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Lexical Variation and Dialect Shift: A Gender-related Issue in Tlemcen Speech Community

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of the Degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics

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Declaration

I, Mrs Hynd Mahdad - Kaid Slimane, declare that my doctorate thesis entitled, “Lexical Variation and Dialect Shift: A Gender-Related Issue in Tlemcen Speech Community”, contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my personal work.

October, 2016

Mrs Hynd Mahdad – Kaid Slimane

Dedication

In memory of my father 'Hadj Abdelkrim'

To my beloved mother 'Hadja Baya', the light of my eyes

To my dear husband Mourad

To my loving children Hanaa, Rania, and Abdelkrim Mehdi

To my brother Nazim and my sister Mounya

To all the members of my family

To all who love me

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Abstract

When studying and analysing dialects, some are found to be characterised by social prejudices. In Algeria, regional dialects such as the ones of Jijel, Ghazaouet, and Tlemcen are witnessing some stereotypes. The result is the stigmatisation, by non-native speakers, of some variants leading to a dialect conflict. The main target of this research work is to describe and examine lexical variation in Tlemcen native speakers' language, more importantly in females' one, considering its impact on dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community. It also investigates the role of age in gendered language as it has a relationship with language change. One interesting province in this study concerns the discrepancy between women's linguistic behaviour as opposed to that of men since they are biologically and socially different, and the reasons for such behaviour taking into consideration two generations: the older and the younger one. In addition, and as we are concerned in the study of language change or more precisely in dialect shift, we first try to shed light on the motives which make the native speakers of Tlemcen behave the way they do in different settings, particularly in relation to some social variables such as age and gender. Tlemcen speakers' lexical variation is analysed by following the Labovian paradigm whereas adults' attitudes are approached on the basis of Lambert's matched-guise technique. The theoretical part of our work is concerned with the presentation of the concepts related to language variation and change, it also deals with the features that affect language and gender. We also shed some light on gender and language implications from a sociolinguistic perspective. The practical side of the research is concerned with the different methods used for collecting data such as the questionnaire, the interview, and the matched-guise technique. Then, a research methodology is followed and, results are analysed and interpreted. Aiming at supporting the hypotheses related to the established objective, the overall findings are summarised in the general conclusion.

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Transcription and Transliteration

The following lists include all phonetic realizations which are used in Modern Standard Arabic, Tlemcen Arabic, and the Rural one. These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

Consonants

<u>Symbols</u>	<u>Examples:</u>	<u>English Gloss:</u>
[d]	[dərwaʔ]	‘now’
[k]	[ku: zina]	‘a kitchen’
[b]	[bu:li:si]	‘a policeman’
[t]	[tektəb]	‘she writes’
[g]	[ga:ʔ]	‘all’
[r]	[ramla]	‘sand’
[m]	[mʃa]	‘he went’
[n]	[nuwaara]	‘rose’
[l]	[ləkta:b]	‘the book’
[t]	[tɑ:h]	‘he fell down’
[d]	[d̪baʔ]	‘hyena’
[q]	[qahwa]	‘coffee’
[w]	[wæ:səm]	‘what?’
[j]	[jədd]	‘hand’
[f]	[fu:l]	‘beans’
[s]	[sɪ:f]	‘sword’
[z]	[zi:t]	‘cooking oil’

[ʃ]	[ʃtɑḥ]	‘he danced’
[ʒ]	[ʒi:b]	‘a pocket’
[ɕ]	[ɕa]	‘he came’
[χ]	[χaaf]	‘he feared’
[ʁ]	[ʁurbaal]	‘sieve’
[ḥ]	[ḥu:t]	‘fish’
[ʕ]	[ʕabba:t]	‘she took’
[h]	[hrab]	‘he escaped’
[ʂ]	[ʂɑɑt]	‘he blew’
[z]	[zdam]	‘he attacked’
[θ]	[θaʃlab]	‘fox’

Vowels:

Short Vowels:

[a]	→ [duda]	: ‘a worm’
[e]	→ [beda]	: ‘white’
		: ‘tomatoes’
[o]	→ [fota]	: ‘towel’
[ɑ]	→ [ʃtɑḥ]	: ‘he danced’
[u]	→ [χubz]	: ‘bread’
[u]	→ [kursɪ]	: ‘chair’

Long Vowels:

[a:]	→ [ba:b]	: ‘door’
[e:]	→ [tomaʔe:f]	
[o:]	→ [ʂo:r]	: ‘wall’
[ɑ:]	→ [tɑ:l]	: ‘it lasted’
[ɪ:]	→ [ni:f]	: ‘a nose’
[u:]	→ [su:q]	: ‘market’

Key to Abbreviations and Acronyms

- AA : Algerian Arabic
TA : Tlemcen Arabic
UV : Urban Variety
RV : Rural Variety
MV : Mixed Variety
MSA : Modern Standard Arabic
CA : Classical Arabic
H : High Variety
TNS : Tlemcen Native Speakers
TNNS: Tlemcen Non-Native Speakers
L : Low Variety
CS : Code-switching
TSC : Tlemcen speech community

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Starting from the hypothesis that Tlemcen dialect may be substituted by the rural one in the future, the current research deals with lexical variation and dialect shift in relation with gender in Tlemcen speech community. Throughout this research, and in respect of this premise, we tried to shed light, on the basis of recent issues in sociolinguistics, the complexities of language variation, more specifically at the lexical level. In addition, we aimed at measuring the attitudinal reactions of Tlemcen native speakers towards this dialectal variation which is characterized by the emergence of the mixed as well as the rural varieties.

Since people have always been very inquisitive about knowing the divergence between language and dialect, sociolinguists started to investigate in the field to make the distinction between them. As a result, many researchers agreed on the fact that the distinction between the notions ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ can be made in terms of size and prestige. In other words, language is bigger and encompasses larger areas than a dialect which is restricted to smaller ones on the one hand. On the other, language contains more linguistic items than a dialect, thus, it is also more prestigious.

As a sociolinguistic phenomenon, variation is closely related to the geographical as well as the social background of the interlocutor, the reason for which in the 18th century, dialectology dealt with language variation as being an outcome of the geographical origin of the speaker. It was only by the 1960s that sociolinguistic issues paved the way towards investigating the social motives and their impact on language variation.

When people interact with each other in any society, they are obviously subjected to a variety of social parameters such as age, gender, social status, and

many others which are the upshot of the social relations. Departing from this principle, many linguists and sociolinguists were interested in studying language in terms of social relations and linguistic behaviour. Thus, the study of sociolinguistic variation started to take into consideration not only the speakers' styles but their different ways of speaking as well, in relation to the place and the social group they belong to.

It is not an easy task to define the reasons leading to dialect shift since these are numerous. Yet, dialect shift may be studied from two different angles: From a positive perspective, a speaker may shift from one dialect to another to identify with, or is familiar with a particular speech community or its values. From a negative one, dialect shift is often associated with mockery; in other words, a speaker may shift from one dialect to another to mock or demean a speech community. All this is often achieved by using speech stereotypes.

In recent studies, sociolinguists have confirmed that in addition to linguistic variation between social groups, gender differences also play a prominent role in linguistic change and thus in language change. As a result, the study of gender variation in language has been tackled by many sociolinguists starting from Labov and Trudgill (1972) to Lakoff (1975), Tannen (1994), Cameron (2002), and Holmes (2003) and others. Adding to gender, age is also one of the central variables which has also been taken into consideration in variationist sociolinguistics in the sense that it enables sociolinguists to investigate language change over time.

Studying women and men's speech is considered as a very interesting and fascinating subject since most of the issues were and still are interested in investigating the gender-differential tendencies in style shifting including the formal and the casual speech, the use of the stigmatized variants as well as the positive and the negative evaluation of language change. Moreover, since men and women have different ways of speaking, research on gender and language

differences have been of great interest to sociolinguists. Hence, by the publication of Robin Lakoff's book (1975) entitled *Language and Women's Place*, women's speech and its stereotypes have witnessed a large spread in contemporary societies.

The focus of this study is the exploration of lexical variation in Tlemcen speech, mainly the differences in vocabulary between native and non-native speakers, men and women. As Tlemcen dialect is characterized by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ], it is considered as being one of the most specific dialects in Algeria. Yet, empirical observation of a number of Tlemcen native speakers from different genders and age groups show that nowadays the language of these people is no longer the same since it tends to differ from the one used by their fathers and grand-fathers years ago. Through time, Tlemcen society has witnessed noticeable changes which have influenced its dialect; On the one hand, new words and expressions have been added to Tlemcen vocabulary and dialect. On the other one, and because of dialect contact (the rural and the urban varieties), some Tlemcen native speakers tend to avoid the use of the glottal stop since it is often stigmatized by non-native ones.

Our fundamental target is, then, the study of lexical variation shedding some light on the effects of gender as well as age on dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community. This study is based on sociolinguistic theoretical and empirical researches which assert that all languages coexist with some language varieties, these are quite different since they depend on some regional or social aspects. As lexical variability is widely spread in Tlemcen, we aim at finding out the reasons leading to dialect shift, and thus to language change within the same area.

The salient point about the work is to settle a number of related inquiries associated with lexical variation and dialect shift. Hence, this study is set out to provide answers to the following research questions:

- 1- In Tlemcen speech community, do men and women use language differently in their everyday conversations?
- 2- Which gender contributes most in dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community?
- 3- What makes some Tlemcenian females avoid using the local variety Tlemcen Arabic (TA)?
- 4- What are Tlemcen older native speakers' attitudes towards the receding process of Tlemcen urban variety use, especially among young Tlemcenian females?

As we try to explore the patterns of lexical variation and dialect shift in TA, the core aim of the research is to check the validity of the following hypotheses:

- a- In Tlemcen, when interacting men and women speak differently, men prefer using the rural variety, whereas old women opt for the conservation of the urban one.
- b- Males play a prominent role in dialect shift which may affect the use of Tlemcen Arabic and thus, may lead to language change in Tlemcen speech community.
- c- Various factors make Tlemcenian females lose, to some extent, their vernacular; the most important being age.
- d- Tlemcen older people show negative attitudes towards Tlemcenian females, especially the younger ones vis-à-vis the use of the rural variety.

The results attempt at finding out the causes of lexical variation in Tlemcen dialect. These are closely associated with two variables: age and gender.

The first chapter is concerned with the theoretical part, it sheds light on the most important concepts related to language variation and language change in relation with gender and age. It also highlights some interesting claims about language comprehension and gender information. Moreover, it deals with

language and gender studies evolution. It also tackles approaches to gender and language research as well as to some concepts related to feminist sociolinguistics.

The second chapter deals with language implications from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is devoted to the study of gender, language and communicative functions including men and women's communicative strategies. In addition, this chapter highlights men's and women's attitudes towards language and presents the relationship between women and language stereotypes in Algeria. It also provides an overview of language variation, more importantly the lexical one, in Tlemcen speech community.

The third chapter is then concerned with the presentation and the explanation of the research design and data collection. It also deals with the quantitative and the qualitative methods since they are essential to any relevant study. Throughout this chapter, a variety of techniques are set to explain the methodology followed. Triangulation including the use of the questionnaire, the interview, and the matched-guise technique allow us to reach relevant data to check the validity of the aforementioned hypotheses.

Finally, and in the fourth and last chapter, the main results are analyzed, discussed and interpreted as objectively as possible. At the end, some suggestions are provided in order to overcome the problem exposed in this study.

The last step is a general conclusion which summarises the most important findings of the study. In addition, some inquiries are set so as to be considered for further post doctoral research in order to investigate deeper in such domain.

Finally, throughout this thesis, we try to provide a modest contribution to the knowledge of the role of gender in sociolinguistic variation. Meanwhile, we also

aim at elucidating the impact of gender and exposing the effect that the rural variety has on the urban one in Tlemcen speech community. Considering the stigmatized features of Tlemcen Arabic, the intricate question is to know whether Tlemcen dialect will be maintained by its native speakers, more importantly by Tlemcenian females, or whether it will gradually disappear letting a place to the mixed or the rural varieties.

CHAPTER ONE

Developing Understandings of Gender Information and Language Comprehension

1.1. Introduction

One of the fundamental features that characterises human beings and distinguishes them from animals is the way they communicate with each other using language. Through time, considerable changes have occurred in the world and thus affected the societies and influenced their languages. New words have appeared replacing the old-fashioned ones and have been part of today's languages. As language is considered as the mirror of humans' feelings and emotions, the use of words and expressions differ not only from one person to another, but also from one sex /gender to another. Hence, since the society is changing, the use of language must certainly change due to the fact that it reflects society. The question is then: if differences are to be found, are they related specifically to gender? Attempting to answer this question, many points in the following chapter will be discussed.

The current chapter focuses on language and gender and also highlights some interesting claims about language comprehension and gender information including a theoretical background about it.

1.2. Language and Gender

The topic of women's and men's speech has been of great interest to sociolinguists and gender is a "fascinating subject" to borrow Corbett's (1991: 1) words. Reviews of the literature concerned with language and gender are found in many works in the domain such as: Key (1975), Philips et al. (1987), Cameron (1992), Coates (1998), etc. In linguistics, the term 'gender' referred to the grammatical categories that denoted sex in the structure of human languages. The term was used by feminist theorists to refer to the construction of the categories 'masculine' and 'feminine' in the society. Lee & Ascraft (2005: vii)¹ state that:

Gender encompasses biological sex but extends beyond it to the socially prescribed roles deemed appropriate for each sex

¹ Lee, J. W. and WAschcraft, A. M. (2005: vii (preface)). *Gender Roles*.

by the cultures in which we live. The gender roles we each carry out are highly individualistic, built on our biological traits, appearance and personality, life experiences, career and education, and social relationships.

Most of the issues were and still are interested in gender-differential tendencies in style-shifting (for example, between formal and casual speech), the use of prestige and stigmatized variants in addition to the positive and negative evaluation of language change. Many sociolinguists focus on differences in terms of linguistic variation among them Jespersen (1922) who is considered as the founding father of gender studies in terms of linguistic variation. In fact, most societies recognize that language use is a marker of gender differences. In this vein, Tannen (1995: 138) states that:

Communication isn't as simple as saying what you mean. How you say what you mean is crucial, and differs from one person to the next, because using a language is a learned behavior: how we talk and listen is deeply influenced by crucial expectations.

In the seventies and early eighties, many researches have been conducted in the field of language and gender. Sociolinguists' interest was to examine the style and language differences between males and females and the reasons for these dissimilarities. Thus, many issues were interested in gender-differential tendencies in style-shifting (as in formal and casual speech), use of prestige and stigmatised variants, etc. Labov's (1966, 1972a) and Trudgill's (1972a) empirical studies of variation in language use were particularly important and influential.

1.2.1. Early Works on Gender and Language

Since every society has gone through great changes, which have undoubtedly influenced the languages, new vocabularies have appeared and replaced old-

fashioned ones. Thus, nobody denies the fact that each language has its own characteristics and reflects society to a great extent. Research on language and gender was recognized as an independent domain of inquiry in the 1970s; sociolinguists attempted to explore the relationship between language, gender and power. Early issues in the field can be divided into two types based on the explanations provided for the perceived and recorded differences between women and men's language. These two approaches can be characterized as the 'dominance' and 'difference' paradigms; these approaches and others will be explained in detail in the coming sections. Briefly, we can say that in the 'dominance' framework, researchers usually focus on phonetics, phonology, syntax and morphology as the core features of language. This theory stands for a conviction about female's lack in language. On the other hand, early scholars in the 'difference' paradigm examine the differences between males and females; according to them, these differences are merely a result of their belonging to different sub-cultures.

Sociolinguists confirm that there is a tight relationship between language and society. They believe that individuals interact with each other and engage themselves in different kinds of verbal exchanges creating systems for communication which are not based only on the rules of language as a formal system but also on their knowledge of the social context, of the individual whom they address, and of the topic they deal with. According to Holmes, J. (1992 :16): "the sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and of the choices people make when they use language". The different factors that may affect human's language may be represented thus in diagrammatic form (see figure 1 below).

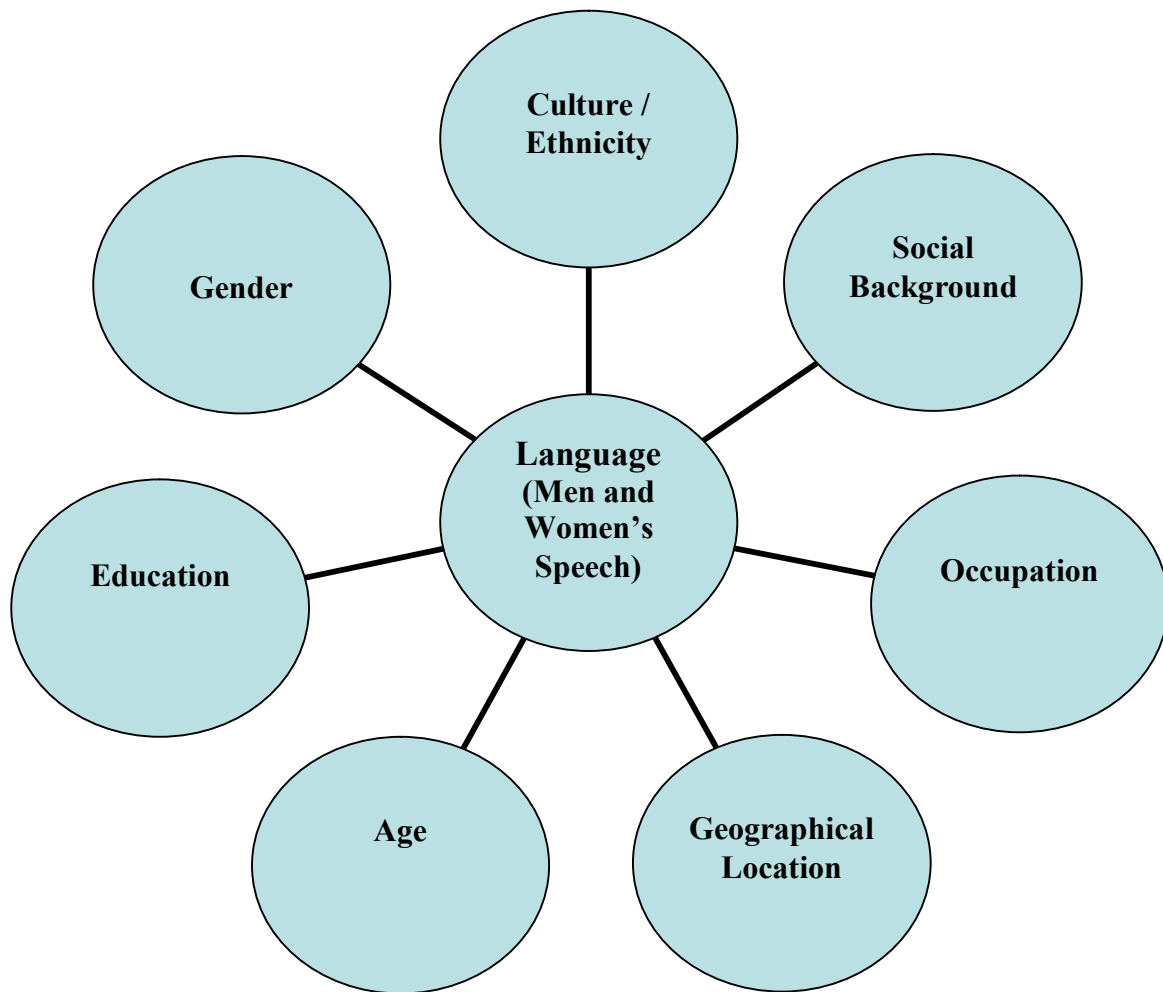


Figure. 1.1. Influences on Humans' Language²

Through the years, many studies have been carried. In the 1970's, various sociolinguistic issues were made and focused mainly on syntactic, phonology and morphology variations. At the beginning, gender was considered as a sociolinguistic variable, just like social class, age, ethnicity and social status. It was not until the mid 70's when Lakoff's essay *Language and Woman's Place* was released, science about gender and language was established (Lakoff, 1975. In Nordenstam, 2003:10). Most of the early works on language and gender were based on the prejudices and the stereotypes of the society. Litosseliti (2006: 28) claims that all the early work on

² The above diagram is my own conception.

woman's language characterizes it as "lacking, weak, trivial, and hesitant- in short, deficient when compared to men's language". Hence, throughout the development of the feminist thought, research on language and gender has moved from an essentialist paradigm where speakers were categorized in terms of their biological sex to a period where the cultural concept of gender was recognized, together with social psychological dimensions; according to Simpson and Mayr (2010: 15) , "whereas 'sex' is a biological and physiological category, referring to the anatomical differences between men and women, 'gender' is a social category and social construct".

As a result, by the 1980's, studies in sociolinguistics witnessed a shift in terminology and moved from the term 'sex' referring to a biological phenomenon to the term 'gender' referring to a social one. Chambers argued that sex and gender must be demarcated in studies on sociolinguistics to understand whether differences in language are culturally or biologically based.³

1.2.1.1. Gender Stereotypes and Gender Identity

Since the publication of the book entitled *Language and Women's Place* written by Robin Lakoff, stereotypes about women's speech have been widely spread among the general public. Lakoff (1990: 204) drew up a list of features characterizing women's speech, relating mostly to vocabulary, but also to syntactic structures. Two lists have been set. The first one (in 1975) identified the following characteristics as "women's language":

- 1- Hedges, e.g. sort of, kind of, I guess;
- 2- (Super) polite forms e.g. Would you, please...I'd really appreciate if...
- 3- Tag questions;
- 4- Speaking in italics, e.g. emphatic so and very, intonational language;
- 5- Empty adjectives, e.g. charming, sweet, adorable;
- 6- Hypocorrect grammar and pronunciation;
- 7- Lack of sense of humour e.g. poor at telling jokes;

³ In *Sex Differences and Similarities in Communication* by Daniel J. Canary, Dindia, D. (2009).

- 8- Direct quotations, e.g. “Hannah said that he said...”
- 9- Special vocabulary, e.g. specialised colour terms like ‘Dove grey’.
- 10- Question intonation in declarative contexts.

Later, Lakoff (1990:204) introduced the most recent part of the list.

- Women’s intonational contours display more variety than men’s.
- Women use diminutives and euphemisms than men.
- Women’s voices are breathier than men’s.
- Women make more use of expressive forms (adjective those expressing emotional rather than intellectual evaluation).
- Women use intonation patterns that resemble questions, indicating uncertainty or need for approval.
- Women are more indirect and polite than men.
- In conversations, women are more likely to be interrupted, less likely to introduce successful topics.
- Women’s communicative style tends to be collaborative rather than competitive.
- More of women’s communication is expressed non verbally (by gestures and intonation) than men’s.
- Women are more careful to be ‘correct’ when they speak, using better grammar and fewer colloquialisms than men.⁴

What should be mentioned is the fact that there is a considerable divergence between conventional stereotypes and the reality of women’s speech. Researches concerned with it have shown that variation does exist between men and women’s language and that women are linguistically, as well as socially, at a disadvantage. In Romaine’s (2001: 170) words: “language plays an active role in the symbolic positioning of women as inferior to men. It both constructs and perpetuates that reality, often in obvious ways, but at other times in subtle and invisible ways”.

In the past, when investigating about language and gender, sociolinguists were mostly interested in studying hedges, pitch, politeness and ‘correctness’. Trudgill

⁴ Robin Lakoff, *Talking Power*, Harper Collins. USA. 1990. p204.

and Labov, for example, have consistently shown that, on average, women speak a form of language more approaching the standard (i.e. ‘correct’) than men of a similar background⁵. In recent times, however, most attention is given to what is called ‘communicative styles’ or ‘strategies’. At the beginning, investigations were carried out on private conversation but more recently the interest and the attention has focused on women’s linguistic behaviour in the workplace. Among the most interesting researches, the one done by Tannen (1994) published in various books on women’s communicative strategies⁶. According to her, men tend to use ‘contest’ strategies and women ‘community’ strategies. In other words, women are too busy establishing ‘community’ strategies in their work instead of climbing the ladder by engaging in the ‘contest’ ones which are more successful in organisations founded on hierarchy; the reason which explains women’s lack of advancement in the workplace.

In spite of the fact that Tannen’s work has caused a considerable controversy among linguists, researchers still stick to the idea that women speak less than men in public conversations and men interrupt women more than the other way around. We will tackle this point more deeply in the following sections.

Stereotyping is considered as the core interest in folk linguistics which is a term used by linguists to refer to non-linguists’ beliefs about language; the example that can be given is women’s verbal incontinence. Spender (1980: 42) writes “The talkativeness of women has been gauged in comparison not with men but with silence [so that] any talk in which a woman engages can be too much”. In the 1980’s, Cameron stated that non-academic feminist workshops and debates had developed a feminist folklinguistics which might have come “straight from the pages of Jepsen” Cameron (1985: 34). She characterizes (1985: 35) feminist folklinguistic beliefs about women’s language use as follows:

- 1- Disfluency (because women find it hard to communicate in male language).
- 2- Unfinished sentences.
- 3- Speech not ordered according to the norms of logic.

⁵ Labov, W. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1972.

Trudgill, P. *The Social Differentiation of English Norwich*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1974.

⁶ Tannen, D. *Talking from Nine to Five*, Vigaro, London, 1994.

- 4- Statements couched as questions (approval seeking).
- 5- Speaking less than men in mixed groups.
- 6- Using co-operative strategies in conversation, whereas men use competitive strategies.

Thus, it seems obvious that the so-called female style is highly stereotypical. It is worth stating that in recent studies of “communication skills”, Cameron has identified a discourse about men’s communicative deficiencies which has evolved from male and female interactional styles. (Cameron 1998: 200). In other words, now it is men who are considered as deficient.

Let us turn to the idea that concerns stereotypes and identity. Since at least the 17th century, there have been various reports about men’s and women’s language; the forms of their language were so different that it was impossible to speak without signalling gender identity. Everybody knows that gender identity is a fundamental part of humans’ identity; in other words, the basic categorization at birth into males and females leads to an identification with one’s social group. It is worth mentioning that social group membership has a very important effect on personal preference and choice. Consequently, cognitive associations relating activities and gender (gender stereotypes) as well as gender and self (gender identity) may have an impact on the more personal associations that a person can express. It follows, then, that during childhood people may ask themselves how well they fit in with their gender or how much they adhere to their own gender stereotypes (Egan & Perry, 2001)⁷. For almost all people, a clear gender classification is given at birth, then, all social interactions are influenced by gender. Identification with gender group is considered by many developmental psychologists as a fundamental social categorization in the life of a child. Yelland (1998)⁸. Indeed, there is general

⁷ In *Gender Identity & Gender Stereotypes as Interacting Influences on Children’s Adjustment* (2009) by Stephanie Franz

⁸ In Holmes, J. and Meyerhoff, M. (2003). *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

agreement among psychologists that gender is the single most important social category in people's lives. Bem (1993) ⁹.

In the field of language and gender in relation with identity, two major psychological approaches are identified: the social-cognitive approach and the discursive psychology approach. To have a brief idea about them, let us show their interests. According to the former perspective, gender identity is the result of internalized social norms about gender; these norms predispose individuals to act, talk, and negotiate. According to this approach, though identity conducts and reflects the language around it, cognition is salient in language expression and communication. On the other hand, the interest of the latter is mainly on language rather than on cognition; the discursive psychology approach defines gender as an accomplishment and result of social interaction. As a conclusion, we can say that the two different approaches about the nature of gender identity in relation to language have profoundly affected researchers and psychologists in studying gender and language.

1.2.2. Language and Gender Studies' Evolution

Since at least the 17th century, and because men and women have always shown significantly different forms of their language, many investigations and studies have been made in the ethnographic record of language communities. Lakoff's article and book untitled: *Language and Women's Place* were considered as an incentive in the study of Language and gender in the USA. From a historical point of view, Lakoff's article, was considered as part of the second wave feminism movement which started in 1972 when Title IX was passed in the USA ; This title is a portion of the United States Amendments, co-authored and introduced by Senator Birch Bayh¹⁰, it states (in part) the following:

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Birch Evans Bayh: born on January 22nd, 1928) is a former U.S. Senator from Indiana who served from 1963 to 1981. He is the only non-Founding Father to author two amendments to the United States Constitution and was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president in 1976. (From Wikipedia).

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.¹¹

In short, Title XI guaranteed women equal access to educational benefits. As a result, female graduate students became strongly engaged with feminism. Hence many researchers think that the second wave of feminism is considered as the starting point of feminism linguistic theory. But what should not be denied is the fact that even before the second wave, some issues dealt with language and gender, but not comparable with nowadays' studies; among them, Jepersen's research. According to Talbot, M. (2010: 468- 9), Jepersen investigated in this field, but his research was not based on evidence but on unjustified claims he made, based on the opinions of others, such as authors, and on his own prejudices.

The first books dealing with language and gender and resulting from the second wave of feminism were not really different from what Jepersen had written years ago. The two most important ones are Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975), already stated before, and Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980). In spite of the fact that both books received a lot of criticism, they have been of great importance in paving the way for the feminist linguistic theory. In the same respect, Sunderland (2006: 13- 16) states the following:

Although both books received a lot of criticism following their release, they have been crucially important as they paved the path for the feminist linguistic theory to come.

As the serious study of gender was just beginning at the same time as the study of language and gender, the field has witnessed considerable changes and

¹¹ Title IX and Sex Discrimination (U.S. Department of Education)

various conflicts concerning gender theory have been observed on the language front. The fact that gender is deeply embedded in our actions, our desires, our beliefs and our institutions makes us think as if it is absolutely so natural. Since gender seems to us as being self-evident, its study has become quiet interesting and of great importance; in other words, gender has started to be studied not only from an individual perspective, but rather from a social one too.

1.3. The Linguistic History of Gender

Researches about gender-specific language variation began in the 1960's with the sociophonological surveys of William Labov, especially his study on Martha's Vineyard (1965) and his New York study, Labov, W. (1966b). His aim was to collect reliable and authentic data for his research where he introduced the sociolinguistic interview, carefully designed to elicit different speech styles .

According to his investigations, the results show a stratification of phonological variables according to sex/gender, age, socio-economic status, and situational context. Consequently, he found that: First, women of high classes use more standard variants than their equivalent men. Second, The lower middle class (LMC) « hypercorrects » its language ; it copies features of the middle class (MC), whose language behavior is more standard, in order to gain social prestige. From the findings, Labov showed that the role of gender is an important factor in sociophonological variation but he didn't explain the reasons for which women use more standard forms than men. He (1990:214) states that :

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

Following the same framework of Labov, Trudgill, P (1972), in his study of Norwich, tried to find out the reasons for which women use more standard forms

than men. He assumed that men are judged according to their work, whereas women are assessed according to their appearance. He (1972 :91) pointed out that:

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

Trudgill's methodology was based on a large-scale interview (a sample of sixty people). He studied the variable (ng), for which there are two pronunciations in Norwich English ('walking', the prestige form, and 'walkin'). Trudgill found that the women tended to use the prestige forms more than men. He (1972a:182) explained:

Women in our society are more status-conscious than men, generally speaking...and are therefore more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables.

Since women do not speak the way men do even in the same speech community, research on gender language differences has been of a paramount interest for many researchers. So, studies on language variation according to gender started to develop in Western societies in the 1970's with the work of sociolinguists such as Labov (1972) and Lakoff (1975). At first, gender was regarded as a sociolinguistic variable, just like social class, age, ethnicity and social status. It was not until the mid70's, when Lakoff's essay was released, science about gender and language was established. This study which was mainly based on observations of language, discussed the differences between women and men's language, seeing them as differences, not as abnormalities since at first, women were considered as being in some way abnormal and inferior in their behaviour, as "male behaviour has traditionally been seen as the norm and in need of no particular advice or attention". Goddard and Patterson (2000:49)

Early studies on language and gender usually considered women's language or speech behaviour of women in terms of a deficiency model, that is, men's speech behaviour was considered as stronger, more prestigious, and more desirable as opposed to women's. In her study, Lakoff focused on a wide range of gender differences in language use and argued that these differences were directly related to the social power of male speakers and powerlessness of female speakers. In this regard, she (1973:45) observes that "the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways men and women are expected to speak and the ways in which women are spoken of".

The publication of this work marked a turning point in sociolinguistics and the study has merited many feminist critique. Cameron (1992:63), for example, in *Femnism and linguistic Theory* suggests that, the women's assessments might...have reflected their awareness of sex- stereotypes and their consequent desire to fulfill "normal" expectations that women talk "better". According to her, the study of language and gender should be divided into three important categories including 'Deficit', 'Dominance' and 'Difference'.

The most important question which has been of extreme concern sociolinguists is: Do men and women who speak a particular language use it in different ways? In order to answer this question two domains of language behaviour were investigated: first, speech behaviour of men and women on the phonological level; second, the interaction behaviour (conversational styles) between women and men's discourse.

1.3.1. Folk Linguistics and the Early Grammarians

There is a tight relationship between language and folk linguistics since this latter deals with the study of speakers' opinions and beliefs about language, language varieties, and language usage. For many years, a special interest was given to non-specialists' beliefs about language. Bloomfield (1944: 45) named these beliefs 'secondary responses', in an article in which he also claims that "the most important utterances about language are those which are made in systematic study

of language”¹². As a result, non- linguists’ beliefs have not been taken into considerations by linguists who have considered these beliefs as unimportant since they arise from a lack of knowledge, and thus seem not valid for valuable areas of investigations. In the same vein, Hoenigswald (1966: 20) asserts that: “We should be interested not only in what goes on (language), but also in how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in what people say goes on (talk concerning language)”¹³. For him, ‘folk linguists’ are considered as non-linguists and language users who have no formal linguistic training. In contrary, Preston (1993: 334) claims that “knowledge of the folk categories at every level serves not folkloric, anthropological, and applied linguistic ends but also general linguistic ones”¹⁴. Hence, one may assume that linguists’ points of view have been at variance regarding folk linguists’ beliefs. Concerning gender, the early grammarians label “kind” as synonym of what is today labelled “gender” which means that “kind” refers to the socially constructed factors or attributes that are assigned to a given sex. Jepsen (1924: 230) states the following:¹⁵

I am chiefly concerned with the relation between notional (that is, in this case, natural) and grammatical categories, and shall try to show how here and there languages have in course of time developed other and more rational groupings than the old traditional ones.

Differences between men and women’s language have always interested folk linguists, proverbs captured some folk-linguistic ideas, often referring to women verbosity. Here are some examples:

- ‘A woman’s tongue wags like a lamb’s tail’. (England).
- ‘Ou femme y a, silence n’y a’ (Where there’s a woman, there’s no silence). (France).

¹² Cited in A Leonard Bloomfield Anthology (1987 : 284) by Leonard Bloomfield. Abridged Edition.

¹³ Cited in Analysing Variation in English (2011). By Warren Maguire & April McMahon. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁴ Idem.

¹⁵ Cited in Gender Shifts in the History of English (2003: 30) by Anne Curzan. Cambridge University Press.

- ‘Many women, many words, many geese, many turds’. (England).
- ‘ Three women make a market’. (Sudan).

In eighteen-century writings, works dealing with gender differences in vocabulary is quite widespread. As an example, the passage below shows the non-value and the unimportance of women’s vocabulary. Cambridge, quoted in Tucker (1961:93) says:

I must beg leave...to doubt the propriety of joining to the fixed and permanent standard of language a vocabulary of words which perish and are forgotten within the compass of a year. That we are obliged to the ladies for most of these ornaments to our language; I readily acknowledge.¹⁶

The question of lexical change, including vocabulary, was highlighted in the early twentieth-century by Jepsen. He (1922:247) asserts that it is *men* rather than women who introduce ‘new and fresh expressions’ and thus men who are ‘the chief renovators of language’

1.3.2. Anthropologists and Dialectologists

Before tackling anthropologists’ and dialectologists’ views concerning language and gender, it is essential to shed some light on the fields of anthropology and dialectology. The former is concerned with the study of people, their evolutionary history, the way they behave, they adapt to different environments, communicate and socialise with each other, whereas the latter, which is a sub-field of sociolinguistics, deals with the scientific study of linguistic dialect; it also studies variations in language that are based on geographic distribution.

¹⁶ Cambridge 1754, as quoted in Tucker 1961:93. In Coates, J. (2014: 10). *Women, Men and Language: A Sociolinguistic Account of Gender Differences in Language*.

In traditional dialectology, gender was not really taken into consideration since the informants selected were generally non-mobile, old, rural and male (Trudgill 1972). This prejudice in the selection of the informants was rejected by sociolinguists; in fact, this rejection consisted in choosing urban rather than rural and young as well as old informants. Concerning male speakers' studies, they continued to be carried out till the late 1980s when the concentration on female speakers' studies started to appear. Thus, the relationship between the language of male and female speakers have been studied from different angles and with various methodologies.

Issues about the nature and origin of gender can be contrasted with structuralist studies which were influenced by the late 19th and early 20th century sociological, psychological and anthropological theory. At the beginning, gender category was considered as a primarily social and psychological phenomenon then it developed as a result of an interplay between structural and extralinguistic factors as studied by several French and Dutch scholars such as de la Grasserie (1906), Meillet (1921, 1931), and within American Anthropology by Sapir (Sapir & Swadesh 1946) and Whorf (1945). It is worth mentioning that early twentieth century anthropologists considered that the social and political differences divisions between men and women were 'natural'. It was just after the Womens' Liberation Movement of the 1970s that an important distinction started to be made; it was the distinction between sex as a biological given and gender as a cultural variable. Consequently, women gained the legal right to be treated as the equals of men.

A great number of researches about language and gender have been carried out in the field of anthropology. Some dialectologists, unlike anthropologists, were very interested in studying the differences between males' and females' language within their native language. To carry out their investigations, they considered males and females as their research subject, and tried to find differences between both genders in a language community yet, dialectologists' points of view were different. Some considered that women are more conservative than men with respect of language, among them was Wartburg (1925) while others opposed this view like Orton (1962).

According to the first view, dialectologists chose women as informants because according to them, women spoke ‘pure’ dialect and this is due to their innate conservatism. This view was expressed by a great variety of dialectologists from the end of the nineteenth century till the 1940s. Wartburg (1925: 113) states the following: “Everyone knows that as far as language is concerned, women are more conservative than men; they conserve the speech of our forebears more faithfully”.¹⁷ This view is based on the following reasons: first, women, unlike men, almost never left the place where they live. Second, they often stayed at home talking and ‘chatting’ to each other i.e. to family members; they have little chance to get in contact with strangers. Third, women don’t do military service.

Hence, there are still some other dialectologists who do not share the same view such as Orton (1962). These preferred men as informants since according to them men’s speech was closer to the ‘pure’ dialect. In the same respect, in his Introduction to the Survey of English dialects, Orton (1962: 15) asserts that: “In this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women”.

Although different views dealt with men and women’s language in the field of dialectology, their methodology contrasted markedly with that of modern quantitative sociolinguistics since dialectologists’ choice of informants was not really representative.

1.4. Gender and Sex

For most people sex and gender are regarded as being coextensive: women are human females and men are human males. Historically, many feminists have disagreed with this view and have established a sex/ gender distinction. According to them, ‘sex’ refers to human females and males depending on biological features such as chromosomes, sex organs, hormones and other physical features whereas ‘gender’ denotes women and men depending on social factors notably, social role, position, behaviour or identity.

¹⁷ As quoted in Pop (1950 : 373) in *Women, Men and Language* by Coates (2014).

In order to study male's and women's speech differences, sociolinguists had to make a distinction between the terms sex and gender. The British sociologist Giddens (1989) defines 'sex' in terms of "biological or anatomical differences between men and women", whereas, 'gender' "concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females" (1989:158). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:10) state that "Sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex". So, according to these sociolinguists, masculinity and femininity refer to the biological differences whereas gender is considered as a behaviour that encompasses the psychological, social and cultural differences which are imposed on males and females by the society. Along with the same line of thought, Cameron (1998 :280) points out that :

Men and women [...] are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating. They do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking 'appropriate' to their own sex ; they learn a much broader set of gendered meanings that attach in rather complex ways to different ways of speaking, and they produce their own behavior in the light of these meanings...

It is clearly noticeable nowadays that the use of the term 'gender' is commonly used rather than 'sex'. According to Wardaugh, R. (2006:315) "sex is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females". So, we can say that if the term 'sex' refers to the biological or anatomical differences between men and women, 'gender', as a concept, refers to the social and cultural differences in terms of meanings, beliefs, practices and psychological features acquired throughout the socialization process.

Coates (2007:63) considers that gender is a social construct in the study of language. She explains that:

Speakers are born male or female but it is the social and cultural influences which surround us which determine how we speak. Consequently, sociolinguists now distinguish between sex- a biological term- and gender, the term used to describe socially constructed categories based on sex.

To sum up, one may conclude that ‘gender’ and ‘sex’, on what it is to be a woman or a man, is still an interesting field of research and very much a current issue that attracts researchers in general and sociolinguists in particular.

1.4.1. Linguistic Gender Differentiation

The subject of linguistic gender has always stimulated interesting discussions. In many languages, every single word designates a linguistic “gender”, a word that comes from the Latin word “genus”, that means “type”. According to Trask (1999: 100) linguistic gender refers to any “classification of nouns into two or more classes with different grammatical properties”. Gender is considered as a grammatical category which varies largely across the languages of the world. The difference goes from elaborate gender systems in some languages to the absence of gender in others. Classical Latin, for example, has three genders which are masculine, feminine, and neuter while Romance languages such as French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian have only two. In these languages, every single word is considered as being either masculine or feminine. Both German and French are languages with grammatical gender; in both languages, the form of definite articles marks gender. In French, for example, the definite articles are respectively: ‘le’ for the masculine and ‘la’ for the feminine contrary to English which has only a single definite article, ‘the’, and two indefinite articles: ‘a’ and ‘an’. What is noticeable in English is that gender appears on pronouns such as ‘he’ for masculine, ‘she’ for feminine and ‘it’ for neuter. According to Aristotle, the Greek philosopher

Protagoras used the terms masculine, feminine, and neuter to classify nouns, introducing the concept of grammatical gender.¹⁸

Aikhenvald (2000) says that Grammatical gender is a noun class system of two or three distinctions, which always include the feminine and the masculine. It constitutes an inherent property of the noun, which controls grammatical agreement between the noun and other elements in the noun phrase or the predicate (Aikhenvald 2000, Corbett 1991; Hellinger and Bussman 2001)¹⁹

1.4.1.1. Natural versus Grammatical Gender

The early Greek scholars were interested in issues that are linked with the distinction of gender until modern times. These issues were most of the time concerned with the inadequacy of the correspondence between natural and grammatical gender. Concerning this lack of correspondence with the sex distinction, n-gender was defined by Aristotle (384- 322 BC) as “that which is between m- and f-”, and “neuter”, i.e. “neither of the two”, by Stoics and Dionysius Thrax (c. 170-c. 90 BC), in contrast to the earlier notional definition as “thing” by Protagoras (c. 490-c. 420 BC). Concerning the grammars of the 17th century, Arnauld (1612- 1694) and Lancelot (1615- 1695) identified the role of gender in the expression between the noun and the adjective.²⁰ According to Arnauld & Lancelot 1660 [1975]: 78,

The masculine or feminine gender of a word does not properly concern its signification, but merely says that grammatically it is such that it should be joined to the adjective in the masculine or feminine ending.

It is worth mentioning that the controversy about the origin of Indo-European gender was noticeable during the period between the late 18th and the late 19th

¹⁸ In humannetwork. Wikia.com/ wiki/ Gender.

¹⁹ Cited in *Grammatical Gender in Interaction: Cultural and Cognitive Aspects* by Angeliki Alvanoudi (2014).

²⁰ Article of Marcin Kilariski in *History of Linguistics 2005*. By Douglas A. Kibbee. (2007). John Benjamins Publishing.

century. In that time, gender was given a great importance in debates concerning the value of grammatical categories and their impact on the development of a language or a nation. By the 20th century, the opposition between a semantic and formal motivation for gender reappeared; it was studied within structural and anthropological linguistics, and later within purely formal perspectives.

Natural gender is another term often associated with grammatical gender. Natural gender or sex is usually used to designate and explain the anatomical i.e. the biological differences between male and female humans.

1.5. Gender and Sex as a Troublesome Dichotomy

The notions “sex” and “gender” used to be perceived to be synonymous and used interchangeably. Generally, the dictionary definitions do not draw a clear a clear distinction between the two terms. However, in recent times, scholars assert that the term ‘gender’ is a completely different notion since it does not refer to a biological fact but rather to a social one. According to Cameron (2004)²¹, gender is therefore not something you acquire once and for all at an early stage in life, but an ongoing accomplishment produced by our repeated actions. Thus, although the words gender and sex have the sense ‘the state of being male or female’, sex tends to refer to biological differences, while gender refers to cultural or social ones. (Oxford Dictionaries, Language matters, 2014). As indicated above, one’s gender does not systematically refer to the individual’s sex only, it is rather the equivalent to the person’s experiences that he/ she constructs occurring first in the family then in the society.

When dealing with gender categorization, linguists assert on the fact that grammatical gender and sexual gender are actually different categorizations. Grammatical gender does not necessarily refer to the opposition female versus male, it is rather a wider category that encompasses not only the opposition female-male, but also the one between animate and inanimate. Hence, the grammatical gender categorization seems to be closely linked to the sexual categorization. Three

²¹ In Journal of Literature, Languages and Linguistics. Vol 10, 2015.

gender categorizations can be distinguished; these are: grammatical, lexical and social gender construction.

As mentioned earlier, the term ‘gender’ is also used in the literature to refer to the lexical marking of sex, the biological distinction of sex, and the social categories of men and women. Fausto- Sterling (2000: 3) posits the following:

Labelling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender- not science- can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place.

Lexical gender designates the lexical marking of nouns as female or male-specific. In English, for example, the nouns ‘mother’ and ‘sister’ carry the semantic feature of femaleness whereas the nouns ‘father’ and ‘brother’ carry the one of maleness.

1.6. Language Variation and Change

It is undeniable that the relationship between language and society has for a long time interested linguists and sociolinguists as well. Since language can be studied from different facets, researchers find the subject very interesting and worth studying. At the beginning, and in formal linguistics, language was considered as an abstract object that should be studied without reference to social and cultural concerns. In this respect, Chomsky (1965:3) writes:

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

Chomsky argues that language should not be studied in the form of individual performance i.e., the actual use of language in concrete situations, rather, it should be considered from the individual competence i.e., the speaker-hearer's knowledge of the language.

Later on, the idea changed. According to Hymes (1971), individuals communicate with each other using a system that is not only based on grammatical rules and abstract situations but also on their knowledge of the social context including the situations they are engaged in, the person whom they address and the topic they deal with. Holmes (1992: 16) claims that “the sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and of the choices people make when they use language”. As a result, the study of sociolinguistic variation started to take into consideration the speaker's style as well as his/her different ways of speaking in relation to the places (geographical variation) and social groups (social variation).

1.6.1. Language and Dialect

When a speaker interacts with other members of the society, he / she is subjected to various social parameters or factors that are a result of the social relations such as age, gender, ethnicity, social status, and so on. This reason has led linguists to study the language in terms of social relations and linguistic behaviour. According to the variationist approach, the term ‘dialect’ is used to refer to systematic linguistic variation statistically associated with a sociolinguistic parameter, and as such can be difficult to delimit. Labov (1972: 192). Hudson (1996:21) writes, the “discussion will be easier if we have some technical terms to use, as we need to distance ourselves somewhat from the concepts represented by the words *language* and *dialect*, which are reasonable reflection of our lay culture, called ‘common-sense knowledge’ [...], but not helpful in sociolinguistics.”

Dialects and languages are distinct from each other in terms of ‘size’ and ‘prestige’. Concerning the former, language is wider than a dialect since it contains more linguistic items. Concerning Standard English, it was first considered as a dialect since it was used around London only in the 15th century. Then, it gained a

prestigious place as it was used by the court and people from the High class. Later on, it was codified and London dialect was introduced and used in administrations, government, literary writings, media, etc.

In Algeria for example, all language varieties that are spoken in different parts of the country are considered dialects of Classical Arabic which is considered as the most prestigious variety since it is used for religious, literary and cultural reasons. Consequently, and according to Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 5), language is more prestigious than dialect since this latter is considered as:

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

As a result, and from the linguistic point of view, any dialect is able to reach a prestige position and gain the level of a ‘standard language’. In this respect Hudson (1996: 32) says the following:

Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people this is a clear-cut matter, which depends on whether it is used in formal writing.

It is essential to state that in some Arab countries such as Egypt, some Arabic regional varieties used in large urban speech communities might undergo a process of standardization because of their prestige position. In the same vein, Ferguson (1970:116) says that “Arabic speakers, within the areas of influence of these

prestige dialects, may in the course of their lives adjust their own dialect in the direction of the prestige dialect”²²

As a conclusion, we assert the idea that any dialect is predisposed and apt for gaining a prestigious place and developing into a standard language.

1.6.2. Dialect Shift

Concerning dialects’ shift, the reasons may be quite complex. From a positive point of view, the speaker may shift in order to identify with or is familiar with a particular speech community or its values. From a negative perspective, dialect shift is often used to mock or demean a speech community by using speech stereotypes.

As far as language / dialect shift is concerned, variation in speech style is important too. Since there are no single-style speakers, different types of style shifting overlap from time to time depending on the speech context. The most common ones are:

- a- From Informal to Formal: This type takes place in specific contexts; they may be characterized by the reduction in the amount use of certain casual speech features and/or the elimination of non-standard speech features such as slang or taboo words.
- b- From Formal to Informal: This shift may be marked by an increase in casual speech features and a decrease in formal ones.

Formal and informal shifts may be clearly apparent at the level of phonology, grammar, lexicon (word use), semantics (meaning) and pragmatics (group interaction).

What is worth mentioning is that because of the sudden language or dialect death, a dialect may cease to be spoken. Thus, dialect loss is considered as a result of gradual process of variation and change, which occurs throughout successive generations of native speakers, and one variety is progressively replaced by features

²² In *Pride and Holmes* eds. 1972 :116.

of another contact situation. According to Kingston (2000), dialects are lost because of three main reasons. She relied on a number of resources: Wolfram and Shilling-Estes (1995), Bills (1997), Nettle and Romaine (2000). The first reason is due to population loss; in here, a dialect can die due to the loss or death of its speakers. The second one is caused by a forced shift whereby the language or the dialects are lost since their speakers abandon their dialect in favour of a more prestigious variety. The third and last one, the loss of a language or a dialect may be caused because its speakers adopt another variety rendering it superfluous for communicational requirements.

1.6.2.1. Dialect Levelling and koinéization

Dialect levelling has interested many social dialectologists in recent times. This process which is built on models of dialect contact (Trudgill, 1986) and speech accommodation theory, Giles et al. (1991) describes a phonological outcome of koineization and the mixture of different dialects. Williams and Kerswill (1999:149) define dialect levelling as “a process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area”. It should be pointed out that dialect levelling may be a result of geographical and social mobility; In this respect, Kerswill (2003:225) states that “A high degree of mobility, which leads to the weakening of group-internal linguistic norms, will render a population more receptive to linguistic (and other) innovations”. In other words, according to Kerswill, due to language or dialect contact, people of a particular area may adapt and adopt features of another language or dialect which may lead to language convergence; this latter refers to what can happen linguistically when speakers adapt ‘to the speech of others to reduce differences’, Siegel (1985:367).

Concerning speech adoption, accommodation theory was developed by Howard Giles and others in the 1970’s. According to it, people adjust their speech to ‘accommodate’ the person they are addressing and this may lead to language or

dialect convergence or divergence. Concerning the former, it is more common and it happens when the speaker moves his / her speech closer to that of the other person whereas the latter occurs when people's speech styles move further apart. It is worth mentioning that convergence plays a role in decreasing the social distance or gap between people since the same speech style is used by the speakers. At this level, two types of convergence should be stated:

- a- Upward convergence: people of a lower status accommodates their speech to a higher status person.
- b- Downward convergence: it is quite the opposite, people of a higher status accommodates their speech to the person of a lower status; this type is much rarer.

Meanwhile, it is worth mentioning that the causes of language convergence depend on the specifics of the contact that occurs between the languages involved. In this respect, Crowley and Bower (2010:269) assert that "language convergence is a type of linguistic change in which languages come to structurally resemble one another as a result of prolonged language contact and mutual interference". The result may be the appearance of koinézation or dialect levelling.

Koinézation, unlike dialect levelling, deals with the mixing of features and characteristics of different dialects. According to Milroy (2002)²³, the difference between dialect levelling and Koinézation is that dialect levelling involves the eradication of linguistic variants due to language contact while koinézation involves the creation of a new linguistic variety based on language contact.

1.6.3. Gender and Language Change

As already mentioned, language variation studies aim at distinguishing the speech of different social groups (social variation), as well as the individuals' speech in different contexts (stylistic variation). Recently, sociolinguists assert that

²³ Milroy (2002). *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6 : 3-15.

in addition to linguistic variation between social groups, gender differences in speech also play an important role in linguistic change and thus may lead to language change. Holmes (1997) states that "...whatever the particular sources of the change, and whether they are regarded as vernacular or prestige innovations, women play an important role in establishing change as components of the standard language"²⁴

The differences are noticeable in the forms of the language used by women and those used by men. As an example, the differences may occur in words, pronunciation or grammatical structures. According to Trudgill, linguistic sex varieties occur because language is closely related to social attitudes. Everybody knows that men and women are socially different, thus, they play different social roles and are expected to ensure different behaviour patterns. In the same vein, Goddard and Patterson (2000: 49) assert that 'male behaviour has traditionally been seen as the norm and in need of no particular advice or attention'.

Before the twentieth century, women were considered as linguistically deficient in comparison to men. Many people believed that women were in some way abnormal and inferior in their behaviour comparing to men but at the same time, female speech was considered as more 'correct' or more 'prestigious', less slangy than male speech in the way that men tend to use more stigmatized forms. According to Jeperson (1922), women are more refined in their speech; they use less coarse and gross expressions, they are also uninventive. Years later, and throughout the twentieth century, the views considering women as being 'abnormal' or 'inferior' in their style have changed. One of the most important works in the field was Lakoff's (1975) seminal paper. In her research, she observed language, discussed the differences between men and women's language, seeing them as differences and not as abnormalities. Since then, many works were set out to study language and gender among them was Tannen (1990) who moved from the simple issue of male dominance to the study in greater details the different styles used by the speaker in both genders on the one hand, on the other one, to examine the reaction of each gender as speakers or addressees.

²⁴ Janet Holmes, 1997 (quoted in Nevalainen & Brunberg 110).

Since our ways of living are changing throughout the time, societies are changing too and thus language has also been affected by this change in the sense that people do not speak the same way as older generations did for example, new words and expressions are introduced and adopted in their every day speech. It is worth noting that language change is not easily apparent in day-to-day communication since people are not conscious about it. As Shigemoto²⁵ (1996 :1) states :

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

So, the change is gradual in the sense that individuals of two subsequent generations can understand each other and can communicate without any constraints. According to some theorist, language change happens in three situations: imposition, borrowing and spontaneous change. The first situation occurs as a result of colonization or invasion i.e., by forcing the weaker communities to adopt another language in order to eradicate their culture and identity and impose the one of the colonizer as it happened in Algeria. The French tried to impose the French language aiming at eradicating the Arabic language and thus the Algerian and Islamic identity. The second one deals with the adoption of foreign features and new concepts in one's language. It is also reflected through language planning and policy where language planners are seeking for official or national languages in order "to assimilate minority language groups into officially sanctioned language(s) of Nation-State", as Diamond (1993:2) states. The third situation means the change over time, not on purpose, but rather it is a result of people's interactions since "no two people speak exactly the same way". Jones and Esch (2002 :123). There are several types of language change. In our study, we are interested in the lexical one, but let's shed some light on the different kinds of this language change.

²⁵ Joan Shigemoto is a Pacific Educator in Residence (PEIR), Pacific Resources for Education and Learning, formerly the Pacific Region Educational Laboratory (PREL).

- The Lexical change: It is concerned with the change in vocabulary which is the most frequent and widespread one. In this case, new words are adopted in the native language. Lexical change can be divided into three categories: the first one deals with the loss of lexical items, the second refers to the change of meaning whereas the third one has to do with the creation of new lexical items. It is worth noting that the introduction of new vocabulary and the change in lexis spread rapidly. Consequently, lexical change is a frequent type of linguistic evolution and certainly the easiest to observe. Here are some examples:

a) *Word Gain versus Word Loss*: Because of many reasons, many speakers and more importantly teenagers tend to avoid some words which are out of fashion and replace them by other alternatives in order to show off. As a result, the old words are substituted by new fashionable ones that match best the demands of the new generation. As a consequence, the old words tend to disappear and become therefore lost. For example, in Algeria, the term [mrəffah] meaning ‘rich’ is no more used by adolescents since it is considered out of fashion and replaced by the new fashionable terms such as [ʃarɪka] or [mbezzər].²⁶

b) *Borrowings and Interferences* : One of the most described phenomena of contact situation are borrowing and interferences. The former deals with the transfer of an element from a donor to a recipient language; it is concerned with single lexical items notably, words whether nouns or adjectives, they are called *loan words* and most of the time, speakers make use of loans that have already been adapted to the Arabic system. For example, the term [loto] is an adapted form of the word ‘auto’ in French which means ‘car’ in English. The latter, referring to linguistic interference, is concerned with the types of adaptation that may include any element or feature in the language system. As an example, we can notice that in Algeria, which is a bilingual country, nobody speaks Arabic or French independently i.e., many French linguistic features have been infiltrated in the recipient language; this is due to of some historical, cultural and sociolinguistic causes.

²⁶ This was demonstrated in a quantifiable study in my magister dissertation (2012) entitled: *Language Change and Lexical Variation in Youth Language: Tlemcen Speech Community*.

- The Phonological change: This change is concerned with the phonological change or change in pronunciation which may occur either in the pronunciation of single words or the pronunciation of a particular sound.
- The Grammatical Change: It is the less noticeable change since it spreads slowly and takes longer time than lexical change. It is worth noting that grammatical variation involves two sub-types: morphology which refers to the structure or forms of words, including the morphemes or minimal units of meaning which comprise words, and syntax that deals with the structure of larger units like phrases and sentences, including rules for combining and relating words in sentences.
- The Semantic Change: Semantics refers to the study of meaning in language. It checks the relations that are established between linguistic expressions and the different phenomena they may refer to. Consequently, semantic change deals with the alternations that may affect the meanings of words in relation to the factors that affect the interpretation of linguistic structures. The process is involved whenever a new sense becomes attached to a word or conversely when a new word becomes attached to a sense. According to McMahon (1999:174) 'Changes in meaning and in lexical inventory tend to have a higher profile among native speakers than other types of change'. There is therefore less resistance in the change of the semantics of linguistic structures than in their grammars.

1.6.4. Gender Variation in Language

The study of gender variation in language has been of great interest to sociolinguists. In fact, at the beginning sex was generally treated in terms of oppositional categories: males vs females but in 1980's, a shift in terminology from sex to gender occurred. It showed the difference between sex as a biological phenomenon and gender as a social one but what is assumed is that sex and gender are closely linked with each other; in this respect Chambers (2003: 117- 118) states the following:

Sex and gender are tightly interwoven. Gender differences are partly based on sex differences. Sex differences, being visible,

are usually taken as the independent variable to be correlated with linguistic variables, but they are often stated to be ‘gender’ differences in the absence of any real consideration of gender roles in the community.

Since studies have developed, sociolinguists found that gender differences are very complex. In fact, women are considered opposite and opposed to men in their use of linguistic variables. For example, Labov and Trudgill have both given a special attention to community prestige norms as the most important force in women’s, as opposed to men’s, linguistic behaviour. Trudgill found men leading in most changes in Norwich (1972a), and Labov (1972c) found men leading in some changes in Martha’s Vineyard (1972) and Philadelphia (1984). In addition, Trudgill’s findings in Norwich showed that women are conservative and tend to over report their use of prestige forms, whereas men tend to under report theirs. Furthermore, most studies assert that women tend to use more formal forms than men when interacting.

As a conclusion, Holmes and Meyerhoff, M. (2003: 9) maintain the idea that gender is still an essential factor in language variation and change. Thus, in various studies (eg. Lakoff 1975; Tannen 1994; Cameron 2002), attention has been paid to the differences between women and men’s conversational styles.

1.7. Language Shifts Comprehension Process

The issue of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the connection between change or stability in everyday language use in addition to the social and cultural processes of people belonging to any society who use different languages and are in contact with each other.

This study which is an important phenomenon of social change is of great importance in contemporary sociolinguistics. According to Hornberger, H. N. (2010), Language shifts refers to “the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members” manifested as loss in number of

speakers, level of proficiency, or range of functional use of the language. She adds that the contrasting term has traditionally been language maintenance, which “denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language”.²⁷

Many studies have been interested in the study of language shift, maintenance, and loss. In a multilingual setting, one of the pioneering approaches was the one of Fishman (1965, 1972a) who argues that social factors affect and prompt the use of one language rather than another. Fishman’s (1961) theory was based on his well-known pertinent question: who speaks what language to whom and when? .Another approach named the sociological approach has been adopted by other researchers; this relates language to culture. The point is that demography, economy, culture, and politics are prominent factors of the ethnolinguistic dynamism of a speech community. On the other hand, the cultural approach is the one which is referred to as “the core value theory”, adopted by Smolicz (1992:279). According to it, language is recognized by its native speakers as the central and most important value of their ethnic group’s culture. In addition, cultural facets such as language, music, traditions, etc are of such importance that their preservation means the survival of the speech community, and their loss implies the disintegration of this group. Thus, aspects of language shifts have been a major area of research within the field of sociolinguistics

1.8. Language Change and Age-graded Variation

Recently, one of the central variables which has been taken into consideration in variationist sociolinguistics is age since it enables sociolinguists investigate language change over time. Thus, the core factor which is essential to the study of language variation and change is time. This latter has been studied from two distinct angles: change in the speech of the community over time (indicating historical change) and change in the speech of the individuals as they move through

²⁷ Language Shift and Language Revitalization by Nancy H. Hornberger. (2010).

time (age-grading). Consequently, a distinction between ‘real time’ and ‘apparent time’ has been of great importance.

At first, and from the traditional view of change, language was considered as a self-transforming object; as it was famously mentioned by Sapir (1921:150) “language moves down time in a current of its own making”.²⁸ As a result, structural linguists such as Bloomfield (1933) maintained that apprehending changes in progress was theoretically impossible and that the only way changes could be seen was by examining observations at two (or more) discrete points on a time line .(Chambers 2002:355). It was only with the coming of William Labov with his revolutionary work, that another view about the mechanisms of change was introduced.

1.8.1. Apparent Time and Real Time

In sociolinguistic variation, researchers generate a distinction between ‘real time’ and ‘apparent time’. The apparent time device used in studies of language change involves the study of comparing the speech of people from different age groups at one point of time, to find out differences that could indicate change. Thus, this synchronic approach, which was initiated by Labov (1963), aims at examining language change in progress. The real time study explores the language in a given community and then comes back to it after a number of years to study it again, comparing the actual with the previous results and finding out any changes. It is worth mentioning that two kinds of studies shed light on the relationship between age, apparent time and real time, these are: trend and panel studies.

In a trend study, the researcher deals with gathering samples of the same population but of different individuals at successive points in time (usually the study is carried again many years later), whereas in a panel one, the same individuals are followed across time. In spite of the fact that restudying a community, or following a group of speakers across time is a serious affair since it generally involves serious methodological complexities, and problems of

²⁸ Cited in Sociolinguistics : An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. (2nd edition).

interpretation. For example, one of the methodological difficulties frequently found when dealing with studies of language change in apparent time is the way of choosing the age of the consultants that will best serve to obtain samples of spontaneous speech of sufficient quality. Although real time evidence seems to be the ideal mechanism for exploring language change, it also poses a number of problems. This is the reason for which many researchers have tried to overcome these problems by combining trend and panel techniques.

When studying the relationship between the ageing process and language use, two points of view have generally been analysed, these are: the age-specific approach and the generation-specific approach. The former explores the changing language used during the lifespan of an individual whereas the latter deals with the language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community. However, it is not always possible to separate the two approaches since they are closely related to each other. Eckert (1997: 151) points out that “Age and ageing are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history”. In addition, she distinguishes between three categories of ages (ibid :156) : first, the chronological age which refers to the number of years since birth, second, the biological age which has a relationship with physical maturity and finally, the social age which is related to life events such as family status (including marriage or birth of first child) or legal status (Eckert gives examples like naturalization or date of first arrest).

1.8.2. Age grading

Age grading has been given a variety of definitions. Labov (1994:83) defined it as “individual linguistic change against a backdrop of community stability” whereas Coupland (2001: 189), age-grading is “when people of more or less whatever birth cohort and their behaviour generally change as they age”. Similarly, Cheshire (2006:1553) defines it as a repetitive pattern: “a change of behaviour with age that repeats itself in every generation”. In other words, it refers to change of behaviour with age that repeats itself in each generation and distinguishing the

linguistic change at the community level (generational change) from the linguistic change at the individual level (age grading) is considered as “one of the major issues in contemporary sociolinguistics” Tagliamonte, S. (2012: 247).

“Some writers use the term age grading to refer only to the language used by children that is repeated in every generation without ever being used by adults”. Hockett (1950: 423). For him, differential distribution of use in a given variable across different age groups might not represent any change in the variety of a particular speech community, and instead might represent a pattern typical of age grading, repeated generation after generation. Yet, one serious problem is that differences found across groups may not reflect actual changes in individuals over the life span. Instead, they may rather deal with the differential socialization of the groups regarding the importance of talk, gender roles and identity. The main question related to this is: How can panel studies help sociolinguists in understanding age grading?

Panel issues such as those of Sankoff and Blondeau (2007), De Decker (2006), Harrington et al. (2000), Wagner (2008), and Scherre and Naro (2011) suggest that in the majority of generational community changes in progress, some individuals make post-adolescent adjustments to their speech in the direction of community change. In addition, they assert that the vast majority of individuals remain stable after adolescence. Moreover, according to them, some individuals show retrograde behaviour during a community change, opting for the conservative forms when ageing and retreating from the innovative ones.

1.9. Approaches to Gender and Language Research

The study of Language and gender aims at finding out the extent to which the characteristics attributed to gendered language affect the linguistic forms on the one hand and the communication strategies on the other. According to Cameron (1995:33), “a crude historical-typological account of feminist linguistic approaches since 1973 would probably distinguish between three models of language and gender”: the deficit model, the cultural difference model and the dominance model.

Research concerning men's and women's speech date back across time, yet it was until the 1970s, as stated by Grey (1998)²⁹, that comparison between female cooperativeness and male competitiveness in linguistic behaviour began to be noticed. Theories concerning the existence of women's language were proposed by Lakoff(1975). As cited in Holmes (1993:314), these ten features are as follows:

- 1- Lexical hedges or fillers, *e.g. you know, sort of...*
- 2- Tag questions, *e.g. she is very nice, isn't she?*
- 3- Rising intonation on declaratives, *e.g. it's really good.*
- 4- Empty adjectives, *e.g. divine, charming, cute.*
- 5- Precise color terms, *e.g. magenta, accqamarine.*
- 6- Intensifiers such as *just* and *so*.
- 7- Hypocorrect grammar, *e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms.*
- 8- Superpolite forms, *e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms.*
- 9- Avoidance of strong swear words, *e.g. fudge, my goodness.*
- 10- Emphatic stress, *e.g. it was a BRILLIANT performance.*

As a result language and gender have been approached by linguists from a variety of perspectives. These are the deficit approach, the dominance approach, the difference approach and the social constructionist approach. These approaches developed in a historical sequence, but what is worth mentioning is that the emergence of a new approach did not mean that the earlier ones were cancelled yet what is probably true is that most researchers now adopt a dynamic approach.

1.9.1. The Deficit Approach

The Deficit Approach was characteristic of the earliest work in the field. It was best known with Lakoff's *Language and Women's Place* which claims to establish something called 'Women's Language' (WL) and which is characterized by some

²⁹ Grey, C. (1998). Towards an Overview on Gender and Language Variation.

linguistic forms such as hedges... It is considered as the first interesting approach which dealt with male / female speech although long before Lakoff, Jepsen (1925) also worked on language and gender. According to him (1925 [1990]), women's speech is noticeably deficient compared to that of men.

The Deficit theory suggests that "women's ways of speaking are, either by nature or nurture, deficient in comparison to men's". Cameron, D. (1990:14). Lakoff supports this view of gendered language. According to her, women's way of speaking is deficient, it lacks authority and assertiveness. What can be understood is that this approach sees language as a source of man's power and that females' language is incorrect, imperfect and deficient.

1.9.2. The Dominance Approach

The Dominance approach sees women as an oppressed group and interprets linguistic differences in women and men's speech in terms of men's dominance and women subordination. In fact, this theory stands for men's power and dominance of women and Lakoff is considered as the founder it. She argues that the main difference between male and female lies in the inequality of power between them.

This theory states that language behaviour reflects male dominance. This means that men in all situations try to take control and to dominate. Consequently, since women are relatively powerless they adopt more prestigious language forms to protect themselves in dealing with the more powerful. Wardaugh (2006 :327). In addition, it has been noticed that in cross-gender conversations men frequently interrupt women. James and Clarke (1993:268) looked at fifty-four studies that addressed the claim that men are much more likely than women 'to use interruption as a means of dominating and controlling interactions'. Consequently, "in their interactional patterns in conversation, men and women seem often to exhibit the power relationship that exists in society, with men dominant and women subservient". Wardaugh (2006 :326).

In short, as Nematik and Bayer (2007) argue, according to 'dominance theory', men and women are believed to belong to a cultural and linguistic world where

power and status are unequally distributed. Thus, in this theory, also named power-based theory, the main interest lies on male dominance and gender division.

1.9.3. The Difference Approach

This approach emphasizes the idea that women and men belong to separate and different subcultures. In fact, the difference theory is based on the idea that men and women grow up in different cultures, social and linguistic worlds.

The founder of this theory is Deborah Tannen. In her research she attempted to explain how girls and boys are brought up differently. According to her, gender differences in language are noticeable early and are then used to support the kinds of social behaviour males and females exhibit. It is especially when males and females interact that the behaviour each uses separately becomes apparent. In this respect, Holmes, J (1992:330) says:

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

In their works, Maltz and Broker (1982: 200) made a comparison between gender and culture differences, and in those two ‘cultures’, boys and girls “learn to do different things with words in conversation”.

What results from this theory is that because men and women live in different cultural worlds, they use different ways of speaking. In the same respect, Cameron (1990:14) affirms that the “difference framework suggest that women’s ways of speaking reflect the social and linguistic norms of the specifically female

subcultures in which most of us spend our formative years”. Hence, linguistic variation has been considered as an important field of investigation of gender differences.

According to this theory, also named “two culture theory”, men and women, even those within the same group, live in different or separate cultural worlds and, as a result, they promote different ways of speaking. Uchida (1992:61). In other words, though men and women live in the same environment, they establish various relations with the society as if they belonged to a different environment and culture.

1.9.4. The Dynamic (Social) Constructivist Approach

One of the most recent theories is the social constructivist approach. According to it, gender identity is seen as a social construct rather than as a ‘given’ social category. In this vein, Freeman and MC Elhinny³⁰ consider that “language use as shaping understanding of the social world”. For them, language plays an important and crucial role in shaping relations and constructing social identities. Cameron (ibid: 16) affirms that social identities are constructed during the process of interaction between men and women. She states:

Linguists interested in analyzing the constitution of gender identities / gender relations need to look beyond lexical choice to analyse who is represented as doing what, to whom, under what circumstances and what consequences.

What is noticeable is that actually, research has moved from studying differences between men and women in terms of their position in the society towards research on similarities and differences of their everyday speech. For Sunderland (2006: 17) the social constructivist approach of language and gender provides an ideal framework for the study of language and gender in comparison with dominance theory.

³⁰ Freeman and MC Elhinny in Mackay and Hornberger (1996:219).

1.10. Feminist Contribution and Challenges

As already been mentioned, many feminists considered ‘woman’ differently, in other words, ‘woman’ was not seen as a sex term, but rather as a gender term that depends on social and cultural factors. Thus, they distinguished sex (being male or female) from gender (being man or woman), although most ordinary language users seem to consider the two interchangeably. The term ‘feminism’ has various uses and its meanings are often different. For example, some writers use the term to denote a specific political movement in the U.S.A and Europe; others on the other hand, use it to refer to the beliefs that there are injustices against women. All in all, we can say that feminism has emerged from the inequality between sexes to a more nuanced interest on the social constructions of gender. It is nowadays considered as a multi-disciplinary approach to sex and gender equality that is understood through social theories and political activism. In the mid- 1800s the term ‘feminism’ was used to denote females’ qualities, and it was not until after the First International Women’s Conference in Paris in 1892 that the term, following the French term ‘féministe’, was regularly used in English in order to ask for womens’ rights among which the equality of sexes. In this respect, Hooks (2000:26) states the following: “Feminism is said to be the movement to end women’s oppression”.

Women’s movements in the U.S.A occurred in three waves. First-wave feminism occurred during the period from the mid- 19th century until the early twentieth century. It appeared throughout the world, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the Netherlands. Feminists belonging to this wave were interested in establishing legal issues, primarily gaining women’s suffrage i.e. the right to vote. Second-wave feminism started in the late 1960s and early 1970s; in this period feminists fight for getting more rights in different domains such as: education, family, workplace...they were eagerly attempting to change every aspect of their lives. More recent transformations of feminism have resulted in the third wave which started in the early 1990s to the present. Third-wave feminists have given importance to gender and identity; according to them

identity is a site of gender struggle and their aim is to put an end to women's subordination.

To conclude one can assume that thanks to feminism, consciousness-raising groups emerged with which feminist ideas and identities were formed.

1.10.1. Feminist Sociolinguistics

Because of its interest in studying the interplay between language and society, multiple branches of sociolinguistics have been studied by feminist sociolinguists. The investigation of language variation and change has been one of the most significant fields of study in sociolinguistics and the focus has been mainly on the phonological, lexical and / or grammatical levels of language use. As already mentioned, early sociolinguistic researchers such as Labov (1966, 1972) and Trudgill (1974) studied phonological variables in New York and Norwich (England) respectively. They agreed on the fact that females belonging to different social- class groupings were more status conscious than males; thus, women are more conscious of their language use. The main focus of their studies was the study of social class categories, yet their interest was not on gender as a socially constructed phenomenon but rather on sex. Recently, third-wave feminists are calling for a move away from analyzing sex categories. According to them it is not only biology that determines speech styles but other factors may affect males and females' speech. Thus, there have been many findings outside the Western world that suggest noticeable exceptions to Labov's and Trudgill's generalizations concerning women's speech, notably Meyerhoff (2007: 218) points out that 'over and over, studies of synchronic variation in Arabic seemed to be showing men using more of the overtly prestigious variants associated with Classical Arabic and women using variants associated with the local colloquial variety of Arabic'³¹

³¹ Cited in *Language, Gender and Feminism. Theory, Methodology and Practice* (2011). By Mills, S. and Mullany, L. Routledge.

Walters (1991) has also shown that where there is a foreign language introduced by colonialism in an Arab country, such as North Africa, where French is widely spoken, young women tend to speak French rather than Classical Arabic as for many it signifies modernity.³²

Before moving to the feminists theorizations of gender, we have to shed some light on feminism and the position of women in the world in ancient as well as in recent times. When dealing with the subject, Cameron (1996a:44) states the following:

Feminism is not about giving housewives their due, it is about changing the conditions of domestic labour altogether. Similarly, feminism cannot stop at validating the linguistic strategies typical of women; it must also ask why women find some communicative practices more accessible and more relevant than others: a question, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet argue, of what social practice they are permitted/ enabled/ encouraged to participate in.

In her definition to feminism, Cameron focuses on the issues that have not been resolved yet; when referring to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, she tries to show the importance of a social practice approach to feminist sociolinguistic studies. This social practice approach, widely known as the community of practice approach (CoP), has played a prominent role in the theorization of the sociolinguistics of gender in recent times. It is worth mentioning that the concept of the community of practice has become of great interest to feminist linguists since the early 1990's especially in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology as well.

1.10.1.1. Feminist Linguistic Approaches

Language and gender have been analysed from different angles in the feminist approaches. The approaches that were interested in this study were various

³² Idem (2011:68).

and among them are: sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics. Some researchers have drawn upon other approaches including discursive psychology (Edley and Wetherall 2008), stylistics (Mills 1995; Livia 2003) and psychoanalysis (Cameron 1992) when dealing with the same issue. There are common questions that all of these approaches to language and gender are interested in to varying degrees of explicitness, they are as follows:

- How salient is gender?
- When should gender be analysed?
- When is gender significant?
- How does the language used signal something about gender relations?
- What would a more progressive use of language look like?
- When is feminism significant?
- What is the role of the analyst in producing linguistic analysis?
- What role should participants play in the analysis?³³

Thus, feminist theory has deeply influenced the ways in which linguists theorize gender in relation with language. Early feminist linguists, notably Lakoff (1975); Spender (1980) were interested in representing the linguistic status of women and men. Their linguistic approaches aimed at studying the cases in which language system represents woman as an inferior category. Yet, recently a ‘discourse’ turn has occurred in feminist linguistic research, which means that attention has shifted from language as a system to language as use (Eckert and McConnell- Ginet 2003, 4).³⁴

³³ *Language, Gender and Feminism. Theory, Methodology and Practice* (2011). By Mills, S. and Mullany, L.

³⁴ *Grammatical Gender in Interaction: Cultural and Cognitive Aspect.* (2014). By Angeliki Alvanoudi. Brill.

As a result, feminist theorizing in general, and when applied to linguistics in particular aims at bringing changes that occur within relations between men and women. In this vein, Cameron (2006a: 2) states:

I would not define research as ‘feminist’ primarily on the grounds that it adopts a ‘constructionist’ view of gender in which the categories ‘men’ and ‘women’ are treated as unstable variable and thus non natural. I do not disagree with this view of gender, but proclaiming it...is neither a defining feature of a feminist approach nor the most important task for, feminist scholarship. For me what defines feminism is not its theory of gender but its critique of gender relations.

Thus, and according to Cameron, the task of feminist approaches is to consider gender as a social construct on the one hand, on the other one is to study and investigate the relationships between men and women when using language since it plays a prominent role in shaping these relations and constructing the social identities of both genders.

To sum up, it seems evident that issues dealing with feminism in recent times are more interested in finding out the changes which are happening within the relations and interactions between men and women.

1.10.1.2. Feminism in the Arabic- Speaking Countries

The status of women in the Arab world witnessed different positions in relation with time. In the pre-Islamic Arabia, women status varied widely and this in accordance with the laws and the cultural norms of the tribes in which they lived. A tribal set of rights was established in the city of Mecca as well as among the desert dwellers also called ‘Bedouins’. Consequently, there was no clear definition of the roles played, and rights held by women before the advent of Islam. Professor

William Montgomery (1909-2006), a Scottish historian and a famous Professor in Arabic and Islamic studies at the university of Edinburgh states:

At the time Islam began, the conditions of women were terrible, they had no right to own property, were supposed to be the property of the man, and if the man died everything went to his son. Muhammad improved things quite a lot. By instituting rights of property ownership, inheritance, education and divorce, he gave women certain basic safeguards. Set in such historical context the Prophet can be seen as a figure who testified on behalf of women's rights.³⁵

As Islam was introduced in the Arabian peninsula in the seventeenth century, things changed; the status of women changed and improved when compared to earlier Arab cultures. In short, Islam helped in the emergence of women's rights. Our prophet Mohamed (PBUH) says in a 'hadith': "No-one honours women except for someone respectable (honourable), and no-one humiliates them except for someone depraved (evil)"³⁶ which means that the person who humiliates women is not well considered in Islam since women have been given a high status in our religion. According to the Coranic decrees, both men and women have the same duties and responsibilities in their worship of God. As the Coran states: ...and then Lord responded to them. "Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female, you are of one another"³⁷. (Coran 3: 195). In addition, the Quran rejected the traditional and cultural practice of killing unwanted female children soon after birth; It has given females the right to be considered as an important pillar of the family in particular and in the society in general. The following Holy coran translation of the verse (Sourate 4: Verse 34), by Al-Mawdudi:(4:32) shows that God has always shown equality between men and women.

³⁵ Interview with Professor William Montgomery by Bashir Maan and Alastair Mc Intosh. It was published in *the Corale, the Iona Community* (August,2000), issue 3:51, pp8-11.

³⁶ قال (ص): ما أكرم النساء الا كريم و ما أهانهن الا لنيم.

³⁷ Sourat Al umran (3 : 195) "فاستجاب لهم ربهم أنى لا أضيع عمل عا مل منكم من ذكر أو أنثى بعضكم من بعض"

Do not covet what Allah has conferred more abundantly on some of you than others. Men shall have a share according to what they have earned, and women shall have a share according to what they have earned. Do ask of Allah His bounty. Allah has full knowledge of everything.³⁸

In contemporary Arab world, women have gained an important position in many fields; in politics, for example, there have been many highly respected female leaders. The first member of parliament in the Arab world was Rawya Ateya, who was elected in Egypt in 1957.³⁹

1.10.2. The Community of Practice

The term “Community of Practice” (CoP) or (CoP) has recently been introduced in the sociolinguistic lexicon, this new term was introduced to language and gender research by Eckert and Mc Connell- Ginet in 1992. It shows a strong similarity with the existing term “speech community”. It refers to groups of people who are brought in joint engagement on a task and who jointly construct a set of values and behaviours. In brief a community of practice might be a group of people engaged together in relation to a particular task. Eckert and Mc Connell- Ginet (1992:464) defined a CoP as :

[...] an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a CofP is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its

³⁸ قال الله تعالى في سورة النساء الآية 32: و لا تتمنوا ما فضل الله به بعضكم على بعض للرجال نصيب مما اكتسبوا و للنساء نصيب مما اكتسبن و اسألوا الله من فضله ان الله كان بكل شيء عليما.

³⁹ Karam, Azza. M. (1998). *Women in Parliament : Beyond Numbers*. Handbook series. Vol 2.

membership and by the practice in which that membership engages.

In their studies, Eckert and McConnell are not only criticizing previous studies on language differences between gender, but also variationists sociolinguistic studies since they impose categories on people. They have argued that studying how gender is constructed in communities of practice challenges the existing approaches that deal with the study of gender in sociolinguistics. In fact, this theory focuses on the study of gender as an aspect of social identity and relations. Thus, its main purpose is to examine the way linguistic variables are used as means of identity construction. CoFP brings us something more than social identity does, it helps us in understanding human behaviour, and particularly linguistic behaviour. In her work Sadiqi (2003:13) confirms that individuals construct their identity in terms of ‘allegiance’ and ‘alliances’ which are far from being gender specific, they are rather considered as community specific. In addition, she makes a difference between speech communities and communities of practice in terms of heterogeneity. She says that:

[...] albeit a great deal of heterogeneity with respect to age, power, etc. within each community, communities of practice share a common goal in some sense, whereas speech communities do not necessarily share a common goal and, thus are heterogeneous in the strong sense of the word.

The stated definitions suggest that the concept of a CofP is a complex one. It defines the notion of “practice” as central and essential to the understanding of why the concept offers something different to researchers than the traditional term “community”, in the context of sociolinguistic research, more than concepts like “speech community”.

From a community of practice view, one’s selection of words and one’s speech style can be considered as defining one’s position and status within a group

or community of practice. Some linguists, notably McElhinny (2003) and Bulcholtz (1999b) argue on the fact that community of practice can be seen as a bridge between analysis of the local and the wider society. Mc Elhinny (2003: 30) states the following:

Communities of Practice articulate between macro sociological structures such as class and everyday interactional practices by considering the groups in which individuals participate and how these shape their interactions. The groups in which we all participate are, in turn, determined and constituted by their place within larger social structures. The notion of community of practice thus serves as mediating region between local and global analysis.

In the same vein, Eelen (2001:23) states that there is a common world where a set of beliefs do exist, these are shared by everyone and we as individuals may agree with or contest. Thus, she (ibid) argues in stating the following:

On the one hand, collective history creates a ‘common’ world in which each individual is embedded. On the other hand, each individual also has a unique individual history and experiences the ‘common’ world from this unique position. The common world is thus never identical for everyone.

In short, we can say that within communities of practice, individuals determine what type of language and speech style is appropriate.

1.11. Language and Gender in the Arab World

Gender differences have been of great interest to scholars more importantly in the Western World than in the Arab countries. According to Bassiouney (2009), the first study dealing with gender differences in using the spoken Arabic language

was done by Roux (1952) in Morocco, then it was followed by many other researches done in different Arab countries such as Sudan, Egypt and Jordan. Bassiouney (2009:158) explains:

First, Roux (1952) examined the differences between men's and women's speech in Morocco in relation to specific consonants, such as *s*, *z*, and *r*. Hurreiz (1978) in his study of Khartoum also examined the use of intonation. Royal (1985) studied the relation between pharyngalisation, class and gender in Egypt. Al-Khateeb (1988) studied a number of consonants used in Irbid in Jordan, which include *q*, *k* and *t*, and one vowel, *a*. He studied them in relation to gender, education and age.

It is worth noting that many works have dealt with women and gender in the Arab World but most of them were interested in the historical, socio-cultural, political and other approaches rather than in the sociolinguistic domain. In this respect, Bassiouney (2009:9) also says:

Many works have dealt with women and gender in Arab societies but only a few of them were carried out from a sociolinguistic perspective. The general trend has always been based on a historical, socio-cultural, political, legal or economic approach...

Yet, since the 1980's, many scholars have been interested in the sociolinguistic study of language and gender and thus many works and articles have been published. Even some Western scholars were interested in studying the differences between the findings in the Arab societies and those in the Western ones. The example given is the one of Labov (1982) who gave a great interest to Arab researches such as Abdel-Jawad's work in Amaan. He (ibid: 78) states the

following: “Abdel-Jawad [...] found that in Amaan it is men who use the highest frequency of standard /q/ in all social groups”.⁴⁰

Recently, in the Arab World, the most interesting works are those of Sadiqi, F. (2003) who worked on gender in Morocco, and Bassiouney (2009) who also dealt with Arabic sociolinguistics. In Algeria, one of the most prominent works that is concerned with gender differences from the lexical, the phonological and the morphological level has been done by Dendane (1993, 1998, 2007). According to him, the realization of [ʔ] as a variant of the variable (q) is more used by women than men. It is very necessary to mention that in Arabic-Speaking societies, studies dealing with gender, especially from a sociolinguistic view, are relatively recent comparing with those carried in the Western world. In this respect, Vicente (2009: 9) states that: “Many works have dealt with women and gender in Arab societies but only a few of them were carried out from a sociolinguistic perspective”. Similarly, Sadiqi (2007: 642) asserts that “the study of Arabic from a gender perspective is still at its beginnings in spite of the fact that Arabic sociolinguistics has attracted the attention of scholars worldwide”. Thus, the study of Arabic considering gender should be tackled by many sociolinguists, mainly the Arab ones since they are more concerned with the phenomenon.

1.11.1. Language and Gender between Myths and Stereotypes

It is worth mentioning that culture plays an imminent role in modeling people’s views and attitudes leading them in the creation of certain stereotypes which restrict their language use. Thus, these norms are transmitted throughout generations. In this vein, Berryman and Eman (1980: 196) claim that:

Although very few actual cultural differences in the speech of males and females are empirically documented, there is a persistence of stereotypical assumptions, perceptions and expectations concerning the linguistic behaviour of the sexes.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Camrie Bernard and Mushira Eid (1981:201).

In addition, since stereotypes are deeply rooted in people's culture, they obviously affect men's and women's use of language, mainly their linguistic style as stated by Romaine (1999: 4):

Stereotypes about how men and women speak reveal insights into our attitudes about what men and women are like or what we think are supposed to be like. Perceived gender differences are often the result of these stereotypes about such differences, rather than the result of the actual existence of real differences.

Hence, some gender stereotypes refer directly to the linguistic behaviour of men and women; the extent to which they deal with real behaviour has become the core of several studies in research on gender and interaction.

1.12. Conclusion

The fact noticed through time is that society has witnessed great challenges that have influenced our languages. New vocabularies have been introduced to our languages whereas old-fashioned ones have been substituted. But what is important is that each language has its own characteristics and reflects its own society to a great extent .

This chapter highlights a literature review which illustrates the relationship between language, gender and society. These are the essential components of the issue. Throughout this chapter, we have shown that at the beginning, sociolinguistic studies were rather quantitative since they investigated the use of variants such as pronunciation or grammar structure in relation to other factors such as social class, age, education, ethnicity and social status. Indeed, gender was regarded as a sociolinguistic variable just like the cited variables. It was only by the mid-70's that Lakoff's work made the difference; science about gender and

language was established. Lakoff was innovative in conducting gender research away from a previous interest on grammar and phonetics towards a syntactic, stylistic and semantic interest. As a result, feminist sociolinguists paved the way in language study. In the next chapter, our interest will be focused on gender and language implications from a sociolinguistic view.

Chapter Two

Gender and Language Implications from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

2.1. Introduction

Nobody denies the fact that the linguistic profile of Algeria is very complex. The coexistence of different languages provides a diverse and knotty language situation. In this chapter, we will try to describe the elements of this linguistic situation and discuss some concepts that are reflected in some sociolinguistic phenomena. We will also deal with the role of gender in relation to language and its implications towards society. Algeria in general and Tlemcen in particular will be our main focus of study.

As Algeria has always been characterized by an interesting and strategic geographical position, it attracted the interest of many civilisations throughout history among them the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Turkish, the Byzantines, the Spanish, the Arabs, and the French. Kay and Zoubir (1990 : 69) state the following :

Before the Arab Conquest in the seventh century and the Islamization of the Berbers, Algeria was a Romance province. And before it was annexed by the French in the nineteenth century, turned Algeria into a pirate state open to a multiplicity of cultural models during two centuries of Ottoman presence.

Consequently, Algeria has become a perfect example of linguistic complexity. It is a multilingual country where different languages are highly present in its society. The sociolinguistic profile of Algeria involves Arabic with its three varieties: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic (the colloquial Arabic), French and Berber.

2.2. Gender, Language and Communicative Functions

The debate concerning the relationship between language and gender has been tackled from different angles since the early part of the twentieth century. The

debate originally introduced by works of linguists and anthropologists as Otto Jepsen, Edward Sapir, has been the core of sociolinguistic research since the 1960's. The publication of Lakoff's *Language and Women's Place* in 1975 prompted many empirical studies in the field. Moreover, and due to the growth and the development of the feminist wave in America. at that time, studying language and gender has been one of the most interesting subjects in sociolinguistics. The core of the research has moved from the study of language forms such as pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax towards the study of gender-differentiation in communication including conversational strategies, discourse analysis, and other fields of study.

Language is a means of communication that is usually used to suit the social context of speech. Thus, the main question is: why do we say the same thing in different ways? In order to answer this question, we should refer to the speech functions; these can be categorised in a number of ways. The following list has showed a useful one in sociolinguistic research: ⁴¹

- *Expressive Utterances*: Such utterances express the speakers' feelings. This function is used as a means to declare the speaker's ambience, it is also used to denote personal feelings, thoughts, ideas and opinions with different choice of words. These expressions are affected by some social factors and by the nature of the expression as being negative or positive. Here are some examples:

- I am delighted today: positive expression
- I am sad tonight: negative expression

- *Directive Utterances*: These expressions attempt at inviting someone to do something using suggestion, invitation, order or command. For example:

- Shut the door! : Imperative
- I want you to shut the door: Declarative
- Could you shut the door? : Interrogative with modal verb.

⁴¹ Roman Jakobson in Holmes (2001).

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- *Referential Utterances*: Their aim is to provide information including politeness. Its value depends on tone of voice, intonation and context.

- *Metalinguistic Utterances*: They are used to comment on language itself; It aims at making sure that the addressee understands the meaning of the code which the addresser is using.

- *Poetic Utterances*: Such utterances focus on the aesthetic features of language. What is noticeable is that this speech function is rarely used in daily conversation.

- *Phatic Utterances*: The aim in using such utterances is to express solidarity and empathy with others.

As a conclusion, we may say that any utterances may express more than one function, they are fundamental to communicate with each other and since the conversation is considered as a social interaction among people, it is essential in everyday life.

2.2.1. Men and Women's Communicative Strategies

The purpose in studying language and gender is to find out to what extent does gender affects linguistic forms and strategies. Researchers agree on the fact that the way people's speech is gendered, i.e. women's speech differs from that of men. Indeed, men's speech was generally considered as the norm to which women's speech behaviour was compared. Since the late 1960's things have changed; the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) started. It was a result of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA; and by the late 1960's and the 1970's the feminist protest spread in many Western countries. The particular feature of Western Women's Movements was language. The American feminist Robin Morgan (1977:106) claimed strongly that "The very semantics of the language reflect [women's] condition. We do not even have our names, but bear that of the father until we exchange it for that of the husband". According to the feminists, the way they speak

compared to men is at the origin of female weakness. In addition, they believed that the language they speak represented them as inferior to men. Cameron (1995b:39) notes the following:

Both dominance and difference represented particular moments in feminism: dominance was the moment of feminist outrage, of bearing witness to oppression in all aspects of women's lives, while difference was the moment of feminist celebration, reclaiming and revaluing women's distinctive cultural traditions.

It is widely approved that all conversation is a social activity since it occurs between at least two or more people. In order to maintain relationship between them, speakers follow some restricted rules such as what to say? When is it appropriate to say it? How to carry on a particular topic and when to stop? And finally how to relate to the turn-taking system? According to Tannen (1990), and from men's perspective, conversations are considered as negotiations in which people seek to achieve and reach upper position in the society. In addition, they try to protect themselves from others' attempts to be put down and pushed away. Women's conversations aim at negotiating closeness; by doing so, they try to preserve intimacy among them. A lot of research pointed out the stereotype that women tend to use cooperative strategies whereas men deal with competitive ones. Coates (2004: 126) says that:

It seems clear that, other things being equal, women and men do have a preference for different conversational style. Women-- in most Western societies at least—prefer a collaborative speech style, supporting other speakers and using language in a way that emphasizes their solidarity with the other person. Men, on the other hand, use a number of conversational strategies that can be described as competitive style, stressing their own individuality

and emphasizing the hierarchical relationships that they enter into with other people.

As a result, it has been assumed that because men and women are different, they use different conversational strategies.

2.2.1.1. Do Men and Women Speak the Same Language?

Discussing gender, we assert that men and women use language differently. The most common and widespread belief is that women talk more than men the reason for which recent work in sociolinguistics has been interested in studying the variations and their causes in the conversational styles of both genders. The topics which men and women are interested in are not the same. Generally, men tend to talk about sport, politics, job, cars...whereas women prefer talking about fashion, family, personal relationships...When communicating, context plays a prominent role; it is of great importance to know which words or which kind of script must be used in such or such setting. In addition, understanding the kind of affection that should be communicated in a specific context is very important. For example, when communicating, men try to express competition in their friend-ships, in other words, they do their best to hide their weaknesses and vulnerability by avoiding communicating personal and emotional matters. In contrast, women are more likely to communicate personal and emotional concerns with great intimacy and confidence. So, when speaking and interacting men and women do use different ways and strategies to express themselves; as a result, their language is quite different to some extent.

2.2.1.2. Interruptions and Overlaps

As already stated in our previous sections, one of the significant differences in women and men's speech is that when interacting, men have been found to dominate conversations by using interruptions, overlaps especially when addressing women. Zimmerman and West (1975) found that in conversations involving eleven

mixed-sex pairs men interrupted or overlapped their female counterparts a total of fifty-five times, but were interrupted or overlapped themselves only twice. In this respect, Coates (1986: 100) asserts that “ Since most interruptions are produced by men in mixed-sex conversations, the speaker who falls silent is usually a woman”. In another study, Rosenblum (1986)⁴², shows that men are more likely to interrupt and overlap women’s speech than the reverse. Similarly, Coates (1993) in her study, shows that men often violate the turn-taking aspect of conversation. Consequently, men interrupt women in order to obtain the right of speaking without taking into consideration whether the current speaker has finished speaking or not as represented in the following example:

[a brother and sister are discussing wild rice]

Anna: wild rice is nice / you’ve never tasted it **so** (xx)-

Bill: _____ **well, the Indians** _____

Anna:

Bill: don’t eat it so why the bloody hell should you?

Anna: they probably do/

Bill: _____ they don’t _____

From Coates (1993: 114)

Note: (xx) indicated words at this point were impossible to decipher; boldfaced part indicated overlapping.

In addition, Coates (1986: 99) states that Zimmerman and West’s (1975) original definitions of conversational irregularities are as follow:

- a- Overlaps are instances of slight over-anticipation by the next speaker: instead of beginning to speak immediately following current speaker’s turn, next speaker begins to speak at the very end of current speaker’s turn, overlapping the last word (or part of it).

⁴² Cited in the article entitled: Gender Differences in Mixed-Sex Conversations (A Study of Interruptions) by Youqi Yu (2009).

- b- Interruptions are violations of the turn-taking rules of conversation. Next speaker begins to speak while current speaker is still speaking, at a point in current speaker's turn which could not be defined as the last word.

Recent studies have shown that conversational strategies differences are not only restricted to gender differences but they can also be explained in terms of culture and context. In other words, factors such as setting, topic, role relationships and socio-cultural contexts can play an important role in making the difference. What is worth mentioning is that earlier linguists believed that women were situated in an inferior position in cross-gender communication comparing to men who were dominant whereas in recent times, some modern linguists assert that with the development of society and culture, women have gained different status since they are no longer submissive and powerless.

2.2.1.3. Politeness

Previous issues on politeness have assumed a stereotypical relationship between masculinity impoliteness and femininity politeness. The point is that when interacting comparing to men, women tend to use greater politeness devices which can be considered as another aspect of their consideration of the addressee. It is assumed that the core of politeness studies relies in sociopragmatics. Jeech (2003:104)⁴³ says that “politeness is situated in the field of sociopragmatics, because that research is geared towards explaining communicative behaviour”.

Brown and Levinson's (1978) model of politeness has got a great impact on almost all of the theoretical and analytical works in this domain. According to them, politeness involves a concentration on the amount of verbal 'work' which individual speakers have to perform in their utterances in order to counteract the force of potential threats to the 'face' of the hearer. They (1978:66) state that “face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction”. They also analyse politeness in two broad groups: positive politeness which anoints the face of the

⁴³ Quoted in Culpeper (2011:5).

addressee by indicating that in some respect, S[peaker] wants H[earer]'s wants', and negative politeness which 'is essentially avoidance-based and consist(s)... in assurances that the speaker... will not interfere with the addressee's freedom of action'. (ibid: 75). As a result, positive politeness is concerned with closeness such as compliments whereas negative politeness is rather concerned with distance such as hedges.

Later on, Brown, P. and Levinson (1987) introduced what is called Politeness Strategies which, according to them, should be based on the following sociological factors: the relative power of the hearer over the speaker, the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and the ranking of the imposition in doing the face-threatening act. Brown and Levinson, S. (1987: 14-15). On the other hand, Holmes (1995) stated that politeness should be seen as a set of strategies which someone set as a norm for themselves, or which others judge as the norm for them; she (ibid: 5) states that "polite people" are those who "avoid obvious face-threatening acts...they generally attempt to reduce the threat of unavoidable face threatening acts such as requests or warnings by softening them, or expressing them indirectly, and they use polite utterances such as greetings and compliments where possible". Dealing with the same topic, Bowe, H. and Martin, K. (2007:71) share the same point of view of Brown and Levinson, they state the following:

Our choice of politeness strategy, or lack thereof, is decided by a number of social variables. The first of these is the perceived social variables- The first of these is the perceived social distance between the speaker and hearer, social distance is dependent on socio-cultural factors such as age, gender, role, education, class, ethnicity and so forth, all of which contribute towards establishing a degree of familiarity between speaker and hearer.

According to Lakoff (1975), Tannen (1990), Holmes (1995), women are considered to be more polite and less critical than men. In this respect, Coates

(2003: 126) says that “women are more polite, indirect and collaborative in conversation, while men are more impolite, direct and competitive”. Thus, most women consider talk as an important means of keeping in touch with others, especially with friends and intimates. The reason for which, in cross-cultural communication, many researchers have worked on the difference in strategies used by men who are considered as being competitive when interacting and those used by women who in their turn are seen as cooperative.

In Arabic-speaking countries, politeness is considered as a valuable feature in differentiating men and women’s speech since most people in these countries are Muslims and in Islam women are asked to be decent and respectable in their behaviours as well as in their speech.

2.3. Conversational Styles

Conversational style is a term that refers to aspects of talk examined and studied by scholars who are interested in studying language of everyday interaction. When interacting, speakers generally know that what they say must be said in some way, in other words, they know when to start talking and when to stop; how and when to tell a joke or a story; whether it is appropriate to speak in a specific situation; how loudly to talk etc. All these features refer to style in conversation and differ depending on many variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, regional and social background as well as the speaker’s individual habits.

In order to understand what people mean when speaking, we need to know what the speaker is trying to do by using those words in that way and at that time. For example, we need to know whether the speaker is joking or scolding, whether he is friendly or rude...The way by which these intentions are conveyed including the tone of the voice, the pauses, the rate, the loudness of speech constitute the features of conversational style which aim at serving basic human needs in interaction. In addition, it is worth noting that the linguistic strategies used in a conversational style arise in response to the strategies used by the other speakers when interacting. Lakoff (1978) shows that the basic transformational functions (for

example, addition, subtraction, deletion, and substitution) operate in personality as in language⁴⁴.

In her book entitled: *You Just Don't Understand*, Tannen (1990) found these gender differences in communication styles.

- Men tend to talk more in public situations, but women tend to talk more than men at home.
- Women are more inclined to face each other and make eye contact when talking, while men are more likely to look away from each other.
- Men tend to jump from topic to topic, but women tend to talk at length about one topic.
- When listening, women make more noises such as “mm-hmm” and “uh-huh”, while men are more likely to listen silently.

Women are inclined to express agreement and support, while men are more inclined to debate.⁴⁵

All in all, we think that the different conversational styles used by the two genders when communicating make the ‘struggle’ between men and women quite interesting in the sense that life would be pretty boring if these were the same.

2.3.1. Gender Differences in Conversational Practice

Since men and women are biologically different from each other, they are also different in the manner they behave, in the way they communicate and in the way they try to influence and convince each other. Studying gender differences in communication has interested many researchers. Consequently, two main fields of research have been of great importance. These are academic research and popular literature. The former studies the differences in conversation characteristics and traits across gender whereas the latter deals with the major stylistic differences in conversation styles between men and women; it also studies the areas of conflict that are caused by gender differences in communication styles of men and women.

⁴⁴ Stated in *Conversational Style : Analyzing Talk among Friends* (2005) by Deborah Tannen.

⁴⁵ From: oregoncounseling.org/ArticlesPapers/Documents/DifferencesMenWomen.htm.

Academic research on psychological gender differences has shown that while women use communication as a tool to enhance social connections and create relationships, men use language to exert social dominance (Leaper,1991; Maltz and Borker, 1982; Wood, 1996; Mason 1994). Moreover, it has been found that on average, women use more expressive, tentative, and polite language than men do, especially in situations of conflict; men are also considered to offer solutions more than women in order to avoid unnecessary discussions.

Other academic research (Gray 1992) argues that men are eager to show their power, the reason for which they tend to use powerful speech whereas women use less powerful one, speak more politely. In addition, men want to feel needed, appreciated, and admired, while women strive to feel cherished, respected, and devoted. Deborah Tannen, who has always been interested in studying gender differences in communication styles, wrote in 1990 a book entitled *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. In her book, she explained that differences in communication across gender start at a young age. She found that boys create relationships with each other by doing things together which means that activities are central to their friendship. On the other hand, girls create close relationships with each other by simply talking i.e., talk is the essence of intimacy.

2.3.2. Gender Differences in Mixed-Sex Conversations

The issue of gender differences in conversation is a vast field which is concerned with a number of different conversational variables. Studies such as the one carried by Zimmerman and West (1996) have shown that in conversation men interrupt and overlap women more frequently than women do whereas women spend more conversational time remaining silent. On the other hand, men have also been observed in conversation using simple statements and minimal efforts; whereas women often use questions and attention beginnings (such as “Hey!” or “And another thing...” to carry topics they have introduced (Fishman 1978). In addition, and according to Bente (1998), researchers have also discovered that men

engage in more body movement during conversation⁴⁶. As a result, all studies mentioned earlier provide evidence that men are more dominant in conversations since they interrupt, overlap, and use gestures more than women.

It is significant to state that other studies have also dealt with the association between conversational dominance and gender implying different results. The study of Blumstein and Schwartz (1985) has shown that power and hierarchy in the society goes beyond maleness in determining conversational aggressiveness. Another research, the one of Burggraf (1987) has revealed that conversational dominance in a couple doesn't depend on gender but rather it depends on the kind of relationship which is established between the man and woman within the same couple. It has been assumed that it is the woman's responsibility to start the conversations and to maintain them and the lack of communication has been considered as the most frequent reason for the breakdown of marital relations. According to Dixon's investigation (1997), the gender of the listener may also be more important than the gender of the speaker in detecting the degree of aggressiveness of the speaker. What should be stated is that in mixed-sex conversations, priority is given to men since they interrupt women more so that they make them less able to complete their turns at talk. Thus, women tend to talk less and take the role of the listener contrary to men who dominate the conversations.

Lastly, it is essential to state that though issues in this field have begun to point out important differences between gender, hierarchy and social context, they have not really provided valuable and precise data to determine what specific factors really lead to dominance in conversational practices between men and women.

2.4. Women's Speech between Power and Identity

In order to find out the relationship between language, social status, and gender, Trudgill (1972) made a research on participants who were grouped according to their sex and social class. These were asked to read a paragraph that consisted of words ending in "ing" sounds. He found that male speakers tended to

⁴⁶ In: linguistics.buy.edu/faculty/deddingt/240/example paper.pdf.

drop the final sound of “g” and pronounced the endings as “in”. He noticed that males used low prestige pronunciation. On the contrary, females were likely not to drop the final sound of “g” and pronounced the word-ending as “ing”. So, women tended to employ the prestige pronunciation of certain speech sounds due to their hyper-correctness. To explain his analysis, Trudgill (1975), based his view on ‘covert and overt prestige’ of Labov. He explained that language is not desirable because of a powerful in-group marker and the use of non-standard forms reflects the group identity. According to him, men do not need to use standard forms since men in society are judged through their work and masculine values. On the other hand, as women tend to gain a higher social class, and as they are rather judged through their language and appearance, they use more standard forms. Thus, gender is closely connected to cultural and social attributes which have been acquired through the socialization process. In this respect, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:50) state that “The force of gender categories in society makes it impossible for us to move through our lives in a non-gendered way and impossible not to behave in a way that brings out gendered behaviour”.

The question is to find out whether there is a direct relationship between language, power and the social status of women. Many studies assert on the fact that power is context-dependent. It has been assumed that women are more concerned with expressing politeness strategies since they have less power comparing to men in interactional contexts. In this sense, Cameron (2005: 196) discusses how women are marginalized globally in the public spheres and how women are silenced in public contexts. Similarly, Sadiqi (2007:647)⁴⁷, when dealing with language and gender in the Arab World, asserts that women had to struggle to be able to enter the public arena.

In order to prove their power and their identity, Holmes (1998) formulates a set of sociolinguistic universals. The most important ones are:

⁴⁷ In Smakman, D. and Heinrich, P. (2015). *Globalising Sociolinguistics: Challenging and Expanding Theory*

- 1- Women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do. (1998:463).
- 2- Women tend to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity more often than men do. (ibid: 468).
- 3- Women tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase solidarity. (ibid:472).

Shedding some light on the position of women in North Africa, Eckert (2003) stresses the fact that gender has to be studied in relation to age since Arab women in general increase status and power when they are older. For example, a mother's status is much higher than a young woman's.

2.4.1. Gender and Identity

Gender identity has long been used to refer to the social identification as a boy or a girl, a man or a woman. For most people, the gender classification is obviously given at birth. To be identified with a gender group is considered by many psychologists as a fundamental social categorization. In fact, two major psychological approaches to gender and language are worth mentioning at this level: the social-cognitive approach and the discursive psychology approach. According to the former, gender identity deals with social norms about gender which in their turn predispose individuals to act, talk, and think. In other words, according to it, human's behaviour, including language and communication, is mainly driven by and is a reflection of some cognitive characteristics and processes.

As a result, for the social-cognitive issue, though identity conducts and reflects the language around it, cognition is essential to its expression in language and communication. In contrast, the latter, which is the discursive psychology perspective, emphasizes on language rather on cognition in order to understand the social interaction. In other words, this issue gives importance to the study of language over minds as being the most significant way for understanding the significance of social communication.

2.5. Gender as a Sociolinguistic Variable

Since men and women are biologically and socially different, they are expected to have different behaviours. As we are interested in studying dialect shift and how it can be affected by gender, we try to highlight some interesting claims about gender as a sociolinguistic variable. Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet (1992:90) state the following:

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

From the beginning of the 1960's, many sociolinguists such as: Labov (1966, 1972), Trudgill (1972), Coates (1986), Eckert an Mc Connell- Ginet (2003) and others have studied the differences between male and female speech. These studies have shown that there is a close relationship between language and society and that language reflects whatever changes occur in the society. Two domains of language behaviour were investigated: speech behaviour of men and women on the phonological level, and the interaction behaviour (conversational styles) between men and women in discourse.

As studies developed in sociolinguistics, researchers have tried to link the bridge between the studies of language in relation to gender. It is worth noting that Labov was the first to note the importance of sex / gender as a sociolinguistic variable. In his researches, he aimed at describing, explaining and comparing language variation between different sexes and classes of the society. Working with the same framework, he (1990: 205) was interested in three points: the first one was about what he called stable sociolinguistic stratification in which men use a higher number of non-standard forms than women; the second point dealt with the fact that

women prefer using prestigious forms more than men, and the third one showed that women are most often innovators in linguistic change. He adds that females prefer prestigious forms to gain an important position in the society. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003:09) argue that gender is still an essential factor in language variation and change and that it interacts with other social variables in a community. In addition, Coates (1993: 4) defined gender as “the term used to describe socially constructed categories based on sex”. In the same respect, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 305) assert that “Gender practices are not only about establishing identities but also about managing social relations”.

Some important Western studies (Trudgill 1972; Labov 1982; Paulstone and Tucker 2003) claim that the lower-middle-class women tend to use more prestige forms to compensate for their socially insecure position.⁴⁸ In studies examining language change in bilingual communities, women seem to be initiating a change towards the more prestigious variety (Gal 1978)⁴⁹. However, Labov (1982: 201) claims that this is not the case in the Near East and South Asia and that women in these areas are not necessarily linguistically more conservative. What is important to say is that Labov may not have taken the difference between a prestigious and a standard variety into account. As far as Arab-speaking countries are concerned, and according to many linguistic studies in Northern Africa, it was shown that in urban areas, at least a prestigious vernacular is used, and this depends on a number of geographical, social and political factors. To state some examples, In Egypt, the prestigious vernacular is Cairene Arabic, it is also the dialect used in larger cities. It is worth mentioning that urbanisation has led to a distinction between prestigious and standard dialect. In this sense Miller, C. (2004:177) states that “urbanization has been one of the greatest changes of the last century in Arab countries”. In Morocco, for example, Sadiqi, F. (2003: 212-13) asserts that “it is not helpful to look at the category of Moroccan women as one entity since diversity within Moroccan society is pervasive”. To sum up, we can assume that language and gender are closely tied to society.

⁴⁸ Stated in : Gender in North Africa by Reem Bassiouney in Globalising Sociolinguistics (2015).

⁴⁹ Idem

2.6. Gender and Multilingualism

From a linguistic and a sociolinguistic view, gender and language studies have made important contributions, yet what is noticeable is that very few studies have really been interested so far in connecting gender and multilingualism or at least gender and bilingualism. The main question of such studies is: what do bilingual (or multilingual) studies bring to the studies of gender and language? Trying to answer this question, sociolinguists aim at showing that gender and language studies have contributed in analyzing some communicative and social practices on the one hand, on the other one, they assert that such practices reveal inequalities between men and women. The table below demonstrates the convergence between language and gender studies and bilingual ones.⁵⁰

Language and Gender Studies	Bilingual Studies	Timing
Biological-based Categorization	Structural-Functionalism	1970s
The Perspectives of Deficit- Domination- Difference	Code-Switching Language Choice as an “act of identity”	1980s- 90s
Post-Structuralist Approach	The Political Economy of Bilingualism	1990s- 00s

Table 2.1. The convergence between Language and Gender Studies and Bilingual Studies.

⁵⁰ In: *Gender and Sexual Identities in Transition: International Perspectives* (2008) by Santaemilia.J and Bou. P. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

As it has already been mentioned in our previous sections, studies of gender and language started with the publication of ‘*Language and Woman’s Place*’ (Lakoff 1975). At first, it was noticed that women’s features of talk in sex-mixed conversations reflected their position which was considered as inferior. Fishman (1983), for example, noticed that many women took marginal roles in conversations, in other words, women were just sustaining those who were leading in conversations; these were almost always men. At the same time, other researchers such as Maltz and Borker (1982), who were inspired by Gumperz’ approach to bilingualism and communicative competence, started to draw a more comprehensive image of women’s talk, especially in single-sex situations. They introduced what is called “difference” or “subcultural” approach which considered women’s forms of talk as being simply different, yet equally valid, to that of men.

Until the 1990s, studying gender and bilingualism were sensitive to various changes and developments that occurred in different fields of sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, conversational analysis and pragmatics.⁵¹ Thus, the latest period of gender and language studies has been known as “post-structuralist”. This theory suggested that language does not reflect gender; it is rather gender which emerges out of language use and discursive practice. In here, the core of the issue is that identities are constructed through language and discourse. Thus, as context was taken into consideration, a new concept was elaborated known as “communities of Practice” (Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet 1999); This has permitted the conceptualization of the definition of speech community as shown by Cameron (1992: 186) who attempts in defining and conceptualizing language in a way which is relevant to the studies dealing with language and gender studies as it is stated in the following passage:

The social practice of language-using is not defined simply by the act of speaking (or writing or signing). Nor is it completely defined by the structures of the language itself, though these do bear on it. What most crucially defines this

⁵¹ We will deal with these points in details in our next sections.

social practice, I would argue, is the act of addressing someone, in some context, for some purpose.

Concerning bilingualism and multilingualism, it is worth mentioning that in literature, the two terms have been used interchangeably to refer to the knowledge or use of more than one language by an individual or a community. While bilingualism in a general sense is used to refer to the ability of speaking two languages, in other words, it was long considered as the equal mastery of two languages, multilingualism implies more than two languages. Thus, the linguists' definition of bilingualism are quite divergent to the question of degree. Mackey (1962:52) defines bilingualism as "the ability to use more than one language", Myers-Scotton (2006:3) says that: "being bilingual doesn't imply complete mastery of two languages". So, the issue of degree makes the definition of bilingualism too complicated. In the same vein, Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:5) affirm that the "degree of bilingualism refers to the level of linguistic proficiency a bilingual must achieve in both languages". When considering the phenomena, two types of bilingualism are distinguished : societal and individual. Hamers and Blanc (2006 :6) say in this respect :

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

Individual bilingualism (or bilinguality) takes into account the differences between one bilingual and the other in terms of skills or knowledge of the other language. It deals with the phenomenon in relation to individuals. In addition, it is

explained as a mental phenomenon making people use another language by own wish or motivation. Societal bilingualism, on the other hand, may develop from a variety of language contacts both within and between countries and communities because of constant interchange through visits, trade, wars⁵²...According to Appel and Muysken (2005:1-2) “societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken”.

From the discrimination made above, we can say that the most prominent characteristic of bilingualism is that it has a multiplicity of aspects whether we consider it at the individual or the societal level. In describing these two characteristics, Trudgill (1983 :141) claims that : “individual bilingualism is not actually a necessary consequence of societal or national multilingualism”, whereas Romaine (1993 :23) states that “It is not possible to make a neat separation between bilingualism as a societal and individual phenomenon, particularly in the treatment of certain aspects of bilingual behaviour, such as borrowing and interference”. As a result, societal and individual bilingualism are closely connected to each other.

2.7. Lexical Variation in Algeria

Lexical variation in Algeria is the result of two overlapping linguistic phenomena: diglossia and bilingualism. Because of them, all the structural aspects of language including pronunciation, morphological patterns and lexis tend to change. The insertion of new vocabulary and the change in lexis spread quickly among language users. In diglossic societies such as Algeria, many words are taken from the H variety and introduced in the L one, noticing some variations either in form or use and sometimes in meaning between the two varieties. Here is below some examples that illustrate the proximity that exists between H and L vocabulary in Algeria:

⁵² Cited in my magister dissertation.

MSA	AA	Gloss
[kataba]	[ktəb]	‘He wrote’
[labisa]	[lbəs]	‘He wore’
[kursi:jun]	[kursi]	‘A chair’
[bintun]	[bənt]	‘a girl’
[waladun]	[wəld]	‘a boy’
[ʔakala]	[kla]	‘He ate’
[ba:bun]	[ba:b]	‘a door’

Table.2.2: Illustration of the Proximity between MSA an AA Vocabulary

What is noticeable is the similarity to some extent between the words of MSA and the ones of AA. Other examples concerning the borrowing from French words to AA are also illustrated in the table below:

French	AA	Gloss
Tricot	[triku]	‘Sweater’
Stylo	[stilu]	‘Pen’
Téléphone	[telefon]	‘Phone’
Cartable	[ka:rta:b]	‘School-bag’
Collège	[kuli:dʒ]	‘School’
Plombier	[plombji]	‘Plumber’

Table.2.3. Words Borrowed from French used in AA

Algerian Arabic (also called colloquial Arabic) with French borrowings are omnipresent in the spoken varieties of Arabic. Foreign languages such as French, Turkish and Spanish have a great impact on the speech of the Algerian people. This mixture of foreign words that are then adapted and adopted is now a part of the daily spoken Arabic, its use depends on the level of education of the speaker. In this sense, Sayahi, L. (2014:143-144) says the following:

The idea of variation in the usage of any of the available linguistic systems as a whole is reflected in variation in the lexical stock of the vernacular, as both native words and loanwords compete, depending on the level of education of the speaker.

In fact, the speaker's level of education plays a prominent role in the choice of the language or the variety used whether sticking to the vernacular or shifting to other languages leading to heteroglossia and multilingualism.

2.8. Lexical Variation under Heteroglossia and Multilingualism

It is widely assumed that society is always linguistically diverse and heteroglossic. The point is that the social stratification of language is quite parallel to the diversity of social groups such as groups of friends, of classes, of professions, etc. Since each social group is linked with specific activities and social relations, each gradually develops its own speech styles, accents, and dialects. Concerning diglossia, we assume that nowadays, a great percentage of the world's population use two or more languages in their everyday interactions; speaking one language in informal settings such as at home or with close friends (which refers to the "low" variety according to Ferguson 1959) and another one in official or formal settings (also called the "High" variety). On the other hand, heteroglossia means 'differentiated speech', and has been called 'Bakhtin's key term for describing the complex stratification of language into genre, register, sociolect, dialect, and the

mutual interanimation of these forms'. Vice (1997:18). In sociolinguistics, the terms bilingualism and multilingualism have been used interchangeably since they both refer to the use or knowledge of more than one language by an individual or a community. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: societal and individual. Hence, individual bilingualism (or bilinguality) takes into account the differences between one bilingual and the other in terms of skills or knowledge of the other language. In addition, it is explained as a mental phenomenon making people use another language by own wish or motivation. On the other hand, societal bilingualism may emerge from language contacts both within and between countries and communities because of constant interchange through wars, visits, trade... Moreover, it is assumed that bilingual (or multilingual) speakers have at their disposal a complex repertoire of linguistic structures which help them interacting in their everyday socialization. In this vein, Matras (2009:4) says the following:

My principal assumption [...] is that bilingual (or multilingual) speakers have a complex repertoire of linguistic structures at their disposal. This repertoire is not organized in the form of 'languages' or 'language system'; the latter is a metalinguistic construct and a label which speakers learn to apply to their patterns of linguistic behaviour as part of a process of linguistic socialization.

To conclude, one may say that bilingualism (or multilingualism) is closely related to the speakers' socialization since social variables such as interlocutors, context, topics and so on may surely affect their behaviour and way of speaking.

2.8.1. Aspects of Bilingualism in Algeria

It is interesting to state that bilingualism in Algeria is characterized by its different aspects. The long period of the French colonialism has resulted in the strong position of the French language as well as its deep inculcation in the Algerian society. Thus, what is noticeable nowadays is that almost all Algerians,

even illiterate people, do use and / or at least understand a few words either from MSA or French in their everyday speech. Hence, it is assumed that the individual bilingualism is an outcome of the societal one. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the Algerians' degrees of bilingual proficiency is quite different from one person to another since not all Algerians perform similarly the four basic language skills :listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Some are considered as being active bilinguals since they are able to understand, speak and write both languages, others are known as being passive bilinguals. In Algeria, Miliani (1986:126) defines bilingualism as “the practice of using consciously and/ or unconsciously in everyday speech two languages alternatively with a certain degree of ability”.

Because of the coexistence of two unrelated languages in Algeria, Arabic and French, Algeria is considered as a bilingual country. It is also considered as a multilingual one since some Algerian speech communities do also use Berber. Hence, the Algerian linguistic situation is very special since a large proportion of the population is able to operate in more than one code. In this respect, Romaine (1995: 30) says that: “If individuals possess two languages and can function reasonably effectively in producing and perceiving both, they are considered bilinguals”.

Though MSA is widely used in education and has replaced French at almost all educational levels (except in some scientific streams), French continues to be used in many domains such as: economy, finance, mass-media...since it is regarded as the language of technology and progress. As a result, and because of its long history in the Algerian context, French has been given the status of a widespread language in different sectors of the society such as educational, political and cultural ones.

2.8. 2. Diglossia

One of the most interesting linguistic phenomena in Algeria is diglossia. William Marçais (1930) ⁵³ described this phenomena in the Arabic language by using the term *diglossie* to refer to two contrasting aspects of the language, although he did not really explain the specialized functions of each when he said that the Arabic language is considered under two different aspects: a literary language and spoken dialects: “La langue arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire...2) des idiomes parlés”.⁵⁴

Then, Ferguson (1959a), who used the term from Marçais, introduced the concept of *diglossia*. This can be defined as the use of two different varieties of the same language or different languages for two different sets of functions. Ferguson (1959:336) states the following :

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

In the same vein, three conditions have been listed by Holmes, J. (2001:7) in order to consider a community as being regarded as diglossic, these are:

- Two different varieties of the same language are used in the community, one variety is high and the other is low.
- Those different varieties have distinct functions.
- The high variety is not used in everyday conversations.

⁵³ Hubner (1996 :17) mentions Ferguson's borrowing of the term 'diglossia' from W. Marçais (1930-31). Mentioned in Dendane, Z. (2007).

⁵⁴ Cited in Dendane, Z. (2007 :99) .

From the above definitions we can say that the Arab speaking world is considered as diglossic as two distinct varieties of the same language are used. One is used in formal situations called 'high' variety (H) and the other in less formal or informal situations called 'low' variety (L) or vernacular. In the case of Algeria, the high for MSA, generally used in lectures at university, sermons in mosque, political speeches and poetry. The low variety refers to the spoken forms of Algerian Arabic used at home, in the street, market, sometimes on radio and TV. Standard Arabic is recognized in formal situations and it is highly appreciated by people because of its inherited status from the Holy Coran and Classical Arabic; whereas, the Vernacular variety is not prestigious at all (Sridhar 1996 :55). Freeman (1996)⁵⁵ says in this respect :

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

As a result, the Algerian linguistic situation is so intricate: it is diglossic, characterized by the use of Algerian Arabic and MSA ; bilingual by the use of Arabic and French ; and even multilingual by the use of Arabic, French and Berber in some areas.

According to Ferguson, diglossia is applied to situations where the (H) and the (L) are variants of the same language. However, Fishman (1972) points out that diglossia could be extended to situations found in many societies where two genetically distinct languages "come to divide up the domains in the linguistic repertoire of the speech community" Spolsky (1998 :64). This is what Fishman calls 'extended diglossia'. In other words, Fishman extends the application of the term '*diglossia*' to bilingual and multilingual contexts where the High variety is another language different from the Low one. According to him, the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism may appear in as follows:

⁵⁵ Freeman, A. (1996). Web article : « Perspectives on Arabic Diglossia ».

- a- Both diglossia and bilingualism: this occurs when the two varieties that are genetically unrelated have separate functions.
- b- Diglossia without bilingualism: According to Fishman (1967: 360), this happens in two or more speech communities that are ‘united religiously, politically or economically into a single functioning ‘unit’ .
- c- Bilingualism without diglossia: As opposed to the first case, in here both languages or varieties lack separate functions.
- d- Neither diglossia nor bilingualism: This case may be theoretically possible, but may be in very small, isolated speech and undifferentiated speech communities.

2.8.2.1. From Diglossia towards Heteroglossia in Algeria

It is worth mentioning that despite the considerable prestige of Classical and Standard Arabic, Algerian Colloquial Arabic is the predominant spoken language since it is used in everyday conversation and informal settings. In Algeria, each Arabic dialect has its own status, functions, and domains of use. Three Arabic varieties are in triglossic relation: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic.

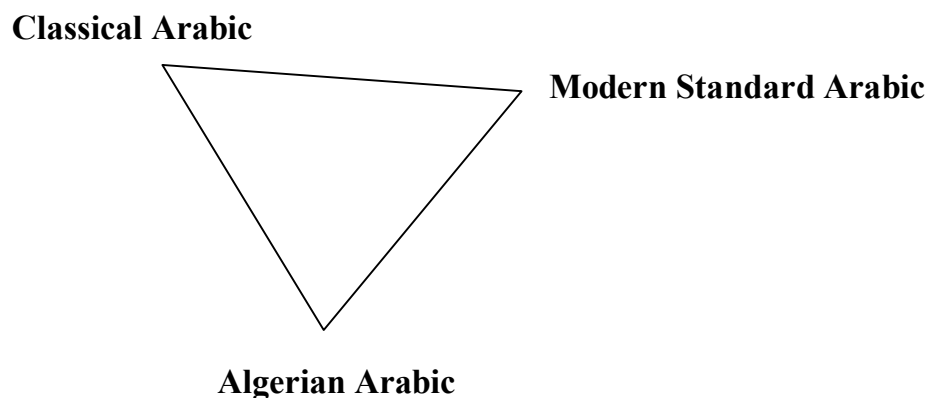


Figure 2.1. Triglossia in Algeria

What attracts the attention nowadays is the emergence of a fourth variety named Educated Spoken Arabic which may lead to a quadriglossia in the Arab countries, among them is Algeria. Like the Algerian Colloquial Arabic, Educated

spoken Arabic is neither codified nor standardized; moreover, it is not widely used by the Algerians since it is used by educated people in their everyday speech. Thus, it is not yet fully developed and widespread. It is just a kind of ‘polite’ form of Algerian Arabic whose lexicon is affected by that of Standard Arabic. Here are some examples:

Educated Spoken Arabic	Algerian colloquial Arabic	Translation
1- ntahina lʕamel fettali ntaʕ ənahɑ:r.	1- kəmmelna lʔədma fettali nteʕ ənhɑ:r.	1- We have finished the work at the end of the day.
2-mʕina ləlmadrɑsɑ bæʕ netkellem mʕalmudi:r.	2-roʕna ləkuli:ʒ bæʕnahɑdru mʕɑ:l mʕalmudi:r.	2- We went to school in order to talk with the headmaster.
3-mʕinalelmɑhɑtɑbæʕ nʕufuəttewqitntaʕəl kitɑ:r.	.3- mʕina lɑgɑ:r bæʕnʕuf ʕendɑ:ʕyqeleʕetχen	3- We went to the train station in order to ask about the train departure.
4- kæn yetkellem bsifa ʕadiyɑ	4- kæn yɑhdɑr normɑ:l	4- He was talking normally.
5- ʒæt əssɑyidɑ bæʕtetkellem mʕɑlʕustæd	5- ʒæt ləmra bæʕtɑhdɑr mʕɑ ʕʕi:χ.	5- The lady came in order to talk to the teacher.

Table 2.4. The Divergence between Educated Spoken Arabic and Algerian Colloquial Arabic

By taking this table above into consideration, we can say that Educated Spoken Arabic is part of our Arabic even though it is not really used and widespread. Thus, we may draw the following conclusion as shown in the following figure:

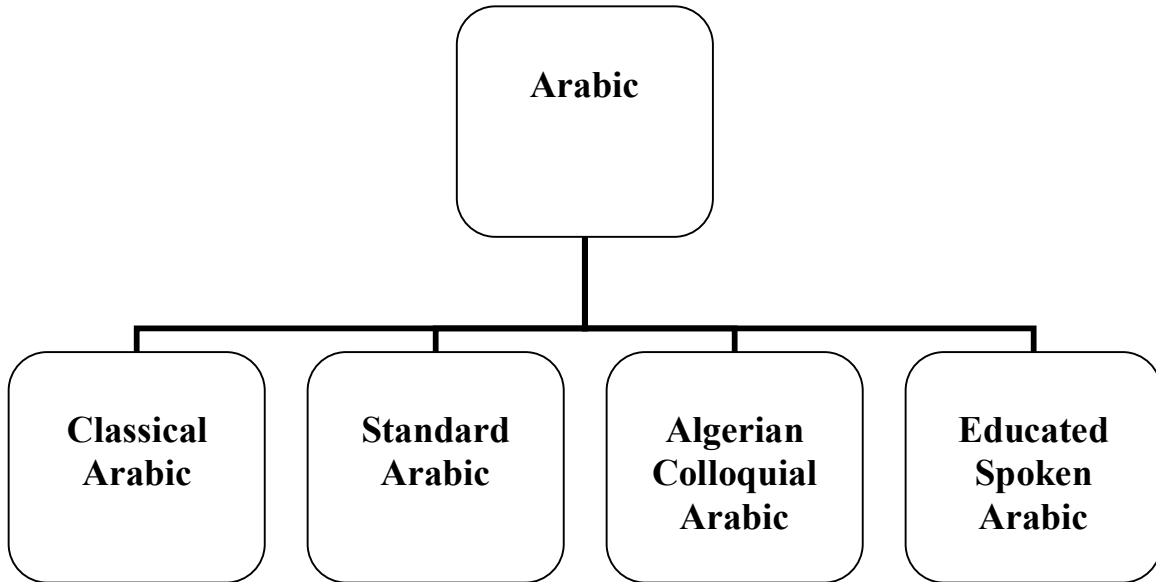


Figure 2.2. Quadriglossia in Algeria

Finally, we can consider that quadriglossia emerging in Algeria, Educated Spoken Arabic is a new variety of Arabic which is taking place not only in our country but in almost all Arab countries as well.

2.8.3. Code Switching

Among the inevitable effects of bilingualism and diglossia is code-switching. In spite of the fact that many views have dealt with this phenomenon, most linguists have not come to an agreement about one specific definition of code-switching and thus many definitions have been supplied for it. According to Myers-Scotton (1993:3) code switching “is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation”. For Myers-Scotton, when using two languages, there is

generally one dominant language considered as the matrix variety and a dominated one which is the embedded one.

Code-switching is generally defined as a type of interlocution that occurs as an ordinary result of language contact, it is an inevitable consequence of bilingualism. In other words, bilingual speakers acquire the ability to switch from one code to another depending on the various situations or circumstances, the topic of conversation or according to the addressee they are talking to. Another interesting definition of code-switching is given by Nilp (2006:1), he defines it as follows:

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

According to Nilp, code-switching refers to the alterations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation in order to contextualize talk when speaking. In 1972, two patterns of CS were introduced by Blom and Gumperz. The first one called 'situational CS' and the second one 'metaphorical CS'. The former happens when the speaker switches languages according to the change of situation whereas the latter refers to the switching of languages in order to achieve a special communicative purpose; this switching is usually influenced by the topic of the conversation rather than by the social situation. In 1976, the concept was developed and a new term was introduced; it is 'conversational CS'. Here, the speaker switches within a single sentence, he/ she can do it so many times. Later on, and in 1980, Poplack distinguishes between three types of CS:

- 1- Extra-sentential or tag-switching where tags and certain set phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance of another language.
- 2- Intra-sentential switching where switching occurs within a clause or sentence boundary.
- 3- Inter-sentential switching where a change of language occurs at a clause or a sentence boundary.⁵⁶

Gumperz' situational and metaphorical dichotomy was developed in 1993 by Myers-Scotton. In her study, she presents the Markedness Model from the angle of social motivations. In other words, they generally choose the unmarked choice when interacting unconsciously. She (1993a:75) asserts that:

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

To sum up, we can say that Gumperz and Myers- Scotton explained that speakers choose one code or another in terms of social motivations.

2.8.4. Borrowing

Borrowing is the process of taking a word or words from a foreign language and insert it in the recipient language to become an integral and permanent part of it. In everyday speech, speakers may borrow words from another language either consciously or unconsciously in order to explain, describe or express ideas or objects. This phenomenon usually happens because the equivalents of these words

⁵⁶ Harmers and Blanc (2000 : 259-260).

do not exist in their mother tongue. In this sense, Spolsky (1998:49) says: “the switching of words is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language”. In addition, borrowing also involves code-switching and code-mixing. In fact, it is the process of shifting from verbal speech that is characterized by code-switching and code-mixing to language systems. Hudson (1996:55) asserts that:

Whereas code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is borrowed from one language to become part of the other language.

Haugen (1950) classifies the different types of borrowing into two categories which are: ‘Lexical Borrowing’ and ‘Grammatical borrowing’. The former is defined as “the adoption of individual words or even sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect”⁵⁷. The latter is defined as “the incorporation of foreign rules into a language”⁵⁸. It involves changes in syntax (sentence order) of the borrowed language; on the one hand, the morphology of the patterns of the borrowed language such as: word formation, inflections and affixations.

1- Lexical Borrowing : This kind of borrowing is also divided into subcategories which are: loanwords, loan shifts, loan translations, and loan blends.

- *Loanwords*: It is considered as the most widespread kind of borrowing where morphemes are imported but the substitution may occur at the level of the phoneme (Hudson, 1996).

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

- *Loan Translation (or Calque)*: According to Haugen (1950), loan translation is ‘morpheme-by-morpheme translation’. For example, the expression: ‘I’ve told him I

⁵⁷ In Appel & Muysken (1987 : 162).

⁵⁸ Ibid (1987 :153).

don't know how many times' is a direct calque of the French expression: 'je lui ai dit je ne sais pas combien de fois'. Bloomfield (1933:457).

- *Loan Blends (or Hybrids)*: For Boas (1930:85), a loan blend consists of "a combination of native and borrowed morphological material". It means that both importation and morphemic substitutions are involved. The point is that one part of the model is kept or imported as it is, and the other part is substituted for another element which belongs to the borrower language. It is worth mentioning that Myers-Scotton (1993) divides lexical borrowing into cultural and core borrowing. Cultural borrowing refers to the items mainly the objects that are new to the recipient culture. Core borrowing consists of words that are more or less similar to the words that already exist in the recipient language.

Talking about the situation in Algeria, French is deeply rooted in the daily life of Algerian speakers and French words have become an integral part of AA such as collège, manège, stylo, tablier... Some other loan words are borrowed from other languages like Spanish or English as 'bye-bye', 'week-end'... This lack of vocabulary obliges Algerians to borrow words mainly from French. Hudson (1998:55) states that speakers use loan words for different reasons:

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

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

2.9. Men and Women's Attitudes towards Language

William Labov was one of the first sociolinguists who studied and focused on language attitudes. In his New York city research, he pointed out that 'in most cases women showed the greater style shift to the standard as the formality of the speech situation increased', add that 'they (i.e., women) were more sensitive to prestige factors than men'.⁵⁹ In the same respect, Trudgill (1974) assumed that men may stick to the value of non-standard language of Norwich in Britain. He explained that 'many men admitted that they would rather not speak the standard variety' as opposed to women 'to avoid being seen as disloyal by their friends'.⁶⁰ He assumed that men are more attached to non –standard forms of English as opposed to females who prefer using Standard English. In the same respect, Brouwer (ibid) state the following:

[...] men may attach a certain value to non- standard language because of the connotations of roughness and toughness, which are supposed to desirable masculine attributes. When questioned directly, many men admitted that they would rather not speak the standard variety to avoid being seen as disloyal by their friends.

As far as language attitudes are concerned, Labov (1966) asserts that attitudes towards language are noticeable among the speakers when using what is considered as stigmatized forms as opposed to prestigious ones. Similarly, Dendane (1993, 2007) showed that the occurrence of the prestigious forms in dialectal Arabic in Tlemcen speech community is more important in women's than men's speech.

When hearing or watching something having a relation with gender, our stereotypes are automatically and obviously activated and attitudes may take place. Gender stereotypes are a set of beliefs which have been inculcated in our brain, such as that men are stronger and more aggressive than women, while these latter are

⁵⁹ Cited in Brouwer (1989 :9)

⁶⁰ Ibid.

more talkative, and so on. What should be mentioned is that stereotypes cannot be separated from other variables except the one of gender which are of great importance such as age, context, culture, race, class... Thus, stereotypes about how men and women speak demonstrate some ideas which are in our attitudes towards men and women in other words what we think they are supposed to be like.

In order to measure men's and women's attitudes towards language use, the Matched-Guise Test, known as 'matched-guise technique' or 'matched-guise model' was used by sociolinguists. This experiment was first introduced by Lambert in 1960's to determine attitudes held by bilingual French Canadians toward the languages in contact. Davies and Elder (2004 : 189).

As a conclusion, we can say that men's and women's attitudes are quite different since women's language has always been considered as inferior and referred to with negative connotations, the reason that leads men avoid using the standard forms which are considered as parts of females' language. In his investigations, Labov (2001) found that women use a great number of prestigious forms comparing to men. According to him, such behaviour is adopted by women in order to show their value and their importance in the society. In the same vein, Trudgill (1983: 73) says that

Gender differentiation in language arises because language, as a social phenomenon, is closely related to social attitudes. Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expects different behaviour patterns from them. Language simply reflects this fact.

Thus, as men and women are considered as socially different, in other words they have a different status in the society, each of them fulfills different roles resulting in quite different behaviours and language patterns.

2.9.1. Women and Language Stereotypes in Algeria

Already stated in the previous sections, stereotypes denote actions and beliefs that are taken-for-granted in a specific socio-cultural context. They variably belong to social categories. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:90) say that:

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

Concerning Algeria, gender stereotypes may be positive or negative. The positive ones are not problematic; the following expressions, for example, [hadlemra ʃatra] meaning 'this woman is very active' or in another sense 'this woman is a good housewife' or 'this woman is hard-working' depending on the context where the expression is said, or [hadimrawraʒel] meaning 'this woman plays the role of man and woman', the stereotype is considered as positive; Thus, the harder a woman works the better she is socially considered since in Algeria, women are generally believed to be patient, obedient, and weak.

In the Algerian culture, gender stereotypes are mainly transmitted through language. Indeed, the way Algerian speakers use gender nuances in their everyday speech is closely connected to their knowledge or stereotypes of the way sex-roles are distributed in the Algerian society. Generally, in the Algerian socio-cultural context, women are seen as more patient, more obedient, more wicked, more emotional, weaker than men. These stereotypes are highly valued and inculcated to the individuals from their childhood. As a result, they are transmitted from one generation to another and then are perpetuated in such a society since they have

been adopted by the Algerians. Here are some examples: [hadi:klɣayana] meaning: ‘that poor woman’ refers to the fact that the woman is weak. [lemra lefɜa] or in Tlemcen speech community, [lemra setut(a)] meaning: ‘the woman is a viper’ refers to the fact that the woman is wicked. So, these expressions reflect the stereotype that women are by nature weak and wicked. It is worth mentioning that the negative stereotypes create prejudice and shape a dominant and lasting male-biased group mentality. In fact, most stereotypes about women in the Algerian culture are negative since female’s talk, actions and habits are more negatively considered and valued; Women’s language is systematically subject to biased and pejorative stereotyping. The following expression may illustrate it: [su:qənnɜa] literally meaning ‘women’s market’ denotes women’s talkativeness. So, women’s speech is regarded as unworthy and valueless.

As a conclusion, we may say that the fact that differentiating Algerian women’s language from men’s is due to the duality (man as the leader vs woman as the subordinate) stereotype which is deeply rooted in the Algerian culture.

2.10. Language and Speech Community

Speech community, as a sociolinguistic concept, has emerged thanks to Labov (1966) and his pioneering work about language variation in New York City. Later on, the study of speech communities has been a subject of interest for many linguists since it was considered of great importance for the study of language change and variation. There are many definitions about speech community and the most important ingredient of them is language. According to Bloomfield (1933: 42)⁶¹ “a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech”. Similarly, Trudgill (1992: 69-70) defines it as:

⁶¹ Quoted in Hudson (1996 : 25)

A community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same norms for linguistic behavior, including both general norms for language use of the type studied in the ethnography of speaking, and more detailed norms for activities such as style shifting of the type studied by secular linguistics.

According to these definitions, a speech community is seen as a group or groups of people who communicate by using one or two, or more languages or varieties of the same language in everyday interaction. Similarly, Gumperz (1971:101) asserts that a speech community or as he named a linguistic community can be defined not only in terms of ‘frequency of social interaction’, but also in terms of ‘face-to-face contact’ that may cover large regions. In this light, he describes a speech community as ‘linguistic community’.

[...] a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve.

In the face of this view, Gumperz’ definition shows that a speech community may be a large community that consists of other smaller ones related internally by specific characteristics. In short, definitions of speech community involve an interest and focus on the following:

- shared community membership
- shared linguistic communication

Concerning the first concept, some linguists believe that a speech community has to be a 'real' community in the sense that speakers of this speech community must live and belong to the same area or city where native language or dialect is necessary, whereas dealing with the second one, modern sociolinguists assert that all people are actually part of many speech communities since they are able to interact and communicate with each other. Consequently, in both views, linguists and sociolinguists confirm the idea that members of the same speech community should share some linguistic norms including comprehension, values and attitudes about language varieties that do exist in their speech communities. In addition, they should have a repertoire of social identities that enables them to participate in verbal and non-verbal communication. In this respect, Saville-Troik (1996:357) says: "Each member of a community has a repertoire of social identities and that each identity in a given context is associated with a number of appropriate verbal and non-verbal forms of expression".⁶²

To sum up we can assert that each individual may belong to several speech communities at the same time and when interacting, speakers behave consciously or most of the time unconsciously accommodating their way of speaking to the different situations where they find themselves. Fasold (1990: 42) says in this regard:

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

As a result, we can say that the way people use a language is closely related to the speech community they belong to where they interact and communicate using the appropriate language depending on the context or the situation.

⁶² In: Wardhaugh.R. (2006: 127).

2.10.1. The Speech Community of Tlemcen

For a long time, Tlemcen city has constantly attracted people, it was considered as one of the most important economic centres in North Africa. It is situated in the North West of Algeria. Through history, Tlemcen witnessed the invasion of different populations; At first, the Amazigh settled in, built the old city named ‘Agadir’ and named the town ‘Tilimsen’ meaning ‘the fountains’. Then, in the 4th century, the Romans named it Pomaria. It was a centre of a large Christian population for many centuries after the city’s Arab conquest with the arrival of the Arabs under the leadership of ‘Okba Bnou Nafie’. In the 7th century. After that, Tlemcen became the capital of the Zianids. These tribes came from Morocco, more exactly from Fes; they ruled Tlemcen until the 9th century. Next, and in the 11th century, the Almoravid leader Yusuf Ibn Tachfine founded the city of Tagrart which merged with the settlement and since became known as Tlemcen meaning ‘the fountains’. By the end of the 13th century, the Merinids of Fes waged war against the Zianids and laid siege to Tlemcen in 1299 by constructing the city of Mansourah. The siege lasted until 1307.

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

3,000 rural migrants, was extended and sheltered up to 15,000 people, a number which represents then one-fifth of the whole town population ⁶³.

Nowadays, the language situation in Tlemcen involves significant variation at all linguistic levels, mainly because of the socio-economic and historical contact established between the inhabitants of Tlemcen and the imperialist rulers in the past, particularly during the Turkish and the French occupations. Thus, considerable linguistic interferences began to emerge between the local and the external varieties. It is worth mentioning that Tlemcen speakers are so deeply characterized by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ], and its users are easily known anywhere in Algeria as belonging to Tlemcen. An other point which deserves attention is that it has been noticed that both of the inhabitants of Fes (in Morocco) and Tlemcen (in Algeria) use the glottal stop [ʔ] when speaking.

2.10.1.1. The Inhabitants of Tlemcen and their Origin

Tlemcen has always attracted people from different places, but the coming of the Andalousians in the 14th century was of a great impact on the inhabitants of Tlemcen since they brought with them all the ‘savoir faire’ of a great civilization known by its flourishing in all the domains more importantly the relationship between humans, the refined family milieu. The Andalousians were known by their specific clothing, their respected behaviour as well as their entire contribution in fields such as the literary and the religious ones, sciences, in addition to agriculture, music and craft. All in all, The Andalousians were the ones who represented the high sense of the word ‘Hdar’ (urban and civilized people). It is of great importance to mention that many Andalousian Jewish came and established in Tlemcen.

Because of the Spanish threat and menace on Oran in 1518, the last prince of Banu Ziane asked for the help of the Ottomans who were established in Algiers. The first comers arrived to Tlemcen in 1517 lead by Baba Aroudj, then many soldiers and families as well started coming to Tlemcen. Their settlement there

⁶³ Prenant, 1968 mentioned in Lawless and Black (1976:80). In Dendane (2007:159).

lasted for almost three centuries. They lived mainly in the superior part of the town, around the Mechouar. Later on, they were named 'Koroghli' which means: being born of a Turkish father and a native mother (i.e, a mother from Tlemcen).

2.11. Language Variation in Tlemcen Speech Community

Tlemcen is characterized by a set of linguistic features, it is one among the Algerians dialects which is very specific especially by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] which is the realization of /q/ in Classical Arabic. It has been assumed that the concept of dialect has been defined as a set of linguistic features that are shared by the inhabitants of a particular area or place. Consequently, a mutual intelligibility is created between them. In our study, we are mainly interested language variation in Tlemcen speech community, more exactly in dialect variation in Tlemcen city.

Because of the constant contact of the local variety (the urban variety) with the rural one, which is due to the internal migration from the rural areas towards the urban ones, Tlemcen native speakers, especially youngsters and more specifically males, avoid using Tlemcen Arabic since it has been stigmatized by non-native speakers.⁶⁴ It is important to mention that dialect contact plays a significant role in variation and change of the local variety. Before dealing with this latter, it may be useful to mention that the Arabic variety of Tlemcen was considered as being one of the old 'urban' pre-hilali forms of speech (Marçais 1977, Vesteeh 1997, Miller 2007) brought by the first waves of Arab Muslim Conquerors into North Africa during the 7th and 8 centuries whereas the 'rural' (also called the 'Bedouin') variety is said to have been brought later on to the Maghreb with the second wave in the 11th century with the coming of the Bedouin tribes of Banu Hilal. Those tribes' language was characterized by the use of particular dialect traits mainly those consisting of the use of the voiced velar [g] as the counterpart of uvular [qɑɑf] in Classical Arabic. No one knows how [qɑɑf] has become a [ʔ] in Tlemcen speech

⁶⁴ Tlemcen Arabic is used to refer to the dialect of Tlemcen including the use of the glottal stop.

community. According to Dendane (2013:5) “The explanations of the allophonic variant [ʔ] appearance has not been documented in accurate ways. However, a few hypotheses have been put forward as the origin of the glottal realization”. In addition, it has been assumed that sound change is the most intricate aspect of language change. In this vein, Milroy, J. (1993: 181) confirms that “Sound change is probably the most mysterious aspect of change in language, as it appears to have no obvious function or rational motivation”.⁶⁵ Consequently, the domination of [g] instead of [ʔ] in Tlemcen speech community is becoming a serious problem in Tlemcen since it may lead to the eradication of the local variety and thus to dialect change.

2.11.1 The Urban versus the Rural Dialect

Since we are interested in lexical variation in Tlemcen speech community, it may be important before all to point out the difference between the urban and the rural dialects. While the former is generally related to the set of linguistic characteristics which belong to the dialects spoken in the cities, the latter refers to a group of linguistic features that are most of the time different from those of the urban one. Nowadays, Tlemcen city is witnessing a dialect contact (urban and rural) which is due on the one hand to the important rural exodus from the rural areas to the town and on the other one, it is caused by the internal migration which concerns people coming from other towns of the country. As a result, significant changes are occurring at different levels in Tlemcen dialect including the phonological, morphological, and lexical ones.

a- At the Morphological Level: It is generally assumed that language shift or more appropriately dialect shift occurs when members of a speech community referred to as the ‘subordinate’ group start dropping and avoiding features of their mother tongue. The point is that a language displacement is taking place in the speech community; in other words, most of the linguistic characteristics of that

⁶⁵ In Dendane, Z. (2013). The Stigmatisation of the Glottal Stop in Tlemcen Speech Community : An Indicator of Dialect Shift. International Journal of Linguistics and Literature.

dialect start to be changed, replaced by new ones, and sometimes eventually removed from the dialect. Harmer and Blanc (2000:297) say that:

When the subordinate group's internal cohesion is affected, the dominant language spreads and gradually invades the domains, functions and forms of the subordinate language, or rather speakers of the latter gradually adopt the forms of the dominant language in more and more roles, functions and domains. When the family domain is invaded and parents cease to transmit their language to their children, and the latter are no longer motivated to learn it, language shift is almost complete.

Thus, we may assert that the family is the prominent factor which plays a significant role in dialect preservation. As far as Tlemcen speech community is concerned, we notice that Tlemcenian families (natives of Tlemcen) still stick to their urban variety, the reason for which within the same family and in a Tlemcenian setting, almost all the members use the urban variety including males since the use of such dialect, including the use of the glottal stop, is never stigmatized in such context. Yet, in mixed-conversations and mixed-settings (urban-rural), we notice that native young people, more importantly males, start dropping the features of their native dialect and adopting the rural one which is considered as the suitable one in such settings. For example, a native young male speaker may say [ʔadʒi] or [[ʔaʒi] meaning 'come here' or [χo] meaning 'take' within his family whereas, he will use respectively [ʔarwaħ] or [ħa:k] when addressing people outside his family such as friends...

b- At the Phonological Level: The most salient feature of Tlemcen speech is the substitution of the Arabic sound /q/ by [ʔ] called the glottal stop. In this vein, William Marçais (1902:17) asserts that: "...At last, it must be noted that a number of Tlemcenians seem reaching the impossibility of pronouncing the q, in their

mouth, it sounds as that of the inhabitants of Cairo and Damascus, by a loud *hamza...*”⁶⁶. As a result, the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is a significant feature of Tlemcen speech community and in our further investigations we will try to check whether TA will be affected by the rural variety or it will be preserved and maintained as an authentic reference of Tlemcen speech community.

Another feature characterizes TA, it is the feminine mark {-i}, of the third person singular which is omitted in verbs when addressing female speakers. The point is that there is no gender distinction. For example, a Tlemcenian native speaker may say [ku:l] meaning ‘eat’ or [ru:ħ] meaning ‘go’ (the imperative form) instead of [ku:li] and [ru:ħi] respectively. It may be useful to mention that the feminine mark [-i], of the third person singular does occur in the rural variety. Concerning the pronouns, native speakers may use [humæn] referring to ‘they’ instead of [huma] or [ntumæn] meaning ‘you’ instead of its rural counterpart [ntuma]⁶⁷.

Meanwhile, the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is a significant feature of Tlemcen speech community and in our further investigations we will try to check whether TA will be affected by the rural variety or it will be preserved and maintained as an authentic reference of Tlemcen speech community.

Another important feature of Tlemcen Arabic (TA) is that most Tlemcen native speakers, more importantly females, do use the sound /dʒ/ as it is used and pronounced in Classical Arabic (CA). In this vein, W. Marçais (idem: 15) also added that “the current pronunciation of ج in Tlemcenian dialect is j (English j): it is not a pure fricative, but a double letter (an affricate) comprising an initial dental element, and equivalent to the group dj pronounced in one emission of sounds”.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The original version :

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

⁶⁷ Dendane (2007).

⁶⁸ The original version: “La prononciation courante du ج en Tlemcenien est j (j Anglais); ce n’est pas une sifflante pure, mais une lettre double comportant un élément dental initial, et équivalente au groupe dj prononcé en une seule émission de voix”.

Here are some examples:

Classical Arabic	Tlemcen Arabic	Gloss
[dʒam:iʃun]	[dʒamaʃ]	‘A mosque’
[dʒa:ʔa]	[dʒa]	‘He came’
[dʒa:run]	[dʒa:r]	‘A neighbour’
[dʒaddatun]	[dʒadda]	‘A grand-mother’

Table 2.5. Classical Arabic and Tlemcen Arabic Pronunciation

c- At the Lexical Level: Tlemcen dialect is considered as a rich recipient that contains a infinite amount of words, structures and expressions. Some words are typical to this town; the word [baʔtat], for example, meaning ‘avarious’ is a common word used by Tlemcen native speakers, the same thing for the word [wladʒda:d] meaning ‘eggs’. The expressions [bettawi:l] or [belʔda] meaning ‘slowly’; [nwa:si] meaning ‘I do’ are also other examples of Tlemcenian expressions.⁶⁹

To sum up, it is essential to mention that the vocabulary of Tlemcen dialect is characterized by the consistent repertoire of lexical items which is used by its speakers. In addition, we may add that people of Tlemcen keep using a great amount of French in everyday interactions including borrowings, loan word or expressions, code-switching, etc. This is mostly important in females’ speech since they consider French as a language of prestige.

⁶⁹ Other expressions will be dealt with in the practical part.

2.11.1.1 The Glottal Stop

As already mentioned in the above sections, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the most salient feature of Tlemcen Arabic, it has become as a sociolinguistic marker of Tlemcen speech community. What can be noticed nowadays is that at an early age, boys use TA if their mothers are natives of Tlemcen. Yet, when starting going to school (by 5-6) boys start avoiding the use of [ʔ] since its use is stigmatized outside the family; when using it they may be treated as ‘effeminate’. This phenomenon has been defined as age-grading. It is a change of behaviour with age that repeats itself in each generation. According to Coupland, N. (2001:189) age-grading is “when people of more or less whatever birth cohort and their behaviour generally change as they age”. In addition, the study of Fasold (1984 in Kamwangamalu, 2003 : 227) about language shift shows that the need of adopting a new language is : “a feeling that the language being shifted from is inferior to the one being shifted to”; the point is that the rural variety can be considered as superior comparing to the urban one in the view of males. On the other hand, what is surprisingly amazing is the fact that girls at an early age still use TA, during adolescence some may tend to use the rural variety depending on the context of the interactions but in the early adulthood and on, they prefer using Tlemcen Dialect.⁷⁰

The question which still needs an answer is: will the glottal stop be definitely removed and displayed from TA or will it resist the various factors that affect the language or more appropriately the dialect? We shall try to discuss and clarify this point in our fieldwork.

2.12. Conclusion

From what has been mentioned in the previous sections, we assume that linguistic variation, more importantly lexical variation is closely related to gender and age in addition to other social variables and attitudes. The issue which will be studied in the coming chapters will focus on the relationship between women’s

⁷⁰ These information are based on my investigations done in my magister dissertation. (2012)

conservatism and language shift/maintenance in Tlemcen speech community including the reasons behind the avoidance of Tlemcen Arabic, mainly the use of the glottal stop of [ʔ]. We will also try to find out whether the linguistic phenomena in Tlemcen speech community can be considered as a continual shift/maintenance cycle. In addition to all these points, we shall investigate the extent to which non-native speakers from Tlemcen town may be affected by the use of TA and the reasons behind this dialect influence.

In the following chapter, we will tackle the methodology used in our study including the instruments of research such as the questionnaires delivered to native speakers of Tlemcen as well as non- native ones. Furthermore, we will shed light on the interviews made with the informants. At last, we will explain the matched-guise technique used to measure informants' attitudes towards dialect shift.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology and Data Collection

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we dealt with gender and language implications from a sociolinguistic perspective in an Algerian context, more specifically in Tlemcen speech community. We have also tackled the relationship between gender, language and their communicative functions. In this chapter, our concern is to deal with the methodological issues which are related to our research work. We will explain the methodology followed and discuss the main techniques used in our investigation in order to obtain reliable and naturalistic data that reflect lexical variation and dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community.

Different sociolinguistic methods, including questionnaires, interviews as well as the matched-guise technique, will be used in order to collect quantitative and qualitative data which will be analysed in order to check and confirm the proposed hypotheses.

3.2. General Research Methodology

The aim in establishing any research is to answer questions throughout some scientific procedures. In this regard, Kothari (2004:2) states that:

The purpose of research is to discover answers to questions through the application of scientific procedures. The main aim of research is to find out the truth which is hidden and which has not been discovered yet.

When conducting research, various steps are to be followed. According to Creswell (2008: 8-9), the principal ones are:

- Identification of research problem.
- Literature review.
- Specifying the purpose of research.
- Determine specific research questions.

- Specification of a conceptual framework⁷¹ - Usually a set of hypotheses.
- Choice of a methodology (for data collection)
- Data collection.
- Verify data.
- Analyzing and interpreting the data.
- Reporting and evaluating research.
- Communicating the research findings and, possibly, recommendations.

Thus, as it is stated “A methodology is a domain or a map, while a method refers to a set of steps to travel between two places on the map”. Wahyuni (2012).⁷² In other words, methodology and method are two complementary tasks.

It is worth mentioning that when research is accomplished, researchers generally give interests to concerns about reliability and validity. The former is the extent to which the same finding will be obtained if the research was repeated at another time by another researcher. In case of having the same results again, the instrument is consistent or reliable. The latter is rather concerned with the following question: Has the researcher gained a full access to the knowledge and meanings of data? In fact, no technique is perfectly reliable, but if data collection procedure is unreliable then it is also invalid.

This research study is concerned with the exploration of lexical variation in Tlemcen speech community, it is, thus, a case study. As a first step, a questionnaire is normally associated with quantitative research since it provides numbers and statistics. As a second step, an interview is conducted to relate to the qualitative study. Finally, and in order to determine old people’s attitudes toward dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community, we introduced the ‘Matched-guise’ technique which is also a qualitative tool.

By the end, this triangulation which is also called ‘mixed-method’ is used since it fulfils the needs of this research study.

⁷¹ Shields, Patricia and Rangarjan, N. (2013).

⁷² Wahyuni, D. (2012). *The Research Design Maze: Understanding Paradigms, Cases, Methods and Methodologies*.

3.2.1. Research Approach

Generally, research approach can be divided into two: inductive and deductive categories. While the former contributes to the emergence of new theories and generalizations, the latter tests the validity of assumptions (theories or hypotheses). Thus, in the methodology chapter, we have to explain the main differences between the two approaches and specify which approach we have adopted in our research. The choice between the two is closely related to a set of factors such as the field of study, the nature of the research problem and others. According to Singh, Y. K. and Bajpai, A. B. (2008:11): “two important functions that hypotheses serve in scientific inquiry are the development of theory and the statement of parts of an existing theory in testable forms”. This is to show the importance of hypotheses in any scientific research.

Saunders et al (2007) distinguish the major differences between deductive and inductive research approaches in the following manner:⁷³

Deductive Methods	Inductive Methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principles based on science - Movement is done from theory to data - Casual relationships between variables need to be explained - Quantitative type of data is mainly collected - Measures of control are applied in order to ensure the validity of data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The meaning of human attachment to events are aimed to be explored - Research context is understood in a deeper manner - Qualitative type of data is collected - More flexible approach to research structure to ensure provisions for changes during the research

⁷³ Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2007) “Research Methods for Business Students”, 4th edition, Prentice Hall

- Researcher is independent from the research process	- Researcher is perceived to be a part of the research process
- Samples need to be selected of a sufficient size in order to be able to generalise research conclusions	- Research findings do not have to be generalised

Table 3.1. The Main Differences between Inductive and Conductive Approaches

Consequently, if the researcher decides to find an answer to specific research question(s) which were already formulated in the research process, he/she would be following an inductive approach. On the other hand, if he/she chooses to achieve research objective through testing hypotheses, his/her research approach can be specified as deductive and this is the approach that we are going to adopt.

3.2.1.1. Deductive versus Inductive Approach

In the deductive approach, the researcher needs to confirm or reject a set of hypotheses, as a result the dissertation with deductive approach will follow the following path:

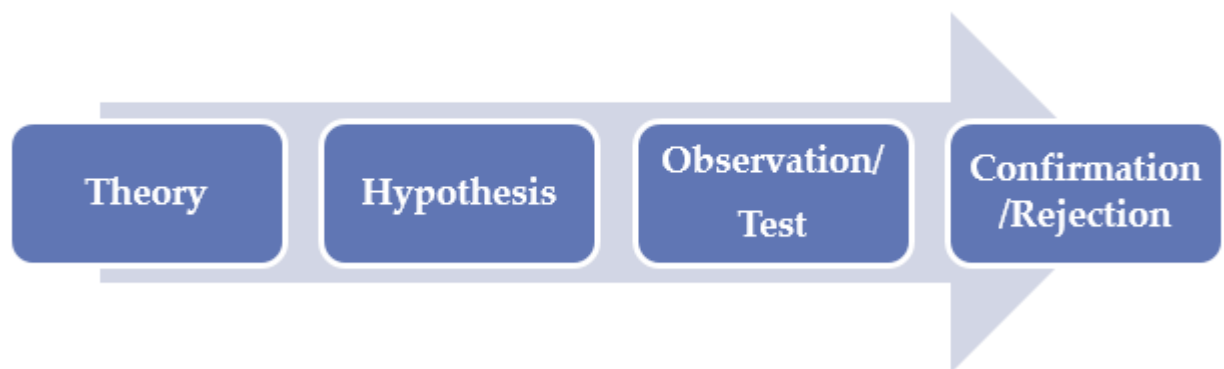


Figure 3.1. Deductive Process

When conducting a research via an inductive approach, the researcher starts with establishing research questions, aims and objectives that need to be achieved during the research process.

Inductive studies follow the following process:

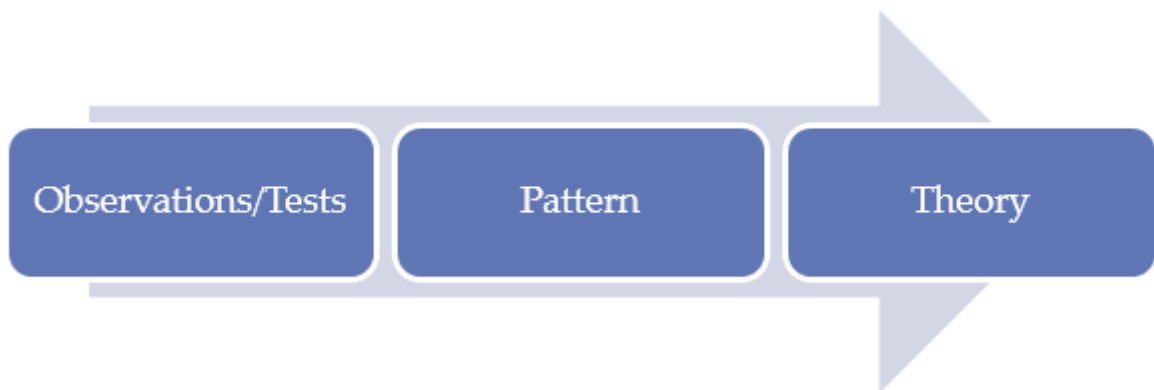


Figure 3.2. The Inductive Process

The most common classification of research methods includes the qualitative as well as the quantitative ones. It has been confirmed that neither of these two methods is better than the other one. According to Burgess and Brysman (1999:45):

Some researchers prefer to use mixed methods approach by taking advantage of the differences quantitative and qualitative methods, and combine these two methods for use in a single research project depending on the kind of study and its methodological foundation.

This means that the mixed approach is considered as being the most suitable One in conducting a research since it encompasses both qualitative and quantitative data.

In order to conduct and evaluate any research, it is essential to know which

kind of methods will be used in collecting data. According to Terre Blanche. M.;Durheim and Painter (2006: 6), the research process has three major dimensions: Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodology.

- a- Ontology specifies the nature of reality that is to be studied, and what can be known about it.
- b- Epistemology specifies the nature of the relationship between the researcher (knower) and what can be known.
- c- Methodology specifies how researchers may go about practically studying whatever they believe can be known.

Consequently, it is agreed that both of qualitative and quantitative methods are of great importance. While qualitative data are collected in natural settings in order to be explained later on. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 3) assert that: “Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”, quantitative data on the other hand, aims at collecting data which are then numerated and analysed. In the same respect, Hittleman and Simon (1997:31) say that: “Quantitative research makes use of questionnaires, surveys and experiments to gather data that is revisited and tabulated in numbers, which allows the data to be characterised by the use of statistical analysis”. Thus, the importance of the qualitative as well as the quantitative methods can never be denied.

3.2.1.2. Mixed Research Approach

When conducting any research, the researcher needs to mix methods of investigation since relying on only one technique is not of high reliability. So, in order to answer questions from a number of perspectives, a ‘Mixed Research Approach’ also called ‘Mixed Methods’ or ‘Mixed Methodology’ (or ‘Multiple Methodology’) is needed; Such approach emerged during the 1980’s as it is stated by Tashakkori and Teddli (2003:697): “The emergence of mixed methods as a third

methodological movement in the social and behavioural sciences began during the 1980's". This approach is used to combine qualitative and quantitative research strategies so as to tackle a research challenge from more than one angle. Creswell, and Clark. (2011) state that: "Mixed methods research combines methods, a philosophy, and a research design orientation".⁷⁴

It is worth mentioning that combining approaches helps overcome deficiencies in one method only. Stange et al (2006) state that:

Involved integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches to generating new knowledge and can involve either concurrent or sequential use of these two classes of methods to follow a line of inquiry⁷⁵.

As a result, in order to acquire more reliability and objectivity when conducting a scientific investigation, the researcher has to follow a research methodology paradigm which most of the time is the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Mixed research, also called 'triangulation', encompasses features of both quantitative as well as quantitative paradigms. In this vein, Cohen and Manion (2000: 254) say that "[triangulation is an] attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint". Thus, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection is a necessity for having access to rich, reliable and authentic data. Similarly, and according to O'Donoghue and Punch, K. (2003:78), triangulation is a "method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data" which means that triangulation is a technique used to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon, in other words, it is using more than one method to collect data on the same topic.

⁷⁴ In *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. (2011).

⁷⁵ In *Mixed-Methods in Behavioral Research : Online Learning and Human-Computer Interaction* by Harry Budi Santoso, PhD. Universitas Indonesia. (2015).

The triangulation design can be made more explicit in the following diagram:

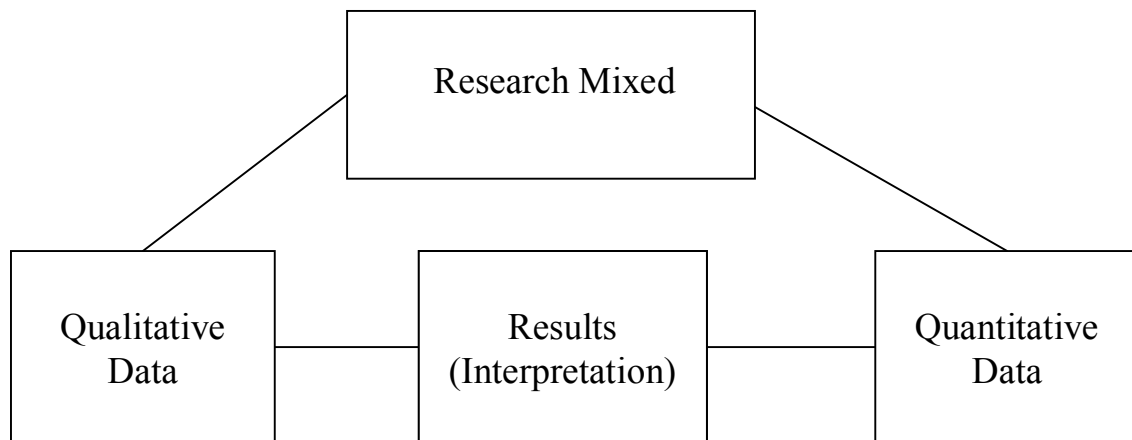


Figure 3.3. Triangular Design

Triangulation is considered as being the crosschecking of data using various sources or using more than two methods of data collection. Different types of triangulation may be distinguished:

- 1- Time triangulation: it refers to longitudinal studies.
- 2- Methodological triangulation: it deals with the same method used at different times or different methods concerned with the same object or phenomenon of study.
- 3- Investigator triangulation: it uses more than one researcher when conducting a research.

To conclude, we may say that the aim of triangulation is to study and analyse the results obtained from both qualitative and quantitative paradigms.

3.3. Quantitative and Qualitative Framework of Study

In any research, it is of great necessity for the researcher to vary the methods of data collection, among these techniques are the quantitative and the qualitative methods. In fact, quantitative approach deals with data collection via structured techniques such as questionnaires, surveys, etc. In addition, it relies on the fact of calculating the amount of responses given by the informants i.e. it deals with statistics. Thomas (2003:1) explains it as follows:

Quantitative methods, on the other hand, focus attention on measurements and amounts (more and less, larger and smaller, often and seldom, similar and different) of the characteristics displayed by the people and events that the researcher studies.

As a result, statistics and data analysis are the central functions in any quantitative research. Boeree (2012) also asserts that Quantitative methods are simply defined as methods that at least attempt to capture life as it is. All in all, it has been approved that quantitative methods rely on statistical measurement when collecting data, the technique which is not found in the qualitative methods.

Concerning qualitative research, it focuses on non-statistical techniques and methods when collecting data. It is achieved through interviews, group discussion. It uses semi-structured methods such as open-ended and in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus group, open-ended questions on surveys, etc. In this vein, Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011:20) assert that:

In broad terms, qualitative research is an approach that allows you to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, observation, content analysis, visual methods, and life histories or biographies.

In addition, Maxwell (1998: 66)⁷⁶ enumerates five research purposes for which qualitative studies are useful:

- 1- Understanding the meaning that participants in a study give to the events, situations and actions that they are involved with; and of the accounts they give of their lives and experiences;
- 2- Understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence this context has on their actions;
- 3- Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new, grounded theories about them;
- 4- Understanding the process by which events and actions take place; and
- 5- Developing casual explanations.

Yet, it is necessary to say that both of the two methods are necessary for conducting a research and acquiring reliable data as it is stated by Cobin (1990:18) in Thomas (2003:7).

[Both Qualitative and quantitative methods] can be used effectively in the same research project. However, most projects and researchers place their emphasis on one form or another, partly out of conviction, but also because of training and the nature of the problems studied.

What can be understood from the above quotation is that particular intention should be given to both methods when conducting a research for having more data about complex issues and exploring new topics.

3.3.1. The Five Qualitative Studies

As already explained before, a qualitative approach refers to the way of thinking about conducting qualitative research. Its task is to describe the aim of this

⁷⁶ Understanding Experiences of Girls in a Center of Excellence in Kajiado District, Kenya. (2008: 40)) by Ombonga. M. M.

research, the role of the researcher(s), the different steps of the research, and the methods of data analysis. Scholars have set five different qualitative studies:

1- Narrative Study: This kind of study focuses on studying one or two individuals, gathering data through the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences in a chronological order. In this respect, Czarniawska (2004:17) says that: “narrative is understood as a spoken or written text giving an account of an event / action or series of events / actions, chronologically connected”.

2- Phenomenological Study: This one is deeply rooted in several social research disciplines such as: psychology, sociology and social work. It deals with studying people’s subjective experiences and interpretations of the world. In other words, the researcher aims at understanding how the world appears to others.

3- Grounded Theory Study: This approach was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s. It aims at developing a theory about the phenomena of interest. When dealing the ‘Grounded Theory’ approach, researchers have to collect data, analyze it using various techniques such as induction, deduction, reasoning and verification in order to finally develop a theory. This latter provides a concise and full explanation of the phenomenon under study. In this vein, Creswell (1998: 43) says that:

A visual model is produced from the analysis that displays a coding diagram of the theory, and the tone of the research indicates that a specific process has been undertaken, while also being sensitive to the data and ideas generated from it.

Thus, when starting an investigation, researchers have to start by developing

hypotheses, questions and insights that will help them when collecting data, analyzing and establishing a theory.

4- An Ethnographic Study: It has a relationship with Anthropology. It aims at studying an entire culture. The most ethnographic approach is participant observation as a part of field study. In such investigation, the researcher has to become immersed in the culture as an active participant in order to collect data.

5- A Case Study: In here, the researcher goes into the field of research (such as a speech community) in order to observe the phenomenon in its natural state⁷⁷.

3.4. Research Design

In any research work, a typical research design encompasses the following steps:

- 1- Selecting a research area: the researcher has to select a field of study in order to achieve his goal.
- 2- Formulating research aim, objectives and research questions and (or) developing hypotheses: to set a number of objectives, research questions and hypotheses is very important in conducting a research.
- 3- Conducting the literature review: this step is necessary to define concepts which are related to the topic which is dealt with.
- 4- Selecting methods of data collections: they are different such as questionnaires, interviews, note-taking... and are useful for acquiring quantitative as well as qualitative data.
- 5- Collecting data: in this step, a sample population is generally needed.
- 6- Data analysis: it can be achieved through the calculation of results and can be formulated by means of tables, charts, diagrams...
- 7- Reaching conclusions / Recommendations: results are used to draw conclusions and later on to formulate recommendations which will help in further research.

⁷⁷ This kind of study will be developed in the following sections since our research study is concerned with.

According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter (2006:34), research may be viewed as a process consisting of five stages:

- Stage 1: defining the research question,
- Stage 2: designing the research,
- Stage 3: data collection,
- Stage 4: data analysis, and interpretation,
- Stage 5: writing a research report.

The following figure shows the important role that research design plays as a bridge between the research questions and the execution of the research:

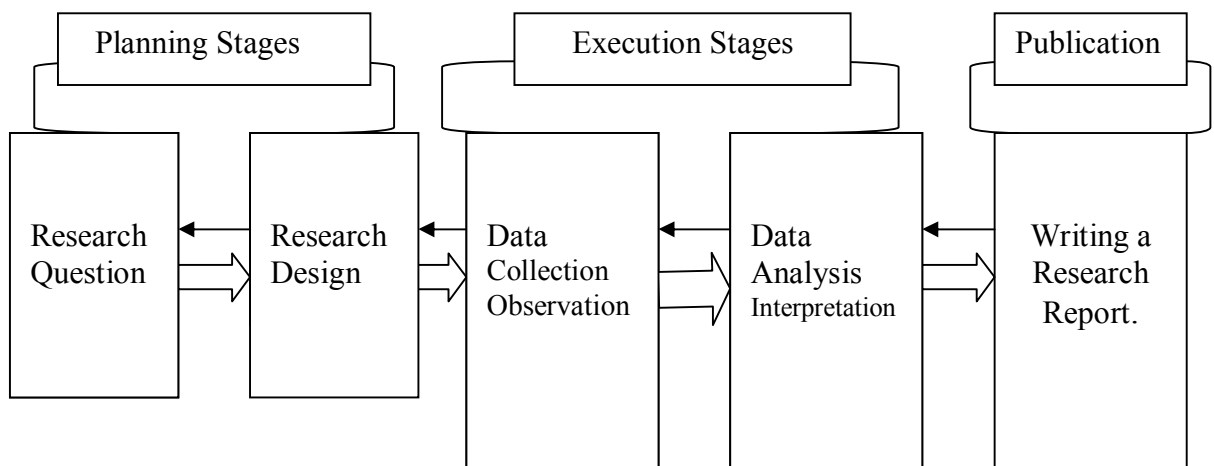


Figure 3.4. The Research Process⁷⁸

Generally, research design can be divided into two groups: *exploratory* and *conclusive*. The following table demonstrates the main differences between exploratory and conclusive research in relation to important components of the dissertation.

⁷⁸ Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter (2006:34).

Research Project Components	Exploratory Research	Conclusive Research
Research purpose	General: to generate insights about a situation	Specific: to verify insights and aid in selecting a course of action
Data needs	Vague	Clear
Data sources	Ill defined	Well defined
Data collection form	Open-ended, rough	Usually structured
Sample	Relatively small; subjectively selected to maximize generalization of insights	Relatively large; objectively selected to permit generalization of findings
Data collection	Flexible; no set procedure	Rigid; well-laid-out procedure
Data analysis	Informal; typically non-quantitative	Formal; typically quantitative
Inferences/recommendations	More tentative than final	More final than tentative

Table 3.2. Major Differences between Exploratory and Conclusive Research Design⁷⁹

As a conclusion one may say that if the researcher wants to explore the research problem and doesn't want to produce final and conclusive evidences, his /her research design would rather be exploratory. By contrast, if he / she aims at providing final and conclusive answers to the research question (s), he / she would adopt the conclusive research and this is what we will do in our investigation.

⁷⁹ [http //www. research-methodology.net](http://www.research-methodology.net)

3.5. Research and Ethical Issues

When conducting any research, the researcher has to respect and take into account some ethical considerations. It has been assumed that ethics is closely connected to what is morally and legally right, the reason for which many scholars established a set of ethical codes that may help researchers. In this respect, Hammersley (1999:18)⁸⁰ says that:

Whereas previously ethical considerations were believed to set boundaries to what researchers could do in pursuit of knowledge, now ethical considerations are treated by some as constituting the very rationale of research.

Thus, the researcher should not only be knowledgeable about what he is doing but he also should be intellectual as well as truthful in approaching and reporting. In order to support this idea, Bell and Bryman (2007)⁸¹ conducted a concise analysis on the ethical principles. As a result, they identified ten principles of ethical practice which can be summarized in the following table.

1	Ensuring that no harms comes to participants
2	Respecting the dignity of research participants
3	Ensuring a fully informed consent of research participants
4	Protecting the privacy of research subjects
5	Ensuring the confidentiality of research data
6	Protecting the anonymity of individuals or organizations
7	Avoiding deception about the nature or aims of the research
8	Declaration of affiliations, funding sources and conflict interest
9	Honesty and transparency in communicating about the research
10	Avoidance of any misleading or false reporting of research findings

Table 3.3: Key Principle in Research Ethics⁸²

⁸⁰ Ethics in Qualitative Research (2012) by Miller, Mauthner, Birch, and Jessop.

⁸¹ Management Research (2012) by Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, Jackson .

⁸² Idem..

In short, we may assert that ethical considerations are of great importance in conducting any research.

3.6. Data Types and Sources

Data are generally defined as being the quantitative or qualitative values of a variable. They can be illustrated in terms of images, number, figures, facts, or ideas. Moreover, as data is the core unit in statistical studies, it is also a vital aspect of any research study; the reason for which, when conducting any investigation, researchers are sometimes wondering from where to collect data. Generally, data are divided into two major classifications: Primary and Secondary data.

- Primary data: It refers to data which are collected by the researcher himself / herself. It is worth mentioning that these data have never been collected before. In addition, if the task of gathering data is related to any institution such as schools, administrations, etc, the researcher has to ask for permission authorization to collect it. This technique uses surveys, experiments or direct observations.

- Secondary data: These kinds of data generally result from other studies (either other researchers, institutions, or organizations) which means that this procedure deals with the collection of information from various sources.

The following table summarises the principle features that distinguish the two techniques

Primary Data	Secondary Data
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They are original. - They have been collected for the purpose in mind. - They haven't been published yet. - They are reliable and objective. - They include surveys, questionnaires, interviews, and observations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have already been collected. - They are reused data. - They are more quickly obtained than primary data. - They may be obtained from many sources such as published printed sources, books, journals, periodicals, magazines and newspapers.

Table 3.4. The Difference between Primary and Secondary Data

3.6.1. Complexity in Data Collection

It is generally assumed that collecting data is establishing a specific design for collecting information so as to conduct a research study. It enables the researcher to answer the stated research questions, test his / her hypotheses and evaluate the findings. There are different methods for collecting data, they can be done through direct observations, interviews, questionnaires, or other methods, and it is up to the researcher to choose any instrument and implement his / her plan.

When starting data collection, the researcher has to choose between qualitative or quantitative data or multiple data collection which encompasses both of them. As it has already been dealt with before, qualitative data are collected as descriptions, opinions, quotes, interpretations, etc. On the other hand, quantitative data refer to the information that are gathered and reformulated into numbers and statistics, and then displayed and analyzed mathematically. Thus, qualitative and quantitative information need to be analyzed in different ways. It is of great

importance to state that on the practical level some constraints may affect the choice of method, these may include:

- Credibility of the findings: when conducting a research, if data methods are not reliable, it is sure that the results will not be credible.
- Researcher' skills: collecting data using both qualitative and quantitative techniques requires good researcher' skills and considerable supervision so as to ensure trustworthy data.
- Costs: It is not easy to generalize about the relative costs of the two methods. A short survey based on a small number of cases would be less expensive comparing to a large number of findings which will be surely high.
- Time constraints: In spite of the fact that technological innovations have shortened the time needed to analyze quantitative data, a valuable research needs considerable time to test the hypotheses and obtain high response rate.

3.7. Case Study Research

It involves the study of an issue explored through one or more case within a context, a setting, etc. The researcher investigates the case through detailed, in-depth data collection such as observations, interviews, audiovisual material, documents and reports. It is worth mentioning that case study can be concerned with both qualitative as well as quantitative approaches. In this respect, Creswell (2006:73) asserts that:

Today, the case study writer has a large array of texts and approaches from which to choose. Yin (2003), for example, espouses both quantitative and qualitative approaches to case study development and discusses explanatory, exploratory, and descriptive qualitative case studies. Merriam (1998) advocates a general approach to qualitative case studies in the field of education.

Finally, one can deduce that case study plays a prominent role in both qualitative as well as quantitative studies.

3.7.1. Types of Case Study

According to scholars, types of case study are determined by different parameters such as: the size of the bounded case i.e. whether the case involves one or many individuals, a group, a speech community, an entire programme, or an activity. Three variations are distinguished:

- 1- *The single instrumental case study*: In this study, the researcher focuses on an issue or concern, and then selects one bounded case to illustrate this issue.
- 2- *The collective (or multiple) case study*: In here, one issue or concern is selected, but the researcher selects multiple case studies to illustrate and explore the issue.
- 3- *The intrinsic case study*: In this case, the main interest and focus of the researcher is on the case itself (e.g., evaluating a program, or studying a student having difficulty- Stake, 1995), this because the case presents an exceptional, unusual or unique situation.

3.7.2. Procedures for Conducting a Case Study

In order to carry out a case study analysis, some specific procedures have to be followed by the researcher, these are as follows:

- 1- Defining the subject of study: when conducting a case study research, the focus falls on a single individual, a group of people, or sometimes a single event.
- 2- Narrowing down the research goals: Before starting his / her investigation, the researcher has to fix his / her aim in order to test the proposed assumptions.
- 3- Designing a research strategy in detail: Choosing methods of data collection is a prominent step in a research study.

- 4- Collecting data and analyzing it: The researcher has to collect reliable data and then analyze them objectively.
- 5- Writing a final case study report: At the end, a research report is written to describe and summarize the study. Some suggestions and recommendations may be proposed by the researcher in order to find out some solutions to the problem under study.

3.7.2.1. Steps in Conducting a Case Study

As it has already been explained before, a case study is concerned with a real-life problem. When conducting a case study analysis, two approaches are generally distinguished: the analytical and the problem-oriented approach.

- 1- *The analytical method*: The aim of this technique is to examine the case and to understand what happened and the rationale behind it. It is worth mentioning that this method is rarely used in academic settings, yet it may occur in organizational ones where a manager tries to understand the reasons for which something happened in order to solve a problem.
- 2- *The problem-oriented method*: This method is the most commonly used in case study analysis. The researcher has to examine the case in a critical way in order to identify the major issues found in the case. When the problems or the issues are then identified, the researcher may suggest some solutions that may help in solving the problem.

As far as our research is concerned, we intend to deal with the problem-oriented technique since we are interested in examining lexical variation and dialect shift, especially among young girls, in Tlemcen speech community.

3.8. Recalling the Research Questions

It is generally assumed that research is always motivated by questions to which the researcher seeks to answer, the reason for which questions are considered as the necessary starting point when conducting a research. In this respect, Gadamer (1994:363)⁸³ states, ‘the path of all knowledge leads through the question’. Thus, when undertaking any research, determining the research question(s) is the first methodological steps the researcher has to follow since it is (or they are) considered as being the core ingredient of qualitative as well as quantitative research.

Since we are dealing with lexical variation and dialect shift and its relation with gender in Tlemcen speech community, we have designed the following research questions in an attempt for exploring, explaining and analysing our data related to the topic. These are formulated as follows:

- 1- In Tlemcen speech community, do men and women use language differently in their everyday conversations?
- 2- Which gender contributes most in dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community?
- 3- What makes some Tlemcenian females avoid using the local variety Tlemcen Arabic (TA)?
- 4- What are Tlemcen older native speakers’ attitudes towards the receding process of Tlemcen urban variety use, especially among young Tlemcenian females?

3.8.1. Problem Statement

The present investigative research aims at finding out patterns of lexical variation in Tlemcen dialect usually referred to by Tlemcen Arabic (TA) in accordance with gender and age since these are important sociolinguistic variables that may have a great impact on language change or more appropriately on dialect

⁸³ Constituting Research Questions: Doing Interesting Research. By Alvesson. M., Sandberg. J. (2013:11).

shift in Tlemcen speech community. It is worth mentioning that this shift occurs mainly among girls during adolescence.

As a result, the target of our research is to focus on the role of some social factors such as age and gender in dialect shift and maintenance and to discover more about patterns of linguistic variability in Tlemcen speech community. Finally, we will try to evaluate Tlemcenian older people's attitudes towards the receding process in using TA, mainly among young females.

3.8.2. Hypotheses

Since specifying the research hypotheses is one of the most prominent and essential steps in planning and conducting a qualitative as well as a quantitative investigation, we fully thought of some hypotheses that correlate with our research questions, they are as follows:

- a- In Tlemcen, when interacting men and women speak differently, men prefer using the rural variety, whereas old women opt for the conservation of the urban one.
- b- Males play a prominent role in dialect shift which may affect the use of Tlemcen Arabic and thus, may lead to language change in Tlemcen speech community.
- c- Various motives make Tlemcenian females loose, to some extent, their vernacular; the most important being age.
- d- Tlemcen older people show negative attitudes towards Tlemcenian females, especially the younger ones vis-à-vis the use of the rural variety.

In order to check the validity of the above mentioned hypotheses, a specific methodology will be conducted in our next sections including data collection. By the end, results will be analysed and discussed.

3.9. The Fieldwork: Participants, Materials and Procedures

After dealing with the theoretical part, it's high time we conducted our research by introducing the methodology followed in order to collect quantitative as well as qualitative data. By doing so, we will try to answer our research questions on the one hand; on the other one, we shall try to reach useful conclusions. Before starting our research methodology, we have to consider how the data collection and data methods are described. Mallinson, Childs, Van Herk. (2013)⁸⁴ say that:

Methodologies for data collection are central to the study of social variation in language. With a focus on real language, a primary aim of sociolinguistics is to create and refine methods for the collection of data that reflects spoken and written language in use.

Meanwhile, this section focuses on the specific techniques followed in our research and on the purposes behind them. It includes a concise discussion of our methodology, participants, materials and procedures.

a- *Participants*: They are people (informants) who take part in our research. We will give more information about them including who they are? How many they are? And how they are selected?

b- *Materials*: We will describe the materials used in our research.

c- *Procedures*: This part will give details about the procedures used in our investigation. Furthermore, we will explain how data were collected.

In order to decide on the types of analyses of the data that are recommended, we should first of all give a brief outlook on the different aims of a research which can be classified as follows:

⁸⁴In the abstract of: Data Collection in Sociolinguistics : Methods and Applications (2013).

- Exploratory Research: This is generally conducted when there are few or no earlier issues which have been made before to provide information (no references). It aims at looking for patterns, ideas or hypotheses rather testing or confirming a hypothesis.

- Descriptive Research: This is interested in describing phenomena as they exist. Generally, the data collected are quantitative. Moreover, statistical methods are usually used to provide and summarize the information.

- Analytical or Explanatory Research: This is just a continuation of the descriptive research. In other words, the researcher tries to analyze and explain the causes that make something happen.

- Predictive Research: It aims at going further in research and this by predicting some answers to current events as well as to similar ones in the future.

As data collection is the core subject of any research, we should shed some light again on the different types of collecting data. Before doing it, we should mention that the more data are natural, the better for the research results. In this respect, Chambers states that “The ideal data for studying the social uses of language, [...], are speech produced in natural circumstances, unmonitored and carefree”⁸⁵. In addition, Labov (1972:61) asserts that:

Sociolinguists seek to observe speech as people use it when they are not being observed. That is the ‘observer paradox’, and it has been a central preoccupation of sociolinguistic methodology from the beginning.

Here are the various types for data collection:

a- Quantitative Research: This deals with objectivity. In other words, by choosing this kind of research, the researcher will be able to be objective since numbers (statistics) are used for calculating the data collected.

⁸⁵ In Data Collection in Sociolinguistics : Methods and Applications (2013).

- b- Qualitative Research: When using this type, the researcher's view of the phenomena is rather personal. He/she will use techniques such as personal accounts, unstructured interviews and participant observation so as to understand the causes behind people's attitudes, behaviours and choices.

What is worth mentioning is that most sociolinguistic researches rely on both methods (mixed methods, already explained in the previous sections) to have as much reliable data as possible. In this respect, Johnstone (2000:37) says that: "The analysis phase of sociolinguistic research is often quantitative as well as qualitative". Thus, in order to provide more explanations, here is a table that shows the difference between the two approaches mentioned above:

	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach
Usage	<p>Find out what to investigate.</p> <p>When research ideas are needed.</p> <p>Emphasis on understanding.</p> <p>Focus on understanding from respondents' point of view.</p>	<p>Know what to investigate.</p> <p>When research results are needed.</p> <p>Emphasis on testing and verification.</p> <p>Focus on facts and/or reasons.</p>
Approach	<p>Flexible and informal.</p> <p>Do not need to know in advance specific topics or questions – these should 'emerge'.</p> <p>Small sample size.</p>	<p>Structured and formal.</p> <p>Must know in advance what questions to ask/areas to cover – they are 'imposed'.</p> <p>Large sample size.</p>

Techniques	Unstructured interviews. Document analysis. Particular observation (called ethnographic studies). Diaries. Case-studies.	Surveys — [Structured interviews and Questionnaires.] Non-participant observation. Experiments. Tests.
Responses	Explanatory and give depth. Verbal. Not easily processed.	Not explanatory and lack depth. Mainly numerical. More easily processed, for example, coding.
Outcome	Hypotheses and ideas. Not firm. Danger of subjective interpretation.	Results. Can be quantified. Interpretation more objective.

Table 3.5. The Main Differences between the Quantitative and the Qualitative Approaches⁸⁶

Since our research will investigate lexical variation and dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community, we will be concerned with both methods in order to obtain rich data which will help us at providing foundation for discussion to our research questions which will be studied throughout this research.

⁸⁶ Retrieved from : https://www.bcps.org/offices/lis/researchcourse/develop_writing_data_instrument.html

3.9.1. Description of the Sample Population

The most difficult task for us when starting our practical part was how to choose the sample population; In other words, as we are concerned with research made in Tlemcen speech community, more exactly Tlemcen city, we found many constraints in determining and selecting Tlemcenian people. The most important issue was how to define and select the Tlemcenians.

At first, we intended to work with Tlemcen native speakers, who are Tlemcenians having a Tlemcenian family names (of Turkish origin) but when starting distributing the questionnaire to the informants, something attracted our attention: we noticed that many people without Tlemcenian family names really consider themselves as being Tlemcenians. They convinced us by saying that they were ‘born and bred’ in Tlemcen, they have been living there for many years and that they use Tlemcen dialect. Their parents and grand-parents were living in Tlemcen too for a long period of time so, why they are not considered as being Tlemcenians?

That question really intrigued us. We started thinking about it, analysing it and at last we were completely convinced that there do exist many Tlemcenians of non-Turkish family names. In fact nowadays, Tlemcen city is a ‘melting pot’; it is no longer as it used to be in the past. The reason for which we decided to design diagrams to specify our field of study and to identify our research boundaries i.e. to clarify who are the inhabitants of Tlemcen city or who are the so-called the Tlemcenians. The following diagrams show more explanations:

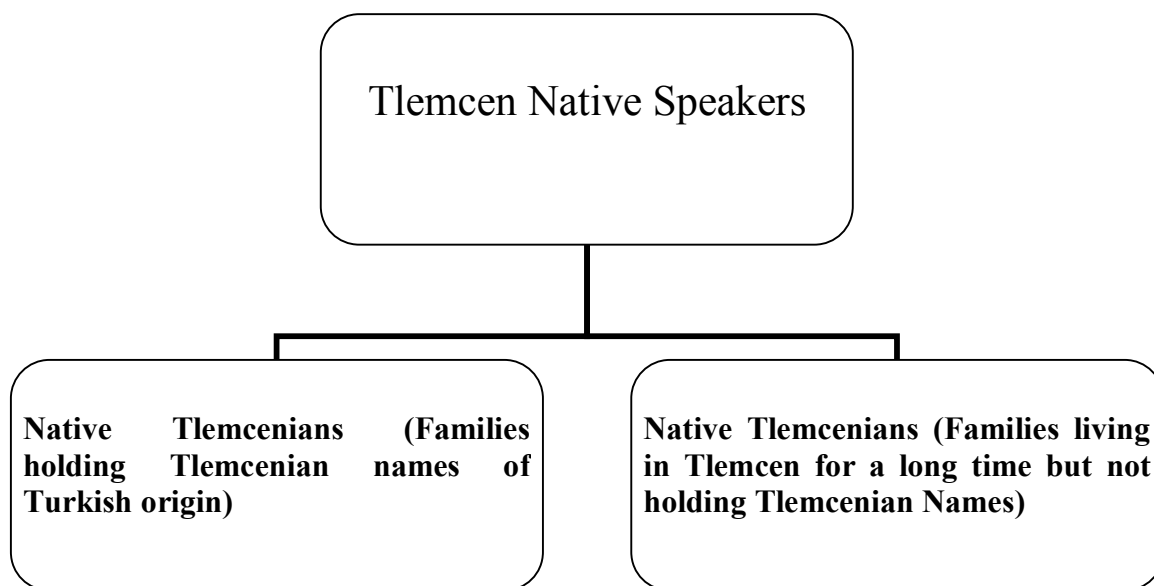


Diagram 3.1. Tlemcen Native Speakers

The next diagram is devoted to Tlemcen Non-Native speakers since as it has already been stated Tlemcen is now a city where native and non-native speakers live together. New Tlemcenian families emerged recently; they have been introduced and accepted in the Tlemcenian society because of different reasons, the main one is this families richness. Sometimes these new Tlemcenian families have been accepted as being Tlemcenian even though they do not use the ‘pure’ and ‘natural’ Tlemcenian dialect, they rather use a mixture of Tlemcenian dialect and the rural variety (they sometimes try to use the local variety in order to be well considered in Tlemcen speech community). The last category of Tlemcen inhabitants refer to people who are neither Tlemcenians nor native speakers of Tlemcen. They generally come from the outskirts of Tlemcen (rural areas or other regions) and they use the rural variety when interacting. More explanations are shown in the following diagram :

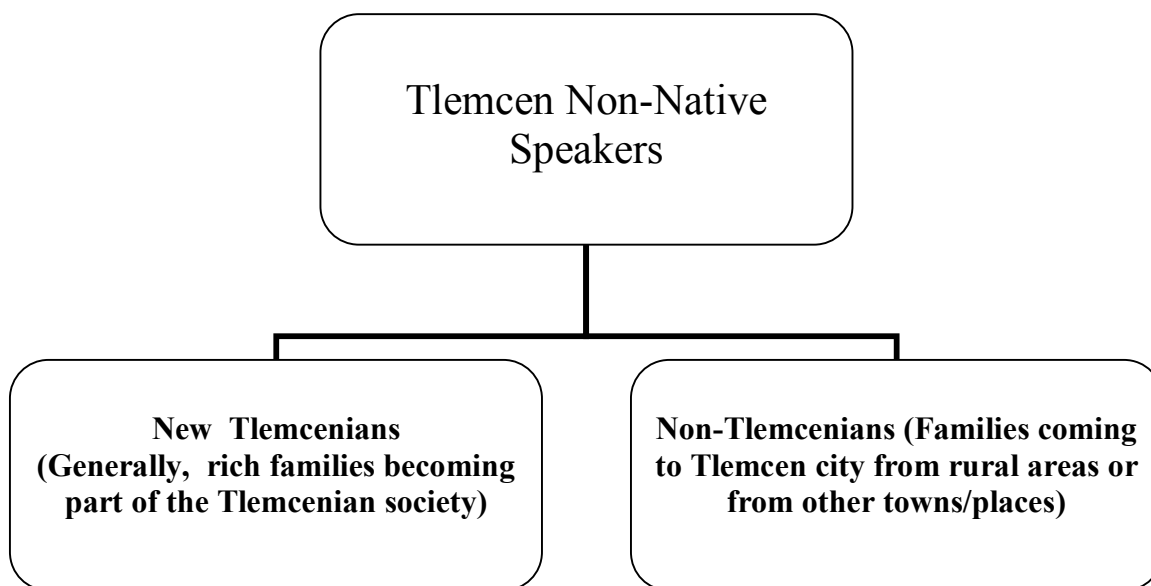


Diagram 3.2.Tlemcen Non-Native Speakers

To sum up, we agreed on the fact that choosing a sample population is not an easy task since it depends on the homogeneity or the heterogeneity of its speech community. In this respect, Hartas (2010:67) explains:

A Population is a group of individuals or organizations that share the same characteristics [...] what defines a population is not its size (it may be small or large) but the presence of a specific characteristic [...] how the sample is selected is very important for the validity of a study. To generalize findings from the sample to the population, the sample has to be representative of the population from which it was drawn.

Hence, we finally decided to conduct our research work on the sample population which consists of the Tlemcenians represented in the first diagram (Diagram 3.1) living in Tlemcen city i.e. the Tlemcen native speakers, taking into consideration the heterogeneity of the speech community on the one hand, and the features shared by this population such as the urban dialect on the other. Concerning

Tlemcen non-native speakers, we devoted the second part of the questionnaire to them since we are interested in exploring and determining to what extent they are affected or not by the use of Tlemcen dialect.

3.9.2. Methods of Data Collection

As we are interested in investigating lexical variation in Tlemcen speech community and its correlation with gender and dialect, we decided to study the issue from different angles relying on various methods of data collection. By doing so, we hoped to reach relevant data which might help us understand the current change in Tlemcen dialect and its relationship with gender.

It is generally assumed that methods of data collection in sociolinguistics are essential to the study of social variation in language, the reason for which we opted for the qualitative as well as the quantitative methods since they provide us with succinct and relevant information about the process under study. Data are considered as being special type of information; these are obtained via different research instruments such as questionnaires, interviews, observations, recordings, etc.

3.10. Research Instruments

Research instruments fall into two different categories: qualitative and quantitative instruments. Qualitative instruments refer to the interviews, observations, note-taking...They generally rely on studying things in their naturalistic contexts in order to understand people's attitudes and behaviours. Quantitative tools, on the other hand, focus on numbers and statistics. Questionnaires are the most widespread instruments, they are considered as being objective since analyses, interpretation, and conclusions are based on statistics. It is worth mentioning that 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 in Cormack (1991:140)

As far as our research is concerned, it is essential to remember that data collection is not an easy task, it is often considered as so complicated. In this vein, O'Leary (2004:150) asserts that:

Collecting reliable data is a hard task, and it is worth remembering that one method is not inherently better than another. This is why whatever data collection method to be used would depend upon the research goals, advantages, as to the disadvantages of each method.

In sum, both qualitative and quantitative methods are essential to conduct complex issues and acquire reliable results. It is essential to state that in our research, we have used questionnaires to obtain quantitative scores, an interview to reach some qualitative results and finally, and in order to collect more qualitative as well as quantitative data we opted for the matched-guise technique which was firstly introduced in sociolinguistics by Lambert and his colleagues (1960).

3.10.1. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is considered as a very important and useful research instrument since it enables the researcher to collect as much quantitative data as possible in order to gain reliable results. In this respect, Winkinson and Birmingham (2003:8) say that:

Questionnaires can be designed and used to collect vast quantities of data from a variety of respondents. They have a number of benefits over other forms of data collection [...] an effective questionnaire, is one that enables the transmission of useful and accurate information or data from the respondent.

Contrary to the interviews, where the interviewer asks direct questions, questionnaires refer to forms filled by the informants alone. Generally, questionnaires are directly handed to the respondents but they can also be sent by mail (online questionnaires). The aim of designing a questionnaire is to collect data, in order to do so, they should be as simple and clear as possible.

As far as our research is concerned, we designed a questionnaire to four age groups:

- First age group from 11 to 18 years old
- Second age group from 20 to 35 years old
- Third age group from 40 to 60 years old
- Fourth age group from 65 to 85 years old.

We have divided the sample population into four (4) groups so as to be able to compare the answers of the different age cohorts and then have quantitative data to draw our conclusions. In addition, we wanted to know the period of time or more exactly the age that affects language change or more appropriately dialect change among females in Tlemcen speech community.

The aims of this selection are:

- 1- To detect Tlemcenians' point of view on the use and the non-use of Tlemcen dialect in Tlemcen speech community⁸⁷.
- 2- To check people's stereotypes about gender's use of Tlemcen Arabic (TA), more importantly, the use of the glottal stop.
- 3- To collect as much information as possible about the status of the vernacular (the local variety) in Tlemcen speech community including:
 - a- Its degree of use among males and females.
 - b- Its degree of use among Tlemcenians and non-Tlemcenians.
 - c- Its shift and / or maintenance in Tlemcen speech community.

⁸⁷ We would like to remind that when speaking about Tlemcen speech community, we mean Tlemcen city.

It is worth mentioning that when designing the questionnaire, we faced many constraints. The questionnaire has been changed many times before we opted for the final version, it was not an easy task for us since at first, we intended to work with native Tlemcenians who are according to us the families holding names of Turkish origins. Yet, when asking the informants (especially females) to fill in, many women consider themselves as Tlemcenians even though they don't have a family name of Turkish origin. They told me that since they were 'born and bred' in Tlemcen and since they, their parents and their grand-parents have been living in Tlemcen for so long, they are Tlemcenians. An other problem concerned people living in Tlemcen but generally coming from outside Tlemcen (rural areas or other towns). We referred to those people as Tlemcen non-native speakers (they are just the inhabitants of Tlemcen but what is intricate in those families is the fact that their young children, when going to school, tend to use Tlemcen dialect). The question is: how should we consider this young generation, Tlemcenians or non-Tlemcenians? Another category with which we were concerned too is the one of the New Tlemcenians, these are generally newly rich families who have been introduced and accepted in Tlemcen speech community as being Tlemcenians.

All these constraints pushed us to think and think again so many times about the selection of the sample population. At last, we agreed on the final version (see appendices) with the consent of our supervisor. The questionnaire was handed to Tlemcen inhabitants (native and non-native speakers including males and females, young and old ones), We distributed it to our family members (cousins, aunts, nephews,...), friends, neighbours, unknown persons whom I met at the dentists' and doctor's waiting rooms, hair-dresser's room. A friend of me (a former colleague in the lycée) also helped me in distributing a very important number of questionnaires, she gave three copies for each pupil of her classes and asked them to fill one copy and to hand the others to their parents, grand-parents, or cousins.⁸⁸ My two daughters and my husband also helped me a lot in the distribution of the

⁸⁸ This task was done during the last five minutes of the lesson, the teacher explained everything to her pupils, she asked them to give back the questionnaires in two or three days time. The pupils were very helpful.

questionnaire, they gave many copies to their classmates, and colleagues respectively.

3.10.1.1. Layout of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is an important research instrument that enables the researcher to collect information in a short time. The type of questionnaire administered during the fieldwork provides two types of questions, these are : open-ended and closed questions.

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

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

When designing the questionnaire we gave importance to the following points:

- **The aim of the questions** : The questions were destined to achieve a specific purpose which is answering the research issues.
- **The order of the questions** : In order to follow a logical order in asking the questions, we divided the questionnaire into three parts:

a- Part One: It consists of eleven questions which deal with the use and the status of Tlemcen Arabic (TA) in Tlemcen speech community.

b- Part Two: It is divided into two sub-categories, the first one is destined for the Tlemcen native speakers living in Tlemcen, the second one concerns the non-native speakers but living in Tlemcen.

c- Part Three: It consists of the following question: How do you name the following words in your dialect?⁸⁹

The aim of this part is to show to what extent some words and expressions from Tlemcen dialect are maintained or changed in Tlemcen speech community. It is worth mentioning that we have chosen these words and expressions because we have noticed a wide range of semantic broadening and semantic shift concerning them mainly among Tlemcenians, especially among young girls. So, we wanted to measure the degree of dialect shift and / or maintenance among the Tlemcenians

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

3.10.1.2. Sampling and Stratification

The questionnaires used in this sociolinguistic research have been conducted with a sample population of 224 informants (112 native speakers and 112 non-native speakers of Tlemcen speech community) aged between [11-85] falling into four age groups: [11-18], [20-35], [40-60], [65-85]. All the informants involved in this investigation live in Tlemcen city, they are from different socio-economic

⁸⁹ Many alternatives are proposed.

backgrounds. The tables below reveal the sample population selected by age and gender.

Age Group	Males (Native Speakers)	Females (Native Speakers)	Total
11-18	14	14	28
20- 35	14	14	28
40- 60	14	14	28
65- 85	14	14	28
Total	56	56	112

Table 3.6. Sampling and Stratification of Tlemcen Native Speakers

Age Group	Males (Non- Native Speakers)	Females (Non- Native Speakers)	Total
11-18	14	14	28
20- 35	14	14	28
40- 60	14	14	28
65- 85	14	14	28
Total	56	56	112

Table 3.7. Sampling and Stratification of Tlemcen Non-Native Speakers

3.11. The Interview

One of the most common ways of collecting natural spoken data is ‘the sociolinguistic interview’. This technique was developed and later modified by William Labov in his Martha’s Vineyard and New York studies (1972). Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998:172) say that:

The interview is one of the most widely used research instrument in the social sciences. Consequently, much of our knowledge about the social world is derived from information generated during interviews. However, research interviews are themselves periods of social interaction between parties.

The interview is a face-to-face conversation. It is considered as a tool for collecting qualitative data. In some situations, it can accomplish the task better than a questionnaire since when being asked, the informants are able to express their opinions, feelings and emotions better than when filling in a questionnaire. In this respect, Taylor, Sinha and Ghoshal (2006:75) assert that:

Interviews can be regarded as one of the foremost tools [...] not only for the purpose of obtaining qualitative data but also as a tool for measurement [...] Nevertheless, interviews are particularly valuable for obtaining data in situations where formality of a questionnaire would be less likely to elicit the desired information.

When preparing for an interview, a number of criteria should be taken into consideration. First of all, the interviewer should prepare a method to record data (taking notes, recordings...). Then, he/ should choose a suitable setting with the least distraction if possible in order to let the interviewee express himself/herself freely without any constraints. In addition, the interviewer should be confident and

allow the interviewee to clarify any doubts about the interview. Finally, the researcher should familiarise with the interviewees to make them feel unstressed when speaking. The aim is to gather more natural data.

As far as our investigation is concerned, we should point out that when interviewing we have taken some of the following considerations:

- 1- The interviews were conducted in the local variety to facilitate the face-to-face interaction on the one hand, on the other one to have as much natural data as possible.
- 2- They were conducted in informal settings (most of them took place at the doctors' and dentist's waiting rooms in Tlemcen, park of Lalla Setti, Grand Bassin, cafés⁹⁰).
- 3- The interviewees were free to choose whatever variety they preferred when answering.
- 4- The duration of the interviews: in most cases, the interviews lasted about 10 to 15 minutes maximum.
- 5- The interviews were done after collecting data from questionnaires.⁹¹

When interviewing, we took handwritten notes. In some cases, especially when the interviewees did not have enough time to devote to us, we recorded the interviews. Then, all the draft notes of the interviews were written and summarized in order to be then analyzed.

3.11.1. The Structure of the Interview

The interview can be classified in different types: structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. In the first type, the interviewer asks the same question (s) to all interviewees, these questions are generally pre-formulated; In other words, the interviewer prepares a series of questions before starting his / her interview.

⁹⁰ Concerning men, the interview was done by my husband.

⁹¹ During data analysis, the identities of the interviewees are coded to gender (M /F) followed by a number. - For example, M1 refers to « Male interviewee n1 », M2 refers to « Male interviewee n2 »; F 1 refers to « Female interviewee n 1 », F2 refers to « Female interviewee n 2 » and so forth.

Besides, in the second type, the interviewer is free of deciding which kind of questions he / she intends to ask. In addition, in most cases, his / her questions are not prepared, i.e., they are not pre-formulated. In our research, we have opted for the semi-structured one since we think it is the most convenient to our investigation; such kind of interviews is considered as a two-way communication, it allows interviewees to express themselves freely. Unlike the questionnaire framework, the semi-structured interview starts with general questions or topics. Furthermore, not all its questions are designed. The point is that most of the questions are created during the interview leading both the interviewer and the interviewee clarify details and discuss issues.

3.11.1.1. The Interview Questions

As far as our interview is concerned, we have decided to ask open questions. In almost all interviews, we used the same method (note-taking). Our interview was a kind of face-to-face interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. The time devoted for each discussion varied between 10 to 15 minutes for each. The list below indicates the questions asked in the interview:

- **Question 1**: Do you think that Tlemcen dialect (variety including the use of the glottal stop [ʔ]) will disappear one day?
- **Aim of question 1**: To investigate people's point of view on the status of the local variety (TA).
- **Question 2**: Which gender, do you think, is using a lot the local variety, men or women?
- **Aim of question 2**: To detect people's bias towards gender in using TA.
- **Question 3**: According to you, what makes many females avoid using TA during adolescence?
- **Aim of question 3**: To check the role of age and its impact on females, especially adolescents, in making them recede in using the local variety.

It is truism that the format, the content and the way in which questions are asked depend on the researcher; In other words, the interviewer is totally free by asking the questions he / she wants to ask. In this respect, Kumar (2011: 144) says that: “When interviewing a respondent, you, as a researcher, have the freedom to decide the format and content of questions, decide the way you want to ask them and choose the order in which they are to be asked”.

Concerning the sample population of the interview, we have selected a total of 24 informants (native speakers of Tlemcen), among whom 12 males, six aged between [11-25] and other six aged between [35-80] years old in addition to 12 females, six of [11-25] and other six of [35-80] years old., the following table illustrates the age and gender of the interviewees.

Interviewees (Tlemcen Native Speakers)	Age	Sex
Interviewee 1/2/3/4/5/6	[11- 25]	Male
Interviewee 1/2/3/4/5/6	[11- 25]	Female
Interviewee 1/2/3/4/5/6	[35- 80]	Male
Interviewee 1/2/3/4/5/6	[35- 80]	Female

Table 3.8. The Distribution of Interviewees in Correlation with Age and Gender

The general aim of the interview was to know the informants’ point of view concerning Tlemcen dialect, its status in the Tlemcenian speech community in addition to the way Tlemcen native speakers perceive gender in using the local

variety. Furthermore, we wanted to get in touch with their views and attitudes towards loosing Tlemcen Arabic.

3.11.2. The Observer's Paradox

The Observer's Paradox is a strategy established by the variationist William Labov. It aims at observing and extracting the natural speech (also called the 'vernacular') of the informants in the target community. Labov (1972:209) states that "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation". Yet, when being interviewed, the informants are not as free and natural as they generally are; sometimes they feel embarrassed or stressed because of the presence of the interviewer, or the recording device, or the task itself, the reason for which the interviewer's task is not so easy. In this sense, Cameron (2001:19-20) asserts that:

If [...] the purpose of collecting language data is to find out how some aspect of talk itself works... interviewing may not be the best method for collecting data, because the conventions of the interview as particular sort of 'speech event'... discourage certain kinds of behaviour- interview subjects rarely initiate or change topics for instance. Rather than taking the role of the interviewer, therefore, the researcher may prefer the role of the observer.

Since the interview should be quite similar to natural speech, the interviewer should not only play the role of the researcher, but he / she should also involve in the role of the speaker and the hearer in the conversation. Tagliamonte (2006: 39) suggests three tricks which may improve an interview. Here are a set of advice he proposes to the interviewer:

- 1- Volunteer your own experiences.
- 2- React and respond when new issues arise

3- Follow the conversation whenever your interviewee wishes to take you.

In sum, the general aim behind conducting an interview in sociolinguistics is to collect 'natural speech' which is speech used by people in their everyday interactions as explained by Meyerhoff et al.⁹². (2011:123):

An important goal in sociolinguistics is to obtain 'natural speech', that is how people use language in ordinary, everyday interactions with all the variability that this entails, since the full range of variability is missed by other methods.

Hence, according to Meyerhoff and all, the most convenient and suitable way to collect natural and life-like speech is the interview.

3.12. The Matched-Guise Technique

Since language is the primary vehicle of human communication, and that it does not only convey messages but also illustrates the personal and social characteristics of the speaker, the study of language attitudes in sociolinguistics has been of prominent importance. Such investigation enables the researcher to understand the linguistic behaviour of the informants on the one hand, on the other one, it helps him / her look for the reasons that have pushed speakers (generally of multilingual communities) use or more appropriately choose a particular language, variety, or accent. In this respect, Ryan et al. (1982:7) define language attitudes as "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties".

The 'Matched-Guise' technique was firstly introduced in 1960 by Lambert, Hodgson, Garner and Fillenbaum. Its aim is to assess language attitudes. It is a sociolinguistic experimental test used to detect the true feelings of individuals toward a specific language, dialect, or accent. Davis and Elder (2004:189) say that:

⁹² Meyerhoff. M., Adachi. C., Nanbakhsh. G., Strycharz. A. (2011:123). *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork*. Edited by Thieberger. N.

“This experiment was first introduced by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues at McGill University in 1960s to determine attitudes held by bilingual French Canadians towards English and French”.

This technique uses recorded voices speaking first in one dialect or language, then in another. It is worth mentioning that recordings’ listeners do not know that the speech samples are from the same person; they are judging the two guises of the same speaker as if they were of two separate speakers. In this respect, Richards, Platt and Weber (1985: 171) say the following:

The matched-guise technique is the use of recorded voices of people speaking first in one dialect or language and then in another; that is two “guises”...The recordings are played to listeners who do not know that the two samples of speech are from the same person and who judge the two guises of the same speaker as though they were judging two separate speakers.

The main aim in doing so is to investigate a variety of sociolinguistic, socio-psychological as well as educational issues. In sociolinguistics, for example, it aims at measuring people’s attitudes toward different language varieties and codes. However, this task is not so easy since it is not so obvious to turn subjective data to objective results as Romaine (1980:213) explains: “The translation of attitude from the subjective domain into something objectively measurable is a common problem in any research that involves social categorization and / or perceptual judgements”.

The most relevant components of the ‘matched-guise’ technique are the following taken from Obiols (2002)⁹³:

- 1- The variables of ‘sex’; ‘age’ and ‘L1’ of the judges evaluating the recorded voices are taken into consideration.

⁹³ From: *Noves SL. Revista de Sociolingüística* (2002: 3)

- 2- The variables of 'sex'; 'age' and 'linguistic variety' of the individuals recorded are taken into consideration.
- 3- The interviewees have no information about the voices.
- 4- There is a total control over the variable 'voice', with the removal of all features of volume, timber, tone etc.
- 5- The length of the oral stimulus material recording is between 2 and 3 minutes.
- 6- The judges are asked to evaluate the personal qualities of the recorded individuals on the basis of their voices, as if they were evaluating the voice of somebody on the radio.
- 7- A questionnaire allows the personality traits of the voices evaluated to be attributed to the voices (intelligence, leadership, status, politeness, unpleasantness etc).

These are in general the most important characteristics that should be followed by a researcher in implementing the 'matched-guise' technique in his / her investigations.

3.12.1. Aims and Hypotheses

As far as our study is concerned, the aim is to detect Tlemcen older people's attitudes towards the receding process in using Tlemcen Arabic (TA) especially among young girls. We also want to see whether the inhabitants of Tlemcen are judged differently depending on the variety they use. Moreover, we seek to check which variety is judged more positively. For all these reasons, we have used the 'matched-guise' technique.

According to us, we think that the local variety is the most approved vernacular in Tlemcen speech community since the Tlemcenians are very conservative on the one hand; on the other one, and in most of the situations, old

people of Tlemcen show negative attitudes towards the use of the rural dialect especially from Tlemcenian girls which occurs mainly during adolescence.

3.12.2. Procedure

Since the procedure of our work aims at evaluating adults' attitudes towards young girls use of the rural variety, the test was carried by thirty adults (15 men and 15 women) aged between [35-70]. These people are native Tlemcenians living in Tlemcen city. Most of them are members of my family, the others are friends and colleagues⁹⁴. I carried the test with all women (i.e. 15) and some men (7 cousins and relatives), my husband helped me in doing so with the remaining men (8).

Concerning women, I started the work with my family members; the recording was listened to when meeting (family meeting especially on Fridays in my parents' or my parents'-in-law house). My husband did the same task with his colleagues at work, this took place in his office⁹⁵. It is worth mentioning that this task was not done in one time but rather, I accomplished it in four (4) times since I couldn't gather all the family members in one day and in the same place. All the informants were very helpful. After listening to the recordings, I asked them to fill the attitude questionnaire which was already given to them.^{96 - 97}.

The test intends to elicit and evaluate the informants' attitudes and reactions toward the different tape-recorded varieties which were recorded by a single speaker (my daughter, a young girl of 16 years old) in two different guises representing the following:

- *Variety One*: Young girl using the urban variety (TA or UV).
- *Variety Two*: Young girl using the rural variety (RV).
- *Variety Three*: Young girl using a mixed variety (MV)⁹⁸

As already explained before, according to the 'matched-guise' technique, the informants are called 'judges' since they are asked to judge and evaluate the

⁹⁴ Some were my husband's friends and colleagues.

⁹⁵ He asked them to stay a few minutes after 4:30 p.m.

⁹⁶ Before starting the task, I explained everything to make things clearer.

⁹⁷ The same procedure was followed by my husband

⁹⁸ MV consists of UV(urban variety) and RV (rural variety).

different guises on various dimensions. In fact, the ‘judges’ thought they were listening to three different persons instead of one. The passage was read in approximately two minutes.

Concerning the questionnaire administered, it has the form of the ‘semantic differential’ which was proposed in Osgood et al. (1957)⁹⁹ i.e. relevant adjectives describing both the variety and the speaker are presented at both ends of a seven-point scale ranging from one extreme to the other, that is, from what is regarded as positive to negative (e.g. polite... impolite). Each of the seven points on the scale is given a score, from 6 on the left (positive) i.e. (6 points for 1; 5 points for 2; 4 points for three...) to zero on the right (negative).

To sum up, the matched-guise technique has been used in our research work to investigate and determine the true feelings and attitudes of Tlemcen native speakers towards Tlemcen dialect shift and its substitution by the rural or the mixed variety, especially among young girls during adolescence.

3.13. Conclusion

The practical part outlined the research paradigm, research methodology including: research design and data collection, procedures, participants. When conducting our investigation, various methods were used. We opted for both qualitative and quantitative methods so as to collect a wide range of data and to investigate the phenomenon under study from different perspectives. For doing so, different techniques were used. First, questionnaires were set to provide us with numbers and statistics concerning lexical variation and dialect shift / maintenance in Tlemcen speech community. Then, an interview was conducted to evaluate people’s point of view about the status of Tlemcen Arabic on the one hand; on the other one, it aimed at detecting people’s biases towards gender in using the local variety as well as checking the role of age and its impact on females in making them avoid

⁹⁹ Mentioned in Ryan and Giles 1982 in Dendane, Z. (2007) Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour in an Algerian Context : The Case of Tlemcen Arabic. Unpublished Doctorate Thesis. University of Oran.

using Tlemcen dialect. Finally, a ‘Matched-guise’ technique was administrated in order to measure and estimate Tlemcen older people’s attitudes concerning the receding process in using Tlemcen Arabic (TA) mainly among young girls.

In the next chapter, we shall analyse the data collected so as to provide more details and explanations related to the issue under study. At the end, we shall try to provide some suggestions and recommendations that would help for further investigations.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

As far as data collection is concerned, this chapter deals with data analysis and interpretation. Various tools were used to carry out our investigation. These are the questionnaire, the interview, and the matched-guise technique. The results are analyzed, discussed and then interpreted as objectively as possible. Thanks to the different research instruments used for supplying rich and valuable data, we aim at answering our research questions and providing foundation for discussion to our hypotheses.

4.2. Data Analysis and Scoring

The target of data analysis is to fully and accurately summarise the data which has been collected when carrying out investigation. As explained in the previous chapter, our research work is based on three main research instruments: The questionnaire, the interview, and the matched-guise technique. The questionnaire is an important tool for collecting data since it enables the researcher to collect the maximum of information in a short time. The interview is another important method for data collection, it completes the results of the questionnaire. The matched-guise technique is the third instrument used, it is a language attitude study which deals with the analysis of people's feelings towards the linguistic varieties within their linguistic repertoire.

It is significant then to state that our study has been based on our personal experience and intuition. Being a member of Tlemcen speech community helped me a lot in understanding people's attitudes and behaviours towards TA. In short, this method is useful only when the researcher is from the speech community under study, shares the same linguistic culture and speaks the same linguistic varieties of that speech community.

4.2.1. The Questionnaire

The first method of our investigation will be conducted by a questionnaire. So, in order to analyse the results obtained in it, different tables and graphs will be introduced; these will provide us with various percentages of the findings. It needs to be stressed that all the data collected from the questionnaire are analysed in terms of gender as well as age differences. It is also worth mentioning that some of the tables are introduced in the section of appendices since only the most important ones are analyzed in this chapter. In addition, we have to remind that all percentages of all questions are calculated from tables that contain scores according to gender and age.

Part 1: This part is devoted to Tlemcen inhabitants including native and non-native speakers¹⁰⁰.

- **Question 1:** Do you think that there is a difference between men and women in using a language?

Gender / Age \ Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male [11-18]	14	14
Female [11- 18]	18	10
Male [20- 35]	24	4
Female [20- 35]	24	4
Male [40- 60]	22	6
Female [40- 60]	24	4
Male [65- 85]	24	4
Female [65- 85]	26	2
Total	176	48

Table 4.1. The difference between men and women Tlemcen native speakers in using the language

¹⁰⁰ There are 112 native speakers (56 males and 56 females) and 112 non-native speakers (56 males and 56 females).

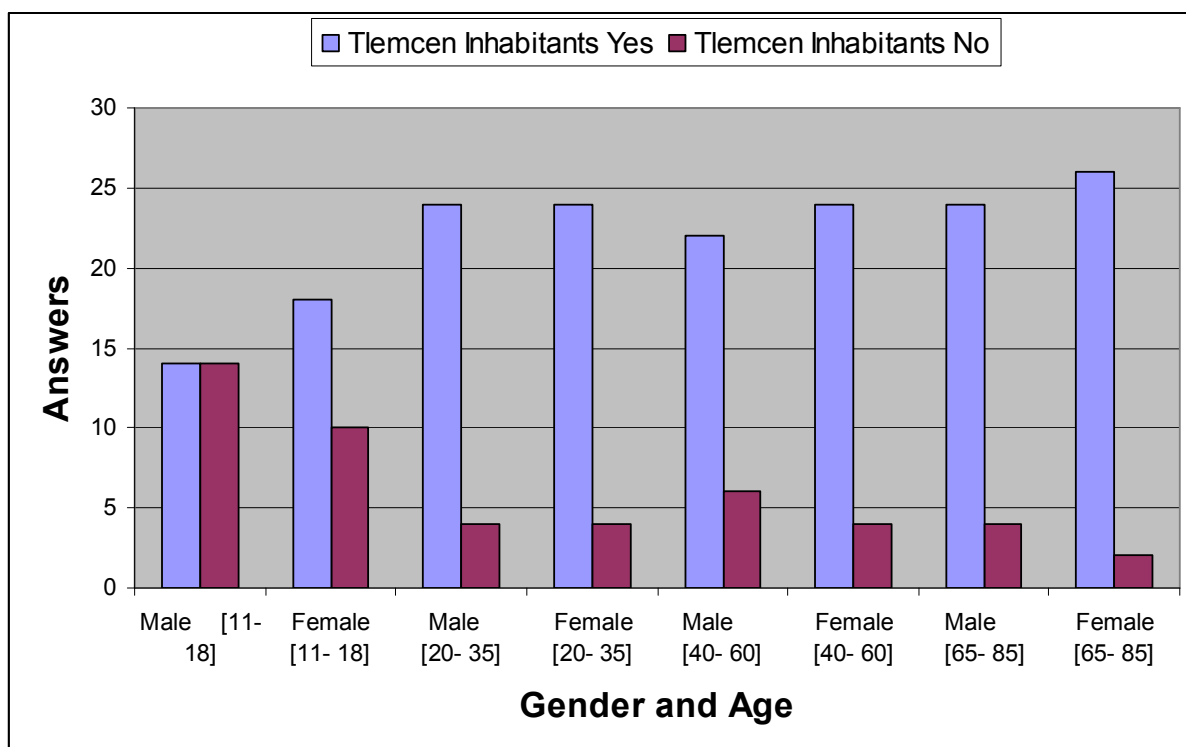


Fig 4.1. The Difference between Men and Women Tlemcen Native Speakers in Using the Language

All informants in all categories and ages agree on the fact that men and women do not use the language similarly, they do not speak the same way. According to Tlemcen native speakers, the language used by men and women is quite different since the difference is apparent mainly in the use of Tlemcen dialect and more importantly, the use of the glottal stop by women.

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male	84	28
Female	92	20
Total	176	48

Table 4.2. The Total Answers Showing the Difference between Men and Women Tlemcen Native Speakers in Using the Language

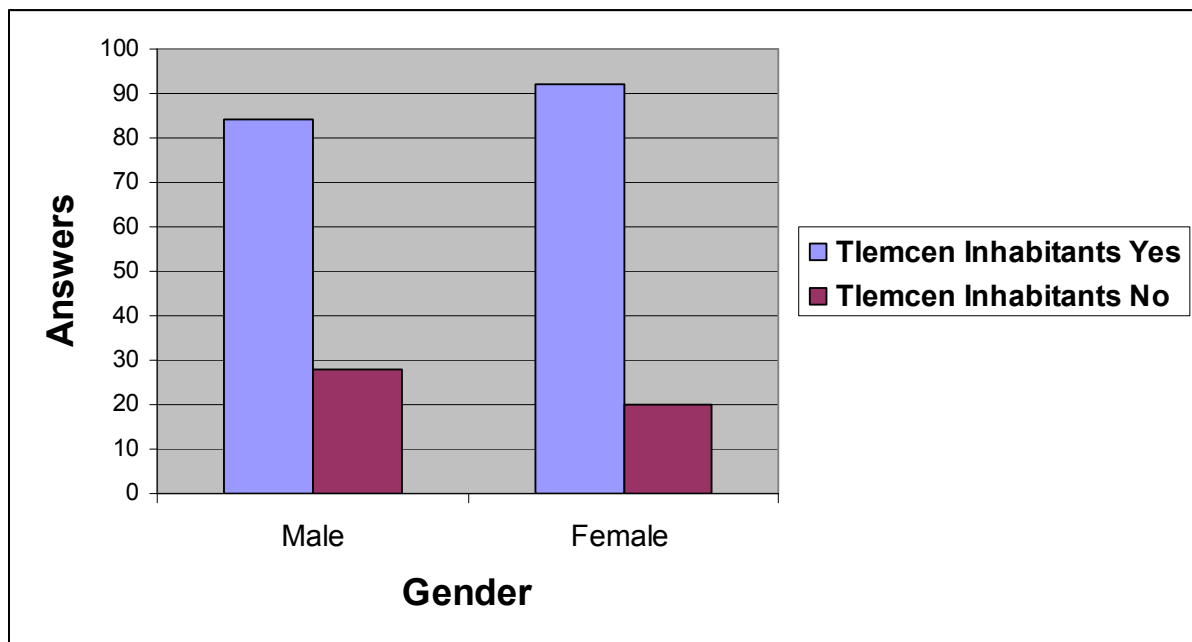


Fig 4.2. The Total Scores Showing the Difference between Men and Women Tlemcen Native Speakers in Using the Language

Taking into consideration the above table and summarizing the answers, we notice that both genders assert that men and women do not use the same language; in other words, when interacting, the language used by the two genders is different. As it is shown in the table, most of the answer (176 yes vs 48 no) prove what has been said. It is worth mentioning that the number of females being aware of language use is higher than the number of males which proves that women are more conscious about how language is used by both genders.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ The alternative 'yes' means always yes, and the alternative 'no' means always not.

- **Question 2:** Do you think that age affects language use between the two genders?

Gender / Age	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male [11-18]	22	6
Female [11- 18]	26	2
Male [20- 35]	24	4
Female [20- 35]	28	0
Male [40- 60]	26	2
Female [40- 60]	26	2
Male [65- 85]	24	4
Female [65- 85]	26	2
Total	202	22

Table 4.3. The Impact of Age on Men and Women in Using the Language

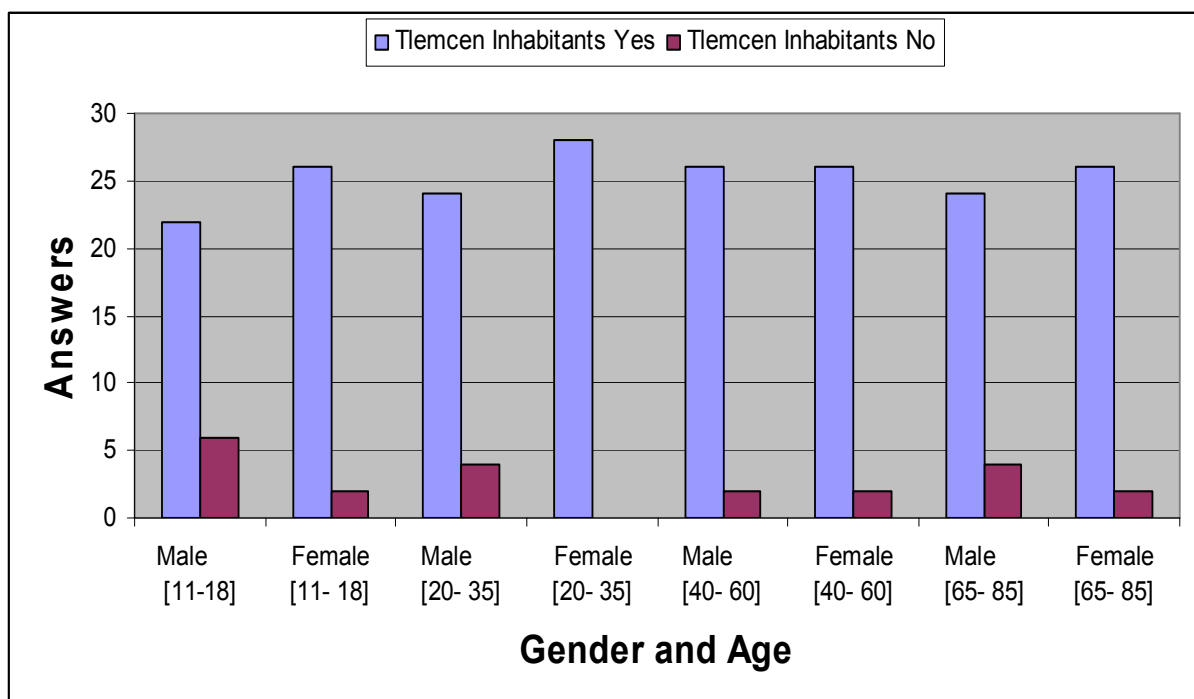


Fig 4.3. The Impact of Age on Men and Women in Using the Language

The first remark concerning the above results is that the score between the positive and the negative answers is very considerable, this means that most of

Tlemcen inhabitants do agree on the fact that age has an important effect on language use. The scores of 'yes' are very high comparing to those of 'no', this asserts that age is a sociolinguistic variable which plays a prominent role in language change.

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male	96	16
Female	106	6
Total	202	22

Table 4.4. The Total Number Showing the Impact of Age on Men and Women in Using the Language

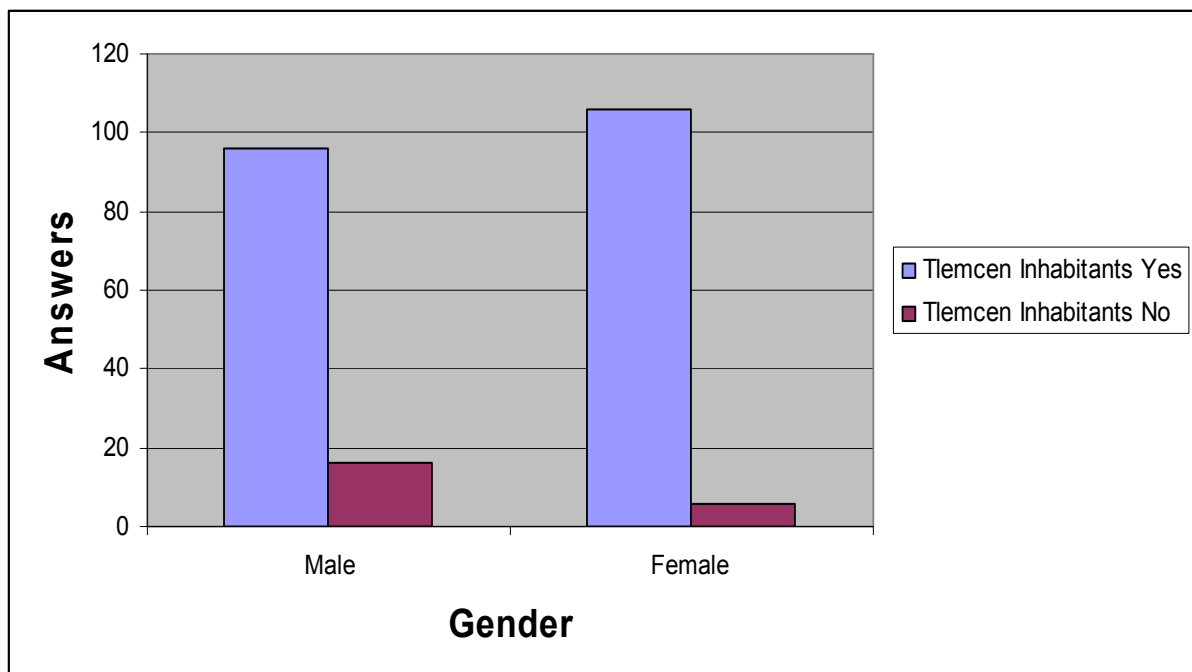


Fig 4.4. The Total Number Showing the Impact of Age on Men and Women in Using the Language

Taking into consideration the answers of both genders, we notice that both men and women agree on the fact that age does affect language use. Moreover, it is shown that women are more aware about this than men since women and more importantly mothers do notice that their daughters do use the language differently especially during their adolescence; in other words, young girls do sometimes recede in using Tlemcen dialect in favour of the rural variety especially in some situations (when interacting with non-native speakers for example) and for specific reasons (to show off).

- **Question 3:** Do you think that the Tlemcenian woman still use Tlemcen dialect in all situations?

Gender / Age	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male [11-18]	12	16
Female [11- 18]	16	12
Male [20- 35]	18	10
Female [20- 35]	20	8
Male [40- 60]	24	4
Female [40- 60]	26	2
Male [65- 85]	22	6
Female [65- 85]	28	0
Total	166	58

Table 4.5. The Use of Tlemcen Dialect among Tlemcenian Females
in the View of Tlemcen Native Speakers

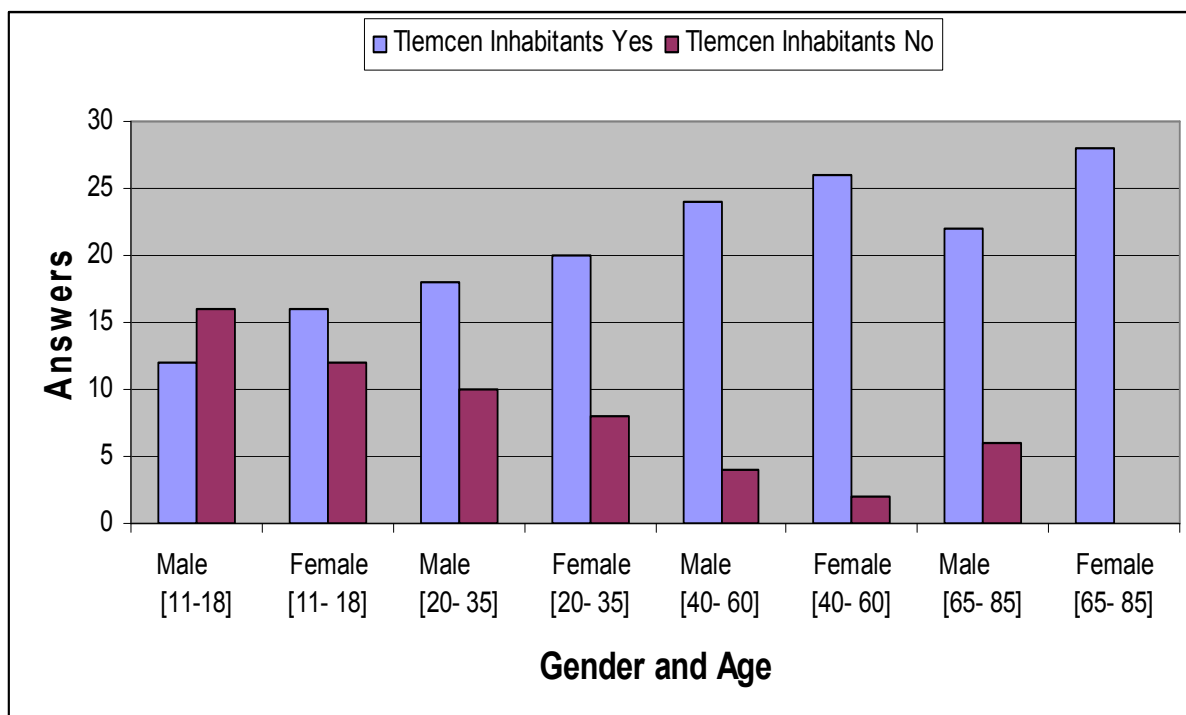


Fig 4.5. The Use of Tlemcen Dialect among Tlemcenian Females in the View of Tlemcen Native Speakers

From the first sight, we notice that the number of the positive answers are far more superior than those of the negative ones, this can be explained in the fact that Tlemcen inhabitants do notice and assert that Tlemcen dialect is still widely used by females. What is worth mentioning is that 58 informants / 224 informants i.e. 25.8% do agree on the fact that some females (native speakers) do recede from using the local variety. This phenomenon is noticed and largely widespread among youngster females.

Gender	Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
		Yes	No
Male		76	36
Female		90	22
Total		166	58

Table. 4.6. Comparing the Use of Tlemcen Dialect among Tlemcenian Females in the View of Tlemcen Inhabitants

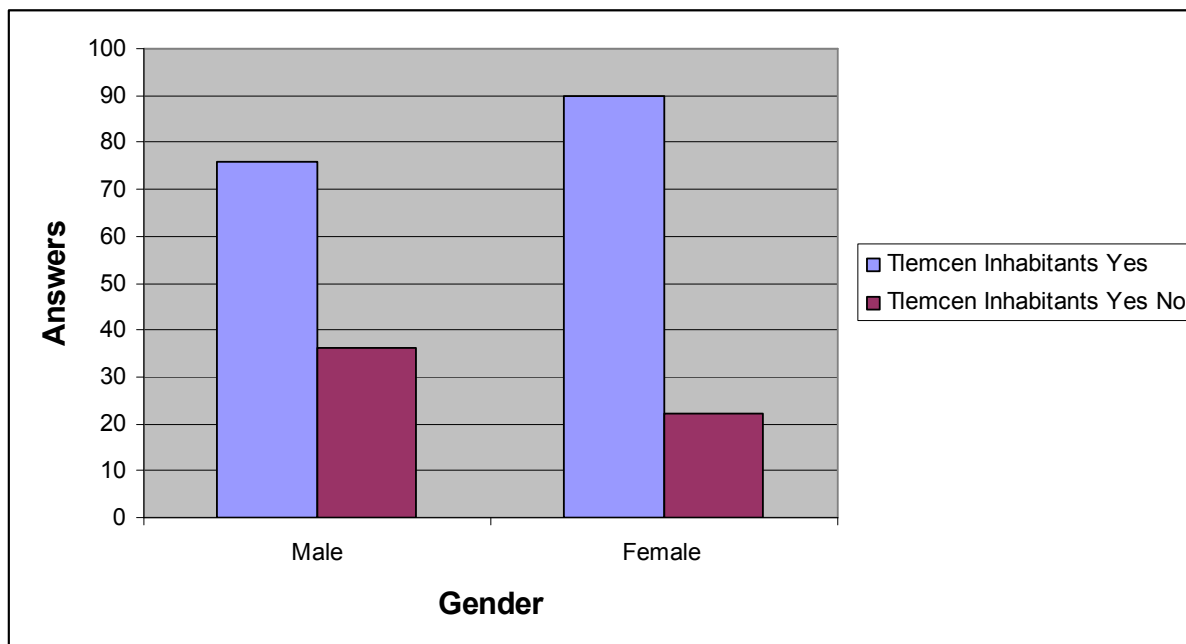


Fig 4.6. Comparing the Use of Tlemcen Dialect among Tlemcenian Females in the View of Tlemcen Inhabitants

According to the above results, females are more convinced than males that Tlemcen dialect is still used by Tlemcenian women in all situations. In addition, most of Tlemcenian males share the same point of view since 76 / 224 informants i.e. 33.92 % do think so and only 36 / 224 males i.e. 16.07 % do not. As a result, some of Tlemcen native speakers (58 / 224 i.e. 25.89 %) think that Tlemcenian women do not always use TA; In other words, they may shift to another variety depending on the situation.

- **Question 4:** In your opinion, who:

- speaks a lot? Women Men
- Interrupts more? Women Men
- Apologizes more? Women Men

Answers Gender	Tlemcen Inhabitants		
	Speaks a lot	Interrupts more	Apologizes more
Men	Women = 108 Men= 4	Women= 66 Men= 46	Women= 110 Men= 2
Women	Women= 98 Men= 14	Women=30 Men= 82	Women= 108 Men=4
Total	Women= 206 Men= 18	Women= 96 Men= 128	Women=218 Men= 6

Table 4.7. The Degree of Talkativeness, Interruptions, and Apologies among Men and Women in Tlemcen Speech Community

According to the above table, the general results reveal that women are more talkative than men. Both men and women share the same view since 108 /224 i.e. 48.21% of men and 98/ 224 i.e. 43.75 % of women assert this. The total is that 206 women (91.96 %) vs 18 men (8.03 %) / 224 informants talk a lot. The following figure illustrates it.

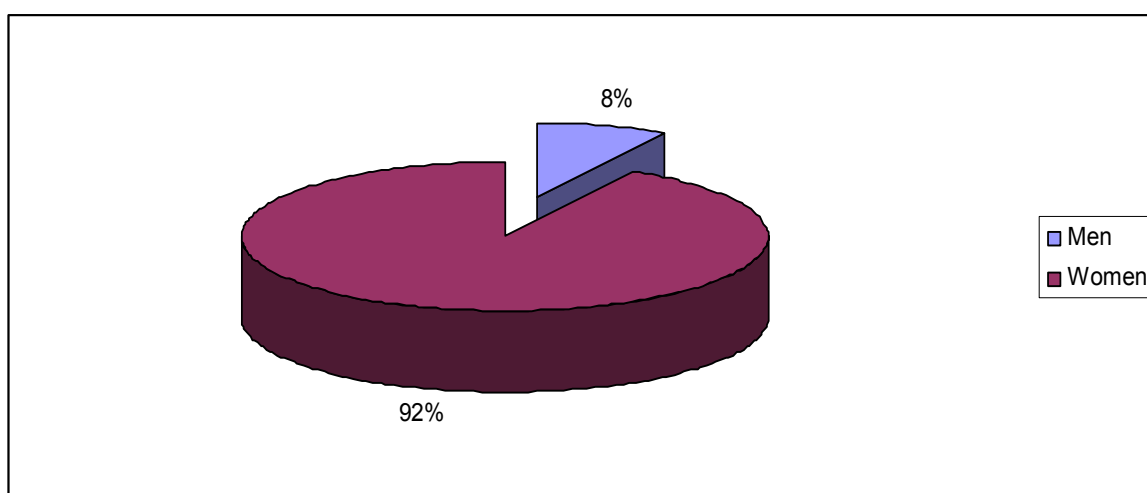


Fig 4.7. Degree of Talkativeness among Men and Women in Tlemcen Speech Community

Concerning the interruptions, the highest score is the one of men; In other words, both genders agree on the fact that men interrupt more (128/ 224 i.e. 57.14% of men vs 96/224 i.e.42.85% of women as it is represented below:

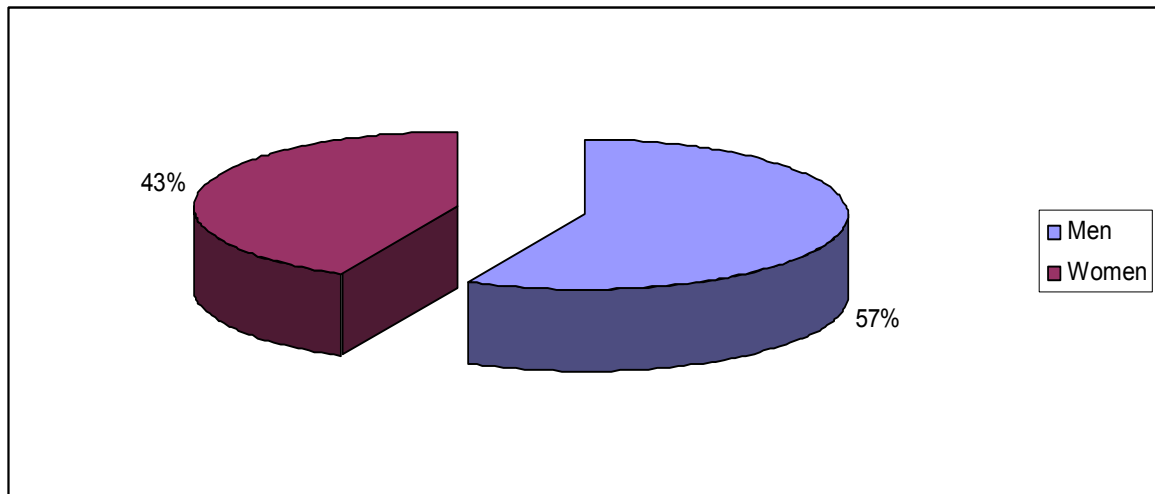


Fig 4.8. Degree of Interruptions among Men and Women in Tlemcen Speech Community

For the apologies, again, both genders say that women do apologize far more than men (218/224 i.e.97.32 of women vs 6/224 i.e.2.67% of men). The following figure shows it.

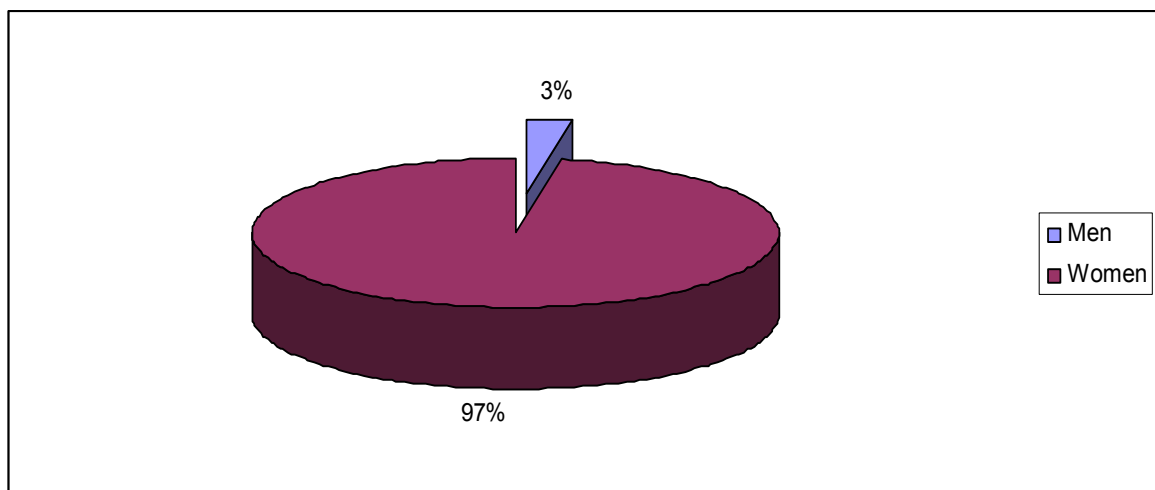


Fig 4.9. Degree of Apologies among Men and Women in Tlemcen Speech Community

- **Question 5:** Does the rural exodus affect Tlemcen dialect and its change?

Answers Gender / Age	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
	Yes	No
Male [11-18]	22	6
Female [11- 18]	28	0
Male [20- 35]	20	8
Female [20- 35]	22	6
Male [40- 60]	20	8
Female [40- 60]	26	2
Male [65- 85]	26	2
Female [65- 85]	28	0
Total	192	32

Table 4.8. The Impact of the Rural Exodus on Tlemcen Dialect and its Change

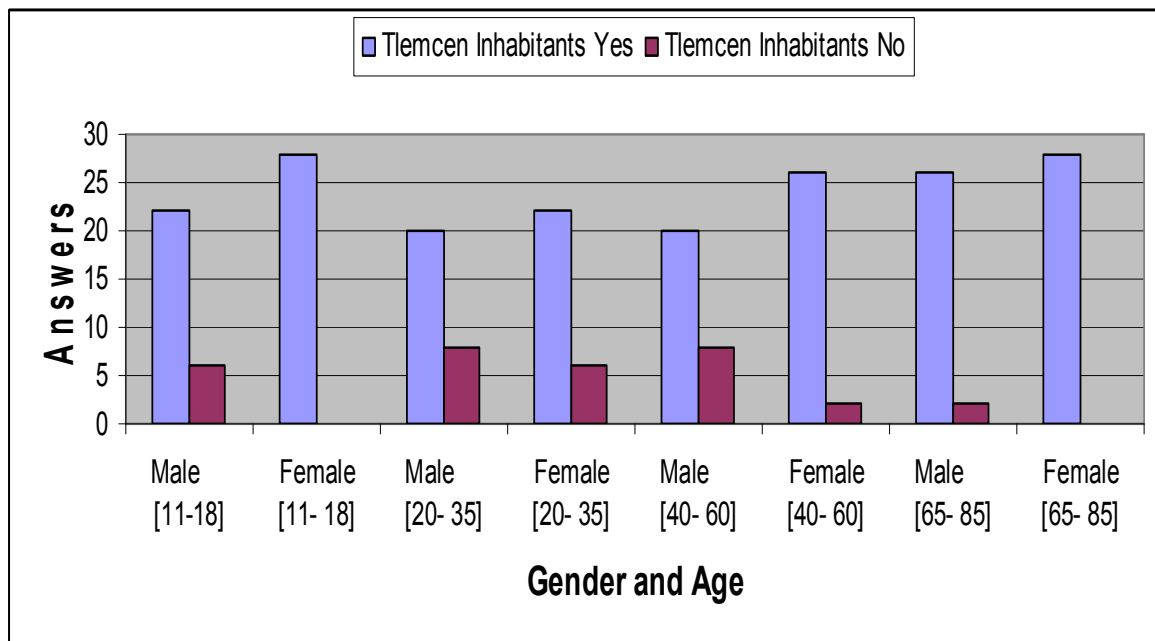


Fig. 4.10. The Impact of the Rural Exodus on Tlemcen Dialect and its Change

From the results of the above table, we can say that most of Tlemcen inhabitants agree on the fact that the rural exodus affects Tlemcen dialect which

may lead to its change. The age cohorts who are really approve this view are females of [11-18] and [65-85] years old since, in our opinion, females are more concerned with dialect change than men.

Gender	Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants	
		Yes	No
Male		88	24
Female		104	8
Total		192	32

Table 4.9. Comparing Men and Women View Concerning the Impact of the Rural Exodus and Dialect Change

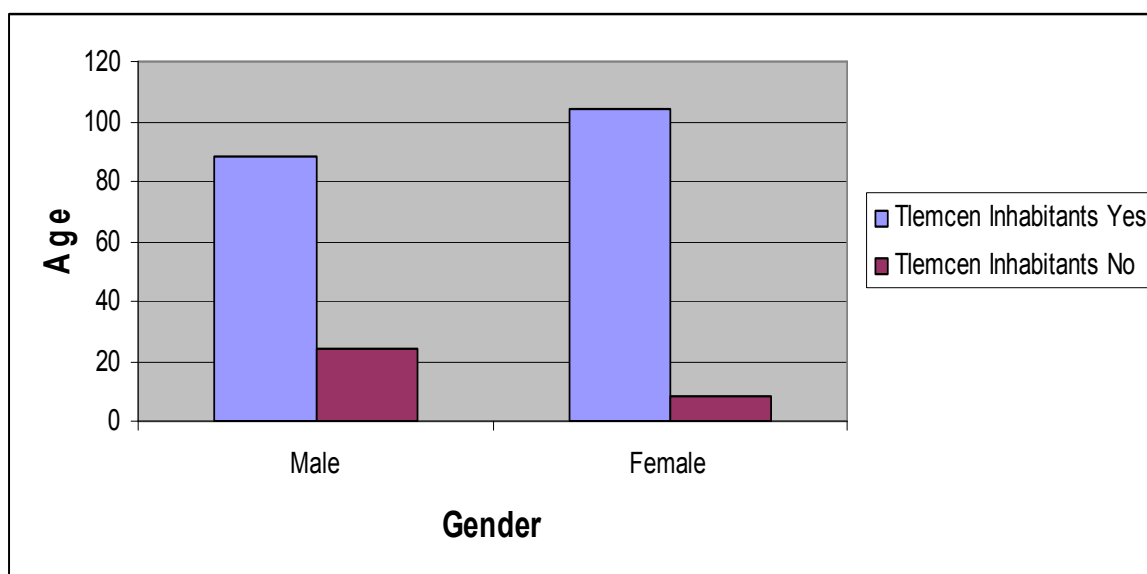


Fig. 4.11. Comparing Men and Women View Concerning the Impact of the Rural Exodus and Dialect Change

Considering the gender point of view, females more than males think that the rural exodus has an impact on the change of Tlemcen dialect. It is worth mentioning that the scores of men and women are not very divergent, they are not very far from each other (88 for men vs 104 for women) in approving that the rural exodus does

have an impact on dialect change; this proves that both genders are absolutely aware and convinced that the rural exodus does influence Tlemcen dialect and might cause its change to a certain extent.

Question 6: Who uses more youth language nowadays ?

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Inhabitants
Men	Women = 36 Men = 76
Women	Women = 20 Men = 92
Total	Women = 56 Men = 168

Table 4.10. Youth Language and its Impact on Men and Women's Speech

The above results show that youth language is mostly used by men. Women are concerned but to a far lesser extent. Yet, we notice that women's language is sometimes affected by youth language in Tlemcen speech community, we may deduce that females' language may contain some new words and expressions that did not exist before i.e. this vocabulary does not belong to Tlemcen dialect. The result might be a change in the initial dialect which may lead to a dialect shift.

- **Question 7¹⁰²:** In your opinion, why do a lot of girls recede in using Tlemcen dialect ?

In analyzing the results of this question, we found that most answers approximately fall on the following views:

- Because of the rural exodus.
- To facilitate the interaction with the non-native speakers of Tlemcen
- To integrate with non-native speakers.

¹⁰² We couldn't draw a bar diagram for this question since many alternatives were proposed by the informants. The most common ones are stated above.

- To avoid mockeries of the non-native speakers.

As a result, we deduce that most of Tlemcenian females especially the youngsters roll away from using Tlemcen dialect in order to be well considered by the non-native speakers on the one hand. On the other one, they want to avoid to be laughed at by these ones. In addition, they want to integrate easily into the non-native groups to be able to communicate and interact with them without any constraints.

- **Question 8:** What do you think about the change of Tlemcen dialect and its loss?

Most of the informants of both genders are not in favour of the change that is occurring to Tlemcen dialect. Some informants think that by losing their original dialect, the Tlemcenians will gradually lose their culture and thus their personalities. Others say that this mixture between the native and the non-native speakers is not beneficial for the Tlemcenians, more importantly for the future generations.

Part 2:

A/ You are from a Tlemcenian family (native speaker of Tlemcen) and you live in Tlemcen.

- **Question 1:** Do you use Tlemcen dialect when interacting in your town?¹⁰³

Answers Gender/ Age	Tlemcen Native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male [11-18]	1	13	0
Female [11- 18]	4	6	4
Male [20- 35]	2	11	1
Female [20- 35]	8	6	0
Male [40- 60]	6	7	1
Female [40- 60]	9	5	0
Male [65- 85]	8	5	1
Female [65- 85]	12	1	1
Total	50	54	8

Table 4.11. The Degree of Tlemcen Dialect Use in Tlemcen Speech Community

¹⁰³ In this part the informants are Tlemcen native speakers, their total number is 112.

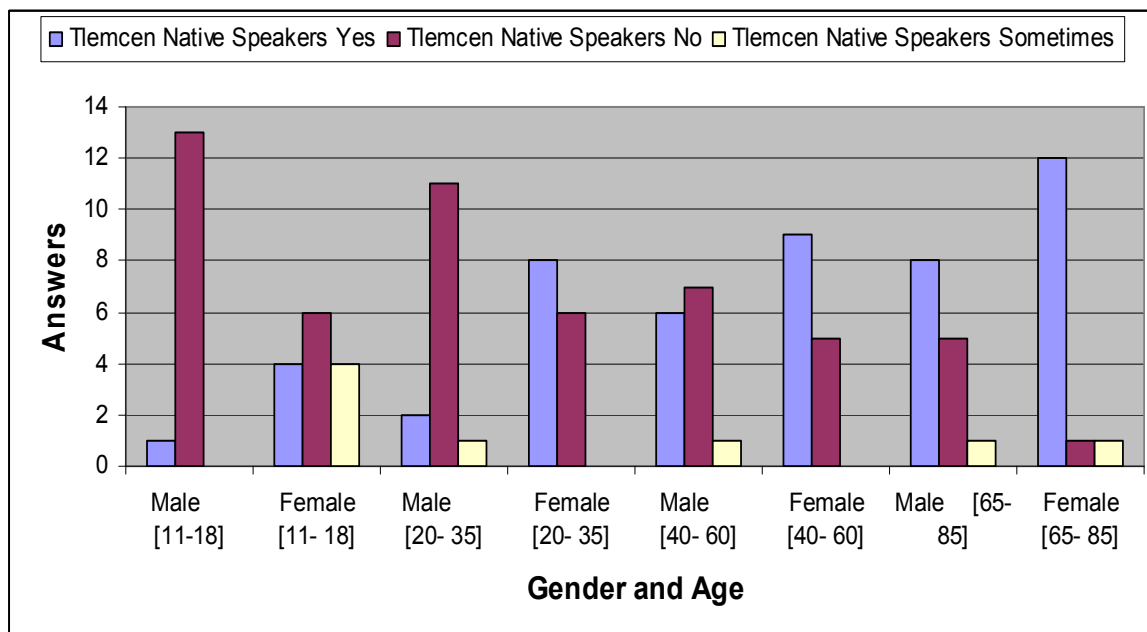


Fig 4.12. The Degree of Tlemcen Dialect Use in Tlemcen Speech Community

The above table reveals that most of the informants' answers are negative (54/112 informants say 'no' whereas 50/112 say 'yes'), this means that Tlemcen dialect is not widely used in Tlemcen speech community. It is worth mentioning that males between [11-18] i.e. during adolescence most of the time do not use the local variety (13 /14 informants do not use it), they tend to use the rural one including some new words and expressions such as innovations. Similarly, it is noticed that the number of females' answers of the same age i.e. [11-18] is of 6/14. This proves that age plays an important role in language change. Yet, it is noticed a total of 8/112 informants (3 males and 5 females) who do sometimes use Tlemcen dialect.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ In table 4.12, the total scorer dealing with the alternative 'sometimes' is not taken into consideration since it is very low, it represents only 7 % of the total percentage.

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male	17	36	3
Female	33	18	5
Total	50	54	8

Table 4.12. Comparing Tlemcen Dialect Use among Males and Females

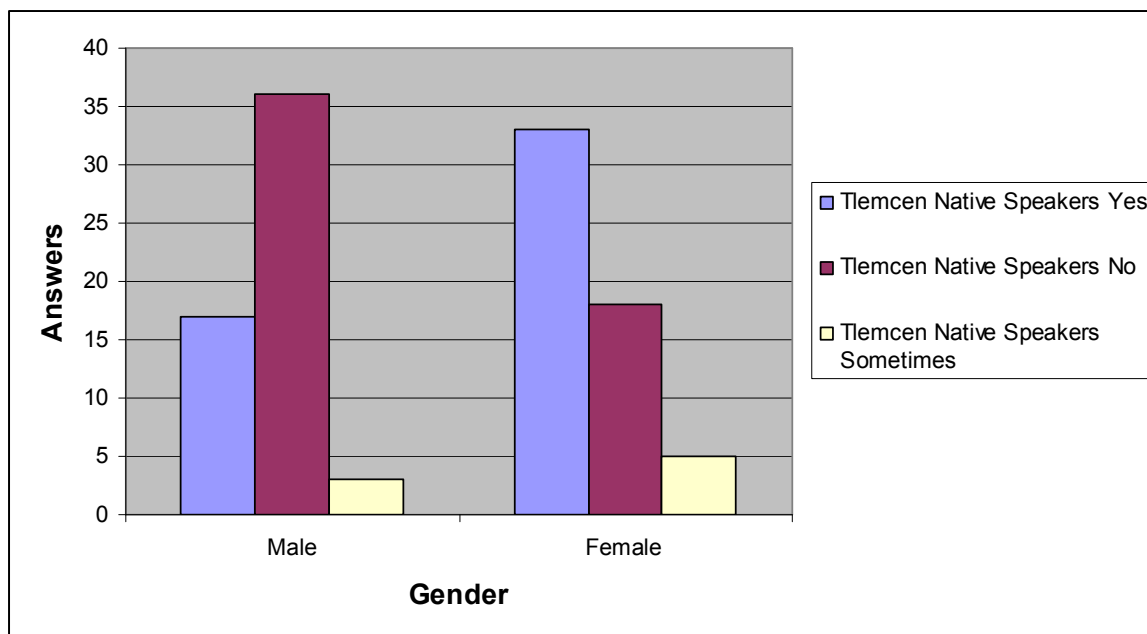


Fig. 4.13. Comparing Tlemcen Dialect Use among Males and Females

Considering gender with the above results we notice that Tlemcen dialect is not widely used in Tlemcen speech community, more importantly among males who, according to most of them (36 /56 informants i.e. 64.28 % of the total number of males), they do not use Tlemcen dialect most of the time. Similarly, it is observed that even an important number of females do not use TA when interacting in their hometown since 18 / 56 of them usually do not, this represents a percentage of 32.14% of the total number of females. In other words, there is a total of 54/112 informants of both genders who do not use TA when interacting in their town which represents 48.21 %. Meanwhile, a total of 50/112 Tlemcen native speakers who use TA, represents 44.64 %. It is worth mentioning that in using Tlemcen dialect, the number of females exceeds the one of males, this may explain the conservatism of

Tlemcen females. Yet, the number of females is less important during adolescence [11-18], in other words, and according to table 4.11., the more a female is getting older, the more she is using the local variety.

- **Question2:** If yes, with whom?¹⁰⁵
- With Tlemcenians / With non-Tlemcenians

Answers Gender	Tlemcen Native Speakers	
	With Tlemcenians	With non-Tlemcenians
Men	16	1
Women	30	3
Total	46	4

Table 4.13. The Use of Tlemcen Dialect in Considering Gender

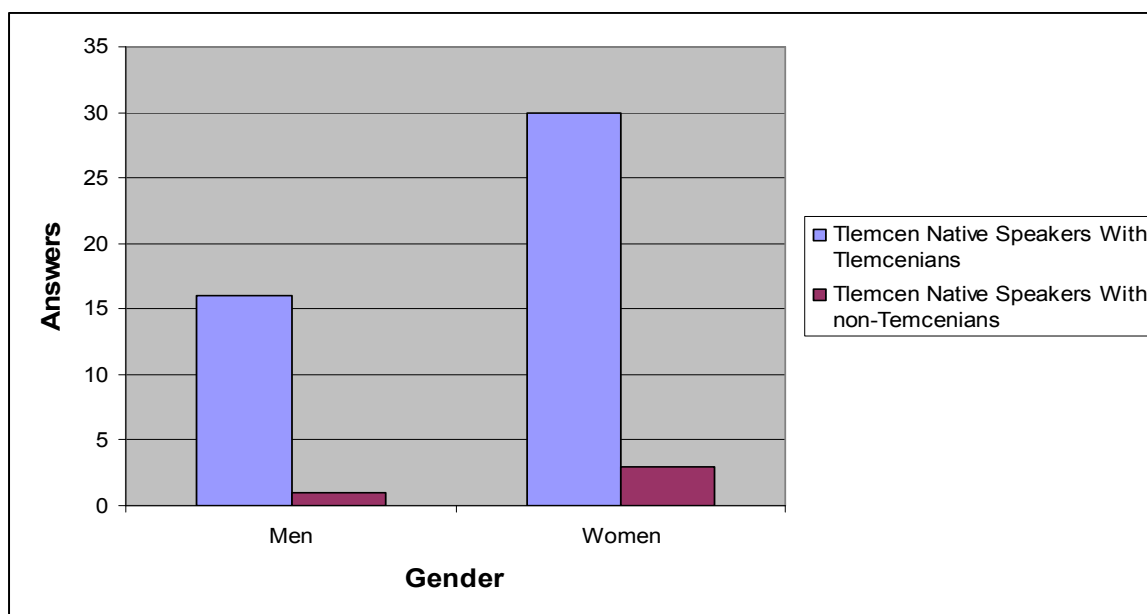


Fig 4.14. The Use of Tlemcen Dialect in Considering Gender

¹⁰⁵ It is essential to remind that this question is related to the previous one; in here, the total number of men who gave positive answers (in the previous question) is 17, and the total number of women who gave positive answers is 33. Thus, the following answers are closely related to the previous answers.

In this question, we are taking into consideration the answers of the former table which represents a total of 50 'yes' answers for TA use (17 males, 16 with Tlemcenians and 1 with non-Tlemcenians; 33 females, 30 with Tlemcenians and 3 with non-Tlemcenians).

The results of the above table reveal that Tlemcen dialect is widely used in Tlemcen speech community with Tlemcen native speakers; it is noticed that it is used in a large scale of females. As a result, we can say that most Tlemcen native speakers 46 / 50 informants¹⁰⁶ (92 %), among whom 30 (i.e. 60%) are females, keep using their dialect especially with Tlemcen native speakers, and only 4 informants representing 8% of the percentage of both genders among whom 1 male (2 %) and 3 females (6 %) do use it with non-native speakers. It is worth mentioning that in some cases, some of them avoid using it when interacting with non-native speakers. To sum, Tlemcen dialect is mainly used in a very close and restricted area i.e. from native speakers to native speakers.

- **Question3:** Why?

Almost all the informants who have said that they use Tlemcen dialect with native speakers (46 / 50 informants) assert that they are proud of using this variety. They confirm that they were born in a 'milieu' where the dialect is omnipresent everywhere, at home, at school, with the family members, with friends... Those who use it with the non-native speakers (4 / 50) argue that the Tlemcenians are very conservative. In addition, they say that they cannot escape from using it; In other words, the use of the local variety is most of the time done unconsciously. Yet, those who do not use Tlemcen dialect (54/ 112) argue that they tend to avoid using Tlemcen dialect mainly outside the family sphere i.e. with friends, at school, at work since there is a constant contact with the non-native speakers and using the local variety, especially the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is stigmatized in the view of them.

¹⁰⁶ In here, 50 represents the number of Tlemcen native speakers who use TA (see table 4.12)

Question 4: Do you use TA when being outside your speech community (i.e. do you keep using it)?

Answers Gender/ Age	Tlemcen Native Speakers			
	Yes	No	Sometimes	Most of the times
Male [11-18]	0	14	0	0
Female [11- 18]	3	8	1	2
Male [20- 35]	1	10	2	1
Female [20- 35]	8	3	2	1
Male [40- 60]	4	7	2	1
Female [40- 60]	9	2	2	1
Male [65- 85]	5	4	3	2
Female [65- 85]	11	0	2	1
Total	41	48	14	9

Table 4.14. The Use TA among TNS¹⁰⁷ when Being outside their Speech Community

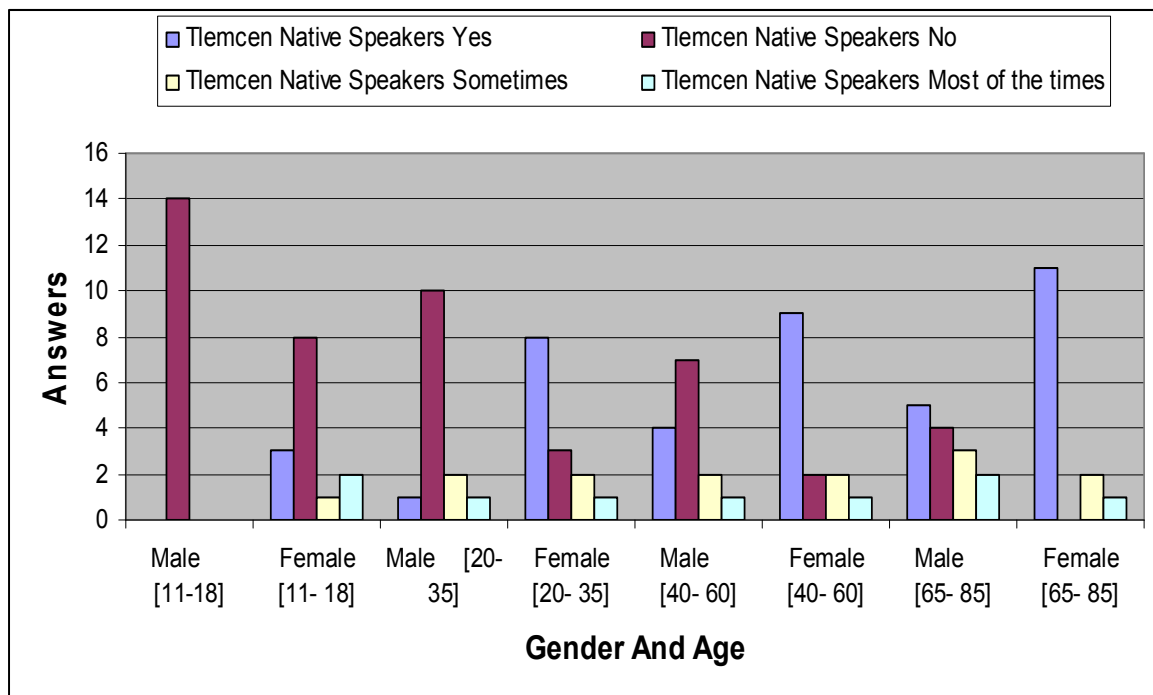


Fig 4.15 The Use TA among TNS when Being outside their Speech Community

¹⁰⁷ TNS= Tlemcen Native Speakers.

From the above table, it is noticeable that the negative answers are higher than the positive ones. In considering age and gender, most males of [11-18] years old do not use TA when being outside Tlemcen speech community. It is worth mentioning that according to males' answers, the more age increases the less of 'no' answers we have. In other words, we notice that the age cohort of [11-18] provides 14 negative answers; Similarly, the one of [20-35], 10 negative answers, [40-60] with 7 ones, and finally the one of [65-85] with 4 ones for a total of 48 'no' answers. This means that the younger males are, the less they use TA outside their speech community and the older they are, the more they can keep using it outside Tlemcen speech community. As a result, we assert that TA is closely connected with age.

Gender	Tlemcen Native Speakers			
	Yes	No	Sometimes	Most of the times
Male	10	35	7	4
Female	31	13	7	5
Total	41	48	14	9

Table 4.15. The Use TA among TNS Considering Gender

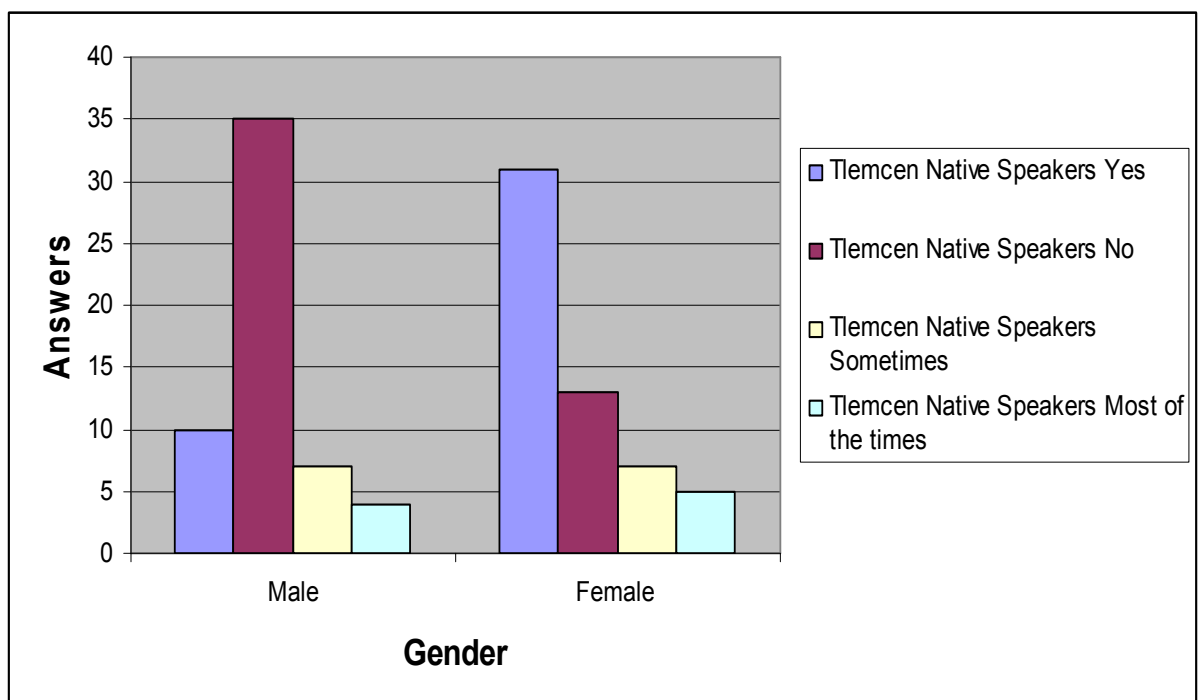


Fig 4.16. The Use TA among TNS Considering Gender

When analyzing the above results, we can notice that most of the answers are negative for men (48/112 i.e. 42.85 %), whereas the remainings are positive for women (41/112 i.e.36.60%). Yet, when the alternatives ‘most of the time’ and ‘sometimes’ are taken into consideration, the score changes, it becomes 21 ‘yes’ answers vs 35 ‘no’ ones for men, and 43 ‘yes’ answers vs 13 ‘no’ ones for women. The total score is of 64 positive answers (57.14) vs 48 (42.85%) for negative ones. This shows that outside Tlemcen speech community, most men do not use TA but female native speakers do depending on the situations, perhaps they do use it when meeting native speakers outside Tlemcen speech community. The point is that the ‘milieu’ or the setting where the conversation takes place is very restricted (from native to native).

- **Question 5/1:** When communicating with non-native speakers do you use French words to avoid using the [ʔ]?¹⁰⁸

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Native Speakers	
	Do use French Words	Do not use French words
Male	0	1
Female	2	1
Total	2	2

Table 4.16. The Use of French among Native Speakers to Avoid Using the Glottal Stop when Addressing Non-Native Speakers

¹⁰⁸ This question is also related to Q2 (see table 4.13).

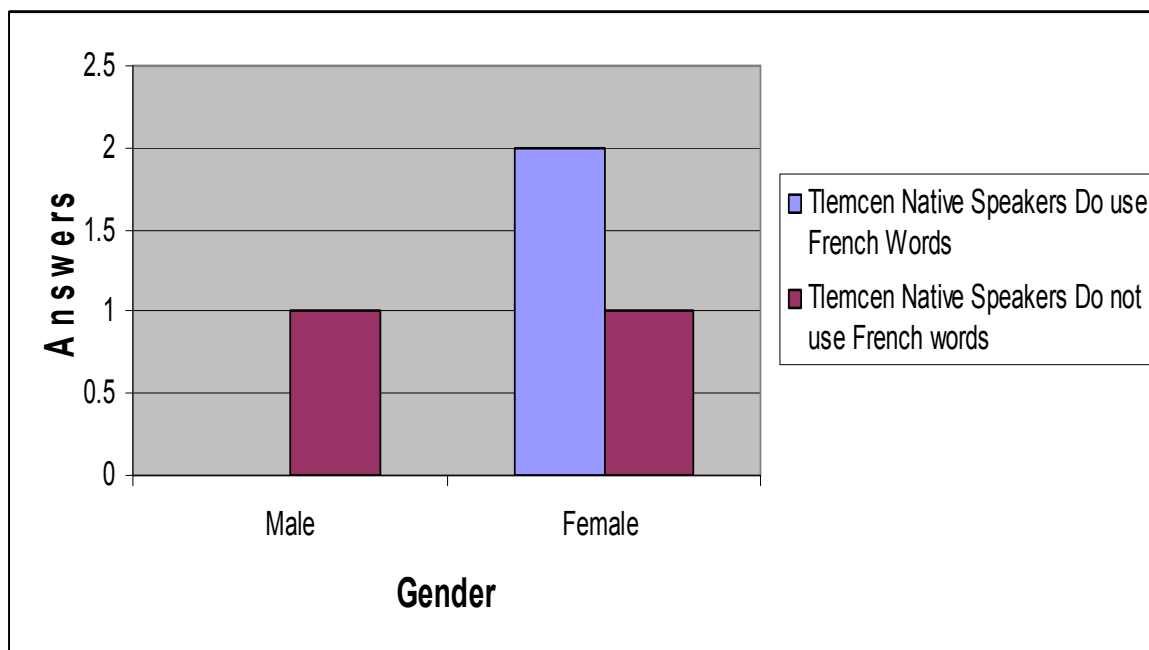


Fig 4.17 The Use of French among Native Speakers to Avoid Using the Glottal Stop when Addressing Non-Native Speakers

Considering the results of table 4.13 and the current ones (table 4.16), we notice that only 4 informants / 112 use TA with non-Tlemcenian people (1 men and 3 women) which represents 3.57 % of the total number of native speakers. Since the percentage is very low, we won't take it into consideration. Yet among these 4 informants, only 1 woman / 3 does use French in order to avoid using the glottal stop with the non-native speakers. This shows that French is rarely used to substitute the urban variety.

- **Question 5/2:** Why?

The woman justifies her use of French words just not to be a subject of mockery; according to her, the use of the [ʔ] is stigmatized by non-native speakers.

B/ You are not from a Tlemcenian family (non-native speaker of Tlemcen) but you live in Tlemcen.

- **Question1:** Do you try to speak like the Tlemcenians when being in Tlemcen?¹⁰⁹

Gender/ Age	Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
		Yes	No	Sometimes
Male [11-18]		0	13	1
Female [11- 18]		3	9	2
Male [20- 35]		0	13	1
Female [20- 35]		3	8	3
Male [40- 60]		1	12	1
Female [40- 60]		2	10	2
Male [65- 85]		0	12	2
Female [65- 85]		2	10	2
Total		11	87	14

Table 4.17. Degree of Imitating TNS when Speaking

According to the scores obtained from the above table, we notice that most of the informants' answers (87/ 112) are negative. Some of them do sometimes try to speak like the Tlemcenians when being in Tlemcen, and only a few of them (11/112) do always try that.

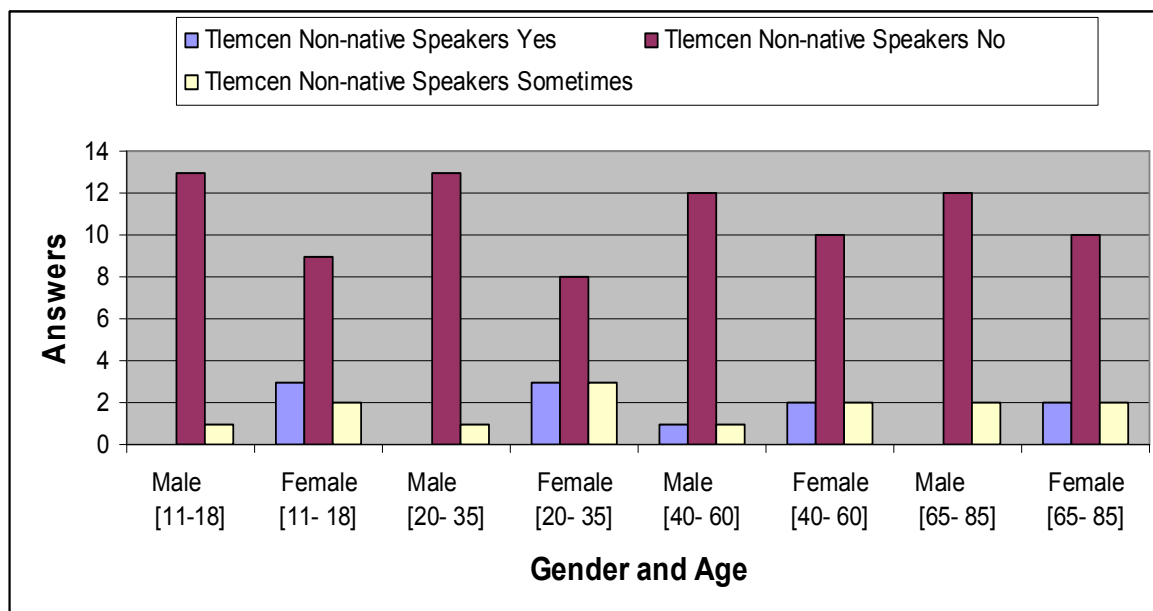


Fig 4.18. Degree of Imitating TNS when Speaking

¹⁰⁹ Here again we are working with Tlemcen non-native speakers and their total number is 112 (56 males and 56 females).

The above results reveal that most of the answers are negative (87 ‘no’ vs 11 ‘yes’ and 14 ‘sometimes’) which means that most non-native Tlemcenians even living in Tlemcen city, they are not really influenced by the local variety. They still use the urban dialect except for a small number of informants who are influenced to some extent by Tlemcen dialect; these represent 25/ 112 informants i.e. 22.51 % of the total percentage of non-native speakers whereas, those who are completely not influenced by TA represent 87/ 112 informants i.e. 77.67%.

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male	1	50	5
Female	10	37	9
Total	11	87	14

Table 4.18. Degree of Imitating TNS when Speaking in Considering Gender

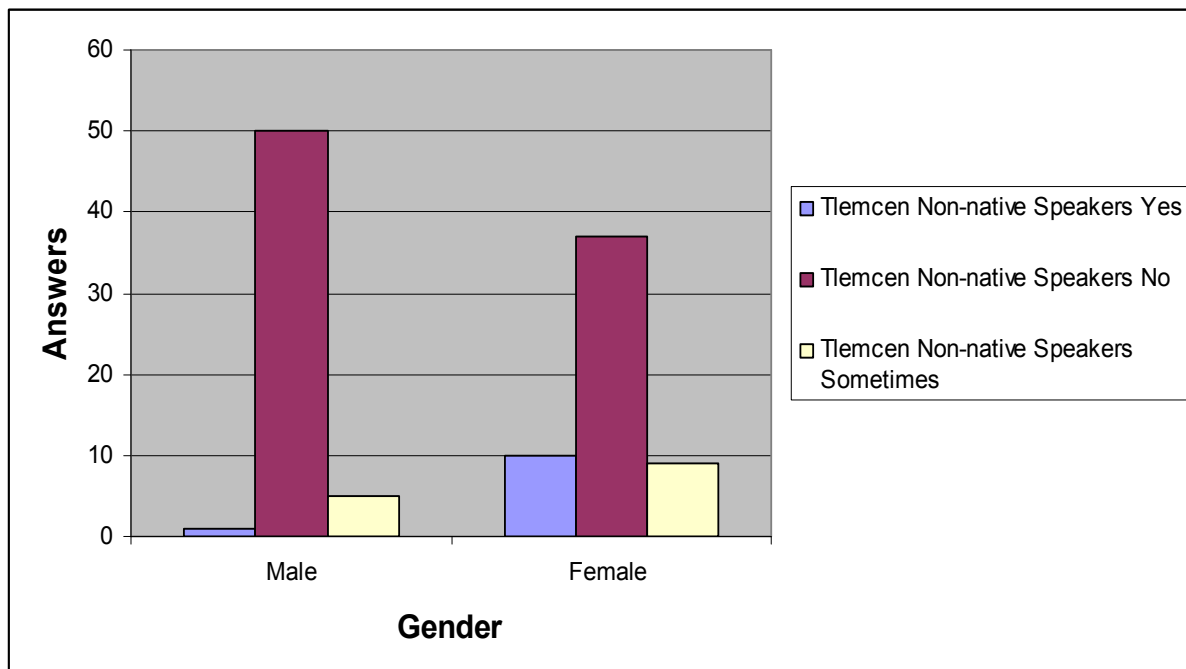


Fig 4.19. Degree of Imitating TNS when Speaking in Considering Gender

As it is shown in table 4.18, the great majority of Tlemcen non-native speakers are not influenced by TA and do not try to speak as the Tlemcenians. Yet, it is worth mentioning that 11 of them among whom 10 females and 1 male confirm that they do try to use TA. Yet, there are 14 informants among whom 5 men and 9 women who sometimes try to imitate the Tlemcenians when speaking¹¹⁰. As a conclusion, we assert that 25 / 112 informants are concerned with the use of TA in Tlemcen speech community (they represent 22.32 %), whereas 87/112 (77.67%) are not. The question is what are the motives which push this portion of non-native speakers use TA in Tlemcen speech community?

- **Question2:** Do you use the glottal stop [ʔ] when being in Tlemcen?

Gender/ Age	Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
		Yes	No	Sometimes
Male [11-18]		0	13	1
Female [11- 18]		4	10	0
Male [20- 35]		1	13	0
Female [20- 35]		4	7	3
Male [40- 60]		1	12	1
Female [40- 60]		1	10	3
Male [65- 85]		0	13	1
Female [65- 85]		2	11	1
Total		13	89	10

Table 4.19. The Use of the Glottal Stop among Non-Native Speakers

¹¹⁰ In this question, the score of the alternative 'sometimes' is taken into consideration since it represents 12.5% of the whole percentage.

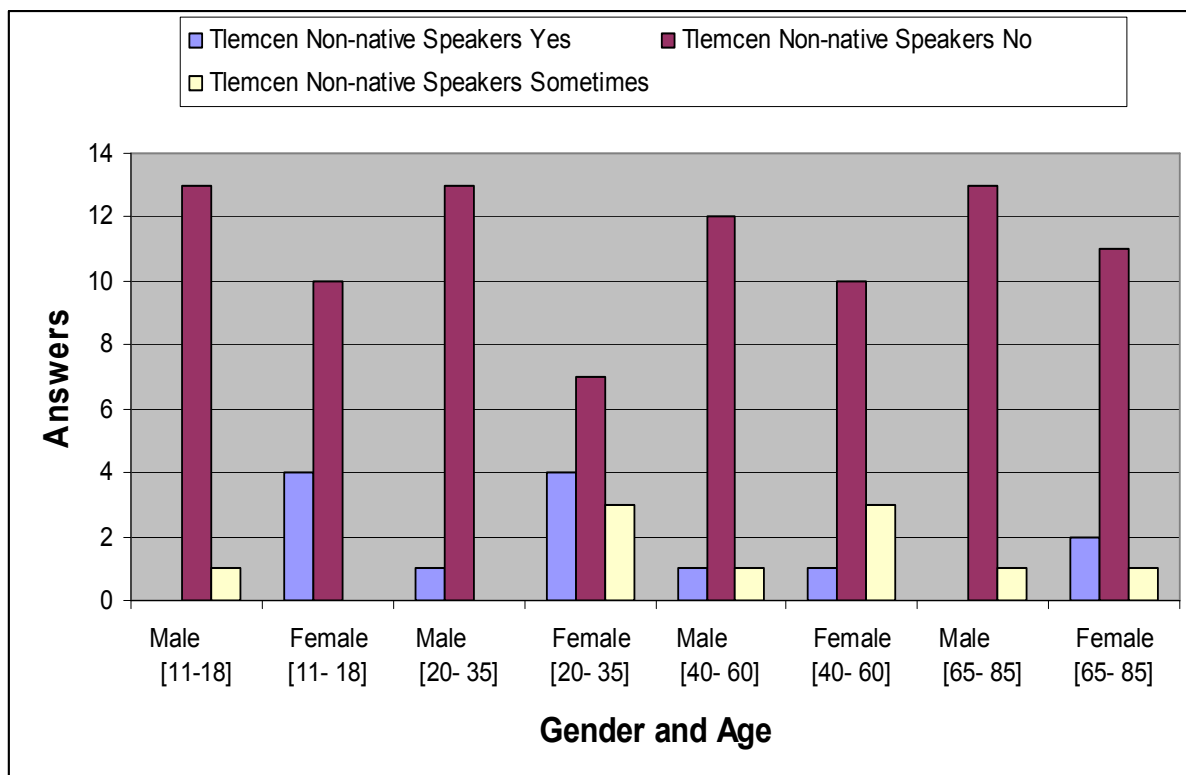


Fig 4.20. The Use of the Glottal Stop among NNS¹¹¹

The scores of the above table show that the highest score is for the alternative ‘no’ with 89 negative answers, then for ‘yes’ with 13 positive ones, and finally for ‘sometimes’ with 10 answers. As shown in the previous question, most of non-native speakers are not really influenced by using Tlemcen dialect, and thus they do not use the glottal stop since it is one feature among others that characterizes TA. Yet, a few of them do usually or sometimes use it since as it is represented above, 13 of them always do and 10 of them sometimes do.

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male	2	51	3
Female	11	38	7
Total	13	89	10

Table 4.20. The Relation between Gender and the Use of the Glottal Stop among Non-Native Speakers

¹¹¹ NNS= Non-Native Speakers.

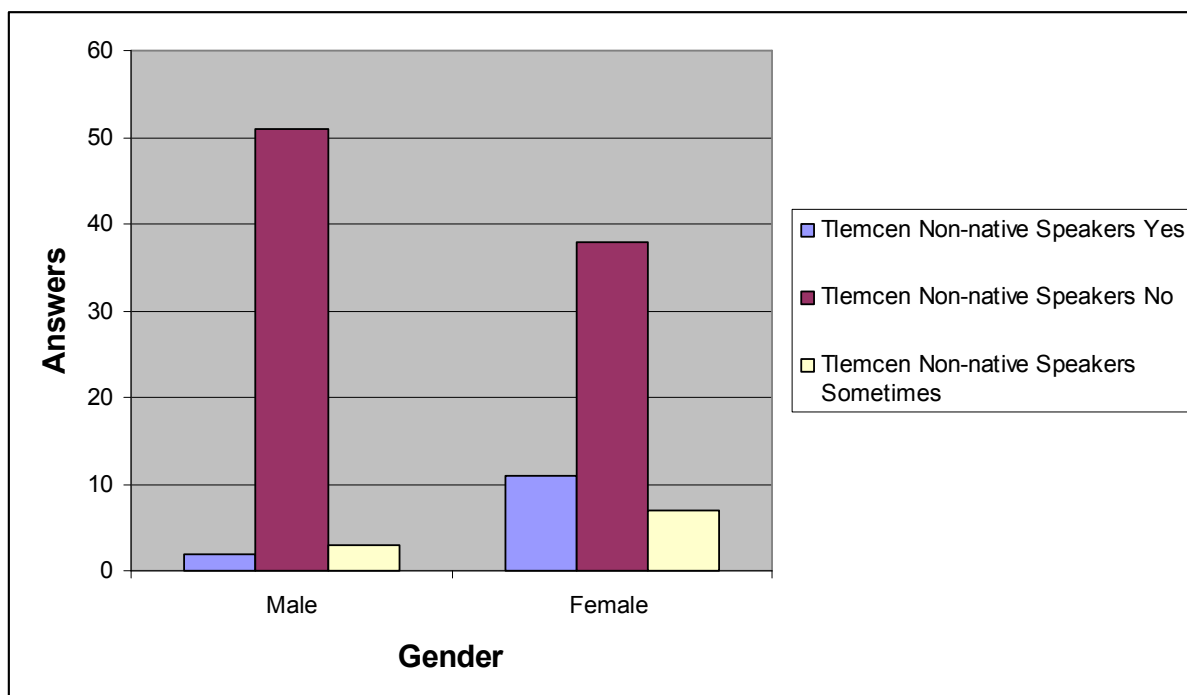


Fig 4.21. The Relation between Gender and the Use of the Glottal Stop among NNS

As it is shown in the above table (4.21), 23 non-native speakers (5 males and 18 females) either always or sometimes try to use the glottal stop when being in Tlemcen whereas the great majority do not use the glottal stop since they do not use TA (as it was shown in the previous question). Considering gender, it is visible that women are far more concerned by this phenomenon (18 females vs 5 males). In addition, it is noticeable that 20.53 % of both genders are concerned with the use of the glottal stop (11.60 % always do and 8.92 % sometimes do) with a total percentage of 20.52 %. To sum up, we can say that 79.48% of non-native speakers in Tlemcen speech community are not concerned with the use of the glottal stop, whereas, only 20.52 % of them are.

- **Question3:** If yes, with whom?¹¹²
- With Tlemcenians / With non-Tlemcenians

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers	
	With Tlemcenians	With non-Tlemcenians
Male	5	0
Female	17	1
Total	22	1

Table 4. 21. The Persons with whom NNS Use the Glottal Stop

From the above results, it is shown that among the 23 Tlemcen non-native speakers who use the glottal stop when being in Tlemcen¹¹³, 22 do use it with Tlemcenians only. This explains that the role of the addressee is very important in any communication.

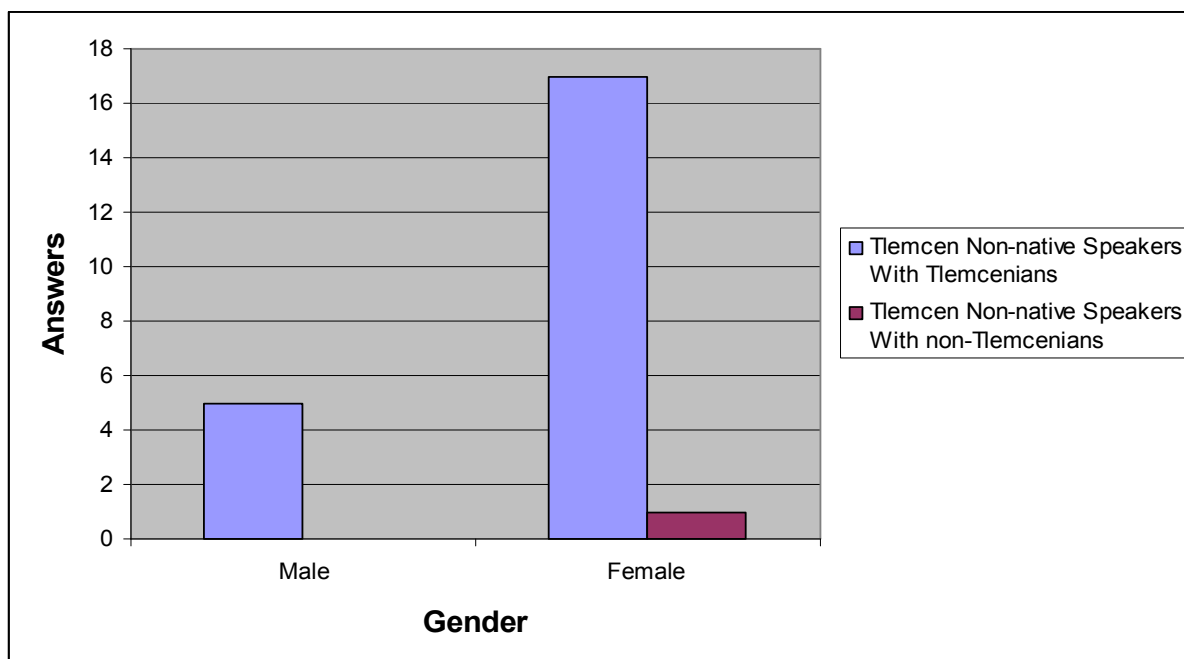


Fig. 4.22: The Persons to whom NNS Use the Glottal Stop in Relation to Gender

¹¹² As this question is related to the previous one, we are working with the number of positive answers previously provided which is of 5 males and 18 females.

¹¹³ See the total score in table 4.19.

It is quite interesting to notice that most of non-native speakers (22 / 23 non-native speakers), more importantly females use the glottal stop when addressing to the Tlemcenians i.e. to Tlemcen native speakers. So, why do they use TA dialect including the glottal stop [ʔ] particularly with Tlemcen native speakers? Is it to be well considered by the Tlemcenians? Is it to be accepted as a member of the Tlemcenian society? Some explanations will be given in the further analysis.

- **Question 3/a:** Why? To be considered as a Tlemcenian

Gender \ Answers	To be considered as a Tlemcenian	
	Yes	No
Male	5	0
Female	16	2
Total	21	2

Table 4.22. The Cause behind Using the Glottal Stop among Non-Native Speakers

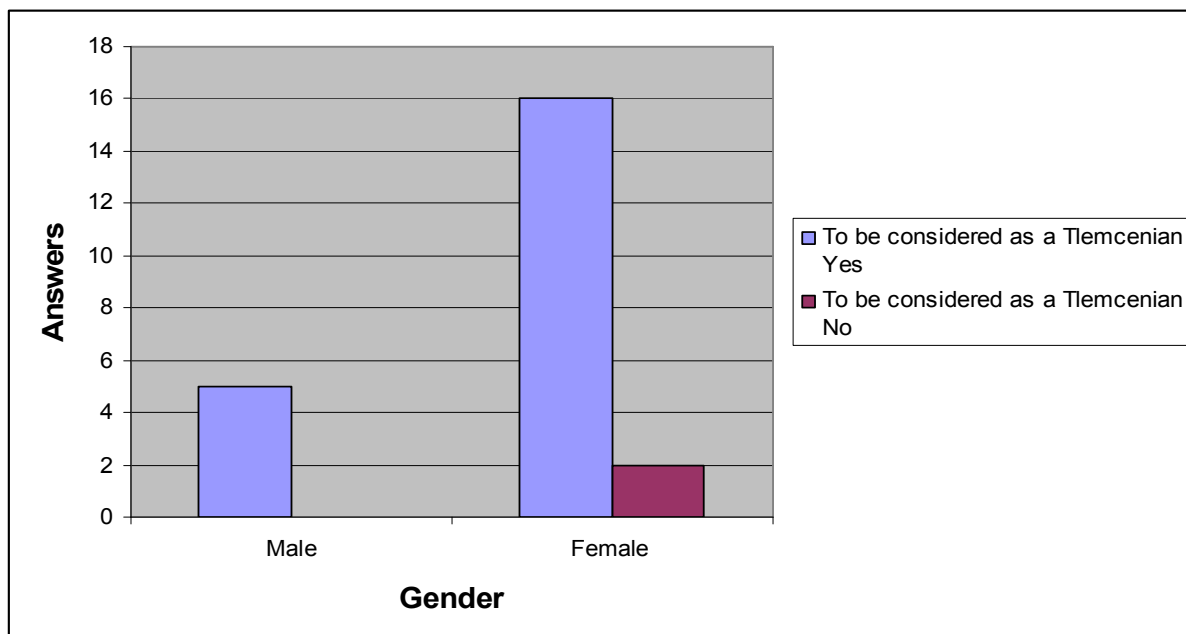


Fig. 4.23. The Cause behind Using the Glottal Stop among Non-Native Speakers and Gender

In considering the above results, 21/23 non-native speakers use the glottal stop in Tlemcen speech community just to be considered as a Tlemcenian person. We can deduce that some non-native speakers do their best in order to integrate the Tlemcenian society. Even if their number is not so important, they try to be accepted and considered as native speakers. For them, being a Tlemcenian speaker is a sort of prestige in Tlemcen speech community especially vis-à-vis to the Tlemcenians. But, quite surprisingly, (as it is represented in the above table, 2 / 23 non-native speakers, who are women, do use the glottal stop but not to be considered as a Tlemcenian, it is just because they are accustomed with its use in Tlemcen, according to us, they do use it unconsciously because of the long-term contact with the native speakers.

- **Question 4:** Do you use the glottal stop [ʔ] when being outside Tlemcen?

Gender \ Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male	0	56	0
Female	0	55	1
Total	0	111	1

Table 4.23. The Use of the Glottal Stop by Non- Native Speakers outside Tlemcen

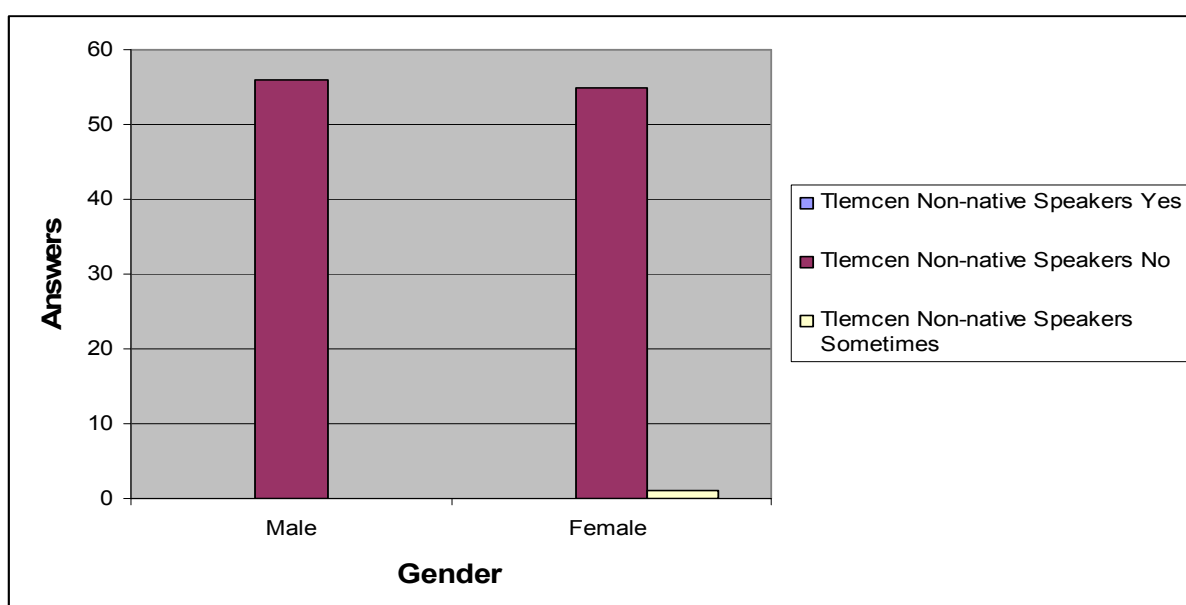


Fig 4.24. The Use of the Glottal Stop by Non- Native Speakers outside Tlemcen

From the first sight, and according to the results, we assert that Tlemcen non-native speakers do not even try to use the glottal stop outside Tlemcen speech community. One informant, a female said that she sometimes uses it. It is worth stating that in some cases or situations, some non-native speakers, more importantly females, try to use the glottal stop when addressing a native speaker or when being with a group of Tlemcenians. Thus, we will not take the above score into consideration since its percentage is negligible (0.98 %).

- **Question 5:** Do you use the rural variety when addressing Tlemcenians?

Gender/ Age	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
Male [11-18]	10	2	2
Female [11- 18]	7	4	3
Male [20- 35]	8	1	5
Female [20- 35]	4	6	4
Male [40- 60]	12	1	1
Female [40- 60]	8	5	1
Male [65- 85]	13	0	1
Female [65- 85]	11	1	2
Total	73	20	19

Table 4.24. The Degree of the Non-Native Speakers' Use of the Rural Variety with Native Tlemcenians

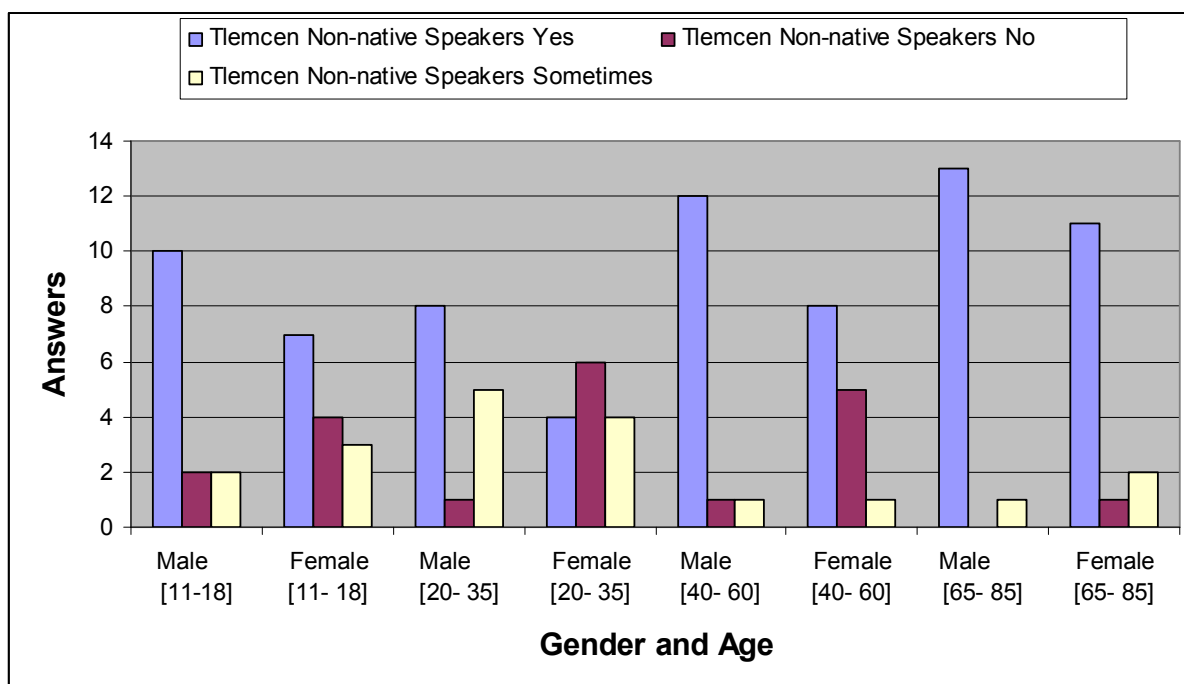


Fig 4.25. The Degree of the Non-Native Speakers' Use of the Rural Variety with Native Tlemcenians

At this level we notice that non-native speakers (92 of them i.e. 82.14 %) in most of the times do use the rural variety with the Tlemcenians. Yet a few of them do not (20 / 112 informants which represents a percentage of 17.85 %). Since the percentage is not high and according to the above statistics, we confirm the results of tables 4.20 and 4.21 which showed that non-native speakers stick to their rural variety even being in Tlemcen and most of them do not try to imitate the native speakers except for very few of them who are rather influenced and try to be well considered by native speakers.

Gender	Answers	Tlemcen Non-native Speakers		
		Yes	No	Sometimes
Male		43	4	9
Female		30	16	10
Total		73	20	19

Table 4.25. Males and Females Non-Native Speakers' Use of the Rural Variety with Native Tlemcenians

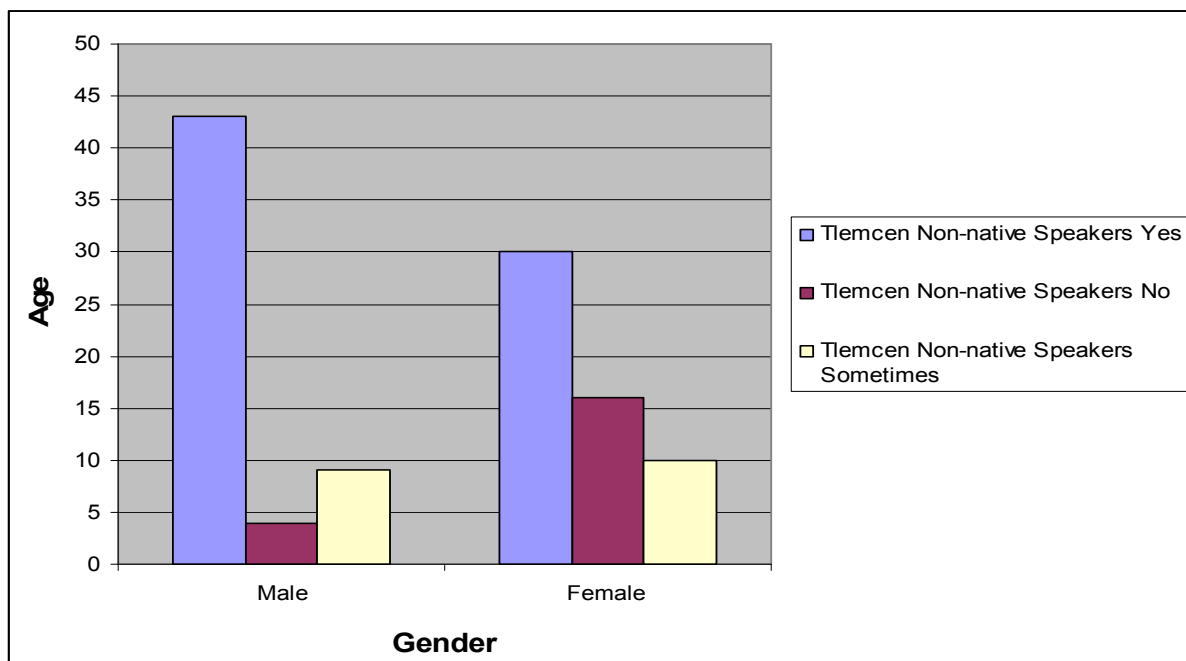


Fig. 4.26. Males and Females Non-Native Speakers' Use of the Rural Variety with Native Tlemcenians

In considering gender and as it has been already explained, most of the non-native speakers (92 of them i.e. 82.14 %) do use the rural variety when addressing to the native ones whereas only 20 of them, more importantly females, are influenced by Tlemcen dialect and do use it, or rather do try to use it when interacting with the native Tlemcenians¹¹⁴. Meanwhile, we notice that males are more concerned than females in using the rural variety with native speakers; this shows that non-Tlemcenian women are sometimes influenced under some situations and conditions by the local variety. The phenomenon will be explained in the interpretation of data.

- **Question 5/a:** Why?

According to most men and women answers, non-native speakers argue that their non-use of the rural variety with Tlemcen native speakers depends on the person's personality. According to them, non-native speakers with a strong

¹¹⁴ See table 4.24.

personality are never influenced by TA even when addressing to Tlemcenians. They think that a non-native speaker should not abandon his / her native dialect i.e., the rural variety even when living in Tlemcen city. They also consider Tlemcen dialect, especially the use of the glottal stop as a stigmatized phenomenon, and people using it as effeminate persons.

Part Three: Q: Which verbal phrases or expressions do you use when speaking in Tlemcen speech community ?

The aim of this part is to show the difference between Tlemcen native and non-native speakers' use of vocabulary. We have chosen these verbal phrases and expressions because we have noticed an important semantic shift concerning them mainly from the urban to the rural variety. As a result, we wanted to measure and detect which variety is widely spread in Tlemcen speech community¹¹⁵ on the one hand. On the other one, we wanted to find out which gender and at what age is dialect shift more noticeable.

1- je fais (I do) ندير نعمل نواس

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[ndi :r]	81	56
[naʔmel]	29	35
[nwa :si]	6	17

Table 4.26. The Total Answers of the Alternative 'I Do'

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ndi :r]: 81 / 224 answers for males which represent 36.16 % vs 56 / 224 ones for females which represent 25 %. The total score of this alternative is 61.16 %. The second position is for the word [naʔmel] 29 males (12.94 %) vs 35 (15.62 %) females. The last position is for the word [nwa :si]: 6 answers (2.67 %) vs 17

¹¹⁵ In this part both native and non-native speakers (224), women and men have given their answers.

(7.58 %) ones for females. As a result, the alternative [ndi :r] represents 137 answers for both genders i.e. 61.16 % of the three propositions. In other words, this word, which is taken from the rural variety, is the alternative chosen by most respondents of Tlemcen speech community.

2- Je regarde (I see) نشوف نخزر

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[nʃu :f]	97	88
[naχzər]	9	30

Table 4.27. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘I see’

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [nʃu :f], 97 / 112 answers for males which represent 86.60 % and 88 / 112 ones for females which represent 78.57 % of the whole percentage. The whole percentage of this alternative being 82.58%. The alternative [naχzər] represents a percentage of 17.41 % only. We can notice that the expression taken from the urban variety takes the second position.

3- Je cache (I hide) ¹¹⁶ ندس نخب نحيد

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[nχəbbi]	59	77
[nhəyəd]	7	52
[ndəs]	21	8

Table 4.28. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘I hide’

¹¹⁶ Some informants have proposed other alternatives of their own, the reason for which to total number of the answers is not 224. For example, in this example 29 informants have proposed the alternative: [ndəs] ندس.

In the above example, 29 informants (21 males and 8 women) have proposed another alternative which was not proposed by us in the questionnaire.

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the expression [nχəbbbi]. Males' answers represent 26.33 % whereas females' ones for the same alternative represent 34.37 %. It is worth mentioning that the expression [nħəyəd] representing the urban variety is in the second position with a total percentage of 3.12% for males vs 23.21 % for females. It is worth noting that another rural word which is [ndəs] also represents a total percentage of 12.94 % for both genders.

4- Qu'est ce que tu as? (what's the matter ?) مالك واشيبك أشيبك

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[mælək]	65	53
[wæʃbi:k]	44	49
[ʔæʃbi:k]	2	11

Table 4.29. The Total Answers of the Alternative 'what's the matter?'

In the above table, the results show clearly that the dominant answer is for the expression [mælək] with a percentage of 29.01 % for males and of 23.66 % for females, this for a total percentage of 52.67 %. Concerning the alternatives [wæʃbi:k], and [ʔæʃbi:k] used by some informants, they represent a percentage of respectively 41.51% and 5.80 %. It is worth noting that these two alternatives are approximately the same, when additionning the total percentage of them, the result

is 47.31 %. To consider the final results, we notice here again that the rural variety dominates over the urban one.

5- Bien comme il faut: غاي نیشان أَدَاد
(very well done)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[ʁɑ :yɑ]	63	56
[ni :ʃæ :n]	47	30
[ʔædʔæd]	2	26

Table 4.30. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘very well done’

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ʁɑ :yɑ] with a percentage of 28.12 % for males and of 25 % for females for a total percentage of 53.12 %. The percentage of the urban variety is very low, it is of 12.5 %.

6- Attends: حبس ريبض سنى أَرْدَج أُنْتَى
¹¹⁷ (wait)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[ətənnɑ]	2	36
[ərdja]	12	23
[sənnɑ]	39	34
[riyyəd]	48	12
[ħəbbəs]	11	7

Table 4.31. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘wait’

¹¹⁷ In this example 18 informants (11 males and 7 females) have proposed the alternative ‘ħəbbəs’

- 8- Avare : صوتك جيعان بأطاط
(Avarious)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[baʔtɑ:t]	3	36
[ji:ʔan]	66	57
[so:ka]	38	24

Table 4.33. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘Avarious’

The results show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ji:ʔan] with a total percentage of 54.91 % for both genders. The second rank is for the alternative [so:ka] resulting in a score of 27.67 %, and finally, the word [baʔtɑ:t] with 17.41 %. It is worth mentioning that this word is typically Tlemcenian.

- 9- Doucement : بتاويل بشوي بل أد
(Slowly)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[bəlʔda]	1	44
[bəʃwiya]	69	62
[bəttawi:l]	18	30

Table 4.34. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘Slowly’

According to the above results, the dominant answer is for the word [bəʃwiya] with a total percentage of 58.48 % for both genders. The second position is for the expression [bəttawi:l] with 21.42 %, and the third one is for [bəlʔda] with 20.08 %. It is worth noting that the expressions [bəttawi:l] and

[bəlʔda] are taken from the urban variety and their total percentage represent 41.5 %. Here again, the dominance is for the rural variety.

10- C'est le mien : ناعى نتاعى دىالى
(It's mine)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[dya :li]	0	28
[ntaʔi]	44	36
[taʔi]	66	50

Table 4.35. The Total Answers of the Alternative 'It's mine'

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [taʔi] with 51.78 % for both genders, then it is for the alternative [ntaʔi] with 35.71 % and finally to the word [dya :li] with 12.5 %.

11- Ma place : بلاصتى موضعى موطعى
(It's my place)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[motʔi]	0	30
[modʔi]	33	47
[bla :sti]	59	55

Table 4. 36. The Total Answers of the Alternative 'It's my place'

Here, the dominant answer is for the word [bla :sti] with 50.89 % for males and females. The second position is for the word [modʔi] with 35.71 %. The last position is for the alternative [motʔi] with 13.39 %.

12- les œufs : البيض ولاجداد ولادجداد
(Eggs)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[wledʒde :d]	17	43
[wleʒde :d]	20	31
[lbi :d]	58	55

Table 4.37. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘Eggs’

The results in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [lbi :d] with 50.44 % for both genders. Then, it’s for the word [wledʒde :d] with 26.78 %, and finally to [wleʒde :d] with a percentage of 22.76 %.

13- Je peux ¹¹⁸: نقد نقدر نأد نندجم
(I can)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[nəndjəm]	20	35
[nʔad]	4	25
[nəqdər]	23	11
[nqəd]	50	49
[ngəd]	7	0

Table 4.38. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘I can’

The dominant answer in the above table is for the word [nqəd] representing 44.19 %. The second rank is for the word [nəndjəm] with 24.55 %. The third one

¹¹⁸ In this example, 7 informants (males) have proposed an alternative of their own. This one is: ‘nged’

is for [nəqdər] with 15.17 %. Then come the alternatives [nʔad] with 12.94 % and [ngəd] with 3.12 %.

14- Beaucoup :
(A lot of)

بزاف

عرام

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[ʔorra :m]	12	47
[bəzza :f]	84	81

Table 4. 39. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘A lot of’

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [bəzza :f] with 73.66 % for both genders. The second position is for the word [ʔorra :m] with 26.33 %.

15- Je ferme
(I close)

نبلع

نغلأ

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[noʔləʔ]	21	36
[nbəllaʔ]	86	81

Table 4. 40. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘I close’

The results in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [nbəllaʔ] with 74.55 % for males and females. The second position is for the alternative [noʔləʔ] with 25.44 %.

16- Fatigué
¹¹⁹ (Tired)

□ مصهوط (ة)

□ عيان (ة)

Answers	Gender	
	Males	Females
[ʕayyən (a)]	81	77
[məʃhut(a)]	14	46
[mkuli]	3	0
[ta :fi]	2	0
[ta :fya]	0	1

Table 4.41. The Total Answers of the Alternative ‘Tired’

The scores in the above table show clearly that the dominant answer is for the word [ʕayyən (a)] with a total score of 70.53 %. The second position is for the word [məʃhut(a)] with 26.78 %. The percentage of the three other alternatives is not very considerable, it is of 1.33 % for [mkuli], 0.89 % for [ta :fi], and of 0.44 % for [ta :fya].

4.2.2. The Interview

In this section, we attempted people’s point of view concerning the status of the local variety which is Tlemcen Arabic. We also tried to detect people’s bias towards gender in using the urban variety. Finally, we aimed at finding out the role of age and its effects on females, especially the adolescents, in making them rolling away from using the local variety. It should be noted that the interviewees were Tlemcen native speakers, they consisted of twelve (12) males divided into two age cohorts: six aged between [11- 25] and six aged between [35- 80] and twelve (12) females who were divided in the same way.

¹¹⁹ In this example 3 males proposed the alternative ‘mkouli’, 2 others (males) proposed ‘tafi’. 1 female proposed ‘tafya’.

- **Question 1:** Do you think that Tlemcen dialect (the urban variety including the use of the glottal stop [ʔ]) will disappear one day?

According to male informants, all the young ones (6/6 informants of [11-25]) agree on the fact that TA tends to change and consequently to disappear in the future. They argue that they are witnessing a considerable lexical change in Tlemcen dialect. They also say that nowadays young boys do not use TA at all, in addition the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is stigmatised from non-native speakers who are omnipresent in Tlemcen speech community. On the other hand, most older male participants (5/6) of [35-80] think that TA is changing a lot. According to them, Tlemcen native speakers, more importantly males are opting for the rural variety and are using it most of the times. Similarly, they also share the younger's point of view, they say that TA will disappear one day and will be substituted by the rural variety which is widely spread in Tlemcen speech community. Yet, 1/6 informant doesn't share the same view point, he thinks that TA will remain stable and will not disappear oneday.

On females' part, 4/6 of the young ones ([11-25]) say that nowadays many adolescents (native speakers) use the rural variety. They add that even girls tend to recede towards the use of the urban variety, especially in the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] since when interacting with non-native speakers using it, they are most of the time treated as ridiculous and are laughed at, all this because the glottal stop is stigmatised by non-native speakers. By contrast, 2/6 of them think that TA will never disappear since according to them, when being older, these girls return using TA as their mothers and will keep it forever. They will also transmit it to their daughters when getting married and becoming mothers in their turn. Besides, 5/6 women of [35-80] years old think that the urban variety will not disappear at all as, according to them, Tlemcenian families are very conservative, they do their best to preserve their customs, traditions, and culture. They explain that TA is considered as a facet of Tlemcen's patrimony.

To summarize all the answers and the results of this first question, we propose the following table:

Males	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [11-25]: - 6/6 say that TA will disappear. - [35-80]: - 5/6 say that TA will disappear. <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 1/6 says that TA will not disappear.
Females	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [11-25]: - 2/6 say that TA will disappear. <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 4/6 say that TA will not disappear. - [35-80]: - 1/6 says that TA will disappear. <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 5/6 say that TA will not disappear
Total answers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14/24 say that TA will disappear. - 10/24 say that TA will not disappear.

Table 4. 42. The total Answers for the First Question of the Interview

In considering gender and according to the above results, most men being native speakers of Tlemcen who represent 91.66% of males think that TA will disappear whereas most women representing a percentage of 75% do not. The following table shows the total answers and their percentages:

Gender	Total answers	Percentage
Males	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 11/12 say that TA will disappear. <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 1/12 says that TA will not disappear. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 91.66% <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 8,33%
Females	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3/12 say that TA will disappear. <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 9/12 say that TA will not disappear. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 25% <li style="padding-left: 40px;">- 75%

Total	- 14/24 say that TA will disappear.	58.33%
	- 10/24 say that TA will not disappear.	41.66%

Table 4. 43. The total Percentages of the First Question of the Interview in Considering Gender

As a result, 58.33% of all informants agree on the fact that TA will disappear someday whereas, 41.66% do not as it is showed in the following figure:

To sum up, the results obtained reveal that when analyzing Q1, we find out

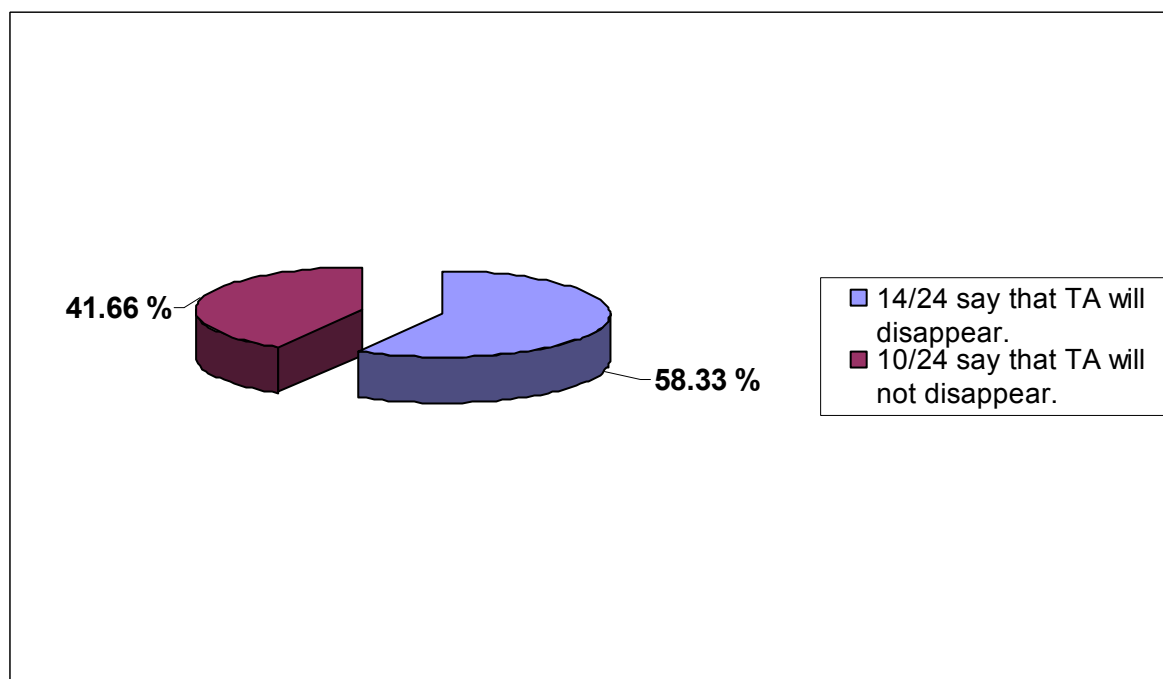


Fig 4.27. The total Percentages of the First Question of the Interview

Thus, most Tlemcen native speakers (58.33%) agree on the fact that TA will disappear one day.

- **Question 2:** Which gender, do you think, is using a lot this variety, men or women?

In this question, all male interviewees (12/12) assert that women do use TA more than men. According to them, the use of the glottal stop is a matter of women. Similarly, all women (12/12) say that women are more conservative than men in using the urban variety. As a conclusion, all Tlemcen native speakers agree on the fact that women use TA more than men.

- **Question 3:** According to you, what makes many females avoid using TA during adolescence?

When asking the question to males, 6/6 of them aged between [11-25], who asserted in Q1 that TA will disappear, agree on the fact that age plays a prominent role in language change. They argue that during adolescence, youngsters are moving from childhood to adulthood, they are in a transition phase, the reason for which they want to impose themselves by showing off through different ways: clothes, hair-dressing, behaviour, and language. As a result, when using the language, they try to use innovations, borrowings which may affect their native language. Those of [35-80] (5/6 as shown in Q1), say that adolescents prefer using the rural variety in order to escape from their parents' authority. It is worth mentioning that during adolescence, most girls mix between the urban and the rural variety, the result is a mixed variety in which most of the time the glottal stop is avoided. Sometimes, the glottal stop is used but the suffix morpheme (of the 2nd person feminine verb) is not dropped, for example, a girl may say the following: [ʔadʒi ħəlli lbæ:b wdʒibi lməftæ:ħ] instead of : [ʔadʒi ħəl lbæ:b wdʒib əl məftæ:ħ] meaning 'Come to open the door and give me the key'¹²⁰. Boys, on the other hand want to have a certain place and status in the society, the reason for which they avoid the 'effeminate' language, as considered by non-native speakers. Consequently, they confirm that age plays a role in language change. The

¹²⁰ In Tlemcen Arabic (the urban variety), the suffix morpheme of the 2nd person feminine verb is dropped. The result is that no distinction can be made between genders when addressing a person. For example [ku:l] meaning 'eat!'; [ʃu:f] meaning 'look!' are used for a man as well as a woman.

remaining interviewer (1/6), who says that TA will not disappear in Q1, says that age doesn't affect language at all.

On the other hand, most females (8/12), who said in Q1 that TA will not disappear, assert that most girls remain using the local variety even during adolescence and only a few of them prefer using the mixed or the rural variety to some extent but when being adult, these will move from using the mixed variety or the rural one towards embracing again and keeping their native variety including the glottal stop. This latter will be transmitted to the future generations. They argue that age doesn't play an important role in language change. The remaining females interviewees (4/12), 3 of whom approved that TA will disappear¹²¹ and another female, argue that during adolescence, girls prefer using either the mixed variety or the rural one and will not change it when being adult. Yet, they were not able to give us valid arguments.

Gender	Total answers	Percentage
Males	- 11/12 say that age affects language change.	- 91.66%
	- 1/12 says that age does not affect language change.	- 8.33%
Females	- 4/12 say that age affects language change.	- 33.33%
	- 8/12 say that age does not affect language change	- 66.66%
Total	- 15/24 say that age affects language change. - 9/24 say that age does not affect language change.	- 62.5 % - 37.5%

Table 4. 44. The Total Answers and Percentages of the Third Question of the Interview

¹²¹ See question1.

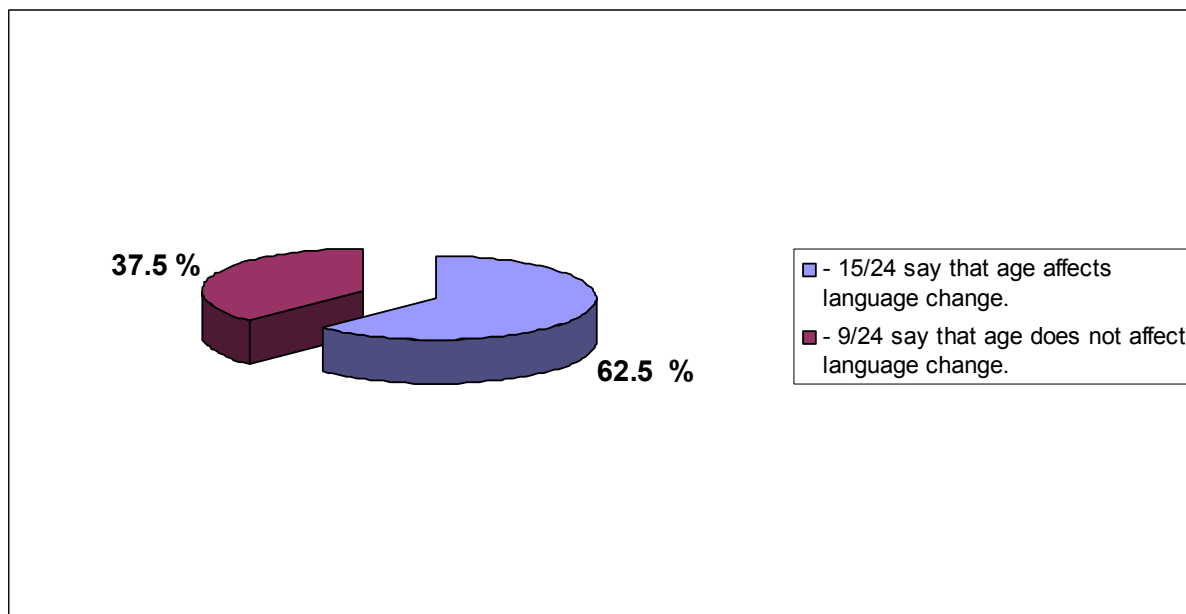


Fig. 4.28. The total Percentages of the Third Question of the Interview

To sum up, and considering the above results, we can deduce that the social reasons, the person's personality, age, and gender are motives which make Tlemcen native speakers, more importantly females recede from using the local variety. It is worth mentioning that this phenomenon is more noticeable during adolescence.¹²²

4.2.3. The Matched-guise technique

The current procedure aims at gathering more qualitative and quantitative data, it is worth remembering that this technique was firstly introduced and used in sociolinguistics by Lambert. The purpose of the matched-guise test is to evaluate the judges' attitudes (in here, the judges are the older people of Tlemcen speech community, mainly the native speakers) towards the receding process of (TA) use more importantly among young girls. In order to measure their attitudes, we have asked them to fill in a table about the three language varieties that each guise-speaker used and on each of the three traits: urbanity, prestige, pleasantness, status, and consideration.

¹²² A study was carried out in 2012 and the results confirmed this (my magister dissertation entitled : Language Change and Lexical Variation in Youth Language:Tlemcen Speech Community.

a) Urbanity¹²³

Table 1: Which variety do you think is more urban?

Urban-----Rural

Guises	N = 30						
	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7= 0pts
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	14	12	4	0	0	0	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	0	0	0	0	5	11	14
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	6	5	4	5	4	3	3

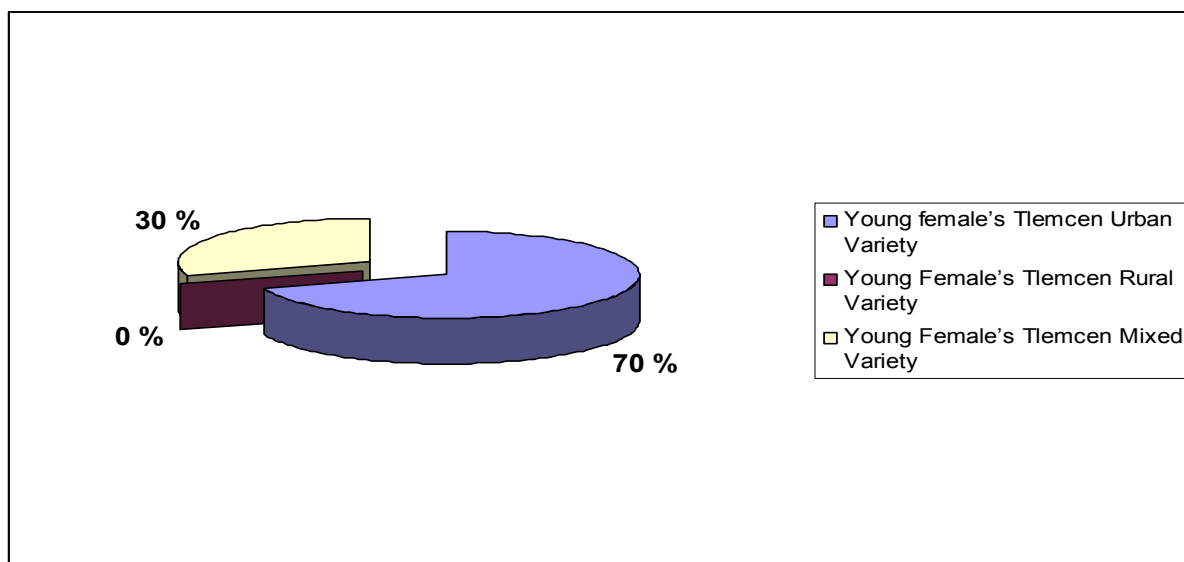


Fig 4.29. Tlemcen Adults' Evaluation of Urbanity

After analyzing the above scores, the results show that females' Tlemcen urban variety is perceived as the most urban and is ranked in the first position. The mixed variety is situated in the second one whereas the rural variety is the last one. Most of Tlemcen adults (native speakers) really appreciate TA¹²⁴ and consider it as the most urban variety. It is worth mentioning that the rural variety is not

¹²³ The tables dealing with the percentages are found in the appendices (see appendix E).

¹²⁴ TA refer to the urban variety.

considered as urban at all. Yet, the mixed one does have some features of urbanity since it has reached a score of 30%.

b) Prestige

Table 2: Which variety do you think is more prestigious?

More prestigious-----Less prestigious

Guises	N = 30						
	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7= 0pts
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	14	12	4	0	0	0	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	1	0	0	2	5	9	13
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	2	3	3	4	6	7	5

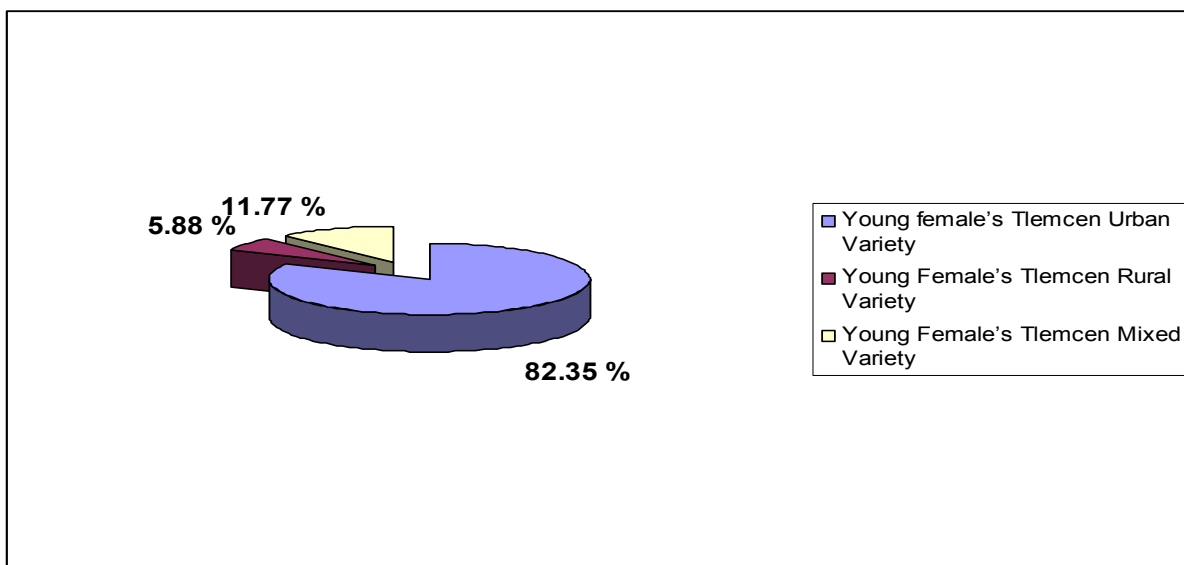


Fig 4.30. Tlemcen Adults' Evaluation of Prestige

Out of the analysis of the above pie-chart, the results show that females' urban variety is seen as the most prestigious. In this question, the 'judges' do appreciate it, meanwhile, and comparing with urbanity, the mixed variety doesn't have a significant score. In addition, and surprisingly, the rural variety has reached

5.88% which means that this variety is gaining time after time some prestige in Tlemcen speech community.

c) Pleasantness

Table3 : How pleasant do you find each variety ?

Pleasant-----Unpleasant

Guises	N = 30						
	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7= 0pts
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	19	5	4	2	0	0	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	2	1	1	6	7	8	5
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	7	4	1	1	1	7	9

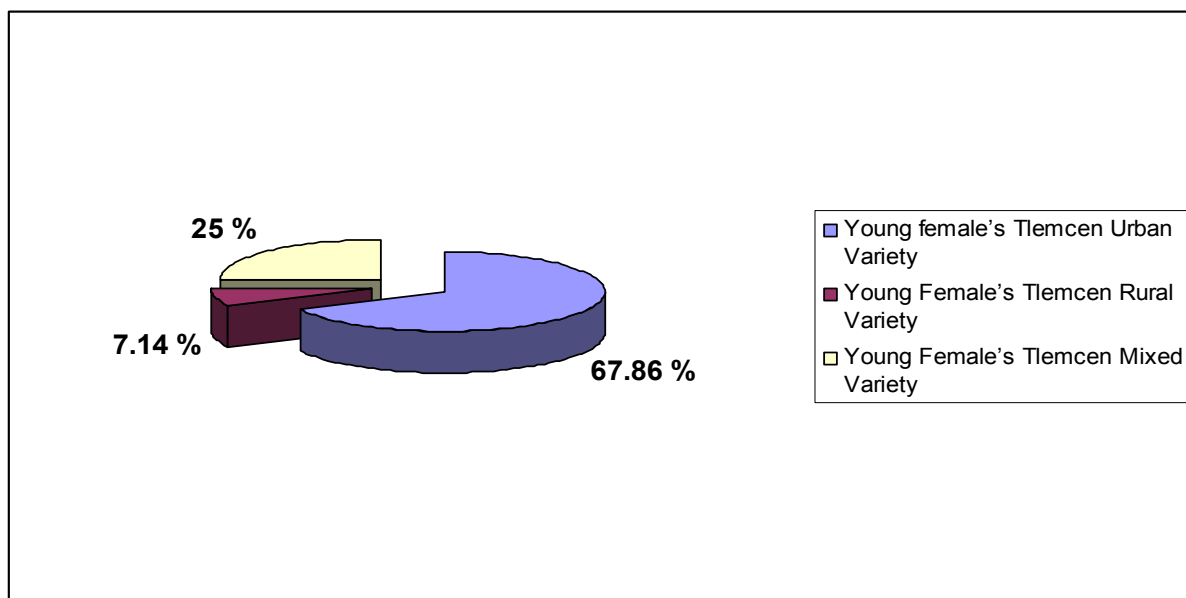


Fig 31. Tlemcen Adults' Evaluation of Pleasantness

The results reveal, here again, that TA is classified in the first position with a percentage of 67.86% while the mixed one is second with 25% and lastly, the rural

variety. According to these findings, we assert that TA is perceived as the most pleasing in Tlemcen city. What is worth mentioning is that the rural variety has reached a score of 7.14% of the overall percentage. Thus, it is considered as pleasant to some extent.

d) Status

Table 4: How do you consider the status of each variety?

High status-----Low status

Guises	N = 30						
	1= 6pts	2= 5pts	3= 4pts	4= 3pts	5= 2pts	6= 1pts	7= 0pts
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	12	12	5	1	0	0	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	2	1	1	4	5	8	9
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	3	3	3	4	5	6	6

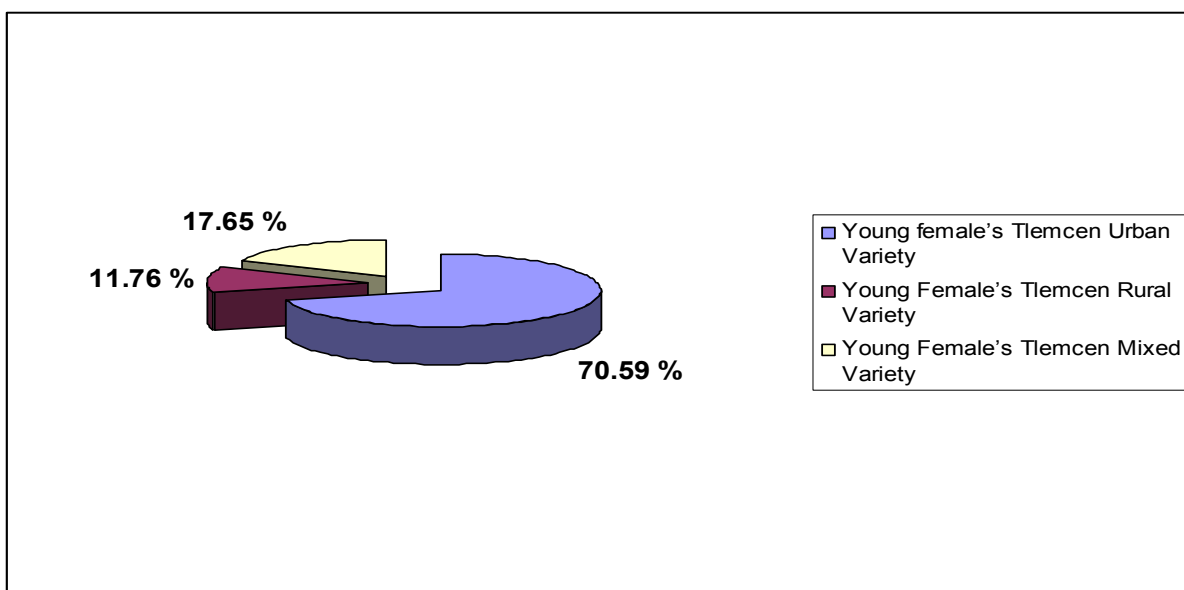


Fig 4.32. Tlemcen Adults' Evaluation of Status

Out of the analysis of the above pie-chart, the results show that, here again, the urban variety is on the top with 70.59%. TA is viewed higher than the two other varieties having a score of 17.65% and 11.76% respectively. Considering the results, we confirm that TA is considered as the highest in status. It is worth noting that more than in the previous question, the percentage of the rural variety is higher; This shows that this variety is gaining gradually a certain status in Tlemcen speech community.

e) Consideration

Table 5: Which variety is well considered by native speakers in Tlemcen speech community?

Well considered -----Badly considered

N = 30 Guises	1=	2=	3=	4=	5=	6=	7=
	6pts	5pts	4pts	3pts	2pts	1pts	0pts
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	11	8	6	5	0	0	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	2	2	4	5	5	6	6
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	4	4	6	5	4	4	3

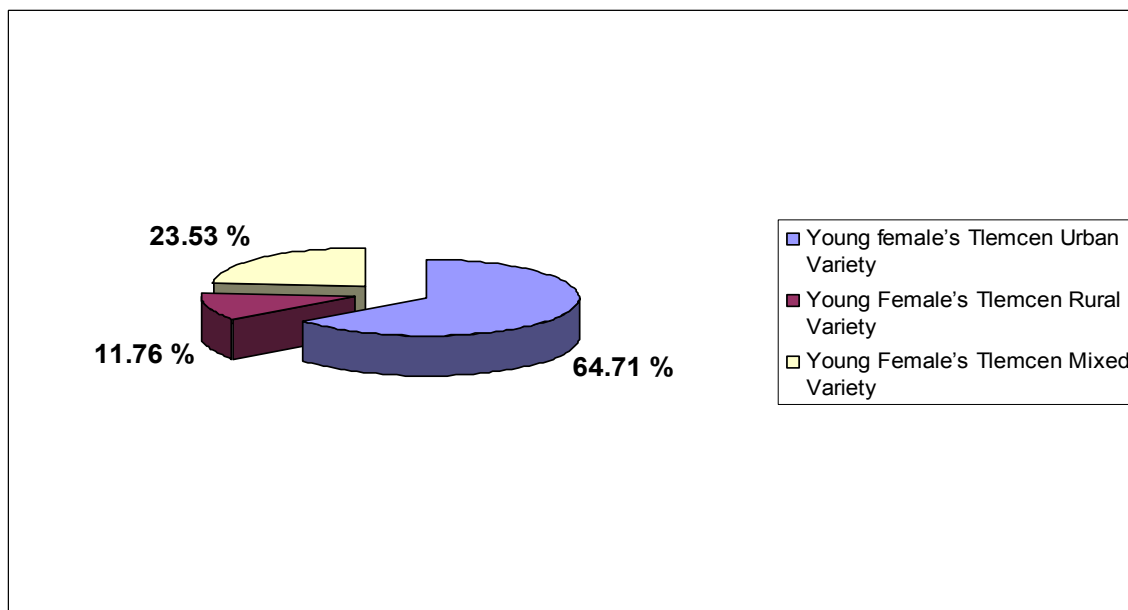


Fig 4.33. Tlemcen Adults' Evaluation of Consideration

The results of the final question are not very different from those of the previous one since the urban variety is the most considered with 64.71%. In the second position, we do find the mixed variety with a total score of 23.53%. Similarly with the former results, the rural variety has reached a certain consideration in the view of Tlemcen adults with a score of 11.76%.

4.3. Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

Part 1:

In considering the questionnaire results corresponding to the answers of Q1, Q2, Q4, Q6, we can deduce, according to informants' replies, men and women do not use language similarly. In fact, as it was already dealt with in section 1.2., the topic of women and men's speech has been of paramount importance to sociolinguists and gender has been considered as stated by Corbett, G. (1991:1) as a "fascinating subject". In Tlemcen speech community, people assert that men and women use language differently, this opinion has also been shared by many sociolinguists such as Lakoff 1975, Tannen 1994, Cameron 2002 who focused on

the differences between women and men's conversational styles. Studies in sociolinguistics have found that women are considered different from men in their use of linguistic variables. In addition, Labov and Trudgill have emphasized on community prestige norms as being the most salient feature in women's, as opposed to men's, linguistic behaviour. Moreover, it has been approved that since men and women are biologically different from each other, they do behave differently not only in the way they communicate but also in the way they try to convince each other (see section 2.3.1). As a result, studies on psychological gender differences have proved that while women use communication as a means to enhance social interaction and create relationships, men use language to exert social dominance.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, and according to the statistics (Q2 of the questionnaire / Q3 of the interview), it was found that age does affect language use and in Tlemcen speech community, both men and women agree on this. It is truism that they are more conscious of this phenomenon since Tlemcenian women in general, and mothers in particular do notice that their daughters, especially during adolescence, change their way of speaking, for example some young girls who have been accustomed by using TA including the glottal stop start rolling away from it and substituting it by the rural variety depending on the situations they are involved in.

Currently, age, which is one of the salient variables in sociolinguistics, has been taken into consideration by many sociolinguists since it enables them investigate language change over time. As we are concerned with dialect change in Tlemcen speech community, we have dealt with the study of TA in apparent time; this latter is concerned with studying the dialect change by comparing the speech of people from different age groups at one point of time. The target is to find out the differences that could indicate change, in other words, it aims at examining language change (in here dialect change) in progress¹²⁶. Dealing with the generation-specific approach, which aims at studying the language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community, the results of our research reveal that during adolescence, people's language or rather people's dialect is not

¹²⁵ Leaper, 1991 ; Maltz & Borcker, 1982 ; Wood, 1996 ; Mason 1994.

¹²⁶ Language change in progress was initiated by Labov (1963).

stable. It is worth stating that during adolescence, young people are influenced by a set of transitions which affect not only their behaviour but also their language, these can be biological changes, cognitive, emotional and social ones. In other words young people try to build and impose their personalities by showing off in different fields, eventually in language use.

According to the results of Q3 (questionnaire), it is noticed that Tlemcen dialect is widely used by females. Yet, 25.8 % of the total percentage of the informants questioned show that some females, more importantly youngsters ones, do recede from using the local variety. These age group cohorts should be taken into consideration since age is an important sociolinguistic variable that contributes in language change. It is generally assumed that people change their behaviour as they age, this change generally repeats itself in each generation leading to a linguistic change not only at the individual level (age grading) but also at the community level too (generational change).

As far as men and women's language is concerned, the scores obtained from Q4 reveal that women are more talkative and they apologize more than men. On the other hand, men interrupt more than women. Considering men and women's communicative strategies, we assume that gender affects linguistic forms and strategies; In other words, we may say that people's speech is gendered (i.e. it is influenced by gender). As a result, women's speech differs from that of men and this corresponds to the results of Q1. Since conversation is a social practice, when interacting men and women try to achieve and reach an upper position in the society. By doing so, they rely on some conversational strategies such as talkativeness, apologies and interruptions. Women are considered more talkative than men because they want to impose themselves in the society. As they are generally treated to be weak persons, they want to compete with men in reaching a valuable position in the society. On the other hand, they tend to use apologies more than men since it is assumed that they are more polite. In this sense, Coates (2003:126) asserts that: "women are more polite, indirect and collaborative in conversation". Concerning interruptions, men have been found to dominate the conversations by interrupting women. Similarly, Coates (1986: 100) argues that

“Since most interruptions are produced by men in mix-sex conversations, the speaker who falls silent is usually a woman”. Consequently, we confirm the premise that men and women use language differently. This ascertains hypothesis 1.

The scores obtained from Q5 reveal that most of the informants in Tlemcen speech community agree on the fact that the rural exodus affects Tlemcen dialect and its change. As a social factor, the rural exodus has led to the emergence of a mixed urban vernacular, it is a variety that encompasses a mixture of urban-rural speech. It is worth mentioning that Tlemcen was a city which offers huge opportunities of work. In this respect, Lawless, R. I. and Blake, G. H. (1976:76) say that: “The scale which this movement achieved during the colonial period was quite new. It came to form a constant factor in relations between town and countryside, forging new links, economic and social, between urban and rural areas”.

The important internal migration which took place in the pre-colonial period and lasted over many years till the 80’s has led to a constant contact between Tlemcen native speakers and its rural ones. The result was a permanent language contact leading to a change of the dialect of Tlemcen.

According to the results of Q 5, most men and women think that the rural exodus does influence Tlemcen dialect which might cause its change to a certain extent. This is noticeable in the speech of both genders, more importantly in the speech of men who most of the times opt for the use of the rural variety.

In considering the results of Q6, we may assume that men are more concerned with dialect change, this confirms hypothesis 2. In addition, we notice that women’s language is sometimes affected by youth language, it may contain some innovations and new expressions that didn’t exist before, but to a lesser degree than men. This phenomenon is more important during adolescence. Thus, we may deduce that youth language may influence TA.

The results of Q7 reveal that Tlemcenian adolescents of both genders but more importantly males try to adopt and accommodate features of the rural variety, this may generally lead to language convergence, or more appropriately in our case to dialect convergence; by doing so, they aim at reducing the differences between them and the non-native speakers. Concerning the accommodation theory proposed

by Howard Giles, convergence plays a role in decreasing the social distance or gap between people (see section 1.6.2.1.) the reason for which Tlemcen native speakers, more importantly males, tend to avoid TA including the use of the glottal stop. Thus, we may say that Tlemcen dialect is nowadays witnessing a dialect levelling which involves the eradication of some linguistic variants due to language or dialect contact (the rural variety). Consequently, we confirm hypothesis 2.

As discussed before, Tlemcenian native speakers do not approve the change which is occurring in Tlemcen dialect. Most of men and women, and according to the answers of Q8, argue that by losing TA, the Tlemcenians will gradually lose their culture and their personalities. Consequently, they show negative attitudes towards this change. As a result, we confirm hypothesis 4.

Part 2:

A/ You are from a Tlemcenian family (native speaker of Tlemcen) and you live in Tlemcen.

The scores of this question (Q1) reveal that TA is not widely used by native speakers when interacting in Tlemcen speech community. It is also showed in the results related to this question that males belonging to the age group of [11-18] most of the time do not use the local variety (13/14 i.e. 92.85% of them do not), in addition it was also showed that some females belonging to the same age group (6/14 i.e. 42.85%) also do not use TA. As a result, and as it was confirmed in Q2 of the first part of the questionnaire, age affects TA since it is found that Tlemcen native speakers aged between [11-18] tend to use the rural variety in addition to the use of some new words and expressions such as innovations

In considering the results of this question (Q2), we deduce that Tlemcen dialect is more importantly used by females especially with native speakers. Yet, in some cases, especially when interacting with non-native ones, Tlemcen native speakers tend to roll away from using TA; this will lead us to discuss the importance and the role of the addressee. In other words, the person to whom we are talking plays an important role in the choice of the variety.

The scores obtained from this question (Q3) prove that most of Tlemcen native speakers (92 %) are proud of using TA. A small portion of them (8 %) avoid using it with non-native speakers. Here again, we assert the importance of the interlocutor including his / her gender, social class..., in addition to the context in choosing the language. These can be considered among the motives that make Tlemcenian native speakers, more importantly females recede from using the local variety.

In considering the results of this question (Q4), we find that most of the informants do not use TA when being outside Tlemcen speech community. Yet, what is worth mentioning is that sometimes and depending on some situations, females may use it. For example, when meeting a Tlemcenian native speaker outside Tlemcen, they do use TA.

As shown in the analysis of (Q5/1 and Q5/2), men do not use French in order to avoid using the glottal when addressing to non-native speakers. Moreover, only one woman (1 / 3) tends to use French words to avoid using the glottal stop. As a result, 3/ 4 of all native speakers, who use TA with non-native Tlemcenians, do stick to the use of their local variety and are proud of it. Yet, the percentage of Tlemcenians (4/50 of Tlemcen native speakers)¹²⁷ using the local variety with non-native speakers remains very low, it represents 8% of the whole Tlemcenian population only. Hence, we can deduce from such results that Tlemcen Arabic is widely used and spread among native speakers only, it tends to change or gradually disappear when interacting with non-native speakers.

B/ You are not from a Tlemcenian family (non-native speaker of Tlemcen) but you live in Tlemcen.

In considering the scores obtained from the first question, we assume that most of non-native Tlemcenians are not really influenced by the local variety. The majority tends to keep using the rural one which is becoming more and more widespread in Tlemcen speech community. As a result, the rural form of Arabic is taking a very important status in the Tlemcenian society and is supposedly

¹²⁷ See table 4.13.

becoming the dominant variety in Tlemcen city. In spite of this phenomenon, we have to mention that a small number of this category of informants do sometimes try to imitate the Tlemcenians (the native speakers) and do sometimes use the urban variety. This category is represented by women more than men, 9.82 % of both genders always do use TA, and 12.5 % of them sometimes do, the total is 22.32 % of both genders are influenced by the urban variety and try to speak like the native speakers; the intricate question is: what makes this portion of non-native speakers use TA (the urban variety)? The answer will be provided in the following sections since they are closely linked to this one.

Similarly with the answers of the previous question (Q1), just a few number of non-native speakers try to use the glottal stop when being in Tlemcen. It is worth mentioning that when comparing the percentages of the use of TA and the one dealing with the use of the glottal stop by non-native speakers, we have found that they are not very far from each other; concerning the use of TA 9.82 % of non-native speakers always do and 12.5 % sometimes do, whereas for the use of the glottal stop, 11.60 % always do and 8.92 % sometimes do. As a result, we confirm that the total percentage concerning the use of TA among the non-native speakers in Tlemcen speech community is of 22.32 %, whereas the total percentage concerning the use of the glottal stop among them is of 20.53 %. From these scores, we can deduce that in Tlemcen speech community, most of non native speakers do neither use TA, nor use the glottal stop. Yet, there is a small portion of this population, mainly women who try to speak as native speakers by using TA as well as the glottal stop. This category of people try to accommodate their speech. The result is the emergence of a mixed variety which may contain features of the urban as well as the rural varieties.

We can deduce from these statistics that those non-native speakers who sometimes use TA may use it without using the glottal stop, they just try to imitate the native speakers by using the urban variety but failing sometimes in using the correct Tlemcenian dialect since it is not an easy task to adapt one's language. For example, a non-native speaker may say: [jib əl qarʕɑ] instead of [djib əl

ʔarʔɑ] in the pure Tlemcenian dialect meaning ‘bring the bottle’; or she may say: [tiyəbti lʔɑħwɑ] instead of [tiyəbt əl ʔɑħwɑ] meaning ‘have you prepared the coffee?’ or [ʔərwaħi nɑʔʔɑsmu təffaħa] instead of [ʔadji nɑʔʔɑsmu təffaħa], meaning ‘come to cut the apple’. This mixture of urban-rural dialect which may lead to language convergence¹²⁸. Concerning the small number of people of non-native speakers who try to accommodate their speech to imitate the native speakers and to reduce the differences¹²⁹. Moreover they move their speech closer to that of native speakers to decrease the social gap between them. So, in which situations and when do these non-native speakers try to speak as the native ones?

When analyzing the scores of Q3, we found that most of non-native speakers 22 /23 (i.e. 95.65 %), especially women, use the glottal stop when addressing to the Tlemcenians i.e. to Tlemcen native speakers. For them, being a Tlemcenian speaker is a sort of prestige and of high status. Only 1/23 (i.e. 4.34 %) of non-native speakers, who is a women, does use the glottal stop but not to be considered as a Tlemcenian, it is just because she is accustomed with its use in Tlemcen speech community. In spite of the small percentage, we think that this woman does use TA including the glottal stop unconsciously with non-native speakers because of the long-term contact with the native speakers but in fact, it is not TA but just the mixed variety, which according to her is considered as Tlemcen dialect.¹³⁰

As a result, we may deduce that a dialect shift is to some extent happening in Tlemcen speech community, but it is not really visible and considerable since the statistics obtained show a very small number of women who are concerned with. In such a situation, the dialect shift is occurring from the rural towards the urban one.

As it was shown in the scores dealing with Q4, we can confirm that the glottal stop [ʔ] is a feature which is strictly connected with Tlemcen dialect which is in its turn strictly linked to Tlemcen speech community since almost all the

¹²⁸ Siegel (1985 :367). See chapter one (1.6.2.1.).

¹²⁹ The accommodation theory. See chapter one (1.6.2.1.)

¹³⁰ It is assumed and witnessed that non-native speakers can never speak a pure TA.

informants (except one) being non-native speakers assert that they do not use the global stop outside Tlemcen.

In relating both parts of Q5, we notice that the rural variety is the dominant one in Tlemcen speech community (as already shown in Q1 and Q2). According to the statistics related to this question, we notice that most non-native speakers (92 of them i.e. 82.14 %) in most of the times do use the rural variety with the Tlemcenians. Males are more concerned than females in using the rural variety with native speakers since they consider Tlemcen dialect, especially the use of the glottal stop as one of its stigmatized features; the use of the [g] is better valued and considered. Yet, quite surprisingly, a few number of non-native speakers 16 /56 women (i.e. 28.57 %) and 4 / 56 men (i.e. 7.14 %) for a total of 20 /112 informants of both genders (i.e. 17.85 % of both them are rather influenced by the urban variety. In considering gender, we found that females, more than men, are influenced by Tlemcen dialect and do use it, or rather try to use it when interacting with the native Tlemcenians. As a result, we also confirm that the inhabitants of Tlemcen including native and non-native speakers tend to use the rural variety which is the dominant one in Tlemcen speech community.

Part 3:

In this part of the questionnaire, some vocabulary used in everyday conversation has been examined. The words chosen are taken from Tlemcen Arabic which is used by Tlemcen inhabitants including native as well as non-native speakers. Among the 16 proposed words¹³¹ with their different occurrences and realizations, the results show that the prevailing variety is the mixed one since 8 alternatives among 16 are dominant. The rural variety occurs in the second position with 7 words whereas the urban one is ranked in the last position with one alternative only. According to the scores, we notice that Tlemcen inhabitants tend to adopt features of the rural variety by accommodating them; the result is the emergence of a new vernacular named the mixed variety. Thus, it is noticeable that the urban variety tends to be gradually substituted by the mixed one leading to the widespread of the rural variety as well. The final outcome is a dialect shift.

¹³¹ The words are presented in part 3 of the questionnaire.

Concerning the first question of the interview, most of Tlemcen native speakers (58.33%) agree on the fact that TA will disappear one day. On the other hand, some of them (41.66%) do not think so. The results of the second question reveal that all Tlemcen native speakers approve the fact that women use TA more than men. At last, and according to the answers of the third request, we found that most of Tlemcen native speakers (62.5%) agree on the fact that age affects language change. Thus, one of the major reasons which make Tlemcen females avoid using TA is their age. Other reasons may be stated such as the addressee including his / her gender, social class in addition to the context where the discussion is occurring. On the contrary, some of them (37.5%) think that this is not true and that language change cannot be affected by age.

At last, and considering the results of the matched-guise technique, the findings revealed that the urban variety is the most prestigious, the pleasant, and the well-considered variety in Tlemcen speech community. It also has the highest status comparing with the mixed and rural varieties. Moreover, it was shown that Tlemcen adults showed negative attitudes towards the rural one since the percentage of urbanity was of 0% for this variety. It is worth noting that the mixed variety is more or less appreciated by older Tlemcen native speakers since this latter was classified in the second position. Yet, it is of great importance to mention that the rural variety is taking an advantage to some extent in Tlemcen city in terms of prestige, pleasantness, status, and consideration. This can be explained in terms of the percentages obtained from the ‘judges’ answers. As a conclusion, we may predict that the urban variety may in the future be substituted by the mixed variety or by the rural one if no measures are to be taken to preserve it.

4.4. Suggestions and Recommendations

Throughout the different research instruments used in our study, it was shown that lexical variation and language change does occur mainly during adolescence, more importantly among both genders. Yet, females may play a prominent role in its stability since it was proved that during adulthood, old

Tlemcenian females tend to re-use their native variety which is TA. More than this, they also transmit it to their children in the future.

Since, the phenomenon of dialect shift or more exactly dialect levelling is occurring in our city, we, as female native speakers, urge other females, especially mothers to preserve our native dialect even if it is stigmatized. This can be done only if we do pay attention to the way our children speak, especially our daughters. We have to ask them not to use the rural variety at home and if possible avoid using it even outside it since TA is part of our culture, our patrimony. We ought to explain to the future generations that we must be proud of our language, our dialect which shapes our personality and identity since TA not only makes Tlemcen different from the other cities but also makes it famous in Algeria.

Finally, it would be valuable on the one hand to motivate the future post-graduates in sociolinguistics to investigate deeper in such domain, and very interesting to supplement the findings of this research on the other one.

4.5. Conclusion

Through a highly stigmatized dialect in Algeria, the current research has attempted to shed light on a sociolinguistic and attitudinal phenomenon which is dialect shift in relation with gender in Tlemcen speech community. From the results we found that though Tlemcenian males are more concerned than females in using the rural variety, the spread of this latter is really noticeable; during adolescence not only boys prefer using the rural variety but girls too. As a result, Tlemcen dialect is in a position of conflict since the rural variety is taking an important place in the Tlemcenian society. In order to rescue the Tlemcen Arabic and to maintain its value, Tlemcenian should be aware of this dialect change and its negative impact on Tlemcen culture and patrimony.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

As already formulated at the outset of the study, the final objective of this research has been to explore the patterns of lexical variation in relation with gender, and its effect on dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community. Our aim was to know whether Tlemcen dialect is still resisting the drastic changes that occur in the society and its language or whether it will inevitably be substituted by the rural variety or a mixed one. In addition, we wanted to show the role of Tlemcen females, more importantly the older ones, in the maintenance of their dialect.

This research is based on sociolinguistic theoretical as well as empirical studies which assert that almost any language coexists with some other varieties or dialects which are quite different. This divergence is generally due to some regional or social factors and the variances may be either grammatical, phonological, or lexical. Throughout this research work, we have attempted to elicit the effect of dialect stigmatization on its shift. Hence, it has been carried out to confirm or reject the stated hypotheses.

The thesis includes a theoretical part which is mainly devoted to the concepts related to review of literature in addition to ones denoting language implications from a sociolinguistic outlook and a practical one which deals with the methodology including data analysis and scoring, interpretation of the main results. A final part is concerned with suggestions and recommendations.

Chapter one has dealt with the presentation of the literature review. It has been based on the concepts which relate to language variation and language change, including dialect change and its effect on the society. All these notions have been explored in relation with two important sociolinguistic variables which are: gender and age.

Chapter two has provided insights related to language implications from a sociolinguistic perspective. It has allowed the researcher to deal with the study of gender, its role in speech interactions. It has also highlighted the different communicative functions used by men and women leading to different language attitudes. Moreover, this chapter has shed light on language variation, more precisely the lexical one, in Tlemcen speech community.

Chapter three has been mainly devoted to the research methodology and data collection. Research instruments have been presented, procedures which have been followed by the researcher have been explained, and data have been scored and analyzed. The analysis has been achieved via different procedures, these have been the questionnaire, the interview, and the matched-guise technique.

Chapter four has analyzed the findings which have been discussed and interpreted. Finally, some suggestions have been proposed by the researcher in order to try to find a solution to the problem under study.

This research work has exposed the problem of dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community which is mainly due to the stigmatization of the urban variety, including the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] and its gradual substitution by the rural and mixed varieties. It has also epitomized the role of gender and age explaining that the maintenance or loss of Tlemcen dialect is closely dependent on these social variables.

Considering the first hypothesis, it was found throughout our investigations that men and women do not use the language similarly. The answers of the questionnaire's questions (Q1-Q2-Q4-Q6) revealed that women are more talkative than men, and they apologize more. On the other hand, men interrupt more than women. Thus, men and women's speech is quite different, the reason for which many linguists agree on the fact that the way people speak is gendered.

Studying language in relation to gender has interested linguists and anthropologists a lot, and since the 1960s, it has been the core of sociolinguistic study. At first, men's speech was considered as the norm but in the late 1960s, things changed in the sense that many feminists, and thanks to the Western Women's Movements which was the result of the Civil Right Movements in America, started claiming their consideration, they wanted to be well considered and valued in the society. The feminists believe that the way they speak compared to men is at the origin of female weakness.

As in sociolinguistics, investigating men and women's speech was studied in terms of conversational strategies in almost all mixed-conversations, men have been found to dominate, this by using interruptions and overlaps (it was also proved in Q4 of the questionnaire). To sum, we argue that since men and women are biologically different, they also behave and speak differently which confirms our first hypothesis.

Regarding the second hypothesis, the results of the questionnaire demonstrate that males play a key role in dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community since according to the results of Q7, the majority of males do not use the urban variety, they generally tend to use, adopt, and accommodate features of the rural one aiming at reducing the differences between them and the non-native speakers on the one hand, and at decreasing the social distance between them as dealt with by Howard Giles in his accommodation theory.

In addition, and taking into consideration the results of Q6, we notice that even women's speech is sometimes affected by the rural dialect but to a lesser degree than men. The results of part 3 also show that the mixed variety is the dominant variety in Tlemcen speech community. As a result, we can assert that substituting the urban variety by the rural one is a step towards dialect convergence. In this sense, Crowley and Bower (2010:269) assert that "language convergence is a type of linguistic change in which languages come to structurally resemble one

another as a result of prolonged language contact and mutual interference". The outcome may lead to the appearance of koinéization or dialect levelling. As it was predicted, the results prove that males play a decisive role in dialect shift in Tlemcen speech community, and this confirms hypothesis 2.

Concerning the third hypothesis, the results related to Q3 show that Tlemcen dialect is widely used by females. Yet, 25.8 % of the total percentage of the informants questioned show that some females, more importantly youngsters ones, do recede from using the local variety. As a result, we assume that during adolescence, and since young people are influenced by a set of transitions such as the biological, the cognitive, the emotional, or the social changes, which affect their behaviour and their language, teenagers' speech is not stable. Consequently, we assert that age and gender are important factors which may lead young females avoid using the local variety. Thus, the third hypothesis is also confirmed.

It is worth mentioning, and according to the statistics, not all Tlemcenian young females recede in using the local variety during adolescence, only some of them do.

As far as the fourth hypothesis is concerned, the scores related to Q8 on the one hand, and the ones related with the matched-guise technique, the attitudinal procedure, show that Tlemcen native speakers show negative attitudes towards the use of the rural variety, especially by the young girls.

It should be mentioned that surprisingly, the results of Q2 (Part 2) reveal that 9.82% of non-native speakers always try to use TA when speaking, 12.5% sometimes do, whereas 11.6% do always use the glottal stop [ʔ] and 8.92% sometimes do. As a result, we notice that even the majority of non-native speakers do not use TA and the glottal stop, there is a small number of them who try to speak like native speakers. In fact, they try using the urban variety but the result is a mixed one having the features of both the urban and the rural ones. In our opinion,

we think that non-native speakers are and will never be able to speak as native speakers do when using TA.

Lexical variation and its effect on dialect or language change has always been of great interest for sociolinguists. By exploring this field and considering gender, we have attempted throughout this study to explore the intricate situation which Tlemcen speech community is witnessing nowadays: dialect shift. Yet, many questions such as: What are the different strategies used by men and women (native and non-native speakers) in everyday conversations in Tlemcen speech community? Will the mixed variety definitely substitute Tlemcen dialect in the future? If yes, what will be the effect of dialect mixture including the rural, urban and mixed varieties on Tlemcen society? These questions are to be considered for further post doctoral research.

Finally, our ultimate purpose in this study has been to find out some solutions and providing some suggestions in order to preserve Tlemcen Arabic. To end our sociolinguistic exploration, we assert that no dialect or language is better or worse than the other one, it is just different.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Questionnaire
(Arabic Version)

استبيان

يهدف هذا الاستبيان الى جمع البيانات و ذلك للبحث في الاختلاف اللغوى بين الجنسين (الذكر و اللأنتى) في مدينة تلمسان اضافة الى دراسة التغير اللغوى لدى الاناث (كبارا و صغارا) محاولين تسليط الضوء على مدى تمسك أو تخلى أفراد مجتمع تلمسان (نساء و رجال) عاى لهجتهم الاصلية الهدف من هذا هوتحضير أطروحة الدكتوراه فى اللسانيات الاجتماعية.
يرجى منكم الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة.
ملاحظة:

- اذا كنت من عائلة تلمسانية أجب (ى) فى الجزء الثانى عن القسم أ.
- اذا كنت من عائلة غير تلمسانية أجب (ى) فى الجزء الثانى عن القسم ب.
السن:

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

الجزء الاول:

- اختر (ى) إجابة واحدة فقط من فضلك. ضع (ى) علامة X فى المكان المناسب.
(1) هل تعتقد ان هناك اختلاف بين المرأة و الرجل فى استعمال اللغة ؟
نعم لا
(2) هل تعتقد أن عامل السن يلعب دورا هاما فى الاختلاف اللغوى بين الجنسين؟
نعم لا
(3) فى نظرك المرأة التلمسانية متمسكة بلهجتها التلمسانية فى كل الحالات و المواقف ؟
نعم لا
(4) فى نظرك من يتميز ؟
- بالكلام الكثير المرأة
- بالمقاطعة عند الكلام المرأة
- بالاعتذار أكثر المرأة الرجل
(5) هل يلعب النزوح الريفى فى التأثير على اللهجة التلمسانية و تغييرها ؟
نعم لا
(6) من هم الأكثر استعمالا فى وقتنا الحالى للمفردات الشبابية الجديدة ؟
الرجال النساء
(7) فى رأيك لماذا تتخلى الكثير من البنات فى وقتنا الحاضر عن استعمال اللهجة التلمسانية ؟

8) ما رأيك في تغير اللهجة التلمسانية و فقدانها ؟

الجزء الثاني :

القسم أ: أنت من عائلة تلمسانية (أى اسمك تلمسانى) وتقطن/تقطنين (تسكن/تسكنين) بتلمسان.

س 1: هل تستعمل (ين) اللهجة التلمسانية عندما تتحدث في مدينتك ؟

نعم لا فى بعض الاحيان

س 2: ادا كانت اجابتك اجابية مع من ؟

أ- مع التلمسانيين
 ب- مع الغير تلمسانيين
 ج- مع النساء مع الرجال مع النساء و الرجال

س 3: لماذا ؟

أ- لكي تعرف (ين) بأنك تلمسانى (ية)/لكي تقتخر (ين)
 ب- لكي لا تعرف (ين) بأنك تلمسانى (ية). [أ] / [ب] غير محبوب من طرف الغير تلمسانيين
 استعمال

س 4: هل تستعمل (ين) اللهجة التلمسانية عندما تتحدث (ين) خارج مدينتك ؟

نعم لا فى بعض الاحيان فى معظم الاحيان
 س 5 : عندما تتحدث (ين) مع الغير تلمسانيين هل تستعمل (ين) اللغة الفرنسية لى لا تستعمل (ي) اللهجة
 و خاصة [أ] / [ب] التلمسانية ؟

نعم لا فى بعض الاحيان فى معظم الاحيان

س5/أ:

لماذا؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

القسم ب: أنت لست من عائلة تلمسانية ولكن تقطن (ين) / (تسكن (ين)) بتلمسان منذ عدة سنين.

س1: هل تحاول (ين) التكلم مثل التلمسانيين عندما تكون (ين) في مدينة تلمسان؟

نعم لا في بعض الاحيان

س2: هل تستعمل (ين) [أ] / [ب] عندما تكون (ين) في مدينة تلمسان؟

نعم لا في بعض الاحيان

س3: اذا كانت الاجابة بنعم مع من؟

مع التلمسانيين مع الغير تلمسانيين

س3/أ: لماذا؟ لكي تعتبر (ين) كواحد(ة) من التلمسانيين (التلمسانيات)؟

نعم لا

س4: هل تستعمل (ين) [أ] / [ب] عندما تكون (ين) خارج مدينة تلمسان؟

نعم لا في بعض الاحيان

س5: هل تتكلم (ين) باللهجة الغير تلمسانية عندما تتحدث (ين) مع التلمسانيون (و التلمسانيات)؟

نعم لا في بعض الاحيان

س5/أ: لماذا؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

الجزء الثالث:

س / ما هي الكلمة التي تستعملها (تستعملينها) كثيرا في كلامك من أجل تسمية ما يلي :

- 1- je fais: نواس نعمل ندير
- 2- Je regarde نخزر نشوف
- 3- Je cache نحيد نخب
- 4- Qu'est ce que tu as? أشبيك واشبيك مالك
- 5- Bien comme il faut: أداد نيشان غاي
- 6- Attends: أنتى أردجى سنى ريض
- 7- Viens أدم آج أرواح
- 8- Avare : بأطاط جيعان صوك
- 9- Doucement : بل أد بشوي بتاويل
- 10- C'est le mien : ديالى نتاعى تاعى
- 11- Ma place : موطعى موضعى بلاصتى
- 12- les œufs : ولادجداد ولادجداد البيض
- 13- Je peux : نندجم نأد نقدر نقد

- 14- Beaucoup : بزاف عرام
- 15- Je ferme نبلع نغلاً
- 16- Fatigué(e) مصهوط(ة) عيان(ة)

شكرا لتعاونكم (كن) و تفهمكم (كن)

Q8: What do you think about the change of Tlemcen dialect and its loss?

Part 2:

A/ You are from a Tlemcenian family (native speaker of Tlemcen) and you live in Tlemcen.

Q1: Do you use Tlemcen dialect when interacting in your town?

Yes No Sometimes

Q2: If yes, with whom?

- With Tlemcenians
- With non-Temcenians

Q3: Why?

- a) To be identified as a Tlemcenian person (a sort of prestige).
- b) In order not to be recognized as a Tlemcenian person. The use of [ʔ] / [ʔ̣] is stigmatized in the view of non-native speakers.

Q4: Do you use TA when being outside your speech community (i.e., do you keep using it)?

Yes no sometimes most of the times

Q5: When communicating with non-native speakers do you use French words to avoid using the [ʔ] ?

Yes no sometimes most of the times

Q5/a :

Why?.....
.....

A/ You are not from a Tlemcenian family (non-native speaker of Tlemcen) but you live in Tlemcen.

Q1: Do you try to speak like the Tlemcenians when being in Tlemcen?

Yes no sometimes

Q2: Do you use the glottal stop [ʔ] / [ʔ̣] when being in Tlemcen?

Yes no sometimes

Q3: If yes, with whom?

- With Tlemcenians
- With non-Temcenians

Q3/a : Why? To be considered as a Tlemcenian person ?

Yes no

Q4: Do you use the glottal stop [ʔ] / [أ] when being outside Tlemcen?

Yes no sometimes

Q5: Do you use the rural variety when addressing Tlemcenians?

Yes no sometimes

Q5/ a: Why?

Part 3: Which verbal phrases or expressions do you use when speaking?

1- I do نواس نعمل ندير

2- I see نخزر نشوف

3- I hide نحيد نخب

4- What's the matter ? ماشيك واشيبك مالك

5- Well done : أداد نيشان غاي

6- Wait!: أنتى أردجى سنى ربيض

7- Come! آج آج أرواح

8- Avarious : بأطاط جيعان صوك

9- Slowly : بل أد بشوي بتاويل

10- It's mine : دبالى نتاعى ناعى

- 11- My place: بلاصتى موضعى موطعى
- 12- The eggs : البيض ولاجداد ولادجداد
- 13- I can: نقد نقدر نأد نندجم
- 14- A lot of : بزاف عرام
- 15- I close: نبلع نغلأ
- 16- Tired مصهوط(ة) عيان(ة)

Thank you for your collaboration and understanding

Appendix C

The Matched-guise technique

Attitudes' Questionnaire

1- English Version

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

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

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variety 1 :							
Urban	_	_	_	_	_	_	Rural
More prestigious	_	_	_	_	_	_	Less prestigious
Pleasant	_	_	_	_	_	_	Unpleasant
High-status	_	_	_	_	_	_	Low-status
Well considered	_	_	_	_	_	_	Badly considered

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variety 2 :							
Urban	_	_	_	_	_	_	Rural
More prestigious	_	_	_	_	_	_	Less prestigious
Pleasant	_	_	_	_	_	_	Unpleasant
High-status	_	_	_	_	_	_	Low-status
Well considered	_	_	_	_	_	_	Badly considered

Variety 3 :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Urban	_		_	_	_	_	Rural
More prestigious		_	_	_	_	_	Less prestigious
Pleasant		_	_	_	_	_	Unpleasant
High-status		_	_	_	_	_	Low-status
Well considered			_	_	_	_	Badly considered

Variety 4:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Urban	_		_	_	_	_	Rural
More prestigious		_	_	_	_	_	Less prestigious
Pleasant		_	_	_	_	_	Unpleasant
High-status		_	_	_	_	_	Low-status
Well considered			_	_	_	_	Badly considered

Variety 5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Urban	_		_	_	_	_	Rural
More prestigious		_	_	_	_	_	Less prestigious
Pleasant		_	_	_	_	_	Unpleasant
High-status		_	_	_	_	_	Low-status
Well considered			_	_	_	_	Badly considered

Appendix D

Matched-guise technique

Questionnaire d'Attitudes

2- French Version (Version Française)

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

1- La façon de parler de la personne est :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variété 1 :							
Urbaine							Rurale
Plus prestigieuse	—	—	—	—	—	—	Moins prestigieuse
De haut niveau (Statut)	—	—	—	—	—	—	de bas niveau (Statut)
Mieux considérée	—	—	—	—	—	—	Moins considérée

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Variété 2 :							
Urbaine							Rurale
Plus prestigieuse	—	—	—	—	—	—	Moins prestigieuse
De haut niveau (Statut)	—	—	—	—	—	—	de bas niveau (Statut)
Mieux considérée	—	—	—	—	—	—	Moins considérée

Appendix E

The Matched-guise Technique

Question 1

N = 30	X 6
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	84
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	0
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	36

N = 30	%
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	70 %
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	0%
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	30 %

Question 2

N = 30	X 6
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	84
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	6
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	12

N = 30	%
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	82.35%
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	5.88%
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	11.77%

Question 3

N = 30	X 6
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	114
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	12
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	42

N = 30	%
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	67.86%
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	7.14%
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	25%

Question 4

N = 30	X 6
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	72
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	12
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	18

N = 30	%
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	70.59%
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	11.76%
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	17.65%

Q5

N = 30	X 6
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	66
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	12
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	24

N = 30	%
Young female's Tlemcen Urban Variety	64.71%
Young Female's Tlemcen Rural Variety	11.76%
Young Female's Tlemcen Mixed Variety	23.53%

Appendix F

Matched-guise Technique: Scripts

Guise 1: Variety 1 (The urban variety)

- The Original Version:

آدجى نأولك، شت ديك الأستاذة الجديدة ما شى رى ماشيا تأرينا بصرح رى تأول بدى رى ماشيا تعمل
ليكوغ. أنا ما عنديش بزاف الوعت علا خاطر رينى مشطونا مع لأرايا. علاش ماتزقيوش لصحبتنا
رانيا باش تأولنا اسم واساو فالساع دى فانتت؟ صحا بصرح أبل نصاصيو آسك نأراو لفخونص غذا؟
بييه ضاكوغ أونفواغ. أله يخليك أبل ما تمشى تأد تعبى معاك هاد لكايى و تعطيه لصحبتن مريم؟ أولها
تواسى فوطوكوپى علا داغنى كوغ.

- The Phonetic Transcription:

[ʔæ:dʒi nʔəllək ʃət hædik lʔustada ʔəʒdidda məʃi riməʃya
tʔarrina bæssaħ ritʔʒul bæddi ri məʃya taʔməl likur. ʔa:na
maʔandiʃ bæzza:f ʔəlwəʔt ʃlaxatər ri:ni məʃto:na mʔa ləʔra:ya.
ʃlæʃ mənʒəggiwʃ lsaħbətna ra:nja bæʃtʔəlləna ʔæ:səm wəsəw
fəssaʔa ddiʔətət ʔ saħa bæssaħ ʔbəlnsaʔsiw eske naʔraw xədda.
yi:ħ dakor ʔenvwar.
ʔəllayxəllik ʔbəlmatemʃi ttʔəd tʔəbbi mʔæk hædlkaji wtaʔtiħ
lsaħbətna merjəm ʔ ʔəlħa twasi fotokopi ʃlaadevnyikuv
wmən bæʔd t rədħu:li]

Guise 2: Variety 2 (The rural variety)

- The Original Version:

أرواحى نقولك، شتى هاديك الأستاذة الجديدة ماراهيش ماشيا تقرينا بصرح راها تقول بلى راهى
غاديا دير ليكور. آن ما عنديش بزاف الوقت لا خاطر رانى مشغولة مع لقرايا. علاش مانلغاوش
لصحبتنا رانيا باش تقولنا شت دارو فالساعة الى فانتت؟ صبح بصرح قبل نصقصيو آيلا نقرأو
لفرونسى غدو؟ واه صبح. بقاي علا خير. أله يحفضك قبل ما تمشى تقدى تدى معاك هاد لكراس و

تعطيه لصحبتن؟ قوليها دير فوطوكوبي علادرستالي.

- **The Phonetic Transcription:**

[rwa:hi ngullək ʃəti hɛdiklʔustada ʒdidɖa maraħ:iʃ χæɖya
tqarrina bəssaħ raħatgul bəlliraħaχæɖya ddir llikur .ʔa:na
maʔandiʃ bəzza:f lwəqt laxatər ra:ni məʃvʊ:la mʔaləqra:ya. ʔlæʃ
mænəlχæwʃ lsaħbətna ra:nja bæʃ tgullənna ʃta dərʊ fəssaʔa
llifətət ? saħa bəssaħ gbəlnsaqsiv ʔi:la naqraw xədwa. waħ
saħa bqay ʔlaxir.
llyahħafde kgbəl matemʃi tqəddi təddi mʔæk hɛd lkurrasw
taʔtiħ lsaħbətna mərjəm ? gu:lilħa ddir fotokopi ʔladders
ttæ:li wmənɖəd tɾədħu:li]

Guise 3: Variety 3 (The mixed variety)¹³²

- **The Original Version:**

آجی ناولك، شتی ها ديك الأستاذة الجديدة ماراهیش ماشیا تأرینا بصح راها تأول بلی راها ماشیا
تعمل لیکور. آنا ما عنديش بزاف الوعت علا خاطر رانی مشغولة مع لأرایا. علاش مانعیطوش
لصحبتنا رانیا باش تأولنا واسم عملو فالساعة اللی فاتت؟ صحا بصح أبل نصاصیو نیل نأراو
لفرونص غدا؟ صح آجی نمشیو. بالآخر. ألا یخلیک أبل ما تمشی تأد تدی معاك هاد لكایی و تعطیه
لصحبتن مریم؟ أیلها تعمل فوطوكوپ علادرستالي.

- **The Phonetic Transcription:**

[ʔæ:dʒi nʔullək ʃətti hɛdiklʔustada jdidɖa marraħa:ʃ mæʃya
tqarrina bəssaħ raħa tʔul bəlli raħamæʃya taʔməl likur. ʔa:na
maʔandiʃ bəzza:f ʔəlwəʔt ʔlaxatər ra:niməʃvʊ:la mʔaləʔra:ya.
ʔlæʃ mænənʔaytu:ʃ lsaħbətna ra:nja bæʃ tʔullənna wəsəm ʔamlu
fəssaʔa llikur ? saħa bəssaħ ʔbəlnsaʔsiw ʔ:ilanaʔraw xədɖa.
saħa bʔalaxir.

¹³² The mixed variety refers to a mixture of urban and rural varieties.

ʔəllayxəllik ʔbəl matemʃi ttʔəddi teddi mʔæk həd lkaji
wtaʔtiħ lsaħbətna merjəm ? ʔu:lilħa teʔmel fotokopi
ʔladdersttæ:li wmən bæʔd t rədhu:li].

English Translation

Come, I want to tell you something. Have you seen that new teacher? She will not teach us but she is saying that she is going to give extra courses. I haven't enough time because I am too busy with my studies. Why don't we call our friend Rania to tell us what they did last hour? Okay, but before we have to ask whether we will have French tomorrow. All right, let's go. Please, before you go, can you take this copy-book and hand it to our friend Meriem? Tell her to make a photocopy of the last lesson.

المخلص

نظرا لكون اللهجة التلمسانية من اللهجات الاكثر تميزا في المجتمع الجزائري , فقد حاولنا من خلال بحثنا هذا تسليط الضوء على التغيير اللهجي في مدينة تلمسان مع الاخذ بعين الاعتبار العوامل الاجتماعية من أهمها عامل الجنس (العرق) و السن. علاوة على ذلك و نظرا لاختلاط سكان تلمسان بسكان المناطق الريفية و غيرهم في شتى الميادين كالمدرسة و العمل, فقد تأثر العديد من التلمسانيين باللهجة الريفية مما أدى بالكثير منهم الى استخدامها و حتى على تفضيلها على اللهجة التلمسانية كونها أكثر انتشارا و لا توحى بالسخرية. لذلك و من خلال دراستنا هذه, فقد حاولنا من جهة التعرف على الاسباب التي أدت الى تغيير اللهجة التلمسانية, و من جهة أخرى اقترحنا بعض الحلول من خلال توضيح و ابراز دور العنصر النسوي في الحفاظ على هذه للاخيرة لسبب وجيه و هو أنها جزء من التراث التلمساني.

الكلمات المفتاحية التغيير اللغوي- المواقف- اللهجة التلمسانية- اللهجة الريفية - الجنس - التغيير اللهجي.

Résumé

Etant donné que le dialecte Tlemcenien est parmi les dialectes les plus distingués dans la société algérienne, nous avons essayé à travers cette étude de cerner le problème du changement dialectal en tenant compte de quelques variables sociaux tel que le genre et l'âge. En outre, vu le mélange de la population Tlemcenienne et celles des régions rurales dans de nombreux domaines tels que l'école et le travail, beaucoup de Tlemceniens ont été influencés par le dialecte rural ce qui a amené de nombreuses personnes à utiliser ce dernier et même à le favoriser par rapport au dialect Tlemcenien car il est le plus répandu et le moins stigmatisé même au sein de la communauté Tlemcenienne. C'est pour cette raison, à travers cette étude nous avons tenté de connaître les motifs qui ont été la cause du changement dialectale Tlemcenien d'une part. Et d'autre part, nous avons proposé de suggérer des solutions pour préserver ce dialecte à travers la valorisation et la mise en évidence du rôle de la gente féminine Tlemcenienne dans la maintenance de ce dernier car il fait partie du patrimoine Tlemcenien.

Mots Clés : Changement Langagier- Attitudes- Dialecte Tlemcenien- Dialecte Rural- Genre- Changement Dialectal.

Abstract

Because Tlemcen dialect is considered as being one of the most distinguished in the Algerian society, we tried throughout this research to shed light on the problem of dialect shift taking into consideration some social variables such as gender and age. In addition, since Tlemcen population has been mixed with the rural and external ones in different domains such as school, work, many of Tlemceniens have been influenced by the rural variety which has lead many of them use this latter and even promote it compared to Tlemcen dialect because it is the most widespread and the less stigmatized even in the Tlemcenian society. For this reason, and throughout this study we also tried to know about the motives behind this dialect change on the one hand. On the other one, we attempted to find out and propose some solutions to preserve this dialect via the valorization and the underscoring of the role of the feminine Tlemcenian gender in the maintenance of this latter since it is part of Tlemcen patrimony.

Key Words: Language change- Attitudes- Tlemcen Dialect- Rural Dialect- Gender- Dialect Shift.