر أنثى
- دون المتوسط متوسط فوق المتوسط جيد
- منعدم ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي جامعي

الجزء الثاني:

أ- اختر(ي) إجابة واحدة فقط من فضلك. ضع علامة X في المكان المناسب

- (1) هل طريقة كلامك هي نفس طريقة كلام أوليائك أو الكبار بصفة عامة؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (2) هل تستعمل(ين) اللهجة التلمسانية في كلامك؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (3) مع من
مع أشخاص من نفس السن:
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان ذكور إناث
- مع أشخاص كبار:
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان ذكور إناث
- (4) هل تتكلم (ين) مع أصدقائك كما تتكلم (ين) مع الكبار؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (5) هل تحاول (ين) التميز في الكلام ؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (6) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات جديدة ؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (7) من أين تستمد (ين) هذه المفردات الجديدة ؟
من الشارع من البرامج التلفزيونية من الانترنت
- (8) كيف هو استعمالك للغة الفرنسية ؟
منعدم قليل متوسط كثير
- (9) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات من اللغة الفصحى في كلامك ؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (10) هل تتأثر (ين) باللهجات السورية؛ المصرية؛ المغربية و غيرها المستعملة في المسلسلات و الأفلام المدبلجة ؟
نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان

11) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات من هذه اللهجات في كلامك ؟

- نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان

12) لماذا

ب) ما هي الكلمة أو العبارة التي تستعملها (ينها) لتسمية ما يلي ؟
(للإجابة على هذا السؤال يمكنك استعمال الحروف العربية أو اللاتينية إن احتجت لذلك)

- 1- جميل: -----
2- نفود: -----
3- غني: -----
4- أنا متعب: -----
5- أسرع -----
6- أهلا: -----
7- صديقي: -----
8- الأسبوع المقبل:-----
9- أنا أمارس التجارة:-----
10- أنا فاقد للأمل:-----
11- إنسان متعصب و غير متفتح:-----

شكرا لتعاونكم و تفهمكم

استبيان

هذا الاستبيان يهدف الى جمع البيانات حول طريقة الكلام عند الشباب مقارنة مع طريقة الكلام عند الكبار في مدينة تلمسان
يرجى منك الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة

الجزء الأول:

السن:

مكان الإقامة:

الجنس:

- المستوى الاجتماعي: دون المتوسط متوسط فوق المتوسط جيد أنثى ذكر
- المستوى الدراسي: منعدم ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي جامعي

الجزء الثاني:

أ- اختر (ي) إجابة واحدة فقط من فضلك. ضع علامة X في المكان المناسب

- (1) هل طريقة كلامك هي نفس طريقة كلام أبنائك أو الشباب بصفة عامة؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان
- (2) هل تستعمل (ين) اللهجة التلمسانية في كلامك؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان
- (3) مع من؟
مع أشخاص من نفس السن:
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان ذكور إناث
- مع أشخاص شباب:
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان ذكور إناث
- (4) هل تتكلم (ين) مع أصدقائك كما تتكلم (ين) مع الشباب؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (5) هل تحاول (ين) التميز في الكلام؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (6) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات جديدة؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (7) من أين تستمد (ين) هذه المفردات الجديدة؟
 من الشارع من البرامج التلفزيونية من الانترنت
- (8) كيف هو استعمالك للغة الفرنسية؟
 منعدم قليل متوسط كثير
- (9) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات من اللغة الفصحى في كلامك؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان
- (10) هل تتأثر (ين) باللهجات السورية؛ المصرية؛ المغربية و غيرها المستعملة في المسلسلات و الأفلام المدبلجة؟
 نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان

11) هل تستعمل (ين) مفردات من هذه اللهجات في كلامك ؟

- نعم لا في بعض الأحيان في معظم الأحيان

12) لماذا؟

ب) ما هي الكلمة أو العبارة التي تستعملها (ينها) لتسمية ما يلي ؟
(للإجابة على هذا السؤال يمكنك استعمال الحروف العربية أو اللاتينية إن احتجت لذلك)

1- جميل: -----

2- نقود: -----

3- غني: -----

4- أنا متعب: -----

5- أسرع -----

6- أهلا: -----

7- صديقي: -----

8- الأسبوع المقبل:-----

9- أنا أمارس التجارة:-----

10- أنا فاقد للأمل:-----

11- إنسان متعصب و غير متفتح:-----

شكرا لتعاونكم و تفهمكم

Appendix A

Questionnaire 1 (To the youth) (An English Version)

In order to study lexical variation, in Tlemcen city, among the youth we have elaborated the following questionnaire having as an objective to study the role of the youth in language change or more appropriately in dialect change and the impact of their language on adults one.

Part 1 :

Age :

Residence :

Gender : Masculine Feminine

Social Status : under the average average above the average good

Level of education : none primary elementary Secondary university

Part 2 :

A) Choose only one alternative and put a cross in the right box.

1) Do you use the same way of speaking of your parents or adults in general ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

2) Do you use TSA when speaking ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

3) With whom ?

a) With the youth

Yes no sometimes frequently with males with females

b) With adults :

Yes no sometimes frequently with males with females

4) Do you talk with your friends the way you talk with adults ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

5) Do you want to show off ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

6) Do you use new words or expressions ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

7) From where do you obtain these new words and expressions ?

From the street from T.V from the internet

8) How is your use of French ?

Noneexistent occasional average extensive

9) Do you use words from Modern Standard Arabic when speaking ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

10) Are you influenced by Syrian, Egyptian, Moroccan or other Arabic dialects used in serials or films shown on TV ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

11) Do you introduce words or expressions from these dialects in your own dialect ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

12) Why ?

B) How do you say in your dialect ?

(To answer this question, you can refer to the arabic script, you can also use the latin script if necessary).

- 1- Beautiful -----
- 2- Money -----
- 3- Rich -----
- 4- I'm tired -----
- 5- Hurry up -----
- 6- Welcome -----
- 7- My friend -----
- 8- Next week -----
- 9- I'm doing business-----
- 10- I'am desperate-----
- 11- A narrow-minded person -----

Thank you for your collaboration and understanding

Appendix A

Questionnaire 2 (To the adults)

(An English Version)

In order to study lexical variation, in Tlemcen city, among the youth we have elaborated the following questionnaire having as an objective to study the role of the youth in language change or more appropriately in dialect change and the impact of their language on adults one.

Part 1 :

Age :

Residence :

Gender : Masculine Feminine

Social Status : under the average average above the average good

Level of education none primary elementary Secondary university

Part 2 :

B) Choose only one alternative and put a cross in the right box.

1) Do you use the same way of speaking of your children or the youth in general ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

2) Do you use TSA when speaking ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

3) With whom ?

a) With the adults

Yes no sometimes frequently with males with females

b) With the youth :

Yes no sometimes frequently with males with females

4) Do you talk with your friends the way you talk with the youth ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

5) Do you want to show off ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

6) Do you use new words or expressions?

Yes no sometimes frequently

7) From where do you obtain these new words and expressions ?

From the street from T.V from the internet

8) How is your use of French ?

Noneexistent occasional average extensive

9) Do you use words from Modern Standard Arabic when speaking ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

10) Are you influenced by Syrian, Egyptian, Moroccan or other Arabic dialects used in serials or films shown on TV ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

11) Do you introduce words or expressions from these dialects in your own dialect ?

Yes no sometimes frequently

12) Why ?

B) How do you say in your dialect ?

(To answer this question, you can refer to the arabic script, you can also use the latin script if necessary).

- 12- Beautiful -----
- 13- Money -----
- 14- Rich -----
- 15- I'm tired -----
- 16- Hurry up -----
- 17- Welcome -----
- 18- My friend -----
- 19- Next week -----
- 20- I' m doing business-----
- 21- I'am desperate-----
- 22- A narrow-minded person -----

Thank you for your collaboration and understanding

Appendix B (Matched-guise technique)

Attitude Questionnaire

1- English Version

Comment on the three ways of speaking : varieties 1-2-3 in the order of occurrences. Circle the adjective you choose, from 1 to 7.

1- The speaker's way of speaking is ...

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variety 1 :							
pleasant	-	-	-	-	-	-	unpleasant
high-status	-	-	-	-	-	-	low-status
urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	non-urban

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variety 2 :							
pleasant	-	-	-	-	-	-	unpleasant
high-status	-	-	-	-	-	-	low-status
urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	non-urban

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variety 3 :							
pleasant	-	-	-	-	-	-	unpleasant
high-status	-	-	-	-	-	-	low-status
urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	non-urban

Appendix C (Matched-guise technique)

Attitude Questionnaire

2- French Version

Commentez sur les trois façons de parler : variétés 1-2-3 par ordre de leur déroulement. Encerclez les adjectifs que vous choisissez de 1 à 7.

1- La façon de parler de la personne est :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variété 1 :							
Agréable	-	-	-	-	-	-	désagréable
De haut niveau (Statut)	-	-	-	-	-	-	de bas niveau (Statut)
urbaine	-	-	-	-	-	-	rurale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variété 2 :							
Agréable	-	-	-	-	-	-	désagréable
De haut niveau (Statut)	-	-	-	-	-	-	de bas niveau (Statut)
urbaine	-	-	-	-	-	-	rurale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variété 3 :							
Agréable	-	-	-	-	-	-	désagréable
De haut niveau (Statut)	-	-	-	-	-	-	de bas niveau (Statut)
urbaine	-	-	-	-	-	-	rural

Appendix D

Q1

N = 20	X 6
Adult TA	102
Young TA	72
Young RA	60

234

N = 20	%
Adult TA	43%
Young TA	31%
Young RA	26%

Q2

N= 20	X 6
Adult TA	84
Young TA	72
Young RA	18

174

N= 20	%
Adult TA	48%
Young TA	42%
Young RA	10%

Q3

N= 20	X 6
Adult TA	102
Young TA	72
Young RA	6

180

N= 20	%
Adult TA	57%
Young TA	40%
Young RA	3%

Appendix E

Matched-guise Technique : Scripts

Guise 1 : Variety 1

§AIO AA7N n§A?snk BIIAjxAIInk fAWA? nA?Amlu devwAr ntA? I2gIN
 AlBtBnnA el+pxof §A?epe nA?Amluuh le FedN ntA? IA semen pxoGen bB§§Añ eske
 nrNvNzNNw tOt IN le§2 aN rasN AnA ?jNnt men hAAAd IA?rAAJA b?AIAxNNr dArWA?
 x0§§nN nAmGN fNssA? IBddAr bAAG nFNNb eddrAhAm wnAtIA? INk00r
 nAtItA?AAw IA?GNjJA NjA 2nvwAr.

Guise 2 : Variety 2

fAjAn A7N ndemonDNk AIIAh jAñAfdAk fAWA? nA?Amlu IfArd ntA? I2gIN
 AlBtBnnA el+pxofA bAIAAk nA?Amluuh IAxmNs ntA? BssNmAnA ImAFNA vrN
 nAññAfdA kAAmAl IN le§2 waN rAsN AnA mAIInt mAIAxbNNG b?AIAxNNr dArWA?
 x0§nN nAtIA? fIN5A IBddAr bAAG nFNb IBbBzrA wnAtrAAsN INk00r nAtItA?AAw
 IA?GNjJA baN.

Guise 3 : Variety 3

wAAhNyA ?ArwAAñ n§AqsNNk wAqtAAh ndNNr0 devwAr ntA? I2ngIN
 gAlBtBnA el+?0stAdA bAIIAk ndNr00h IAxmNNs ntA? sNmAnA FFAJA vrN nAñ ñAfdA
 gAA? doroos waN ?AqIN AnA dNgOtNnt mAIXbNNG NjJA bessIAmA rAnN tAAIA?
 tAGA IBddAr nFNNb IB ñAbAt wBnfBqIBt INk00r IA?GNjJA nGAIIAh.

English Translation

Hello ! come on, please. I want to ask you a question. When will we do our English test ? The teacher told us perhaps we'll do it next Thursday. True ? Are we going to revise all the lessons ? oh, my head ! I'm quiet bored with this learning. Goodbye, now I have to go home to bring some money in order to go for my extra-hours. See you in the afternoon. Bye.

المخلص

يدخل هذا البحث ضمن نطاق علم اللسانيات الاجتماعية هدفه وصف و دراسة التغيير اللغوي في لغة الشباب و الأسباب المؤدية إلى تغيير اللغة أو بتعبير أدق إلى تغيير اللهجة على مستوى المفردات في مجتمع تلمسان. بما أن التغيير اللغوي ناتج عن دوافع مختلفة فالهدف من البحث هو تقديم بعض المفاهيم المتعلقة بذلك من جهة و وصف الوضع في الجزائر من منظور تاريخي واجتماعي لغوي من جهة أخرى . إضافة إلى ذلك تحاول الدراسة تسليط الضوء على العوامل التي تؤدي بالشباب لاستخدام مفردات تختلف عن تلك المستعملة من قبل الكبار و التي قد تساهم في التغيير اللغوي.

الكلمات المفتاحية التغيير اللغوي- المواقف- الشباب- السن- الجنس

Résumé

Cette étude s'inscrit dans le domaine de la sociolinguistique ayant pour but de décrire et d'examiner la variation lexicale dans la langue des jeunes y compris les motifs qui influent sur le changement de la langue ou plus précisément sur le changement du dialecte au niveau du vocabulaire dans la communauté de Tlemcen. Comme la variation et le changement sont conçus comme le résultat de diverses motivations, l'étude vise à présenter les concepts qui leur sont liés d'une part, et d'autre part, elle tente de décrire la situation en Algérie d'un point de vue historique et sociolinguistique. En outre, elle essaye de trouver les raisons pour lesquelles les jeunes utilisent un vocabulaire différent de celui des adultes, ce qui peut mener à des changements linguistiques.

Mots Clés : le changement langagier- les attitudes- les jeunes- age-sexe

Abstract

The present research work lies within the scope of sociolinguistics. It is set to describe and examine lexical variation in youth language including the motives which may affect language change or more precisely dialect change at the level of vocabulary in Tlemcen speech community. As variation and change are conceived as the outcome of various motivations, the study aims at presenting the concepts related to them on the one hand, and at dealing with the description of the situation in Algeria from a historical and a sociolinguistic perspective on the other. In addition to that, it attempts to shed light on the reasons that make the youth use a vocabulary that is different from the one of adults which thus may lead to language change.

Key Words : Sociolinguistics- language change- attitudes- youth- age-gender

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**Language Change and Lexical Variation in
Youth Language:**

Tlemcen Speech Community

Summary

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Academic Year: 2011/2012

Summary

Within a sociolinguistic scope, the present research work is set to describe and examine lexical variation in youth language including the motives which lead to language change or more precisely dialect change at the level of vocabulary in Tlemcen speech community. The dissertation concentrates on three main objectives : First, it focuses on the different reasons that lead youngsters (mainly adolescents) use a specific language including innovations and how these innovations are established and integrated as part of colloquial Arabic in the whole speech community. Second, it investigates the role of age and gender in language change. Finally, it examines adults' attitudes towards youth language.

In order to analyse lexical variation in youth language, we apply the Labovian paradigm taking into consideration the factors relevant to the speakers' social and cultural identity within the society they belong to, while adults' attitudes are approached on the basis of Lambert's matched-guise technique.

At first, we are concerned with the theoretical part which aims at presenting the concepts related to language variation and change. Then, we deal with the situation in Algeria from a historical and a sociolinguistic perspective. In addition, we try to explore youth language and culture in the Algerian society. Finally, through the use of different methods of data collection and elicitation techniques, such as questionnaires and interviews, this study attempts to shed light on the reasons why the youth use a different vocabulary from that of adults as well as the impact on language change in terms of lexis.

The overall findings are elaborated in the general conclusion which confirms that the results of our study seem to support the hypotheses related to the mentioned objectives. Finally, some suggestions are made for further research.

In our everyday experience we witness a generation gap between youngsters and adults in terms of communication. Many examples of vocabulary items used by teenagers and young adults often seem to need 'translation' for older age groups. So, communication between generations of people is not always easy ; while people

of older generations tend to be conservative, younger ones do their best to be innovative in style, behaviour, dressing and language as well.

Since language is the mirror of society, by using it, people try not only to communicate meanings but also « to establish and maintain social relations », as Trudgill (1974) says. Accordingly, the field of sociolinguistics has always been interested in the use of language in the socio-cultural context.

As the subject of language is worth studying, its variation and change have for many years prompted interest and sociolinguists in their investigations attempt to explain the factors and motivations involved in the process of language change. Among the various factors that affect language change, age has often been studied as the one that locates people in the society and causes language variation.

In our everyday interactions, language change may not be apparent . But in fact, languages do evolve and this is clearly noticeable in communication between members of different generations, mainly between adolescents and adults. We notice nowadays that the language or more precisely the dialect (as we are concerned with Tlemcen Arabic) used by adolescents and young adults in our society is sometimes 'bizarre' in the ears of adults because youngsters tend to code-switch, code-mix, and borrow words from foreign languages especially the French language due to the influence of the French culture on them, on the one hand, and the spread of the new technologies, the evolution of the mass media and the internet on the other. The result is the use of new structures and words giving birth to innovations that did not exist a few years ago but seem to be gradually adopted and integrated in our language, though some lexical items and expressions might be ephemeral.

With the spread of science and technology, the present world is changing very fast and in order to follow the flow of human development, Algeria has entered the world of globalisation. The advent of the internet, for example, has changed people's lives making them share common interests, exchange ideas and communicate with each other sometimes sharing a common language.

As variability is persistent and omnipresent in language and because languages do not vary only in different countries but also within a speech

community, this research work seeks to discover more about patterns of linguistic variability and change in Tlemcen.

In general terms, this research work has the objective of finding out the motivations which lead to language variation and subsequent change, especially during the period of adolescence on the one hand, and to shed light on adults' attitudes towards youth language on the other. The scope of research lies in the following research questions:

- * What makes adolescents use a specific type of language and how does their use of innovations affect language use at the lexical level ?
- * Is lexical variation gender-related ? What gender contributes most in language change ?
- * To what extent does youth language affect adults' speech and what are older people's attitudes towards youngsters' language use?

As the dissertation attempts to explain the patterns of language variation and change in Tlemcen Arabic (henceforth TA), it will check some hypotheses which start from the following assumptions:

- * Various factors and motives make teenagers contribute in language change, the most important one being age, in addition to other social factors.
- * Gender constitutes an important sociolinguistic variable since boys appear to be frequently using innovations and borrowings in their speech, a persistent linguistic behaviour that might lead to language change.
- * Adults' speech is sometimes affected by youth language, but in most cases it is stable and this makes older people show negative attitudes towards innovations and change.

The present investigative research has the objective of finding out patterns of lexical variation in TA which correspond to social factors, mainly age and gender differences. Three interrelated chapters study the different aspects of the topic.

The aim of chapter one is to provide an overview of the theoretical guiding principles about the most important aspects and concepts of language variation and language change exploring these in correlation with social factors such as age and gender. It also attempts to provide a broad theoretical description of youth language.

The second chapter will be devoted to the linguistic situation in Algeria dealing with some concepts such as bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, innovations.

At the outset of the last chapter, a concise summary about the methodology conducted including data collection. The main results are then discussed, analysed, and interpreted as objectively as possible to check the validity of the aforementioned hypotheses.

The main focus of this dissertation is then to shed light on the differences between youth and adults' language in terms of lexis since youth language has a high rate of circulation through the input of new words and expressions on the one hand, and loss of older ones on the other. Finally, the purpose of the research is the study of lexical variation in TA, showing differences in vocabulary between young people and adults and how these correlate with social factors, mainly age and gender.

The research methodology will investigate lexical variation and its impact on language use among the youth in Tlemcen speech community. We have used the triangular approach which includes three parts : the first part will include two questionnaires, one given to young people and the other to adults from Tlemcen. The second will deal with interviews and the third one consists of the matched-guise technique which will mainly approach adults' attitudes towards youth language.

Our data is collected from a sample of 160 participants from Tlemcen speech community. 80 males and 80 females falling under four different age groups [11-14], [15-18], [19-23], [35-65]. Age is taken into consideration as a principal

criterion of demarcation between the informants. Those of [15-18] are my pupils in Yaghmoracen secondary school. The others are their friends, brothers, sisters, cousins, parents, uncles, aunts or neighbours. I have explained to my pupils how to fill in the questionnaire then, I asked them to explain the procedure to the other informants.

The inquiries we will investigate are mainly about lexical variation and language change among the youth in Tlemcen city today and the degree of its impact on adults' speech in addition to the attitudes of adults towards this language. For doing so, the primary research instruments on which our study is based are questionnaires, interviews and a matched-guise test conducted in the area under investigation with informants both males and females, young and adults in the speech community of Tlemcen .

Research Instruments

1. The Questionnaire

The first instrument of research in this study is a questionnaire with a group of informants (young people) by which some questions are asked in trying to give some indications about youth language, their use of innovations, code switching, code mixing...

The second questionnaire is given to adults in order to evaluate the degree of influence of youth language on adults. All the informants get the questionnaire written in MSA, the questions asked to the youth and to adults are the same except for the first, the third and the fourth questions. The first question for the youth is : Do you use the same way of speaking of your parents or adults in general ? In parallel the one for adults is : Do you use the same way of speaking as your children or young people in general ?, whereas, the fourth question for the youth is : Do you talk with your friends as you talk with adults ? For adults it is : Do you talk with your friends as you talk with the youth ?

In fact, the questionnaire is an important tool the investigator has at his disposal as it enables him to collect information in a short time. The type of questionnaire

administered during the fieldwork contained two types of questions : open-ended and closed questions.

- **The aim of the questions** : The questions were destined to achieve a specific purpose which is answering the research issues.

- **The order of the questions** : In order to follow a logical order in asking the questions, I started by investigating the difference between youth and adults' language in terms of lexical variation and moved to the influence of teens' language on adults' speech.

The questionnaire consisted of a series of questions that the informants had to answer. Then the answers were checked for their completeness and accuracy. They were found to be largely complete except for a few of them. So, they were not taken into consideration and did not affect our research since from the beginning we gave a sufficient number of questionnaires for each sample of age (35 for each).

a- The participants

As already mentioned, the participants involved in this investigation live in Tlemcen city. Most of the data were collected in Yaghmoracen secondary school. It is worth mentioning that in spite of the fact that the participants live in Tlemcen city, many of them are not native speakers of Tlemcen Arabic in addition to their wide range of socio-economic and diverse environment backgrounds.

The questionnaires employed in this sociolinguistic study have been conducted with a sample population of 160 participants between the age of 11 and 65 falling in four age groups : **[11-14], [15-18], [19-23], [35-65]**. The informants were stratified by age and gender.

2. The Interview

Interviews are used in order to look for information based on emotions, feelings and experiences, on the one hand, and on privileged insights and experiences, on the other. Thus, interviews are considered as a primary method of data collection.

In order to obtain a more in depth understanding of the impact of youth language on adults', sixteen (16) face-to-face individual interviews were directed for this research (i.e. eight interviews for each category : four for males and four for females of each category). Some main points were taken into consideration :

- f- The interviews were conducted in an informal setting (streets, bus station, school yard). We have chosen this relaxing atmosphere in order to help the interviewees give their opinions about language use without any constraints.
- g- The interviews were conducted in the local variety, i.e. TA.
- h- The interviewees were free to choose whatever variety they preferred when answering.
- i- The duration of the interviews : in most cases, the interviews lasted about 10 to 15 minutes maximum.
- j- The interviews started after collecting data from questionnaires.

During the interviews, we took handwritten notes of key points. In some cases especially when the interviewee has not enough time to devote to me I tape recorded the interviews. At the end, all the draft notes of the interviews were typed and summarized in order to be then analysed.

a- The Interview Questions

The following is a list of questions used in the interviews. In all interviews the method was the same, it consisted principally in an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee under the form of discussion that lasted 15 to 20 minutes.

Q1 (To young people) : Why don't you speak like your parents or like adults in general ?

- The aim of the question : Investigating the reasons and motives which lead young people to use a particular language.

Q2 (To adults) : What is your point of view about youth language ?

- The aim of the question : investigating adults' attitudes towards youth language.

3. The Matched-Guise Technique

The Matched-Guise Test is a sociolinguistic experiment technique employed by a method and its most related research in two or more guises, which has been lately known as matched-guise technique or matched-guise model. This experiment was first introduced by Lambert in 1960's to determine attitudes held by bilingual French Canadians toward the languages in contact (Davies & Elder 2004 : 189). The procedure in our work aims at evaluating adults' attitudes towards youth language. The test was carried out by twenty (20) adults (10 men and 10 women aged between [35-57]. They were teachers (colleagues) in Yaghmoracen Secondary School who were very helpful (I asked them to listen to the three varieties and to fill in the questionnaire).

The experiment intends to elicit the informants' reactions to the different varieties tape-recorded by a single speaker (a girl of 14 years old) in three different 'guises' representing the following :

- Variety one : Adult language (using TA).
- Variety two : Youth language (using TA).
- Variety three : Youth language (using RA).

According to the matched-guise test, the informants are called judges because they are asked to judge and evaluate the speakers of the different 'guises' on a number of dimensions.

4- Interpretation of the findings

This section summarises and concludes our work. It also discusses some implications of the investigation.

As we are interested in language change and lexical variation in youth language, linguistic choices are to be studied in accordance with social motivations since language is part of the society. Downes (1984 :15) believes that : « Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages which require reference to social, including contextual

factors in their explanation ». So, throughout the data analysis we have attempted to shed light on the motives which lead young people use a 'different' language, a language 'specific' for them. Two important criteria which are pertinent to the process of language change are age and gender. These were taken into consideration all along our investigation.

Let us start with the motives for language change. Investigating the social origins of language change has gained much importance since Labov's (1963) article on Martha's Vineyard. Since then, many works in sociolinguistics have proved that age, as a sociolinguistic variable, and as a part of the speaker's identity, is among the most important social attributes of linguistic variation (Trudgill :1986, Romaine : 1989, Labov : 1994, Chambers :1995 and Kerswill :1996).

Joining theory to practice with reference to our findings, the results show that the youth use innovations, borrowing...because of many reasons : Firstly, they confirm that they do it in order to show off (see section3.1/ Q 5), they want to be different from the others and to express themselves through a particular vocabulary. What happens is that because adolescents experience some physical changes in the body, they want to display in a relative way reactions to these changes. At this critical age, 'some of the most dramatic changes seem to come about' (Kerswill 1996 :196). As Chambers (2003 :187) says. this can be expressed in « distinctive outer markings...It is also marked in a linguistically superficial way, by the use of a distinctive vocabulary called slang, in which terms become fashionable and serve as markers of in-group members, and then quickly become outmoded in order to mark their users as outsiders » .

This is what we found in results to Q4 (see 3.2.) where young people, mainly teenagers, use a common language with their peers (of the same age group) i.e. in-group members different from out-group members.

In addition, the results show that among the motives which lead the youth to use a 'different' vocabulary is the influence of the society on the one hand (the street), and of the media on the other (see Q7 section 3.3) such as : TV, internet...Consequently, by the introduction of the internet and of the parabolic

satellites in Algeria, the youth are exposed to extensive contact with Western and Eastern cultures and thus, languages and dialects.

So, it is of great importance to mention the role of the society in modelling the speakers' language and this was also one of Labov's greatest interests when studying sociolinguistic variation. Because speakers live in different socio-cultural environments, their language is exposed to variation and thus to change. For this, we have to postulate that the speech community is an important factor in language change since it provides a great influence on the speaker who is a member of it. Referring to section 3.1/Q2, we found that females are really affected by the society i.e. by Tlemcen speech community since more than 50% do use TA.

Other social factors such as social class, education, social status play an important role in language change. Yet, it is age and gender which are among the most important ones as they 'exert a tacit and largely irrepressible effect' (Chambers 2003 :7).

Considering the role of the media in general and of TV in particular, results showed that teenagers (more importantly females) are highly influenced by TV (see section 3.1 /Q7). The mass media play a significant role in conducting change in language. In Algeria, for example, people spend more time watching television than any other activity apart from school and sleep. Moreover, we have found that the internet also affects youth' language (see section 3.1/Q7) mainly males.

One common feature among the youth in Tlemcen speech community, and supposedly in the rest of Algeria, is the use of innovations (see section 3.1/ Q6 +part 2) such as : [bezrA], [ħAbAAt], [wAhjA] including borrowings such as [nriskN], [zmAgrA], [nAvNgN]... Colonial expansion, science and commerce have all contributed in their introduction and spread. We have to mention that French still plays a considerable role in youth language in comparison with MSA (see section 3.1/Q8-Q9) since it is the result of a long period of language contact (French colonialism) that lasted about one hundred thirty years in Algeria. In this respect, two sorts of change are distinguished : a contact- induced change where the inherited language is retained and a shift-induced change wherein the speakers shift to the language they come in contact with (Hickey : 2003). In our case, there is

much evidence that every speech includes a situation where speakers keep their inherited language (Arabic) and one where they switch to the language they are in contact with (French).

5- Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to bring to light findings related to the motives which lead to lexical variation and language change in youth language, on the one hand, and to the adults' attitudes towards it and the degree of youth language influence on the adults, on the other.

From the data analysis we have found that first, various motives lead adolescents to use a 'different' and 'fashioned' language, the most important ones being the impact of the street culture including the speech community, the influence of the Mass Media, in particular TV and the internet, the language contact situation, education and other factors but most importantly are age and gender since much language change occurs at different ages and among both genders.

Second, and with reference to the results, we have observed that in [11-18], most of adolescents do not speak the way adults do, they rather use new expressions such as innovations since at this age they are generally affected by a set of transitions: biological, social, cognitive and emotional (see 1.9.1.1). Contrariwise, according to the results of Q1/Section 3, in [19-23], 37% of them start using adults' language, more importantly females who seem to be affected by it. In [35-65], the great majority of adults is not influenced by youth vocabulary but we discovered, and as expected, that innovations are really present at this age since 15% of adults frequently use them (see fig.3.18) and that 7.5% of them do frequently use youth language (see fig.3.4); this concerns males more than females (see fig.3.6) which really proves that adults' language is somehow affected by youth language (i.e. it is not always stable).

Third, throughout the interview and the matched-guise technique and, as expected, most of the adults showed a negative attitude towards youth language (since the positive attitudes were towards the adults' language). Moreover, we have found that the least appreciated variety in youth language was the rural one.

To sum up, we can deduce that language change occurs mainly during adolescence, it is caused more importantly by males, whereas in late adolescence and early adulthood females play an important role in language maintenance since they are more conservative than males in using an innovative vocabulary. This was also proved by a study of lexical change that shows that females are slightly more conservative in their usage of “new” lexical forms than males (Bayard 1989:32).

As a conclusion, we ascertain that most of the hypothesised ideas converge ideally with the actual findings.

6- General Conclusion

Because the study of lexical variation and its impact on language has always been of great importance and interests in the field of sociolinguistics, the aim of this dissertation as formulated at the outset of the study, is to find out the factors and motives of language change in youth speech. Moreover, one particular side is to estimate whether gender constitutes an important sociolinguistic variable. Finally, this work has tried to investigate the attitudinal dimensions of adults towards youth language.

The dissertation includes a theoretical part devoted to the review of literature in addition to the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria, and a practical part which includes the methodology and the analysis of the data collected. Different methods are used in collecting data. First, a questionnaire and an interview were set to find out the reasons which make youngsters use a ‘different’ language, and to demonstrate the role of gender in language change. Then, a matched-guise technique was introduced to analyse adults’ attitudes towards youth speech.

The present study is conducted in order to explain the reasons behind the adoption of new borrowed words (innovations) mainly from French to Algerian dialect and the contribution of the youth in the phenomenon of language change. From the investigations, it was found that the younger generation in Tlemcen (and supposedly in Algeria as a whole) represented by adolescents and young adults, is responsible for language change as they shift from Algerian Arabic to a new variety that includes innovations resulting in highly mixed speech with a dominance of

French, since this latter is considered more prestigious and practical than Arabic. From all what has been said, one might deduce that the youth in Algeria tend to modify their language in a crucial way leading to a shift from the established colloquial variety based on the Arabic language to the emergence of a new variety which involves language change. As a result, we can say that age, as a sociolinguistic variable, plays a prominent role in language change in terms of vocabulary which allows us to confirm our first hypothesis.

In addition, the analysis of the data has shown that during adolescence males tend to use innovations more than females . It is worth noting that innovations are integrated in speech after they have undergone morphological and phonological changes to fit the structural rules of the Algerian dialect, then, those new words are firmly adopted in the speech of the young generation and sometimes even in adults' one until they spread to the whole society leading to language change (or more exactly, a dialect change). Moreover, it was noticed that the need for borrowing and using innovations was not only because their equivalents do not exist in AA but because the younger generation finds that their language is poor and inferior comparing to French, so they feel that they cannot express themselves without referring to French words. This is confirmed by the study of Fasold (1984 in Kamwangamalu, 2003 :227) about language shift, in which he states that the need of adopting a new language is : « a feeling that the language being shifted from is inferior to the one being shifted to ». So, we can state that the decrease of the cultural values among youngsters, the influence of the occidental cultures, especially the French, one on their education and habits have led to the wide use of borrowings and the increasing bilingualism which procures in the youth a feeling of having more prestige and occupy a more important status in the society. As a result, we assert that in addition to age, gender is also a relevant sociolinguistic variable.

Fortunately, the results concerning adults' attitudes towards youth language reveal that adults' speech is in most cases stable. This does not mean that it is not affected by youth' language but the degree of youth influence is not very high since most of the adults (especially women in Tlemcen speech community) show negative attitudes towards youth language and try to maintain their dialect. As a

conclusion, we ascertain that most of the hypothesised ideas are confirmed by the actual findings.

The sum of results has indicated that language change at the lexical level in Tlemcen is mainly caused by the youth who inculcate new words and concepts that are not part of the Algerian culture through the process of borrowing and using innovations. In fact, this phenomenon is the result of languages in contact and bilingualism, and thus becomes a natural and vital practice in the Algerian society.

This study has attempted to examine the impact of youth language on adults' one and identify the different sociolinguistic factors that emerge in youth speech and lead to language change. In the future, it would be interesting to be able to supplement the findings of this study to check whether other variables may lead to language change. In addition, it would be valuable to investigate why adults' language is most of the time stable. In other words one can try to explore what happens to the youth when they enter adulthood.

