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Youth Innovations in Algerian Speech: Tlemcen's Youth

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Dedications

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Soumia & Dalal

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Abstract

The present work puts into examination youth innovative linguistic productions among Tlemcen university students. It mainly emphasizes the lexicosemantic level's items used by both youth genders. It investigates how youngsters bring into life new words and how these contribute to language change and in addition to the motives leading to its spread over the whole speech community. Two research tools have been devised; a questionnaire and a word list, in order to test the hypotheses. Both of them have been administered to first year university students since they represent Tlemcenian youngsters. Accordingly, this research work shows that different data methods produce different results which seem to support the fact that adolescence period plays a prominent role in linguistic innovation and youth show their awareness of which code to select, as well as, the apparent role of social media and the globalized era cannot be ignored in the diffusion of such words and phrases. From this, it is possible to say that under the general umbrella term of 'youth language', a large number of varieties can be found according to geographical, situational, social and personal variables.

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List of Abbreviations

CA: Classical Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

AA: Algerian Arabic

H: High variety

L: Low variety

CS: Code switching

List of Phonetic Symbols

	1
t /ta:r/ It flew t /tæsi/ Mine S /sæ:m/ He swims γ /γæli/ Expensive h /hemmæm/ Bath f /fu:l/ Broad beans χ /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
t /tæsi/ Mine γ /ςæ:m/ He swims γ /γæli/ Expensive ħ /hemmæm/ Bath f /fu:l/ Broad beans χ /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
ς /ςæ:m/ He swims γ /γæli/ Expensive ħ /ħemmæm/ Bath f /fu:l/ Broad beans χ /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
γ /γæli/ Expensive h /ħemmæm/ Bath f /fu:l/ Broad beans x /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
h /ħemmæm/ Bath f /fu:l/ Broad beans χ /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	
χ /χəmsa/ Five q /qarja/ Village	
q /qarja/ Village	
d /denja/ Life	
,	
k /Kæjən/ There is	
l /lli:l/ Night	
r /rəmla/ Sand	
m /mdi:na/ Town	
z /zzi:n/ Nice	
n /nsi:t/ Forgot	
s /saħħa/ All right	
h /huwa/ Him	
\(\int \) \(\subseteq \) \(\subseteq \) Handsome	
w /wæ:d/ River	
ş /şja:m/ fasting	
j /jæbəs/ Dry	
g /gælli/ He told me	

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General introduction

Each language has its own characteristics and reflects the society and the groups that use it. Through time, every society undergoes great changes which influence its language. Due to this change, new items are added to this language and old-fashioned ones are replaced or just disappear. Many studies have been carried out on this topic mainly by comparing the speech of the young generation and that of the old ones. However, the present work focuses only on a generation not far advanced in life, coupled with an attempt to bring a current understanding of language practices among youth who are said to be unable to produce correctly in an appropriate language texts expressing emotions, feelings, experiences... etc.

Linguistic creativity in Tlemcen's young people is primarily related to social behaviour which is most of the time a language with a rich lexicon even if it is sometimes seen as 'vulgar'. Correspondingly, particular attention is paid to the lexico-semantic level. This research work takes place at Tlemcen university taking first year students as a sample to shed light on the linguistic behaviour of youth and their contributions to language change.

Three research questions are raised as follows:

- 1. Why do the youth innovate in their speech?
- 2. How does the younger generation contribute to language change?
- 3 What are the factors that support those innovations?

In an attempt to answer these questions, the following hypotheses were elaborated:

- 1. Youngsters want to be updated so as to cope with today's globalized world.
- 2. The prestige and the influence of French or/and English culture which leads them to borrow, code switch or give new meanings to some existing words.

3. Social networks may be seen among the factors that support innovations like *facebook, twitter...* or the mass media and others.

The form of this research work is structured as follows:

The first chapter provides a review of the relevant literature including sociolinguistics as a field of research, a distinction between language and dialect with their definitions, talking about language variation and change including the different variables. Then, linguistic innovations and language attitudes and identity are presented to conclude with motives leading to innovation.

Chapter two deals with the linguistic landscape of Algeria and varieties spoken in Tlemcen, the field work, is portrayed and the linguistic movers and shakers have been reviewed as a concluding part of this chapter. The third chapter stands as the practical phase of this work providing a detailed description of the methods used in this study: the sampling, the instrumentation and the procedures used. The chapter ends with an interpretation of the data collected to reach answers to research questions and to validate the hypotheses.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

Language is a means of communication but at the same time varies. It varies at different levels and due to many factors. The present chapter is an attempt to provide an overall explanation of those new words coined by youngsters considered as innovated patterns of the language. Moving from general to specific obstruction, sociolinguistics as a field of research will be briefly mentioned as well as a distinction between a language and a dialect made by defining both of them in addition to the social variables involved when studying language change and variation. It tries to focus on linguistic innovations, their diffusion and finally, motives leading to linguistic innovation as a phenomenon.

1.2. Sociolinguistics as a Field of Research

Every language is a social product and every society is self-constituted via language. The study of the relationship between the two leads to the field of sociolinguistics. Although social aspects of language have often caught linguists' attention, it was not before the mid-twentieth century that sociolinguistics emerged as a sub-field of linguistics.

Sociolinguistics is a hybrid discipline between linguistics and sociology that can help to understand why individuals speak differently in various social contexts and help to uncover the social relationships in a community. In this sense, Holmes (2001: 1) states that: "sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used".

In addition, sociolinguistics enables to discover certain information about the speakers from their speech, without direct questioning, including gender, approximate age, regional and ethnic origins, level of education and their attitudes towards the listener. Hence, this allows the application of sociolinguistics to everyday life.

With a broad range of interests, sociolinguistics investigates some aspects of the interaction between language and society. In this vein, Trudgill (2003: 123) points out that "sociolinguistics includes anthropological linguistics, dialectology, discourse analysis, ethnography of speaking, geolinguistics, and the social psychology of language and sociology of language". In simple words, sociolinguistics is the study of language in use.

1.3. Language vs. Dialect

One of the most difficult theoretical issues in sociolinguistics is how to make the distinction between language and dialect.

1.3.1. Language Definition

The major thing that distinguishes human beings from animals is basically our way to communicate with each other using language, since humans are the only creatures on earth that are endowed with this gift of speaking a language.

Many definitions have been proposed to give a precise definition of language as the disagreement lies on whether or not a language must have a written and/or oral component while the agreement is that language is a rule based on a system of signs. In Sapir's words (1921: 8) "language is purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols". (Quoted in Lyons, 1981: 3).

Another view says that language has many different aspects: it can be viewed as a social fact, a psychological state, and a set of structures or as a collection of outputs. Also, language pervades social life; it is the principal vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge, and the primary means by which the human being gains access to the content of others' minds. However, language can be standard or vernacular.

1.3.1.1. Standard Language

A standard language is a variety of language that is used by governments, in schools, in media and for international communication; it is the version of language that tends to be taught to foreigners. For example, there are different standard varieties of the English language in the world like North American English, Australian English, Indian English... etc. However, differences between these standard varieties may appear in terms of pronunciation and few in terms of grammar.

Standard language may arise when a certain dialect starts to be used in a written form, also this dialect must pass through the process of standardization. Moreover, this latter is undertaken for political purposes, and it transforms a 'mere' dialect into a language by adding power and prestige to it. Weinreich (1945: 13) supports this view by saying: "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy".

To be called a standard language, a dialect has to undergo four stages:

- 1. *Selection*: since variation is inherent to the language, selection seems to be the easiest solution to minimize if not to eliminate the high degree of variability found in a speech community. This process involves selecting one of the varieties to be elevated to the status of the standard.
- 2. *Codification*: at this stage, the norms and rules of grammar, use, etc., are set down in books and dictionaries as its correct forms are learned and used by people.
- 3. *Elaboration*: for the selected variety, it must be able to discharge a whole range of functions that it may be called upon to discharge, including abstract and intellectual functions. Where it lacks resources to do so, these functions are developed.
- 4. *Acceptance*: the selected variety should be accepted by members of a community as a norm variety (language) through the promotion, spread, establishment and enforcement of its rules. Whereas, the other varieties are dialects which tend implicitly to get stigmatised as lesser forms.

Indeed, Haugen (1972: 110) simplified this in the form of the following table:

	Form	Function
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration

Table 1.3.1. Haugen's Stages of Standardization (Haugen 1972)

1.3.1.2. Vernacular Language

The term 'vernacular language' is contrasted with standard language. It is among the significant terms in the field of sociolinguistics. Studies on vernacular languages gain interest during the twentieth century, but with slower development. Yet, with the rise of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, they became increasingly prominent. Furthermore, the vernacular speech of a particular community is the ordinary speech used by its people, such as Chicago, Liverpool or Cordoba... etc. On the one hand, the vernacular is noticeably different from the standard form of the language. On the other hand, vernaculars, which emphasize local and regional difference, must be learnt in the neighbourhood, in locally-based families and social networks, hence, they are tied up with local flavour and membership.

For Labov (1972a: 208), a vernacular may refer to "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech" and that people have negative attitudes towards the vernacular since it is considered as "low, uneducated or low prestige speech". (Labov 2006: 86)

1.3.2. Dialect Definition

The term 'dialect' has become well known that many disciplines endeavour to define. One common myth about language is that a dialect is always somebody's peculiar way of speaking, never our own. Yet, the truth is that everybody speaks a dialect, it may be standard or non standard, urban or rural but it is a distinctive form

of the language. In a broader frame, Hudson (1996: 32) claims that "a variety called a language contains more items that one called a dialect". In the same sense, Edwards (2009: 63) adds "a dialect is a variety of language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent)"; therefore, as different forms of the same language, dialects are of a like value since they "are potentially functionally equivalent" (*ibid*: 60).

Linguistically speaking, dialects are usually thought of as varieties of a language, i.e., sub-divisions of a given language. Indeed, Haugen (1966: 99) highlights the idea that "hence every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect".

Every language has its dialects, therefore, users of a language are essentially speakers of its dialects, i.e., every speaker of a language uses at least one dialect or/and accent. This latter is sometimes confused with dialect. The language, then, cannot linguistically always be conceived as a totally independent notion. What Romaine (2000: 1) talked about "the notions of *language* and *dialect* are fundamentally social and not linguistic construct". The study of dialect is known as dialectology, commonly regarded as a subfield of sociolinguistics.

Most commonly in academic literature, dialects are simply different but related forms of the same language and they are usually mutually intelligible. Meanwhile, dialects involve vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. They come in various overlapping shapes and sizes. Rather, each individual speaker has a unique language variety that is called an idiolect.

To avoid negative connotations that the term dialect may engender, sociolinguists favour the term 'variety' or 'code' for their neutralities to refer to any identifiable form of language. Dialects are generally discussed in terms of social or regional varieties.

1.3.2.1. Regional Dialect

As its name implies, a regional dialect is a variety that is associated with a given regional place. For Romaine (2000: 2), regional dialects tell "[...] where we come from". Moreover, it is easy to observe varieties in a dialect since, while travelling throughout a wide geographical area where a language is spoken; one notices differences in pronunciation, and even in the choice of vocabulary words and syntax.

Nevertheless, regional dialects tend to reveal minor differences from their immediate neighbours, and greater ones from distant varieties. Thus, one demonstrates the existence of a chain of dialects from east to west borders of Algeria where there is no linguistic breaks in this chain. For example, Tlemcen and due to its geographical position neighbouring the Moroccan city Oujda, Tlemcenian speakers are able to understand the dialect of Oujda easily than that of cities in eastern Algeria (like Constantine, Annaba,... etc). This is called 'dialect continuum', which sequentially arranged over space. The dialect, then, at each end of the continuum may be little unintelligible.

Wardhaugh (2006: 49) adds that "whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principle one apparently being social class, religion and ethnicity". Here, the quotation reveals the difference between regional dialects and social dialects in the sense that while the former is geographically based, the latter is socially based.

1.3.2.2. Social Dialect

Social dialect originates among social groups and is attached to a number of factors (social class, religion and ethnicity). Accordingly, Siegel (2010: 5) defines a social dialect as "a variety of a language spoken by a particular group based on social characteristics other than geography".

Social dialect or sociolect, as it is also named, is analysed through a recorded speech from various social backgrounds. An example of that is Yinglish (a variety of English composed of Yiddish + English) used by Yinglish speakers who have settled in America; and this is not the case of the Algerian context where the social dialect does not exist. Moreover, any social dialect would be a variety linked with a particular social class making it distinguishable from others. Labov was one of the pioneers working on social dialect since1960s. Yule, G. (1935: 190) points out that social dialects are "...varieties of language used by groups defined according to class, education, occupation, age, sex, and a number of other social parameters".

Summing up, it is difficult to argue with the propositions that speech variation should not be based on just social and regional dialects but the acceptance of their validity as source of complexity. Within the Algerian situation, dialects are only regional which may be distributed in geographical lines called 'isoglosses' on maps representing a boundary for each area in order to distinguish a dialect from another. For example, the expression 'he told me' is realised in different manners: [?ali] is used in Tlemcen town whereas it is [kali] in Ghazaouet, [qali] in Algiers and Nedroma and other speech communities and [gali] mostly in the other regions along the Algerian territory.

1.4. Language Change and Variation

Language change is the principal concern of historical linguistics which sheds light on linguistic changes by describing, classifying and finally explaining them. Language change is not the result of internal variation within a particular speech community, but rather an outcome of the contact between speakers of different varieties. Furthermore, change in language is a temporal rule in the sense that no linguistic genre is excluded from evolution (Aitchison, 2001; Meyerhoff, 2006). Change, then, is an innate rule of nature since nothing stand apart unchanging; language, as any other aspect of community, is subject to change over time like: clothing, hairstyle, government policies... etc. As Saussure (1915/1959: 77) states

"time changes all things; there is no reason why language should escape this universal law". While in Crystal's words (2007: 357) it "... would stand still only if society did. A world of unchanging linguistic excellence, based on the brilliance of earlier literary forms, exists only in fantasy".

Contact between languages may induce speakers to import forms and usages from other languages, requiring new names to new objects, new concepts and new activities i.e., borrowings while old objects and activities may vanish away with their names. Besides, Crystal believes that "the only languages that do not change are dead ones" (*ibid*). Labov (2001: xii) adds that language change can be readily observed nowadays saying "in spite of the expansion and homogenization of the mass media, linguistic change is proceeding at a rapid rate..." meaning that language changes promptly even with the wide spread of the mass media. In the same society, old and the new few generations have different language behaviour. Hence, variables are of two types: linguistic and social.

1.4.1. Linguistic Variables

In their attempt to describe quantitative variation, linguists have developed the notion of the linguistic variable as an analytical construct which enables them to contrast people's use of different variants. Generally speaking, a variable is, as its name implies, something that varies within a given set of values and are found at all levels of the linguistic structure: phonology, morphology and lexis. Moreover, any linguistic variable has at least two realizations and sometimes even more. These realizations are called 'variants' which can be substituted for one another without changing the meaning of the word.

In fact, it was Labov who coined the concept of 'linguistic variable' in accordance with his work on Martha's Vineyard (1963) "to serve as the focus for the study of a speech community" (Labov, 1972a: 7-8). For him, a linguistic variable is "a linguistic feature with ... [a] range of variation" (*ibid*). In the study of language variation, linguistic variables function as tools which linguists employ to

investigate, recognize and analyse particular speech patterns. In the same response, Llamas *et al.* (2007: 221) define the linguistic variable as "a descriptive and analytical unit used to describe and quantify patterns of variation in speech and writing". Similarly, Wardhaugh (2006: 143) describes the term as "a linguistic item which has identifiable variants". For example, words like *singing* and *fishing* are sometimes pronounced as [sɪŋɪn] and [fɪʃɪn]. The final sound in these words may be called the linguistic variable (ing) with its two variants *singing* and *singin*. The variable (-ing) has two identifiable variants either [-ing] or [-in]. Indeed, variation has long triggered linguists' interests, but the use of linguistic variables has added new dimensions to linguistic investigation.

1.4.2. Social Variables

A social variable can simply be defined as any non-linguistic feature which has a correlation with the use of a particular linguistic variable. In addition to that, it determines and influences language variation. Similar to the linguistic variable, the social variable can occur in different ways. There is a wide range of social differences between speakers which have been found to relate to linguistic variation. Possible social factors that have already been investigated are age, gender, social class, regional background of the speaker and his /her group identity. For example, if the age of a speaker factor has a connection with the choice of one particular variant of a linguistic variable; then, one can say that age is a social variable. To a lesser extent, the focus of this study is on age, gender, social class and social interaction.

1.4.3. Variables Involved in Linguistic Change

Generation after generation, pronunciations evolve, new words are borrowed or coined, and morphology varies. Before a language can change, speakers must adopt new words and then, spread them through the community. It is believed that language changes due to age, gender, social status, etc.

1.4.3.1. Age

Age has a weighty role in language variation. Most sociolinguists agree on the fact that young speakers show differences in speech from old speakers. In a broader sense, old people are generally thought of as conservative while young people are generally regarded as leaders of linguistic innovation. Sankoff (2004) argues that "speakers might be changing various aspects of their language over the course of their lives". (Quoted in Fought, 2004: 121).

In the change continuum, old speakers may change their speech towards the direction of change. If, as a rule, all speakers of a community use more tokens of one variant at a certain age and more tokens of the same variant at another age, the variable is said to be age-graded. For example, a child calls his mother /mama/ but when he gets older he varies the same term to /mma/, /lwalida/, /lasju:z/, /ʃibanija/ and sometimes addresses her even with her name. The phenomenon of age-grading (Hockett 1950) has been described as: "a pattern of use in which linguistic items are used by people of a particular age who then stop using it when they grow older" (Hudson 1998: 15). In addition to that, it is "one of the major issues in contemporary sociolinguistics" (Tagliamonte 2012: 247). Age-graded linguistic variation, then, can be seen as a typical change in the overall speech behaviour of the individual speaker as he/she moves through life.

It is natural that innovations proved most prevalent in the younger age groups. As stated by Eckert and Rickford (2001: 123), "... younger people tend to adopt new forms more quickly than older people do and use them extensively". This phenomenon is clearly obvious in our community where some words have been replaced by totally different ones. An example of this would be the word 'خوخي' / x u:xi/ meaning (pink) which is used nowadays only by some old people, whereas youngsters rather use the French word 'rose' [Roz]. In accordance with age, gender

also plays an important role in language variation as linguistic differences between males and females exist.

1.4.3.2. Gender

Long time ago, gender has gained sociolinguists' attention since it has a significant function in determining language variation. Human race is categorised into either male/female. In reality, sex and gender are two different concepts in the field of sociolinguistics; the relationship between the two concepts is that sex is a biological classification while gender is the social representation of this biological notion (Eckert & Mc Connel-Ginet, 2003). However, the concept of sex will be out of use in this study.

The investigation of gender-specific language variation dates back to the 1960s with the socio-phonological survey of Labov (Martha's Vineyard in 1965). Males and females have different ways of speaking although they speak the same language. Milroy and Milroy (1997) say that "normally, both sexes use the same variants, but in different quantities, and the differences are fine grained, therefore, they can normally be demonstrated only by quantitative means". (In Coulmas 1998: 55). As an example, when expressing admiration for a car, it is very common to hear:

- Boys say /ha:d lloto fo:r/ to mean 'car options'.
- Girls say /ha:d lloto thabbal/ meaning 'its beautiful shape'.

This allows concluding that both genders see the same thing differently.

It is important to realise that in Labov's (2001) study of language change in Philadelphia marked that the leaders of language change are women as they have different styles of social interaction. By the same token, sociolinguistic research has shown that men use higher frequency of non-standard forms than women and it is mostly found in western speech communities. In this sense, Trudgill (1995: 69) says that: "women on average use forms which more closely approach those of

the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men". Meyerhoff (2006) explains the use of non-standard forms by male saying that this latter is constituting himself as an exemplar of maleness and masculinity; whereas a female, as stated in Labov's (1966) work, uses the standard form to gain a remarkable position in the society. This idea matches with Lakoff (1973, 1975) since she believes that language shows the position of females in society. It is worth mentioning that early dialectologists were among the first who stressed the role of gender in language innovation. Similarly, in a study conducted by Labov (1990), he summarises that females are innovators in linguistic change.

In sum, a great deal of scholarly works has been done in the area of language and gender especially in the seventies and early eighties in which the emphasis was on the issue of male dominance, but they have turned to studying language differences between males and females.

1.4.3.3. Social Class

Relating linguistic variation to class is one of the possible ways for analysing language in society. With the advent of sociolinguistics, social class has been a required variable in determining variations in most languages of the world. For Trudgill (1995: 23) it is "a term used to refer to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a society". In accordance with Trudgill, Wardaugh (2006: 148) points out that sociolinguists employ a number of different scales (occupation, education...etc) to classify people trying to put individuals somewhere within a social system. Social class is a measure of status which is often based on occupation, income, wealth and education. These factors can, then, be used to group individuals scoring similarly on these factors into socio-economic classes.

Social class was widely recognized by the politico-economist Karl Marx (1818-1883) who divides the world into two classes under the labels Bourgeoisie (or High class) and Proletariat (or Low class) according to the ownership or non-ownership of the 'Means of Production' of individuals. With the Industrial Revolution taking

place in the 18th century, things have been changed since another class grew from former slaves, factory owners and traders named the 'Middle class'. In the long run, this revolution covered all aspects of life even language for the reason that this social class distinction was reflected in individual's speech since each class had its own dialect or accent. In the same respect, Stockwell (2002: 11) states that "most language communities; however have a hierarchy of wealth and power defined in relation to economics and prestige that can be covered by the term class".

The Algerian context does not obey to such dimensions since there is no clear-cut distinction between social classes in Algeria. However, this distinction is seen at the level of literacy. For example: literate people often say /vot/ 'vote' (elections) whereas most of illiterate people say [fot] because the /v/ sound does not exist in the Arabic speech sounds i.e., there is no mental representation of that sound in the mind of illiterate Arabic speaker.

Earlier linguists had suggested that innovation should originate more often among the lower social classes because of their lesser exposure to the influence of the standard language – or alternatively, that innovation should originate among the upper classes that would, then, provide a prestige model for lower classes to imitate.

1.4.3.4. Interaction

It is often believed that interaction among people could be explained regarding individuals and their characteristics since through our daily interactions with different speakers, new words, expressions and pronunciations are encountered, integrated and adopted in every day speech. In fact, much of human interaction is mostly verbal. Consequently, scholars have drawn their attention to how individuals use language in their relationships to one another. It is notable that many interactions have a highly spontaneous character, i.e., one does not know what the other is going to say until the action is done.

Simply put, interaction occurs between individuals and groups. Here is a distinction to be made between 'inter-individual' and 'inter-group' communication.

The former refers to the fact that the individual shows his/her personal identity actively or makes his/her characteristics more evident. Whereas, the latter denotes uniformity and homogeneity among the group in which the community is built upon shared beliefs, ideas, behaviour... etc. (Giles and Coupland, 1991). Interaction takes many forms: on the streets, at home, at work, in institutions to name but a few. In all these contexts and others, individuals engage in a variety of conversations with one another to get social activities done as well as to maintain social relationships.

In this globalised era, the widespread of the internet and new technologies make people use terms to define some concepts and meanings such as: n'connecté (to connect), n'télécharger (to download)... etc.

1.5. Linguistic Innovation

Language change is the result of human activity, albeit unintentional leading to different ends. It is possible to explain the root of innovations and their effects taking into account the evident fact that speakers plan to change their language without being aware of. Usually, one question comes to mind about the fact that how individual innovations are brought. This is, in turn, stimulate researchers to look for why language varies.

Generally speaking, speakers come up with new words which will be part of their vocabulary to talk about novelty, trends, developments or events in society taking into account technical and scientific innovations. In the mean time, they discard items which are no longer useful. This is why dictionary making is endless.

According to Keller (1994: 105) "[w]hen we are talking, we try to kill several birds with one stone: we try to conform, attract attention, be understood, save energy". By this, keller's intention was to talk about a number of maxims including an attempt to belong or not to a given group, to draw attention or not and to minimise energy. In a nutshell, Keller's idea of being socially successful, which is the speaker's aim, may gather different meanings depending on the situation.

As had been noted by Otto Jespersen (1922) "women do nothing more than keep to the traditional language which they have learned from their parents and hand on to their children, while innovations are due to the initiative of men". Although this may be true, Labov (2001: 360) sheds light on the role of women as leaders of linguistic innovation because they are "centrally located in the socioeconomic hierarchy"; in addition to that, they have "intimate contacts throughout their local groups" but they also intimate friends in the neighbourhoods (*ibid*).

Some innovations diffuse at a rapid rate than others; some are captivating and are used in language contact while others fail to do so. Meanwhile, those innovations may gain position in the speech community with greater or smaller success.

1.5.1. Neologism

Neologism is an interesting phenomenon in that their emergence reveals the capability of language to be living and dynamic rather than dead. The term 'neologism' was coined in English in the early 1800s. It is derived from Greek in which 'neos' means 'new' while 'logos' indicates 'word', and the suffix '-ism' which denotes a process forms the noun.

Neologism is, by the very meaning of the term, a new word. The term 'neologism' is commonly found in dictionaries as "a word or phrase which is new to the language; one which is newly coined" (Oxford English dictionary 2003: 1179). Mair (2006: 38) argues that "the most salient type of neologism is a word which is new in its form and which refers to a concept which is new" but this would be a perfect example if it worked in all cases. This means that the new concept should be either borrowed from another language or formed according to the rules of word-formation process. In this vein, Wardhaugh (2002) says that a new lexicon can be adopted either by using elements already present in the language or by borrowing lexicons from another language. Worth mentioning, a neologism remains new until speakers begin to use it unconsciously.

Linguistically speaking, neologism refers to recently created words or phrases which can sometimes reflect new innovations and progresses in science, culture as well as developments in technology, politics, social trend... etc. Though, no one can predict which neologism will be commonly used or which will die out. Neologism can be found in several types among which we have:

- Scientific i.e., words or phrases coined to describe new scientific achievements.
- Pop culture i.e., words or phrases used to talk about popular cultural phenomena.
- Trademarks i.e., neologisms may enter the language as a generalised trademark.
- Nonce words i.e., words created and used for a particular occasion.

Equally important, neologisms are distinct according to several versions: (adapted from IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science pp25-35)

- 1. Unstable: neologisms are used only by a very small subculture but still not reaching a large public.
- 2. Diffused: they have touched a weighty audience but not yet having reached the acceptance level.
- 3. Stable: they have gained recognisable audience and probably lasting acceptance.
- 4. Dated: at this level, neologisms are no more novel; at the same time gaining formal linguistic acceptance and even may have passed into becoming a cliché.
- 5. Passé: at this step, neologisms become so culturally old-fashioned to the point that they are avoided because their use is seen as stigma, i.e., neologisms do not appear in the lexicon at all.

The table below is a summary of what is mentioned above:

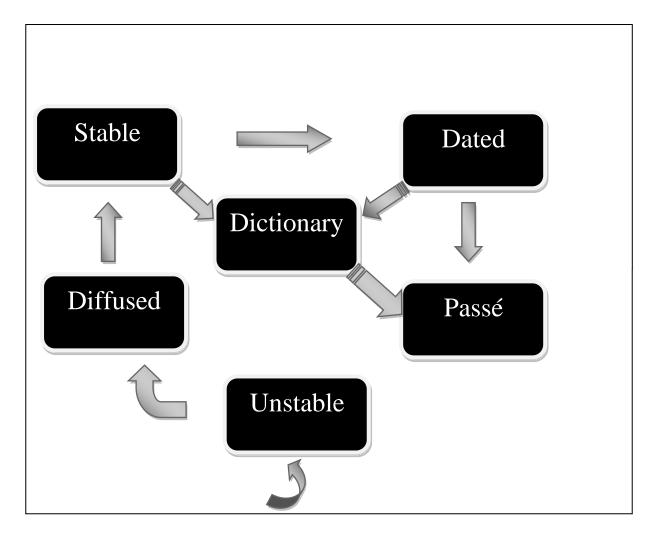


Figure 1.5.1: Neologism Life Cycle

1.5.2. Diffusion

Most innovations, be it new pronunciations, new affixes or new words, may start within a given group or location; after that, these innovations may be spread over the speech community (this may be the case for one language or between languages in contact).

First, it is believed that adults may adopt innovations for several communicative needs without changing their grammar. This idea was supported by Andersen (2003: 232) who says that "[w]here reanalysis of the base grammar occurs in the course of a speaker's primary grammar formation, adoption is achieved through a secondary modification of the speaker's usage rules".

Second, recent sociolinguistic researches showed that leaders of the process of diffusion are particular social groups mainly central members so as, innovations are more frequently to diffuse within certain sorts of community rather than other sorts. In this response, Labov (2001: 364) adds "[1]eaders of linguistic change are centrally located in social networks which are expanded beyond their immediate locality". Central members of a community have the opportunity to make the innovation diffused (what is called by the Milroys 'early adopters') and they, as well, may pick up innovations taken from marginal members due to their covert rather than overt prestige... etc.

Additionally, age and gender play a crucial role in prompting a group to be more or less open to innovations; meaning that older people are more conservative than younger ones, and young women are more ready to pick up innovations than young men.

Coupled with Keller's (1994) viewpoint, the only reason for diffusion is the common innovation itself since almost all speakers innovate in an attempt to serve their communicative needs, even though not all innovations are selected to be diffused and then become a current change.

Innovations can be diffused in three different ways:

- a. Wave-Model Diffusion: This model is said to be the most iconic and the simplest model of the geographical spread of innovations because it depends primarily on the friction of distance. It is whereby innovations radiate out from a central point reaching nearby locations before more distant ones.
- b. Urban-Hierarchy Diffusion: This model claims that innovations descend down a hierarchy of metropolis to city to town to village.
- c. Contrahierarchical Diffusion: This model contrasts with the previous one in the sense that innovations diffuse against the urban hierarchy but it occurs only very occasionally with smoothing process.

1.6. Language Attitude

Individuals, in the same community, may have different attitudes towards different varieties used. At the same time, the conductors of change in any language

are, without doubt, its users in relation to social variables. However, the use of certain linguistic features is up to personal motives and psychological matters. Sociolinguists studied this phenomenon under the name 'language attitude', which is defined as the reaction or feeling a speaker has toward a language which can be either his own or another language and this can be from the hearer's part as well as the speaker's part. As argued by Holmes (2013: 409), "ultimately attitudes to language reflect attitudes to the users and the uses of language...".

When one starts talking to another, he/she starts having an idea about the interlocutor and sometimes it can only be based on the way the other talks (Chambers 2003: 2-11). Probably, everyone has a notion of the meaning of the word 'attitude' which is seen as an interdisciplinary concept. Yet, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and communication researchers shed light on attitudes from different angles and it is not particularly related to psychology. There has been little overlap between the definitions put forward by different social scientists, but what is agreed on is that the scientific meaning of the word is different from its colloquial or slang meanings (Oskamp and Schultz 2005: 22).

Under those circumstances, Edwards (2009: 87) explains that "such assessments [arise] via a sort of linguistic 'triggering' in which reactions to speech are, in reality, reactions to speakers[...] and they reflect something of the listeners' stereotypical attitudes or beliefs". Henceforth, a social issue is interpreted as a linguistic one "such languages attitudes are, in fact, attitudes towards certain groups of people" (*ibid*: 57).

Attitudes grew up from social, ethnic and religious norms which are transmitted from one generation to another. Under the tight of this light, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2010: 478-479) confirm that "language cannot be obscene or clean; attitudes towards specific words or linguistic expressions reflect the views of a culture or society toward the behaviors and actions of the language users".

On balance, adults often possess negative attitudes towards youth language because they think of it as 'sloppy' and inappropriate. In their turn, youth are aware of these attitudes and conscious enough about their generational difference in speech (Kotsinas: 1997). As a matter of fact, Algerians' attitudes are part of their social and cultural norms of the society which limits its members' behaviours and language.

1.6.1. Language and Identity

Identity is an inevitable part of casual life, i.e., in school learning a new language, at work... and so forth. Languages are ways of expressing and recognising the many social identities people have. It is safe to say that language and identity are intricately related to each other (Fernandez, 2009).

Humans have a tendency toward simplifying and categorising in order to understand things in the world. Yet, ones' identity appears impossible to simplify taking into consideration the fact that people change through language depending on their environment. Thus, it is presumed that identity construction changes when language changes. In simple words, people acquire new identities and new languages through life in which the process is considered as dynamic (Takahashi, 2000). Research has shown that people normally judge speakers' social origin by their speech. Identity is understood as something one attempts to create or construct through life experiences.

Many definitions have been offered to clarify language identity. In this respect, Dyer (2007: 101) claims that "particularly phonology or accent may be used as resources by speakers to project their identity in the world". While Block (2007: 40) sees it as "... the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language, a dialect or a sociolect".

When talking about language and identity relationship, it is worth to mention indexicality i.e., "the process by which language comes to be associated with specific locally or contextually significant social characteristics" (Dyer 2007: 102). Under the light of this quotation, the perception of the speaker's dialect may affect the speaker's identity either positively or negatively.

From a socio-psychological standpoint, it is believed that nowadays it is the individual who creates his own world, that is to say, one is the architect of his own

identity. In this regard, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) say that: "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished".

Moving further, identity is composed of an abundance of different aspects as well as fields: it includes "social identity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, linguistic identity, sociocultural identity, subjectivity, the self and the voice" as Miller (1999: 150) writes.

Youth identity has been the subject matter of a great amount of research over the last decades. Their linguistic identity is constructed locally as well as globally and this may be due to the influence of pop and media culture. In addition, youth identities can only be understood within their particular sociocultural context. Recent linguistic research on youth identities has found that youngsters are actors and subjects construct selves.

Language and identity remain two terms permanently interacting within every aspect of daily life (university, jobs... etc). Language is, therefore, a marker of identity but the complexity of identity has been and still is a never-ending puzzle.

After independence, Algerian governments and successive leaders attempted to revive Arabic and Islamic culture and values by giving Arabic the rank of national language so as not to lose the Algerian identity since language is crucial to cultural identity.

1.7. Motives Leading to Innovation

As language evolves to meet the requirement of the digital era, it is observable that linguistic innovations grow up in this fertile land. One question to each mind is what makes the individuals (youth) innovate? In an attempt to find an answer, three main factors appear to the surface.

1.7.1. Mass Media

For the vast majority of youth, social and other digital communication media are a daily part of life which is commonly considered as being very powerful and having a great impact on the extensive public. It has an effect on people's estimations and their viewpoints. Identically, mass media gather TV, radio, newspapers and internet as means of communication that touch a huge number of people in short time. Because of these means, new words are innovated continually especially by young speakers. Nearby, the term 'mediation' developed in different area of sociolinguistics to describe the way non-standard vernaculars are produced in media texts (Coupland, 2009). Thus, mass media affect almost all languages, as the meaning of new words are grasped very quickly, and become widespread in all social groups. Many words have come to existence without any reason just for an attempt to follow fashion as for example: fifty fifty.

Using social networks like *facebook* and *twitter* has become a part from modern adolescence which facilitates the access to multiple linguistic and cultural resources via global media. More recent research has shown that TV and media may have an indirect influence on linguistic behaviour as they provide consciousness of the linguistic innovations (Carvalho, 2004).

In either case, some are optimistic about the potential benefits of social media for youth development and creativity while others have a fear from the impact these media may have, especially when it comes to youth linguistic and social well being.

1.7.2. Globalisation

Globalisation can be considered as the result of the latest achievements in technologies that led to accessibility of long distance telephone communication. It is also understood as the process of economic, political and cultural integration.

Globalisation was first introduced in the 1960s by Marshal MC Luhan (1960) in which he referred to the world as a 'global village'.

In the words of Eriksen (2007: ix), globalisation belongs to different domains as "cultural studies, sociology, economics, interactional relations, political theory, art and linguistics" and globalisation, according to him, is "a buzz word of the moment". (*ibid*) The increasing role of the internet as a tool for getting information and communicating helps the integration and interaction of youth in a global village which lead them to coin new words in their own mother tongue. Algeria, as well, have been affected by the shade of globalisation and this can be widely seen clearly since it seeks to be part of any system or programme that can serve as an opening to the outside world and many new words invaded the Algerian verbal repertoire. This reality has called for the assumption that globalisation evidently influences language change which must be analysed within the sociolinguistic scale of globalisation (Blommaert, 2003).

1.7.3. Culture Influence

Culture reflects a logical interaction and exchange that takes place as a natural social practice which explain the notion of 'sharing' as mentioned by many anthropologists like Hall (2001: 38) to whom culture "embraces all aspect of shared life in a community" since culture has been ranged in the category of all what is manmade and encloses all features of humans' lives. So, it goes without saying that it takes its roots inside of a community whose members accept and agree on its different and variant features.

Yet, the new generations are easily influenced by the more fashionable cultures; and thus, their mother tongue also can be influenced by the language of these cultures. A position has been also shared by the linguists Peterson and Coltrane (2003: 1) when they say that "language is not only part of how we define culture, it also reflects culture". It is intended to probe the importance of culture

influence on youth language because it can be of a great part in the innovation of new terms brought from different dominant cultures around the world.

Conclusion

This chapter as purely a theoretical phase of this research work has attempted first to define some key concepts such as language, dialect, innovation, neologism... etc. Besides, a particular interest was given to language variation and change in accordance with extra linguistic dimensions (such as age, gender, social class and interaction). It also endeavoured to highlight innovations, attitudes and identity as well as factors which lead to the emergence of those innovations as a final stage. The next chapter will be devoted to the discussion of the Algerian verbal repertoire and particularly to Tlemcen speech community as the actual area of research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Introduction

The present chapter tends, first, to give a glance at the history of Algeria by naming the different invaders who settled in this land. After this step, the Algerian linguistic panorama is offered; Arabic, French in addition to Berber. Furthermore, Algeria can be cited as an example of linguistic complexity where three distinct languages co-exist in the country. Within this scope, it is necessary to shed some light on some important concepts as: diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching and borrowing. At a final stage, we bid to throw light on linguistic movers and shakers putting focus on youth as social leaders of language change.

2.2. Algeria: A Brief Historical Background

Algeria is a country with a long colonial history since it witnessed the presence of different people, different cultures and different languages as well. Long time ago, Algeria was a country of interest for many colonisers who came from different parts of the world. The first who settled in the Algerian lands were the Berber tribes who are said to be the original inhabitants of Algeria. The Berbers arrived to Algeria about 3000 BCE and settled in coastal regions of North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. After that, the Phoenicians (later known as the Carthaginians) as traders to North Africa but they settle down in Algeria establishing the Carthagi civilisation. Yet, the Phoenicians were defeated by the Romans in the Punic Wars and Rome dominated the country.

Next, Algeria marked the invasion of the Vandals in the 5th Century who put an end to the Roman rule in addition to their long occupation of the country. After the Vandals came the Byzantines who stayed in Algeria for more than one century until the arrival of the Arabs. The coming of the Arabs was the turning point in the history of all Northern African countries including Algeria for the reason that they brought with them their religion: Islam, and their language: Arabic which had a deep impact on North Africa in general and chiefly Algeria. Besides, the Arab rule lasted almost nine centuries before the country fell under the Ottoman crown in

1518. Despite the fact that Algeria was under the Ottoman Empire rule for three centuries, the Turkish language does not seem to have left its print on the linguistic profile of Algeria, apart from some borrowed words like [babu:ʃ] ('slippers' in English), /babu:r / ('boat' in English). The Spanish also marked their presence in the Algerian Western coast with some leftovers mainly in the language as individual words such as /batata/ (in Spanish 'patatas'), /simana/ (in Spanish 'semana').

By 1832, the French authorities aspired to cover this rich land but, it was not easy to do so because the Algerians fought their homeland. Nonetheless, in 1848, Algeria was declared a French territory and, thus, the French language sneaked into the Algerian society since it was imposed as the official language of the country. The French colonisation lasted one century and thirty two years and nowadays Algeria has only 53 years of its independence that is why the widespread of the French language is highly noticeable at the bottom of our society.

2.3. Linguistic Composition of Algeria

The linguistic environment in Algeria is known for its intricacy, as many codes are present in the country, and this is due to historical, political and socio-cultural factors. In this section, the focus will be put on the three major languages in contact by highlighting the status that each language has in the Algerian society.

The Algerian linguistic scenery is not enough clear; the political standpoint sees Arabic as the national and official language so, from that point, Algeria is seen as a monolingual speech community while the sociolinguistic viewpoint considers Algeria as a bilingual country since almost all Algerian citizens use Arabic and French alternatively. Some other linguists go beyond this affirming that Algeria is a multilingual speech community since 'Berber' is still alive in some places.

The three languages present in the Algerian speech community are namely: Arabic, French and Berber respectively.

2.3.1. Arabic

As mentioned above, Arabic is the result of the Islamic-Arabic expansion in Algeria. The Arabic language is of a Semitic origin and the native tongue of more than 280 million people, most of them live in the Middle East and Northern Africa. The retention of the Arabic language is linked with the revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Worth mentioning, this language is "famous as the language (based on the dialect of Mecca) and the vehicle of one of the greatest literatures of all the Orient" (Gray 1971: 5).

As stated in the Algerian constitution, Arabic is the national and official language of the country. In reality, at least three varieties exist: Classical Arabic (hereafter CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Arabic (AA) and they are in diglossic environment which will be dealt in the section of diglossia.

2.3.1.2. Classical Arabic

CA is the codified and mostly written variety of Arabic that is irrevocably in association with Islam. It is regarded as the language in which the holy book - the Qur'an - was sent and spread into different places including North Africa. It is also the language of pre-Islamic poetry which has stemmed from the Arabic variety spoken by the Quraish tribe in Mecca. Till present day, oral and written recitation of the Qur'an remains one of the crucial reasons for the use and maintenance of CA. Henceforth, it is often referred to as a 'sacred' and 'pure' language. Moreover, CA is restricted to religious settings and functions; it is used for prayers by all Muslims regardless of their native language. Nonetheless, only few who have a fluent grasp of it because of its high level of lexical and syntactic codification, to the point that "when somebody says he does not speak Arabic well, he usually means the classical form" (Murphy, 1977: 4). It enjoys a prominent and prestigious position among Arabic-speaking communities. Fleish (1964: 3) clarifies why CA is regarded as the language of prestige: "classical Arabic has the prestige, an immense

prestige which is multiplied by two because it is double: the prestige of a great language of culture... and that of a religious language". (1)

2.3.1.2. Modern Standard Arabic

MSA is the variety that has emerged in the nineteenth century as a simplified version of CA. Efforts have been made as to ease the latter and make it effective enough to meet the needs of modern life by reducing its complexity, mainly at the lexical level. It is seen today as more useful and readily comprehensible than CA. MSA may be roughly classified as a modern version of Classical Arabic, with additions from foreign languages that fit the scientific and technological demands of today's globalised world. In Algeria, MSA is used in formal settings such as official domains, government, institutions, education and the media. Actually, it is the official language of Algeria since 1962.

2.3.1.3. Algerian Arabic

AA is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian population. It represents the language of daily use between all layers of the Algerian society (men and women, rich and poor, young and old, literate and illiterate). It exists in various forms consisting of regional varieties. One can distinguish at least four major regional varieties: the eastern variety, the western one, the central, and finally the southern variety.

⁽¹⁾ Our translation of the original text is as follows: "L'arabe classique, ... a pour lui le prestige, un immense prestige, qui se multiplie encore par deux, car il est double: prestige de grande langue de culture..., prestige de langue religieuse".

Everyday interaction, be it at or out of home, among Algerian speakers, is mostly done via AA or what is called *Ed-darija/El-ammiya*. In fact, AA shares many properties with Standard Arabic that point to a common background; but there are also significant differences between them at the lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels which they can be viewed as two independent languages. Though AA is a non codified language, it is not always restricted to oral use; it is often written in form of Arabic or Latin script. This is the case of internet chat rooms and mobile phone short messages and even advertisement. The paradox is that Algerian speakers perceive AA as informal and less prestigious, yet they use it on a daily basis in almost every context one would encounter, because the formal variety, namely MSA, lacks the natural use in spontaneous conversations and cannot be claimed to be anyone's native language. AA contains a great deal of variations that are mainly phonological, morphological and lexical. This is mostly due to the fact that AA includes a great deal of French vocabulary which has been adapted phonologically and morphologically into its linguistic system.

2.3.2. French

Though it has the rank of a foreign language, the French language is part of the Algerian speakers' daily life since they make use of it in their ordinary speech and it is also present in their direct environment in media like newspapers or TV channels, and even in the official speeches of the Algerian authorities. In fact, French has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society before and after independence. Nowadays, French continues to occupy a privileged position in the Algerian society.

Despite the process of 'arabisation' that the Algerian country has witnessed after its independence, which aimed at implementing the Arabic language in the Algerian society, French could remain and resist as one of the languages of education in Algeria and as part of its culture.

In spite of the 'Arabization law' (Mouhadjer 2002: 989), French is still the dominant language, especially in professional domains such as business. Today, French goes in parallel with Arabic, particularly in administration, finance, industry, social life and so on. Simply, French is "recognized covertly as the second official language in Algeria" (*ibid*). French has had a deep impact in the Algerian community in spite of the process of Arabisation; it is still read and spoken by many educated Algerians, and even non-educated ones.

Admittedly, the Arabisation policy has nonetheless slowed down the expansion of French, yet surely failed to fully arabise people. Therefore, French still has an important role in spoken and in even written patterns in Algeria. For example, French words are often present in newspapers, radio channels and television programmes, and higher education as scientific disciplines like medicine. Taking into consideration about eighteen million Algerian speakers of French demonstrate that Algeria is the second Francophone country in the world (Chemami, 2011). A large number of French borrowed words, both adapted and non adapted, can be recognised in the verbal repertoire of most Algerian speakers.

2.3.3. Berber

Although Berber is commonly known to be the indigenous language in North Africa over thirty centuries ago, it did not and does not elevate to the status of a standard language in any country of the North African part including Algeria. Yet, the Berber variety has recently been (2002) given the status of a national Algerian language qualifying Algeria as a multilingual country.

The most well known Berber groups in Algeria are found in the Kabylia Mountains East of Algiers, the 'Chaouia' of the 'Aures' range South of Constantine, and other scattered groups in the South including the 'Mzab' and 'Touareg'. Yet, Kabylia is the region which has most entirely maintained

Thaqbaylit, a Berber dialect, as a mother tongue. This latter is the most dominating in Kabylia, especially in the area known as Greater Kabylia.

Even though Berber coupled with French were set aside after independence due to the Arabisation process, the Berber varieties are still maintained as the native languages of nearly 20% of the Algerian population (Chemami, 2011).

2.4. Today's Algerian Linguistic Profile

Contact between people speaking different languages can have a wide variety of outcomes. As different tongues and different cultures meet, this diversity engenders a number of phenomena. Since this research work is undertaken in Algeria, the Algerian current linguistic profile is listed in the followings.

2.4.1. Diglossia

One of the striking sociolinguistic phenomena involved in the stratification of languages in various speech communities is the notion of 'diglossia'. As a linguistic phenomenon that has been documented to exist for centuries ago, this notion has played a major role in the analysis of languages and societal order.

Generally speaking, diglossia is a term used to classify communication situations in societies that make complementary use in daily exchange of two distinct codes which represent two language varieties. In this vein, Bright (1964: 12) states "where sharp differences in form and function exist between formal and informal style, we speak about diglossia". In the history of diglossia, Psichari (1928) was the first to use the term 'diglossia' when referring to the situation of Greek at the end of the 19th century. Then, Marçais, W. (1930) used the term when he spoke about the linguistic situation of the Arab world. In 1959, the term diglossia was rendered famous and well defined by Ferguson in his article 'Diglossia'.

According to Ferguson (1959: 336):

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.

Diglossia, as outlined here, deals with the functional distribution and differentiation of languages. Within this compartmentalization, the varieties of the same language exist alongside each other (Trudgill 1974) and perform socially assigned functions. The diglossic situation, as originally outlined by Ferguson (1959) and Marçais (1930), was concerned with speech communities such as the Greek, Arabic, Haitian and Swiss German, where there are two or more varieties of the same language; one is the High (H) variety, which serves high and formal functions, such as education and government, and the other is the Low (L) variety allocated to low and informal domains, such as home and street, reserved for intimate communicative functions. The functional disparity between the H and the L varieties, according to Ferguson (1959), seems to be attributed to the belief that the H variety is imbued with logic, beauty, and a far greater ability to articulate more complex thoughts, while the L variety, oftentimes a mother tongue, is viewed as a denigrated code, which is equated with familiarity. Fishman (1967, 1972) expanded the notion of diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon within the study of language variation. His discussion diverged from the Fergusonian initial insight in viewing diglossia as being a phenomenon that is not solely restricted to closely related language varieties.

According to Trudgill (2000), diglossia is a special kind of language standardization where there are clear varieties close to each other in every part of speech and where they have two different social functions and he gives examples of language communities which are diglossic:

Language	High	Low
Swiss German	Hoch Deutctch	Schwiezerdeutch
Arabic	Classical	Colloquial
Tamil	Literary	Colloquial

Table 2.4.1. Trudgill's example of diglossic communities (2000)

In fact, for Ferguson (1959) in no speech community the phenomenon of diglossia is presented par excellence as extensive as the Arab world. In the Algerian case, diglossia fits what Schiffman's (1997: 212) says "in some linguistic cultures, all speakers exhibit diglossic behaviour (i.e., use both H and L varieties in complementary distribution), while on others, only some members of the society do ...". The existence of a wide gap between MSA and AA makes it easy to recognise diglossia in the Algerian speech community. MSA, which is the Algerian H variety that is employed in formal domains and proper conversations, is usually used by educated and religious people. AA, however, represents the L variety that is used in informal and casual contexts and intimate conversations. Notwithstanding, there may be an overlapping between both varieties. For instance, a layman may discuss religious staffs in AA with an Imam.

Albeit, diglossia represents one of the Algerian linguistic phenomenon which needs a careful study, but our interest is not to dig deep in it. This gives us a chance to tackle another phenomenon namely bilingualism.

2.4.2. Bilingualism

Bilingualism, in its broader sense, means the fact of being able to speak two different languages with a varying degree of ability. As a sociolinguistic phenomenon, bilingualism emerges as a result of a direct touch between different languages in the shade of several reasons, such as colonisation, trade, media... etc. However, it is not an easy task to give a comprehensive accepted definition of the term 'bilingualism' because scholars have not come to an agreement about its precise definition. For example, Bloomfield (1933) argues that the term bilingualism concerns only individuals who have a 'native like' ability to speak both languages while, Weinreich (1953: 5) describes this linguistic situation as "the practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism, and the person involved bilingual ...". In contrast, Haugen (1954: 11) sees a bilingual speaker as simply someone "who knows two languages". These two definitions have been criticized for being too limited and broad because they do not give any reference to the level of mastery of both languages and the gradation in bilingual usage depending on the four skills. On the other side, Haugen (1956) disagrees with Bloomfield claiming that bilingualism applies even to individuals who have minimal qualification of both languages. Myers-Scotton (2005: 44), in her turn, believes that "bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation". Indeed, a community cannot be defined as bilingual only when its members are bilinguals, as Lyons (1984) asserts. It is difficult to determine at what point of mastery one can qualify someone as being bilingual.

The French colonization in Algeria lasted more than a century resulted in the fact that French today is deeply rooted in the Algerian society. This long colonial period aids the French language to be maintained within the Algerian linguistic situation even after the independence. French is widely used in Algerian everyday interactions and it is mixed with AA. This coexistence of two genetically unrelated languages in Algeria, i.e., Arabic and French, makes the country bilingual.

Bilingualism characterises both the Algerian individual and the Algerian society as a whole.

Yet, what is noticed in the Algerian speech community is that the bilingual proficiency of its speakers is not homogeneous; it ranges from the ability to use some French loanwords to a native-like mastery. To this end, a distinction is to be made about different types of bilinguals. Weinreich (1968) classifies three types of bilingualism in accordance with the manner in which bilinguals store language in their brains. There are: coordinate, compound, and subordinate bilingualism. Firstly, 'coordinate' bilingualism denotes that the person acquires each language in different contexts, and the words are stored separately. Secondly, the 'compound' one occurs when the person learns the two languages in the same context. Thirdly, 'subordinate' bilingualism occurs when the person has acquired the first language, then the other one is acquired by interpretation by the dominant language. (Paraphrased in Namba, 2000: 67).

Besides, other scholars classified bilinguals according to skills. First, perfect/equilingual is the person who has the full mastery in both languages. However, if a bilingual's competency in both languages is roughly equal, he/she is known as balanced/equal bilingual, but such individuals are very rare to find. The person called dominant/unbalanced bilingual is the one who is more competent in one of the two languages. Finally, the passive bilingual has the ability to understand, but not to speak the other language.

Many Algerians, especially educated ones use French fluently in different contexts; that is they have an active ability in productive and receptive skills as they can speak and understand French for instance, it is even used with children. Others (old or illiterate people), however, are passive bilinguals since only their receptive skills are relatively developed. That is, they understand French, but do not speak it. This is the case of the pre-independence generation; despite the fact that some of them could neither read nor write, they were able to understand and speak French. As an unavoidable consequence of either bilingualism or multilingualism, the phenomenon of code switching emerges.

2.4.3. Code Switching

Most bilingual speakers, if not all, switch from one language to another within their speech or in a conversation, a behaviour that had led to a complex phenomenon called "code switching". Worth mentioning, the term code switching may not be applied just to bilingual communities, but to monolingual ones as well; monolinguals may switch between different styles or varieties within their language. To point out, scholars did not agree on the exact definition of the term because different arguments are offered. For Gumperz (1982: 56) it is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems". Myers-Scotton (1993b: 1) also uses code switching as a cover term and defines it as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation". Gafaranga (2007: 205) believes that code switching occurs when "language alternation leads to the adoption of a new language-of-interaction".

Blom and Gumperz (1972), in their study of the speech habits of Norway, introduced two distinct types of CS, namely 'situational CS' and 'metaphorical CS'. The former occurs wherein the speaker changes the code as a result of a change in the situation (the status of interlocutors, the setting or the topic of conversation). While the latter denotes the switch from one language to another according to changes of topics under discussion and the speaker has an attention to produce an effect. Gumperz (1982) introduced a third type which he calls 'conversational CS'. According to him, this type is not governed by social norms, but, in fact, by speakers' communicative intentions and conversational purposes as its name implies.

Other types of code switching have been put forward by Poplack (1980) in relation to the kind of switch:

a. Inter-sentential code switching: this type of switching occurs at clause or sentence boundaries. One clause is uttered in a language, the other being in another language.

- b. Intra-sentential code switching: this switching is found within clause or sentence boundaries.
- c. Extra-sentential code switching refers to the insertion of a tag, such as phrase markers, exclamations...etc from a language into an utterance that is entirely in another language.

CS represents a hallmark of bilingual and multilingual speech communities world-wide. The next language contact outcome to be tackled would be borrowing.

2.4.4. Borrowing

In daily conversations, speakers may use words from another language for the purpose of describing, explaining or expressing an idea or an object. Such phenomenon is referred to as 'borrowing'. Borrowing is one of the processes that takes place frequently when two languages come into contact. Borrowing is, by definition, the act of taking an item from a given language and using it as part of the speaker's native language (Hudson, 1999). Besides, Hudson (1999) adds that borrowing necessitates mixing the systems of the two languages. In other words, it is the interaction between the grammar and the lexicon of language X and only the lexicon of language Y. Hence, the grammatical structure of language X will determine which words or elements from language Y can be borrowed. In Sapir's statement (2004: 37): "the simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the 'borrowing' of words. When there is cultural borrowing there is the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too". This definition asserts that whenever there is a cultural contact between two speech communities, with each having its own linguistic system, the process of borrowing is an inevitable consequence with regard to the relationship between language and culture. Concerning this process, it is hard to clearly identify at what point in time the new lexemes gained the position of being loanwords.

Haugen (1956) points out three types of borrowing. The first type is 'loan words' which are adopted phonologically and morphologically i.e., they are

pronounced and used grammatically as if they were parts of the native language. In borrowing, an item is taken to be part of the second language, not just to alternate words of Arabic by words of French. In Algerian Arabic, for instance, words like 'les garages' /garaʒaat/ (gates) and 'la tasse' /tasa/ (cup) are considered as Arabic words. Another example, the French word 'la classe' (classroom) becomes part of the Algerian dialect and is used as /klassa/. The second type is 'loan blends'. In the Algerian dialectal Arabic, a single noun phrase contains two parts; one is in Arabic and the other is in French. For example, a piece of cheese / ħaba tas fromaz /. The third type is 'loan shift' or 'semantic extension'. It refers to the process of taking a word from the native language and extending its meaning into the other. An example of such a type is given by Clyne (1967). According to him, 'loan shift' occurs when there is a greater similarity between two languages at the level of semantics and phonetics. This type, however, seems not to be found in Algerian Arabic.

Cultural borrowing is, by definition, the act of taking an item from another culture without changing its name since it does not exist in the native culture. Herbert (2001) exemplifies also cultural borrowing as: English borrowed 'thug' from Hindi, 'sherry' from Spanish, and 'sauna' from Finnish. According to him, the other factors are due to the length and duration of contact between communities. The case of Algeria is a good example of that in the sense that the French language enormously affected AA. According to Herbert (2001), borrowing varies according to word classes. For instance, nouns are more borrowed than the other elements followed by adjectives and verbs. So, the speaker borrows nouns from a foreign language in order to name an object which his/her language lacks.

In addition, there are many factors that encourage borrowing. For instance, lexical borrowings occur in order to fill in gaps of the vocabulary or according to 'lexical need' in the recipient language. A speaker may find himself in a situation where he/she needs to borrow an item in order to fill the gaps. Weinreich (1968) believes that borrowing is used for prestigious purposes (cited in Romaine, 1989:

52). Herbert (2001) supports this idea by saying that the speaker may think of borrowing not because his/her language does not contain these words, but he/she does so because he/she thinks that those words are more prestigious than his/her native language words. Another factor which motivates borrowing is the social value which has a relation with the dominant language in a society. So, the speaker will usually tend to borrow items or words from the dominant language (Romaine, 1989). Hornby (2005: 169) defined borrowing as being "a word, a phrase or an idea that sb [somebody] has taken from another person's work or from another language and is used in their own".

Talking about the Algerian situation, French is deeply seated in the daily life of Algerian speakers in the sense that French words have become an integral part of AA such as /prise/, /garage/, /radio/...etc. However, not all Algerian borrowed words are taken from French, there exist borrowed words from other languages such as Spanish: barato, borrequo, or English such as: fast food, fifty fifty...etc. One can observe the high bulk of borrowed items in everyday speech due to a relatively long-run language contact in Algeria.

Sometimes, however, borrowings can, in one way or another, introduce structural innovations into a language since when new concepts are introduced from other speech communities, the speakers of a particular language may use their own native linguistic resources to coin new words. These are known as calques.

2.5. Tlemcen: A Field Work

In the event that the research work falls in the category of the speech community of Tlemcen, it would be important and useful to provide a general overview of that speech community by a brief exposure to its history geography, and population; in addition to the most marked linguistic features of Tlemcen variety. The name of Tlemcen is taken either from the Berber word 'Tala/lmasan' which means 'the dry spring' or the Arab word 'Tlamlnsane' meaning 'human being gathered'. Tlemcen is a historical area par excellence due to

the number of settlements in different eras and, of course, each settlement leaves its impact on the region. With this in mind, Tlemcen has a rich culture.

Furthermore, Tlemcen was the land of Berber, after that the Romans and finally the Islamic empire from the late 7th century. With attention to Tlemcen as the capital of Zianide in the early 13th century, it became so important economically and culturally until the early 16th century when the Spanish occupied the northern coasts of Algeria and Morocco. However, Tlemcen fell under the protection of the Ottoman Empire (which enriches Tlemcen's culture and language more). Finally, the French settled in Algeria and Tlemcen was established as an administrative centre. The city of Tlemcen is situated in the north west of Algeria. It attracts the vision because of its fertile land and geographic conditions and for a long era the crucial cultural and economic centre in North Africa (Dendane, 2007: 157).

Besides, our fieldwork is one of the well known cities in Algeria with a heavy heritage, the fact that its citizens are somehow still persistent in their traditions, since the glottal stop is still hold by the Tlemcenian speakers. Point often that this feature is found among urban area members and those came from rural ones looking for amenities has no great influence on that phonetic feature. Markedly, the extensive urbanisation in Algeria has encouraged a large number of people to inhabit towns and large cities. This population movement has played a great role in language or dialect contact.

2.5.1. Today's Tlemcenian Verbal Repertoire

In the long run, it is supposed that variation in language is, in fact, variation in society, and this is what characterizes the Algerian repertoire in general and the Tlemcenian repertoire in particular. In this big town, linguistic heterogeneity can be apparently noticed in the community where the native population was marked not only by highly conservative social and cultural traits, but also the interference between rural and urban dialects, in addition to the different functions of the official and national language. On the other hand, another version of interference lies

between AA and French. Thus, it is considered as a fertile land for a sociolinguistic investigation.

As it can be seen, many varieties are found in Tlemcen including the rural areas dialects, to emphasise the multiplicity of allophonic realization of the phoneme /q/ (qaf). Starting with, the realisation of /q/ as a voiced velar [g] as in [gʊli] 'tell me' and in other regions, it is kept as the classical voiceless uvular [q] as in [qʊli]. The other realisation, in which we can say, it is found only in the region of Ghazaouet is the [k] allophone instead of /q/ where they say [kʊli]. Concluding with, the significant realisation that marks Tlemcenian speech from other Algerian varieties is the glottal stop realisation of the phoneme /q/ and they say [ʔʊli] instead. It is worth mentioning that the study of Tlemcenian verbal repertoire requires a deep investigation because of its tremendous linguistic variation.

2.6. Linguistic Movers and Shakers

Youth represents an important sector of each community in their own right which deserves to be taken into consideration. Thus, the study of youth language is the leading cue of understanding this social group. In this respect, Eckert (1997: 52) points that "the linguistic movers and shakers, [...], and, as such, a prime source of information about linguistic change and the role of language change and the role of language in social practice". Youth is not a mere life stage, it is quite period of building identity with those of their own age. People approaching adulthood often reduce the use of such words.

Teenagers are often in association with the spread and diffusion of linguistic innovations in the society(Eckert, 1988). A major strand of youth language studies focus on the new urban ways of speaking i.e., they are viewed as styles reflecting young people's particular communicative choices. When communicating with youth and adult, the conflict is clearly apparent to occur.

2.6.1. Youth as Social Agents of Linguistic Innovation

Youth are renowned as leaders of linguistic change since they are responsible for bringing linguistic innovations which are integrated into the general structure of the language gradually. In fact, youngsters are generally creative in terms of language use and are fond of borrowing new items from other languages. As a result, the language of younger generation in any society attracts the linguists' interest as a field of study in modern sociolinguistics. Thus, the language phenomenon that distinguishes this group of speakers may be regarded as a marker of linguistic change in progress (Milroy, 1992). When using their own language style, youth are often losing their respect among adults in society that is why they may, in most cases, avoid using their own style in public particularly with the old generation. As a matter of fact, Thurlow (2003: 50) supports this idea by saying that "adolescents are routinely misunderstood by adults and whose communicative power or capital is greatly reduced i.e., devalued or dismissed".

Language does not come out from the blue, young people are often influenced by a number of factors including songs, TV programmes, social media, sociocultural context... etc, in addition to their daily interaction which sometimes needs to be humourous to break the routine and appear different from others and sometimes to exclude the others from their conversations.

As recent linguistic research on youth identity has revealed, young people as actors and subjects construct selves and others through multidimensional and interpenetrating discourses of ethnicity, language, gender, nation, race and culture. Through language, young people lay claim to multiple identity resources precisely because of youth's access to multiple linguistic and cultural resources by means of global media, migration... etc.

It seems that youth in Tlemcen, as well as other urban areas in Algeria, are continuously coining their own language serving distinct functions in their everyday activities. Secrecy, fun and identity construction are among the main factors pushing them to be independent.

In a nutshell, youth are responsible for the language change at almost all levels of language ranging from phonology to discourse analysis. Innovation among youth language has proved to be a fertile field for the development and the use of new words in interactional sociolinguistics.

2.7. Conclusion

By way of concluding, the foregoing chapter has been an attempt to overview both the historical and linguistic aspects of Algeria in general and Tlemcen in particular as it stands as the research field. Then, we have moved to a brief explanation of different phenomena present in the country has been provided. The end of this chapter has dealt with linguistic movers and shakers taking youth as social agents of language change.

The next chapter is devoted to the practical side of this research which aims at analysing and discussing the data collected in order to reach the findings related to the problematic of this research.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Introduction

After surveying the theoretical framework of the research, the focus is turned towards the methodological issues in the present chapter. This latter tries to provide a detailed description of the research area and the relevant aspects in undertaking this study. This section intends to give a rough presentation of the primary sources used in the current investigation, as well as to reveal the methodology applied in this piece of research. The general design of the study, the research tools employed, procedures of data collection and a discussion of the findings are all covered in the current chapter.

3.2. Research Traditions and Methods

Research is a way of finding out answers to questions. The present research is undertaken as a trial to check the presence of innovations among youth in Tlemcen speech community; precisely at the University of Abu Bakr Belkaid. The selected sample is first year university students who were given a questionnaire and a word list to fill in. Added to that, the data are gathered by means of quantitative and qualitative methods performed by collecting data, classifying, analysing and then interpreting them.

3.3. Instrumentation

For the sake of obtaining answers to our research questions, the data needed are collected by means of a questionnaire and a word list which are used to elicit data explicitly from the informants.

3.3.1. Questionnaire

Questionnaires are traditional methods used by former dialectologists, and are still employed nowadays. They consist of less adjustable, but more rapid and direct structured questions which required brief answers. In other words, questionnaires are "printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously" (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989: 172). The researchers, besides, tried to meet the following quotation: "the method is... applicable only if the investigator has in mind extremely clear goals that have been well formulated in advance" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 57). In this study, a questionnaire was devised to gather responses from a large sample of one hundred university students.

The questionnaire was originally written in English. The wording and question formats used in the questionnaire were kept as simple and consistent as possible in order to avoid any kind of misunderstanding or confusion. The questionnaire, in fact, was a mixture of open-ended and close-ended questions. In the first part, the questionnaire ought to get preliminary information about the participants themselves (age and gender). The participants were required to answer by picking up the appropriate answer from a series of choices as in the fifth and seventh questions. Some questions needed to be answered with the participants' own words in order to give their opinions or to explain their choices as in questions number 8, 10 and 11. (See appendix 1)

3.3.1.1. Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was handed out to one hundred (100) first year university students. The questionnaire took place in different places at the university of Tlemcen at the period of makeup exam sessions in a vivid and friendly atmosphere, specifically in the university library and in the university classrooms where students from different ages are available (from 18 to 24).

Some of the questionnaires were completed in classes with the consent and help of teachers while others were filled in different locations in the department of Foreign Languages.

The questionnaire consisted of twelve questions in which each question has a target to achieve. The objective of this set of questions was to search for the main factors that support the presence of innovations in students' speech.

3.3.2. Word List

In order to interpret the data both quantitatively and qualitatively, a list of words has been given to the same sample of informants. The purpose was to gather the similar and the different lexical items and so that to assume the extent of using the lexicon as well as to discover on what ground the linguistic change plays.

The word list comprises one page and contains ten words which were chosen by the researchers as they constitute the possible major topics that youngsters discuss in their daily interactions. Informants were given the choice to answer either in Arabic or French (see appendix 2). The words were written in English but an example of each word from Arabic was provided with their phonetic transcription.

3.3.1.2. Pilot Study

Before the materials were given to our sample, the questionnaire and the word list were piloted two times, firstly with some teachers and secondly with the help of some students and classmates. With their suggestions, minor changes were made on the wording of the questions and the layout of the options.

3.5. Participants' Characteristics

For methodological clarity and research accuracy in our attempt to address the issue of innovations in youth speech, researchers have limited the sample to a micro level category. In order to examine the research questions, 100 first year Tlemcen university students of both sexes were selected. Participants were selected randomly and contacted by the researchers or other students from the same field of study who were participants and helped in the research at the same time.

Two main reasons have affected the decision of selecting such a category of students. First, they are fairly accessible and representative community of university students because they have been in contact with Arabic and French for a long time. Second, these students are chosen because they interact in Arabic, French and English in order to see the influence of these languages on their daily speech styles, and their opinions should be taken into consideration.

The sampling, according to Dörnyei (2006: 98), is "the target populations are selected for the purpose of the study if they meet certain practical criteria such as geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, easy accessibility, or the willingness to volunteer".

3.6. Data Collection Methods

Data collection is a critical step in any scientific study. To do so, two research methods are adopted by the researchers, namely quantitative and qualitative research dichotomies.

3.6.1. Quantitative

To examine language use among people from either the general or the specific view, many approaches have been offered to analyse the different functions that language has in a social context. As far as the field of language variation and change is our concern, variationist sociolinguists in their investigation usually employ quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse, discuss and interpret the data and to formulate principles for variation as well.

First, qualitative research is a method of inquiry in many different academic disciplines, particularly in social sciences whose aim is to reach an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and factors governing such behaviour. It is an explanatory and descriptive method of language variation. Trask (1999: 170) puts the focus of this method in studying language variation:

A qualitative approach typically focuses on the study of small numbers of speakers or texts, since an abundance of data and statistical studies are seen as less important than revealing the social meanings which speakers and writers attach to their linguistic activities.

Second, quantitative research is defined as "a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data are utilised to obtain information about the world". (Burns and Grove cited by Cormack 1991: 140)

The quantitative data used in this study are mainly obtained from the responses provided by the respondents on the questionnaire. The responses were categorised and were given a numerical value to highlight the outcomes of the research and to illustrate trends in the data. However, this numerical method is opposed to the qualitative research.

3.6.2. Qualitative

Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of the meanings people bring them. The qualitative approach, however, is based on the naturalist paradigm which claims that reality and truth are multiple, i.e. there is no single reality or truth. Therefore, both can be captured from different angles which make the qualitative research a subjective inquiry process in its approach and holistic in its process (Glesne and Peshkin 1992) because qualitative research is descriptive researcher is concerned with process rather than outcomes. (Marshall and Rossman 1980; Creswell 1994) Also, it can be added that qualitative research is an inductive activity in the sense that the researcher can develop a theory based on results that are made up of multiple realities or pieces of truth (Creswell1994; Merriam 1988). However, in this type of research, results cannot be generalised in the sense that variables such as perceptions, opinions or views vary from one to another and they can change over time. Qualitative data have meaning only in a given situation. In the data analysis, the qualitative data are mainly used to illustrate and elucidate the responses provided in the quantitative data.

Even though qualitative research and quantitative research are based on different theoretical assumptions, they share similar research patterns, namely the principles of validity and reliability among others. Both research methods are not exclusive because one type entails the other as argued by Sherman and Webb (1988) who assert that the integration of both approaches is desirable.

Quantitative and qualitative methods are mutually complementary. Dey (1993) explains that the former deals more with numbers while the latter deals with words and meanings. If one of them observes the other tests and if one of them describes, the other counts.

3.7. Data Analysis and Interpretation

At this stage, the data gathered pass through two processes; first analysis and then interpretation.

3.7.1. Questionnaire Analysis and Interpretation

Question 1: the respondents were asked to precise their gender where fifty (50) males and fifty (50) females were chosen to answer the following questions in order to represent the whole population.

Question 2: the participants were asked to give their age. Most of them are aged between 18 and 22 years old. However, among first year students there exist four adults and they have participated in the questionnaire. The four informants are two of 28, 38 and 40 years old. The following figure clarifies the findings:

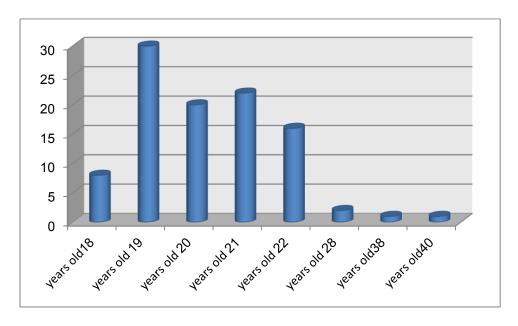


Figure 3.7.1. Informants' Age

The dominant age among the respondents was 19 years old since they are first year university students. The existence of other ages enriches the findings and diversifies the data collected to see if the majority influence the minority speech style.

Question 3: Do you think that old and young people speech is different?

Yes	97 %
No	3 %
	100 %

Table 3.7.1: Youth Awareness of Speech Difference between Old and Young People.

The third question was asked to check the awareness of the youth concerning speech style differentiation between their generation and the old generation. The answers, which are represented in figure 3.7.2, reveal that 97% are aware of that difference while only 3% are not among both genders.

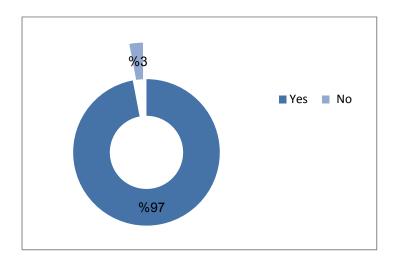


Figure 3.7.2: Youth Awareness of Speech Difference between Old and Young People.

Question 4: Do you use new words or expressions in daily conversations?

This question was asked to verify if the innovated words are part of the informants' everyday speech. Identically, they are required to give examples if their answers are positive. The answers were close between both genders as illustrated in the next figure:

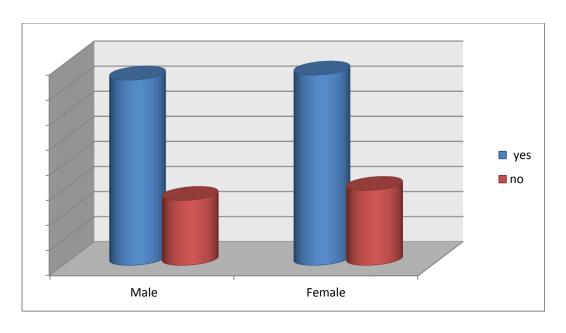


Figure 3.7.3. Youth Use of Innovated Words /Expressions according to Gender.

As it was expected, some of the respondents did not produce any example, but others have given more than one example. The table below states these examples:

Male examples	Female examples	Meaning
[manfod], [mʃomar], [lasaq]	[zaqqv]	Not having money.
[papɪʃa], [zella]	[papɪʃa], [ħabba]	Beautiful girl.
[artɪst], [ţaħţoħ]	[mɪnʊʃ]	Handsome boy.
[zaħ], [blankʊ]	[zaħ], [mzanfaʃ], [gallɪţ]	A stupid person.
[ʃrɪkɪ]	[ʃrɪktɪ]	My friend.
[ħallab], [zʊmbʊ], [zaqbaqalʊ],	[ħallab], [ʔarsʃɪ]	Not wanted person.
[ferfor]		
[zɪt]	[zwanīt], [zardalaf]	Money.
	[wahja]	See you.

Table 3.7.2. Youth Examples of Innovated Words according to Gender

Question 5: Why do you use new words?

In this question, researchers seek to know the reason behind the use of the new words. The participants said that they want to break the routine of the traditional use of language and to be humorous as well. However, others use these words to look different or it is an effect globalization. Only 12 of them use innovations to sound fashionable while other 8 youngsters had the reason to imitate each other. Almost all of them choose more than one answer. In addition, 4 participants give other reasons as the following:

- o The habit to use them.
- As not to be understood.
- o They appreciated these words and liked them.
- These words are more expressive.

The following figure shows youth answers in correspondence with the suggestion proposed:

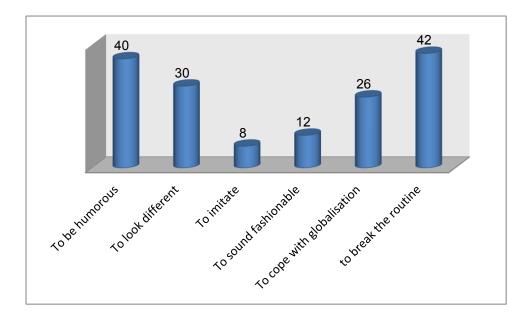


Figure 3.7.4. Youth Reasons for Innovation

Question 6: How often do you use new words in each of the following situations?

This question was asked in order to know where, when and with whom Tlemcen's youth use the new words in their daily interaction. Our informants (35%) use often new words at home with siblings and other teenagers. However, 50% of them never use these words at home with adults including parents. Yet, 54% of them use always innovated words at university with

friends and peers. At social gatherings such as parties, movies... etc new coined words are often used. Moreover, it is found that the answers of both males and females are closely similar.

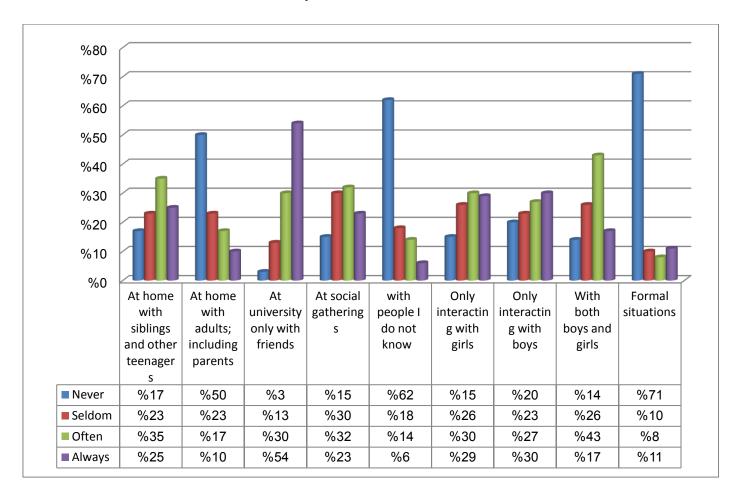


Figure 3.7.5. Youth Use of Innovation in Different Situations

Question 7: where do new words come from?

The informants were allowed to choose more than one answer and site if any other language helps them to coin a new word.

Arabic	74%
French	64%
English	44%
Others	15%

Table.3.7.3. Respondents' Answers about Languages Used for Innovation

As far as the seventh question is concerned, it looked for the languages that help the youth to coin new words. In other words, the languages that provide them with these words; our aim was to find out if these words are their own invention or have an etymology.

According to the informants' answers, the source language for the innovation is Arabic with 38%, French 32% then English 22%. The participants were allowed to put any other language that inspired them to innovate. Some of the respondents added Spanish, German, Berber, and Touareg languages.

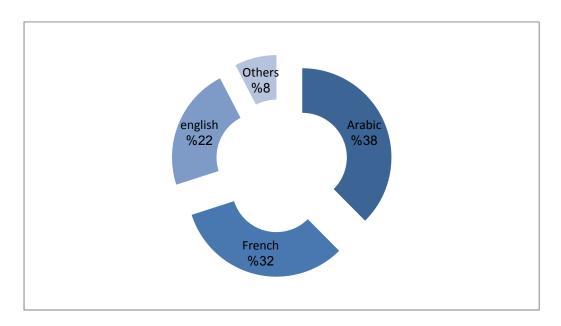


Figure 3.7.6. The Languages that offer Youth with Innovations

Question 8: Do social networks help in coining new words?

Yes	85 %
No	15 %
	100 %

Table 3.7.4. the Effect of Social Networks on Youth Innovations.

The intention behind this question was to check if the social media play a role in changing the youth language. In accordance with that, 85% of the informants consider that social networks help in innovating these words and only 15% answered negatively.

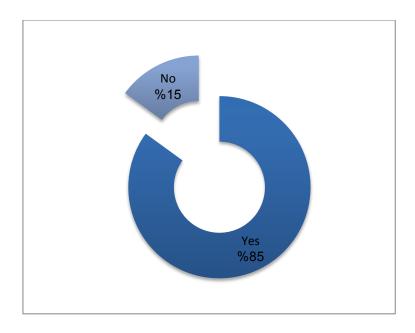


Figure 3.7.7. Youth's View of the Effect of Social Networks

The 85% participants who said Yes explained that when using these networks including Facebook, Twitter... etc, they do not need to be formal so they can coin new and expressive words and use them; others said that different cultures, different dialects and speech styles can influence the way they speak and make them memorise and use them again especially if these words were funny. Some participants added that being part of Facebook pages or groups makes them creative persons. In addition, funny comments in humour pages on Facebook is another way to use these words and mostly all of them agree that social media help in the spreading of the new used words.

Question 9: to which degree have you learnt new words from each of the following?

	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	No degree	
Your friends /peers	70%	18%	12%	0%	100%
Your siblings (brothers & sisters)	18%	24%	38%	20%	100%
Your parents	10%	12%	20%	58%	100%
Reading magazines and newspapers	20%	27%	35%	18%	100%
Television	40%	33%	21%	6%	100%
Listening to radio and music	42%	24%	25%	9%	100%
Social networks	73%	15%	%10	2%	100%

Table 3.7.5. Youth Degrees of Learning New Words

This question was asked to know the principal means that lead to innovations i.e., from where youngsters learn these new words. Both genders had nearly the same answers and the first source for innovation for them is social networks 73%, after that, come friends and peers with 70%. Music and radio are a source of innovation for 42%. However, 58% claims that they do not learn these words from their parents and 20% learn it with a large degree from their parents. Moreover, others (38%) learn these words to a small degree from their sibling. It is worth mentioning that, this question is of multiple choice type.

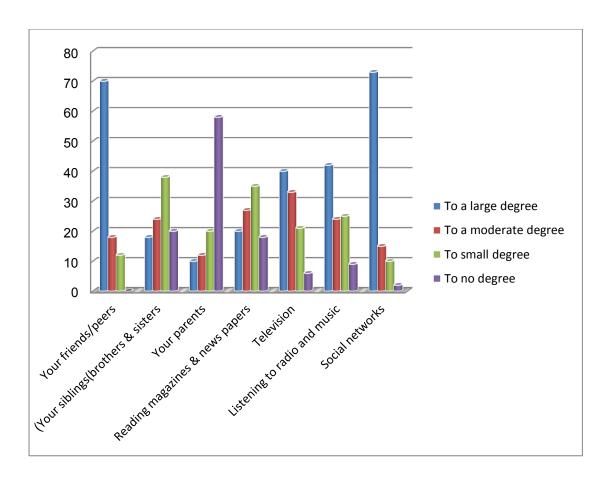


Figure 3.7.8. Youth Sources of Innovation

Question 10: Have you ever been in a situation where you were asked to translate new words you use?

As far as the tenth question is concerned, the respondents were asked to mention if any person have ever asked them to translate or simplify a word that they used. The results show that 57% experienced this situation and 43% had never been asked to translate these kinds of words. A figure at the end is provided for further explanation.

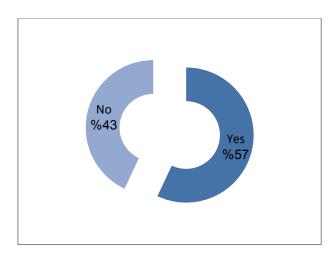


Figure 3.7.9. Informants' Possible Situations of Translation

Some examples were given since 57% of the participants' answers were positive; some of the new words that are illustrated belong to both genders i.e., the same words are used by boys and girls. In the table below the different words are listed with their translations:

Ma	les examples	Females examples		
[tpjæʃ]	trying to be beautiful	[mtobræ]	crazy	
[mʊrsʊwæt]	girls	[slæjta]	beautiful	
[kradawni]	saboté	[zaħ]	donkey	
[larga]	take it easy	[mSajtra]	anoying	
[baţi]	old fashioned			

Table 3.7.6. Informants' Examples of Translated Words

Question 11: Do you think new words can threaten Arabic?

Tackling this question requires the indication of respondents' views about whether the Arabic language would be affected by these new words. 45% of the participants agreed on the fact that the new linguistic innovations can threaten their mother tongue; while about 42% said that it cannot because it is a formal language and it is used in formal situations. However, another part (13%) saw that it may be and it depends on each person, they added that the Arabic language is a part from the Algerian culture and these new words would not be used any more when they get older.

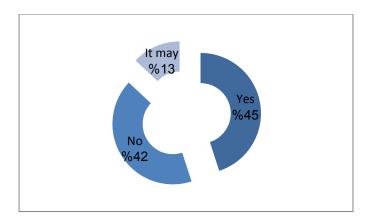


Figure 3.7.10. Informants' Views about the threaten of Arabic Language

Question 12: Are there any additional comments you want to add concerning new words used by your generation?

In this question, it was wanted from the informants to provide any additional comments about the topic or any extra information the researchers missed to mention in the questionnaire. Yet, not all the informants gave a comment.

Some students commented on the diffusion of these words because for them some people think that these words are seen as taboo since these words have a limited use. Other respondents said the contrary and it is a sign of modernity and an effect of globalization. One participant also saw that these words are more expressive and make the conversation funny. An interesting comment talked about the threat to the language. Another participant wondered which language they will transmit to the next generation. Some others saw that it is impolite to use these words with parents since only teenagers can understand them. Some informants added the influence of the internet and its negative effect on the emergence of these words. On the one hand, for some these new words mostly come from Rai music and they are vulgar, so often impolite or misused. On the other hand, for others these words are useful and they express their real feelings also they add humour to their speech. Another girl found them cool and enjoys uttering these words.

3.7.2. The Word List Analysis and Interpretation

A list of words has been handed to the same informants; the idea was to gather different lexical items so as to see to which extent Tlemcen's youth use those new words.

The word list consists of ten frequently used words. Both genders gave a list of words used in their daily conversations. Moreover, some of them give the same words which mean that many words are repeatedly used. However some others did not answer and others write the words that were given to them as examples. The following tables show these new words:

Word	Suggested	Informants' suggestions
	word	
Feel tired	[fɪʃles]	[kamla], [fibles], [kaw], [awiw]
I do not have money	[ħaʈba]	[lamaz], [mmɪzar], [ħæzaq], [yʊp yʊp], [zaqqʊ], [mʃoumɪ], [lasaq], [wɪw], [makanʃ maqla].
Beautiful girl	[ħabba]	[zalla], [annʊʃa], [papɪʃa], [baʕɪʈa], [top], [marka],[kaʕba], [morsʊ]
Well dressed	[artist]	[annos], [bogos], [ħatta], [kor w dɪkor], [mpajjas], [fɪlm], [bni:n].
Curious person	[beʒbæʒ]	[parabol], [baqqæʃ], [nesnæs], [qarʕæʒ], [baχæms], [mbassas], [tbʊnɪs].
Money	[bezra]	[swarad], [doro], [ʃkara], [damma], [hala], [torojat], [tɪkɪ], [kamʊn], [torɪro], [lħarʃa], [mʊʧo dɪnɪro], [ħabbæt],[ṣarf].
Meet on	[nfeisbʊki]	[nconect1], [nʃat1].
Facebook		
Old fashioned	[ħabes]	[msantaħ], [mebloki], [meskotʃi], [mballas],
and narrow-		[kavɪ], [gallɪt].
minded		
Rich person	[ʃarika]	[mrajjeʃ], [mbazzer], [dawla], [bonka].
Your friend	[ʃriki]	[nossi], [ʃrɪktɪ], [ħbɪbtɪ], [amɪgo], [ʧīka], [mon pot].

Table 3.7.7. Females' Answers

Word	Suggested	Informants' suggestions
	word	
Feel tired	[fɪʃles]	[maranı] nlʊpɪ], [la fatɪg], [la Sja], [kaw], [batrɪ fæbl]
I do not have	[ħaţba]	[lasaq], [mʃʊmar], [nsatwɪ], [zero sent], [mfætat],
money		[balʊta], [ʒarda], [ħæzaq], [naʃfa], [maqla], [wɪw], [3la
		la ʒont],[zaqqʊ], [ħafja], [zgɪnga]
Beautiful girl	[ħabba]	[zalla], [bomba], [sti:1], [damar], [karīta],
		[χat̞ɪra],[zabda], [morsʊ], [formaʒa].
Well dressed	[artist]	[annʊʃ], [fɪlm], [zazʊ], [bogos], [ħatta].
Curious person	[bezbæz]	[χarræs],[nesnæs], [ħaffær], [aberdʒɪ], [benjarqab],
		[zaqbaqalʊ], [qarʕaʒ], [taftaf]
Money	ri a	[swalda], [hon1], [ka:ʃ], [ħarʃa],[lʕa:d], [kaɣet], [omar],
	[bazra]	[ttiki], [toro], [ħalwa], [nnaqb], [ħabbæt],[taħraʃ],
		[şarf]
Meet on	[nfeisbʊki]	[nconect1], [nsat1], [feisbukasõ], [nsibar]
Facebook		
Old fashioned	[ħabes]	[tnaħ], [borriko], [msassakri], [mballas], [kavi],
and narrow-		[ʒamed], [bahlʊl], [baggær], [msantaħ], [boq], [qob].
minded		
Rich person	rr 11 1	[mrajjaʃ], [mbazzer], [bʊkʊħala], [bonka], [Sando
	[ʃarika]	ttiki], [mʊl ʃkara]
Your friend	F. 13 13	[sadiqi], [mon bra darwa], [bro], [saħbi], [ʧiko], [χυja],
	[ʃriki]	[ħbibna], [ʕdawwi], [ʒʊra].

Table 3.7.8. Males' Answers.

3.7.3. Interpretation of the Findings

Taking into consideration informants' answers of the questionnaire and the word list, the researchers tried to summarise the findings through the interpretation of the analysed data in this section. Among the findings, the younger generation in Tlemcen speech community plays a crucial role in language change as they are shifting and mixing different repertoires to come up with new words at a lexico-semantic level.

The majority of the youth informants use innovation in their daily interactions either for breaking the routine or for being humorous because being conservative in this globalized world is old fashioned, even in language. They usually use these words for appearances and behaviours in order not to be understood by others. So, they try to bring or coin new words to express what is in their minds.

In fact, these words do not come from the blue, but they are in a metaphorical way, in which the innovated word is associated with its meaning, the youngsters observe, associate and then coin the new word. For example, a well dressed person is called by a number of youth [kor w dtkor] it is a French expression 'corps et décor' meaning 'body and decor' used metaphorically to mean 'body and clothes'; they associated the beauty of the decor with the beauty of the clothes of the person. Moreover, social media play a considerable role in promoting the spread of these innovated words among members of the society. Furthermore, the technological revolution enriches youth language with different vocabularies e.g., [nʃati] 'to chat', [feisbukasõ] 'to connect to facebook', [nsibar] 'to go to cybercafé', [parabol] comes from the French word 'antenne parabolique' it used to mean a curious person 'satellite dish' in English ...etc.

The results have also shown that the use of these words is limited since the youth do not use these words with everyone. Nearly most of all use the innovated style at university only when interacting with friends and the majority never employ that kind of words in formal settings and with people whom they do not know; they often speak that language with boys and girls and at home with siblings. To sum up, these words are not of prestigious value or of high structure but rather their main characteristic is the fondness of today's youth for uttering and expressing themselves through innovated words.

3.8. Limitations of the Study

The present research work has its limitations. Therefore, due to the large subject matter, it is necessary to delimit our research. Due to a number of reasons, this study contains potential limitations that moderate the implications of the research findings. Thus, the results of this investigation must be considered within the borders of its design, its specific population in a given time, period, and context and finally its methods.

Another limitation lies in the fact that both methods of research did not include students from all faculties and departments of the university but it was all around the department of foreign languages. In a nutshell, this theme deserves a much more concise compilation and our attempt was to open the door for further research.

3.9. Conclusion

Through the previous pages in this chapter, the sample population under study was presented, and then an introduction of the instruments of research handled to collect the needed data. In addition, researchers shed light on both quantitative and qualitative methods as they are integrated in this study. As a result, we can say that many factors play a prominent role in language variation and change as adolescents express a certain awareness of which code to use in order to express their social identity and belonging.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

Since language is part of any society, it is changeable and variable. Thus, language is affected, in one way or another, by social variables such as age, gender, social class... etc. The relationship between language and age is crucial so long as different aged people practice the same language differently leading to innovation and change.

The present research work has examined a linguistic phenomenon named innovations in youth speech given that youth are associated with linguistic innovation and change. This phenomenon has gained linguists' interest and became truly pertinent as a field of research in sociolinguistics; therefore youth language has attested to be a fertile land for the improvement of new words and phrases.

Our attempt was to describe youth language focusing on the new lexical items and to incorporate the findings of our study, as we have used two research tools: a questionnaire and a word list, for further research areas. The research work consists of three chapters: the first chapter is the theoretical part providing the literature of the present issue covering some linguistic aspects related to the debating point. The second chapter presents the background and the actual linguistic composition of Algeria, in general, and Tlemcen as our case study, in particular, in the hope to describe youth repertoire. The third chapter is devoted to the practical steps of this research affording the different methods employed to analyse and interpret the data collected.

Based on the results obtained, this research permitted to provide some conclusive remarks. This study concludes that youth in Tlemcen are linguistically innovative and they play a great role in the diffusion of these items and thus changing the language. The contact of several factors allows youth to be much more creative in their daily conversations.

Concerning the hypotheses, the first hypothesis is confirmed as most of our sample agrees that they want to be updated following the globalisation train in addition to the fact that they want to be humourous, fashionable and independent from their parents' language. However, the second hypothesis does not fit what we have interpreted from the collected data since the use of those new coined words by young individuals go together with their psychological state as they utter them fluently as a sign of their integration. The third hypothesis corresponds with what has been found through the analysis in this current research; the social media play a great role in the spreading of those words and help in bringing new items to the language as well, which is obviously agreed on by many researchers and favoured by our sample too thanks to the technological revolution that we are living.

Worth mentioning, there are some limitations. Starting with, this investigation is centralised only in the departement of English. Because of time constraint, only two research instruments have been used. In essence, researchers have opened a door as a first step in the ladder of research which is not enough as an investigation that suits the richness of this field as it cannot cover this phenomenon from all angles.

This dissertation has offered empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of language change and use among Tlemcenian youth. However, future research can enrich our understanding of linguistic behaviours and word innovations within Tlemcen speech community. Student' language innovations are important in projecting a future linguistic portrait of Tlemcen and there are several opportunities for future research. First, the scope can be expanded to include other departments in the University of Tlemcen or to test populations outside the current scope of university students. As for the word list, the research can be expanded to include other words or other topics in addition to the inclusion of adults' attitudes towards this linguistic situation and if they can accord easily with the young generation's speech style.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is part of a research for the fulfillment of Master degree on linguistic innovations among youngsters in Tlemcen. Thank you in advance and appreciate your cooperation.

1.	Gende	r :	Male		Female	
2.	Age:					
3.	Do you	think th	at old and you	ing people s	peech is differ	ent?
		YesNo				
4.	Do you	use new	words or exp	ressions in d	laily conversat	ions, like <i>annouch</i> ,
	zginga	etc?				
		• Yes				
		• No				
If yes	give exa	amples				
5.	Why d	o you use	e new words?			
	•	To be hu	morous			
	•	To look	different			
	•	To imita	te			
	•	To soun	d fashionable			
	•	То соре	with globalisat	ion		
	•	To break	the routine			
	•	Other re	asons			

6.	How o	often	do y	ou use	e new	words	in each	of the	e follo	wing	situati	ions
~ •	,			O	,	11020		U			~	

Where? When? With whom?	Never	Seldom	Often	Always
At home with siblings (brothers & sisters)and other				
teenagers				
At home with adults; including parents				
At university only with friends/peers				
At social gatherings such as parties, moviesetc				
with people I do not know				
Only interacting with girls(peers)				
Only interacting with boys(peers)				
With both boys and girls				
Formal situations (job interveiws, mosques)				

7.	Wher	e do new	words come from? (you can select more than one answer)
	•	Arabic	
	•	French	
	•	English	
	•	Others	
8.	Do so	ocial netw	orks help in coining new words?
	•	Yes	
	•	No [
	·	110	
If	yes, ho	w ?	

9.	To which	degree have	you learnt	new words from	ı each of the	following :

	To a large	To a moderate	To a small	No
	degree	degree	degree	degree
Your friends /peers				
Your siblings(brothers &				
sisters)				
Your parents				
Reading magazines and				
newspapers				
Television				
Listening to radio and				
music				
Social networks				

Social networks				
10. Have you ever been	in a situation v	where you were a	sked to transla	ate new
words you use?				
• Yes				
• No				
If yes, like what ?				
11. Do you think new v	words can threa	nten Arabic?		
12. Comment:				
Are there any additional con your generation?	nments you wan	t to add concernin	g new words u	sed by

Appendix 2

Word List

How do you say these words in your style? (Write in Arabic or French)

1.	Feel tired e.g., /fishless/.					
	.					
2.	I do not	have money e.g., /hatba/.				
3.	Beautifu	ıl girl e.g., / habba /.				
4.	Well dr	essed person e.g., /artist/.				
5.	*	person e.g., /bajbaj/.				
6.		e.g., /bazra/.				
7.		facebook e.g., / nfacebooki /.				
8.	Old fash	nioned and narrow-minded person.e.g., /habess/.				
9.	Rich per	rson.e.g., /charika/.				
10	. Your	friend.e.g., /chriki/.				

يسعى هذا العمل إلى دراسة التغيرات اللغوية و تنوعاتها للشباب التلمساني ويعاين الانتاجات اللغوية المبتكرة من طرف طلاب السنة الاولى بجامعة تلمسان مع الأخذ بعين الاعتبار العوامل التي تساعد هؤلاء الشباب على الابتكار اللغوي. أستعمل في هذا العمل أداتي بحث: استبيان و قائمة كلمات لاختبار صحة الفرضيات و قد أدلت النتائج إلى أن شباب تلمسان مبدع لغويا ويستعمل هذه التعابير بطريقة استراتيجية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التغير اللغوي - الابتكارات اللغوية - لغة الشباب - ثنائية اللغة - تناوب الألسن - الكلمات المستعارة

Résumé

Ce travail s'inscrit dans le domaine de la sociolinguistique traitant des variations et changements langagières. Plus précisément, il examine les innovations langagières et les motivations qui poussent ces jeunes locuteurs à adopter ces comportements langagiers. L'étude prend comme population des jeunes étudiants à l'université de Tlemcen. Deux instruments de recherche ont été employés : un questionnaire et une liste des mots afin de tester les hypothèses. Les résultats montrent que les innovations langagières sont très présentent chez les jeunes locuteurs et que leurs usages sont stratégiques.

Mots Clés: Variation langagières - innovations - langue des jeunes - bilinguisme - alternation des codes - emprunt.

Summary

The present research work deals with the sociolinguistic study of language variation and change in Tlemcen speech community. It puts into examination youth language innovations among first year Tlemcen university students taking into consideration motivations leading to the phenomenon of innovation. Two research tools have been employed: a questionnaire and a word list in order to test the hypotheses. The findings show that Tlemcenian youth are innovative and use such terms in a strategic way.

Keywords: language variation - innovations - youth language - bilingualism - code switching - borrowing.