

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Oran

Faculty of Letters, Languages and Arts

Department of English

*Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes
towards Language Behaviour
in an Algerian Context:
The Case of Tlemcen Arabic*

Doctorate Dissertation defended by Mr Zoubir Dendane
Under the Supervision of Prof. F.A.N. Bouhadiba

Members of the Jury:

- President: Prof. A. Bouamrane (University of Oran)
Supervisor: Prof. F. Bouhadiba (University of Oran)
Examiner: Prof. Z. Bensafi (Univ. of Nancy 2 – France)
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ

السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَأَخْتِلَافُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَالْوَلَوْنِكُمْ

إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ﴿٢٢﴾

سُورَةُ الرَّحْمٰنِ

﴿ من سورة الروم آية 22 ﴾

In the Name of Allah the Merciful, the Beneficent

﴿ And among His Signs is the Creation of the Heavens and the Earth

As well as the Diversity of your Tongues and Colours

Verily, these are Signs for those who know ﴿

(Qur'ān, Ar-Roum, 22)

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At the outcome of this unpretentious work, I hope to be able to contribute in some way to research on the complex sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, and more particularly that on the interference between the different languages and language varieties that co-exist in the speech community.

***Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour
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List of Abbreviations

- Languages / Varieties

- CA: Classical Arabic
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
SA: Standard Arabic
AA: Algerian Arabic
TA: Tlemcen Arabic
RA: Rural Arabic
H: High Variety
L: Low Variety
Fr: French

- Terminology from linguistic theoretical models

- SAT: Speech-Accommodation Theory
CAT: Communication-Accommodation Theory
CS: Code Switching
ML: Matrix Language
EL: Embedded Language

Phonetic Symbols

The list includes phonetic realisations used in Classical Arabic /Modern Standard Arabic, Tlemcen Arabic and rural Arabic.

1. Vowels : Each of the six vowel phonemes in Arabic (three short and three long) may have different realisations according to the linguistic environment.

Short	Example	Gloss	Long	Example	Gloss
æ	kæməl	all	æ:	ktæ:b	book
a	duda	a worm	a:	ħa:wəl	Try!
i	lila	a night	i:	fi:l	elephant
e	faʔema	Fatima	e:	mre:ʔ	ill (sing.masc.)
u	χuja	my brother	u:	ʃu:f	Look!
ɑ	mreʔa	ill (sing.fem.)	ɑ:	tɑ:r	It flew
ə	ʔbəl	before	ɔ:	fʔɔ:r	lunch

2. Consonants

Symbol	Example	Gloss	Symbol	Example	Gloss
ʔ	ʔælli (TA)	<i>He told me</i>	ʔ	ʔaləm (AA)	<i>unjust</i>
b	baʔu	<i>He sold it.</i>	t	tɑ:r	<i>It flew</i>
t	taʔi	<i>mine</i>	ð	ðɑ:lim (CA)	<i>unjust</i>
θ	θæ:nijan	<i>secondly</i>	ʕ	ʕa:m	<i>one year</i>
ɖ	ɖiʕæn	<i>hungry</i>	ɣ	ɣæli	<i>expensive</i>
ħ	ħamma:m	<i>bath</i>	f	fæjən	<i>where?</i>
χ	χəmsa	<i>five</i>	q	qari	<i>educated</i>
d	dunja	<i>world</i>	k	kæjən	<i>there is</i>
ð	ðæ:lika	<i>that</i>	l	lila	<i>one night</i>
r	ramla	<i>sand</i>	m	mənna	<i>this way</i>
z	zi:n	<i>nice</i>	n	nmər	<i>tiger</i>
s	sahħa	<i>all right</i>	h	huwa	<i>(It's) him</i>
ʃ	ʃbæ:b	<i>beautiful</i>	w	wəld	<i>boy</i>
ʕ	ʕɑ:m	<i>He fasted</i>	j	jæbəs	<i>dry</i>
ʒ	ʒəmmaʕ	<i>Sit down.</i>	g	gælli (RA)	<i>He told me</i>

Abstract

The main purpose in the present research work is to consider, in the light of recent studies in sociolinguistics, the complexities of sociolinguistic variation and attitudes towards language behaviour in an Algerian speech community characterized at the same time by various interesting linguistic phenomena, namely: a) *dialectal variation*, which is a 'natural' reality that can be observed virtually in all speech communities, particularly in big towns and urban centres; b) in parallel with this, *bilingualism* is a practice of considerable frequency in Algeria for historical reasons (in Morocco and Tunisia, too, though to a much lesser extent); c) *diglossia*, that linguistic phenomenon characterizing the Arab world, is becoming increasingly interesting as a result of the process of arabisation launched in Algeria, after independence, as part of the language policy decided upon by the new government.

In addition to the fact that the Algerians consciously or unconsciously switch – or at least are constantly exposed to switching – from Algerian Arabic to French, often mixing the two languages in their conversations, there is clear evidence that in Tlemcen – the case in point in this study – people, mostly among younger native male speakers, continually switch from the local variety to a rural form of speech in certain situations. One interesting province in this work concerns the reasons and motives for such fluctuating behaviour on the part of the native speakers of Tlemcen.

On the other hand, the use of a form of Classical Arabic – or more precisely what has been called Modern Standard Arabic – is attested mostly in formal contexts such as education, some sectors of the administration, religious sermons as well as in the written and spoken mass-media. However, the use of French, as a functional language, persists in many domains such as the written media and in those areas related to sciences, industry and economy, though a relative increase in the use of Standard Arabic may be attested in these fields as a result of a long process of arabisation which started right after independence.

Through the use of different methods for data collection and elicitation techniques such as interviews, questionnaires and recordings, this study attempts to describe the systematic co-variance of language behaviour and social structure, and to shed light on the reasons why, consciously or unconsciously, the native speakers of Tlemcen behave the way they do in different settings, particularly in relation to social variables such as age, gender, social network and educational level. An important issue that has to be considered in relation to the native speakers' behaviour is whether such variation carries so strong an influence as to lead to linguistic changes in the Arabic variety of Tlemcen.

Apart from considering language variation from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, and with a view to broaden the scope of enquiry for a better understanding of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen, our research work attempts to look at the community from a social-psychological standpoint. It is hoped that this perspective will allow for a more comprehensive description of the sociolinguistic profile of the speech community. Based on other techniques of data collection, this second part of our research focuses on how social judgement is affected by a speaker's pronunciation, that is, on the analysis of the listener's attitudes towards language use, and the influence that these attitudes may have on the speakers themselves.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

Since the late 1960s, sociolinguistic work has developed rapidly out of the necessity to explain language in relation to society, focusing on its use and functioning in the socio-cultural context, a perspective that has been put aside by formal linguistics. Working both on theoretical and empirical grounds, whatever the approaches being used, sociolinguists have thrown much light on the nature of language in general, but also on the characteristics of particular languages. Indeed, scholars interested in language use have emphasized the fact that variation is part and parcel of human communication, and their investigations have revealed the existence of different types of speech communities, some being rather homogeneous, in small isolated monolingual areas for example, others extremely heterogeneous, in towns and large urban centres, and still others more complex because of their multilingual and/or diglossic character.

Although formal linguists – be they from the traditional ‘structural’ school (De Saussure 1915, Bloomfield 1933) or following the paradigm of Chomsky’s Transformational-Generative Grammar – have always been aware that language is by no means a homogeneous system of communication, their hypotheses are formed on the grounds of ‘ideal’ data consideration and their theories are constructed on the basis of the analysis of language as an autonomous self-sufficient system with no appeal to the context in which it is used. The structural approach, for instance, recognized variation in speech patterns as an integral part of the dynamics of communication, but it assumed that a single informant, the linguist himself being an ideal one, could provide data for a thorough description of a language. The ultimate aim of linguistics is to reveal the universal principles shared by all languages without considering the social nature of speech, and, as Chomsky (1968a:24) puts it, “to establish certain general properties of human intelligence.” Thus, in spite of the linguists’ recognition of inherent language variability and the resulting processes of change, formal linguistics has only been concerned with the basic core of language structure and language universals.

The paradox was already admitted by De Saussure (1915) when, as Bell (1976:22) points out,

[...] he made it clear that he did not conceive of *langue* as being complete in the mind of any single individual but to exist perfectly only in the aggregated minds of the entire speech community.

Indeed, De Saussure (1915:30) admits the fact that language is only complete in the 'mass', in the whole community: "la langue n'est complète dans aucun [cerveau], elle n'existe parfaitement que dans la masse". But although De Saussure's school was often referred to as the 'social' school of linguistics, he himself considered that linguistic data could be drawn from any individual.

Despite a 'hostile' atmosphere towards language use by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, some linguists attempted to show the importance of social factors for a linguistic theory. Whitney (1901:404)¹, for example, insists on the social nature of language when he writes: "Speech is not a personal possession, but a social; it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society". Also, though he was one of De Saussure's students, Meillet (1921) seemed to have given a good start to the study of language in its social context when he observed that linguistics was a social science and did not omit to relate language variation and change to social changes: (1921:16-17)²:

From the fact that language is a social institution, it follows that linguistics is a social science, and the only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variations are only consequences.

But the linguistic stream prevailing at that time strongly opposed the idea of taking account of extra-linguistic elements, and, as Labov (1972a:268) says "many eminent linguists [...] fiercely resist any such involvement, and insist that we must confine ourselves to purely internal, linguistic explanations."

But as language, any language, is a complex dynamic phenomenon tightly linked with, and dependent on, the socio-cultural structure of society, it displays systematic variation within any speech community and in the speech behaviour of any individual. It can thus only be fully accounted for in relation to socially relevant factors. Above and beyond its being a system of logical linguistic rules, well-structured and meaningful relations, language has to be considered in terms of human social behaviour with rule-governed functions and norms that allow members of a speech community to interact appropriately in accordance with contexts, purposes and interlocutors. Corder (1973:25), an outstanding figure in applied linguistics, admits the value of the relationship between social factors and language behaviour when he says:

We can communicate with people only because they share with us a set of 'agreed' ways of behaving. Language in this sense is the possession of a social group, an indispensable set of rules which permits its members to relate to each other, to interact with each other, to cooperate with each other: it is a social institution.

The degree of complexity in a language depends on the symbolic functions that it fulfils and, of course, on such characteristics as the number of varieties and/or languages used, the size of the speech community, but also crucially on its correlation with large-scale social divisions such as class, ethnic groups, age and gender, etc... The analysis of such a complex phenomenon must also consider the individual speaker's language behaviour in a community whose members share the speech varieties and the norms for their appropriate use. Thus, investigation into language use is not just studying some sort of abstract object, a sealed-off closed system, for though language consists of regular linguistic items to be listed and analysed, it is also something we use in day-to-day interaction with systematic variation patterned on the one hand in accordance with social features, and resulting from attitudes towards language behaviour among interlocutors, on the other. Emphasizing the reality of structured variation in language and its association with speech groups, Spolsky (1998: 5) states in this vein:

The existence of patterned variation in language makes it possible to identify ourselves and others as belonging to certain groups. [...] Only by including both linguistic and social factors in our analysis can this complex but rule-governed behaviour be accounted for.

On the basis of empirical research, traditional sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, 1966b, 1970, 1972a and 1972b; Fishman 1971; Gumperz 1970; Hymes 1971; Ferguson 1959) has brought to light the dynamic relationship between the linguistic system and the social structure, the outcome of such correlation being language variation and the linguistic changes that follow. Obviously, to understand the interaction between the two structures, it is not sufficient to consider a mechanical amalgamation (Hymes, 1974:76)³ of concepts from linguistics and sociology, but, as Wardhaugh (1992:12) points out,

Specific points of connection between language and society must be discovered, and these must be related within theories that throw light on how linguistic and social structures interact.

So, for an adequate and inclusive theory of language, sociolinguists have had not only to embark on a wide-ranging analysis of both language and society, but also to identify the dynamic relations sustaining them.

However, for purely theoretical purposes, the social aspects of language have been disregarded in core linguistics whose advocates, particularly in Chomsky's paradigm, attempt to elaborate context-free formal linguistic rules that only account for the native speaker's capacity for language called 'linguistic competence' in an ideally 'homogeneous' community (Chomsky, 1965:3). What people do with language, i.e. the *use* of the system, is seen as the domain of social scientists and thus set aside outside the province of these hypoductive theories.

1.1 The Chomskyan Perspective in Linguistic Theory

Considerable progress has been made in formal analysis of language structure since the emergence of the Generative Grammar enterprise initiated by Noam Chomsky (1957, 1965), the leading figure in theoretical linguistics, who maintains that intuitive judgements on well-formedness of sentences, usually those of the linguist himself or any carefully chosen individual, could provide sufficient data for the description and analysis of a whole language. But Labov (1972b), a pioneering figure in the study of language in relation to society, argues that, in spite of the helpful individual's intuitions, the consideration of the data of a sole idiolect for a sharp and detailed analysis of the grammar of a speech community, "is a fruitless and unrewarding task" (1972b:124). The description of a person's idiolect, whatever their mastery of the language, will by no means be regular and representative of an entire community. He writes (*ibid*:124):

No matter what help the theorist's intuitions may give him in formulating his hypotheses, it is clear that his own intuitions are the only kinds of data which are *not* allowable as evidence, for no one can estimate the degree to which such judgments are influenced by the universal and understandable desire to prove oneself right. [...] we now know enough about language in its social context to realize that the grammar of the speech community is more regular and systematic than the behaviour of any one individual.

Chomsky's first generative grammar statements about any speaker's intuitions on grammatical vs. ungrammatical sentences imply that, for a theoretical formulation of the underlying rules of language processing, linguistic data must be abstracted from social and non-linguistic parameters, hence separating the analysis of the linguistic system from actual language use considerations. Indeed, as Bernstein (1970:160)⁴ says,

Chomsky (1965) neatly severs the study of the rule system of language from the study of the social rules which determine their contextual use.

Certainly, a basic claim in Chomsky's conception of linguistic theory is that only linguistic 'competence' (1965:3), the speaker's knowledge –mostly unconscious– and acquisition of his or her native tongue, are worth analysing, and can only be explained in terms of psychological properties specific to the human mind, with no reference to social factors or anything outside the language faculty. Chomsky (1986) calls knowledge of language *I-language*, or 'internalised language', attained in the form of mature linguistic competence during the child's earlier years of life. The actual use of language in different situations – what he first called 'performance' (1965:3), and later on (1986) *E-language* or 'externalised language', i.e., what may be considered as 'surface' language – is too unstable to lend itself to serious analysis, and he goes on so far as to describe it as "fairly degenerate in quality" (ibid. 1965:31).

Considering language as an essentially mental activity, many linguists have adopted Chomsky's approach arguing that their task is to write grammars that will help us understand the nature of language and what it reveals about the human mind. Thus, in the Chomskyan theoretical perspective, the object of study is approached on the basis of an autonomous grammar as a pre-requisite. Otherwise, with the incorporation of non-linguistic characteristics, 'language is a chaos that is not worth studying' (Chomsky, 1977:153)⁵. Disapproving of this view that separates the instrument of communication from communication acts, Linell (2000:118)⁶ says:

Linguists isolate language, decontextualizing it from most or even all social, psychological and environmental factors, while people encounter and live their language as embedded or integrated in communicative practices.

What really matters in formal linguistics is to construct, on the ground of hypotheses which explicitly reject social uses of language, a theory of I-language that explains how this 'internal' linguistic system is acquired. In other words, Chomskyan linguistics seeks to build a theory that explains not so much the nature of language data, but the capacity which allows human beings to under-

stand and produce language data. And in doing so, it examines the native speaker's competence, the knowledge of a language which Chomsky (1986) identifies with a mentally represented grammar. It also attempts to understand the universal characteristics that natural languages share as well as the rules and principles that small children innately acquire during the perception/production processes. Though Chomsky (2000:77) regards the faculty of language as "a component of the brain dedicated to language *and its use*"⁷, he maintains that the ultimate objective in this perspective is universalistic, and the task of the linguist is to specify that universal genetic endowment which has to be sought for in the speech of an 'ideal' speaker-listener, without any consideration of socio-cultural factors or contextual parameters.

But if language is undeniably a cognitive system making up an important part of human beings' mental structure, and if language acquisition and development can be explained in psychological, and ultimately in biological terms, there are other manifestations of language – in particular patterns of actual language use, 'linguistic performance' in Chomsky's terms (1965), that *must* be considered in relation to their being influenced by social and cultural variables. If we are to gain a better understanding of language as a phenomenon in which structure and use firmly coalesce, then this tight association has to be examined as one system. In other words, because utterances in a given speech interaction constitute a central – perhaps the most important – part of the individual's social behaviour as a whole, they have to be explained socially and contextually, though they involve mental abilities, too. A fundamental theoretical issue raises itself, as speech can be explained both in mentalistic and social terms, that is, the 'social' meets the 'cognitive', as Downes (1998:12) remarks. Could there be a synthesis of the two visions of language, E-language and I-language in Chomsky's terminology (1986), for an all-encompassing theory of language that accounts for language structure and social structure on shared grounds? This makes Downes (1998:12) wonder "whether it is *possible* for social explanation to penetrate the formal language system". In any case, linguistic theorizing will have to account for language variability, a property that cannot be ignored, as we shall see below.

1.2 Linguistic Variation: a Crucial Element in Linguistic Theory

On the basis of a particular focus on an 'ideal' native speaker's tacit knowledge of a language in a 'homogeneous' speech community (Chomsky 1965), that is, observing imaginary linguistic competence, and taking into account speakers' intuitive judgements, scholars' work in formal linguistics has led to the development of core linguistic theorizing. In particular, T.G. Grammar has allowed a better understanding of the relation between the surface structure of sentences and the deep structure that underlies them, the system being viewed in terms of invariant rules ultimately reflecting universal properties of human language. Labov (1972a:199) himself, as a challenger to the traditional mainstream linguistics, acknowledges the value of the Chomskyan approach when he says:

The procedures of generative grammar, working with intuitions about language, have enabled us to elaborate elegant and insightful models of linguistic structure. We have unearthed a great fund of problems which had never been touched on or discussed before.

However, drawing an analogy with chemistry (his first research field interest), Labov (ibid.: 259) claims that "linguistic theory can no more ignore the social behaviour of speakers of a language than chemical theory can ignore the observed properties of the elements." Indeed, a speaker's linguistic behaviour clearly varies according to different contexts as a result of its correlation with various social factors such as setting, addressee, topic, gender, and so on.

So, where should linguistic variation fit in within Chomsky's 'asocial' view, bearing in mind that variability is acknowledged as a universal property of natural languages? Why are there differences in pronunciation or grammar leading to various accents and dialects of the same language? And in what way can we explain such diversity in a community's everyday speech? What is to be said about the speaker's conscious or unconscious linguistic behaviour in

different social settings or in response to the interlocutor's attitudes towards a code choice? And then, how can we account for the linguistic changes that may result *from* language variation and the ensuing language divergence over time? How can we explain, for example, the existence of a multitude of dialects within a given language system such as that of English? How can we account for the numerous varieties of Arabic attested in the vast Arabic-speaking world beside the relatively stable Classical Arabic (hereafter CA) and its modern form, MSA? Are the grammars of different English dialects, for instance, or those of the low varieties of Arabic, not worthy of consideration?

Sociolinguists argue that a linguistic theory which is abstracted from the analysis of contextual and social factors, one that favours an approach with no reference to the relationship between speech and social context – i.e., with no consideration of language use, linguistic variation and eventual language change is essentially incomplete (Hudson, 1980:19). Obviously, language is much more than a mere mental phenomenon, and the human mind is more complex than a simple device constructed and pre-programmed to acquire the knowledge of abstract rules of grammar and underlying linguistic competence. In this respect, reminding us of the complexity of language systems and the difficulty in writing their grammars, Wardhaugh (1992:2) acknowledges that:

Anyone who knows a language knows much more about that language than is contained in any grammar book that attempts to describe the language.

In effect, while imitating the linguistic models they are exposed to – i.e. parents, then peers, then adults –, and in parallel with the unconscious gradual acquisition of the linguistic structures of their mother tongue, children learn norms of use, role-relation interaction and various codes, as the need arises, in order to behave appropriately in accordance with the speech community norms. In other words, while acquiring linguistic competence, they learn at the same time how to communicate in different types of interaction, that is, to be sociolinguistically competent. In a description of a child's ability to use, in appropriate ways, the

linguistic forms acquired during the socialisation process, Hymes (1971b)⁸ points out that

[...] a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others. This competence, moreover, is integral with attitudes, values, and motivations concerning language, its features and uses...

The processes in developing such abilities as competence in interacting appropriately, using a certain style in a given situation, code-switching, and so on, are virtually unconscious but by no means simple, for, in doing so, the child is faced with various pressures that arise from different language situations in which he learns how to conform to the community norms. And therefore, in describing such intricate phenomena with the aim of understanding how humans are organized from the linguistic and social points of view, a global linguistic theory will have to deal with concrete, realistic language situations rather than just abstract linguistic concepts and formal grammatical relations. Otherwise, as Romaine (2000:1) puts it,

The narrowing of modern linguistics to the study of grammar has ruled out investigation of many interesting questions about how language functions in society.

Without rejecting the great achievements in linguistic theorizing by formal grammarians whose work is based on an 'idealized homogeneity' of language, sociolinguists have decided to face the fascinating phenomenon of linguistic variability and consider it as their subject of study. A fundamental goal in sociolinguistics has been to reassess the methods of linguistic investigation by including socially relevant data, a *sine qua non* condition for the improvement of a global linguistic theory. In fact, for Labov (1972a), the 'socio' part of the term

'sociolinguistics' is pointless, as he argues that "it is a somewhat misleading use of an oddly redundant term." (1972a:183). The label 'linguistics' alone should encompass a theory of language structure *and* language use, competence *and* performance. After all, aren't standard languages and their regional dialects or accents social constructs? And isn't language the most sophisticated form of social behaviour? Moreover, in the process of acquiring his or her mother tongue, a native speaker learns not only how to use it but also what to *do* with it in different communication settings. Such capacity has been termed 'communicative competence' (Hymes (1971b)⁹), a concept that has been opposed to Chomsky's 'linguistic competence' which only covers an 'ideal' speaker's knowledge of grammatically correct sentences, while, as Hymes (ibid.) writes, "There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless". The competence in communication attested in day-to-day speech interaction has been described by Gumperz (1970)¹⁰ as

[...] the speaker's capacity to select from the totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behavior in specific encounters.

Indeed, a speaker who knows perfectly well the grammatical rules of a language but nothing about socially and culturally defined community norms would not be able to interpret the social significance of speech, and therefore to function as a member of that speech community. It may happen that a Frenchman, for instance, with perfect knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic finds himself at a loss in trying to communicate with non-educated Arabs who only know their local dialect (though they would surely be aware that the language used is Arabic). Similarly, an Algerian visitor in Tlemcen faced with the [ʔ~g] phonological variation (that we shall examine in some detail in this work) in expressions like [ʔu:l~gu:l], 'Say!', would not know the social meaning of such variation. Therefore, it is neither linguistic competence nor actual performance that can define a speech community, but the shared norms of language use

including evaluation of linguistic variables. Unfortunately, formal linguistics provides no place for taking account of language use, a phenomenon which Chomsky (1965:9) equates with performance and leaves aside as irrelevant for linguistic theorizing.

As a matter of fact, the goal in Chomskyan linguistics – and mainstream linguistics as a whole – is to determine the properties of language as a natural phenomenon, to specify the underlying rules of that cognitive capacity called ‘linguistic competence’, and to analyse language acquisition in terms of psychological and ultimately genetic properties. Sociolinguists too examine these very properties but from a social standpoint. That is, the explanation of language features requires reference to social factors. The aim is thus to expose the inevitable correlations between linguistic structure and the social system in order to explain the ensuing linguistic variation and its diachronic outcome, language change over time. The point is that language is obviously the object of study in both core linguistics and sociolinguistics, but while the object of attention in a formal language analysis is a body of linguistic data abstracted from the setting in which it occurs and from the variation resulting from its use, sociolinguistics examines linguistic phenomena in a socially and culturally defined universe, focusing on the reasons for language manipulation in various contexts. Arguing for the urgent need to consider some fundamental speech features as basic notions for a global linguistic theory, Hymes (1972b)¹¹ says:

Concepts that are unquestionably postulated as basic to linguistics (speaker-listener, speech community, speech act, acceptability, etc.) are, as we see, in fact sociocultural variables, and only when one has moved from their postulation to their analysis can we secure the foundations of linguistic theory itself.

Obviously, the sources from which linguistic data are drawn are different in nature: for Chomsky (1965:3) the data are ‘idealised’, taken from ‘a completely homogeneous speech community’, while for Labov (1966) they must be collected in patterned and socially determined large-scale variation within a

'real', heterogeneous speech community; heterogeneous but not lacking structure as he agrees on stating explicitly in a joint paper that he published with Weinreich, his teacher and supervisor, and Herzog (Weinreich *et al.* 1968:101)¹²:

[...] if a language has to be structured in order to function efficiently, how do people continue to talk while the language changes [...]? One of the corollaries of our approach is that in language serving a complex (i.e. real) community, it is *absence* of structured heterogeneity that would be dysfunctional.

However, in spite of this divergence in the two approaches at the methodological level, Labov does not disagree with the Chomskyan conception on a formal level and has never denied the contribution of Transformational-Generative Grammar for a far-reaching comprehension of the structure of language. Chomsky (1981), on the other hand, has introduced a theory of parameters in his approach to explain language diversity and language acquisition at different stages of child development. Such convergence of the two views of language, considering internal *and* external factors, will ultimately prove to be an adequate way of offering a fuller explanation of the nature of language: structure and use. Indeed, the fields of investigation into language are various and so complex that, by omitting some of its most interesting aspects, 'pure' linguistics alone has not been able to explain everything that relates to it. In fact, it has long been acknowledged that, by virtue of its socio-cultural nature, language is to be approached by several disciplines, particularly in social sciences like sociology, psychology and anthropology. However, many linguists have given priority to one or another of these disciplines in their investigations depending on their field of interest, though considerable overlapping often occurs. Indeed, as language is a socially maintained and socially functioning institution, only eclectic approaches involving the use of different theoretical concepts and different techniques based on observation of people's speech practices and utterances in context can be really efficient in broadening the explanatory scope of analysis.

1.3 Different Approaches in Sociolinguistics

The advent of sociolinguistics in the late 1960s and early 1970s with Hymes, Gumperz, Ferguson, and especially with Labov's work (e.g. 1963, 1966, 1972) on sociolinguistic variation, and that of Fishman (1968, 1971) on the sociology of language have renewed, long after Whitney's study and Gauchat's¹³ work, the interest in the study of language in its social context.

Sociolinguistics is a multifaceted field of investigation which encompasses various areas ranging from conversation analysis, for instance, to multilingualism and from language change to language planning. Several types of approaches to language in its socio-cultural context have been put forward with distinct goals and methodologies in treating the subject matter, though there may often be some overlapping. For example, both the area known as 'ethnography of speaking', pioneered by Gumperz and Hymes in the late sixties and early seventies, and Labov's 'quantitative paradigm' share a body of data consisting of a collection of utterances; but while the aim of the former is to analyse the speech act as a communicative event, the object of analysis of the latter is the correlation between quantified linguistic variables with non-linguistic parameters. Other areas, those involved in the analysis of discourse and conversation, are also based on speakers' utterances, but at an interpersonal level, and thus overlook the wider social context. Prior to the emergence of sociolinguistic studies, dialectologists too, collected data in order to study the geographical distribution of linguistic items in what they have called 'regional dialects', focusing almost exclusively on rural areas for their 'conservative' character. Assuming that regional dialects were easier to sample, dialect geographers drew maps representing the boundaries in the form of *isoglosses* or *isophones* representing, as it were, the 'borders' that separate the 'different' varieties. But the methods used and the goals to be achieved in traditional dialectology are quite different from those adopted by modern sociolinguists who either focus on linguistic variation and language change in large urban areas, or are interested more particularly in how speakers manage to interact in appropriate ways in their conversations; and still

others are more concerned with how people influence, and/or are influenced by speakers' attitudes towards language behaviour. Overall, unlike traditional dialectologists whose primary aim was to produce what they have called *dialect atlases*, the mapping of dialects on a regional basis, and to study their findings from a diachronic perspective, sociolinguists, sometimes called modern dialectologists, have turned their attention to social dialects, language variation and language change in the complexities of large urban areas, taking account of various social dimensions and drawing their findings from large bodies of data.

On another level of comparison, while formal linguists content themselves with mental assumptions about language structure, verifying their hypotheses through the observation of a virtual ideal speaker's language, who could be the linguist himself, sociolinguists' hypotheses about the regular correspondence between language and social structure and their analyses of speech are based on empirical work; their data do not rely on informants' intuitions and cognitive functions, but are collected in a systematic way involving both speakers' utterances *and* hearers' reactions in context, though, obviously, communication acts do involve mental abilities too. Johnstone (2000:1) says in this respect:

Whatever its focus, sociolinguistic work is based on observations of people using language and analyses of those observations. [...]sociolinguistic claims do not result entirely from mental speculation or arise in discussions among sociolinguists...

Sociolinguistics has also been subdivided into two broad subfields: micro-sociolinguistics which focuses on specific linguistic items and tries to show how lexical choices, pronunciation and grammar correlate with certain social variables, and macro-sociolinguistics which tends to examine the use of a language or the language varieties that occur in the same speech community, and attempts to draw conclusions about the relationship between the social groups who use them and other related phenomena such as language influences, bilingualism, code-switching, language change, language shift, etc.

One should bear in mind, however, that in spite of these distinct ways of doing sociolinguistics and putting forth different social explanations for patterns of linguistic variation, micro- and macro-sociolinguistics are “conceptually and methodologically complementary”, as Fishman (1965)¹⁴ points out.

Interesting findings in social psychology too have enormously contributed to understanding sociolinguistic phenomena, as demonstrated, for example, by Lambert (1967) and his associates with regard to attitudes towards language use.

Yet, while sociolinguistics *per se* deals with speech variation and language change as a whole both on macro- and micro-levels, social psychologists have focussed on the dynamics of cognitive representation of language as a social phenomenon: the basic aim in this research area is to examine people’s subjective reactions to language variation and their social judgements of a speaker’s pronunciation or lexis, for example. What is crucially interesting about people’s evaluations of their own language varieties is that, in spite of the linguistic demonstrations that languages as such cannot be described in terms of ‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’, they suggest intrinsic linguistic inferiorities or superiorities, and thus view them as prestigious or low in status. Research in language attitudes has clearly shown that speakers’ judgements of language varieties in terms of prestige and quality reflect the social connotations associated with these varieties, and hence the necessary alliance between sociolinguistics and social psychology of language. The social psychological perspective and its principles have contributed, and still contribute, to a large extent, to the development of a broad sociolinguistic theory. But in turn sociolinguistic findings have also fruitfully enhanced the social psychological theory of language attitudes.

So, in the light of these interdisciplinary considerations on language at work, and given the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general, and in Tlemcen in particular, we consider that it will be more productive, it is hoped, to adopt an eclectic approach for a broader analysis of the various linguistic phenomena at play.

1.4 Tlemcen Speech Community, a Locus of Language Dynamics?

As it is evident from the title of this research work, our main purpose is to examine sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of Tlemcen by trying to combine various sociolinguistic approaches and looking at the language practices from the two broad aforementioned perspectives, namely:

- a) analysis of native speakers' linguistic variation in different settings and in relation to non-linguistic factors.
- b) observation of listeners' attitudes toward language behaviour to discover the extent to which these are responsible for the speakers' linguistic variation.

In other words, our problematic could be put forward in the form of the following two condensed sets of research questions:

1. In what contexts does linguistic variation occur among native speakers in the community of Tlemcen? What are the reasons that make some speakers more inclined to vary their speech than others? Will increasingly persistent use of non-native speech in certain settings result in language shift and loss of identity? Or will Tlemcen speech features be maintained in spite of the large-scale variation attested? Also, what makes most Algerians code-switch to French or at least constantly mix Arabic with French?
2. How do people react to some linguistic features that characterize Tlemcen speech, and thus to users of these characteristics? To what extent is sociolinguistic variation in the community mediated by language attitudes? On another level, what attitudes do people display as far as the use of French is concerned?

After drawing a brief background picture of the linguistic situation in Algeria, our research work is then intended, in the first place, to describe sociolinguistic variation in the urban setting of Tlemcen. The study of this Algerian Arabic speech community builds upon an earlier tentative work (Dendane 1993)¹⁵ that requires a more extensive set of data and a more substantiated analysis of people's language behaviour for a better understanding of today's linguistic situation in Algeria as a whole, but more particularly in Tlemcen for its language idiosyncratic features and the resulting variation.

Within the framework of the quantitative paradigm and the Labovian methodology, but also using other types of descriptive approaches and qualitative explanations, we intend to consider the native speaker's behaviour in everyday interaction, laying emphasis upon the reasons for people's regular switching from Tlemcen vernacular forms to a type of rural Arabic, a variety that has consistently spread in the community for the last decades.

But we shall also attempt to examine, on a macro-level, the alternation and mixing of the codes used by the speakers and the motives for their choice of one variety or another from the available speech repertoire which includes, in addition to the two varieties mentioned above¹⁶,

- a) Modern Standard Arabic, the vehicle used in education, in the media, and for religious purposes;
- b) French, the language left as a real legacy by the long-term French linguistic presence in Algeria.

The data base comes from naturally-occurring linguistic events observed in various social settings on the site, and speech samples are obtained by means of different elicitation techniques such as interviews, questionnaires, and tape recorded conversations. The data identified as worthy of study will be analysed, treated quantitatively, and then interpreted in qualitative ways, i.e. how and why people use given 'ways of speaking' in various settings.

In this introductory chapter, we have tried to briefly bring up the importance of studying language in its social context in opposition with the 'structural' school of linguistics and the generativists' analysis of language structure which do not refer to social parameters. This asocial enterprise will by no means come up with a global linguistic theory, not only because the notion of language itself is social in nature and speech is a social behaviour, but also for the reason that "speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups", as Hudson (1996:3) points out; and hence, social explanations of linguistic behaviour are crucially fundamental for a better understanding of language structure and language use.

In the second chapter, we shall review some basic notions used in sociolinguistic investigation, particularly those key-concepts thought to be relevant to our work: *speech community*, *social networks*, *linguistic repertoire*, *linguistic variable* and *language attitudes*, trying to see in what way(s) they may apply to our present study.

In the third chapter, we shall illustrate a representation of the Algerian language background against which today's linguistic situation has emerged, with particular reference to the speech community of Tlemcen and the most specific linguistic features of native speech.

The fourth chapter, which consists of empirical work based on speech observation, questionnaires and interviews, attempts

- to consider the density of French borrowings and loan expressions in Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) as a whole, and in Tlemcen Arabic (TA) in particular, as well as the degree of their maintenance or replacement by forms from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or Classical Arabic (CA);

- to examine the degree of bilingualism and the extent to which speakers code-switch between (and/or code-mix) AA and French as well as the contexts and/or motivation for such behaviour;

- to observe the contexts in which, and the reasons why, an increasing number of speakers switch, consciously or unconsciously, particularly on the lexical level, from AA to MSA.

- to analyse speech variation among Tlemcen native speakers as a result of the relationship between linguistic variables and social factors (the setting in particular, gender and age), especially in mixed conversation (urban / rural);

Chapter five will focus on listeners' attitudes towards some linguistic features that are typical of Tlemcen Arabic, and how these mediate linguistic variation as a whole, and on their evaluative reaction to French as opposed to AA, on the one hand, and to MSA, on the other. The data will be obtained by having recourse to elicitation techniques used in the social psychology of language, the semantic differential scales (Osgood, *et al.* 1957)¹⁷, and particularly the 'match-guised technique' (Lambert 1967). The purpose of studying listeners' attitudes to speech variation is to find out the extent to which these may influence the speaker's behaviour in language maintenance or language shift, and to check if "Attitudes to language clearly play an important role in preserving or removing dialect differences", as Trudgill (1974:23) states. Indeed, one of the most exciting issues related to the actual linguistic situation concerns the natives and non-natives negative attitudes towards the characteristics of Tlemcen speech: whether the linguistic variation resulting from the attitudes attested in the community will lead to dialect shift, and eventually to the vanishing of TA linguistic features, particularly the glottal stop, is a central question that comes to the mind of anybody who sets out to observe today's linguistic situation in Tlemcen.

Notes to Chapter 1

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- ¹ Cited in Labov 1972*a*:261.
- ² Cited in Labov 1972*a*:263.
- ³ Mentioned in Wardhaugh, 1992:12.
- ⁴ In Giglioli ed. 1972:160
- ⁵ Quoted by Duranti in Newmeyer ed. 1988:212
- ⁶ In Coupland *et al.* eds. 2000:118.
- ⁷ My emphasis (italics not in original text).
- ⁸ In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972: 277-78.
- ⁹ In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972: 269-293.
- ¹⁰ In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972: 205.
- ¹¹ In Newmeyer ed. 1988:213.
- ¹² In Labov 1972*b*: xv-xvi
- ¹³ Gauchat's work (1905) on variation and change in the Swiss village of Charmey is considered as one of the earliest linguistic studies in which language variation and change are examined on the basis of social considerations (in Labov 1972*a*:23).
- ¹⁴ In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972:31.
- ¹⁵ Unpublished Magister dissertation, under the supervision of Prof. F. Bouhadiba. October 1993, Oran University.
- ¹⁶ Berber is not considered in this research work as it is not used in the speech community of Tlemcen, apart from the very few lexical items that bear no influence on AA.
- ¹⁷ In Sawaie 1994:54.

Chapter 2

*Some Basic Sociolinguistic
Concepts*

2. Basic Sociolinguistic Concepts

2.1 Introduction: Language, Dialect and Variety

If we are cautious enough and listen to the way(s) people speak in all types of society, we will certainly find out that they use various speech forms to the extent that one may be convinced of the originality of each and every speaker. The term 'idiolect' has been used to characterize the speech features and linguistic behaviour specific to an individual. But when interacting with other members of the group, that individual is subjected to numerous conflicting pressures which derive from social relations such as power and solidarity, group identity, gender and age, and so on. Therefore, when people interact linguistically, they consciously or unconsciously take account of all these norms of social and linguistic behaviour to communicate not only ideas, emotions and desires (Sapir 1933), but also the relation to the social network, the group or community they belong to, their 'sociolect', as it is sometimes referred to. Such intricacies intertwining with linguistic variability and constituting the sophisticated phenomenon of language in context have led some linguists to inquire into the nature and properties of language that can only be explained in terms of social relations and linguistic behaviour. All these and other social factors relating to language users and to language uses have been relevant in accounting for the different varieties of a language.

Before reviewing some definitions of essential sociolinguistic concepts, we would like to make it clear that we shall avoid the use of the two terms 'language' and 'dialect' for the confusion they may engender. Indeed, these two terms are usually perceived as non-technical notions by scholars because of their ambiguity; but they are very common in popular usage, and thus carry no objective way to make a clear-cut distinction between varieties of the same language. Hudson (1996:31) argues that our views of such terms are culturally inherited when he says "It is part of our culture to make a distinction between 'languages' and 'dialects'",

and thus, their popular usage does not reflect any kind of objective reality. In fact, lay speakers distinguish the two terms in an ambiguous way: a language like English, for example, is more prestigious and larger in size than a 'dialect'; but what is thought of today as Standard English is no more than the dialect used around London by the Court and higher class influential people in the 15th century, one essential reason for which it became prestigious. Then, along with its codification, the London dialect rapidly developed formal functions in administration and government and, eventually, it was used as the medium for literary writings and written communication, which, in turn, granted it more esteem. Therefore, from the linguistic point of view, any dialect is inherently apt and potentially 'equipped' to rise to the level of a 'standard' language, a prestige position that it may gain as a result of cultural, socio-economic and political influences. Hudson (1996:32) says in this respect:

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.

Typically, in fact, most people clearly refer to language varieties which have no established written form as 'dialects', whereas the standard of their country is usually held in high esteem and regarded as a 'language'.

It would be interesting to contrast these views with our own cultural vision of the Arabic terms *al'arabiyya l fuṣṣhā*, meaning 'clear, pure Arabic'¹, and considered as the most prestigious variety for religious, literary and cultural reasons, and *al'āmmiya*, meaning 'general' or 'common' and grouping all Arabic dialects, usually non-prestigious varieties used by the 'masses'. There are, however, some Arabic regional varieties of today's large urban centres such as Cairo in Egypt or Baghdad in Iraq which could undergo a process of standardisation as a result of prestige acquisition. In this respect, Ferguson (1970:116)² points out 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”, a linguistic behaviour that supports the idea that any dialect is a potential candidate for developing into a standard language.

Nevertheless, for the sake of avoiding the usual implications associated with the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, the ambiguity they carry and the subjective reasons associated with such things as prestige and size of the language, we shall adopt in our work the term ‘variety’ to refer to different manifestations of language or to any identifiable kind of language. As a matter of fact, provided that a type of speech is characterized by a set of linguistic forms which correlate with a number of social factors, and displays similar social distribution among the members of a community, it is safe to refer to it as a variety characterizing that community. This position allows us to consider any particular way of speaking used by a tiny community as a variety, and to agree with Hudson’s (1996:23) view of a variety as possibly being “much larger than a lay ‘language’, including a number of different languages” and covering the most diverse situations together with “all the languages of some multilingual speaker, or community” (ibid: 23). Thus, sociolinguists have opted for the term variety to refer to language in context, that is, all the linguistic forms used in relation to particular social circumstances. Holmes (2001:6) defines it as “a broad term which includes different accents, different linguistic styles, different dialects and even different languages which contrast with each other for social reasons.” Furthermore, this relatively neutral use of the term allows us to consider distinct varieties in terms of prestige and/or size on equal foot, or even a mixture of two dialects in the same community as one variety. And as Hudson (ibid: 23-4) states:

There are no restrictions on the relations among varieties – they may overlap and one variety may include another. The defining characteristic of each variety is the relevant relation to society – in other words, by whom, and when, the items concerned are used.

Pointing out the importance of avoiding all bias and prejudice in a sociolinguistic investigation, and stating the advantage of using a neutral term as opposed to the subjective contrast 'language/dialect' and its association with political decision or social stigma, Duranti (1997:70-71) tells us that

[...] sociolinguists prefer the term *variety* (also *linguistic variety* or *variety of language*), to be thought of as a set of communicative forms and norms for their use that are restricted to a particular group or community and sometimes even to particular activities. Sociolinguists' varieties might cover what other researchers call languages, dialects, registers, or even styles. The advantage of using the term variety is that it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like "language" and "dialect" and can cover the most diverse situations...

Besides, what is attractive about the term 'variety' is that it implies other useful fundamental sociolinguistic notions such as speech community, social networks, communicative competence and linguistic repertoire – that we consider in the next sections. In addition to its prejudiced connotation, the concept of 'language' includes large wholes of people usually, but not exclusively, associated with nation states or, perhaps in a more complex way in the case of Arabic, with wider communities that go past nation boundaries. For that reason, a way out of this problem of terminology is to view a language as a heterogeneous dynamic system, and varieties of a language as its different manifestations in context. Bringing out its value in sociolinguistics, Holmes (2001:6) says that the term 'variety' "is linguistically neutral and covers all the different realisations of the abstract concept 'language' in different social contexts."

Alternatively, we may use the term 'code', another (perhaps more) neutral word, "to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication." (Wardhaugh, 1992:89). The term will allow us to consider, for instance, the contexts in which people 'choose' to use one particular way of speaking rather than another, or how they mix two or more codes in the same conversation.

Another term that has been given importance in sociolinguistic research in relation to those mentioned above is 'vernacular', first defined by Labov in his famous article "The Study of Language in its Social Context" (1970:31)³ as a style in which

[...] we find more systematic speech, where the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution can be seen most clearly. [...] the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech.

If the vernacular style can be captured, particularly by overcoming what Labov calls the 'observer's paradox' (ibid. p. 31), that is, by finding a way of "observing how people speak when they are not being observed" (Labov 1972*b*: 256), then it will provide the sociolinguist with the most valuable and systematic data for analysis, for it reveals the characteristics of the first language variety acquired by the individual in the home and used in the most informal contexts under no social constraint, or whatever type of normative pressure. A good example, among others, in Labov's (1972*b*) study of Black English Vernacular (BEV) is the deletion of the copula *is*, as in 'He wild': the dropping of the auxiliary 'to be' is a common linguistic practice among young Black peers in everyday interaction, but it is most likely to be avoided in formal style, say, in class or in other constrained situations.

The term 'vernacular' – defined for example by Petyt (1980:25)⁴ as "a form of speech transmitted from parent to child as a primary medium of communication" – has also been used by sociolinguists as an alternative to any non-standard variety: e.g. Black English Vernacular or Cockney English as opposed to RP English. Similarly, given that the speech under investigation in our study is a colloquial variety of Arabic, we may then use the term vernacular, alternatively, to refer to the most relaxed form of speech used in Tlemcen, the variety acquired by the child as a mother tongue and used in unconstrained social situations, at home for example, or in interaction with close friends, in particular with native TA speakers themselves.

We shall indeed see throughout this work that many linguistic forms typical of Tlemcen speech – mainly those which native speakers are most aware of – are felt to be negatively commented on and thus consistently, if not systematically, avoided in mixed speech encounters.

Such issues will be dealt with in Chapter 4 which is concerned with the sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen, as well as in the last chapter that deals with language attitudes. But in the next sections, as mentioned earlier, we go over some key concepts in sociolinguistic, which we shall draw on at different levels of our exploration of the sociolinguistic variation in Tlemcen, a community that has grown to be socially very diverse and become, by way of consequence, linguistically heterogeneous, unstable, extremely variable and eventually exposed to far-reaching linguistic changes. Before we attempt to examine the social functions of variation in the community, and the effects of social heterogeneity on the native speakers' linguistic behaviour, let us consider how a speech community has been defined by different scholars, and see to what extent such definitions may apply to the context of Tlemcen.

2.2 The Speech Community

It has been taken for granted, in general linguistics, that a speech community consists of a group of people using a 'common' language; that is, all its individuals possess that language, sharing notions of what is same and what is different in its phonology, grammar and lexis. People do use, in fact, distinct linguistic forms to exhibit membership in a given community, but they also unconsciously get involved in using other features that certainly have more important implications for social group organisation. In effect, sociolinguistic research has shown that linguistic aspects of a variety are not sufficient to determine what a speech community is, and that non-linguistic characteristics (social, cultural, religious...) have been considered

as important, if not more instructive, in defining it. Wardhaugh (1992:118), for instance, rightly admits that

Our search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria if we are to gain a useful understanding of 'speech community'.

It is then important to be able to delimit the boundaries of speech communities to a satisfactory extent, though the border lines are not clear-cut, but present a fluidity that is similar to the permeability of language varieties. As a matter of fact, just as 'neighbour' languages usually share a number of linguistic features, the associated speech communities often overlap by sharing a set of social norms. In any case, delineating speech communities will help to study them, to compare them and to understand how speech patterns correlate with social characteristics.

Although the concept of *speech community* has proved to be very useful in sociolinguistic investigation, regarded by Gumperz (1968)⁵, for instance, as a "sociolinguistic entity and a fundamental unit of analysis", defining its characteristics has been an arduous matter. Indeed, there has been important confusion and lack of agreement on what it really is. Apart from Chomsky's (1965:3) proposal of an ideal "completely homogeneous speech-community" that he considered exclusively for theoretical linguistic purposes, or Martinet's (1964a:173) postulation of "a strictly unilingual and perfectly homogeneous community"⁶ – both views put forward for the sake of linguistic analysis *per se* and thus of no concern to sociolinguists –, various alternative definition models have been proposed for investigations of language in society according to the approach or perspective followed. Arguing against 'abstract' linguists who only consider 'single-style' and ideal speakers in a homogeneous speech community, and expressing doubt about the existence of *any* non-heterogeneous speech community, Labov (1972a:203) states that "the *normal* situation" (his emphasis) is that

...heterogeneity is not only common, it is the natural result of basic linguistic factors. We argue that it is the absence of style-shifting and multilayered communication systems which would be dysfunctional.

In fact, one important characteristic that linguists agree on today is the inherently variable nature of language, and thus on the heterogeneity of any speech community. Even a structuralist like Bloomfield (1933:45)⁷ acknowledges the complex nature of the community in relation to language variability when he says:

The complexity or impossibility of determining [...] exactly what people belong to the same speech-community, is not accidental, but arises from the very nature of speech-community. [...] no two persons – or rather, perhaps, no one person at different times – spoke exactly alike.

Lyons' (1970:326) definition of the speech community as comprising "all the people who use a given language (or dialect)" is obviously one of the simplest ones as it does not take account of any social or cultural unity, and thus may apply, for instance, to the English, the Americans, and other isolated English-speaking societies as forming one type of speech community. According to this definition, Algeria would belong to the same Arabic-speaking community consisting today of almost three hundred million people in about twenty-two Arab countries. Such a configuration may be used to define the Arabic (or rather Islamic) concept of *Umma* ('nation' or 'community') in its wider sense. But in sociolinguistic terms, we cannot speak of a speech community when its members have virtually no 'direct' or 'indirect' contact, as they do not communicate with each other. In fact, the criterion of communication should be central in defining the concept. Hocket (1958:8)⁸ says in this respect:

Each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language.

In the face of this view, sociolinguistic work has shown that a single community may use two or more languages, as in Switzerland, Canada, and in so many other countries. As a matter of fact, multilingualism is the norm in many parts of the world and is found even in countries which are said to have one national/official language. In Algeria, for instance, many Kabylia people, established in the capital for a long time, use three genetically different languages in their day-to-day interactions: a Berber variety (their mother tongue, called *Amazigh*) usually with co-members, Algerian Arabic, and French, often switching from one language to another according to the context, or more frequently mixing them in the same conversation; and though their Berber origin makes them belong to a particular social group, they have learned the norms of language use within the wider community of Algiers, for instance. In this respect, Romaine (2000:23) says:

A speech community is not necessarily coextensive with a language community. A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language.

Bloomfield's (1933:42)⁹ earlier definition of a speech community is perhaps as simple as Lyons' view cited above, but it emphasizes the criterion of interaction when it tells us that "a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech". This definition may be seen as concerning groups of people who communicate by using one or two, or more languages or varieties of the same language in everyday interaction, and may be distinguished from other groups by lack of social cohesion. Such considerations have led Gumperz (1971)¹⁰ to define what he calls a 'linguistic community' as

...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.

According to this characterization, a speech community can be defined not only by 'frequency of social interaction', but also by the 'set-off' criterion; that is, a large community may itself consist of smaller ones related internally by specific features, but whose members feel a sense of identification to the whole according to wider characteristics.

Such definition may well apply to today's community of Tlemcen which could be seen as consisting of two large communities each possessing its own language variety, as we shall see in Chapter 4 (the contrast has been described in terms of urban vs. rural speech); but the two groups are held together not only on the basis of nationwide institutions, traditions and beliefs, but also through regular day-to-day social practices and language contacts resulting in unavoidable mutual linguistic interference.

One of the most influential definitions of the concept of speech community has been put forward by Labov (1972a) in *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, one of the most outstanding books on linguistic variation in relation to social stratification and style differentiation. His characterization of the speech community shifts the emphasis from the use of linguistic criteria to shared norms of evaluation. In other words, it insists on the fact that shared ways of evaluating language behaviour make people *feel* they belong to the same speech community. His findings about New York speech (Labov 1972a:158) support the idea that

...a speech community cannot be conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same forms; it is best defined as a group who share the same norms in regard to language.

For Labov, the study of aspects of language behaviour is a reliable means through which understanding the organization of society may be achieved, for linguistic

forms used by members in a given speech community have proved to be good indicators of shared social features. He says (ibid:120-21), in this regard:

The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. Similarly, through observations of linguistic behavior it is possible to make detailed studies of the structure of class stratification in a given community.

Insisting, in a similar way, on the frequency of people's verbal communication in a given social environment, Gumperz (1968)¹¹ defines the speech community as

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

Most groups of any permanence, be they small bands bounded by face-to-face contact, modern nations divisible into smaller subregions, or even occupational associations or neighborhood gangs, may be treated as speech communities, provided they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study.

This definition considers of course the sharing of common grammatical rules, but it also emphasizes the regular relationships between social structure and language use which varies according to different types of social groups and settings within the wider community. This view is quite interesting as it allows to consider the possibility of intersecting communities as well as what Saville-Troike (1982:82)¹² has called *overlapping* speech communities in a given 'human aggregate'; thus each individual may be considered as belonging to several speech communities at the same time and speakers behave accordingly, consciously or often unconsciously accommodating their way of speaking to the different situations in which they find

themselves. This, of course, is to be related to norms of speech behaviour. 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.

In an urban context such as that of Tlemcen, for instance, a speaker (let this be a man for, as indicated many times throughout this work, male native speakers in Tlemcen are far more subject to varying linguistic behaviour than native women) may interact, in the course of the day, with his family members and relatives, then with his workmates, with his neighbours, and so on. Some of these various types of relations, interwoven in a communication network, might consist of native speakers using TA, but others may be users of another form of AA, and thus the speaker might alter his speech – if he wishes to do so – in order to make it resemble that of the interlocutors he interacts with. In fact, he does most of the time, unlike female speakers, as we shall see throughout this work.

In an isolated small rural village, language practices are in all probability much less varied than in densely inhabited areas where people from diverse origins are in regular contact through various types of relations which require speech interaction. Language behaviour is therein constantly influenced by people's attitudes and various social and psychological factors. Contrasting the idealized model of 'speech community', once useful for rural dialectologists, with today's urban communities, Halliday (1978:155) points out that

Labov very soon found that the inhabitants of a metropolis are united much more by their linguistic attitudes and prejudices, which are remarkably consistent, than by their own speech habits, which are extremely variable.

In describing the urban speech community, Halliday (ibid.) goes so far as to say that it "is a heterogeneous unit, showing diversity not only between one individual and another but also within one individual." Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1972)¹³ too have proposed definitions that are similar to Labov's characterization of a speech community. Hudson (1996:25) writes that they both refer "to shared norms and abstract patterns of variation rather than to shared speech behaviour"; it is evident that the norms that they share make them *feel* they belong to one speech community, for they are socially more powerful than just speech practices. But Le Page (1968a)¹⁴ has not used the term 'speech community', though his 'groups in society' are also distinguished in terms of speech features related to social characteristics. In his approach, he focuses on the idea that it is the individual speaker who perceives the groups which he or she may want to identify with. He states that:

Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that

- a. he can identify the groups,
- b. he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyse their behavioural systems,
- c. his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adopt his behaviour accordingly,
- d. he is still able to adapt his behaviour.

So in this view, the individual constructs, at a rather unconscious level, his or her own sociolinguistic profile from the multidimensional space that he or she is located in – i.e. from the complex configuration of interrelationships between linguistic features and social factors. His or her own verbal repertoire will be acquired as a particular combination of linguistic characteristics resulting from different source contributions and social features. Although this view can help us look at the speech community from the inside, we must bear in mind that each individual is unique in

his/her experience of acquiring speech, and, as Hudson (1980:12) puts it, "no two speakers have the same language, because no two speakers have the same experience of language".

Even a structural linguist like Martinet, who followed the Saussurean tradition in considering *langue*, the system of language, as the object of linguistic inquiry, acknowledges the fact that a community cannot be considered as composed of individuals speaking alike in all respects, and that people may well belong to two or more linguistic communities, according to the language, and/or the different varieties of the same language they use. He goes on so far as to claim that even a person who speaks only one language may understand other languages provided, of course, that he has had the opportunity to hear it frequently. Here's his original text (1964a:148-9):

1° aucune communauté linguistique ne peut être considérée comme composée d'individus parlant une langue en tous points semblable; 2° il y a des millions d'êtres humains qui appartiennent à deux ou plus de deux communautés linguistiques, c'est-à-dire qui, selon leurs interlocuteurs, emploient une langue ou une autre ; 3° il n'est pas rare qu'une personne qui ne parle qu'une seule langue en comprenne plusieurs ; 4° la plupart des hommes sont susceptibles d'employer, selon les situations, des formes assez divergentes d'une même langue ; 5° ceux qui n'utilisent pas activement différentes formes de ce type comprennent en général sans difficulté celles qu'ils ont l'occasion d'entendre assez fréquemment¹⁵.

An interesting issue that is too important to evade at this point concerns a basic standpoint taken by Labov who argues that linguistic variability cannot be explained by looking only to the individual, which is the theoretical approach adopted in Chomskyan linguistics for the study of linguistic competence. To represent his sociolinguistic structures and the regular patterns observed in the speech of various social groups, Labov argues for a community grammar as opposed to competence grammar which relies heavily on the intuitive judgements of an individual 'ideal'

speaker. Emphasizing the issue that theories of language use cannot rest upon intuitive judgments of individuals, he writes (1972b:124):

[...] we now know enough about language in its social context to realize that the grammar of the speech community is more regular and systematic than the behavior of one individual. Unless the speech pattern is studied within the overall system of the community, it will appear as a mosaic of unaccountable and sporadic variation.

So, as a clear position related to the question 'Is language in the individual or in the community?', Labov regards a speech community as displaying a kind of collective grammar which can only be observable in a social quantitative investigation of speech. Indeed, in a later article (Labov 1989:52), he insists on the fact that

Individual behavior can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community. Language is not a property of the individual, but of the community. Any description of a language must take the speech community as its object if it is to do justice to the elegance and regularity of linguistic structure.

In the light of the various definitions of 'speech community' put forward by different scholars, one conclusion that might be drawn is that whatever view of 'speech community' we consider, there appears to be a general convergence on two major defining characteristics: 'density of communication' and 'shared norms' which Guy (1988:49-50)¹⁶ describes as follows:

By *density of communication* is meant simply that members of a speech community talk more to each other than they do to outsiders; [...]

The other, equally important, criterion – *shared norms* – refers to a common set of evaluative judgements, a community-wide knowledge of what is considered good or bad and what is appropriate for what kind of (socially defined) occasion.

There are of course various types of norms in relation to different aspects of social behaviour, but sociolinguists are concerned with linguistic norms and how they are correlated with extralinguistic factors.

We could perhaps at this stage make a reflection about the types of speech communities that can be observed in the Algerian society as a whole, and in Tlemcen in particular, bearing in mind that there are various types of communities ranging from very small rural, and thus rather linguistically uniform areas where the same speech variety is used with little variation, to large urban centres with considerable linguistic variation and frequent mixing of codes as a result of contacts between users of different varieties.

In the light of what has been mentioned above, that is, the necessity to take into account both social and linguistic factors to determine what a speech community is, we may consider the Algerian people as constituting one 'macro' community organized around social, cultural and political characteristics, a multi-dimensional space in which the members locate themselves, feeling they make up a community that is set off from neighbouring communities, particularly those of Morocco, Tunisia and the other countries of the Maghreb in spite of the pan-Arabic belonging felt on a much wider dimension. But within the Algerian macro-community, limited by the Algerian national borders, smaller communities have to be distinguished on the basis of geographical areas and according to the types of varieties used:

- mostly Colloquial Arabic (the mother tongue of most Algerians) with different varieties distributed all over the country: urban forms in ancient towns such as Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen; rural forms in other areas. It is worth mentioning at this level that, as a result of people's mobility today, mixtures of urban and rural varieties have emerged in many towns and cities;
- a modern form of Classical Arabic, called MSA, used particularly in different kinds of written mode but also in formal political speech, in written and

spoken media and of course as the medium of education. As for genuine CA, it seems to be restricted to religious sermons¹⁷ in addition to its function as “the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature.”(Ferguson 1959a);

- various Berber dialects in a few scattered areas of the country (in Kabylia in the North, the M'zab North of the Sahara, the Touareg in the South, and the Chaoui in the East...); these are said to be unrelated to Arabic, but it is worth noting that, as a result of the influence of the first arabisation wave in North Africa, they include a great number of Arabic lexical borrowings that have long become part of the Berber lexical repertoire¹⁸. It is worth noting that many, if not most, of the Berber people speak AA as a result of their acceptance of Islam and Arabic, and their contacts with its Arabic speakers in urban areas. They are also familiar with MSA because of its use in education or at least in their religious practices;

- as a colonial heritage, the French language has long become part and parcel of the Algerian linguistic configuration. Indeed, in addition to its status as the previous language of education and administration, and as a second language today, it is considered a window on the modern emancipated world. In this respect, Ben Bella, the first president of independent Algeria, insisted, in a speech he made on October 5th 1962, that the national language would be taught in primary school in parity with the French language, and adds that “French should not be neglected, for it is an essential vehicle for the acquisition and comprehension of modern techniques”¹⁹. The French cultural influence and the strong linguistic presence of French today characterize Algeria – and the two other countries in North Africa, though to a much lesser extent – as having “a different personality from the other Arab states”, as Gordon (1978:172)²⁰ says.

In view of such complex language background characterizing the Algerian society, and knowing that social factors inevitably impinge on language in various ways and affect the speakers' behaviour, one wonders in what terms we can describe the structure of an Algerian speech community, particularly such as that of Tlemcen which is characterized by persistent dialectal variation in addition to the linguistic phenomena attested in the Algerian society as a whole.

The issue raised here is that, whereas languages and/or varieties of a language exist because social groups consciously claim these languages or varieties as their own, such claim appears to be so weak in the case of Tlemcen native speakers. Where members of a given speech community share norms of linguistic behaviour and a set of attitudes toward their variety (or varieties), and consequently distinguish themselves from people using other varieties, TA native speakers' overall attitude towards their variety does not seem to be positive, in spite of the prestige associated with their long-established town and its deeply-rooted traditions. A number of interesting questions – which constitute the core of our research – raise themselves as we consider today's community of Tlemcen with its extremely heterogeneous make-up both on the linguistic and social levels:

How do people consider their 'living together' and their interaction in the same space? Do they feel they *belong* to the same community sharing the same norms of speech behaviour and linguistic variation? In what sense do groups of people living in the same geographical space, but having acquired distinct substrate language varieties, *feel* they constitute *one* speech community? And if they do represent a single community, why should native TA speakers have to accommodate to non-native speech? And in what way do they negotiate code choice in a given setting? What are the language attitudes of the members of such a community which, as a native subject myself on the research site, I feel to be ostensibly mixed? Do we have to deal with two distinct and conflicting speech communities on the spot for a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen? What are the motives for the negative attitudes displayed toward TA linguistic characteristics, not only by

non-native individuals but also by native speakers themselves, particularly younger males of the late generations? What are the reasons for such a negative behaviour? Then, what makes female native speakers, of whatever age, behave differently towards the vernacular variety, particularly by sticking to its characteristics?

In most part of this research work, we will attempt to put forward some answers to these questions relating to a peculiar sociolinguistic situation in which native TA speakers increasingly avoid using some vernacular linguistic features of the variety they have acquired as a mother tongue, as the data will show in the next chapters.

We shall adopt the Labovian quantitative paradigm in our investigation of the community as far as linguistic variation in relation to a number of social variables is concerned, but it might perhaps be more fruitful or at least complementary to analyse today's sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen in terms of relationship between individuals and the networks they are involved in.

2.3 Language and Small-scale Social Groups

2.3.1 Social Networks

It has been suggested that it can be more productive to look at sociolinguistic phenomena from several perspectives and that certain levels of analysis²¹ may prove more useful than others in some situations. We may wish to approach the 'language use/social structure' complex by applying the concept of speech community and by examining patterns of variation in terms of orderly correlation of linguistic variables with social characteristics within an overall social class strata dimension (cf. Labov, e.g. 1966, 1972). But analyses on a smaller scale may reveal valuable aspects of speech interaction which might be blurred by overlapping larger social groups. We could then better explore some community norms and attitudes by considering how a person 'organises' his/her social contacts with other individuals and the reasons for his or her linguistic behaviour. Such a set of connections, or 'network', has been

used by Labov with adolescents in Harlem (Labov *et al.* 1968)²², though the term he used was 'peer group'. But the *network* concept, borrowed from anthropology into sociolinguistics, has been principally emphasised by the Milroys (Milroy and Milroy 1978), particularly by Leslie Milroy (1980 and 1987a) in her studies conducted about the working-class vernacular in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

A social network analysis is rather micro-sociological in focus and does not require social class groupings of any kind, because one individual from a given socio-economic level may well weave contacts, in the course of his/her life, with people from various socio-economic levels; and thus, the network approach which considers people's socializing behaviour and the extent to which they are involved in the community, has proved extremely efficient in revealing an individual's speech patterns in accordance with his/her day-to-day face-to-face interactions. Then, as Holmes (2001:183) points out,

Social networks move the focus from social features of the speaker alone, such as status, gender, age and ethnicity, to characteristics of the interaction between people.

What is interesting about the method is that it offers a way of observing how an individual speaker behaves in a variety of ways according to the role relations and the ties knitted with other individuals within the network. Indeed, deep insights into social processes in language can be gained by means of carefully and properly designed methods of approaching particular individual role-relations. Emphasizing the importance of the study of the individual's social network, Downes (1998: 196) says that:

It provides us with a radically different perspective from that of an analysis based on secondary group membership. [...] the methodology has universal application. As we saw, stratification applies only to one type of society. But everyone lives within a social network irrespective of the type of larger society.

Within the context of today's overall movements towards towns and large cities, an individual might come from a rural origin and have social relations with native urban individuals. This is precisely what often happens in the case of the speech community of Tlemcen: rural Arabic speech users are in constant relationship with TA speakers. Therefore, by using social network as a category to analyse linguistic variation, there is no real need for considering how society is organised in terms of class and status, and as J. Milroy (1992:84) says:

We need only accept the fact that individuals have social contacts with other individuals, because social network is about individuals and the relationships that can be contracted between them, and not primarily based on pre-defined group structures.

Seen this way, the concept of social network is universally applicable, for, all individuals anywhere have contacts with other individuals on varying grounds, whereas the class-based methodology may not (and indeed cannot) apply to all types of societies. One may wonder how one could make use of Labov's stratificational social theory to confront, for instance, the problems of sociolinguistic variation in a community such as that of Tlemcen where three linguistic phenomena make up what is seen as common speech: namely, multidialectalism (the use of different Arabic varieties), diglossia (the existence side by side of the High variety vs. Low varieties) and bilingualism (Arabic/French). Furthermore, if the Labovian paradigm, which relies heavily on social class rankings and style differentiation, is appropriate to a large extent for investigating western societies characterised by similar capitalist economies and class systems, it may not apply in an analogous way to the Algerian context and to other non-industrial countries because of their different economies based predominantly on agriculture along with a relatively small industrial sector. In such societies, class profiles are to be determined on different grounds, mainly on the fact that large populations lived in rural areas until quite recently, but also in relation to the different religious and traditional beliefs and practices. The point is

that, for historical and economic reasons on the one hand, and certainly for religious and cultural ones on the other, class profiles in the Algerian society are rather imprecise. Of course, there are wealthy families as well as poor people but, in any case, such differences in terms of wealth and power are not reflected in people's linguistic behaviour; that is, linguistic variables, particularly insofar as the mother tongue is concerned, are not distributed so as to match socio-economic status. Speech forms of the Low variety are used in a rather homogeneous way whatever the social status of the speaker: the use of TA glottal stop, for instance, is not associated with rich or poor people in Tlemcen the way Cockney glottal stop and the *in'* form characterize lower working class people in London. Moreover, while RP English, the most prestigious form associated with power and higher social status, is the mother tongue of a number of British citizens, Standard Arabic is not normally used in everyday speech in Algeria, and thus, does not represent a particular class of people, except for highly educated individuals when discussing serious topics and trying to express complex ideas in formal or semi-formal settings.

There is no doubt that the quantitative paradigm provided by Labov – the consideration of social class stratification and style shifting as a major methodology for the analysis of sociolinguistic variation – has yielded deep insights into the relationship between language use and language structure and taught us more about linguistic variability and the mechanisms of language change. But these natural linguistic phenomena of variation and change have also been approached from other perspectives, particularly the network methodology which allows the observation of variation patterns *within* smaller groups. Furthermore, as already indicated above, we feel that class-based approaches to linguistic variation in an Algerian Arabic context such as that of Tlemcen will not provide satisfactory results as to the correlation between language use and socio-economic status stratification. In a network approach, we rather look at the individuals' face-to-face associations and examine the nature of whatever interpersonal relations they may have and the type of speech behaviour they display, regardless of their status in the society. In this

regard, Romaine (2000:84) says that networks “may cut across social class boundaries and they may also reveal differences within social classes.” That is, as she states (*ibid.* p. 85),

The notion of network is thus more useful than social class and it applies equally to multilingual and monolingual settings.

The network approach developed by L. Milroy (1980), using the measuring elements of network ‘strength’ (i.e. ‘density’ and ‘plexity’), attempts to reveal the nature of the individual’s social transactions in the community and the significance of such relations for linguistic variability. A strong network is characterized by two features at the same time: it is dense if all members of an individual’s network also relate to one another, and multiplex when interactions with others exist on several dimensions. A uniplex network, on the other hand, is loose, i.e., when a person is related to others through only one link, work for instance, or neighbourhood. Hence, each person is bound to live within a social network in the local community, and is therefore involved, to varying extents, in various types of social matters and practices in that network, including speech interaction, of course. A pattern that is worth mentioning here is that the stronger a network is, the more vernacular speech are used, whereas more standard forms can be heard in less constrained groups and among peripheral members. Thus, as Downes (1998:118) states,

Social networks involve more than simply communication. They form the web of transactions which make up the intimate texture of daily life, and as such involve individuals in rights and obligations towards each other.

Indeed, the individual’s linguistic behaviour in a given social network is function of, and thus dependent on, the type of social relations in which he or she participates. What must be emphasized is that, once we belong to a network, we both influence

and are influenced by the speech of the people we interact with on a more or less regular basis, depending on the degree of adhesion to the group; that is our speech patterns clearly reflect the types of networks we belong to. Showing the importance of network linguistic influences on people, Chambers and Trudgill (1980:75) say:

It appears that people are influenced linguistically, as might be expected, much more by members of the social networks to which they belong than by anybody else. Moreover, people who are well integrated into a particular social group may have linguistic characteristics rather different from those who are more peripheral in the group...

Such views of how people get organized in small-scale groups called social networks may help us understand the frequency of speech variation in Tlemcen, in particular, the contexts in which, and the reasons why, some TA native speakers maintain their spontaneous way of speaking, the use of the vernacular, in whatever situation, while a greater number of native people, mostly young male speakers as it can be clearly attested today, accommodate their speech by switching to the non-TA interlocutors' variety. The study of different types of networks, in terms of density of links and/or complexity of relations, has proved very productive in revealing linguistic variability according to the strength of normative pressure exerted on the individuals and the feeling of social identity and solidarity towards the speech norms of the group. The notion of 'solidarity', as we see it, will be useful in characterizing small-scale networks and the varying degrees of adherence to native speech features. But the sociolinguistic concept of 'power', which relates to higher social status and overt prestige forms, will not be emphasized in our study mainly because of the diglossic character of Arabic in Algeria, as we shall see in the next chapter. Rather, by using the network methods and by focussing on the individual's face-to-face interaction, we hope to gain explanatory insight into the varying linguistic patterns in the speech community of Tlemcen.

2.3.2 Communities of Practice

Another way of capturing the complexities of small-scale social groups is proposed by Eckert (1992)²³ in her study of the relations between different groups of students in an American high school, distinguished mostly in terms of those who reject school values and those who accept them. Her 'communities of practice' have allowed some sociolinguists to focus on social groups which make more sense than higher-level abstract categories such as class and gender, with the aim of emphasizing the way in which individuals behave linguistically to construct various identities in various social interactions. Putting the emphasis on people's involvement in structured social groups, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:57-58) state that

It is through participation in a range of communities of practice that people participate in society, and forge a sense of their place and their possibilities in society [...] Communities of practice do not emerge randomly, but are structured by the kind of situations that present themselves in different places in society.

In the context of our work, a native TA adolescent, for instance, with the identities he has acquired with his family, then during his socialisation process and at school with peers, will 'learn' to build another type of identity when interacting with young boys of his age who use a variety that is different from the one he has acquired at home. The strength of this micro-level method, just like that of social networks, lies in its efficiency for describing, as Holmes (2001:190) points out,

the detail and complexity of what goes on in day-to-day interactions between individuals [...] They allow us to examine the ways in which individuals use linguistic resources in dynamic and constructive ways to express various social identities – [...] Indeed, it is these moment-to-moment linguistic choices which ultimately create the larger-scale patterns.

In fact, whatever the type of society, each individual may be seen as belonging to a number of communities of practice whose configuration varies according to the members' particular objectives, their ways of interacting and the attitudes they share (e.g. sports team, work group, and so on...). Interestingly, this type of investigation allows for describing not only the linguistic patterns that correlate with long-term communities of practice but also temporary groupings such as those organised for a party, a conference or a visiting expedition. The methods of investigation used in Milroy's social networks or in Eckert's 'community of practice' are different from that of the classical Labovian approach – except for those used by Labov himself in the late 1960s and early 1970s, particularly in the study of African American groups who, getting organized in close-knit clusters, have developed a distinct variety of English that he (1972*b*) calls Black English Vernacular (BEV)²⁴.

The researcher's aim for the observation of genuinely informal speech is to try to gain access to the network or to the community practice through a friend or an acquaintance, and in fact, one advantage of the method is that, as a friend of a friend, the field-researcher will become part of the group and takes the opportunity for analysing the network individuals' practices and social activities as social data to which speech may be related. But while interacting with the members of a particular network or a community of practice, however competent in the language he or she might be, the participant-observer, who is usually an outsider, may not be competent enough, that is sociolinguistically, to interpret the social significance of individuals' speech patterns and to communicate appropriately, unless he or she has 'learned' to share the group norms of language use, at least to a certain extent, for even "speakers of the same language may have difficulties in communicating if they do not share norms for the use of that language in interaction" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:56). As a matter of fact, communicative competence, which we consider in the next section, can only be achieved, normally, along with the acquisition of the native tongue during the child's socialisation process.

2.4 Communicative Competence

All languages exhibit a great deal of variation and sociolinguists aim at describing how people vary their speech in different social contexts. The ability to produce a number of varieties may vary from one individual to another; that is, not all speakers control practices of various forms of speech in the community to the same extent. Moreover, as Wardhaugh (1992:51) states, “our *receptive* linguistic ability is much greater than our *productive* linguistic ability so far as varieties of a language are concerned.” Multilingual communities too are concerned with this competence-performance duality. In Algeria, for instance, many people often interact in French, in addition to their mother tongue(s) – either regularly switching from one code to the other or, more often, mixing them intra-sententially in single utterances – though to different degrees according to the speaker’s motivation and level of instruction. The fact is that a large number of Algerian speakers understand French more than they actually use it.

To account for this ability to understand and produce utterances appropriately in different situational contexts, Hymes (1971*b*,1972) has used the term *communicative competence* in opposition to Chomsky’s (1965) linguistic competence which refers to the speaker’s knowledge of the grammatical rules of the language abstracted from its use in context. So, what does it mean to become a competent speaker? In other words, how is communicative competence acquired? The coining of the phrase itself is self-explanatory and suggests a type of language ability that is more broadly based than Chomskyan linguistic competence. Equating knowledge of language grammar with effective language use, Hymes (1972:279) says:

The acquisition of competence for use, indeed, can be stated in the same terms as acquisition of competence for grammar. Within the developmental matrix in which knowledge of the sentences of a language is acquired, children also acquire knowledge of a set of ways in which sentences are used.

Then, emphasizing the importance of the relationship between language structure and social factors in getting the children to achieve the goal of communicating appropriately, he argues (*ibid.*):

From a finite experience of speech acts and their interdependence with sociocultural features, they develop a general theory of the speaking appropriate in their community, which they employ, like other forms of tacit cultural knowledge (competence), in conducting and interpreting social time.

Sociolinguists have argued that linguistic competence should include much more than just knowledge of well-formed sentences as opposed to ungrammatical ones, because learning how to *use* a language is perhaps more important than just knowing its structural rules. The concept of 'communicative competence' is more inclusive as it has been proposed to refer not only to the speaker's underlying knowledge of grammar rules, but also, perhaps more crucially, to the psychological, cultural and social rules that the speaker must control in relation to language use in different social interactions. That is, communicative competence is much more complex than linguistic competence – which is but a part of it – as it encompasses a much wider range of abilities. Hudson (1996:224) points out in this respect:

If communicative competence is to cover all these types of ability underlying successful speech, it must include at least the whole of 'linguistic competence' plus the whole of the amorphous range of facts included under 'pragmatics' (knowledge applied in using linguistic items in context).

Speakers, however, are not necessarily consciously aware of such a capacity, which Fishman (1972)²⁵ describes as 'sociolinguistic communicative competence', when involved in varied role-relations in their social networks or communities. So, in addition to our knowledge of all well-formed utterances of the language, we constantly draw upon our sociolinguistic competence to communicate efficiently

with our interlocutors. Hymes (1964, 1972) has often insisted that the degree of communicative competence is function of the knowledge of how to interact within a speech community *and* how to do it appropriately. An outsider, in the sense of stranger in a given speech community, though not necessarily speaking a different language, may not only be misunderstood because of his/her ignorance of the speech norms in that community, but may also feel offended by badly interpreted forms. Such misinterpretations also occur in cases of mixture of varieties or languages. In the Algerian context, a speaker with little or no fluency in the way most Algerian people talk – that is, the very common way of mixing AA with a great number of French words and expressions, and/or switching consistently between the two languages – would refrain from participating in such a conversation for lack of competency in holding it, or for fear of being mocked at.

Communicative competence can be observed certainly more concretely in multilingual communities, for it involves choosing the variety that suits the situation best from the languages at play along with appropriate styles in the selected one, or switching between two languages. In the context of our investigation, for instance, children acquire their mother tongue; then they learn other varieties for other functions: ‘school’ Arabic (MSA), and soon afterwards French, in formal education. Mixing varieties, too, is obviously part of an individual’s communicative competence, both in production and comprehension. Showing the importance of the internal organisation of some particular networks or speech communities, Fishman (1972)²⁶ says:

Native members of such networks or communities slowly and unconsciously acquire *sociolinguistic communicative competence* with respect to appropriate language usage. They are not necessarily aware of the norms that guide their sociolinguistic behavior. Newcomers to such networks or communities – including sociolinguistic researchers – must discover these norms more rapidly, more painfully and, therefore, more consciously.

Although there are difficulties in specifying the all-embracing character of communicative competence and, in Wardhaugh's words (1992:373), "in trying to explain how it develops in individuals", we cannot afford to ignore such a crucial notion if we are to gain a full understanding of speakers' underlying knowledge of the necessary rules to communicate successfully in their environment, their attitudes towards language variation, and, on the whole, the dynamic relation between the language system and the social structure of the community. Indeed, only by handling this 'bundle' of linguistic, social and cultural phenomena can a speaker be considered effectively competent, and function as a member of a speech community. In other words, in order to be communicatively competent, each member in a speech community is required to be able to select, according to the communication context, the appropriate variety, style or speech form among those available in his or her 'linguistic repertoire', an important concept that has been worthy of sociolinguistic consideration, as we shall see in the next section.

2.5 The Linguistic Repertoire

The issue of variation in all types of speech communities, whether they are monolingual or multilingual, has led to the coining of the concept *linguistic repertoire*, a notion that accounts for a number of more or less distinct varieties within a speech community, and in the speech of individuals. In contrast to the concept of linguistic code, and to the notion of homogeneity represented in De Saussure's *langue*, Gumperz (1964:137)²⁷ elaborated the term *linguistic repertoire* to illustrate the existence of code varieties in a linguistic community. The term refers, as he says, to "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction." When interacting with their interlocutors, about different topics in different contexts, speakers are constantly under the constraint of making the proper choice of language variety, or style from the whole range of varieties available in their repertoires to communicate appropriately,

presumably without being fully aware of doing so. In this regard, Duranti (1997:71) says that "speaking a language means to be involved in a continuous process of decision-making, although not necessarily a conscious one."

It should be interesting to attempt to find out whether an individual's linguistic repertoire might ever be close to that of the whole community, but this can only be determined through arduous empirical work which accounts not only for people's various ways of interacting in diverse situations, but also of other issues such as size and boundaries of the community under investigation. In this respect, emphasizing the speakers' actual use and the specific variants of speech of particular populations, Gumperz (1968)²⁸ uses the term *verbal repertoire* to refer to the "totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community". This concept, which can be applied both to groups and individuals, is then regarded as comprising the whole range of dialects, registers and styles. The choice of one or another code among the varieties in a monolingual speech community may have the same social significance as the choice of one language over another in a multilingual setting.

A few questions arise as to the benefit of studying the linguistic repertoire in a community: How can this concept help us in understanding the processes of linguistic variation? On what grounds do individual speakers choose one code or another in a given communication interaction? Are linguistic repertoires treated the same way in different types of social groups, or are certain social systems more vulnerable than others as far as maintenance of functional differentiation within their repertoires is concerned?

To account for a bilingual / diglossic situation such as the one characterizing the Algerian society, we are faced with an extremely complex background consisting of a multitude of intertwined linguistic repertoires: the continuum made up by a whole range of varieties from Colloquial Arabic up to its most prestigious forms, MSA and CA; the varieties of Berber origin (though only a few areas are concerned with these); the French language used in its different forms ranging from the standard to what we may well call 'Algerian French', for its heavy admixture of AA words and

expressions. All these repertoires, however, will not be found in the speech of any one individual, and thus we expect that the repertoires controlled by individual members will differ to different extents. Bell (1976:105) describes the individual speaker as “possessing a set of codes— each appropriate to a set of role relationships, within the context of a set of domains – which constitute his *repertoire*.”

As a matter of fact, an individual may possess a whole range of strategies that allow him to interact as effectively as possible with the members of his or her community. That is, individual speakers draw upon the set of codes available to them and choose what suits the interaction best; they learn to modify and accommodate their speech behaviour according to the audience and the communication exchange. An individual’s repertoire is thus function of his/her communicative competence. The more varieties of speech he/she controls, the more easily and the more successfully he/she behaves linguistically in the society. The bilingual speaker, for instance, as Hamers and Blanc (2000:255) point out, “possesses a far wider repertoire of adaptive devices and modification devices than the monolingual speaker.”

Fishman (1972)²⁹ draws our attention to the hypothesis that the varieties in a linguistic repertoire of a speech community are associated with different functions and the sociolinguistic pattern of that community is sustained “as long as the functional differentiation of the varieties in its linguistic repertoire is systematically and widely maintained”. But if two varieties become allocated to the same societal function, “one must either displace the other or a new functional differentiation must be arrived at between them.”(ibid.).

On the ground of such a view about the possible change in the linguistic repertoire, we may consider today’s situation in the speech community of Tlemcen where two varieties co-exist side by side, but not necessarily for different functions; that is, Tlemcen Arabic and a rural form of Arabic are not in complementary distribution, as is the case for the diglossic relationship CA/AA. But because the overwhelming number of rural speech users and the native speakers have been

brought into increasing interaction in a number of day-to-day domains such as school, work, trade, sports, etc., we wonder again whether rural speech will not displace the native speakers' 'mother tongue', at least in a set of situations. There is much evidence that, as we shall see throughout our research work, a growing number of natives, particularly male speakers, have definitely introduced a rural variety in their repertoire which they use in certain contexts. Moreover, a great number of younger males, who experience frequent contacts with non-TA speakers, seem to have adopted non-TA linguistic forms definitely in all situations, even in the most unconstrained domains such as home and friendship. Such behaviour makes one wonder, as we have done repeatedly above: Will native speakers give up their mother tongue altogether in the long run by progressively removing TA features from their linguistic repertoire and replacing them by rural forms? Or will native womankind, with their strong conservative nature, prevent the loss of Tlemcen speech by 'putting a brake' on the seemingly inexorable recession of its specific linguistic forms (e.g. the glottal stop)? Or will the linguistic situation in Tlemcen end up being characterized by stable bi-dialectalism that includes a sort of mixed variety combining the two varieties of Arabic, above all in the speech of younger people?

It is crystal clear that the linguistic repertoires of younger generation speakers are utterly distinct from those of previous ones. This can easily be attested, in apparent time, in the speech of older people from Tlemcen who tend to maintain the integral form of TA with all its characteristics in spite of their exposition to rural speech; and in real time, a great deal of data can be collected effortlessly to assess the large extent to which young native adolescents' ways of speaking seem to undergo a fast alteration of TA, as we argue in our work. A far-reaching issue raises itself: Are we about to witness dialect shift in the speech community of Tlemcen? Different social and psychological factors may contribute to the prevalence of a set of linguistic repertoires over others and eventually to the speed of language shift in a community.

A very attractive instance illustrating language shift, which has been largely documented in sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Fishman 1972), concerns most immigrants to the United States who definitely lost their mother tongues over a couple of generations as a result of continuous interactive communication with English-speaking Americans. The overwhelming influence they experienced from the dominant majority language, mainly in the domains of education and work, but also in many other everyday relations, made their community's verbal repertoire shrink in an inexorable way till the shift process was complete, while the native language may continue to be used elsewhere. The same process of language shift or language loss has occurred in many parts of the world, particularly in countries with the so-called dominant world languages (e.g. many North African immigrants of Arab or Berber origins in France, speakers of South Asian languages in Britain, etc.)

As for today's situation in Tlemcen, it seems too early to speak of dialect shift, for, notwithstanding the increasing number of native speakers whose linguistic repertoire includes the rural Arabic variant, TA is still allocated to many functions, particularly those encounters which involve intimate people, family members and friends. Yet, some linguistic items specific to TA speech, which will be considered in terms of linguistic variability in Chapter 4, have long turned out to be so strongly stigmatised, and therefore often avoided – again particularly by younger male speakers –, that they may be displaced by rural characteristics. Indeed, these stereotypes might have disappeared altogether had not there been a kind of strong hindrance from the part of womenfolk, in particular. But, before moving to the exploration of native TA speakers' behaviour towards such idiosyncratic features in relation to some extra-linguistic variables, and before attempting to show how their drastic decrease in use leading to complete loss is questionable, let us look at the concept of 'linguistic variable' which has been put forward by sociolinguists as an analytical tool to corroborate the hypothesis that linguistic variation is socially conditioned.

2.6 The Linguistic Variable

The late 19th century witnessed valuable historical explorations of dialects, first viewing the spreading out of linguistic forms in terms of geographical space. But dialectologists also paid attention to people's speech habits in different communities though their approach was diachronic, in the main, and rather concerned with rural dialects for their conservative character and their relation with older speech forms. Undoubtedly, such work has provided a basis for the foundation and development of sociolinguistic research (Bell 1976; Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Romaine 2000). But, while rural dialectology was concerned with mapping the various geographical distributions of different linguistic features with the aim of drawing up boundaries (represented by what they have called isoglosses) to distinguish different dialect areas, sociolinguistics has required different techniques of investigation as it first deals with large urbanized areas and social dialects. Many techniques such as sampling, statistical treatment of data, statements related to the inherent nature of language, to the process of language acquisition and language change and the social functions of dialect differentiation, derive from Labov's pioneering work (1963, 1966, 1972*a*, 1972*b*). Labov has developed a basic conceptual tool that he calls the 'linguistic variable' and that he has used, in his work on Martha's Vineyard (1963), for example, "to serve as the focus for the study of a speech community." (Labov 1972*a*:7-8). The concept has been described by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:60) as "a linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in covariation with other social and/or linguistic variables". Emphasizing the value of studying linguistic variables, Labov (1972*a*:72) says that their correct analysis is "the most important step in sociolinguistic investigation", and suggests three steps in analysing them: (ibid: 71)

- enumerating the range of contexts in which the variable occurs;
- distinguishing as many phonetic variants as is reasonably possible;
- assigning each variant a quantitative index.

Very useful for characterizing linguistic variation in social environment, the concept of linguistic variable has indeed made major contributions to the development of sociolinguistic research. Wardhaugh (1994:142) defines it as

an item in the structure of a language, an item that has alternate realizations, as one speaker realizes it one way and another a different way or the same speaker realizes it differently on different occasions.

The linguistic variable, an important concept used in quantitative sociolinguistic studies, refers to a linguistic item which varies in a socially significant way; that is, its different realisations are correlated with some social factor. In all kinds of speech communities we can discern interesting linguistic variables, worthy of consideration as they may reveal interesting characteristics about people's language behaviour and the sociolinguistic structure of a given society as a whole. A linguistic variable may be a phonological, lexical or syntactic unit with two or more variants with alternate realizations, the reasons of which make up the core of sociolinguistic variation studies. As a matter of fact, linguistic variables do not vary in a random way but in co-variation with extra-linguistic factors such as social class, age, gender, and so on. In English for example, the (ing) variable (represented between brackets, following Labov) in words like *fish(ing)* and *noth(ing)* is pronounced with the velar variant [ŋ] associated with formal speech and consistently used by speakers of higher social classes, while its counterpart, the alveolar [n], as in *fishin'* and *nothin'*, is common among lower class speakers or, on the whole, when the degree of formality decreases (from Labov's 1966a, 1972a work in New York City; Trudgill's 1974 in Norwich; etc.).

In the speech community of Tlemcen, too, there are a number of linguistic variables whose differential uses clearly reveal correlations with some extra-linguistic factor, and thereby engender social attitudes towards TA as a whole.

A linguistic variable that we shall deal with at length in our work is the glottal stop (ʔ) with its three variants [ʔ], [g] and [q] used by native speakers to different extents and in different situations. The point is that, whatever the variants used, socially significant linguistic variables can be attested, presumably, in all types of speech communities. It is indeed commonplace to find, in all languages, words that bear distinctive social meanings according to the different ways they are pronounced by different social groups, and/or in different contexts. Hence, the linguistic variable functions as “a social differentiator” as described in Labov (1972a:44). Linguistic variation is thus socially conditioned, and significant sociolinguistic structures can be brought to light by careful use of quantitative methodology. The opposition of two variants – e.g. *h*-dropping vs. *h*-presence in the English variable (*h*), as in the word *house* – reflects a sharp stratification in the social structure. There are variants which are felt to be prestigious in a speech community, while others bear a stigma and thus are usually avoided by relatively conscious speakers in certain contexts. The instance of the variable (*r*) (post-vocalic /r/) is particularly interesting to sociolinguists studying English-speaking communities (e.g. Labov 1966a; Trudgill 1974). What is peculiar, and interesting at the same time, about this linguistic variable is that, while the *r-less* form is unanimously regarded as prestigious and thus more ‘correct’ by virtue of its use in RP, the reverse pattern is true in many parts of the United States: i.e., it is the *r-full* variant which has long become a prestige form there (Labov 1972a), and it is *r-less* speech which is associated with lower status. It should be appropriate, then, to consider post-vocalic /r/ as a different sociolinguistic variable in different speech communities. Indeed, as Downes (1998:136) points out, “prestige accents in Britain and North America – RP and General American respectively – provide ‘polar norms’ of non-rhotic and rhotic speech”.

Similarly, while the realisation of /q/ as [ʔ] in TA is viewed negatively, it has acquired prestige in Egypt and some other countries in the Middle East. In any case, the change in the ‘behaviour’ of post-vocalic /r/, that is, its relative loss in Great

Britain and its progressive gain in the United States, clearly shows the “inescapable effects of social factors in the diffusion of linguistic change”, as Downes (1998:174) says. This has led Trudgill (1974:10) to argue that

[...] value judgements about language are, from a linguistic point of view, completely arbitrary. There is nothing inherent in non-prevocalic /r/ that is good or bad, right or wrong, sophisticated or uncultured. Judgements of this kind are social judgements based on the social connotations that a particular feature has in the area in question.

We can see from these few classic instances of sociolinguistic work (Labov's in New York City, 1966 and Trudgill's in Norwich, 1974a) the extent to which the study of linguistic variables, involved in co-variation with other variables, has allowed progress in quantitative analysis of sociolinguistic data and provided insightful evaluations about the sociolinguistic structure of the society. Linguistic variables have indeed been considered by quantitative sociolinguists “to serve as the focus for the study of a speech community” (Labov, 1972a:7-8). In an earlier work, Labov (1970)³⁰ referred to this tool as a *sociolinguistic variable* that he defines “as one which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting, etc.” He then distinguishes between three types of sociolinguistic variables. What he calls (ibid.) *indicators* “show a regular distribution over socio-economic, ethnic, or age groups, but are used by each individual in more or less the same way in any context.” *Markers* reveal both social and stylistic differentiation and may become *stereotypes* when they “rise to overt social consciousness.” (ibid. p. 195).

Given the different sociocultural and sociolinguistic structure of an Algerian speech community such as that of Tlemcen, we wonder in what way Labov's methods of considering sociolinguistic variables may apply to a context where the so-called prestige forms are only used in CA or MSA Arabic varieties which do not represent the mother tongue of any speaker in Algeria. And therefore, in opposition

to what occurs in a formal conversation in English or French (the fact that speakers of any dialect avoid stigmatized features and monitor their speech towards the use of standard forms), a similar formal spoken discourse in Algeria would require MSA, a variety which is only mastered by educated people³¹, or by speakers who are competent enough in using what has been termed a 'middle language' (Ferguson 1970)³², *Al Lughat l Wuṣṭā* (Al-Toma 1969), a variety with a great number of lexical borrowings and some phonological and syntactic features from CA or MSA. Thus, in such a constrained speech situation, an Algerian speaker will not shift, *within* the colloquial variety, from casual to careful style, as an English speaker does, but tries, if he/she is competent enough, to code-switch radically towards the High variety.

But in our attempt to study linguistic variables in everyday spontaneous speech, i.e., the use of the local Arabic variety (or varieties), and bearing in mind that their correct analysis is the "most important step in sociolinguistic investigation" as Labov (1972a: 72) says, we will probably have difficulties in applying Labov's method of eliciting socially stratified linguistic variables and correlating them with style. The glottal stop variable, for instance, henceforth represented in brackets (?), the most salient linguistic variable in the speech community of Tlemcen, will reveal the extent to which native speakers maintain or conceal their local vernacular, and the contexts in which its three variants [ʔ, g, q] are used. But it cannot be regarded, we believe, as an index of a socio-economic class or of style dimension, as we shall try to show in our investigation. In view of Labov's (1970)³³ sociolinguistic structure, and his terminology, shall we consider the variable (?) as a stratified indicator or as a marker? Or is it indeed a stereotype that has risen "to overt social consciousness"? In spite of the lack of coherence that one continually observes in the speech of any one individual, a patterned structure will emerge through a quantitative study of the variants used in the community. The hypothesis is that the variants of (?) in Tlemcen do not occur randomly. They are rather well-structured, as we shall attempt to show throughout our investigation. We shall focus on a number of pre-determined linguistic variables that we think in advance occur in certain

contexts, but are avoided in others. The pre-determined list of linguistic variables in the study of a speech community presupposes that the investigator starts with a range of hypotheses about the way a given variable relates to extra-linguistic variables. There is enough evidence as to the fact that the glottal stop is a linguistic variable that most – if not all – speakers are aware of in the speech community of Tlemcen, and even in many other parts of the country where it has become a sort of marker of Tlemcen speech. The use of the different variants of (?), as we shall see in Chapter 4, is clearly related to social variables such as age, gender, and context.

Apart from the glottal stop, we shall look at other phonological variables which are less overtly prominent, but TA also displays morphological and especially lexical variables that are particularly interesting for the analysis of the community as they can clearly be related to social behaviour and to speakers' attitudes. As a native speaker of Tlemcen, and having already sketched out a preliminary research in my hometown (Dendane 1993), I can safely put forward the hypothesis that a number of TA features will be maintained, in spite of their idiosyncrasy within the boundaries of the country as a whole. But the glottal stop, its most characteristic feature, reflects – as a linguistic variable with the alternating use of its variants in different settings – a dynamic relation to social variables and an index of an on-going process of sound change, or rather sound loss, presumably resulting from negative attitudes towards the variant [ʔ] upon which social pressures seem to operate continually. But of course, to test this and other hypotheses against our assumptions, we shall have to go through a sufficient body of data collected with the help of the various methods that have proved fruitful in sociolinguistic investigation: conversation recordings in different social contexts and other techniques such as questionnaires and interviews, which we intend to use in order to obtain natural language behaviour, and the matched-guise technique to elicit attitudes toward language variation.

It should be borne in mind that when different linguistic variants carry social meanings, or are associated with particular groups, and are accordingly either highly valued or downgraded by members of a speech community, there is nothing

inherently good or bad about them from a linguistic point of view. Sociolinguists (e.g. Trudgill 1974) have insisted so much on the point that [ŋ] and [n], the two variants of the English variable (ŋ), for instance, are linguistically alike, and neither should be regarded as 'better' or more 'correct'. Rather, the purpose of examining the distribution of a linguistic variable is to see how its various realisations can differentiate the users socially and regionally. In this regard, Coates (1993:62) says that

Speakers' use of linguistic variables is one of the ways in which they locate themselves in social space. Linguistic variables, in other words, are linguistically equivalent but socially different ways of saying something.

In a bilingual community, such as the one we are concerned with in this research work, lexical items from one language or the other may also be examined on similar grounds as the linguistic variables studied in intra-lingual situations. That is, apart from TA items in contrast with rural lexis (we shall focus on this opposition in Chapter 4), we might also consider as linguistic variables some French lexical borrowings and uses that are embedded in conversations conducted in AA, as well as the use of MSA words and phrases. As a matter of fact, one interesting issue would be to wonder about the reason(s) why Algerian speakers choose to use such French lexical items or expressions on the one hand, and 'Standard Arabic' phrases on the other, when they have the alternative of using AA forms. As already mentioned earlier, this phenomenon, often characterized by unpredictability in lexical choice, is not specific to Tlemcen, but concern the Algerian society as a whole, as we shall see in the next chapter that deals with the overall linguistic situation in the country. For the time being, we can safely claim that favouring the use of non-AA lexis is to be related, at least in part, to some psychological factor, in particular attitudinal reaction to language use.

2.7 Attitudes to Linguistic Variants

There is not too much emphasis in repeating that, linguistically speaking, there is nothing inherently good or bad in a given linguistic variant in a language or a language variety. But it is commonplace that people evaluate others' ways of speaking. In addition to the fact that speech is used, consciously or unconsciously, as a set of clues to social information about the interlocutor, some speech forms in a given community may become stereotypes for their association with social or personal characteristics of members of a group. Thus, a particular pronunciation of a sound, for instance, may be valued negatively because it is used by members of a group who are themselves judged negatively, usually on subjective bases, but also sometimes for some bad or socially unacceptable behaviour. Such evaluation is often prejudiced; in fact, the same speech form may be downgraded or highly valued according to how its users are viewed in the society. A good example provided by Labov (1972a) in his social stratification of variable (r) in New York City shows the different evaluation of postvocalic *r* in the United States as opposed to Britain: *r*-full forms as in [fɔ:r] and [fɔ:rθ] are judged more prestigious in the US, while *r*-less forms are regarded lower in status; but the prestigious RP English forms are non-rhotic, [fɔ:] and [fɔ:θ], and *r*-full variants are undervalued, particularly in formal contexts and educational settings.

Similarly, in the context of the Arab world, the realisation of Standard Arabic /q/ as a glottal stop in Cairene Arabic is commonly associated with a high-status class of people, whereas in Tlemcen it has become stigmatised and negatively commented on, particularly when used by male speakers in mixed settings. This association of [ʔ]-use with effeminate speech in Tlemcen is, of course, by no means based on the nature of the glottal stop itself, but on people's attitudes toward the sound which makes them say "He speaks like a woman!".

People tend also to evaluate their own way of speaking and, generally, a society or a community or a smaller group such as members of a class view their language

on a national scale, or a language variety locally, in terms of pride and positive values. But it may happen that members of a community, particularly in urban areas, 'suffer' from an overall negative attitude toward some of their speech forms, or their 'dialect' as a whole as a result of their lower social status and the social stereotypes associated with their socio-economic conditions. Therefore, these people are led to devalue the way they speak.

In the context of our work, empirical data show that an increasing number of young people in Tlemcen display a high sensitivity as to a number of stigmatised features of their mother tongue, and thus report low values about their way of speaking on the whole in contrast with the AA variety used in the wider area. Such negative feelings among native TA speakers may be seen as analogous to New Yorkers' dislike of their speech, an attitude which Labov (1972a:132) has described in terms of 'linguistic insecurity', though in this case New York speech contrasts with standard speech, while TA is contrasted with rural speech, just another form of Algerian Arabic, *not* with the standard form of Arabic which both groups value in equal terms. In fact, the pattern of lack of linguistic self-confidence is different in more than one respect from a standard-with-dialect situation. In contrast with New York lower class speakers' maintenance of their speech, TA speakers are always ready to swap for widely accepted speech forms. Obviously, this type of switching may be seen as a strategy to avoid downgrading comments and negative attitudes on the part of non-native listeners. After his general observations of his informants' lack of self-confidence in their speech, Labov (1972a:249) raises the question "Why don't all people speak in the way that they obviously believe they should?" The answer to this question seems quite hard, for these people accept the values of the wider community speech forms for their association with power and prestige, and they certainly would wish to be able to adopt these forms to gain respect and social advancement. But if they did, they would not only lose respect from their own group but at the same time, they might not be accepted by the 'powerful group' members. So, on the whole, they prefer to stick to the speech of their group which, in any case,

they consider as having positive values of friendship and wholeheartedness, and other types of value referred to in terms of 'covert prestige' (Trudgill 1974:96).

A few questions can be raised at this level: Do we attest the same type of linguistic insecurity among native TA speakers? Does variation that is obviously attested in their way of speaking result from such insecure feelings? Is it likely that negative attitudes will ultimately result in a drastic alteration of linguistic variants that are so specific to Tlemcen speech? Or will its users only avoid stigmatised features like the glottal stop in certain circumstances? How do native women behave when confronted with such overwhelming downgrading attitudes towards a number of linguistic characteristics in the speech community of Tlemcen?

By and large, the aim of the present study is to attempt to answer these questions, by examining the empirical data recorded on the spot, from a sociolinguistic point of view but also from a social psychological perspective.

For the time being, as a number of aspects of the language situation in Tlemcen characterize at the same time the Algerian society as a whole, the next chapter will be devoted to the description of the linguistic situation in Algeria and issues related to diglossia and bilingualism.

Notes to Chapter 2

- ¹ The notion of 'faṣāha' in Arabic has shifted from its original meaning of 'clarity' to 'purity' and 'beauty' since the first Arabic grammarians of the 4th century of the Hegira. This 'faṣāha', in what is called Classical Arabic, is no longer acquired spontaneously, and thus CA is nobody's mother tongue (Cf. *Linguistique arabe et linguistique appliquée* of A. Hadj Salah, 1979, mentioned in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim, 1997).
- ² In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972:116.
- ³ In Pride and Holmes eds. 1972:181. Excerpts from W. Labov, 'The study of language in its context', *Studium Generale*, vol. 23, 1970, pp. 30-87.
- ⁴ Quoted in Wardhaugh 1992:37.
- ⁵ Quoted in Romaine 1982:13.
- ⁶ My translation from the French text.
- ⁷ Quoted in Duranti 1997:79.
- ⁸ Quoted in Hudson, 1996:24)
- ⁹ Quoted in Hudson, 1996:25.
- ¹⁰ Quoted in Wardhaugh, 1992:120.
- ¹¹ In Giglioli ed., 1972:219.
- ¹² Mentioned in Fasold 1990:41.
- ¹³ Both mentioned in Hudson, 1996:25.
- ¹⁴ Mentioned in Hudson, 1996:26.
- ¹⁵ My translation of Martinet's French text (1964a:148-9): '1° no linguistic community can be considered as consisting of individuals speaking a language that is similar in all respects; 2° there are millions of human beings who belong to two or more linguistic communities, that is who use one language or another, according to their interlocutors; 3° it is not unusual that a person who speaks only one language understands several ones; 4° most men are likely to use, according to the situations, forms of the same language that are divergent enough; 5° those who do not actively use different forms of this type generally understand without difficulty those they have the opportunity to hear quite frequently.'
- ¹⁶ In Newmeyer ed. 1988: 49-50.
- ¹⁷ Even Friday prayers, however, tend to be given in a mixture consisting of CA, MSA and AA.
- ¹⁸ Numbers, for instance, are borrowed from Arabic with apparently no use of equivalent terms in Berber. Also, much classicism from CA and technical words from French are found equally in AA and Berber varieties. But AA has also borrowed many words from different Berber varieties,

though to a much lesser extent than from French (e.g. *fakru:n* 'tortoise; *sakku:m* 'asparagus'; *tiflǝlləs* 'swallow', etc.).

¹⁹ My translation of part of the televised original speech in French: " Dès la prochaine rentrée scolaire, notre langue nationale, l'arabe, sera désormais enseignée en parité avec la langue française dans les écoles primaires... Ainsi, un juste équilibre pourra-t-il être établi au sein d'une même école, qui tiendra compte de la nécessité de concilier la restauration de notre langue et de notre culture nationales tout en ne négligeant pas la langue française, instrument véhiculaire et indispensable à l'acquisition et à la compréhension des techniques modernes. "

²⁰ Quoted by Bourhis (1982:44), in Bouchard Ryan and Giles (1982).

²¹ The usual hierarchy adopted is: speech community – social groups – social networks – individuals.

²² Mentioned by Guy in Newmeyer ed. 1988:54.

²³ Mentioned by Holmes. 2001:188.

²⁴ BEV was later on called AAEV (African American English Vernacular).

²⁵ In Giglioli ed., 1972:49.

²⁶ In Giglioli ed. 1972:49.

²⁷ Quoted in Duranti 1997:71.

²⁸ In Giglioli ed. 1972:230.

²⁹ In Giglioli ed. 1972:51.

³⁰ In Pride and Holmes ed. 1972:188.

³¹ Particularly the 'Arabophone' élite.

³² In Pride and Holmes ed. 1972:116.

³³ In Giglioli ed. 1972:283.

Chapter 3

*The Language Situation
in Algeria*

3. The Language Situation in Algeria

3.1 Introduction

Several factors have been responsible for the complexity reflected in today's linguistic situation in Algeria, some being historical, others political and still others socio-cultural. It is undeniable that, as a consequence of the diverse events that the country has gone through, the Algerian society has acquired a distinctive identity whose particular dynamic intra- and inter-lingual variation can clearly be attested in the way(s) people speak in comparison with the two other Maghreban countries, Morocco and Tunisia (these latter are said to have lived through quite similar episodes, but for much shorter periods). Indeed, colonised for more than 130 years (1830-1962), Algeria was considered by the French government as a province of France which would never be autonomous and separated from the 'Metropole'. The French policy for Morocco and Tunisia was much less strong than the strategy decided for Algeria, and did not result in a disruption of the society; the two countries were controlled just as protectorates which started much later and lasted for much less time.

Because of the French policy which implemented total assimilation of the institutions, education in particular as well as general administration, government and business sectors, and despite the resistance to the principles of colonialism, the impact of the French language and its culture was so powerful that it started to reflect in many Algerians' speech and soon led to a sort of dual identity. The influence resulted in the usual linguistic phenomena that occur when two or more languages get in contact: the use of bilingualism and consequent code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing pervading the mother tongue in addition to the well-established phenomenon of diglossia.

In this chapter, we shall try to throw some light on the components of the present-day Algerian sociolinguistic profile with the aim of showing the dynamic relationship between the varieties of Arabic that come into play in the society, as well as the persistent use of French in its different forms in everyday interaction.

Indeed, in addition to the existence of a relatively small portion of the overall population whose mother tongue is not Arabic, but (still)¹ one of the various types of Berber varieties scattered in a few areas of the country (about 20% of the Algerian population according to Chaker, 1989:9)², a two-fold linguistic dichotomy seems to characterize the Algerian society:

- a) the co-existence between MSA and AA that clearly embodies the phenomenon called 'diglossia' (Ferguson, 1959a);
- b) the relationship between Arabic as a whole (and/or Berber in relevant areas) and French that has led to a type of societal bilingualism.

3.1.1 *The MSA /AA relationship*

First, the relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic has been described in terms of 'diglossia relationship' (Ferguson, 1959a, 1970)³, though a finer and more comprehensive analysis of today's actual uses of Arabic reveals the existence of a continuum⁴ that may be better examined perhaps in terms of 'multiglossia'. That is, hierarchically distinct varieties of the same language are used in different domains to fulfil different functions, from CA, the most established form at the 'top' level, used particularly in the domains of religion and classical literature, through today's 'modern' written form also used in spoken formal contexts and other 'middle' varieties used in semi-formal settings, to the low varieties, the vernaculars used in everyday spontaneous speech at the other end. Furthermore, these varieties are often mixed to varying extents and under different conditions, mainly as a result of the arabisation policy, and thus as an outcome of a growing rate of literacy⁵ among the younger generations, on the one hand, and interest in religious issues, on the other, in Algeria and in the Arab world as a whole. The effects of such mixing of the varieties are easily detectable in the speech of different types of speakers and in different types of context, to the extent that we may often hear someone using

MSA with a varying 'dosage' of L forms or, conversely, Colloquial Arabic with H forms, particularly at the lexical level.

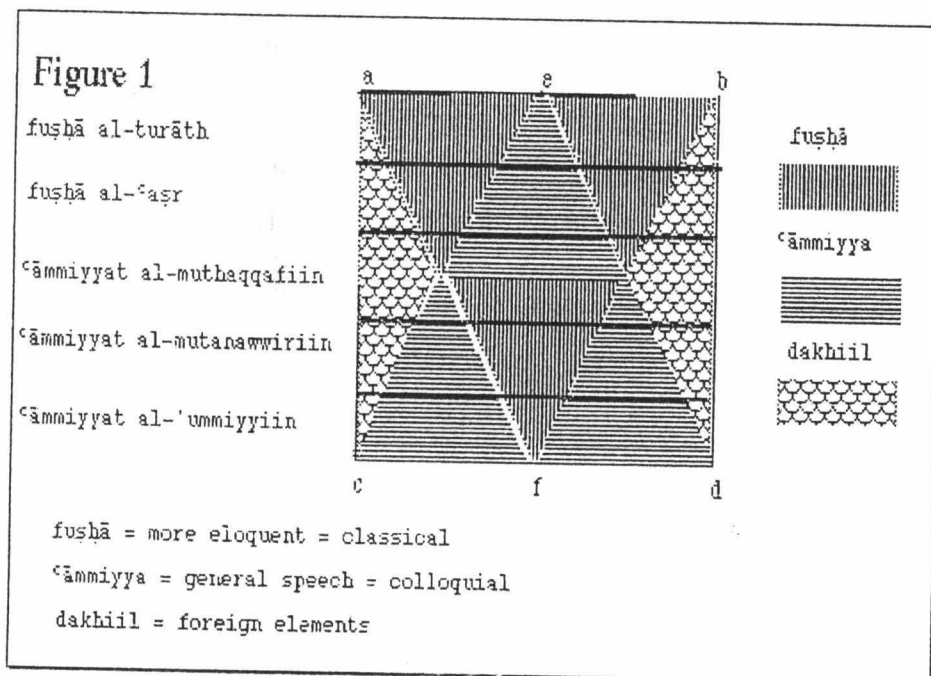
The following diagram has been proposed by Badawi (1973) to attempt to explain how the linguistic system in Arabic works. He has considered the situation in Egyptian Arabic, which may well be regarded as similar to a certain extent to the Algerian context as far as diglossia is concerned.

Badawi's model clearly shows two important features that characterize, more or less in the same way, the Arabic language situation prevailing in today's Arab world:

- a) First, the hierarchical top-to-bottom continuum comprising five levels – the labels in Arabic have been translated by Freeman (1996) as follows:

- 1) The Classical Language of Tradition;
- 2) The Modern Classical Language;
- 3) The Colloquial of the Educated;
- 4) The Colloquial of the Enlightened;
- 5) The Colloquial of the Illiterate.

Badawi's Diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"



The five Arabic varieties may be represented in fact in the continuum known as: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, then a kind of 'elevated' spoken Arabic, and finally Colloquial Arabic.

- b) Second, the mixture of the varieties at all five levels with varying amounts of interweaving, and with a more or less important use of foreign elements called *dakhil* in Arabic (from the verb *dakhala* 'to enter').

Although Badawi's model seems to draw an interesting picture of the overall Arabic linguistic configuration, "it fails to show the fundamental unity of the High variety across the entire Arabic-speaking world and across the entire history of the High variety", as Freeman (ibid.) points out. Indeed, it does not state the consistency and homogeneity of CA and MSA in written texts and formal spoken contexts across the Arabic-speaking world. But it does provide a valid linguistic configuration that seems to be relevant to Arabic-speaking communities such as the one attested in Algeria, although it does not mention what type of 'foreign elements' have entered into Egyptian Arabic.

This is a particularly important element that characterizes the Algerian linguistic situation. In addition to the contacts between the different varieties of the Arabic spectrum, on another level of observation, the phenomenon of language mixing also involves varieties that are genetically unrelated to Arabic: Berber, Turkish and Spanish (though Spanish words occur just in some localised areas), but mostly French in the later history of the country. Of course, these contacts with other languages make the situation extremely intricate and more complex than in Egypt or any other Arab nation where the foreign occupation did not have a profound impact on the society's linguistic profile.

In an overall attempt to describe the linguistic panorama in Algeria, Bouhadiba (1998) points to the complexity of the situation and the difficulty in setting boundaries that might separate the different varieties of Arabic at play; but he also attempts to explain the 'penetration' of everyday speech by French in terms of 'dosage', (that is, different proportions in the use of the French language

according to various factors) resulting in what he has called a 'language complex' (ibid. 3). Insisting on the emergence of an Arabic continuum and the difficulty in delimiting its varieties on the one hand, and the strong implantation of French lexical items in the dialectal varieties on the other, he writes (ibid.1-2):

La réalité linguistique actuelle telle qu'elle se présente à l'observation est caractérisée par un continuum de l'arabe où les variétés de cette langue sont parfois difficiles à délimiter: arabe classique, arabe littéraire, arabe standard moderne, arabe parlé cultivé, variétés dialectales à dosage arabe mais où le français est fortement implanté au niveau lexical...

And therefore, bearing in mind what is regarded as the Arabic language continuum, one wonders whether the Fergusonian relatively static binary model, presented in terms of High and Low varieties co-existing in complementary distribution⁶, will hold any longer to serve appropriately the description of the dynamic reality of the Algerian linguistic situation, or other Arabic-speaking communities today. In fact, one may easily attest situations – a formal conference on TV, for instance, or a religious lecture in the mosque – in which the speaker either switches from H to L or mixes the two varieties with the aim of conveying the message to a larger audience including less educated listeners. Thus, alternating H/L uses do occur in 'free variation' too in certain formal or semi-formal contexts, particularly on the part of people who have been educated in Arabic or both in French and Arabic. However, as far as the written form of Arabic is concerned, we believe that the validity of Ferguson's binary model remains strong enough to support its complementary distribution nature. In fact, apart from the very few domains in which colloquial Arabic has been tentatively written (folk songs and poems, popular play scripts, and cartoons), the whole bulk of literature in its widest sense, covering domains such as classical and modern literature, sciences and newspaper writing, continues to be written in the H variety sometimes called, for that matter, literary Arabic.

It is nonetheless true that while diglossic speech behaviour among Algerians reflects this dichotomised use of Arabic for specialized functions, as described in the static model, it also reveals a dynamic relation to the social meaning and the values that the people attribute to the two types of Arabic, in particular, the feeling of dominance of H over L, and thus the resulting active relationship in the two directions. A political leader, for instance, will constantly shift from one variety to the other: to H to convey the desire for Arab authenticity and self-determination, as well as concepts and issues that he or she would not be able to express in dialectal forms; and back to L to express solidarity and identification with the people's aspirations. This instability is also viewed as a conflict or a dilemma by Boyer (1987:71)⁷ who observes – in the context of Catalan in Spain as opposed to Standard Spanish Castilian – that either the dominant variety will slowly displace the non-standard varieties, or these latter will resist assimilation provided they gain more domains of use:

ou bien la langue imposée va se substituer lentement, mais sûrement, à la langue dominée, ou bien les usagers de celle-ci vont œuvrer à sa normalisation (c'est-à-dire à une utilisation normée dans tous les domaines de la communication) en combattant les tendances à l'assimilation.

We fully agree with Kh. Taleb Ibrahim's statement (1997:54) that Boyer's "conception of diglossia corresponds to the Algerian context", for the dilemma in question here concerns not only the *de facto* dominance of higher level CA/MSA as opposed to the vitality of the Low variety, but also the increasingly dynamic relationship between the two types of variety which results in their frequent contact and the emergence of intermediate varieties along the Arabic continuum.

Justice must be done, however, to Ferguson (1970) who has not failed to acknowledge the occurrence of some intermediate forms of Arabic that he views as "shadings of 'middle variety'", and which represent a tendency towards "classicization, in which a dialect is modified in the direction of classical [...] viewed collectively as a 'pan-Arab koiné'" (ibid.:116-17).

A good number of 'classicized' linguistic forms, particularly on the lexical level, can indeed be attested today not only in semi-formal contexts, but also in everyday speech, for the simple reason that they have been learned that way in school or on TV, and many people may not know equivalent forms in Algerian Arabic or in French. As an example of classicism, we can cite the word *qaḍijja* ('matter', 'affair' or 'case') which, to our knowledge, has no equivalent in AA, except for the French borrowing *affaire* often adapted to Arabic morpho-phonology, clearly observable in its plural form *lezaferāt*. Another interesting fact about spontaneous use of MSA concerns school-children who hardly know the French names of a number of 'school materials', an obvious result of the arabisation process which started in education a few years after independence. French words such as *cahier*, *buvard*, *taille-crayon*, *gomme*, *compas*, *équerre*, and *tablier*, (respectively: copy-book, blotting-paper, pencil-sharpener, rubber, compass, set-square, and school-apron), which were familiar to every pupil of earlier generations (before independence and up to the early 1970s), have now been replaced by Arabic equivalents: *kurrās*, *minṣafa*, *mindžara*, *mimḥa*, *midwār*, *kūs*, and *mi'zār*. The point is that such items, which have become part and parcel of the child's lexicon today, are used both inside and outside school, to the extent that the parents are bound to use them, too, when they want to know what school things to buy for the new school year. The word *karṭāb*, however, from French *cartable* (school bag), seems to have been 'fossilized' and continues to be used by school-children far more frequently than the Arabic word *miḥāḍa*. But on the whole, there appears to be an increasing substitution of French lexical items and phrases for Arabic ones. The expression [n'ħa:wəl], for instance, 'I'll try', is often heard today instead of the French accommodated form [n'sijji] (from *essayer*, 'to try'); another good example is the use of the MSA adverbial form [jaw'mijjan], meaning 'daily', instead of the French item *quotidiennement*. Also, today, many people can be heard to wish 'Good night!' by using the Arabic expression ['lajla sa'ʕi:da] instead of the French expression *Bonne nuit* which is still used, but apparently to a lesser extent than before. However, there are still a

great many French words and expressions which will certainly continue to be used in AA for a long time, if not for ever!

3.1.2 *The Arabic / French relationship*

The second dichotomy, which concerns precisely this Arabic/French long-lasting co-existent relationship that has led to some kind of bilingualism, results from a double aspiration: maintenance of the mother tongue, one of the symbols of the Algerian socio-cultural personality, with Arabic and Berber as components of this identity that the Algerians wish to preserve, and openness to the world of modernity and technology through the French language. Indeed, French is 'strongly implanted at the lexical level', as Bouhadiba (1998:1-2) says⁸; that is, a great number of French borrowings, both adapted and non-adapted, can be frequently attested in everyday speech, particularly in urban areas where French got hold more firmly than in rural ones. As a matter of fact, the Algerian society has been so deeply influenced by French that we virtually cannot hear a conversation without at least a few French lexical items or expressions. AA is, so to say, loaded with French to the extent that this type of variety has been referred to as 'Franc-Arabic' by Bouamrane (1998). It sounds absolutely natural to hear someone say, for example, "šra appartement bcent millions...occasion mliħa" ('He has bought a flat for a hundred million...a good bargain!'), an utterance that is stuffed with French items, or should we say with Arabic words, for actually, any one of the two languages may be considered as the base and the other as embedded. Moreover, as we shall see below and elsewhere in our work, the long presence of French in Algeria and its impact on people's speech have resulted today not only in the use of borrowed lexical items but also in the appropriation of 'ready-made' phrases such as the frequently used questions *ça va?* or *ça y est?*, meaning respectively something like 'Are you feeling all right' and 'Is that it?'. Such address questions, which may be seen as 'fossilized' in AA, are often echoed in the answer, mixed with an Arabic phrase as in *ça va lħamdullāh*, 'I'm all right, thanks God', or *ça y est kəmməlna*, 'It's all right! We've finished'. Examples such as these can be cited *ad libitum* in the context of the Algerian

wider speech community; the adverb *déjà*, used to mean 'already' or 'before', is profoundly incrustated in AA, as it were, and does not seem to have an equivalent in many Algerian varieties. In a word, we could say that heavy borrowing from French and the subsequent phenomenon of code-switching have long become important defining features of Algerian speech, in parallel with the timidly emerging tendency toward MSA use in AA in certain contexts.

These two aforementioned aspects, bilingualism and diglossia, characterize the linguistic situation in Algeria by a rich multiplicity and a real dynamics that the Algerians should know how to take advantage of in today's context of globalisation and wider communication by knitting closer relations with the Western world, particularly with France and other French-speaking countries because of the socio-historical events that the country has gone through, in addition of course to its relationship with the Arab world. It is worth mentioning at this point that English is gaining ground in Algeria as a world language associated with advanced technology and scientific research, international economy and trade, and is thus increasingly favoured by the young in secondary schools and at the university. But, whatever we may say about the importance of English as a worldwide language, by virtue of the role that French has played in the socio-historical making of contemporary Algeria, and by its being regarded as a colonial inheritance, it will always remain deeply ingrained, as it were, in the society's linguistic practices alongside the other constituents of the Algerian sociolinguistic profile that we attempt to describe below.

3.2 Historical Background

The successive historical events in the Maghreb (North Africa) for more than twenty centuries have resulted in the complex linguistic situation that can be observed today in Algeria. Without going into the details of such events, we shall attempt to mention the most important ones, those that are relevant to our study. First, it is believed that the first inhabitants of the whole area were the Berber tribes whose origin is rather controversial. The most likely hypothesis is that of

the well-known Arab sociologist, Ibn-Khaldoun⁹, who suggests that the Berbers were oriental people of Chamito-Semitic descent settled down on the North African lands. The numerous Berber dialects used today are said to come from the language *Tamazight*, but the fact which has led to a problem of identity is that the Berbers' history was not written in their language, but in the languages of their colonizers, Greek and Latin, particularly under the Roman occupation. During that era, the foreign language written by the Berber kings showed "their total linguistic and cultural assimilation"¹⁰, as Maougal (1997: 67) point out.

Avec la fondation des premiers royaumes berbères connus, l'histoire du peuplement et des dynasties berbères sera transcrite dans les langues grecque et latine. Sous l'occupation romaine tout particulièrement, la langue écrite par les rois berbères témoigne de leur totale assimilation linguistique et culturelle à l'hellénisme et à la latinité.

Then, there was the introduction of the Arabic language during the Islamic expansion in consecutive waves that started in the mid-7th century (1st century of the Hegira, the Islamic calendar), an event that was crucially fundamental for the future profile of North African populations as they underwent irreversible transformations from the religious, linguistic and socio-cultural points of view. Arabic, the language of the new religion succeeded in displacing, or rather in absorbing, most indigenous Berber varieties, to the exception of a few isolated mountainous areas and remote Saharan spots where the autochthons strongly resisted islamisation, and therefore rejected arabisation. Elsewhere, the reason for the acceptance of Arabic was its tight association with Islam, the new religion that most natives soon adhered to, and the need for a common language they would learn to use in addition to theirs. In fact, the newly converted people had to make efforts to learn Arabic because prayers, preaches and sermons were performed in the 'sacred' language, and the Qur'an is to be learned in Arabic. Consequently, Arabic soon emerged as a symbol of Arab-Islamic identity, and ever since, Algeria (together with other provinces in what soon came to be called

the Maghreb) has belonged to *al 'Umma l 'Arabiyya*, the Arab nation. Khaoula Taleb Ibrahim (1997:23) writes in this respect:

L'Algérie est arabe et se proclame arabe et arabophone depuis l'arrivée des vagues successives de fātihin¹¹ arabes qui ont donc, avec l'islamisation du Maghreb, permis son arabisation. Une arabisation qui s'est faite lentement et sur une longue période, depuis l'année d'Okba Ibn Nafaa au 7ème siècle à celle plus tardive des tribus hilaliennes.

William Marçais (1938)¹² describes how most of the 'Berber country' totally broke away with the West in the 7th century, and was progressively arabised in a definitive way:

Au VII^{ème} siècle, le pays berbère a rompu avec l'Occident et s'est rattaché à l'Orient, totalement, sans retour, et semble-t-il sans conflit intérieur, sans crise de conscience. Ses nouveaux maîtres, les Arabes, ont pu par la suite cesser d'y exercer directement le pouvoir. Mais ils l'ont marqué d'une empreinte ineffaçable. Ils l'ont arabisé, si bien qu'aujourd'hui le Maghreb, presque dans son ensemble, peut être considéré comme une province excentrique de l'arabisme.

Indeed, despite the existence of a number of areas that have remained Berberophone, Algeria has long been classified as an Arab country with Arabic as the official language of the country.

What is known today as Classical Arabic, *al 'arabiyya l fuṣṣhā* in Arabic – though the word *fuṣṣhā* does not actually mean 'classical' but 'the clearest' – is said to have stemmed from the Arabic variety of the prestigious tribe of Quraish¹³ in Mecca, the language in which the Qur'ān, the Holy Book of Islam, was revealed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It was that language variety which was going to convey the whole Arab-Islamic culture and Arab literature. It was a kind of 'supra-language' that acquired its prestige from its use in social and cultural events by the different Arab tribes which used to go to Mecca on regular occasions before the Revelation, particularly during the *ḥadṣ*, the pilgrimage

period. Then, it was the powerful divine influence of the Qur'ān which made Muslims regard that variety as the language norm for the Arab community as a whole in the first century of the Hegira (early 7th century A.D.), and thereafter in the following centuries, then on to the present time. Quoted in Kh. Taleb-Ibrahimi (ibid. p. 25), Fück (1955:2) shows the long-standing influence that the advent of Islam has had on the whole history of Arabic, an event that has resulted in a powerful ever-lasting relationship between this variety and the new religion:

Il n'est, dans l'histoire de la langue arabe aucun événement qui ait exercé sur sa destinée une influence plus durable que l'avènement de l'Islam.

Then, for fear that the Qur'ān, the Word of God in Muslim belief (*Kalāmu Allah*), would be read with bad pronunciation and grammatical mistakes, Arabic was soon submitted to a strict codification undertaken during the early Abbasid era by the first Arabic grammarians (8th and 9th centuries). Indeed, with an astonishing accuracy at the time, some of these scholars, Abul 'Aswad Addu'ali, Al-Khalil Ibn Ahmed, Sībawayhi¹⁴, Ibn-Jinni, etc... were able to analyse the language on phonetic and phonological levels, and to establish the rules of syntax and morphology as well as those of lexical derivations. The Prophet's *Hadīth*, or 'traditions'¹⁵, and all Arabic literature were written in a variety that was closest to that of the Qur'ān, though not on style dimensions. However, in spite of the codification which set definite rules for the written and formal spoken forms, CA was by no means the only variety used at that time; much dialectal variation was attested by those early grammarians, for different Arab tribes used their own dialects most probably with various degrees of mutual intelligibility. Zwettler (1978) argues that the poets' use of a high prestigious variety of Arabic does not mean that it was their native tongue. People soon knew that the vehicle for literature and poetry was that 'supra-language' called the 'Poetic Koiné' (Rabin 1955)¹⁶ which was not normally used in everyday conversation and for trivial purposes. In other words, the correlation between the tribal spoken Arabic dialects and the literary variety could already be described in terms of diglossia

relationship, though we lack evidence about the issue of whether a particular tribe or community used that Poetic Koiné or a closer form of Arabic as a native language. In any case, whatever the linguistic situation in the first period of Islam, Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997:26) assumes that no more spontaneous use of CA has been attested since the 4th century of the Hegira (10th century A.D.), and that it is learned and used exclusively in formal contexts:

...cette variété n'a plus connu, depuis fort longtemps (4^{ème} siècle hégirien), d'usage spontané dans l'aire arabophone et qu'elle set exclusivement apprise et utilisée dans des contextes formels particuliers.

It should be very interesting to discover what types of Arabic, in addition to CA, were used in different regions of Algeria in the periods following the advent of Islam and arabisation. Most likely, there must have been linguistic variation synchronically and change through time due both to the contact of the different Arabic dialects brought by the waves of Arab settlers and to some influence of the Berber dialects. Whatever the linguistic interferences and the resulting variation that might have occurred during the first centuries of Islam, there is no doubt that the situation became more complex later on as a result of further linguistic contacts with other languages: Turkish, during the Ottoman occupation (16th C); Spanish in the West of Algeria, especially in Oran and other coastal areas in the West (16th C), and Italian in the East. In addition to a large number of Berber words found in many AA varieties today, the traces that these languages have left can be found especially in urban speech and consist mostly of lexical items; e.g. [ˈtʰabse] '(eating) plate' in Turkish, [ˈfalʦa] 'fault' in Spanish, but also morphological forms such as the Turkish {-çɯ}, a 'doer' suffix morpheme as in [suˈʕaçɯ] meaning 'clockmaker'. A good number of such borrowings from Turkish and Spanish, in addition to the Berber lexical items, have become part and parcel of today's Algerian Arabic, though most of them are adapted both phonologically and morphologically (e.g. the plural of [ˈtʰabse] is [tˈbasa] 'plates' on the morphological pattern of the Arabic word [kˈrasa], 'chairs', the plural

form of ['kursi]). Indeed, as the overall Arabic linguistic system into which such lexical and morphological borrowings are inserted remains unaffected, and as these are no longer associated, in the minds of lay speakers, with the languages they come from, we can safely admit their weak impact on AA. Rather, they are felt to be part of the Algerian speech.

It was the French language which played the most influencing role in altering the linguistic profile in Algeria during the occupation and afterwards, to the extent that most Algerian speech interactions today contain words and expressions from French, and written French can be seen everywhere in shop signs, administrative and medical documents, etc. Furthermore, switching from AA to French and vice-versa is very common and mixing the two languages is, as it were, a spontaneous matter, as we shall see in the next sections.

3.3 The Impact of the French Occupation on the Algerian Society

The most decisive linguistic influence that Algeria was going to be exposed to – much stronger than in the case of its two neighbours, Morocco and Tunisia, which were only French protectorates and for a much shorter period – came with the French colonisation of the country which lasted more than a century. As a matter of fact, right after the occupation, one of the fundamental goals of the colonial policy was to denigrate violently non-French languages and cultures and to impose French as the only official language, “the only language of civilisation and advancement” (Bourhis 1982:44), as it was considered by the colonial government. Pointing out the policy of depersonalization and acculturation of the Algerians, Kh.Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:42-3) says in this respect:

Le français, langue imposée au peuple algérien dans la violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie.

Very soon, a few experimental French-teaching schools were established with the aim of introducing the new language as a barrier to the diffusion of written Arabic, which was then the means of knowledge for a large number of literate Algerians. Pointing out the degree of literacy among the Algerians before the occupation, Phillipson (1992:112) reports the following:

According to French government sources, when the French arrived to 'civilize' Algeria, the literacy rate in urban Algeria was 40 per cent – far higher than in France at the time. When the French left after 130 years of colonisation, the literacy rate among Algerians was, according to an optimistic reckoning, 10-15 per cent (Colonna 1975).

Therefore, the enterprise of 'civilizing' Algeria (that is, de-arabising it, in fact) was a failure at the beginning, for traditional teachings of the Qur'ān and Arabic in Koranic schools called *medersas* as well as in the mosque was still strong. But later on, the colonial system succeeded progressively in breaking the economic and social structures of the Algerian society with negative consequences on the local teaching of Arabic. The evident goal of the French rulers was to reach a total conquest and a definitive domination of the country by 'de-arabising' it and implanting the 'French School'. A. Rambaud, the Minister of French public education under the 3rd Republic, said that after the occupation of the Algerian lands by force of arms and the imposition therein of the French law and justice, one of the most important conquests of Algeria would have to go through the school which would ensure, among other things, the prevalence of French over local speech varieties. In 1897, he wrote (cited by Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1994:37):

“La troisième conquête se fera par l'École: elle devra assurer la prédominance de notre langue sur les divers idiomes locaux, inculquer aux musulmans l'idée que nous avons nous-mêmes de la France et de son rôle dans le monde, substituer à l'ignorance et aux préjugés fanatiques des notions élémentaires, mais précises, de science européenne.”¹⁷

Obviously, the Algerian people attempted to oppose resistance to that language dominion, and succeeded in doing so to a certain extent till 1880 (ibid. p.37), but as the social, traditional and teaching institutions collapsed, the opposition to the colonial system became weaker and formal education was almost non-existent. Arabic confined itself to oral use, the immediate drastic consequence being a rapid spread of illiteracy among the people. Soon afterwards, many Algerian parents, particularly in urban areas, had to face the fact when they became aware of the advantage of their children getting educated whatever the language of instruction. They wanted them to seize the opportunity to enter the modern world which, in their minds and in those circumstances, could only be achieved through education in the French language. And thus, as Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (ibid. p.37) states, there was a radical change of attitude towards the French School at the beginning of the 20th century, from fierce refusal to a strong claim for the right of schooling, which would certainly confer access to social advancement and acquisition of knowledge:

Le début de ce siècle verra un changement d'attitude vis-à-vis de l'Ecole; du refus farouche, les Algériens passent à la revendication véhémement du droit à la scolarisation.

Hence, after an intellectual void of almost half a century, the need for education was clearly expressed by the people, though they knew that the teachings would not be in Arabic but in French, the language of the new ruler. Lacheraf (1975)¹⁸, Minister of Education in the mid-70s, says in this respect:

Après la transition douloureuse que connut une société algérienne privée de ses droits élémentaires, de ses biens nationaux, de ses libertés, on éprouva le besoin d'une culture, ou plus exactement d'un enseignement; c'est dire combien un peuple qui a une longue tradition culturelle tolère difficilement le vide culturel et se sent capable, pour satisfaire un tel besoin, d'adopter une autre langue, à défaut de la sienne propre qui lui est désormais interdite (en tant qu'expression pédagogique et livresque, sinon orale).

So, it was almost a century after the French occupation of the country, once the social and economic structures of the Algerian society had disintegrated, that, by necessity for social advancement particularly in the city, the 'indigenous' population started reluctantly to adhere to the idea of having their children instructed in French. But only small numbers of children in some urban areas were allowed to be registered in primary schools at the beginning: the schooling ratio was lower than 10% before World War II, 15% in the mid-fifties, and only reached 30% in 1961 (Cf. Colonna 1971; reported by Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi 1997:38). In the meantime, in spite of the nationalist reformist movement, the 'Ulama'¹⁹ Association, led by Cheikh Ben Badis in the late 1920s, which attempted to restore the teaching and use of the language of the Arabo-Islamic civilisation, literacy in Classical Arabic had decreased in a drastic way. Literacy in French became increasingly important soon giving birth to a small Algerian élite. Then it gradually spread to more and more Algerian families by the end of the occupation and continued to increase during the first two decades of independence.

3.4 French after Independence

Oddly enough, it was after the departure of the French in 1962 that the French language spread more quickly and to more portions of the Algerian population, a policy that was necessarily promoted by the Algerian government which was ready to display all efforts for schooling. Grandguillaume (1983:12) reminds us of this fact, saying that the knowledge of French started expanding to a more important number of citizens after independence, particularly school children, for it was the language of instruction in primary school:

[...] la connaissance du français s'est élargie à un nombre plus important de citoyens après l'indépendance, par suite de l'extension de la scolarisation, qui comporte l'enseignement du français dès le niveau primaire.

The obvious explanation is that the school apparatus was already established and the authorities tried all their best for the instruction of the young. The need and desire for formal education were so strong in the first years of independence that parents wanted their children to go to school. But schooling could only be achieved in French as, on the one hand, the majority of teachers at that time had their diplomas in French. On the other hand, and most crucially because of an urgent need for the 'intellectual' development of the young nation, the ministry of education had to have recourse to a great number of teachers from abroad, Europeans especially from France (the *coopérants techniques*). Arabic was only taught as a subject *per se* for one or two hours a week while all other courses such as arithmetic, sciences, history and geography, were given in French, in addition to French as a subject on its own. The Algerian children, and the society as a whole, were therefore destined to constitute a bilingual community. It was at that period, we assume, that the French language acquired high prestige among the population as it was associated with modernism and development, science and technology. It had become so strongly anchored as such in people's minds that it was considered the language of success and progress. Meanwhile, Arabic was seen as the language of religion and ancient literature, and had lost much of its functionality in spite of the high values and prestige that it was attributed by people in general, and the politico-administrative functions that the authorities wanted to ascribe to it as the language of the nation.

However, the impact of the supremacy of French had been so strong that not only did it continue to be used in most sectors of the administration and education, but it also kept spreading in everyday conversation, though to varying extents. The use of French was especially attested among young educated people when they talked about topics related to scientific, medical, technical, juridical or philosophical fields. Moreover, the French occupation went so far as to affect the spoken form of Algerian Arabic and Berber dialects: as a matter of fact, loads of French words and expressions had long come into everyday Algerian speech. By the end of the first decade of independence, French could no longer be regarded as a foreign language but as a familiar one, even among old illiterate people.

Indeed, the two languages were in permanent contact above all in towns and large urban centres where bilingualism had settled down progressively, for, in addition to the fact that a number of older generation people had been educated in the 'French School', and consequently used French in their professions, an increasing number of younger people were becoming bilinguals (at least as far as schooling was concerned). It was very common to hear people say, for example,

(1) ma tɔb[ɑ:f] *Il te faut tout un dossier pour l'inscription.*

(Don't be long! You need a whole lot of documents for the registration.)

In less than a century, the Algerian speech community had undergone significant changes that have led today to a seemingly irreversible linguistic profile in spite of the early attempts of re-arabisation²⁰ during the first years of independence. In fact, though the arabisation objective was considered by the government as an unquestionable priority, given its tight relation with the socio-cultural and religious identity of the nation, the young Algerian state was faced with a thorny problem: the difficulty to break away from the solidly well-established institutions that were run in the French language, and the challenge of re-introducing Arabic therein, a legitimate political, social and cultural claim. Apart from some reluctance on the part of a few Berber minorities, or the lack of willingness displayed by some Algerian 'French élite' groups, the policy of arabisation was welcomed, just as it was in the other Arab countries that had been under French occupation. Obviously, the most evident reason for such fervour was that, by virtue of the strong sense of belonging to the *al Umma l 'Arabiyya*, the Arab Nation, and to the Muslim community, policy makers and people alike aspired to national identity and to getting back to their roots. The process, however, also had a political bent as it was meant to serve power control which resulted in certain internal conflicts ('Arabophones' vs. 'Francophones'). In any case, after more than a century of French political, linguistic and cultural repression and the assimilation policy practiced by the coloniser, arabising the institutions was one of the most essential priorities of the new Algerian State.

Theoreticians on language planning (e.g., Fishman 1971a) have considered developing nations in relation to the choice of the official language just after independence, and proposed different types of decision in language policy according to the national ideologies and 'Great Traditions' recognized by the countries in question. In this respect, Spolsky (2004:133) reports the hypothesis that

[...] nations which had a consensual single Great Tradition at the time of independence will tend to attempt to select the associated indigenous language as the national language.

The 'Great Tradition' in our context would obviously mean the two inseparable constituent parts taken for granted by the members of the Algerian society: Arabic and Islam. Hence, in spite of the reluctance displayed against the project of arabisation by some Algerian advocates of French, the only candidate for language nationalisation and 'officialisation' in the people's minds had to be Arabic. In effect, arabisation was felt as an end in itself, not only a means of developing the society, as Cheriet (1983:9) points out when he says:

Dès lors, l'arabisation n'était plus considérée comme un moyen de développement et de promotion de notre société, mais comme une fin en soi.

In the next section, we attempt to discuss the issue of arabisation, a decisive process that the Algerian society had to go through to recover one of the most important features of its identity for the establishment of a new, young and dynamic nation. One of the objectives of the new governing team was to eradicate everything that related to French colonialism and to introduce a language reform that promoted Arabic as the authentic language of the country. Of course, one political goal to be reached was the displacement of the French language by Arabic, but we shall see that for functional reasons, on the one hand, and because of the strong impact that French had left among the populations on the other, the operation was not as easy as it first seemed to be.

3.5 Arabisation

Right after independence, the three countries of the Maghreb were faced, to different degrees perhaps, with the acute problem related to the fact that French was imposed during the colonial period as the only official language. In an impulse for breaking away with the French hegemony and for recovering the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality, the new authorities, backed on the whole by the people's enthusiasm, expressed the desire to launch the process called 'arabisation' with the aim of gaining cultural independence together with political sovereignty, though the operation was not of the same scope for the three countries. Contrasting the effects of French supremacy in Algeria as opposed to Morocco and Tunisia where it was highly valued, enjoying a great deal of prestige, Ennaji (1991:17-18) writes:

By contrast, in Algeria the place of French is a paradoxical subject of conflict for historical reasons. Because France attempted to assimilate Algeria (more than Morocco and Tunisia) into the French cultural community, officials in independent Algeria react in a hostile way to French and are very keen on seeing it replaced by the national language, Arabic.

But the French language in Algeria was so deeply rooted in the most essential sectors, particularly in administration, education and the written material in general, as well as in some people's linguistic practices, that the decision which would restore the use of Arabic as *the* language of the nation was a long-drawn-out task, an extremely complex matter that needed deep pondering and suitable management. In fact, the procedure did not consist merely in replacing a foreign language by Arabic, but also in working out the necessary transformations while taking account of the modern functional changes that French had introduced in the community at large. Granguillaume (1991:49) says in this respect:

Pour satisfaire aux usages et aux nécessités de la langue qu'elle remplaçait, cette langue arabe devait être modernisée, en quelque sorte, remodelée sur l'image de la

langue qu'elle remplaçait: ce qui devait entraîner pour elle des mutations profondes, sémantiques et fonctionnelles.

Thus, the difficulties of the arabisation procedures lay not only on the political and socio-cultural levels but also on the linguistic level. When the first leaders of the young Algerian State decided, with a view to cultural independence, to adopt Arabic as the national and official language in place of French, they were faced with serious problems of political, social and cultural re-organisation. The implementation of their decisions was quasi-inapplicable for on the one hand, all administrative, judicial, economic, and educational systems were entirely held in the grasp of the French language. On the other hand, most Algerian executives were administratively 'francophones' (as they were called), and only proficient in French in work matters. The Algerian authorities quickly understood that the most suitable solution was to carry on with the established structures while working out a programme of gradual arabisation that would have to go through a relatively long phase of Arabic/French bilingualism as far as some crucial institutions were concerned, education and administration in particular.

In education, for instance, total arabisation of the Elementary School was not achieved until 1978 with the advent of the 'Fundamental School'. The Secondary School was also totally arabised but only ten years later. In Higher Education too, Arabic was introduced in a gradual way in Social Sciences, Law and Economics, but French continues to be used in scientific, medical and technological streams.

Arabising the administration was also faced with acute problems as the institutions were passed on to a great number of Algerian functionaries who had been integrated before independence by De Gaulle, and thus used French both in its written and spoken forms. It was only in 1971²¹ that arabisation was made compulsory for all levels in the administration. But in 1975, an official report²² admitted the weakness of the results due to a number of reasons among which the functionaries' reluctance towards the process and their lack of motivation were paramount. Grandguillaume (1983:157) rightly relates a successful restitution of

the Arabic language in independent Algeria to the degree of conviction and motivation and not to a blindly imposed rule:

Le problème de la restauration de la langue arabe est avant tout lié à celui de la motivation. C'est un appel, une conviction, un désir qu'il faut susciter, et non une obligation qu'il faut imposer.

This does not mean that the operation failed in all sectors or that it was abandoned. As a matter of fact, the 'report' planned a new programme with several stages to continue the process; it also mentioned that a few ministries were completely arabised by 1975, in particular the Defence Ministry and the Justice Ministry.

In spite of that relatively early substantial arabisation process on the educational and administrative levels, French persisted in many functional domains, especially in running economic and industrial enterprises, as well as in an important part of the mass-media, particularly in the written means. Indeed, although a good number of newspapers were issued in Arabic, the daily newspapers and periodicals in French enjoyed a wider diffusion. Moreover, on the whole, "it is the degree of utilisation of French in the society that is most significant", as Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997:44)²³ says. In effect, despite its official denial on the part of the authorities, French continues to hold a privileged position in the society²⁴, not only as a consequence of the direct contact with the language and the French society through the French TV channels available everywhere and to almost everybody today, but also because of the positive attitude displayed overtly towards French by the present government officials. The repercussion of the widespread embedding of French has led thinkers to wonder about its status in Algeria, "constantly oscillating", as Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (ibid. p.45) says, "between the status of second language and that of a privileged foreign language". In fact, the impact left by the French language on the Algerian economic structure and the socio-cultural identity constitutes an absolutely indelible component of the country's sociolinguistic profile. It is evident that

today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards this language for its association with progress and its consideration as a means of communication with the external world. Does this revival of French in the Algerian society reflect weaknesses in the arabisation process and flaws in its application, or is it merely a failure in the language policy?

One important reason for the malfunction of arabisation in Algeria and the relatively slow development of the use of MSA in many fields, particularly those relating to economy and technology and to the socio-cultural attributes of the country, is that the process has always been decided by the authorities not on a linguistic basis, but on political and ideological grounds. Moreover, it has been imposed by means of laws and ministerial instructions passed without unanimous consensus.

As far as the linguistic aspect of arabisation issue is concerned, one must say that the slow progress results to a large extent from the bad organization of the 'arabising' structures, namely, weak pedagogical training and instructors lacking the necessary competency for such an important task. Another reason that has made the issue problematic from the start lies, we believe, in the discrepancies found between the Arabic varieties used spontaneously in everyday speech, most Algerians' mother tongue (the problem is still sharper for the children whose mother tongue is one of the Berber varieties) and MSA, the variety of Arabic decided upon for the arabisation process. Of course, it was only the H variety, well-established as the language of the Nation and that of ancient and modern literature, and therefore held in high esteem by the whole community, that was to be legitimately chosen right after independence to serve as the 'standard' language for education, administration and in the written and spoken media. The implementation of the arabisation procedures have proved extremely difficult first and foremost because of the deep-rootedness of the French language in the society at large and the lack of motivation on the part of a number of sectors in the society. But it also results, we strongly believe, from the incongruities between the L variety acquired naturally as a native language and through which the socialisation process of the individual takes place, and Modern Standard

Arabic, the variety that is learned at school in a rather artificial manner, and certainly never used by anyone for everyday communication purposes. Thus, the process of arabisation was faced with a tricky resolution which lied in the dual action of substituting French to restore the cultural and national personality, and the mother tongue(s) to unify the citizens under the high-status language symbolising Islamic and pan-Arab identity. Grandguillaume (1991:50) says, in this regard:

En tant qu'instauration d'une langue nationale, la politique d'arabisation comportait deux versants. La langue nationale devait opérer une double substitution; elle devait se substituer au français, pour prendre la place de l'aliénation culturelle et restaurer la personnalité nationale. Elle devait aussi se substituer aux dialectes, pour remplacer la multiplicité dialectale par une langue unique, à même d'assurer l'unité des citoyens autour de l'Etat.

The diglossic relationship, however, is a *de facto* phenomenon which is characteristic of all Arab nations, as documented in the literature about the status of Arabic (Ferguson 1959a, 1970, 1977; Owens 2001; etc.), and all language policy makers in the Arab world have to bow to the fact: it is the High variety that unifies the Nation, and it must be the language of the official institutions such as education, administration, and written material. But while that variety is held in the highest regard for its association with the Qur'an, the Arab-Islamic identity and culture, people, in Algeria for example, continue to use the native varieties in their spontaneous everyday interaction and to express, in a strong vitality, their feelings through popular forms of poetry, songs and proverbs.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned slow outcome of arabisation on the one hand, and the apparent hiatus between CA/MSA and AA on the other, we can witness a certain evolution today as to the use of MSA, or rather a middle variety, in certain formal contexts, particularly by fairly educated young people. Even ordinary people are often heard answering questions, on TV interviews for instance, by using switches from AA to MSA, then back to AA, in a quasi-natural way in spite of the interview constraint, often mixing the two varieties, as

shown in the following stretches of speech recorded in a random manner from an Algerian TV programme: the question asked is about the environmental problem of throwing rubbish anywhere, not in appropriate places.

(2) fəlħajat əljawmijja 'kæjən eʃʃoro:t m'wəffra...

(In day-to-day life the conditions are available.)

'qədər tæddi 'safi m'æ:k...wla trijjæħ f' *tabla* 'kulləʃ hædæk tarmi:h fiha

(You can take a (plastic) bag, and if you sit at a table you throw all that in it.)

n'æ:m hada ru:ʒaʃ ila θa'qa:fat əl 'insæ:n f'ħad dætu

(Yes, this depends on the culture of the people themselves.)

bəʃʃaħ ma'kænʃ əttarbija... əttarbija 'na:qʃa bəz'zæ:f

(But there's no education...education is really missing.)

Because of the non-casual setting of the TV recording, the informant starts his comment in a formal MSA style, [fəl'ħajat əl'jawmijja], and what he says is understood perfectly well by anyone used to listening to this type of Arabic. The use of the very common AA expression ['kæjən], meaning 'there is/there are', and its negative form [ma'kænʃ] embedded in the utterance instead of MSA [ju:ʒad(u)] vs. [læ:ju:ʒad(u)], clearly illustrate a type of inter-variety code switching very often used in such formal settings. Feeling perhaps a little more relaxed after the first contact with the interviewer and the TV camera, the man switches back to AA, his spontaneous way of interacting, which often includes some French words and expressions. It is interesting to mention, for instance, the two French borrowings under (2) in italics, *safi* and *tabla* (phonologically and morphologically adapted from 'sachet' and 'table', respectively), whose Arabic equivalents are not used in AA. Then, a whole utterance occurs in MSA [n'æ:m hada ru:ʒaʃ ila θa'qa:fat əl 'insæ:n f'ħad dætu] (Yes, this depends on the culture of the people themselves.) though it is characterized by vowel elision, lack of inflexions and morpho-phonological reductions. In any case, these phonological phenomena do occur even in more formal speech interaction making MSA more accessible to lay people than CA.

Again, as an answer to the problem of litter pollution, another male speaker readily gives a reason for that by using the same switching strategy as that in (2):

(3) ra:ɕaʕ li'su:ʔ əttarbijja...hadi 'waħda

(It results from bad education...This is one (thing).)

'θæ:nijan əl'insæ:n ma jχəm'məmf ʕla ɕa:ru

(Secondly, the individual doesn't think about his neighbour.)

Clearly, the rather constrained setting makes the man start his comment on the point by using the H variety [ra:ɕaʕ li'su:ʔ əttarbijja], perhaps in a comparable way to a non-standard English speaker who would certainly use a formal type of speech in a similar situation. But then, once involved in the discussion and feeling slightly more comfortable, he switches to AA spontaneous expressions such as [hadi 'waħda] and [ma jχəm'məmf] as opposed to the higher form ['θæ:nijan], 'secondly', through which he consciously (or perhaps unconsciously) shows his ability to control both codes and his ease in oscillating between the two varieties. Such linguistic behaviour in which not necessarily educated speakers are capable of moving along the Arabic continuum according to the situation seems to become increasingly common among Algerians, in part as a consequence of arabisation, but also because of the media impact on people's linguistic practices. Describing today's linguistic Arabic reality, particularly among educated individuals, Meiseles (1980)²⁵ says that

[...] it is the exception rather than the rule to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style variations [...]. They oscillate in all naturalness, and often seemingly uncontrollably, from one variety to another, along part or all of the scale of the linguistic continuum of Arabic varieties.

In addition to the intricacies of diglossic use in Arabic, what makes the linguistic picture extremely complex in the Algerian context, as we shall see in the next sections, is the use of French alongside both MSA and AA (with Berber varieties in certain areas) in the form of borrowings and code-mixing on the one

hand, and bilingualism on the other, all of which rendering the linguistic profile of the Algerian speech community very rich but profoundly complicated to describe at the same time. Whole utterances or stretches of speech in 'plain' French also occur quite often in formal settings, as well as in informal ones, particularly with speakers who are more proficient in French; in such cases, it is Arabic that is to be considered as the embedded language and French the matrix language in Myers-Scotton's terms (e.g. 1993*a* and *b*). A woman's and a man's comments on today's littering in the capital city illustrate that quite common linguistic behaviour in which a speaker feels more at ease in French in a formal situation than in any type of standard Arabic.

- (4) *Y a pas longtemps, nous sommes passés moi et ma fille...ʃætti dæk le coin...Eh bien, c'était dégoûtant. Y avait plein d'odeurs ; et c'est dans un quartier zaʕma bækri dæk əl makæ:n kæ:n très propre ...bækri fəzmannə.*

(Not a long time ago, we passed my daughter and me...*You see that* corner...Well, it was disgusting. There was plenty of smell; and it was in an area, so to say, *in the past it was very clean...A long time ago in our times.*)

The man's answer was more significant as to the French 'dosage' used, and his choice of the French code seems to be associated with the formal situation of the TV interview and the acknowledged prestige of the language; only one Arabic word was used in the very end, perhaps for its strength, to 'close' the opinion:

- (5) *J'pense qu'y a un manque de moyens euh...un manque d'organisation ; et j'pense qu'y a même pas la volonté de vouloir euh...de vouloir faire en sorte que...que not'ville soit propre et qu'on puisse vivre dans des conditions d'hygiène continue...ləzəm*

(I think there's a lack of means err...a lack of organisation; and I think there isn't even the willpower to want err...to want to make sure that...that our town be clean and that we may live in continuous hygiene conditions... (it's) **necessary**.)

These few examples clearly show the strong impact of French on many Algerians' day-to-day linguistic practices; and though little empirical work has been undergone in the field, it can safely be claimed that French continues to receive high prestige ratings. But we have to admit that language prestige in Algeria is shared, as it were, sometimes in conflicting terms, by MSA and French. In any case, the linguistic situation has long produced bilinguals who are proficient enough to control, to a large extent, both languages and to switch easily from one code to another when necessary, or just as a strategy to convey messages to a targeted audience.

We shall return to the issues on bilingualism and code-switching more fully below. But the point here is to insist on the fact that, in spite of the sharp criticism of the arabisation policy adopted by the governing institutions, particularly on the part of the 'francophone' groups, the Algerians have on the whole 'learned' to use MSA, or a close variety to H, to an acceptable extent, or at least to understand it, in formal and semi-formal contexts of course, but also in unconstrained discussions about certain topics which require some specific vocabulary, expressions and linguistic structures that AA can hardly provide for that matter.

3.6 Today's Algerian Linguistic Profile

The historical tumultuous events that Algeria had gone through for many centuries have indeed resulted today in a very complex linguistic situation. As a matter of fact, it is an extremely fertile field that is open to research of various types, and that may lead to very interesting findings. Linguists, sociolinguists, psycholinguists, language planners and educationists could indeed find much to do in analysing the dynamics of a multilingual setting in which, in addition to CA and/or MSA, the literary and 'educated' forms of Arabic, not only different varieties of the language are used in different regions, the whole range making up a continuum, but also languages that are genetically unrelated.

If you happen to ask, say, European lay people what they know about the language in Algeria, they will probably simply say 'it's an Arab country, so the language used is obviously Arabic'. Someone interested in the nature of language in general, and in the Arabic-speaking world in particular, would no doubt mention Classical or Literary Arabic without omitting the existence of the many varieties spoken in the Arab countries, by analogy with the various types of English used in the English-speaking world, for instance; variability is a natural phenomenon in all natural languages. He or she would perhaps even mention the different degrees of intelligibility between speakers of numerous varieties existing in a given Arab country, like the vast geographic Algerian space in our case. But the linguistic picture in Algeria is far more complex than this, and its reality is extremely hard to describe with its many-sided configuration. We have already mentioned the factors that have caused the linguistic situation to be so complicated, some of which being historical, others political and others still, socio-cultural. In this section, we shall attempt to describe the components of this situation, a profile which reflects some interesting sociolinguistic phenomena. Indeed, in addition to the Berber varieties (having existed in North Africa for centuries before the advent of Islam and the spread of the new language), which constitute the mother tongue of a portion of today's Algerian population situated principally in the M'zab, the Hoggar and other scattered areas, but mostly in Kabylia, a great number of Arabic local varieties co-exist with different degrees of intelligibility, and in a real dynamics, not only with what is often called '*al 'arabiyya*' (the 'standard' form of Arabic), but also with French, the language strongly implanted in the Algerian society as a result of the long-term French occupation.

What is interesting to note here is that the different 'ways of speaking' are characterized by a sort of fluid mixture of all three codes, particularly in urban and recently urbanised areas, and understood perfectly well by a large majority of people as a result of language contact situations. A relatively short-time exposition of, say, a native speaker of Algiers to Oran speech, for instance, will

soon lead to good understanding of the new variety and he or she will perhaps even use it fluently, provided of course there is enough motivation in doing so.

One linguistic phenomenon we shall start with concerns the co-existence, in the Algerian community and throughout the Arab world on the whole, of two sets of varieties of the same language, regarded by members of a diglossic speech community as two discrete codes each fulfilling a clearly distinct range of social functions in different sets of circumstances, though some interference between the two may occur in certain contexts, as we shall see below. This sociolinguistic phenomenon, in which an obvious form-function mapping is at work and in which the status of each variety is overtly recognized in the community, has been referred to as *diglossia*.

3.6.1 Diglossia

No description of an Arabic-speaking community – be it monolingual or bilingual – is comprehensive without a preliminary account of diglossia. Indeed, in contrast with the western monolingual societies where a standard form of the language is used by some people in everyday conversation, particularly in upper classes – those who have acquired a form that is quite close to the standard – or among educated people while other people use various regional or social dialects, there are speech communities where the prestigious variety co-exists with lower-status varieties of the same language but in a different relation: its use is only appropriate in a set of situations such as the written form, public formal speech, be it political, religious or educational, broadcasting, etc. But, definitely, what is regarded as the high variety is *not* anybody's mother tongue, and, in particular, Arabic speakers all over the world are fully aware of the differences in use between 'educated' Arabic, which many simply call *al 'arabiyya*, and the local Arabic vernacular used spontaneously in everyday speech interaction.

It was William Marçais (1931)²⁶ who made a first attempt to describe this particular type of linguistic dichotomy in the Arabic language by using the term

diglossie to account for the two contrasting aspects of the language, though he did not mention explicitly the specialized functions of each when he said:

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

Having borrowed the term from W. Marçais, Ferguson (1959a) introduced the concept of *diglossia* into the English literature on sociolinguistics and made it more explicit by proposing a number of criteria to define a particular linguistic phenomenon. To do this, he considered a few languages that he called 'defining languages': Modern Greek, Swiss German, Haitian Creole and Arabic. But it is Arabic which occupies the most important part in his work on diglossia, as we shall see below. In a diglossic context, the use of two codes can be distinguished clearly in accordance with the function of each one in the society. In this respect he states that (ibid.p.245) "One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialisation of function for H and L." While H, the High variety, is used for religious and literary purposes, in all types of written form, and on formal public occasions, L, the Low variety, is the code used spontaneously in everyday conversation (a fairly detailed linguistic description of the two varieties is included in Chapter 4).

The specialisation of function of H, as opposed to L, is best illustrated by Ferguson (ibid.p.244-5) in his oft-quoted definition:

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.

Classical Arabic has always been revered first for its association with the Qur'ān, regarded as the actual Word of God by Muslims, and with the language of the Prophet's oral tradition recorded during the first period of Islam and transmitted from generation to generation through the centuries. Besides, because of its long-standing status as the language of prestigious oral and written poetry (before and after the Revelation) and literature as a whole, Classical Arabic is regarded as a beautiful, logical and rich language. In fact, for all Arabs, it is *the* language, *Al Lughā*. Freeman (1996)²⁷ says in this respect:

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

Thus, CA is viewed as a kind of super-standardized language with very high prestige always ascribed to it, but not in the same way as RP English whose prestigious character is associated with the highest social classes (though less than 5% of the British people use it as a mother tongue while a greater number of local dialects are the norm (Trudgill 1974). But CA, as mentioned repeatedly, is not the native language of anybody and it is only learned in a formal type of education, at school or in the mosque for religious purposes.

The Low variety, which consists of the total sum of Arabic dialects, lacks prestige in general and remains a spoken form in spite of its strong vitality as a mother tongue, its use in traditional folk oral poetry and songs for which there has been some attempts for a written form. In the Middle East, a few regional dialects of large urban centres (e.g., Cairo in Egypt, Damascus in Syria, etc.) have acquired some prestige and their relative dominance may lead to a certain degree of standardisation. CA, however, is considered as a means of pan-Arab unity, as it is the official language of all the 22 Arab nations, and plays the role of a lingua franca allowing speakers of a multitude of Arabic varieties to communicate: a speaker from Algiers and a Syrian from Damascus, for example,

would not understand each other perfectly well if they only used their respective local varieties; they would communicate better by means of a spoken form of CA, or rather a middle variety approaching more or less what is known as MSA, avoiding thus, on all linguistic levels, specific features that hinder mutual intelligibility. In addition to its status as the language of education on the whole in all Arab countries, this variety is used in the mass-media, particularly in TV news and programmes. TV viewers from all over the Arab world understand it to a large extent, even though many of them, presumably, do not actually speak it. However, a passive long-term exposition to MSA on the radio and on numerous Arabic TV channels, thanks to the satellite dish, seems to have led to a gradual production of the High variety, especially on the lexical level. As a matter of fact, there are factors that have made the diglossic situation in Algeria, and presumably even more so in other Arab countries, not as 'stable' as sustained by Ferguson in his often cited and reprinted article "Diglossia" (1959a). In fact, in a much more recent article which he has entitled "Diglossia revisited" (1991), Ferguson himself acknowledges some weakness in his original article, particularly in relation to what he first regarded as long-term stability of functional complementary distribution of the High/Low dichotomy. Indeed, because of much easier means of language contact and communication, particularly through TV, what can be attested today, in Algeria for example, is that colloquial Arabic varieties seem to move closer to each other and, at the same time, to MSA which in turn bridges the gap between the High variety and AA low varieties. We shall attempt to show, in what follows, the factors that seem to contribute to such dynamic linguistic development:

- First, the Algerian pupils and students have been taught in CA/MSA for almost two generations now, and though they use Colloquial Arabic in everyday conversation, there is much evidence that, in a topic discussion, they often switch, almost spontaneously, to MSA, or mix the two varieties, simply because they have no alternative as they lack the necessary lexical items and linguistic structures to express their ideas in the Low variety. Here, it should be interesting

to make a parallel with the way educated Algerian people of former generations switched to French when they discussed scientific, literary or political topics for the same reason mentioned above, that is, the lack in Algerian Arabic of terms and structures that allow the speakers to convey their ideas and concepts.

Today, as a consequence of the efforts displayed during the process of arabisation – though a lot remains to be done as pointed out above –, switching occurs quite often to MSA, mostly on the lexical level. This may be considered as a kind of borrowing or classicism, as in the word [lintiḡa:ba:t] ‘the elections’ which has replaced to a large extent the French word *lvote* used in AA (preceded by a reduced form of the Arabic determiner {al}). Also, secondary school pupils and students can be heard, outside school or on the university campus, talking about a problem in mathematics or physics, for example, or any other scientific or literary topic, using the variety in which they have learned these things in school lessons or university lectures. The obvious explanation is that they simply would not be able to discuss such topics in AA. The standard form of Arabic used may be seen as a register in this case, for it is systematically used “according to its functioning in contexts of situations [...] according to use, rather than user”, as Downes (1998:309) points out. But a long-term practice of items and expressions from the High variety, in parallel with an increasing literacy, may eventually result in its integration into the speaker’s everyday verbal repertoire, somewhat the way an English speaker incorporates standard forms and ‘higher level’ concepts in a formal or semi-formal discussion.

Consider the following piece of conversation as an illustration of how people may *have* to switch to a variety which is ‘higher’ than their local vernacular to be able to convey their thoughts or opinions. In a discussion about inheritance in a Muslim society, for instance, the participants (three men in their fifties) argue on whether children have the right to inherit from their grandfather when the father dies beforehand:

(6) Ali : 'ki t'mu:t' ʔbəl bb'æ:k 'wlæ:dək ma jawwar't'ɔ:f mən 'dʒæddhum

(If you die before your father, your children do *not* inherit from their grandfather.)

Bachir : 'hada iʒti'hæ:d... 'qa:nu:n 'wəqʔi (This is a ‘consensus’, a ‘human-made’ law.)

- (7) Ali : -- ma t^ʕul'li:f ɪʒtiha:d... 'kæjən əddali:l əf'ʃar'ɪ: w'kæjən əssunna
 (Don't tell me (it's) consensus. There is the legal proof, and there is the 'Tradition'.)
 Omar : -- wa'ʕla:f bəddlu *la loi 14 siècles après* ?
 (And why did they change the law 14 centuries later?)

Holding the heated debate on the issue of inheritance, the three participants were talking aloud (which made it easier for me to take notes, and to write down almost everything without being noticed) and their use of MSA, mixed with AA and some French, sounded natural and fluent though the discussion was informal for there was no constraint, except perhaps that of the topic which relates to Islamic precepts. In fact, it is most likely that the three men holding the conversation did not have equivalent expressions in Algerian Arabic or in French for [ɪʒti'ha:d] and [qanu:n 'wad'ɪ], ('consensus' and 'man-made law').

Hence, as pointed out above, the use of MSA can be attested increasingly among Algerians, even in casual talk, provided that the speakers have reached a certain level of instruction in CA or MSA to be linguistically competent enough to discuss the topic, and are motivated to engage in the conversation. Of course, though people on the whole have a sense of the norms of language use in their community, not all speakers have access to the various codes that may enable them to participate in all types of speech interaction.

The last line under (7) above reflects a very common speech behaviour attested among Algerian speakers: the man starts the utterance in the Low variety, [wa'ʕla:f bəddlu] ('Why did they change...?'), and ends in a switch to French, *la loi 14 siècles après* ('the law 14 centuries later'), though he had the alternative, in this particular case, to end the question in colloquial Arabic: [wa'ʕla:f bəddlu lqanu:n rba'ʕa:f əlqarn məm ba'ɪd]. Such speech behaviour, involving switches between two genetically unrelated languages, Arabic and French, is another fascinating aspect of the Algerians' sociolinguistic performance that we shall look at at more length below (3.6.4.).

- Second, listening to the news, particularly on TV, has become a daily habit and adult TV viewers (having received a certain level of formal instruction or even those without instruction) have progressively got used to the form of MSA used, to the extent that they may well be heard to comment on the different topics partly in that variety and partly in their Colloquial, that is, rather by mixing the two forms. Continual alternation between the two varieties and their combination may eventually result in an intermediate form of speech that speakers will necessarily 'choose' in formal and semi-formal discussions, though, it should be pointed out, many will continue to use French in such contexts. In any case, this passive exposition to the news in MSA, as well as to international news on the many Arabic-speaking TV channels available today, is undoubtedly reinforced by other TV programmes, particularly religious films and talks about Islam, historical and scientific documentaries.

- Third, CA is tightly associated in people's minds with religion as the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* (the Prophet's Tradition PBUH) are written in this variety. The Friday sermons, usually given in CA, are often commented on outside the mosque in a mixture of AA and MSA. It is interesting to note here that what has been learned from the *Imam* (the preacher in Islam), the things which relate to the Islamic principles and to the Prophet's 'sayings and deeds' (*essīra nnabawiya*), cannot be discussed exclusively in a colloquial variety among friends outside the mosque or at home with family members. In fact, the low status variety does not possess its own linguistic 'material' to cover all the concepts in the discussion. The religious issues of the day are reported to a certain extent in the High variety used by the *Imam*, though it is always mixed with AA to varying extents depending on the speaker's linguistic competence, his/her knowledge of a certain amount of religious concepts and principles, the Qur'ānic verses and of course on his or her motivation. Such language behaviour seems to be enhanced at least by two of the factors mentioned in Wardhaugh (1994: 93), two sociolinguistic phenomena that render diglossia a 'problem', as

he explains it, namely the development of literacy and the need for a unified 'national' language. He argues that:

People living in a diglossic community do not usually regard diglossia as a 'problem'. It becomes a problem only when there is a growth of literacy, or when there is a desire to decrease regional and/or social barriers, or when a need is seen for a unified 'national' language.

Undeniably, just like any other community, the Algerian society, by no means fossilized, is undergoing significant transformations accompanied by linguistic changes, a fact due to the opportunity to learn offered to all in a more egalitarian environment with the advent of the Algerian government educational policy. Teaching has become 'democratized'; i.e., every child has the opportunity to go to school, and eventually everybody today can afford to learn the high status variety and to use it in certain formal or semi-formal situations, but not in the same way as an English speaker or a French one whose mother tongues may be closest to the standard, while, as already acknowledged, MSA is definitely not the mother tongue of anybody in the community. The point we must insist on is that the type of speech used in such formal or semi-formal settings, on a diglossic background, draws nearer to MSA often mixed with AA, particularly on the morphological and phonological levels. Thus, as Bell (1976:135) points out,

The originally clearly-differentiated forms and functions of H and L are merging to produce in place of the earlier discrete codes a continuum in which codes merge into each other...

If the use of this intermediate variety continues to spread in the Algerian society in statistic terms, and there *is* some evidence that it will – though, for the time being, the switches are limited to lexical items and a number of expressions and utterances (e.g. [si'jasa] 'policy/politics'; [mæs'ulija ʔdema] 'great responsibility'; [fi id'ra:b] 'on strike'; [hada 'vɪr mumkin] 'this is impossible') –, there will be a need to re-think the stability and persistence of the diglossic sociolinguistic

situation as classically defined in the Fergusonian 'ideally diglossic' model with its sharp 'high/low' cleavage and its respective specialisation of functions.

What is clearly observable in today's linguistic reality in Algeria is a continual alternation and mixing of the varieties that are not so strongly bound to the specification of functions. Indeed, one can attest that the low varieties in general, mainly in urban areas, are undergoing a kind of levelling process with the increasing introduction of borrowings from MSA. Moreover, there are different types of discourse, as put forward by Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:46-47), in which the three varieties, CA, MSA, and AA, may be present to varying degrees of switching and mixing interference between the varieties: religious and political lectures, TV programmes, etc. As a matter of fact, this multiform flexible use of Arabic, particularly among speakers who have become familiar with code alternation, provides diversity and may well be seen as a continuum whose contour is not yet very 'clear'.

Thus, Ferguson's earlier suggested H/L complementary distribution will no longer be pertinently adequate for explaining the reality of today's Algerian speech community or any other similar Arabic-speaking community. As already pointed out above, Ferguson himself acknowledges the development of Arabic diglossic contexts towards a type of continuum when he says:

Intermediate between the two varieties, relatively 'pure' Classical and Colloquial, there are many shadings of 'middle language'. (1970)

One thing we can safely claim, however, is that, in conjunction with this extremely complicated configuration including the Arabic language varieties and the Berber dialects in areas where these constitute the people's mother tongue, the French language is so deeply rooted in linguistic practices that it will persevere in the Algerian society, though to varying degrees of comprehension and actual use, for as much time as it serves a number of important functions, particularly in technological, economic and financial sectors. Its pervasiveness also results from its permanent use in the environment: in the written and

broadcast media along with the official language and competing with it in similar domains; in administrative documents, some of which displaying the two languages; in shop-signs, packaging of commercial items and medicines, and so on..., exhibited in French much more often than in Arabic. What is more, people of different types of groups have got used to hearing French everywhere, on the radio and on TV, and many do use it in various contexts, though usually mixing it up with Arabic, or spontaneously translating French words and expressions. Hence, a genuinely comprehensive analysis of the linguistic situation in Algeria can only be undertaken in terms of the analysis of a dynamic relationship between diglossia *and* bilingualism.

3.6.2 Diglossia and Bilingualism

As already indicated, what makes the Algerian language situation so complex is its characterisation at the societal level by at least two overlapping linguistic phenomena, diglossia and bilingualism, though at the individual level the degree of proficiency or competence in one or the other, or in both practices, largely depends on socio-cultural factors such as level of education, socio-economic background, age, and perhaps most importantly motivation and attitudes towards the two standards. In any case, it is a plain fact that all Algerians, even illiterate people, use and/or understand at least a few words and expressions from MSA and French in everyday speech interactions, to the extent that the community as a whole may be regarded both as diglossic and bilingual. This dual characterization is, of course, to be considered along the two extremes of a linguistic proficiency continuum, for, both linguistic phenomena, it is believed, are regarded as relative concepts, all the more so as neither of the two languages is acquired as a native language. That is, whereas an English RP speaker, for instance, who has learned another language to whatever extent, is at least fully competent in his or her mother tongue, an Algerian speaker's native language is neither MSA nor French.

Multilingual communities are characterized by a set of norms that define bilingual (or multilingual) behaviour and, as Hamers and Blanc (2000: 31) report,

Every bilingual community is situated between the two poles of a continuum, ranging from a set made up of two unilingual groups each containing a small number of bilinguals, to a single group with a more or less large number of members using a second language for specific purposes. At one pole most speakers in each group use only one language for all functions, whereas at the other a varying number of speakers use both languages but for different purposes.

A society with a balanced collective bilingualism, for example, would consist of a large number of its members using both languages for different purposes, or mixing them in different contexts of their conversations according to certain norms of use. But the question relating to the level of proficiency among bilinguals in a community, as well as to their attitudes or relationship to the other language as opposed to their mother tongue makes bilingualism a very complex phenomenon. We may indeed consider each bilingual or multilingual social group as virtually having its own characteristics depending on the interplay of the number of languages and/or varieties, the values associated therewith, and the functions they fulfil. So, in what terms can we describe bilingualism in Algeria? This is by no means an easy matter.

The patterns of language use in bilingual/diglossic communities are far from being comparable to those attested in bilingual societies where the two co-existing languages are standards, like French and English, acquired as mother tongues by certain categories of the population, learned at school and spoken fluently according to the group's social class or to the formality of the situation. In certain provinces of English Canada, for instance, bilingual individuals use one form or another (standard or dialectal) of either English or French (Bourhis, 1982) in a simple binary relation, though from a social psychological perspective their attitudes towards English are more positive.

But Algerian bilingualism displays a far more complex instance as it involves a 'double-overlapping diglossia'²⁸ (Hamers and Blanc, 2000:295), that is, a two-fold relationship to French. Here is a tentatively approximate configuration:

- In a binary relation to French is the whole array of low varieties of Arabic (and/or Berber dialects) constituting the mother tongue spontaneously acquired during the early years of child language development. But the native language is not formalised or reinforced in the minds of the pupils in school, as is the case for English or French children in Western educational systems. Thus, the Algerian child's awareness of distinct distributional functions of his or her mother tongue and the school language, MSA, becomes obvious with the first contact with the school.
- The High variety of Arabic (for the sake of simplification we shall not consider the whole range of H varieties proposed in Bouhadiba (1998) in a hierarchical arrangement²⁹) is in a different dichotomous relationship with French, as it is used to perform specific functions, particularly by members of an *élite*: an Algerian educated speaker with a high 'bilingualistic' competence may well discuss a topic, say for instance the problem of environment, in MSA, then switch to Standard French to convey the same arguments to listeners who may or may not be equally proficient in both languages.
- Until the late 1970s, French was the language of instruction at school and, as a consequence, a great number of young people became functionally bilinguals³⁰, albeit to varying degrees depending of course on the level of education they reached, their motivation and attitudes towards that language. But even though Arabic has replaced it today at all educational levels (except for some scientific and technological university courses), French continues to be used in many domains: economic, financial, the

written mass-media, and everything that makes it regarded as the language that opens access to progress and technology.

- The alternation of all these codes, i.e., the varieties of the Arabic continuum (and Berber in some areas), with French and their mixing has become an inherent characteristic in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers.

A simple observation of the linguistic situation today reveals the degree to which the Algerian speakers find themselves constantly oscillating from one pole to another, torn between the language of religious values and cultural heritage, but often (wrongly) regarded as responsible for backwardness, and French, the language associated with modernity, progress and opening-up to the West, but evoking at the same time colonialism, oppression and injustice towards the Algerian people. This is how Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997:86) points this out:

Le locuteur algérien, comme le locuteur arabophone en général, va donc constamment osciller dans ses rapports à la langue arabe du pôle positif au pôle négatif, écartelé qu'il est entre sa fidélité à l'authenticité du modèle, au passé et aux valeurs du patrimoine que lui transmet sa propre langue et l'attrance vers la modernité de ce siècle qu'il espère pouvoir atteindre fut-ce à travers la langue de l'Autre.

It is worth mentioning at this point that a distinction must be made between production and perception skills in the two non-native languages that Algerian individuals are exposed to in contrast with their mother-tongue(s). In fact, the degree of proficiency in speaking effectively and passive understanding of French and MSA vary according to different factors among which the level of education and the socio-economic status are essential. People's competence can in fact be measured in terms of a continuum, though it is attested on the whole that they are more proficient in perception than in production, particularly in MSA.

To obtain support for this predictable fluctuation in language ability in French as opposed to CA/MSA, we have worked out a simple oral questionnaire and presented it to a number of informants approached in a completely random and anonymous manner in different settings (cafés, workplace, neighbourhood, relatives); in order to gather representative results, the subjects involved have been chosen so as to obtain samples varying enough in age and sex. The questions relate to:

- a) The frequency in listening to the news on TV and/or on the radio in Arabic or French, or in both languages;
- b) The degree of comprehension in each of the two languages;
- c) The choice of the language used to comment on the news with friends and relatives.

The results of the questionnaire reveal on the whole the existence of three categories of people:

- Older respondents (over 65 years old) with no formal instruction in any of the two languages usually listen to the news in Arabic, and out of necessity, they have learned to 'cope' with MSA, the 'Arabic of the TV', as some call it, at least superficially, to know about current events.
- Less old informants (45 to 65) with a good, or relatively good, level of instruction in French, but also in Standard Arabic, or at least a long-term exposition to both languages, listen to the news in both languages which they claim they understand equally well, though some respondents prefer Arabic to French and others the other way round.
- Middle-aged informants (30 to 45) react to the questions practically the same way as those above, though most of them had their schooling in Arabic. This shows the extent to which French persists in the society, and the overall positive attitude that people display towards that language.
- Younger adults (20 to 35), too, understand French though to different extents according to the individual's proficiency, his or her motivation and

attitude towards the language as opposed to MSA of which, in principle, they have a better command from the perception angle.

To comment on the news, all respondents use AA with varying amount of French and some admixture of MSA. But again, it all depends on the individuals' level of education and their skill in French and/or MSA which may also result from the degree of exposure to the two languages.

Though the respondents' answers seem to involve some subjectivity as to preference and choice of Arabic or French for listening to the news, we believe that they do correspond to a predictable reality of the facts. Indeed, seen from the metalinguistic point of view, very few people are unaware of the Algerians' involvement at least in the perception of the two languages on a daily basis as a result of everyday exposure to radio and television. Anyone will tell you how much they understand French and Arabic (meaning MSA or CA). Pointing out the impact of radio and television on people's relation to MSA, Meiseles (1980)³¹ says:

Along with (and in addition to) the school system, they are responsible for its spread not only among the educated but among all Arabic speakers. [...] Through listening to radio and television (especially broadcasts of prayer and sermons from mosques, speeches and discussions and the like), Arabic speakers (even the little educated and the entirely uneducated) acquire a partial passive knowledge of LA³², and that is one of the most characteristic features of the linguistic situation of contemporary Arabic.

As for the French language, almost forty five years after the departure of the French, its maintenance both in the written and spoken media results in continual exposure to it to the extent that many people *use* it in everyday interaction either in its own or often mixed with AA in a spontaneous manner. This is not the case for MSA. The point is that, in spite of the efforts expended for arabisation, MSA is not used, and will perhaps never be used in a natural way for its diglossic relation to the vernaculars in the community. In the face of it, French continues to hold a special position in Algeria, preserving thus a kind of general societal

bilingualism, on the one hand, and individual 'bilinguality', on the other, a distinction that has been emphasized by Hamers and Blanc (2000:6) who write:

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

Therefore, if an important issue in the study of bilingualism lies in accounting for the bilingual's choice of one language or the other in a conscious or unconscious manner, the situation in Algerian speech communities is rendered much more problematical, but extremely interesting at the same time, by the existence side by side of two linguistic phenomena involving a wider range of code choices characterized by two standards, the H variety and French, in contact with a bewildering number of lower status varieties.

3.6.3 Code Choice

The term 'code' has been used in sociolinguistics to refer to a language, or to a particular variety of that language, but also, by a loose definition, to any style or register that a speaker chooses to use in a communication act. Some issues that have stimulated research on language variability and its socio-cultural nature, concern the reasons for a speaker's choice of a particular code in a given situation, the motives behind his/her switching from one code to another, and the occasional mixing of two or more codes in a conversation. These considerations are all the more interesting as they are not restricted to bilingual or multilingual settings, for, virtually, there are no single-code speakers, and, whatever their linguistic background, people are always faced with selecting an appropriate code from a verbal repertoire according to the context of speech; that is, the code is function of external factors such as participants, setting, topic, and so on. Each

individual participates in various social roles or belongs to different groups, and, as Bell says (1976:110), "no language user is monolingual, in the strict sense of possessing a single code." As a matter of fact, in every speech interaction the participants draw on various strategies among which code choice is crucial in the attempt to maximize the efficiency of the communicative act, and, obviously, the chosen code reflects the type of socio-cultural relationship between the speakers involved in the on-going interaction. There is no doubt that the society and its cultural system shape, in a way, the configuration of the various speech codes to be used in a community in particular contexts and according to recognized norms which favour people's relations. In this respect, Bernstein (1970) says:

[...] language is a set of rules to which all speech codes must comply, but which speech codes are realized is a function of the culture acting through social relationships in specific contexts. Different speech forms or codes symbolize the form of the social relationship, regulate the nature of the speech encounters, and create for the speakers different orders of relevance and relation.

It has been shown clearly that the view of linguistic homogeneity is not useful in sociolinguistic approaches, and that language has to be regarded as a set of repertoires of codes selected on the basis of rule-governed strategies, not in a random way. Examining the issue of code choice, or language choice, is central to the understanding of role-relations between speakers in all types of communities. Serious thought given to this issue can help us account for the speaker's conscious decision – or what may sometimes be considered as unconscious or subconscious behaviour – to select one code rather than another in a given situation. Furthermore, the matter is of wider theoretical interest for it encompasses the analysis of different forms of switching behaviour in bilingual/multilingual communities, but also in monolingual ones.

In addition to some sociolinguistic concepts such as *domains* (Fishman 1964), *style shift* (Labov 1970, 1972a and b) and *social networks* (L. Milroy 1980) offered by a number of scholars and leading to substantial advancements in the construction of a sociolinguistic theory as a whole, several approaches to

the issue of language choice have been put forward (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gal 1979; L. Milroy 1980; Scotton 1980, 1983*b*; Breiteborde 1983, Bell 1984; Spolsky 1985, etc.) as we shall see in the next sections.

3.6.3.1 The Competence/Performance Approach

As in most studies of language, the analysis of code-choice can be undertaken on these two important levels: competence and performance. A line of questioning may be raised at this level: what actually governs code-choice, competence or performance? Can we construct a performance model which may account for switching behaviour? Or is it more fruitful to start with a competence model in spite of its more difficult manageability? Spolsky (1988:105)ⁱⁱ finds it attractive "to build a process model or performance model that can account for every behavioral decision", but more reasonable to start with the task of "trying to find the underlying system that informs and constrains (if it doesn't always govern) choice." (ibid). Indeed, in order to tackle the issue and analysis of code-choice within a performance model, it is necessary that a view of the underlying system of competence be involved beforehand. A mere performance examination would lack comprehensiveness if the speaker's underlying rules were neglected. Furthermore, any decision made by a speaker to use a certain code in a given situation should eventually be explained in terms of *communicative competence* (Hymes 1972), that ability to select 'ways' of speaking that take into account psychological, social and cultural norms, as speech is obviously related to some aspect of the social context. In an attempt to analyse patterns of linguistic variation and language choice in bilingual Austria, Gal (1979:6) explains that

[...] the communicative competence which enables people to speak in a socially appropriate and interpretable way includes implicit knowledge not only about the rules that distinguish between grammatical, less grammatical, and ungrammatical utterances, but also knowledge of when to use the varieties in their linguistic repertoire.

In effect, appropriate language use in a community requires not only linguistic competence in the language(s) of that community, but also, perhaps more importantly, the cultural knowledge of the 'speaking rules' that allow people to predict the linguistic code to be used in a given speech event.

In the context of the Algerian society, with its sociolinguistic diversity, it is of necessity to raise the question of linguistic competence in relation to the different codes at play: namely, Arabic with the whole range of varieties, Berber used in a number of areas, and of course French, a potentially functional language strongly maintained on many levels. As a consequence of the heterogeneity of the society, various patterns of communication obtain:

- a. Two interlocutors *A* and *B* may possess a high degree of linguistic competence in MSA and French, in addition to their native tongue, and thus may choose, from a wide verbal repertoire, the variety thought to be most appropriate for the situation, or they both may switch at will from one code to another.
- b. Speaker *A* may be competent in all the codes mentioned above, but his/her choices will be limited in an interaction with speaker *C* whose linguistic competence, on both production and perception levels, is very poor as to the use of MSA and French. Thus, the act of communication will be undertaken exclusively in AA (or a Berber dialect, e.g., Tamazight in Kabylia). It should be remembered, however, that most Algerian Arabic varieties include a good number of French words and expressions that almost everybody knows and uses as part of everyday speech.
- c. Speaker *C* may only possess a limited receptive competence in MSA and French, and thus, if speaker *A* is aware of the fact, he/she will only use AA, or, if the necessity arises, he/she will make use of verbal strategies that allow him/her to reduce the difficulties of comprehension.

- d. Speaker *A* and speaker *B* may choose to interact with each other in their respective AA varieties, without having to change codes in particular settings or topics. But if pronounced differences in the two varieties bring about a hindrance to mutual intelligibility, then, for the sake of avoiding idiosyncratic linguistic features, there may be some attempt of speech accommodation on the part of one or both interlocutors.

Usually, it is the speaker of the minority variety in a given community who tends to adapt his or her speech to that of the majority. But, we shall see that in the case of the speech community of Tlemcen, the phenomenon of shifting away from TA, virtually the majority variety, is very common, particularly among male speakers. The reasons for such atypical linguistic behaviour will be dealt with at length in the next chapters.

The approach that examines the speaker's code choice on the basis of performance considerations along with the underlying set of rules involved in the process allows for the clarification of the social/individual issue by combining the views of sociologists and social-psychologists; that is, by taking into account the social forces that are involved in individual language behaviour. It is hoped that such approach will be productive in the description of the Algerian context particularly in relation to Arabic/French bilingualism viewed both at the societal and individual levels, on the macro- and micro-levels. It has been assumed that various parameters such as role relation, topic, domain, and so on, which account for monolingual behaviour, also apply to language-contact situations.

Alongside the approach that represents the code choice process by means of the competence/performance model, the notion of *domain*, proposed by Fishman (1964)³⁵ in a classic study of language choice, is another construct that can bring about explanations of language behaviour as a whole and views that underlie different types of language choice.

3.6.3.2 The 'Domain' Approach

The notion of *domain* can be used both in monolingual and multilingual communities to account for the speaker's choice of a language variety from his or her linguistic repertoire in a particular type of recurring situation, a language behaviour that is judged as appropriate by members of the speech community. Much of Fishman's concern in the 1960s was about the predictability of various communication patterns in multilingual speech communities and social networks. Indeed, in his famous oft-quoted article 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?' (1965a, revised 1972³⁶), he strongly denies the randomness of language choice within or between groups, and asserts that

'Proper' usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*. (Italics in original)

Sets of societal domains such as family, friendship, religion, education and employment, and domains of socio-psychological nature, including classes of situations calling for formality or intimacy during the encounter, can be identified, either intuitively or empirically by the investigator, and used in categorizing different role-relations that require suitable code choices. Showing the relevance of such spheres of language activity in analysing socio-cultural patterns of speech communities, Fishman (*ibid*) states that:

Domains enable us to understand that *language choice* and *topic*, appropriate though they may be for analyses of individual behavior at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters, are [...] related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations. By recognizing the existence of domains, it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for individuals, or particular sub-populations, with the language of domains for a larger part, if not the whole, of the population.

How can the domain approach apply to a complex linguistic community such as that of Algeria, a language situation in which the description of different societal patterns of code choice have to combine dialectal, diglossic and bilingual dynamic relations? What range of domains necessitates the use of CA, for instance, as opposed to MSA on the one hand, and to AA, on the other? What is the status of French among these? And to what extent are these varieties mixed in a single conversation? In what situation types is it not appropriate to switch from MSA to French? To what extent and in what type of domains does the mixing of AA with French conform to the accepted norms in the speech community? Evidence from everyday speech can provide answers to Fishman's (1972b:46) question, "who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end?" It is clear that, by virtue of his/her full membership of a given speech community, and depending on the role-relations between the participants in a certain speech setting, a speaker can predict the type of language, language variety, style or register that will occur in that speech situation, and will accordingly select from his/her repertoire the most appropriate linguistic variety (or varieties) for use in the domain. In this regard, Downes (1998:61-2) describes a domain as

...a grouping together of recurring situation types in such a way that one of the languages in a repertoire, as opposed to the others, normally occurs in that class of situations. And members of the speech community normally judge that the use of that variety, and not the others, is appropriate to that domain.

Of course, a given variety can be used in a more or less wide range of domains in everyday communication interactions, and the more domains it is allocated to, the more chance it has to be maintained. Conversely, reduction of domains in a variety favours shift or even loss of that variety. French in Algeria, for example, is used in a much restricted way in education domains than it was for a few decades before and just after independence. But there are still many domains in which this so-called 'foreign' language is chosen for its functional character, for

instance in fields that relate to technical, financial or medical matters: two doctors, for example, would use French to talk about the diagnosis of a given illness, though a few AA expressions may be inserted. Algerian Arabic (or Berber in non-Arab Algerian communities) is associated mostly with the family domain, usually with less use of French from the part of younger people when interacting with parents or elders³⁷ than in the street or friendship domain. The use of French expressions and borrowings would also sound 'out of place' inside a mosque where the 'sacred' Arabic language, which reflects religious values, MSA or at least a supposedly 'pure' variety of AA³⁸, are required for discussing or asking about religious matters. We would certainly expect an Algerian doctor, who usually uses much French with colleagues or with people educated in French, to choose a low AA variety to interact with a rural uneducated patient. A lawyer will surely switch from MSA to AA according to whether he or she addresses the court members or the defendant when pleading the case.

Speech, therefore, undeniably takes extremely various forms on different occasions, and adequate code choice in everyday interaction may be regarded, as stated by Scotton (1980:360)³⁹, as "individually motivated negotiations of identity", provided, of course, that the speaker

- 'knows' the sociolinguistic rules and norms of verbal interaction making up the meaning of the choices in a particular group or community, i.e., he or she must be communicatively competent and anticipate how his or her type of speech will be interpreted as well as how *they* will interpret the interlocutor's code choice.

- is willing and favourably disposed to communicate whatever group the interlocutor belongs to, and consequently chooses to adapt his or her speech when necessary; the addressee may not understand French well, for instance, and thus the speaker's choice of AA would be more appropriate.

Various code choices are then used as strategies to convey meanings in a socio-pragmatic way, that is, in addition to the consideration of the speaker's social identity and other situational factors (e.g. age and gender, or setting and

topic), such discourse strategies take account of dynamic factors such as the type of relationship involved in the speech interaction. Therefore, the overall patterns that can be observed in our community clearly conform with Hymes' (1972:36) 'rules of speaking', "the ways in which speakers associate particular modes of speaking, topics or message forms, with particular settings and activities", as he says; this is part of what he calls 'communicative competence'.

The different ways of speaking that can be readily detected in the Algerian society as a whole, and in Tlemcen in particular, appear to be rule-governed and are indeed a function of the socio-cultural values and patterns of language behaviour in the community. We should, however, bear in mind that the degree of communicative competence in the various codes in presence in the community is a function of a number of other features such as child speech development in a given environment, actual use of the codes, motivation, and proficiency in the varieties learned in formal education, i.e., CA / MSA and French. What is more, an individual speaker may be competent in the reception of a code much more than in its production, and thus may avoid using that code to convey a thought. Labov (1966) has analysed cases of Black children who showed failure in their educational process because they possessed a dual competence in reception, but a single competence in production: they understood Standard English but could only express their ideas in their vernacular. This is the case of a good number of Algerian elderly people, particularly those who never went to school. Forty years after independence, however, and as a result of the arabisation policy, many illiterate people claim to understand MSA (they do to a large extent sometimes) in formal political speech and in national TV programmes and other Arab TV channels such as *Al Jazeera* and *Iqraa*. They also declare that they understand CA in religious sermons and lectures in the mosque or on TV. But the majority of these people wouldn't be able to hold a conversation in one or the other of these two varieties, though we can observe increasing use of some lexical MSA or CA items and expressions that may be considered as borrowings into AA, their everyday speech. In reality, because the High variety is not used in everyday conversation, and this is the diglossic nature of the speech community,

a large scale survey involving portions of speakers of both genders, all ages and levels of education could reveal various degrees of linguistic competence or proficiency in CA/MSA, and many speakers would predictably display a fairly good perception of the H varieties, but weaknesses in production.

But considering inter-dialectal variation, in Tlemcen for instance, it will be evident that the issue is of another type, as an increasing number of native people belonging to a certain portion of the community, males in particular, have long become fully bi-dialectal; that is, they are competent in both varieties (Tlemcen speech and the rural form of Arabic used therein) and at both levels, perception and production. Not only do they choose to adopt rural speech characteristics in the presence of rural speakers, for the reasons that we will examine below, but they can also be heard using these forms in relaxed in-group conversations, i.e., in talk situations where all participants are natives of TA.

A few questions can be raised at this stage. What are the reasons that make speakers who belong to the majority⁴⁰ choose to use a non-native code in certain situations? Conversely, why do users of rural speech stick to the supposedly minor variety and almost never use TA? Are TA speakers in a 'weaker' position and driven to 'negotiate', in Scotton's (1980) sense, the speech interaction in the rural users' code? Or do they expressly show they are better 'negotiators' by displaying communicative competence in the others' variety in addition to theirs?

The point is that there are other explanations to the phenomenon, as we shall see in the next two chapters. Part of the native TA speakers' linguistic behaviour in everyday speech may perhaps be explained in terms of Scotton's (1980) sociological framework, the *markedness* model, which proposes an interpretation of code choice and code-switching on the grounds of social representations of the norms of interaction that determine the interlocutors' choices of codes in a given situation. Scotton's framework was then extended in an attempt to account for speakers' social and psychological motivations for selecting marked or unmarked codes, particularly in contexts of code-switching.

3.6.3.3 The Markedness Model

Incorporating theories from a number of disciplines (sociology of language, social anthropology, linguistic anthropology...), the *markedness model* has been used by Myers-Scotton (1980; 1983; 1993*a*; 1993*b*) as a complementary device to account for speakers' social and psychological motivations for selecting or avoiding to use a given linguistic code depending on their wish to identify or not with the interlocutor. As already mentioned above, Scotton (1980:360) considers linguistic choices as "individually motivated negotiations" whose success only depends on the degree of awareness and adequate use of "the communally recognized norms" (1983*a*:123) which establish the meanings of the choices in different types of talk situations. The sense of markedness in relation to the linguistic codes available in the speech community's repertoire is acquired as part of the individual's communicative competence. In fact, according to the exchange type, a speaker should know whether it is the marked or the unmarked code that is appropriate. A casual form of speech, for instance, would be unexpected, and thus marked, in a formal setting; and, conversely, a careful style in an intimate conversation would also be marked as it would sound out of place. Being aware of the consequences of their choice, which may be marked or unmarked on a normative basis, speakers usually choose the unmarked code, that is, an expected choice which is safer in the interpersonal relation, for it conveys no surprises. Spolsky (1988:107) makes this 'social process' approach explicit in the following terms:

In conventional situations, the unmarked choice is followed; a marked choice can be made to challenge the *status quo*; an exploratory choice is made in nonconventional situations to claim multiple identities. A conventional talk situation is one where societal norms specify clearly the meanings of choices; a nonconventional exchange is one where there is not agreement about the markedness of choices. The fundamental message being signaled is a 'rights-and-obligations set' accepted as appropriate by speaker and hearer.

But how can this approach apply to the Algerian sociolinguistic context? What codes might be regarded as 'marked' or 'unmarked', and in what settings? We suppose that the unmarked choices in the Algerian society at large would be either MSA or French in formal settings, or even a mixture of the two languages, but these would be regarded as marked in casual encounters, particularly MSA. The Low variety, on the other hand, is of course naturally unmarked in everyday speech, but would be unexpected by teachers on the part of their students, and thus marked in a class topic discussion. It is therefore important for the speaker to learn to negotiate, in appropriate ways, the 'rights and obligations' during the communication interaction: students are aware that in class they are 'obliged' to choose a standard code, e.g. MSA, unmarked in this case; otherwise their AA choice would be negatively interpreted by teacher and students alike.

But what can be said about mixing marked and unmarked codes within the same interaction, particularly in less constrained contexts? The issue is very interesting, for such behaviour does occur quite often in semi-formal discussions among people proficient enough in French or MSA, or in both: the speaker switches easily between the standard and AA, and such mixture, we believe, does not seem to be marked or commented on, even in a formal setting.

Another interesting issue that we shall mention in relation to the markedness model concerns the frequent use of a non-TA variety from the part of native speakers of Tlemcen speech variety who tend to avoid salient features of TA and stereotypes (particularly the glottal stop), for reasons that we have already indicated and that we shall consider again in the next two chapters. The case in Tlemcen clearly appears to go counter to the principle, acknowledged in many sociolinguistic studies, that minority speakers tend to make their speech resemble that of the majority (e.g. Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1974, 1978; etc...). A set of recurrent questions arise again here. Why don't rural speech users living today in Tlemcen behave as if they regarded their variety as marked? In other words, why don't they adapt their way of speaking to the majority speech, a behaviour that is usually predictable in other situations of urban language contact? And why do native speakers feel *their* speech is marked, stigmatised, and thus 'have' to avoid

the use of a number of TA linguistic features, not only in constrained situations but also, increasingly, during in-group speech interaction? Is this linguistic behaviour a precursor of dialect shift? Will the 'host' people definitely adopt in the long run the speech of their 'guests'? Or will this linguistic behaviour result in the adoption of a middle variety which will have the advantage of concealing idiosyncratic attributes?

In a later development of her model, Myers-Scotton (1993a:82) suggests, in this regard, that "Code choices fall along a continuum as more or less marked." In fact, for one reason or another, it does happen that, in order to avoid the two ends of this 'markedness continuum', speakers choose to use a kind of 'neutral' variety, a communication strategy that may reward its users who will in this way get round an overt identification with one group or the other. This markedness self-consciousness, as Myers-Scotton (*ibid.* p.80) states, "enables speakers to assess all code choices as more or less *unmarked* or *marked* for the exchange type in which it occurs". In fact, not wishing to identify with a variety that has become strongly marked in its own environment, some native speakers of TA opt for the use of a variety that is neither typical of Tlemcen speech nor characterized by salient rural speech features. Such a strategy, particularly reflected in the use of *qāf* [q], as in ['qælli], 'He told me', instead of the usual [g] in ['gælli] that replaces the stigmatised TA ['ʔælli], seems to allow such speakers to escape both negative comments on TA and giving way to rural Arabic. However, a great number of young native male speakers, as we shall see below, do not maintain TA distinctive features in 'mixed' talk situations, and even in unconstrained ones. They rather tend to adjust their speech so that it resembles that supposedly minor variety, the rural form of Arabic used in many parts of Algeria.

In an attempt to explain such linguistic behaviour in which two speakers tend to adapt to each other's speech, Giles and Powesland (1975) propose a theoretical model called 'speech-accommodation theory' (SAT) – later on developed in Coupland and Giles (1988)⁴¹ as 'communication-accommodation theory' (CAT). It focuses on social psychological processes to explain the speakers' perception of the communication situation and the ensuing language behaviour.

3.6.3.4 Speech Accommodation

Beside the various socially-based approaches that have been formulated to explain sociolinguistic behaviour by taking into account socio-cultural factors such as socio-economic status, social context, sex and age, which relate to the users of language and to its uses – i.e., who speaks what language(s) to whom and in what context(s) –, another research paradigm has been developed recently by social psychologists whose aim is to attempt to reveal the socio-psychological forces that motivate code choice, code alternation and linguistic variation as a whole.

An interesting approach is that of Giles and fellow scholars (e.g. Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979, etc.⁴²) who have brought forward a research model that considers people's speech adaptation to others as a behaviour that expresses a desire for social approval and solidarity. In particular, Giles and Powesland (1975)⁴³ argue for the model's applicability to linguistic code-choice and code-switching when they write:

The essence of the theory of accommodation lies in the social psychological research on similarity-attraction... This work suggests that an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them. The process of speech accommodation operates on this principle and as such may be a reflection of an individual's desire for social approval. [...] If one can accept the notion that people find social approval from others rewarding, it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that there may be a general set to accommodate to others in most social situations.

Speakers' tendency to adapt to one another's speech, a pertinent attribute of interpersonal communication, can be observed in all sorts of verbal interaction and at all linguistic levels, though it is more evident when the codes involved are different, as in multilingual communities, or discrete to a certain extent in multi-dialectal ones. This observation of interpersonal language behaviour, developed later on into what is known as 'speech accommodation theory' (Giles 1980; Giles

and Cheshire 1982; Coupland and Giles 1988; Giles 1994⁴⁴), is based on the view that people's speech may be modified towards, or away from, that of the listener in accordance with their attitudes and beliefs. Giles and Powesland (1975)⁴⁵ have attempted to explain this tendency by proposing, as Hamers and Blanc (2000:242) report,

a model of speech accommodation which focuses on the underlying social cognitive processes mediating between the individual's perception of the communication situation and his communicative behaviour.

That is, if a speaker wishes to identify with the group, or to reduce social distance, his/her speech will converge towards the norms of that group, and hence he or she will gain social approval and feel solidarity with its members. But for the sake of asserting a distinct social or cultural identity, speakers will preserve ingroup characteristics in an intergroup communication by maintaining their distinctive speech patterns.

In an Algerian urban context, such as that of Algiers, Oran or Tlemcen, where people having quite distinct AA varieties as their native vernaculars interact, three patterns may obtain beside their occasional shared use of MSA and French:

- a) Usually speakers will modify their speech toward the dominant variety in the community;
- b) There may be a convergence of the two varieties, each speaker trying to avoid idiosyncratic linguistic features for different reasons such as caring to convey the message or avoiding comments;
- c) No one user of the other variety makes any effort to attenuate linguistic differences, a divergence which may lead to misunderstanding and to conversation breaking-off.

What is interestingly unusual in the speech community of Tlemcen is that rural Arabic speakers almost never choose to accommodate their speech toward the apparently dominant urban variety – which in reality is no longer felt as dominant in a linguistic environment where rural Arabic speech features seem to prevail as a result of an ever-increasing number of rural speech users⁴⁶. Rather, while communication-accommodation theory (Coupland and Giles, 1988)⁴⁷ puts forward the principle of speech adaptation of two speakers to each other's speech, in Tlemcen it has almost become a norm that native speakers consistently accommodate their speech to the non-TA interlocutor's variety.

One important aim of our work is to attempt to illustrate this one-way sociolinguistic behaviour through data recorded in everyday conversations, and to analyse the underlying reasons and socio-psychological processes responsible for such an overall phenomenon. We shall see, however, how different amounts and types of accommodation are made by TA speakers towards non-TA speech according to setting, gender and age. The degree of accommodation from the part of native TA women, for instance, is far much less important than that of men, and even inexistent in many situation cases (a reverse pattern has been attested in Western communities where women are usually more careful in avoiding their vernacular patterns than men in relatively constrained settings (Trudgill 1974, Holmes 2001), and thus are expected to accommodate more than men). Elderly TA people, too, do not worry using stigmatised vernacular speech features and rarely adapt their speech to that of non-TA interlocutors. Why is this so? Do younger male speakers need others' approval and show it through adaptation of their speech? Or do they avoid native TA linguistic characteristics for other reasons? Our earlier investigations of such behaviour (Dendane 1993) seemed to point to the general feeling that a number of linguistic features of Tlemcen speech, particularly the glottal stop and some morphological and lexical items, sound 'effeminate' and are thus avoided by men in constrained interaction situations – and, increasingly, even in 'relaxed' –, as will be shown in the next chapter. Such feeling of 'linguistic insecurity' (Labov 1972a) seems to be generalised among men in the community of Tlemcen to the extent that we

sometimes happen to witness amusing interaction situations in which two native speakers, not knowing each other, conceal their origin by using rural speech features both thinking that the other interlocutor will otherwise make fun of their way of speaking.

Speech accommodation theory can also be considered to explain the use of MSA in certain formal or semi-formal contexts – provided of course that the interlocutors have reached a certain degree of competence in it – as a kind of ‘lingua-franca’ on the part of speakers whose native varieties display significant linguistic differences (e.g. Oran speech vs. Tlemcen speech). The major aim of this type of accommodation, however, is to allow for ‘serious’ discussions of relatively high intellectual level (political, economic, scientific or religious) which require the use of a higher status variety. This type of mutual speech accommodation towards the High variety – without ever reaching the ‘purest’ CA forms – occurs typically in communication interactions between participants from different Arabic-speaking countries, e.g. North African vs. Middle East nations, whose speech convergence not only allows for a better mutual comprehension, but also gives a feeling of prestige and shared identification with pan-Arab unity.

Speech accommodation can be observed in all types of interpersonal communication and may take several forms on the linguistic level (e.g. pronunciation, lexical items) to serve many purposes such as showing concern for the participant or positive attitudes toward the interlocutor. But if the usual pattern for two speakers is to converge to each other’s speech in a verbal interaction, TA male speakers in Tlemcen, particularly younger ones, often do much to attenuate linguistic differences, perhaps to increase social attraction or for the sake of more efficient communication and better understanding, but above all to avoid sounding ‘effeminate’ which brings about negative comments on the part of rural speech users. But they certainly do not show subordination when accommodating their speech to the others, as it may occur in standard-with-dialect situations.

3.6.3.5 Social Networks and Code Choice

Interesting insights into the speaker's code choices can also be provided by looking at social structure correlations from a smaller-scale perspective: the alternative of examining language use in an individual's more or less frequent interactions with people in his or her environment. Influenced by studies in social anthropology (in particular, Boissevain⁴⁸ 1974), L. Milroy is one of the first sociolinguists who attempted, in her study of the speech community of Belfast (1980), to investigate social networks seeking "to account for variability in *individual* linguistic behaviour in communities, which is something a large-scale analysis like Labov's New York City study does not set out to do" (Milroy 1980:21, emphasis in original). It must be borne in mind, however, that though Labov (1989:52)⁴⁹ considers that "individual behavior can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community" and that language "is not a property of the individual, but of the community", he (1968 *et al.*) has already used the social network approach with adolescent peer groups in Harlem, a study in which he focussed on personal networks to elicit vernacular use and language variation in relation to central individuals as opposed to peripheral ones.

The basic aim of the social network approach, whose method of investigation is also quantitative, is to corroborate the idea that the individual's language patterns are tightly related to, and thus strongly influenced by, those of the people he or she interacts with. In this respect, Downes (1998:117) observes that this method of small-scale enquiry

[...] postulates that the kinds and density of relationship which an individual has within primary groups are significant for linguistic variability.

So, just as in the Labovian methodology, the network approach considers the various codes (or styles in the case of monolingual communities) which individuals in a social network select in different social relations, and the role they play in speech variation as well as in language change. In other words,

social networks involve much more than communicative interaction and ultimately “form the web of transactions which make the intimate texture of daily life, and as such involve individuals in right and obligations towards each other”, as Downes (*ibid.* 118) points out.

As already indicated (*cf.* 2.3.1), social networks are characterized in terms of density of relations, and an individual’s network may be tight or loose. Arabic customs, in general, and Algerian cultural values in particular, traditionally give great importance to the large family unit which includes all kinfolk and relatives; friendship and neighbourhood too play an important role in people’s social relations. In addition, religious practices such as the five daily prayers, the Friday prayer, and important Islamic holy days make people meet quite often. This results in tightly linked networks characterized by solidarity and social cohesion. As a direct consequence of frequent speech interaction between individuals, strong pressures are exerted on the community members.

But, from the sociolinguistic point of view, while in western society solidarity between the members of a network is reflected in the use of either non-standard norms in working class communities, or prestige forms in higher social classes, more so of course in formal situations, code selection in the Algerian society on the whole is not based on such standard-with-dialect patterns. Rather, because the Algerian speech community is characterized by diglossia and bilingualism, people use the Low variety in everyday speech, even in non-intimate relations, with varying amounts of French and/or MSA according to the type of network and setting: non-educated elderly people talking to their peers, for instance, would only use AA, with some French borrowings that have long become part of Algerian speech, and perhaps with a few MSA lexical forms and expressions they have learned more or less recently as a result of their exposure to the High variety, particularly in mosque sermons and lectures as well as on TV and radio programmes. Educated ones might ‘choose’ to use more French or MSA – according to whether they are competent in one language or the other – in their AA discussions of certain topics. In fact, they may choose freely between French and a somewhat high level of Arabic if they are proficient in both, but *not*

between AA and one of these two standards, or both. The point is that the Low variety appears to lack necessary linguistic structures and lexical items to convey high level notions and deep concepts. Thus, in such types of situations, the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers should rather be explained in terms of ‘compulsory’ conscious switching; that is, they are bound to use items that are only available in MSA or French, lexical ones, in particular, but also whole stretches from one language or the other. Often does it occur that people would not ‘know’ how to say, for instance, ‘What are the results of the elections?’ in AA, and would either use plain French, ‘Quels sont les résultats des élections?’, or mix AA with French, *kif kənu les résultats tæʃ les élections?*⁵⁰, or with MSA, as in [kif kənət ənnata: ʔɪʒ tæʃ lintiʔxa:ba:t], but not in ‘plain’ MSA unless the setting is quite formal: a TV interviewer, for example, would ask the question [ʔkeifa ʔkənət naʔta:ʔiʒu lʔintiʔxa:ba:t] or [ʔma: hiʒa naʔta:ʔiʒu lʔintiʔxa:ba:t].

All such utterances, which illustrate the various types of language alternation considered under the heading of ‘code-switching’, are common instances in the speech strategies of Algerians along with other linguistic phenomena resulting from language contact situations, as we shall in the next section.

3.6.4 The Dynamics of Language Contact

The past few decades have witnessed a growing interest in the study of phenomena resulting from contacts between languages, and many scholars have considered such dynamic phenomena from different theoretical perspectives (e.g. Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Sankoff 1998; Muysken 2000). It must be remembered, however, that the growth of sociolinguistics itself owes much to earlier explorations into the field related to the co-existence of two or more languages or language varieties (e.g. Haugen 1953; Weinreich 1953; Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968; Trudgill 1986, etc). Obviously, studies of how different types of speakers behave linguistically in mixed language settings and how languages develop in such circumstances had to be considered for a better understanding of language structure and variation in

relation to social parameters, and for a proposal of a more inclusive linguistic theory. Clyne (2003:1) says in this respect,

Languages in contact are, after all, the result of people in contact and of communities of people of different language backgrounds in contact. The analysis of language contact data can also throw light on how language is processed as well as on how language changes

Today's linguistic situation in Algeria offers an extremely rich field of research into language contact phenomena, which are reflected in the interference between Arabic and French, in particular, but also between language varieties illustrated in the High/Low diglossic relationship, on the one hand, and dialectal variation, on the other. Indeed, in addition to the use of a seemingly unlimited number of loanwords, above all French ones, many Algerian speakers constantly, and perhaps often spontaneously, switch from one language and/or language variety to the other in different contexts and for different purposes; these are also often mixed up in a natural manner in everyday speech, a behaviour that makes Algerian Arabic a very peculiar way of interacting, particularly to the ears of Arabic-speaking monolinguals (Egyptians or Syrians, for instance) and to those of the French. The most salient feature in AA resulting from contact with French is reflected in a kind of continuum with borrowings at one end and code-switching at the other.

3.6.4.1 Borrowings

Borrowing is one of the first processes that result from language contact, although some scholars (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993; Romaine 1995) consider that it starts off as a code-switching. In fact, as Hamers and Blanc (2000:259) believe, "borrowing and code-switching are phenomena at either end of a continuum". Borrowing usually arises from lack of vocabulary for particular items, mostly nouns, in the 'receiving' language, and is somehow distinguished from true code-

switching which is characteristic of bi- and multilingual speakers. What is different in borrowings is that words become part of another language system by being assimilated to its linguistic structural specificities, and thus by “mixing the systems themselves”, as Hudson (1996:55) points out, while code-switching involves “mixing languages in speech”.

All languages borrow items from other languages without their speakers necessarily becoming bilinguals; the common use of *week-end* in French, for example, does not make the French bilingual speakers; and many Algerians, usually non-educated ones, use French words without actually speaking French. In fact, as a result of long-term contact with the French during the occupation of Algeria, a great number of words progressively slipped into AA, and eventually integrated in everyday speech, to the extent that some people may not know that very common words like [ku'zina]⁵¹, for instance, or [fər'ʃetɑ], come from French *cuisine* and *fourchette* ('kitchen' and 'fork', respectively).⁵² The two words, whose Arabic equivalents are not used in AA, are adapted both phonologically and morphologically: as the French diphthong /qi/ in ['kɥizin] does not exist in the Arabic phonemic system, it is replaced by the close back vowel /u/, which is also used in place of many French rounded vowels (e.g. ['mutu:r] instead of French ['mɔtœR] 'engine' or ['bumba] vs. [bɔb], 'bomb' etc.). Then, because the word 'cuisine' is feminine in French, it is the suffix {-a} which is used in the morphological assimilation of the word, giving [ku'zina]; and the regular plural Arabic suffix {-æ:t} is added to give [ku'zinæ:t]. Practically, the same rules are applied to most French borrowed feminine nouns, but even masculine nouns may carry this plural morpheme, as in [kam'junæ:t], from *camions*, 'lorries'. The Arabic determiner {əl} is attached to the French borrowed nouns to give, for example, [əlma'ʃina], 'the machine', or [əsser'bita], from *serviette*, 'towel'. As is the case in this latter example, the Arabic phonological rule of regressive assimilation of the phoneme /l/ of {əl} to the following consonant applies if it is one of the fourteen *shamsiya* consonants⁵³, that is, /l/ → [s] /- [s] in [əsserbita]. As for the French labio-dental /v/, which does not exist in the Arabic phonemic system, it is usually replaced either by [b]

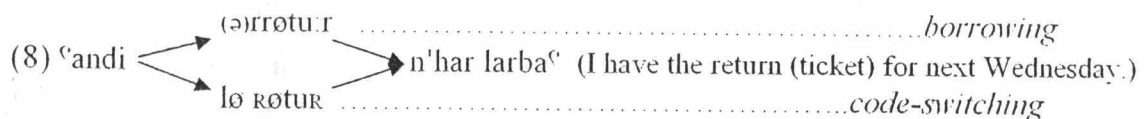
or sometimes by [f] as in [fa'liza] from French *valise*, 'suitcase'; but [v] is kept in some words such as ['vista] from *veste*, 'jacket'. The same applies to French /p/ which is also realised as [b] as there is no voiceless bilabial plosive in Arabic, but also as [p] in words like *pompe* which has entered AA as [pumpa] probably to tell apart the two words 'pump' and 'bomb', [bumba] mentioned above. Thus, the use of [v] and [p], as well as some vowels (e.g. [a] and [o] in [ʃaʔo] from French *château*, 'castle'), have extended the phonemic system in AA.

French, the lending language, has also provided Algerian Arabic with a great number of verbs that have to be considered as borrowings for their phonological and morphological accommodation to Arabic rules. The very common utterance [ner'vatni], 'She got on my nerves', is quite interesting as it modifies the French verb *énervé*, first by dropping its initial syllable *é-* and by altering its uvular /r/ into an alveolar [r], but more interestingly by adapting it to the Arabic tense-form, here the past, reflected in final *-a* of /fa'ala/ followed by the feminine morpheme {-t}, and then by the object pronoun {ni}. The imperfective form would be [tner'vini] which starts with the subject feminine morpheme {t-}. It is worth noting that this borrowed verb is so strongly fixed and so common in AA that the corresponding noun ['nervaza] has come to be used even in formal MSA.

An important question can be raised as to the overabundance of borrowings in AA: apart from technical terms, which may be considered as loanwords in all languages as most are usually made up from Greek and Latin roots or both, and words having no equivalent terms in Arabic, such as names of machines and imported equipment or concepts, instances like *parabole* or *supermarché* that have been called 'cultural borrowed lexemes' (Myers-Scotton 1993a:5), what is to be done to clean up AA from such profusion of French lexical items that do have equivalents in Arabic? To teach people to avoid French words, a radio programme used to be broadcast daily as part of the arabisation project; it went this way, for example: 'Don't say [ku'zina]; say ['matbax]'. But it is clear that people continue to use French in a wild manner. Indeed, we often hear students say [ma 'zæ:l ma (?)ẽskrɛf], 'He hasn't registered yet', or [pro'malu], 'He has promised him' (the French verbs are *s'inscrire* and *promettre*), when it is

certainly easier for the tongue and 'healthier' for the language to say what others do say, i.e. [ma 'zæ:l ma sədʒʒəlʃ] and [wa'ʕədni], respectively. These are typical examples which can be multiplied to a large extent from sheer observation of people's everyday speech in Tlemcen and almost everywhere else in Algerian urban areas. Do people use these verbs, and French in general, because they associate the language with high prestige, despite the distorted use of the verb forms? That is, does such behaviour play an important social role in their day-to-day speech interaction? Or is this a mark of ignorance of Arabic forms revealing a negative attitude toward the native language?

From the structural point of view, are these types of mixing and others to be regarded as established loanwords in AA solely on the basis of their assimilation to the borrowing language, whatever the degree of adaptation? Or should some lexemes taken into AA be considered as cases of code-switching? How should we assess the utterance in (10) below with an embedded French word (italicized), [bəʃʃaħ dərwaʔ əl*procédé* t̪əddəl], 'But now the *process* has changed'? Is not it an instance of code-switching despite the affixation of the Arabic definite article [əl]? Haugen (1953)⁵⁴ would agree to that, as his code-switching definition includes "single, unassimilated words." Thus, the two variants in utterance (8) below clearly show the difference which lies principally in the phonological and morphological assimilation of the borrowing [(ə)r̪r̪t̪u:r], and the maintenance of the French article and uvular [R] in the code-switch [l̪ø r̪t̪u:r]:



Though most scholars view loanwords as part of the 'matrix' language and switching as belonging to the 'embedded' language (ML and EL in Myers-Scotton's 1993*a* and *b*), there has been a long-standing divisive debate on setting off borrowings from true code-switches, particularly when these latter occur in isolation, for longer stretches of EL are indisputably considered as switches. One controversy concerns the identification of a borrowing from the degree of its assimilation to the lending language system. Opposing this latter argument,

Myers-Scotton (1993b:165) says she argues “against the claim that phonological, morphological, and syntactic integration unequivocally distinguishes B forms from CS forms”. Besides, she does not agree that “only utterances of EL material which are longer than one lexeme represent ‘true’ CS.”

But whatever the criteria used by many scholars, and the efforts they have spent, to attempt to distinguish borrowed forms from code-switching (e.g. word assimilation, frequency of use, types of linguistic constituents, etc.), we believe it is not so fruitful for us to set off the two types in the Algerian context, precisely because of the difficulty of telling them apart: indeed, when assessing the huge amount of French words and expressions taken into AA, we get the feeling that anything can be borrowed and used in any form along a kind of continuum in the degree of integration into the native language. In this regard, Hudson (1998:58) writes:

The completely unassimilated loan-word is at one end of a scale which has at the other end items bearing no formal resemblance to the foreign words on which they are based.

Consider the following stretch of conversation in which three contrasted degrees of French material assimilation appear along the continuum:

- (9) – ga^odu m^oʿahum ĥat'ta l *la fin* w kassru lhum 'kull əlm^wæfən
 - They stayed with them till the end, and they broke all their machines.
- bəʃʃaħ lɔχre:n kənu m'səllhi:n ĥat'ta ləssnæ:n
 - But the others were *armed to the teeth*.

The first line includes, on the one hand, a ‘completely unassimilated loan-word’, *la fin*, and on the other, a noun phrase that is fully integrated with Arabic, using the determiner [əl] and applying the so-called ‘broken’ plural of [əlmæfina]⁵⁵ from *la machine*. The second line ends with what has been termed loan translation or ‘calque’, m'səllhi:n ĥat'ta ləssnæ:n, from the French expression *armés jusqu'aux dents*, that does not resemble the French form at all.

Thus, as indicated above, anything can be adopted from a foreign language, particularly one that has long played a crucial role in a society such as that of Algeria, and the adoption can take any form, various borrowing types and code-switching forms that are sometimes hard to distinguish. In any case, what *is* productive is to appreciate the enormous bulk of French used in AA, a linguistic phenomenon that reflects the socio-cultural impact that this language has had on the society at large. What is also worth noting is that the time-depth factor plays an important role in the development of these different types of borrowing and code-switching. We strongly assume that very few Algerian people knew some French at the dawn of colonial rule, and most, if not all, of the French words used were assimilated to a large extent to Arabic phonology and morphology in the earlier stages of contact with the French. Old borrowings like [tri'sinti] or [ʃambe:t], respectively from *électricité* and *(garde-)champêtre* 'a country policeman', are fully integrated with the Arabic linguistic system, probably because the people could not reproduce consonants and vowels that do not exist in Arabic. In this regard, following Haugen (1950), Boumans (1998:54) says that

...the highest degree of integration is often found with the oldest foreign lexemes [...] in the earliest stages of language contact the speaker of the matrix language has little knowledge of the 'donor' or source language [...] more recent foreign lexemes tend to be less integrated than the older ones.

Indeed, as contact with the French increased over time into the mid-20th century and many people had to learn more of the foreign language which actually had become the language of education administration and all other public institutions, the loan-words used in AA sounded much more like the original realisations. Three variants of the NP *la pompe*, for example, can be heard in AA: the older one, [(ə)lbumba], by older uneducated people who replace the voiceless bilabial [p] by its voiced counterpart [b], then [(ə)lpumpa] with less integration, and then the unassimilated newer one, [la pōp]. Today, educated people and the young usually avoid older loan words by producing the foreign lexemes in their original forms because of their awareness of their provenance and their better knowledge

of French. A word like *réveil* borrowed into AA in the beginning with the meaning of 'alarm clock', used to be pronounced [ˈrefei] (/v/--> [f]). Today, it seems that people feel some shame in producing a distorted form of such words and thus 'denativize' them (Haugen 1953) by imitating the foreign realisation.

Examples like these can be cited *ad libitum*, but what is important to mention at this stage is that with time and the extent of bilingualism in Algeria, people started including French into everyday speech not only in the form of borrowings but also by code-switching. Some authors like Boumans (1998) and others have put forward the idea that 'denativization' of borrowings is a stage that leads to code-switching, provided that the exposition to the foreign language becomes more intense in the speech community and enjoys prestige and positive attitudes.

Before we tackle the issue of code-switching in the next sub-section, we have to remember that these phenomena which result from the dynamics of language contact are also relevant, in the Algerian society, to the alternation between AA and MSA as well as to alternation between low varieties of Arabic.

As already indicated in 3.1.1 and elsewhere in our work, as a result of the arabisation process, people can be heard to borrow items from MSA, particularly in such domains as administration, religion and education. We have seen in (2) how a man says [bəʃʃɑħ maˈkænf ətˈarbija], 'but there's no education', borrowing the MSA item [ətˈarbija], normally pronounced [ətˈrabja] in AA. It is obvious that, given the common Arabic origin of AA and MSA, the extent of assimilation is much more reduced than with French loan-words, apart from some vowel reduction and some consonant transformation, as in [taqa:fa], 'culture', in which /θ/-->[t] in many AA varieties.

As to mutual borrowing between different AA varieties, particularly in urban centres where people from various geographical origins using different dialects cohabit, Tlemcen is a model setting. It often happens that in relaxed settings, that is, when they do not code-switch, TA speakers use words from rural Arabic, such as [gæʕ] instead of [kæməl], 'all', to give force and toughness to their arguing. Rural speakers, too, use a number of TA lexemes which have become part of their speech: [ʔæzi] 'Come!' is a good example, though here TA /dʒ/--> [ʒ].

3.6.4.2 Code-switching and Code-mixing

The linguistic phenomenon called *code-switching* is a type of discourse that occurs as a natural outcome of language contact and an inevitable consequence of bilingualism. Judged against the prevalent 'ideal' monolingual community, and thus regarded for a long time as a deviant linguistic practice, code-switching – and any type of language mixing, in fact – had not been worthy of serious consideration until the early 1970s when Blom and Gumperz (1972) published the article "Social meanings in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway"⁵⁶ in which they explained code-switching in terms of values related to each code.

It takes but little reflection to appreciate the fact that, as a result of historical events and socio-economic relations that led to language contact, the number of bilingual and multilingual communities throughout the world is much greater than monolingual societies. Colonialism and migration movements, for instance, have led, respectively, to the adoption of the colonizer's language in many countries beside that or those of the nation, and to the necessity of learning the host language by minorities settled in western countries, in particular.

The Algerian society is a good example that illustrates the two cases: it is indeed characterized by overall societal bilingualism as a result of long-term French occupation which imposed its language in all public institutions for at least a whole century. The other consequence is that a great number of Algerian workers emigrated to France before and after independence and, to settle there, they had to learn at least some basic French to be able to communicate with their employers; their children were of course bound to learn French for the purpose of education, and many from the following generations had to acquire it as a first language, and have lost, as it were, their original mother tongue, or at most retained some of it, mixed with French, for very few restricted uses at home.

Code-switching (hereafter CS) represents thus a central aspect of language contact and it is by no means an exceptional phenomenon. In many communities around the world, bilingualism *is* the norm, though different types of individuals reach different extents of bilinguality. In such contexts, speakers' repertoires

comprise more than one language and many people acquire the ability to switch from one code to another in various domains or situations; and, according to certain circumstances, rules of interaction, topic and addressee, they manipulate the available codes in a spontaneous way to convey the message. Interestingly enough, while merging languages is regarded as inappropriate by monolingual standard norms, it is quite common that, in addition to their choice of one code or the other according to a number of conditions, bilinguals mix the two languages in the same stretch of speech and even in the same utterance, respecting however, a number of linguistic rule constraints. These ways of using different languages in a community, have led researchers to mark out different types of switching. As a matter of fact, various aspects of bilingual speech have been viewed under different headings, though the boundaries are not clear-cut and often not easily discernible. In fact, these may be considered, as already mentioned, in terms of a continuum ranging from lexical borrowing to 'true' code-switching with different amounts of code-mixing in-between. Gumperz (1982:59), one of the most outstanding figures in the field, defines the term 'code switching' in a general uncontroversial manner as

[...] the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.

The 'juxtaposition' does concern 'passages of speech' but the switching also involves shorter stretches such as phrases and expressions, and even individual words, inserted in one language or the other, and such various types of switching are considered on different grounds. We shall attempt to take a brief look below at how the phenomenon of switching with its various facets functions in an Algerian speech community.

Since Gumperz (1964)⁵⁷ first introduced the expression 'code-switching' restricting its use to discourse functions (e.g., quoting, topic change, interlocutor, etc.), there has been much divergence among scholars as to later uses of the term, particularly in contrast with 'code-mixing' and 'code-changing', but also with the

term 'borrowing', as touched upon above. One reason for the ambiguities is that bilingual speakers use strategies of code alternation in different manners and for various purposes, a behaviour that has made scholars in the field ponder on two challenging issues:

- a) What linguistic constraints govern the grammar of code-switching?
- b) What socio-pragmatic factors incite people to code-switch?

Many scholars in CS research have proposed accounts to provide answers to such questions starting from the 1950s, in particular, with Haugen (1953) for whom unassimilated single words do not belong to the language system, but are instances of code-switching. Then, many influential studies were carried out in the following decades (e.g. Gumperz 1964, Labov 1971, Blom and Gumperz 1972, Sankoff 1972, Poplack 1980, Gumperz 1982, Poplack 1988, Scotton 1988, Romaine 1989, Myers-Scotton 1993, etc.), some distinguishing different types of code alternation, and some trying to present models for explaining linguistic constraints on code-switching. Apart from the two relatively clear types of CS documented by Blom and Gumperz in the early 1970s, which they termed 'situational switching' and 'metaphorical switching', respectively, switches that coincide with situations, and switches "where it is the choice of language that determines the situation" (Hudson 1996:23), later authors have focussed on what actually happens when bilinguals use the two codes in a outwardly random way and with no real change in the situation, thus attempting to examine how linguistic constraints operate in CS. Poplack (1980) has first distinguished between three types of code-switching:

- a) extra-sentential CS in which a tag, or a ready-made expression, from the 'other' language is inserted while the rest remains in the base language;
- b) intersentential CS which is characterized by switches at sentence and/or clause boundary;
- c) intrasentential CS involving switches within the sentence or the clause, or even inside the word.

In the last decade, to deal with the linguistic aspect of CS, Myers-Scotton has presented the Matrix Language-frame Model “to account for the structures in intrasentential CS” (1993b:5), as opposed to intersentential CS which she sees as less challenging. As to her investigation of the social and pragmatic functions of CS, Myers-Scotton (1993a:) has put forward the Markedness Model which views speakers decision to ‘choose’ one code or another in terms of social motivations for CS and on the basis of ‘marked’ vs. ‘unmarked’ CS. That is, unconsciously, speakers negotiate the form of speech in a given encounter the best way they can, usually the unmarked choice, that is, the code which is expected as the medium for a conversation in an interpersonal relationship. Myers-Scotton (1993a:75) describes her model in the following terms:

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

The various kinds of switching, also considered under the headings ‘code-mixing’, ‘code changing’ or ‘conversational switching’ by different authors, are very frequent in the speech of many Algerians as some of our data will show:

- ‘intersentential’ CS is easily identifiable as the switch occurs at sentence or clause boundary, as in, for example, [ləwɔkæn ʔaluli ɣil ʔawənnə]...j'ai pas besoin de leur argent. ('If only they told me to help...I don't need their money').
- ‘intrasentential’ CS, on the other hand, poses problems for linguistic analysis as the switches occur inside clauses and even within words: here is an example that illustrates the intertwining of the two codes: [ki tədɣul] la deuxième correction [ʔada əl]logiciel [j]comparaît ('When the 2nd correction gets in, then the software compares').

With French as a solidly-rooted language in Algeria, code-switching has long become a linguistic tool that many Algerian speakers use in their communicative strategies. Indeed, in the early years of socialisation, the Algerian children are exposed to a rich diversity of linguistic material along with the natural

acquisition of their mother tongue, for two important reasons: first, the mother tongue that the child acquires from the close environment, parents, siblings and close relatives, that is, today's Algerian Arabic (or Berber, mixed with AA in some areas) is loaded with French in all forms of interference going from loan words and mixed CS forms to full bilingualism. Interestingly enough, this results in a simultaneous use of linguistic resources from both languages, and the development of an Arabic-French mixture which can be regarded as a third code. Sometimes children may not be aware of the origin of the words and expressions they use in the first years of their life, but soon, particularly during the first two or three school-years, they learn to distinguish Arabic from French or taken from French into AA.

What is interesting in the Algerian context is that you just listen to people talking about any topic, be it serious or trivial, or just having a chat, and you will hear a whole lot of back-and-forth switches between AA and French, shorter or longer stretches from one language inserted into the other. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to say whether the base language is Arabic with insertions of French constituents or the other way round, and, to make things more complicated, whether the 'other' constituents are cases of CS or borrowing.

Consider the following excerpts from a few conversations we have recorded without the speakers being aware (see Appendix II; French italicized):

(10) bəʃʃaħ dərwaʔ əl *procédé* t̪əddəl. *C'est vrai*. taʔrəf *ce qui a changé*, *c'est que* had *l'informatisation* kəjən *problème*. dərwaʔ kullʃi jədχul ləllogiciel, *première correction*, *deuxième correction*, *troisième correction* fəllogiciel

(But now the process has changed... It's true, you know what has changed is that (with) this computerization there is a problem. Now, everything is entered into the software programme: first correction, second correction, third correction... into the programme...)

(11) wzi:d ki tədχul *la deuxième correction* ʔada əllogiciel jcomparaît. *Ce qui est rapide c'est que* llogiciel jcompare məmbaʔd jχərrəɖ lək *la liste* taʔ *les jurys* əlli jfəwwtu *fla troisième correction* ; *ça prend soi-disant un peu de temps*.

(And then, it's only when the 2nd correction gets in that the software compares. What is rapid is that the computer compares. Then, it provides you with the list of the juries for the 3rd correction. It takes time, so to say.)

(12) ?ana *par exemple*, χrəʒt *en retraite en 85*. Bon, ləwkæn ?aluli ʔil ʔawənnə...?ana *j'ai pas besoin de leur argent*. *Mais ils auraient pu nous exploiter*...wkæn hābbu ʔi jəstʔəlluna *pour le pays*... wkæn ʔi kabbru bina...?æl a χaj jla thəbb *de temps en temps* ?ərfəd *ton cartable* wrəh ltirni (a village) rəh ʔawənhum. *Moi, j'aurai pu aider très valablement*.

(Me, for example; I retired in 85. Well, if only they told me to help...I...I don't need their money. But they could have exploited us...If they wanted, they would just make the most of us for the country. If only they honoured us...They would say 'Oh brother, if you want, from time to time, take your satchel and go to Terni (a village quite far from Tlemcen); Go and help them'. I could have helped pretty well.)

From the CS data set above, we can see how complex the intertwining of the two codes is, which makes it very difficult to account for each switch from both linguistic and socio-pragmatic perspectives. It is not easy to decide whether an utterance like the one in (10) above, [taʔrəf *ce qui a changé, c'est que* həd *l'informatisation* kəjən *problème*], is in AA with switches to French or the reverse; or should it be considered merely as a CS third code? Then, if we can accept the insertion of a tag form like [taʔrəf], 'you know', how can we account for the speaker's decision to use the AA demonstrative [həd], 'this', in isolation instead of the French one, *cette*, within a French clause, or the very common expression [kəjən], 'there is', which sounds a bit incongruous before a French noun? But though this way of mixing the two codes sometimes defies explanation on linguistic and psycholinguistic grounds, it does not pose a problem of production or comprehension for those involved in such conversations, provided they have reached, of course, an acceptable level of proficiency in the foreign language.

The point underlined here is that the existence of two or more languages side by side is quite ordinary in many societies and it necessarily leads to different types of language mixing among which code-switching is an important resource used for various communicative purposes such as 'situational' and 'metaphorical' code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972), expression of solidarity, or a kind of 'out-of-necessity switching', as we call it, which is commonplace behaviour in the speech of the Algerians. What we mean by 'out-of-necessity' switching is that not only do people use the strategy of alternating from Arabic (or Berber) to French to signal socio-cultural values associated with

each of the two (or three) languages, but also, sometimes more significantly, to make up for the lack, in the mother tongue, of vocabulary and structural patterns necessary to convey certain ideas and concepts. In fact, depending on the type of setting, topic and participants, we may well hear speakers use French as the base language – or the ‘matrix’ language (ML) “governing the syntax of the sentence in utterances showing CS”, as Myers-Scotton (1993b:166) identifies it – within which Arabic ‘bits’ are inserted. This type of talking requires, however, fairly good proficiency in the foreign language, as indicated repeatedly; that is, despite the fact that people with a fair knowledge of French may understand most of such conversations, not everybody can produce a sophisticated stretch of speech as the one below uttered by an ex-teacher of Mathematics in Tlemcen, a man who had all his instruction in French and taught his subject in French:

(13) *Actuellement en Algérie nous avons des sommités, wallah əlʕɑðe:m, en maths, en langues...ʕanna des gens compétents mais msækən ils manquent de savoir-faire; ils ne sont pas pris en charge...*

‘Nowadays in Algeria, we have leading experts, (*I swear*) by Allah the All-Mighty, in maths, in languages... *We have* competent people but, *the poor*, they lack the know-how; they are not taken in charge...’
(Translated switches to AA are in italics).

It is obvious that in (13) the three switches to AA – the parenthetical expression illustrated in the swearing [wallah əlʕɑðe:m], ‘by Allah the All-Mighty’, which the speaker could only utter in Arabic, the phrase [ʕanna] (a reduced form of [ʕandna], ‘we have’, in which [d] is elided) and the qualifier [msækən], ‘the poor’ – are not sentences or clauses, and thus can only be considered as embedded in the French code. By contrast, in the excerpt under (14) below, the speaker starts with AA as the ML, but continues in French with only one AA embedded function word:

(14) ʔətlək rek ʕæʔəl l'entraîneur tæʕ l'Argentine. Il a modifié son équipe mʕa la France. A part les deux actions, c'était de l'impuissance. On n'a pas vu les défenseurs français.

(*I told you, you remember* the coach of Argentina. He modified his team *against* France. Apart from two actions, it was inability. We didn't see the French defenders.)

Clearly, the ML in the first utterance is AA with ‘embedded’ language, EL noun phrases, while the three other sentences are in French to the exception of the AA

preposition [m^ʕa], ‘with’, for which we have no explanation as to the speaker’s choice to use it, except that, perhaps unconsciously, he may want to avoid excessive use of French in order not to create a formal atmosphere. Or is it a case of what Myers-Scotton (1993b:234) calls ‘reminders’ of identity when she writes:

[...] speakers use these structural types as ‘reminders’; they remind the addressee of another identity apart from the dominant one being conveyed by the language which is the choice for the rest of the interaction.

We shall not go into the large literature on the various insertional frameworks and linguistic constraints on CS. What we are concerned with here is that strong evidence from observation of everyday CS data in the Tlemcen corpus reveals that it is possible to consider Arabic/French code-switching in Algerian Arabic along what we can call a ‘CS continuum’; that is, different amounts of French use within AA can be attested in people’s speech according to categories of speakers that may be classified in terms of degree of individual bilinguality often indexical of instruction level in French, on the one hand, and of socio-economic background, on the other, though motivation, too, is an important factor in code choice and code mixing. At one end of the AA/French CS continuum are interactions which include very little or no switching. This type of CS may indicate one of two things: either the speaker’s proficiency in French is very low or hopeless and does not allow the production of French syntax structures; or the use of French is deliberately avoided because of negative attitudes towards the foreign language, particularly among advocates of arabisation and those who encourage the use of MSA. Conversation 3 (Appendix II), for example, does not contain any switches except for a few borrowings, such as those below (in italics in the translation) for which the speaker probably does not know Arabic equivalents:

(15) A : ki mʃa ʃa:b l’ordre d’appel ewa rah əddej əddəsjə mʃah wmanaʃrəf

B : ʃandu ttəʃzi:l ʃandu

(A: When he went (there) he found *the call up*... Well, now he’ taking the *file* with him, and... I don’t know...

B: Has he got the **registration**?)

A is an old uneducated man and only uses loan-words that are part of the AA system. But note that B, who *is* educated, accommodates his speech to that of A all along the conversation by avoiding switches to French and even borrowings. As he seems to know equivalents in MSA, he uses the word [(ə)ttəsʒi:l] (bold-type in the English translation) instead of the French borrowing *l'inscription* which A could have understood. In fact, it is the MSA word which he didn't make out at first, till B repeated it by asking again [ra msəʒdʒə], 'He's registered?'

Therefore, because of the different degrees in bilinguality and exposure to French, not all Algerian speakers are equally proficient in switching codes. Production of switches to French and their comprehension make up a kind of learned verbal behaviour among relatively skilled bilinguals, and are thus, as already indicated, proportional to their competence in the language, but also related to their motivation for code-switching.

It is interesting to try to account for the switches in a conversation in terms of social function, as the choice of code reflects how the speaker wishes to appear to his/her interlocutors. Wardhaugh (1992: 113) says that it "seems fairly well established that the code you choose does have important consequences for how others view you." Indeed, careful observation of code-switchers in Tlemcen, for example, reveals that, in addition to the fact that much use of French in AA can be explained in terms of habitual speech behaviour, we feel that certain types of switching constitute strategies that are analogous to style-shift or dialectal variation in monolingual contexts. In this regard, Romaine (2000:59) reports that

Many linguists have stressed the point that switching is a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker. Switching in both cases serves an expressive function and has meaning.

Thus, just like variation in English, for instance, according to the formality of the situation, for bilingual Algerian speakers, switching to French in AA is also employed as a tactic to signal group identity and personal traits such as

educational level and proficiency, though in the case of CS practices, it is evident that communicative competence takes a more complex form than in monolingual speech variation. Myers-Scotton (1993b:1) writes in this respect:

From the sociolinguistic point of view, codeswitching of languages offers bilinguals a way to increase their flexibility of expression, going beyond the style-switching of monolinguals. That is, switching is a means to index the nuances of social relationships by exploiting the socio-psychological associations of the languages employed.

In the Algerian context then, the representation of the reasons for code choice requires a classification of the different varieties of the speaker's repertoire in accordance with different factors such as situation, participants, topic, etc. On the other hand, we would not go so far in our analysis if we do not take account of the speaker's communicative competence, i.e., the range of varieties that one controls, and the extent to which they are controlled in different domains of use, such as family, friendship, school, work, etc. On a macro-linguistic level, it is rather easy to classify the codes used in the community, as we have seen in 2.1. Speakers acquire AA (and/or Berber) as a mother tongue already 'stuffed' with a large amount of French in the form of borrowings and ready-made expressions, but their relative knowledge of French also leads to varying degrees of bilingual CS.

Another type of CS that can be attested in the Algerian context, though to a much lesser extent and with less spontaneity than AA/French CS, concerns the switching between AA and MSA which results from the diglossic character. Such CS can only be observed in certain contexts, such as the school, the mosque a public formal speech, and the like, in which the speaker usually switches to AA to insist on things that may not have been clearly understood in MSA. A related type of CS involves MSA and French, but it is much less frequent and only used among élite people who control both codes. A minister may be heard to say, [ʕa'lejna: bil'ʕamal əldʒa:dd. *C'est la seule solution; nous devons travailler.* 'ha:ða huwa l'hallu l wa'hi:d], meaning, 'We've got to work hard; this is the only solution!'

By contrast, and on another level, many people easily become bi-dialectal or even multidialectal as a result of the quasi-natural phenomenon of speech accommodation, particularly in big cities like Algiers or Oran where there are permanent contacts between people from different regions.

In the speech community of Tlemcen, chosen as the focus for our work to examine general linguistic phenomena attested in the Algerian society in addition to its vernacular, TA, the local variety has co-existed for a long time with a type of rural speech. A growing number of native speakers have eventually 'learned' to switch to that variety in many settings and domains, though their reasons for such speech behaviour, as we have already indicated, are not explained merely in terms of easier interaction with rural speech users. An interesting point to raise here is that, contrary to what generally occurs elsewhere with the new-comers to a town who consciously or unconsciously try to resemble the native people in their speech, in Tlemcen, rural speech users do not bother trying to accommodate to the speech of the majority. As far as Berber speakers are concerned, for example, a reverse phenomenon occurs in the capital, Algiers, where they constitute a large community of Kabylia origin living side by side with the Arabic-speaking community. What has drawn our attention and requires an explanation is that while most Kabylia speak Algiers Arabic perfectly well, and even other AA dialects, the reverse pattern is almost non-existent, apart from a few expressions such as *azul fellawen* (a kind of greeting) or *awid aman* ('Give me (some) water'), which very few people in Algiers occasionally use. It seems that no real effort is made from the part of Algiers Arabic speakers to learn to interact with the Kabylia in their dialect, which makes AA/Tamazight CS a very rare practice, except between Berber speakers. Why is this so? Is it because of the higher status associated with the Arabic language as a whole? Or is it because Tamazight is poorly valued in comparison with Arabic, the only official language in the country? In any case, this situation involving language choice is understandable to some extent in opposition to what is attested in the speech community of Tlemcen where the quasi-non-reciprocal code-switches, as we shall see in the next chapter, concern varieties of the same language.

Notes to Chapter 3

- ¹ In fact, the majority of the Berber people were arabised during the first few centuries of Islam (from the 7th century to the 11th). Marçais (1938:3 ; quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim, 1997:42) says that the Arab conquerors succeeded in introducing Arabic in the Maghreb to the extent that almost the whole land can be considered as a province of Arabism: 'Ils l'ont arabisé, si bien qu'aujourd'hui le Maghreb, presque dans son ensemble, peut être considéré comme une province excentrique de l'arabisme.'
- ² Mentioned in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997:33 (n. 27).
- ³ In Pride and Holmes ed. 1972:116.
- ⁴ Cf. Bouhadiba's paper "On Loci for Norm and the Arabic Language Continuum : in Defence of MSA" in *Cahiers de Dialectologie et de Linguistique Contrastive*. 1993, Vol. IV , Cahier 1.
- ⁵ The rate of literacy is regarded as having reached about 60% today, particularly because of the young population of Algeria (70% under 25).
- ⁶ See, however, Ferguson's recent article "Diglossia revisited" (1991).
- ⁷ Mentioned in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997: n.71.
- ⁸ My translation.
- ⁹ In *Ibn-Khaldoun 'La Muqaddima' Extraits*. French translation by Labica, G. 1965.
- ¹⁰ My translation.
- ¹¹ The Arabic plural noun *fātihin* literally means 'openers', that is, soldiers opening lands for peace, used in contrast with 'conquerors' who occupied countries after defeating their owners.
- ¹² Quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997: 23.
- ¹³ Actually there is still much controversy about the origin and development of Classical Arabic (Cf. Rabin 1955, Ferguson 1959, Corriente 1976, Zwettler 1978, Ziadeh 1986, etc. in Freeman's Website: www-personal.umich.edu/~andyf/index.html.)
- ¹⁴ Sibawayhi got involved with the study of Arabic grammar following a mistake he made in *i ʿrāb* to a scholar of Arabic at that time. This led to the production of his famous *Kitāb*.
- ¹⁵ The Prophet's *Hadith*, his sayings and deeds are referred to as 'the Traditions'.
- ¹⁶ Mentioned by Freeman, A. 1996. Web page: www-personal.umich.edu/~andyf/index.html
- ¹⁷ Quoting Minister Rambaud at length, Colonna 1975:40 reports the following:
The first conquest of Algeria was accomplished militarily and was completed in 1871 when Kabylia was disarmed. The second conquest has consisted of making the natives accept our administrative and judicial systems. The third conquest will be by the School: this should ensure the predominance of our language over the various local idioms, inculcate in the Muslims our own idea of what France is and of its role in the world, and replace ignorance and fanatical prejudices by the simple but precise notions of European science.
- ¹⁸ Quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997: 37.
- ¹⁹ The urgent aim of *Djam'iyat al 'Ulama al Muslimin*, the Association of the Muslim 'Learned Men', created in Constantine by Cheikh Ben Badis in 1926, was to launch a vast campaign of teaching Arabic and Islamic principles in mosques and *medersas*.

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- ²⁰ The first arabization campaigns were undertaken during the first Islamic Conquests of North Africa in the 7th and 11th centuries, in parallel with the people's 'islamisation'.
- ²¹ See decision of January 20th 1971, which made the knowledge of the national language compulsory.
- ²² Conference reported in two issues of the Algerian magazine *Révolution Africaine* N° 586 / 588.
- ²³ My translation.
- ²⁴ The members of the government themselves, who should set a good example, used much French particularly in their informal discussions.
- ²⁵ Quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997: 66.
- ²⁶ Huebner (1996:17) mentions Ferguson's borrowing of the term 'diglossia' from W. Marçais (1930-31).
- ²⁷ Freeman, A. (1996) Web article: "Perspectives on Arabic Diglossia".
- ²⁸ Diglossia here is taken to mean at the same time Ferguson's (1959a) High / Low dichotomy, and Gumperz's (1971) notion of diglossia extended to multilingual situations.
- ²⁹ Cf. Bouhadiba (1998:2) the Algerian sociolinguistic profile: ALGERIE=> 3L = 2lmaj. + 1Lmin. The constituents of the first major language: CIAr, SA, LA, MSA, ESA, LW ; i.e.: Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic, Literary Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, Lughal Wusta.
- ³⁰ What is meant by 'functional' bilingualism is the use of French at school and AA outside.
- ³¹ Quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim 1997:68.
- ³² Literary Arabic for Meiseles (1980).
- ³³ All mentioned by Spolsky in Newmeyer 1988: 105-115.
- ³⁴ In Newmeyer ed. 1988:105.
- ³⁵ The concept of *domain* was then elaborated in Fishman 1972a.
- ³⁶ In Pride and Holmes ed. 1972:19.
- ³⁷ This statement concerns a certain category of parents, supposedly a majority, who do not use French in everyday speech, though many of them may understand it and speak it well.
- ³⁸ What is meant by 'pure' here is AA cleared out of French words as much as possible.
- ³⁹ Mentioned by Spolsky in Newmeyer 1988:107.
- ⁴⁰ Much literature on urban language variation (e.g. Labov 1963, 1966; Trudgill 1972) has shown that the people who move to urban areas usually learn to accommodate their ways of speaking to those of the majority.
- ⁴¹ Mentioned in Downes 1998:81.
- ⁴² Mentioned in Hamers and Blanc eds. 2000:242.
- ⁴³ Quoted by Russel, in Romaine ed. 1982:126.
- ⁴⁴ Mentioned in Downes 1998:272.

- ⁴⁵ Mentioned in Hamers and Blanc, 2000:242.
- ⁴⁶ Recent censuses reveal that the overall population of Tlemcen city (now almost 250 thousand people) consists of more than 70% of families originating from the neighbouring rural areas, small towns and villages, and thus using non-TA speech in their everyday conversations.
- ⁴⁷ Mentioned in Hamers and Blanc eds. 2000:243.
- ⁴⁸ Boissevain's book 1974, *Friends of friends: networks, manipulators, and coalitions*, is mentioned by Walters (p. 130) in Newmeyer's ed. 1988.
- ⁴⁹ Quoted in Hudson 1996:30.
- ⁵⁰ The switching to French lexical items is represented here in italics; [tæ^ʕ] is a typical AA expression that is a shortened form of [n'tæ^ʕ] which is itself a reduction form of CA /ma'tæ:^ʕ/ meaning 'possession' or any type of someone's belongings: /ma'tæ:^ʕi/, 'my belonging', has come to be pronounced [m'tæ^ʕi] in some AA varieties in the East and in Tunisia, and [n'tæ^ʕi] or [tæ^ʕi] in TA, meaning 'mine'; [tæ^ʕ] is also generalised to function as a possessive, as in [tæ^ʕ] *les élections*, meaning '...of the elections'.
- ⁵¹ This word may have come into AA from Spanish *cocina*, but people seem to be convinced that [ku'zina] comes from French *cuisine*. In any case, both have their origin in Latin.
- ⁵² This is perhaps anecdotal but quite revealing: I myself once asked my grandmother, an illiterate old woman, to tell me what she meant when she said [ma 'an'diʃ əlʔɑ]. Of course, I understood that she meant 'I haven't got the time', but I was quite surprised when she said 'You don't understand Arabic or what?' In fact, for her, the word [əlʔɑ] was Arabic, not a borrowing from French, *le temps* (/lø tã/ with no nasalization of the vowel).
- ⁵³ As opposed to the 14 Arabic *qamariya* consonants, /ʔ,b,dʒ,h,x,ʕ,ʁ,f,q,k,m,h,w,j/, before which the // of the definite article {əl} is not assimilated, the 14 *shamsiya* consonants /t,θ,d,ð,r,z,s ʃ,ʂ,ʈ,t,ð, l,n/ require that the // be assimilated to them, as in /əf'ʃams(u)/ 'the sun' or /əð'ði'b(u)/ 'the wolf'. The rule is thus applied with French borrowed nouns which begin with some of these consonants, /d,l,n,r,s,t,z/ and keep [l] unassimilated with the others, /b,f,k,g,m,p,v/, e.g. [əl'gaʔo], *le gâteau*, 'the cake', as well as in those nouns beginning with vowels, as in [bætu f'loteɫ], 'They spent the night in the hotel'.
- ⁵⁴ Quoted in Boumans 1998a:51.
- ⁵⁵ The other plural form often employed ends with the morpheme {-æ:t} giving [əlma'ʃinæ:t].
- ⁵⁶ Mentioned in Downes 1998: 81.
- ⁵⁷ Clyne (2003:70) reports Gumperz' (1974) first introduction of the term 'code-switching', as he says, "for switching with a discourse function", and then "over time it was employed increasingly for any kind of switching, irrespective of its functions".

Chapter 4

*Sociolinguistic Variation
in Tlemcen Speech
Community*

4. Sociolinguistic Variation in Tlemcen Speech Community

4.1 Introduction

That language is not a static phenomenon is nothing new. Scholars and lay people alike agree on its natural inherent variability. Emphasizing the fact that it is in a constant process of change under the effect of deep influences stemming largely from socio-cultural and political factors, sociolinguists have developed systematic research projects using empirical methods in different types of communities to expose facts that illuminate the ways languages vary as a result of social behaviour. Language, however, not only “expresses the social system”, as Halliday (1978:183) puts it, but its relation to society is a very complex one to the extent that it “actively symbolizes the social system, thus creating as well as being created by it” (Halliday *ibid.*). Hence, variation in language reflects variation in society, but at the same time it shapes the society’s variability. Insisting on this mutual nature of the phenomenon, Halliday (*ibid.*:186) points out that

...linguistic structure is *the realization of* social structure, actively symbolizing it in a process of mutual creativity. Because it stands as a metaphor for society, language has the property of not only transmitting the social order but also maintaining and potentially modifying it. [...]. Variation in language is the symbolic expression of variation in society: it is created by society, and helps to create society in turn.

This view of reciprocal influence involving a language system and the social structure in which it evolves seems to be reflected in a clear manner in today’s overall configuration of Tlemcen community. Indeed, the linguistic situation in Tlemcen has undergone significant changes to a large extent *because* the social structure has evolved into a very heterogeneous community, and everyday speech interaction is organized according to new norms of language use interacting with older ones. There clearly appears to be a kind of mutual dynamic relationship between the linguistic system and the social composition, though the native

speaker will always feel torn between two forces: dialect maintenance and dialect shift, preserving one's linguistic identity through persistent use of native vernacular characteristics, and surrendering to the strong pressures of speech forms of wider use in the west of Algeria.

The dynamics of language contact can be observed from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Relying on diachronic studies, historical linguists have considered the ways language systems change over time trying to explain why the process of linguistic change is an inherent nature of language. The point has been emphasized to the extent that language evolution has sometimes been compared to that of living species, sharing concepts such as birth, development and death. Bell (1976:15) says in this regard,

...historical studies of language development through time [...] attempted to create laws of linguistic evolution similar in form to the theories of Darwin in the biological sciences.

Synchronic considerations of language aiming at formal explanations within the structuralist paradigm have generally been separated from historical issues. Mainstream theoretical linguists have regarded linguistic fluctuations in a given social space and a particular point in time merely as cases of 'free variation' or 'dialect mixture', thus excluding variability from their object of investigation. Of course people are often heard to vary in their speech performance in different contexts mixing the varieties and styles available in their verbal repertoires, but these types of linguistic behaviour are so consistent in everyday speech that they need to be taken into account and explained on empirical bases. Fischer (1958)¹ points out, in this respect, that

'Free variation' is of course a label, not an explanation. It does not tell us where the variants came from nor why the speakers use them in different proportions, but is rather a way of excluding such questions from the scope of immediate inquiry.

Indeed, while synchronic structural studies have led to important developments

in understanding the language system, issues related to linguistic variation and change have been put aside for their incompatibility with the description and explanation of language structure in terms of formal rules.

Sociolinguists for their part, particularly within the Labovian paradigm, have given a new impetus to the study of historical linguistic change by integrating the concept of variability as a crucial element for the explanation of sociolinguistic patterns. They work on the evidence that synchronic variation, which is an intrinsic characteristic of languages, is obviously a pre-requisite for on-going change and that it occurs primarily as a result of social change. Looking at change in progress, sociolinguists have devised empirical methods based on quantitative techniques of data recording to account for such tight dynamic relationship between language behaviour and social structure. Some of the most important questions addressed concern the social groups responsible for originating linguistic changes and their motivations for doing so. Traditional sociolinguistic works, particularly those undertaken in the Western society, have studied the extent to which members of the dominant class and people of higher status initiate innovations "motivated by the desire to set themselves apart from the masses", as Guy (1988:57) says. Indeed, much literature on language change was based on the belief that the direction of linguistic innovation was always from the upper classes, and speakers tend to imitate higher-prestige groups.

However, modern sociolinguistic research has revealed an interesting fact: significant innovations leading to change also originate among lower-class social groups, much more frequently than in upper classes, as shown in some studies (e.g., Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974, etc.). Linguistic change typically occurs in a gradual way under social forces called 'pressures from below' in Labov (1972a), that is, "below the level of conscious awareness". Emphasizing the powerful influence exerted by such social pressures, Labov (1972a:123) says:

Pressures from below operate upon entire linguistic systems, in response to social motivations which are relatively obscure and yet have the greatest significance for the general evolution of language.

Linguistic change may be slow or rapid according to the situational contexts and the socio-cultural factors involved in the process. In a physically isolated community, a remote rural village on an island for instance, a higher degree of linguistic homogeneity is more likely and, consequently, linguistic variation and language change occur to a much lesser extent than in a big city where diverse varieties of the same language and/or distinct languages co-exist.

Extensive urbanisation in Algeria in recent decades has led great numbers of people to settle down in towns and large cities, just like in western industrialised countries, and these population movements have played a decisive role in dialect contact situations which in turn have resulted in the development of dynamic linguistic practices. Such phenomenon, which brings together people speaking different language varieties, is clearly observable in the speech community of Tlemcen, though the ensuing overall sociolinguistic patterns of variation and change are different from those attested in class-based standard-with-dialect industrial nations, as we shall see below. In the next two sections, we shall first attempt to give an overview of today's speech community of Tlemcen with its particular sociolinguistic configuration and its relation to the phenomenon of diglossia and that of bilingualism.

4.2 The Speech Community of Tlemcen

The present-day language situation in Tlemcen displays considerable variation at all linguistic levels. Its perceptible on-going process of change is not simply the effect of natural inherent variability within the vernacular variety itself; it is more importantly related, as shown throughout our work, to the co-existence of native speakers with the ever-increasing off-spring that has resulted from the settlement of a large number of people who have come for the most part from the surrounding rural areas.

Because of its strategic geographic situation, its water-springs and fertile lands, Tlemcen has always attracted people, and, indeed, for a long period of time, it was one of the largest cultural and economic centres in North Africa,

under the Berbers, then the Romans in the 2nd century, and finally under Islamic rule starting from the late 7th century. In the early 13th century, under the reign of the Zianids, Tlemcen became so important that it was made capital of the Central Maghreb (which was then a large area of today's Algeria). The city continued to play an important governing role over a large area going as far as Tunisia until the early 16th century when the Spanish occupied Algiers, Oran and other parts of the northern coasts of Algeria and Morocco, but failed to take Tlemcen which soon came under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. Then, under the French occupation of Algeria in the earlier part of the 19th century, Tlemcen was established as an administrative centre.

Having then grown into an agglomeration that could offer opportunities of work, especially land work in the countryside, Tlemcen continued to attract people, particularly from the rural areas nearby. Migration to Tlemcen undoubtedly dates back to the pre-colonial period, but, as Lawless and Blake (1976: 76) have observed,

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, while emphasizing the more complete subjection of the countryside to the town.

Consequently, in addition to the socio-economic contacts established between the citizens of Tlemcen and the country newcomers, particularly during the French occupation, noticeable linguistic interferences started to emerge between urban speech and the rural varieties, though we have no real-time data to demonstrate the extent to which, and the direction in which, the linguistic influences occurred. Later on, factors such as unemployment in the countryside, the French repression policy, lack of facilities (schools, hospitals, and other amenities), greatly contributed to the acceleration of mass departure from the countryside towards the town. During the last two decades of colonial rule, the district called *Boudghene*, for example, 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 represented then one-fifth of the whole town population (Prenant, 1968)². Subsequently, throughout the first years of Algerian independence, increasing numbers of people from the rural areas continued to pour in towards the big centre, drawn at the same time by the opportunity to acquire the French settlers' real estate after their departure (a good number of non-Tlemceni people got hold of large houses and shops in the town centre) and by the various urban facilities, job opportunities and education for their children. In the meantime, a quite important number of native people left Tlemcen for larger cities such as Oran and Algiers.

Today, forty four years after independence, reliable sources (from Tlemcen Town-Hall records) reveal that the number of families of rural origin now settled in Tlemcen for a long time, and having maintained their speech forms on the whole, exceeds that of the natives by far more than half the whole population. This factor is of great importance in the explanation of TA being strongly influenced by rural speech forms, as we claim throughout our research work, the minority variety turning out to be a virtual majority, as it were.

But before we go into further detail about the description of the linguistic characteristics of TA, and before we try to examine the rural/urban speech contacts and the outcome of mutual social interferences, we feel it necessary to briefly go over the linguistic situation from the overall diglossic perspective which concerns not only the speech community of Tlemcen and Algerian society as a whole, but also the entire Arabic-speaking world which Ferguson (1987:191) describes as

...one of the world's largest speech communities – the Arabic-speaking 'nation' *al-'ummah al-'arabiyyah*, which includes a score of sovereign nations from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. This 'super' speech community has long been regarded as a typical example of the language situation of diglossia in which there are two functionally distinct norms, a superposed H variety, the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and a mother-tongue L variety, Colloquial Arabic, which exists in a series of local vernaculars.

The next sub-section attempts to proceed to a somewhat detailed description of the different linguistic features characterizing each of the two distinct varieties of Arabic: High and Low. Their functionally complementary distribution makes the diglossic configuration rather easy to describe, for the two types of Arabic are used under different conditions, and even lay people in an Arabic-speaking community are fully aware that a given linguistic item or expression belongs either to H or to L. The difficulty in assigning linguistic items correctly only appears when we consider a variety situated somewhere between the two ends of the Arabic language continuum, the one used by a certain category of educated people³, for example, in rather formal contexts.

4.2.1 High Variety vs. Low Variety

Although every Arab nation is characterized by a large amount of linguistic variability resulting in a bewildering number of dialectal speech forms, sometimes to the extent that mutual intelligibility is very low or inexistent, the general pattern of how the language functions along the Arabic continuum is roughly the same everywhere:

- Classical Arabic, *al lughat al fuṣṣḥā* in Arabic⁴, at one end of the continuum, is the High variety, and its modern form(s)⁵ are learned at school and used mostly in the written form and in some spoken formal contexts such as religious sermons, university lectures, political speech, and so on...
- At the other end sits Colloquial Arabic, or the Low variety, (for which two Arabic terms are used, *al 'āmmiyya* or *ad dāridja*, meaning something like 'popular' and 'habitual', respectively) which includes the whole range of regional varieties acquired as a mother tongue and used in everyday familiar and familial interactions.

The two types of Arabic have been described by Ferguson (1959*a*, 1970) and others in terms of 'diglossia relationship' whose most important feature is the specialisation of functions: the two sets of varieties are indeed used in complementary distribution, as it were, each assigned to specific functions, though they may overlap to varying extents in semi-formal settings, particularly when speakers shift, for a shorter or a longer period of time, to the prestigious style for a given purpose, or when they mix the two varieties in the same conversation. As a matter of fact, recent considerations of Arabic communities have, on the one hand, led some authors to identify intermediate levels of speech along the two poles of this Arabic continuum (Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, Meiseles 1980, Mitchell 1980, etc.)⁶. On the other hand, a number of studies focus on the convergence of regional varieties of Arabic towards what could probably become a regional standard form, usually that of a capital; Cairene Arabic is a good example, though CA/MSA remains the 'real' standard.

While the High variety has remained relentlessly stable for centuries and rather inherently homogeneous in comparison with other languages such as English or French, the Low variety, which includes the totality of dialects in use all over the Arabic-speaking world, displays tremendous variability from region to region but also within the same speech community. And, as variation obviously leads to linguistic change, Colloquial Arabic varieties are in constant alteration over time.

From the point of view of general classification, Algerian Arabic, for example, bears a strong resemblance to the varieties of the other Maghreb countries in opposition with the dialects of Egypt, the Middle East or those of the Arabian Peninsula. But all dialectal varieties are characterized by the same diglossic relation vis-à-vis CA/MSA, with clear-cut distinct functions; that is, each type of variety is normally used in a set of circumstances which is thoroughly different from the other. And differences between H and L clearly show up on all linguistic levels, as we shall see below, though not in an exhaustive manner:

a) Phonetic:

- 1. Replacement of the CA inter-dentals /ð, ð, θ/ by the dentals [d, ð, t] mostly in urban speech, e.g. /ðiʔb/ vs. [di:b] 'a wolf'; /θalʒ/ vs. [təlʒ] 'snow'; /ʔaðða'la:m/ vs. [əðð'la:m] 'the dark'. Many rural forms, however, have preserved the original inter-dental place of articulation for these consonants, while a type of phonetic merger of the CA phonemes /ð/ and /ð/, surfacing as /ð/, are attested in some others (e.g. some rural speakers say [ðrab] 'He hit', for CA /ðaraba/).

- 2. Lenition of CA 'hamza' /ʔ/ (the glottal stop), either by dropping it altogether in initial and final positions, as in /ʔal'ʔaʔð(u)/ --> ['laʔð] 'the earth' and /ʔal'ma:ʔ(u)/ --> [əl'ma] 'water'; or by its realisation in middle position with no glottal occlusion and thus no plosion release; this results either in lengthening the preceding vowel, as in: /faʔr/ --> [fa:r] 'mouse', or /'muʔmin/ --> ['mu:mən] 'a believer', or in a diphthongization as in /'dʒa:ʔu:/ --> ['dʒaʊ] 'They have come'. Also, the occurrence of a glottal stop as an onset of an open mid-syllable in CA, e.g. /sa'ma:ʔuha:/ 'Its sky', occurs with haplology in AA, i.e. the whole syllable [ʔu] is dropped giving [s'ma:ha].

- 3. The CA consonant phoneme /q/ is realised in a great number of linguistic items either as a voiced velar [g] in most rural dialects, or in voiceless forms, [ʔ] in Tlemcen and Fez, and [k] in other varieties, mostly urban ones (Cantineau 1939). Some varieties have preserved the original uvular voiceless realisation [q] as in Algiers and Constantine. Other realisations of /q/ may be heard in a few areas in Algeria: [tʃ] in Ghazaouet and [ɣ] in some Saharan towns.

CA /dʒ/, on the other hand, which is maintained as an affricate in many urban forms (e.g. those of Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen), is realised as a fricative [ʒ] in many rural dialects (e.g., in towns like Oran, Mostaganem and Bel Abbes and in the villages around Tlemcen,). It is worth noting that /dʒ/ is also realised as [g], particularly in urban Egyptian Arabic.

b) Phonological:

- 1. Vowel reduction or elision: by virtue of the universal phonological phenomenon called the 'law of least effort' (Martinet 1964a), these reduction and elision processes are observed in the use of vowels in Colloquial Arabic, perhaps more remarkably in some regions than in others. In his description of Maghreban Arabic dialects, Philippe Marçais (1977:12) emphasizes the 'considerable ruin of the vowel material' when he says:

On constate que les parlers maghrébins sont caractérisés par une ruine considérable du matériel vocalique.

Initial consonant cluster is not an accepted pattern in CA and MSA. But the rule is broken in Colloquial Arabic and initial clusters are very common as a result of vowel loss in an initial open syllable, as in [χ'radʒ]⁷ for CA /'χaradʒa/ 'He went out'. The following example interestingly reveals, at the same time, vowel elision in two open syllables (initial and within the stem), centralisation of the second vowel, and shortening of final long vowel: /'katabaha:/-->[k'təbha]⁸ 'He wrote it'. Such vowel reduction results in a two-syllable utterance instead of four. Initial closed syllables, too, often lose their vocalic centre in practically all dialects, but in this case, for phonotactic reasons (i.e. impossibility of pronouncing three consonants initially, C₁C₂C₃V), a short vowel is inserted between C₂ and C₃ giving C₁C₂VC₃ as in [m'qabra] which is /'maqbara/ in CA, 'cemetery'; /əʕʕ'abr(u)/ '(the) patience' is pronounced [əʕʕ'bar] in the dialects. Another interesting phenomenon related to vowel elision, is that the drop of the vowel, often leading to consonant clustering, results in cases of assimilation of the neighbouring consonants, as in, for example, /'yasala/-->[χ'səl] 'He has washed' in which /y/-->[χ], as a result of regressive assimilation of voicing, i.e. /y/ loses its voicing before the voiceless fricative /s/ after the vowel drop.

Furthermore, a general feature that can easily be observed in all colloquial forms is the drop of final short vowels which most of the time have a functional

or an inflexional role. Their drop occurs not only in pause form, as it may occur in CA and much more in MSA, but also within the utterances in word-final position. The CA utterance /χa'radʒtu 'maʕahu fiʃʃa'ba:h(i)/ 'I went out with him in the morning' is realised [χ'raʒt m'ʕah 'fəʃʃbah] in Algerian Arabic, with the drop of the final unstressed vowels of the three phrases. Note that if we consider the elision of the other vowels, those of open syllables, of the ten-syllable CA utterance (those that are so-to-say 'not necessary' and thus easily dropped) the colloquial realisation of the utterance is reduced to only four syllables. The principle of 'economy' evoked by Martinet (1964a) and others is strongly reflected in such morpho-phonological reductions in most Low Arabic varieties, particularly in the Algerian ones.

- 2. Vowel 'levelling': when they are centres of unstressed syllables but not elided, the three CA short vowels /a/, /u/ and /i/ are realised more or less in the vicinity of a schwa, as in:

/'kataba/ --> [k'təb] 'He wrote, He has written'

/'jaktubu/ --> ['jəktəb] 'He writes, He will write'

/fid'da:ri/ --> ['fədda:r] 'at home, in the house'

- 3. Diphthong realisation as a long vowel: this phenomenon occurs in many Arabic dialects but diphthongs are maintained in others: e.g. [ʕawd] in Tlemcen vs. [ʕu:d] in Algiers 'horse' (but /ʕu:d/ is also a 'stick' or a 'rod' both in CA and Low varieties); [ʕayn] vs. [ʕi:n] 'an eye' or 'a water spring', etc.

- 4. Vowel lengthening in many L varieties seems to be a sort of exception to the reduction/elision process described above: this often occurs in the imperative form, 2nd pers. sing. in some verbs in final closed syllables, mostly those with a long /a:/ in the stem, as in the verb /qa:la/ 'to say' whose imperative form /qul/ 'Say! (you, sing. masc.)' is realised [qu:l] or [gu:l] with a long [u:] in L varieties.

Likewise, CA /kul/ '(you) Eat!' is realised [ku:l] in many dialects, particularly in Maghreban speech varieties.

- 5. Consonant shift, or metathesis, may occur with a number of words such as in the instance /əʃ'fams(u)/ 'the sun' which is often pronounced [əs'səmʃ] in some AA varieties. [sə'ddaʒa] for CA /sa'dʒa:da/ 'a praying carpet', and [z'naʒa] for CA /dʒa'na:za/ 'a funeral' are two other examples of metathesis that are attested in a number of AA varieties. A word whose metathesis seems to be specific to Tlemcen speech is [ʒ'dada], from CA /da'dʒa:dʒa/ meaning 'a hen'; it is pronounced [d'ʒaʒa] in other varieties.

c) Morphological:

- 1. Overall drop of word-final vowels that represent case-endings:

In Colloquial Arabic, this vowel elision results in a significant simplification of certain morphological rules: in CA, the inflexions referring to the dative and causative cases, for example, are not used in spontaneous everyday speech. Speakers are only conscious of these if they 'know' the *ʔrāb* rules of CA (case ending forms) which are learned at school; and those who do know them, among educated people, only use them in the most formal contexts. A Classical Arabic utterance such as /ka'tabtu ri'sa:lata**n** lil mu'di:ri/ 'I wrote a letter to the director', in which the case endings obey the morpho-syntactic rules, is realised even in a formal form of AA [ktəbt ri'sala ləl'mudi:r], with elision of the endings in question (in bold in the CA sentence) for the simple reason that the *ʔrāb* rules are not acquired in the mother tongue.

- 2. The dual morpheme suffixes {-a:ni}, {-aini}: these are not represented in Colloquial Arabic nouns, except for a few nouns referring to specific pairs (parts of the body that come in twos) such as [ʔaini:n] 'eyes', [wədni:n] 'ears', [jəddi:n] 'hands' and [rədʒli:n] 'feet'. These words have become fixed forms for such pairs to the extent that they invariably take plural agreement and are also used for the

plural form, which is considered a mistake in CA: e.g. [ʿaʃra jəddi:n] ‘ten hands’, [ʿkulləl ʿaini:n] ‘all eyes’ vs. CA /ʿaʃrat ʿajdi:/ and /ʿkullal ʿaʃjun/.

As for the dual morpheme in verb-forms, a characteristic that is specific to CA⁹, it has thoroughly disappeared in dialects: e.g. /jaχruʿdʒa:ni/ ‘They (two persons) go out’ is realized [jaχʿχurdʒu] in Colloquial Arabic, the same form being used for more than two persons; the imperative /ʔuχʿrudʒa:/ ‘Go out (you two)’ is also realised [ʔəʿχχurʒu], a form used to address two or more persons.

- 3. The 1st person plural morpheme prefix {na-} (*damīr*) in the perfective in CA (or {nu-} with some verb forms) as in /naktubu/ ‘We (will) write’, is used both in plural and singular in AA as well as in many other colloquial varieties, particularly those of the Maghreb. This means that the CA 1st person prefixes ʔa- and ʔu- are not used in AA, except for the swearing form [ʔuqsim] which has become quite common in the speech of the young in Algeria. Otherwise, a verb phrase like [nəχrudʒ] in AA is not ‘We (will) go out’ as in CA, but ‘I (will) go out’, the plural verb form being [nəʿχχurdʒu] with the appearance of the final plural morpheme suffix {u}. The final CA feminine suffix {-i:na} used in the perfective, as in /talʿaʿbi:na/, ‘You (will) play (2nd pers. fem. sing.) has also undergone an alteration, or more exactly a reduction, as it is realised [ʿtalʿbi] in most AA varieties. Also, while the suffix is reduced to {-i} in general, it is completely dropped in Tlemcen Arabic and a few other AA varieties, and /talʿaʿbi:na/ surfaces as [ʿtalʿab], a form which is identical to the one used when we address a male.

d) Lexical:

A few important things have to be mentioned from the start as far as H and L lexicons are concerned:

-1. Because it takes its strength from a large body of literature (ancient and modern) and easily ‘absorbs’ modern terms in technical and scientific domains,

as well as in political and economic fields, the bulk of today's MSA vocabulary is much wider than that of the various Colloquial Arabic forms. In fact, the vocabulary of the L variety is only concerned with restricted domains in everyday conversation, and it often borrows from CA/MSA when having to deal with domains of life involving political, economic or religious discussions, in which, apparently, only formal items are available. The MSA word /mi'laff/¹⁰, for example, would be used to ask someone to prepare a personal file for an application or a request. This relatively new tendency to borrow words from CA or MSA in Algerian speech seems to be slowly replacing former borrowings from French as a consequence of the process of arabisation of education and administration put into operation just after independence. The word ['miləff] (with the vowel /a/ realised as a schwa and the stress shifted to the first syllable) has indeed displaced, though not thoroughly, the French borrowing *dossier* often pronounced [əd'doʃe] or [əd'doʃje] in AA. Another good example that comes to my mind is the gradual displacement, particularly by younger people, of the French borrowed expression [n'ma:rkɪ] or its synonym [n'ʔɛskrɪ] (from *marquer* and *inscrire* 'to register' or 'to record') by the Arabic expression [n'sədʒʒəl], i.e. 'I (will) register', 'I (will) record' or 'I will score (a goal)'. Many other such borrowings are undergoing substitution for Arabic words.

Consider these few instances in the following table:

Borrowing	from French	Algerian Arabic	from CA or MSA	English gloss
ty eg'zaʒɛr	Tu exagères	rɑ:k t'ba:ləy	ʔa'rɑ:ka tu'ba:liɣu	You exaggerate
'sijɪ	Essaies!	'ħa:wəl	'ħa:wɪl	Try!
'prisizilu	Précises lui.	ʔak'kədlu	'ʔakkid lahu	Specify to him.
n'ta rrespōsabl	Tu es responsable.	n'ta lmas'ʔu:l	'ʔanta lmas'ʔu:l	You are responsible
se 'la lwa	C'est la loi	ħa'dahuwa lqanu:n	'ħa:ða:'ħuwa l'qɑ:nu:n	This is the law

Table 3.1. Gradual lexical displacement of French borrowings.

However, there are still a great number of French words and expressions which have become fixed in everyday speech, particularly those lexical items

related to technical fields or imported articles of which people do not know Arabic equivalent terms (e.g. tools and utensils such as *marteau* ‘hammer’, *pince* ‘pliers’, electric household appliances such as *frigo* ‘fridge’, common words related to medicine such as *la grippe* ‘the flu’, or *l’aspirine*, etc.)

- 2. A good number of word pairs or expressions, one from H and one from L, referring to common things, objects or concepts, are easily distinguishable as belonging to one variety or the other. In a description of the bulk of Arabic vocabulary, Ferguson (1959a) points out that

... a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L.

If someone says *ʔaraʔ ayt*, ‘Did you see?’, the question would immediately be identified as belonging to H with the verb /'raʔa:/, ‘to see’, which does not occur in ordinary conversation, except for the very common form [ra-] as in [rah 'hna] meaning ‘(I see) he is here’, or the expression [ja ri:t] used to wish something were true. The L form for CA *ʔaraʔ ayt* is [ʃəft] (or [ʃətt], with the gemination [tt] here resulting from assimilation).

Here are some more examples showing the contrast between CA/MSA and AA:

Classical Arabic/MSA	Colloquial Arabic (AA)	Gloss
'ðahab(a)	mʃa = ra:h	He has gone
is'tajqəð(a)	na:d = fʔan	He has woken up
'jaʔ'al(u)	'jaʔməl = jdi:r	He does = He makes
'la: 'ju:dʒad(u)	ma'kæ:nʃ	There's no(thing)

Table 3.2. Standard Arabic vs Algerian Arabic lexical differentiation.

*the final vowel, here between brackets, is usually not pronounced in CA/MSA pause form.

In addition to the lexemes typical of the Low variety, lexical transformations sometimes occur resulting in variation in forms and differences of use and meaning (Ferguson, 1959a): the phrase [mʃa] in AA (an alternative form used mostly in rural speech is [ra:h]) means 'He has gone' or 'He has left' while the original meaning in CA /maʃa:/ is 'He has walked'. /'ðahaba/, the appropriate CA form for 'He has gone', is not normally used in AA. Another example in which the semantic shift is evident is [ʕinni] meaning 'Push me' in some AA varieties. It is clear that the phrase is a reduction of CA /ʔaʕinni:/ which means 'Help me', and not 'Push me'. Two alternative forms can be heard in some other AA varieties: [ʔadfaʕni] has preserved the original meaning of the CA verb /dafaʕa/ 'to push'; and [ʔadmərni] often used in some rural varieties. The phrase [jaχdəm] is very common in AA but means 'He (or it) works', while the original sense of the CA verb /jaχdumu/ is 'to serve (a cause, the country)', or 'to do a favour'. In Tlemcen Arabic, and probably in many other AA varieties, the expression [t'kəlləm], whose original CA meaning is 'to speak' /ta'kallama/, has undergone a semantic shift as well, as it means something like 'is heard' or 'it sounds', e.g. [ʔbumba tkəllmət] 'A bomb has exploded'. Also, [ət'kəlləmlu] is used to mean 'Answer him; he's calling you (on the phone or whatever)', while the CA verb phrase 'He speaks' /jata'kallam(u)/ is not [jət'kəlləm] in AA, but has been replaced by [jahdar] which means 'to throb' or 'to echo' in CA.

e) Syntactic:

Most grammatical differences between H and L Arabic varieties result from the over-simplification or disappearance of CA morpho-syntactic rules in L, to the extent that there has been, among users of Colloquial Arabic, a "myth that the L variety lacks any kind of 'grammar'." (Wardhaugh, 1992: 92). Indeed, a great number of syntactic structures are simplified in AA. Any attempt to deal with a topic involving higher-level concepts (literary, religious, scientific or economic) will have recourse not only to borrowings from CA or MSA, but also to complex syntax if the ideas are to be fully conveyed.

Here a few structures which make the difference between H and L:

- 1. The usual CA basic sentence structure is a VSO while in AA it usually takes the form SVO, probably as a consequence of the French structure influence (and English in Egypt, for instance): e.g. 'The president of the Republic will make a speech today' is /sa'jaχtubu ra'ʔi:sul dʒum'hu:rijati l'jawm(a)/ in the High variety, but is realised [ra'ʔi:səl dʒəm'hurija jəχtob l'ju:m] in (semi-formal) AA.

- 2. There is a word order rule in CA which stipulates that VSO sentences whose subject is a plural third person always start with the verb in its singular form (i.e. with no number agreement), as in /'χaradzə n'na:su 'ba:kiran/, 'The people went out early'. /'χaradzə/ is normally used with the 3rd person singular, 'He went out'. The plural form /'χaradzʊ:/ is only used in cases where the plural subject precedes the verb, or is already mentioned, as in /θumma 'χaradzʊ:/, 'Then they went out'. But the Low variety breaks the rule by making initial verb forms agree with number, by using the 3rd pers. pl. verb form: ['χardzʊ n'na:s].

- 3. The use of the passive form – *mabniy lilmadzhūl* in Arabic, literally, 'built on the unknown' – has almost completely disappeared presumably in all Colloquial Arabic varieties. And to express the passive voice, AA speakers have recourse to the use of the active form with the personal pronoun 'they' as an unknown subject: e.g. 'The thief has been caught' is /'qubiða ʕala s'sa:riq/ in CA, but [əs'sa:rəq qab'ðo:h] is the usual AA realisation (literally 'The thief they have caught him'). The participle pattern *mafʕūl* from CA, meaning 'done', is also often used to express passive states, as in [mak'tu:b bəl'ʕarbijja], 'It is written in Arabic'. Alternatively, the passive may at times surface with the use of the 'reflexive' prefix pronoun *n-* as in [n't'wa] 'It got folded'; [n'baʕət əd'da:r] 'The house has been sold'. This form too comes from the CA verb pattern /ʔin'faʕala/ (انفَعَلَ) which bears a relation to the passive as the agent is usually unknown or not mentioned; e.g. /ʔin'sahaba/ (انسَحَبَ) 'to (get) retire(d)'.

- 4. A series of a dozen auxiliary-like verbs labelled *kāna wa ʔaḫawātuhā*, ‘to be and its sisters’ (i.e. ‘to be’ and analogous forms), used to describe the state of things or actions, have been lost in the Low variety except for *kāna* (to be) and a few ‘modals’ like *ʔaṣbaḥa*, *ḏalla*, *bāta*, *mā zāla* and *mā dāma*.¹¹ These are used to describe the state of a person, the type of weather or whatever: e.g. /ʔaṣbaḥa tʔtʔflu maʔrī:ḏan/, ‘The child has been found ill in the morning’; or /mā ʔzāla maʔrī:ḏan/ ‘(He) is still ill’. In addition to the loss of the other modals, the L variety does not ‘respect’ the CA grammatical case endings of the constituents, nominal and adjectival, that follow these modal verbal forms, i.e. *ʔism marfūʕ* and *ḫabar manṣūb*¹²: the two CA instances above are realised [əttʔfal ʃbaḥ mʔre:ḏ] (with an SVO sentence pattern instead of the usual VSO as in CA/MSA), and [ma ʔza:l mre:ḏ], respectively.

Here are a few other examples: (case endings in **bold** type in CA/MSA).

CA or MSA	Algerian Arabic	English equivalent
ʔaṣbaḥa ʔaʔbu:hu misʔki:nan	ʔbʔba:h ʃbaḥ məsʔki:n	His father became poor
ʔka:na l ʔḏawwu ʔba:ridan	kan əldzəw ʔba:rəd	The weather was cold
ʔaṣbaḥa l ʔfata: ʔradzulan	əl ʔwəld ʃbaḥ ʔradzəl	The boy has grown up
ʔba:tati l ʔummu dʒawʔa:natan	ʔmʔma:h ʔba:tət dʒiʔa:na	She spent the night hungry
ḏalla rʔradzulu na:ʔiman	ərʔradzəl ḏall ʔna:jəm	The man spent the day sleeping

Table 3.3. Drop of case endings modal verbs in AA as opposed to CA/MSA.

- 5. Another series presented in traditional and modern Arabic grammar books under the label *ʔinna wa ʔaḫawātuhā* (*ʔinna*¹³ and ‘its sisters’), and whose two constituents, the noun and the adjective, behave in a reverse pattern compared to those of the series of auxiliary-like verbs examined above, i.e. *ʔism manṣūb* and *ḫabar marfūʕ*, are definitely lost in AA and other Colloquial Arabic varieties. The particles *ʔinna*, *ʔanna*, and the compounds *kaʔanna*, *lākinna* have different functions in CA/MSA: *ʔinna*, for example, is used to insist on the fact or the action, and, to convey emphasis in an utterance like /aṭṭaʔbi:bu ʔxa:ʔibun/

‘The doctor is absent’, /ʔinna [tɑˈbiːbɑ ˈʕɑːʔibun/ would mean ‘The doctor is absent indeed’. But in AA, [ətˈbeːb rah ˈʕɑːjəb] is realised without the emphasis particle *ʔinna* and with no case endings. Instead, to compensate for the emphasis, the very common verbal phrase [ra-], most likely a reduced form of CA /ʔaˈraː/¹⁴ ‘I see’, is used followed by the relevant personal pronoun object giving [rani, rak, rah, raha, rana, rahum] which may be seen as a present copula form meaning respectively something like ‘I am, you are, he is, she is, we are, they are’, whereas the past form ‘I was, he was, she was’, for instance, would be [kunt], [kæːn] and [ˈkæːnət], respectively.

Bearing in mind the discrepancies between the High variety and Colloquial Arabic that are clearly reflected in the transformations of CA features on all linguistic levels, and which the literature on Arabic diglossia (e.g. Ferguson 1959a, Altoma 1969) and Arabic dialectology (e.g. Blanc 1960, W. Marçais 1930¹⁵, Ph. Marçais 1977) has not failed to refer to, we shall consider below a further distinction within the Low variety this time.

The focus on today’s speech community of Tlemcen will help us to show the co-existence and mixture of two Colloquial Arabic forms, the urban variety and the rural variety, and how the resulting interference between the two types of Arabic is clearly observable in everyday speech variation. It is worth noting here that many centuries before European authors showed interest in Arabic language studies, variation between and within different types of Arabic was mentioned by Arabic grammarians, such as Al-Khalil and particularly Sībawayhi who is regarded as the founding father of Arabic grammar. They did not fail to examine the question of heterogeneity of the language both on geographical and social bases. In this regard, Owens (2001:420) says:

...the Arabic language which Sībawayhi ‘constructed’ (a grammar by definition is a formal construct) was a variable object, one parameter of whose variability was defined by the social categories which Sībawayhi drew on to orientate his thinking.

In his *Kitāb*, Sībawayhi described a good deal of linguistic variation.

The linguistic variation that we can easily attest in Tlemcen not only shows how diverse Arabic speech forms can co-exist in the same speech community, but also how their interference can lead to their mixing or the adoption of one form in certain circumstances, particularly by native speakers, and another in other settings. What is appealing indeed and surprising at the same time, about the speech community of Tlemcen is the existence of a quasi-one-way speech accommodation to the context; that is, only the natives seem to be ready to switch away from their vernacular in a set of situations, by avoiding at least the TA features that they are most aware of. Non-TA speakers, on the other hand, will almost never attempt to accommodate their speech to that of the town, except for some non-native women who, by imitating native speech, may wish to identify with Tlemcen womankind for reasons that we shall try to discuss below. But, let us first consider some of the linguistic features that oppose urban speech to rural forms.

4.2.2 Urban Speech vs. Rural Speech

The Arabic variety of Tlemcen, with some particular linguistic characteristics, was regarded as one of the 'urban' forms of speech brought by the first waves of Arab Muslim *fātiḥīn* (literally 'openers', meaning conquerors) into the Northern part of Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries. The 'rural' forms of Arabic are said to have been brought later on, during the 11th century, to what was then called the *Maghreb* with the second wave consisting mostly of the nomadic Bedouin tribes called the *Banu Hilal*, with their specific dialect characteristics, particularly the voiced velar [g] for CA *qāf* and a great number of lexical items.

It may be useful to mention the way the two types of Arabic, 'rural' and 'urban', were contrasted, especially before the population movement towards big urban centres such as Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen in the second half of the 20th century. The two distinct varieties were considered as representing the speech of groups referred to in Arabic terms as *al'arab* for nomads and *alḥadar* for sedentary people¹⁶. But, as a result of the country people's 'rush' towards the

big towns and commercial centres, and the subsequent intermingling, in Tlemcen for instance, of the two types of speech groups reflected in everyday interactions, the labels *'arab* and *ħadar* seem to have disappeared from the people's tongues. Nevertheless, the distinction between the two kinds of Arabic varieties remains on the linguistic level, particularly in Tlemcen, a historical urban centre which has always been surrounded by rural areas, and whose speech has been compared by W. Marçais (1977) to "an islet lost in a Bedouin sea".

The distinction between rural and urban Arabic lies mostly in the existence of a great number of lexical items identified as specific to rural speech and equivalent terms as belonging to TA: e.g. urban ['kæmə] vs. rural ['gæ:ʕ] 'all'. The two types of variety are also distinguished by a few morphological features, particularly the drop, in TA, of the 2nd person feminine singular verb-form suffix {i}, as in [ʔu:l] 'Say', when addressing a woman, while the CA morpheme is maintained in other dialects for which ['qu:li] is the 'correct' form as opposed to [qu:l] used to address a man.

But, the most salient feature that characterises TA is the realisation of the CA phoneme /q/ (*qāf* is the name of the consonant) as a glottal stop [ʔ], as in [ʔælli], for example, 'He told me'. In all other AA dialects /q/ is either maintained as [q] in urban speech, ['qælli] (Algiers, Constantine, Nedroma, etc...), or it surfaces as a voiced velar [g] in rural varieties giving ['gælli]. The most evident explanation for this marked salience of the glottal stop, though it is not the only one, is that in the whole country, Tlemcen is the only community where /q/ is realized [ʔ], and the direct consequence of such idiosyncratic pronunciation of CA *qāf* is prone to stigmatization, and thus to variation and eventual shift.

But before looking at the relationship between the TA variable (ʔ) and a number of social factors, and before any attempt to analyse the sociolinguistic impact of such idiosyncrasy on the native TA speakers' linguistic behaviour, which we hope to be able to depict in our fieldwork (in section 5 below) by means of a number of methods and techniques, we shall see, in the next section, the degree to which TA is characterized by a number of linguistic features.

4.3 Tlemcen Arabic Features

Tlemcen town has long been regarded as a well-established prestigious centre whose native population was characterized not only by highly conservative social and cultural traits, but also by a number of specific speech habits and linguistic features which are not found anywhere else in Algeria. But while most families have preserved some of the customs and traditions, today, with the large-scale population movements towards the town, particularly from the nearby rural areas, considerable variation can be attested in everyday speech interaction and substantial linguistic changes have occurred in the behaviour of the later generations of native speakers. In fact, as a result of the contact of the two types of variety, and for the reasons that we have touched upon above and will consider again below, the most outstanding features of TA seem to give way to rural speech, while this latter does not appear to undergo any significant changes under the influence of the native community. But before trying to look at how variation occurs among native speakers, and to study who varies his/her way of speaking, with whom, when and in what contexts, let us first consider some of the most important linguistic features that characterize the speech of Tlemcen.

4.3.1 The Glottal Stop

The Classical Arabic phoneme /q/ (*qāf*) is undoubtedly the most interesting phonological variable in terms of multiplicity in allophonic realisation throughout the Arabic-speaking world. The literature on Arabic phonology has not failed to show the important alterations that it has gone through in time and space during the Islamic conquests, and the various realisations it displayed among the people living in different areas of the Arabian Peninsula prior to Islam. It is believed that in the pre-Islamic era and during the first period of the new religion, the realisation of /q/ as a voiced velar [g] was consistently used by the Bedouins (*al 'a'rāb*) who said, for instance, ['gulli] 'Tell me', instead of CA

/ˈqulli:/. The voiceless uvular variant [q] was then associated with the speech of high-status sedentary people, and thus regarded as more prestigious.

Later on, supposedly, with the spreading out of the language of Islam in non-Arab regions, the CA phoneme /q/ underwent allophonic variation, in addition to the voiced velar [g]. Cantineau (1939:39)¹⁷ makes an interesting remark about the other variants of /q/ which have changed the place of articulation but preserved the voiceless realisation in ‘sedentary’ parlances when he observes:

Seule une prononciation sourde du *qaf* a un sens décisif: tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation.

The allophones that the phoneme /q/ has ‘acquired’ are: [ʔ] in some Egyptian urban areas as well as in some towns in the Levant (e.g. Damascus), in Tlemcen (Algeria) and in Fez (Morocco); [k] in Ghazaouet (Algeria) as well as in rural Palestinian Arabic, but voiced [j] in Bedouin Jordanian communities (Sawaie, 1994). The different variants are now distributed to different extents in terms of stability and consistency of use, some being very common and others more limited. But what is worth noting here is that, because of the diglossic character of Arabic-speaking communities on the one hand, and the increasing co-existence of urban and rural speakers in big towns and city centres, on the other, the different variants can be observed to correlate with different social dimensions such as formality of speech interaction, solidarity, socio-economic status, gender, age, level of education, and so on. Furthermore, there is evidence that different attitudes may at times be exhibited by different interlocutors toward the same variant in different Arabic-speaking communities, in particular those separated by political boundaries. To make this point clearer, a parallel could be made with English ‘postvocalic *r*’. Variation in its use has led to a particularly interesting linguistic variable in the context of English-speaking communities. Sociolinguistic investigations (e.g. Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Romaine 1978; Downes 1984 etc.) have considered the variable (r), representing presence or absence of postvocalic *r* – (r):[r] vs. (r):∅ in Labov’s representation – in words

like *car* and *card*: (r):[r] is regarded as a prestigious form in areas North of England (e.g., Scotland and Ireland) as well as in many regions in the United States, while lower status and negative attitudes are associated with its use in the South-East of England and in South-Eastern American English. It is *absence* of [r] in such words that is positively valued in Britain, for r-less speech is 'equated' with RP English, the prestige accent. Such fluctuations in the status associated with a given variant clearly illustrate the inescapable effects of social factors on speech and the role that arbitrariness plays in assigning social meanings to linguistic forms. It indeed happens that, under the effects of social pressure and other factors, one linguistic form of a language exhibits various sociolinguistic patterns in diverse speech communities.

In Arabic too, similar sociolinguistically significant distributions of the same variant can be identified in various communities of the Arab world. In Cairo, for example – as well as in other large urban centres in the Levant (e.g. Damascus, Beyrouth, etc.) –, (q):[ʔ] is viewed as a prestige variant in everyday speech (apart from standard [q] which remains, of course, a high-status form for its association with CA). But in Tlemcen, [ʔ] has become extremely stigmatised and thus gradually shunned by an increasing number of native speakers, particularly among today's younger males, and more so in mixed settings, as already pointed out above and as our data will reveal in the following sections.

Tlemcen speech has become in fact so deeply characterized by the use of the glottal stop that its users are instantly identified anywhere, and by all Algerians, as 'coming from Tlemcen'; and, as a result of such linguistic idiosyncrasy that strongly contrasts with the Algerian society-wide [q] ~ [g] pair of variants, a few popular, rather mocking 'labels' can be heard in the description of men who use [ʔ], from non-TA speakers obviously, but also, surprisingly, from native people themselves sometimes. One often used derisive expression is *ʃtāb 'ʔalli 'ʔattlak* meaning 'those who use ʔ' (Dendane 1993); another one is *ʔlli jahhadro bʔ ʔa*, literally, 'those who talk with ʔ'. What is more, non-TA speakers often happen to mock at natives by teasingly over-imitating TA speech, that is, by using [ʔ] where only [g] is appropriate, saying, for example, *ʔaʔa* 'cow', pronounced

[bagra] in all AA varieties¹⁸, or with some borrowings such as *ʔærru*, instead of *gærru*, from Spanish *cigarro* 'cigarette', or *lʔato*, for *lgato* 'the cake', from French *gâteau*. The stigmatisation of the item becomes stronger when we hear rural speech users sometimes comment on a native male speaker they call *ʔaw ʔawa*, 'a peanut': the glottal stop here is repeated twice in the word (pronounced 'kewkew' in other dialects), to which the Arabic feminine morpheme particle {a} is affixed in the end for a more mocking and degrading effect.

By way of analogy, we may perhaps match up this marked TA form with the realisation of the English phoneme /t/ as a glottal stop in certain linguistic environments in London Cockney accent and in Norwich (Trudgill 1974). Such pronunciation is said to be typical of working class vernacular speech, though it has been clearly attested in other regions of England and in other styles: 'a little bit' is realised [ə'lrʔl brʔ]. This allophonic realisation of /t/ may be related, in phonetic terms, to [ʔ]-use in Tlemcen speech. In fact, in both cases it is a voiceless plosive which is realised as a glottal stop, most probably because of its easier articulation and release, that is, with much less energy and muscle contraction than the alveolar /t/ in English and the uvular /q/ in Arabic¹⁹. Thus, just as the glottal stop is a marker of Cockney accent, it clearly marks TA as peculiar speech in Algeria, but, as we have argued in a previous work (Dendane 1993:34)²⁰, "neither of the terms 'marker' or 'indicator', in the sense used in Labov (1970, 1972a), would apply to such a characteristic as it does not vary according to socio-economic and/or style differentiation." As a matter of fact, because of the diglossic character of Arabic-speaking communities where high-status forms of Arabic are not acquired along with the mother tongue – compared to Standard English which *is* the native language of a good number of English speakers –, the sociolinguistic structures are not to be dealt with the same way as in Western speech communities. Linguistic variables do not interact with such factors as social class and stylistic levels in the same way; that is, they do not show social distribution and style differentiation. In effect, apart from the comparatively few people who have had much contact with MSA on formal occasions, speakers will normally use the Low variety both in stress-free

situations and constrained ones, and their higher or lower socio-economic positions are not correlated with the use or avoidance of the glottal stop in Tlemcen, for instance, or other specific features.

But what is certainly more attention-grabbing and more fruitful about the parallel drawn between the glottal stop of Tlemcen speech and that of London Cockney, is the relationship that may be established between the two background contexts from a sociolinguistic perspective. Both patterns of use clearly reveal membership to a particular speech community and are regarded as stigmatised in the wider society. Nevertheless, in addition to the fact that English [ʔ] is used much more consistently by Cockney male speakers than by female speakers, and in Tlemcen men are far more sensitive to the stigmatised nature of TA [ʔ], there are important disparities to be mentioned about the historical development of the glottal allophonic realisation. Glottalised /t/ was negatively regarded for a long time in Britain, and though it continues to be censured by the established institutions, its persistent use in a vernacular of the capital city by famous singers and TV heroes has been a factor that contributes to its gaining some sort of prestige and attractiveness, particularly to the ears of the young. This positive attitude results in its adoption by closely-knit social networks, and then in its rapid spread out of London in all directions in England (Cf. Holmes 2001:214), and later on even in other English-speaking countries. This pattern of sound change has been labelled 'change from below' by sociolinguists (eg. Labov 1972*a*, Trudgill 1974, etc.) to refer to change from "below the level of conscious awareness originating in the lower end of the social hierarchy" (Romaine 2000:145) as opposed to 'change from above' which starts off consciously in the formal styles used among upper and middle class speakers.

But it is a reverse process that Tlemcen [ʔ] has gone through. As a matter of fact, while there is evidence that Cockney [ʔ] continues to spread in a wave-like motion to further areas (see for example Trudgill 1983*a*; Holmes 2001; Romaine 1994/2000), TA [ʔ]-use has been gradually shrinking and may only be maintained in the long run by older people and womenfolk, in particular, in the inner city. We are a long way from the time when [ʔ]-use was characterized by

high prestige by virtue of the standing of Tlemcen town in earlier centuries, and thus imitated by the rural people living in its outskirts. So, whereas young Cockney speakers are proud of overtly using the glottal stop, and largely responsible for its spread out of London and deeper into the country, young male adolescents in Tlemcen seem to be suffering from the strong stigmatisation of [ʔ] and its association with femininity. We can consider that they are responsible for the spread of its avoidance, and thus of the use of its rural counterpart [g]. Indeed, as a consequence of such stigmatisation, an increasing number of people have been deserting the glottal stop for the voiced velar [g], as in ['gælli] 'He told me' instead of TA ['ʔælli]. Since the change in question in Tlemcen does not seem to be related to a particular socio-economic class, we may consider such linguistic behaviour on the part of native TA speakers as a 'change from outside', that is, from outside the vernacular of the speech community.

Also, while Cockney TV heroes have helped in promoting positive attitudes of [ʔ]-use (and other vernacular characteristics), there is a weekly fun programme on Algerian TV, called *El Fhama*, in which a comedian tells funny stories using Tlemcen [ʔ], opening all his jokes with the phrase *ʔællək hannahar...*, 'It is said that one day...', a strategy that renders the jokes funnier indeed. But at the same time his mocking style makes the glottal stop usage strongly stigmatised and thus increasingly shunned by native young male speakers who sometimes even seem to favour the use of [g] for its association with toughness and *ərroʒla*²¹, the Arabic term for 'manhood'.

We shall see, in our fieldwork below (section 4.5.), how the investigation on the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] shows clear correlation with social variables such as addresses, participants and setting in a combined relationship with age and gender.

But the glottal stop is not the only linguistic variable that holds our interest in the observation of the speech community of Tlemcen. Morphological and lexical variables, too, reveal interesting patterns of use in correlation with non-linguistic factors.

4.3.2 Morphological Items as Sociolinguistic Variables

As indicated above, most derivational and inflectional morphemes typical of Classical Arabic morpho-syntactic structures have long dropped out in Colloquial Arabic varieties. For example, the dual suffix forms, $\{-\bar{a}ni\}$ in the perfective and $\{-\bar{a}\}$, $\{-i\bar{a}\}$ in the past forms, as well as in nouns and pronouns, have completely disappeared from the Low variety. For example, the CA phrases /jal^ʕa'ba:ni/ and /la^ʕi'ba:/ 'They (two) play (or are playing)' and 'They (two) played', are realised [jal^ʕbu] and [la^ʕbu] in AA, the same patterns being used for the plural forms, that is, just like English or French, there is no verb morphological contrast when the subject refers to more than one person.

However, one morphological item which has resisted this reduction/elision phenomenon in most AA dialects is the 2nd person feminine verb inflection morpheme $\{-i\}$ that is added, in all three Arabic tenses, as a suffix when a female is addressed, as in [ku:li] 'Eat', [kliti] 'You have eaten', and [tak^wli] 'You (will) eat'. The suffix-less form [ku:l] is used to address a male. The suffix $\{i\}$, however, is not used after the address morpheme $\{k\}$ ²², and thus CA /ki'ta:buki/, 'your book (fem. sing.)', is realised [k'ta:bək] and /nasijaki/, 'He has forgotten you (fem. sing.)', is pronounced [n'sa:k]. But $\{i\}$ is maintained in a few expressions such as [ki ra:ki] 'How are you (fem. sing.)?' and [ma:lki] 'What's the matter with you (fem. sing.)?'

However, the TA variety, like a few other dialects (particularly those of Nedroma and Ghazaouet, North West of Tlemcen), distinguishes itself by dropping the suffix morpheme $\{i\}$, making no gender distinction in addressing an individual; and thus it is the same verb-form [ku:l], 'Eat', which is used to address either a man or a woman. The suffix $\{i\}$ is also missing in TA after the address morpheme $\{-k\}$; thus, [ki re:k], 'How are you?', is equally used to ask a man or a woman about their health or state of affairs.

These TA suffix-less forms are also subjected to rural speech influence and, as a consequence, the variation $\emptyset \sim \{i\}$ has emerged in the speech community of

Tlemcen, though to a lesser extent than in the case of the glottal stop, as our results will show in the investigation.

Another morphological feature that characterizes rural speech users is the suffix {ah} which bears at least two clearly distinct morpho-syntactic functions: it is used both as an object pronoun, as in [kətbah], 'He wrote **it**', or [ktəblah], 'He wrote to **him**', and a possessive, as in [kta:bah], '**His** book'. What is worth noting about this suffix morpheme is that its influence on TA speech appears to be much weaker than [g] or {i}, presumably because its counterpart {u}, as in [kta:bu] or [ktəblu], is not specific to Tlemcen variety. It is indeed used not only in all urban Algerian varieties and some rural ones in the East of Algeria, but also in many other Arabic-speaking countries. Therefore, in contrast with the glottal stop, which is often avoided by many TA native speakers for its stigmatisation, {u} is not often replaced by {ah} even in switches to rural speech in inter-dialectal interaction. Utterances like [gullu], 'Tell him', in which the rural form [g] is associated to urban {u}, can be attested even in the most constrained speech situations; this reveals that {u} is not a negative stereotype of TA speech. However, some young male native speakers seem to favour the use of {ah} when they switch to rural speech, possibly for the sake of congruence of rural items, but most likely because, just like the phonological variant [g], the suffix {ah} "seems to be associated with toughness and 'manliness' [and used] in an increasing way, even in friendship and family domains." (Dendane 1993:74)

4.3.3 Lexical Aspects of Tlemcen Arabic

Classical Arabic is known to possess a huge lexis and, as Altoma (1969:4) points out, it "is endowed with a rich vocabulary characterized often by multiplicity of lexical items denoting one and the same meaning". Indeed, a great number of words have one, two or more synonyms with roughly the same meaning. To ask a man to stand up, for instance, at least two verbs can be used: /'qum/ and /'ʔinħad/; a number of adjectives can be used to describe a man as 'respected': /muħ'taram/, /mu'waqqar/, /mu'ħa:b/, etc.

It is most likely that such wealth in the H lexicon is responsible for lexical variation in L varieties, which often comprise a set of 'doublets' (synonymous pairs), usually reduced in a more or less altered phonological or morphological form: it is very common to find one word from the doublet used in an urban variety and the other in a rural one. For example, the CA imperative utterance /'ʔidʒlis/ 'Sit down (you, masc. sing.)', may at times be heard in L in the form [ʔəʒləs], but two other common verbs, both from CA, are normally heard in AA depending on the type of variety: [ʔəgʕəd], from CA /'qaʕada/, 'to sit', is used in TA and some other urban varieties; and [ʔəmmaʕ], from CA /'dʒammaʕa/ 'to gather (here, a way of sitting on the floor, crossing or gathering one's legs)', is heard in rural speech. In a community like Tlemcen where the two types of L variety co-exist, the paired items are usually learned by the speakers, though they are not actually used to the same extent by everybody, as our work attempts to show. Typically, the people of rural origin, now settled in Tlemcen, maintain their way of speaking, and will almost never 'think' of using TA vocabulary, to the exception of a few words and expressions that have slipped into their speech, and that the new generations are probably not aware of. The rural form of 'where?', for instance, is [wi:n], but TA [ʔæjən] can often be heard among rural speech users today. Native TA speakers, however, tend to consciously accommodate their speech in a setting where rural interlocutors are present by selecting what is regarded as a rural word, though this is not a general rule, as we shall see in the next sections: male speakers usually display more inclination than women do to using rural speech features in certain contexts, for similar reasons touched upon above in relation to [ʔ]-use (see 4.5.1.), and that we shall develop in presenting our data and analysing the results.

While some lexical items are characteristic of a number of urban varieties in Algerian Arabic, there are linguistic forms that may be considered as strong markers of Tlemcen speech, as they are not normally heard elsewhere. A common utterance that is often heard among TA users is [ʔje:h a 'χa:j], meaning something like 'Yes, oh my brother!'; it consists of two words that are specific to TA: [je:h] which may be contrasted with [ʔe:h] in Algiers and other urban

varieties, and [wa:h] in Oran and most rural varieties; ['χa:j] instantly reveals membership of the speech community of Tlemcen, for in all other places 'My brother' is ['χuja]. Though there is obviously nothing intrinsically good or bad in the two AA surface realisations of this noun-phrase from CA /'ʔaχi:/, ['χa:j], just as the glottal stop use, is regarded as a kind of 'refined' speech with an 'effeminate' connotation. Indeed, the overall negative attitude towards TA, particularly on the part of non-natives, makes ['χa:j] and other lexical items stigmatised, and thus often avoided by native male speakers.

Another very common lexical item specific to Tlemcen speech and worthy of attention is [n't_sina], 'you', a unique singular personal pronoun, from CA /'ʔanta/ for a male and /'ʔanti/ for a female, to address either a man or a woman. In other AA varieties, just like CA, gender address is differentiated by the use of two words, each with an extended form: [n'ta] and [n'taja]; [n'ti] and [n'tija]. Again, it is interesting to note that the TA form [n't_sina] is systematically avoided by native male speakers, particularly younger ones, not only in mixed settings to avoid being mocked at, but also, increasingly, in unconstrained situations as in family domain or in native TA friends conversations; such linguistic behaviour may be regarded as a cue that heralds the TA item loss and definite adoption of the rural form. But of course, any change in speech must go through a phase of variation which may be shorter or longer depending on the speakers' practices, their attitudes and the degree of stigmatisation of the linguistic form.

4. 4 Language Variation in Tlemcen

4.4.1 Introductory

We have seen in the above section the extent to which Tlemcen speech is characterized by a number of linguistic items that make the variety as a whole rather idiosyncratic in the wider Algerian society. We shall be arguing, in effect, that, in all probability, this very idiosyncrasy is a crucial factor in the linguistic variation attested on all levels in the behaviour of native speakers. Indeed, the

constant contact of the local variety with a rural form of Arabic, which has long established itself in the town, can be seen as a catalyst that leads precisely to the avoidance of the stigmatised TA features in certain constrained settings. An overall issue can be raised here: Will this native linguistic behaviour and negative attitude towards TA vernacular characteristics eventually lead to their gradual loss in the speech of some categories of speakers? Or will there always be some force to prevent a thorough dialect shift? Only time can tell, despite the clear evidence of rural speech use on the part of an increasing number of natives, as we shall see from the results of our investigation.

However, before tackling the issue on TA speakers' linguistic variation in relation to their contacts with a non-TA variety, we come back, in the next subsections, to the relation of the whole speech community toward the MSA/French dichotomy that we have already touched upon in Section 3.6.2, insisting this time on younger informants chosen from different university and school levels.

The point is that the two overlapping linguistic phenomena, diglossia and bilingualism, are, as a whole, so characteristic of the Algerian society that we have made the decision to seize the opportunity to observe the relationship between MSA and French in the speech community of Tlemcen. We can claim safely that the results obtained from our investigation – here focussing more on perception than on production and including native *and* non-native speakers of TA speech – may be seen as fairly representative of a large number of Algerians, at least those living in urban areas and towns.

4.4.2 Language Comprehension and Preferences: MSA vs. French

For the reasons already mentioned, and in spite of the fact that the arabisation process was started right after Algeria gained independence, more than forty years ago, many people keep on using a great amount of French – or at least understand it to a large extent – in everyday speech, in all possible forms occurring in language contact: adapted and non-adapted borrowings, loan-words and expressions, various types of switching in the same stretch of speech, and of

course bilingual practice in relation to the context, the topic and the function ascribed to the language. While for political considerations French is as a foreign language, sociolinguistically speaking, it must be seen as a second language; it continues indeed to be regarded not only as a language of modernity and progress, but also as a prestigious means of social interaction and advancement. In fact, because of the weaknesses in mastering, or rather coining, technical terminology in Arabic, French is still used in many vital domains such as economy, technology, medicine and other scientific domains, but also in naming simple things such as medicines, car spare parts or documents for a file. And now that it is taught earlier at school²³, children will grow up getting used to it in their formal schooling, but also outside of school in a consistent manner as they are exposed to it through the various programmes on Algerian TV as well as on French channels; or they hear it from their parents, though often mixed with Arabic. They also become familiar with written French as they see it everywhere, in newspapers and magazines, in books, and also in ads, shop-signs, road-signs, etc. A long-term exposure to such linguistic environment, which reinforces the impact left by the French occupation, has made societal bilingualism an inherent characteristic of today's Algerian community, even though the degree of 'bilinguality' (Hamers a Blanc 2000:6)²⁴, that is, bilingualism displayed by individuals, depends on a number of factors, as mentioned above, among which the level of education of the parents and their motivation to persuade their children to learn foreign languages, and the overall positive attitudes towards French are, as we strongly believe, the most important ones.

4.4.2.1 University Students

To have some preliminary raw data about the contrast and co-existence reflected in the use of Standard Arabic and French, and to test the hypothesis that the Algerians in general, particularly people with an acceptable educational level, possess a certain competence in the two languages, we have administered the following questionnaire to a number of students from the Department of Foreign

Languages in Tlemcen University. We consider that the results obtained with these students, are not characteristic of Tlemcen community as they are not concerned with the analysis of its vernacular, but relate to aspects of language use which are virtually shared by all Algerians. In fact, a good number of students do not live in Tlemcen but come from neighbouring villages and towns. Thus, we believe that we would get approximately the same results elsewhere in various environments or at least with students in similar contexts in other urban areas in Algeria.

- The Questionnaire

It is not at all an easy task to measure, in a fully objective manner, proficiency in two or more linguistic codes in a speech community. Sophisticated methods and techniques have to be designed for the study of the languages in contact in Algeria, but for the sake of comparison of linguistic competence in French and a high form of Arabic (MSA), we have set up a simple closed format questionnaire consisting of direct questions presented to 162 students in the Department (Appendix I Questionnaire 1). As the informants are students of English, the questionnaire is compiled in English to avoid any bias²⁵ in relation to the two languages under investigation. It consists of a dozen straightforward questions about the use of MSA and French to be answered in written form. The results obtained in Tlemcen are not intended to be fully representative of all portions of the Algerian society; rather different results will most likely be obtained with other categories of people, particularly older people, less educated or illiterate people. But the outcome here may be seen as typical of at least similar groups of students in Algerian universities as well as people having reached a certain level of education.

The following tables display the figures obtained from the 162 students, and the equivalent proportions in percentages.

a- Standard Arabic (SA)²⁶

Table 4.1. How well do you understand Standard Arabic (*al lugha l fuṣḥā*)?

	Very well	Quite well	A little bit	Not at all
N =	94	51	16	1
%	58.02%	31.48%	9.87%	0.61%

Table 4. 2. How well do you speak Standard Arabic (when you have to)?

	Very well	Quite well	A little bit	Not at all
N =	69	71	20	2
%	42.59%	43.82%	12.34%	1.23%

The following graph gives a clear picture of the above two tables.

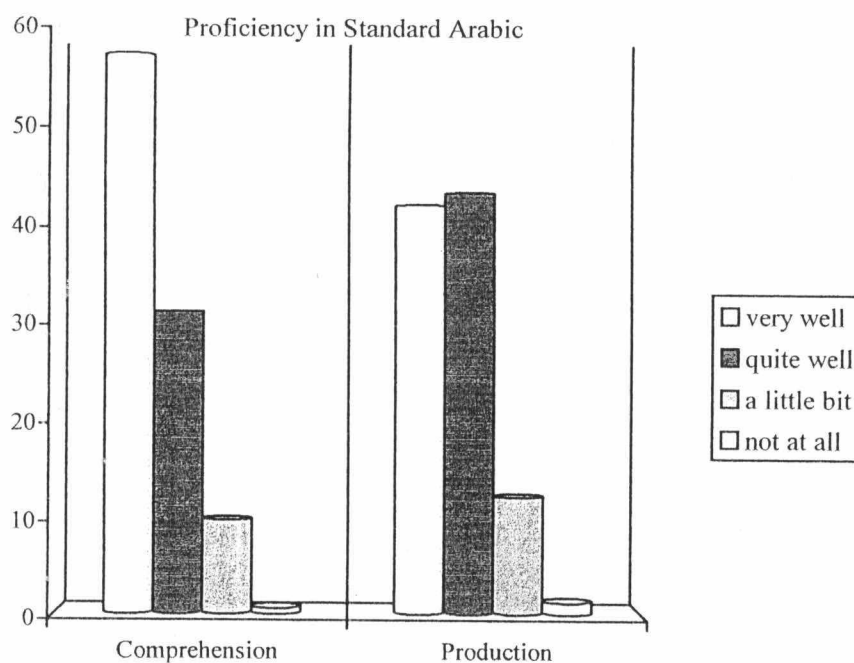


Fig. 4. 1. Comprehension and Production in Standard Arabic

- Interpretation of the results

In an attempt to provide some explanations of the students' claims about their understanding and use of the High variety, we have obtained figures that match, to a certain extent, the expected pattern of MSA use in the Algerian society, or at least among individuals with a certain level of education. Though Standard Arabic is not the mother tongue of any one speaker, most people understand it today to a large extent as a result of their schooling achieved in that variety, as well as their exposure to it in a number of domains such as the media (TV in particular, but also the radio and the newspapers), the mosque and other religious practices. But in spite of the positive attitude shown by the majority of the students in our investigation as to their wish to speak Standard Arabic fluently (only about 15% have given a negative answer to the question 'Would you like to be able to speak Standard Arabic fluently?'), the lower production percentages obtained corroborate the hypothesis that the active use of the High variety, or MSA, is on the whole restricted to formal education in the case of the students, and to other formal domains on the whole: interviews, law court cases, political speech, religious sermons, media...

The two curves below clearly show better comprehension of MSA among the students as opposed to their actual use: almost 60% claim they understand it very well while just a little more than 40% say they have a very good command of its use and about the same number speak it quite well.

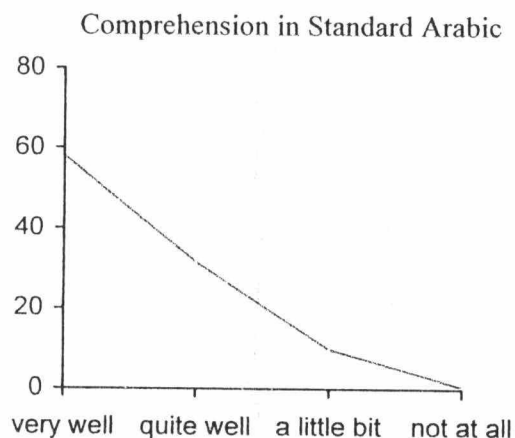


Fig. 4.2a. Comprehension in MSA

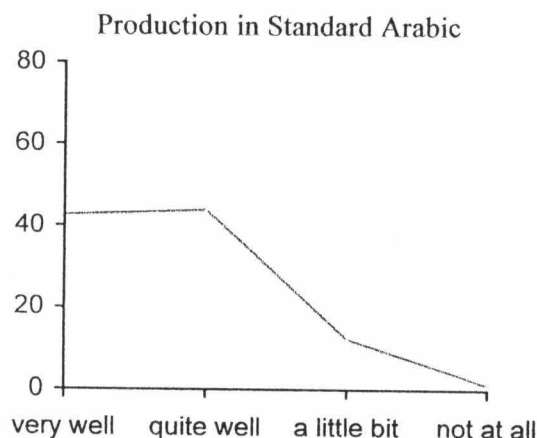


Fig. 4.2b. Production in MSA

Table 4. 3. Would you like to be able to speak Standard Arabic fluently?

Fluency in SA	Yes	No
Occurrences N =	156	6
Percentage %	93.3%	3.7%

Table 4. 4. In which contexts do you use Standard Arabic?

	In class with Arabic teacher	In Arabic class with students	Outside class
N =	153	9	0
%	94.5%	5.5%	0%

The figures obtained for the first two questions reveal that most, if not all, students understand Standard Arabic, and many of them speak it, but only in the 'learning' setting and by no means in a spontaneous manner. The proportion for good comprehension of CA/MSA, that is, passive linguistic competence, is perceptibly higher than good active production, i.e. 58.02 % vs. 42.59 % respectively. Fewer students claim to be moderately good in MSA. Only one student says she does not understand Standard Arabic at all – was she a student who had her previous schooling in France, as it sometimes occurs, or was it simply over-reporting resulting from a negative attitude towards Arabic? Two informants claim they never use MSA.

The data on the question relative to the contexts of MSA use is predictably self-evident: almost all the students use it only in class with the teacher of Arabic, and very few, only 5.5 %, claim to use MSA also when interacting with students in Arabic sessions. Obviously, as we know, no-one speaks Standard Arabic in a natural way outside, in everyday conversation, though most of them would like to speak it fluently in other contexts than school, as indicated in Table 2.3 above. However, the students are consciously aware of their use of the High variety because they *have* to use it with the teacher of Arabic, in more or less the same way as they consciously monitor their use of a foreign language like English or Spanish under the constraint of the 'learning' situation.

b- French

But this is not the case with French which has acquired a special status in Algeria for all the reasons we have already mentioned. Consider the following questions which are intended to test the hypothesis that French for the Algerians is not regarded as a foreign language only accessible during schooling process or through intensive lessons as is the case for English.

Table 4. 5. How well do you understand French?

	Very well	Quite well	A little bit	Not at all
N =	55	60	46	1
%	34%	37%	28.39%	0.61%

Table 4. 6. How well do you speak French?

	Very well	Quite well	A little bit	Not at all
N =	36	76	44	6
%	22.22%	47%	27%	3.77%

The graph below shows the clear contrast between active use of French among the students and its passive understanding.

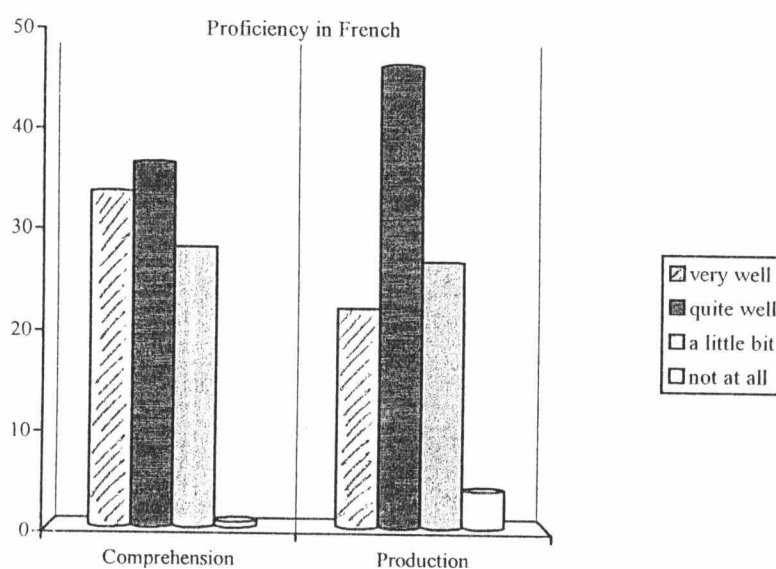


Fig. 4. 3. Comprehension and Production in French.

Figure 4.3 above is split into the two following graphs that give a clear picture of the degree of French understanding as opposed to its actual production.

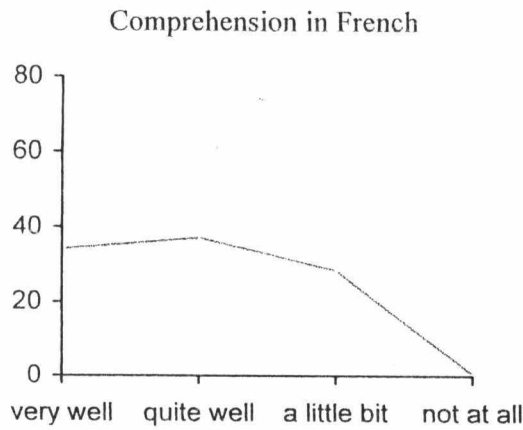


Fig. 4.4a. Comprehension in French

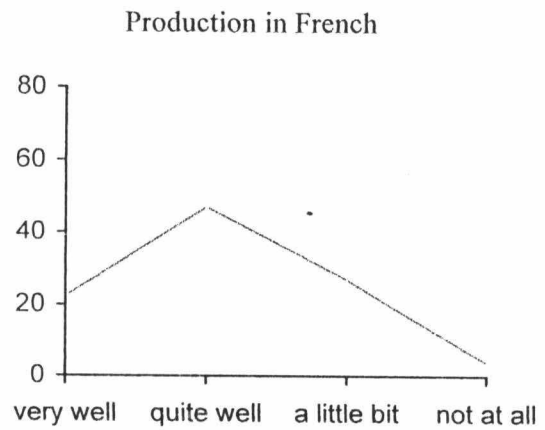


Fig. 4.4b. Production in French

The purpose of the above two questions is to attempt to have an overall idea of the degree of competence in French and bilingualism. Though, on the whole, the figures show a little less overall aptitude in the use of French, the pattern is similar to the competence in MSA (we need to remind that it is *not* the students' native language, and thus the comparison is applicable): the proportion of very good production of French is lower than that of passive comprehension: more than one third of the subjects (34%) state that they have a very good command of French while only 22% claim to speak it very well. A similar gap shows up in the MSA perception/production contrast but with higher proportions (58% / 31.5%). Consider the following combined graphs below:

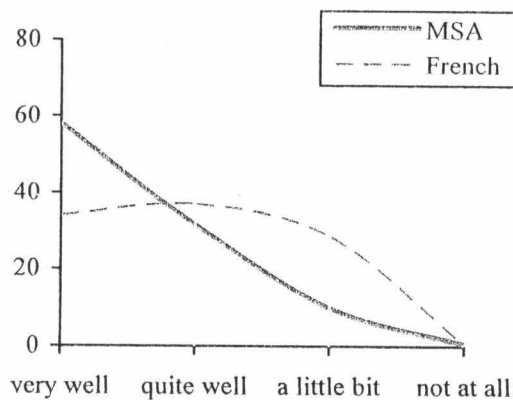


Fig. 4.4.c. Comprehension: MSA vs. French

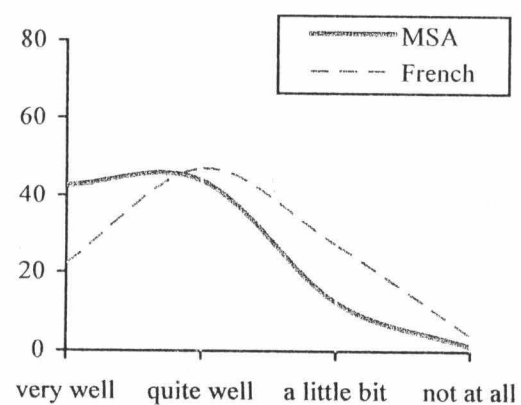


Fig. 4.4.d. Production: MSA vs. French

Table 4. 7. How often do you use French in everyday speech?

	Very often	Quite often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
N =	41	22	73	20	6
%	25.3%	13.5%	45%	12.34%	3.78%

The above results are represented in the following graph:

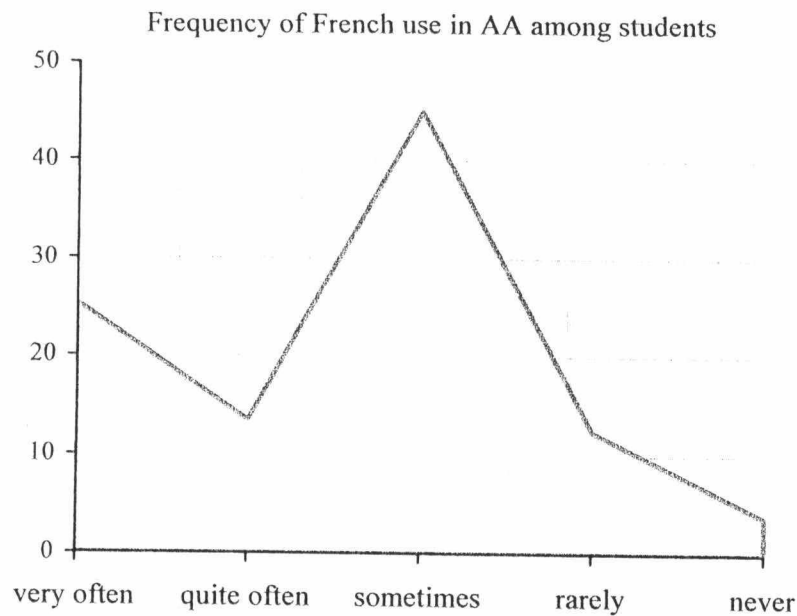


Fig. 4.5. Frequency of students' use of French in AA

Because the question requires frequency of use, there is no specification in the students' answers about the ways and contexts in which French is practiced, but, interestingly, the higher peak of the curve shows that a good number of students (almost half of the informant population) use it in a moderate way (ticking 'sometimes'), often mixing it with AA in the forms of borrowings and code-switching. In the face of it, very few respondents (less than 4%) claim they never use French in everyday interaction, probably not considering borrowings as French occurrences.

The table and graph below give an idea about the extent to which the young informants claim to mix Arabic with French in everyday speech.

Table 4.8. Do you mix Arabic with French?

	Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	No, not so much	No, never
N =	75	68	12	7
%	46.29%	41.97%	7.40%	4.32%

These results, represented in the graph below, reveal that the majority of the students (more than 88%, i.e. N=143) claim to mix the two languages in their everyday speech, though to different degrees ('Yes, often' / 'Yes, sometimes').

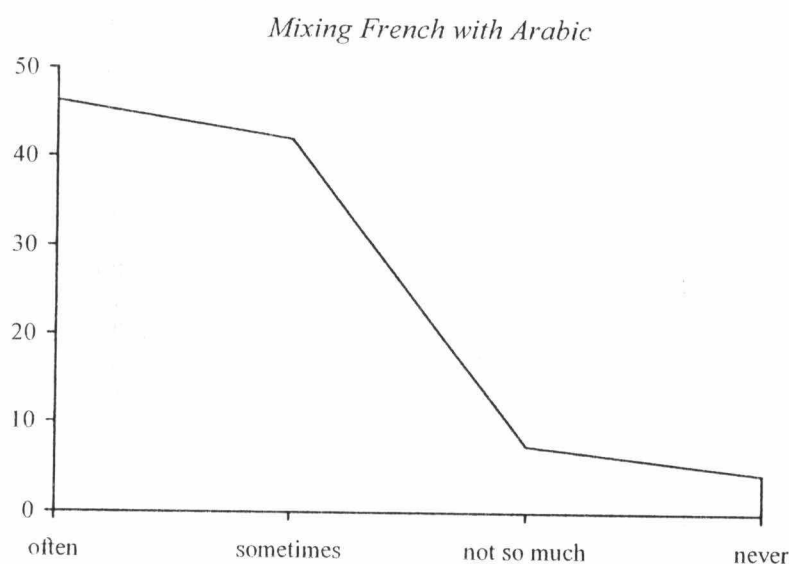


Fig. 4.6. Students' use of French in Algerian Arabic.

The question concerning the mixing of French with Arabic apparently reveals that the students are, on the whole, perfectly conscious of their use of French in everyday speech, though there is no *a priori* specification as to the reasons for such linguistic behaviour. In any case, more than 95% of the informants say they use French when conversing in AA, though to different extents, while just 4.32% report they do not use it at all. Again, we presume that the students who claim they never make use of French in AA, are aware that the question probably concerns *switching* to French and not borrowing use. Indeed, they do use very

common loan-words such as *frigidaire*, *télévision*, *salle de bain* (fridge, TV, bathroom) and expressions like *ça y est*, *ça va*, *c'est pas possible* (it's all right, it's not possible), etc.

By and large, the results of our questionnaire seem to reflect the reality as far as the degree of fluency in, and mixing of, French are concerned among today's young people (the 162 students are aged between 18 and 29).

As already mentioned above, a questionnaire or a spoken interview with people of earlier generations will certainly reveal different results, namely:

a) much better performance in production and perception with those few who had been 'lucky' to be instructed before the Algerian revolution, and thus completed their schooling and university studies in French;

b) rough understanding and very little use of the French language, only in terms of borrowings, for most sectors of the population (people of lower socio-economic status, women – most of whom uneducated at that time – and country people), those who remained illiterate not only in French but also in MSA, or 'school Arabic' as it sometimes used to be called.

But, along with the prestige felt for the 'sacred' Arabic language, the Algerians were conscious of the role and functions that French would continue to symbolise after independence in essential institutions of the country, particularly in education. It is clear that the importance of French as a language of modernity and opening-up to the West, as a means of scientific research and international communication, has given it a special status in Algeria as well as in the two other countries of the Maghreb. Grandguillaume (1983:12) says in this respect:

[...] aussi la langue française conserve-t-elle jusqu'à ce jour une place importante dans les trois pays. Bien plus, la connaissance du français s'est élargie à un nombre plus important de citoyens après l'indépendance, par suite de l'extension de la scolarisation, qui comporte l'enseignement du français dès le niveau primaire.

It is true, as Grandguillaume points out above, that French maintains an important position in the Algerian society, and that it is taught earlier in primary school today; but it is worth bearing in mind that, before independence and for a decade or so afterwards, French was the language of instruction at school whereas Arabic was only taught as a subject. That is, there is indeed an 'extension' of French teaching in primary and secondary schools today, but all the other subjects are taught in Arabic. A direct consequence is that today's pupils and students are much less competent on the whole in French than before arabisation, though its knowledge "expanded to a greater number of citizens after independence, as a result of the spread of schooling"²⁷, as Grandguillaume (ibid.) says. Still, in spite of the efforts displayed for arabisation, French today is not only regarded as a crucial means of contact with the modern world of science and technology (though English too is gaining ground in Algeria for that matter), and thus maintained in many domains such as industrial, financial and commercial transactions, but also as a prestigious language that may confer power in certain cases or at least social advancement, especially when combined with good knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic. In any case, the use of French seems to be so deeply-rooted in people's everyday practices, both from the linguistic and social points of view, that it can easily be observed in their speech in the form of societal bilingualism, code switching and borrowing.

The next three questions relate rather to the students' attitudes toward MSA vs. French, two languages in keen competition as to their different roles and functions in the Algerian society. The results in connection with which language is spoken better, which is more beautiful and which is more appropriate for sciences, are neither accurate – perhaps because of the students' biased prejudice or their still immature personalities, and thus we cannot claim complete objectivity in their answers – nor representative of all portions of the community. We hope that the results of these rather qualitative questions, which have been combined in one table below, reflect to an acceptable extent the reality of the relation to the two languages in competition.

Let us consider the following:

Table 4.9. How the students regard the two languages.

	Standard Arabic	French
Spoken better	69%	31%
More beautiful	62%	38%
More appropriate for Sciences	28%	72%

Students' views about Standard Arabic vs. French

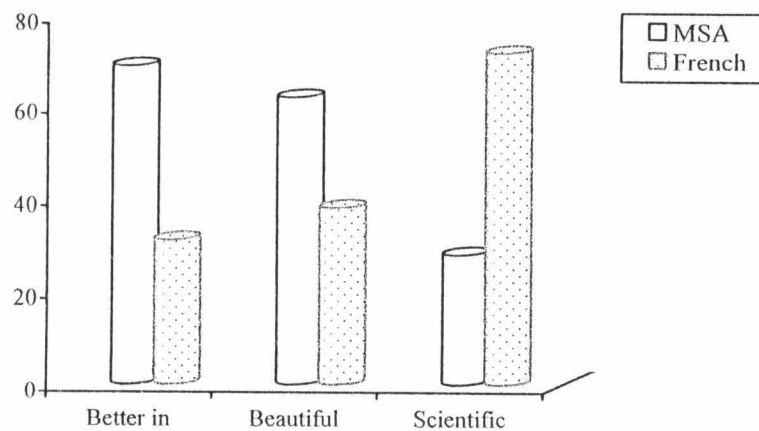


Fig. 4.7. Students' points of view about Standard Arabic vs. French.

The results show that French still receives positive attitudes from the young, particularly for its association with sciences, modernity and technological development. But the graph also reflects higher prestige ratings for the High variety (Standard Arabic) by virtue of its status as the language of Islamic civilisation and Arab identity, a crucially important reason for its maintenance in the Algerian society and in the Arab world as a whole. In effect, unlike some previously colonised countries of 'Black' Africa which adopted French as the official language because their 'indigenous' languages could not compete with the status and power of French, Arabic which had already displaced many

languages in North Africa and other parts of what is sometimes referred to as the *Arab Nation*, stood firm against the French policy of linguistic assimilation.

The point is that while the young students in our questionnaire, and presumably most Algerians, do acknowledge the high status of French, most, if not all of them, also display favourable feelings towards Arabic for its religious significance and cultural importance, and thus, most of them claim they speak it better and that it is a more beautiful language. We shall come back, in Chapter 5, to the interesting issue of people's attitudes towards the languages and language varieties at play in the community; but for the moment, we attempt to simply observe the students' preferences of these two standard languages they are in contact with.

Another composite question, related to the skill of comprehension, attempts to reveal the students' preferences as to the language they favour for reading a book or the newspaper, listening to the news, and seeing a film or a documentary on TV. Consider the table below and the corresponding graph:

Table 4.10. Which language do you prefer for ...?

	Standard Arabic	French
Reading books/newspapers	57.5%	42.5%
Listening to news	57%	43%
Seeing films/documentaries	32%	68%

Though the gap between the proportion of the students' choice of MSA for reading and listening to the news as opposed to French is not so important, it was expected that more respondents would prefer Arabic for these two activities as a result of the proficiency they have acquired in this language gradually during the twelve years of schooling before university while they were taught French for a shorter period and just as a subject. There are, however, a good number of students (about 70 out of 162) who seem to be more attracted by French for these two perception skills.

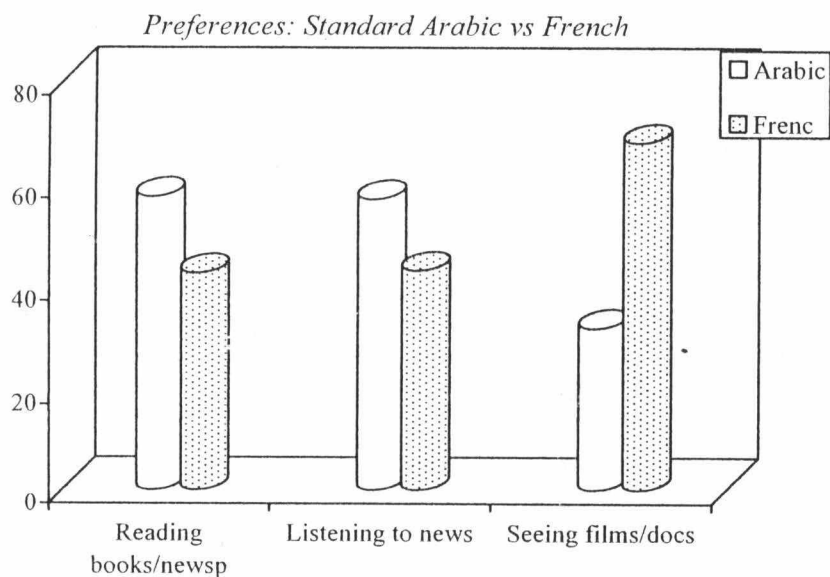


Fig.4.8. Students' language perception of SA vs. French.

Furthermore, as revealed by the graph above, a greater number of students (around 110 out of 162) favour the French language for watching TV, an activity that is associated in the people's mind with television technological progress, i.e. the making of exciting films and scientific documentaries (though most original versions are in English; but this is irrelevant here as the Algerians usually see the dubbed versions on Algerian TV channels as well as on French ones, such as TF1, Antenne 2, M6 or Canal+). Conversely, fewer students favour seeing films and documentaries in Arabic. This may be explained either by lack of proficiency in French or by more positive attitudes to the language of the Nation. Also, the respondents may have thought about films in Colloquial Arabic (Algerian or Egyptian Arabic, for example) rather than in MSA when they made their choice.

On the other hand, the respondents' favourable attitudes toward French reflect on the whole the persistent impact of the language on the Algerian society, a fact that continues to make the linguistic situation so complex. French plays indeed an important role in extending the range of codes that people choose from in different communication acts and the resulting frequent switches that can easily be attested in everyday conversation. These students' results will be compared below with those of younger informants from four schools to check the impact of the age variable on the degree of proficiency in the two languages.

4.4.2.2 Middle and Secondary School Pupils

In order to test our hypothesis, based both on our intuition as a member of the community and our objective knowledge of the linguistic environment, that today's young adolescents are still competent to a certain extent in understanding French in spite of the fact that they undergo their education curriculum in Arabic, we have prepared a simple written questionnaire (somewhat similar to the one carried out with the students) that we have presented to two age groups from two different educational levels: Middle School and Secondary School. For the sake of comparison in terms of age, we shall also use some data gathered from the university students dealt with above.

All the school boys and girls live in Tlemcen, but many of them are not native speakers of TA. This seems irrelevant here as our aim is to investigate the students' competence in two varieties, MSA and French, which are not anybody's mother tongue in the Algerian society as a whole and thus a phenomenon that does not represent a particular community in Algeria but the whole country.

Among a number of questions concerned with the respondents' linguistic aptitude and behaviour as to the two languages, we have asked a total number of 165 pupils, 104 aged 13 to 15, and 61 aged 16 to 19 (See Appendix I, Questionnaire 2) to attempt to appreciate on the whole their degree of understanding the two standards and then in what language they usually prefer watching different types of programmes on TV. It is worth noting that a great number of world channels are available to TV viewers today, in addition to the three Algerian ones. While the language of the questionnaire was in English for the students to avoid any bias as to the two languages examined, as indicated, it has been necessary to present this one in written Arabic (MSA) to the younger pupils, the school language.

The first three questions are intended to elicit the degree of comprehension of MSA and French among the subjects, whereas the fourth attempts to reveal their scores of language preferences for watching different types of TV programmes.

Table 4.11. Which language do you understand better (spoken/written)?

<i>Age 13/15</i>	MSA	French		<i>Age 16/19</i>	MSA	French
Spoken	83	21		Spoken	51	10
Written	81	23		Written	52	9

Age: 13 to 15. N=104. Age: 16 to 19. N=61

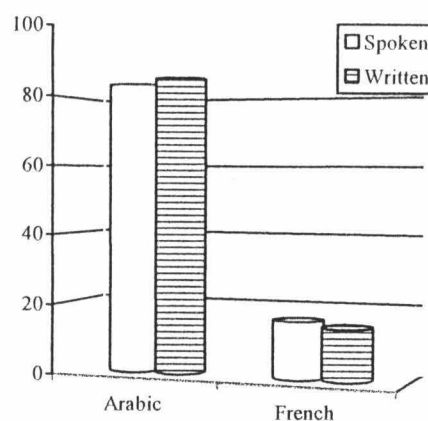
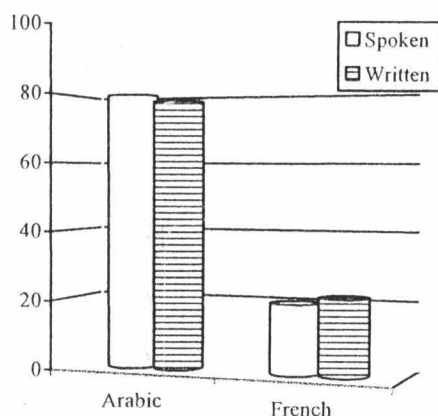


Fig. 4.9a. Understanding Arabic vs. French - Fig. 4.9b. Understanding Arabic vs. French Middle School pupils. Secondary School Pupils.

The two graphs show practically the same results for the two age groups as far as comprehension of Standard Arabic vs. French is concerned in the spoken and written forms. All respondents agree in claiming that they understand MSA better in both forms, with slightly higher proportions among the older ones, i.e., over 83% and just a little under 80% with the younger ones. Again, such results are predictable given that today in school all subjects are taught in Arabic. But we must bear in mind that, in addition to the pupils who claim they understand French better, which is somewhat unexpected, the majority has reached at least an acceptable degree of comprehension of French for the obvious reasons we have mentioned so often in our work. That is, the overall positive relationship to this language in the community and its consideration as playing a significant role in everyday Algerian speech interactions, and occupying a privileged position in the Algerian linguistic profile over and above political and official considerations which pretend to go against its integration.

The next question is intended to give finer results about the pupils' language comprehension in terms of percentage. Consider the following tables and the corresponding graphs:

Table 4.12. To what extent do you understand Standard Arabic / French?

<i>Age 13-15</i>	- 20%	- 40%	- 50%	+ 50%	+ 60%	+ 70%	N=104
MSA	2	5	11	48	25	13	
French	10	25	27	26	9	7	

<i>Age 16-19</i>	- 20%	- 40%	- 50%	+ 50%	+ 60%	+ 70%	N=61
MSA	2	2	5	17	20	15	
French	9	10	17	18	2	5	

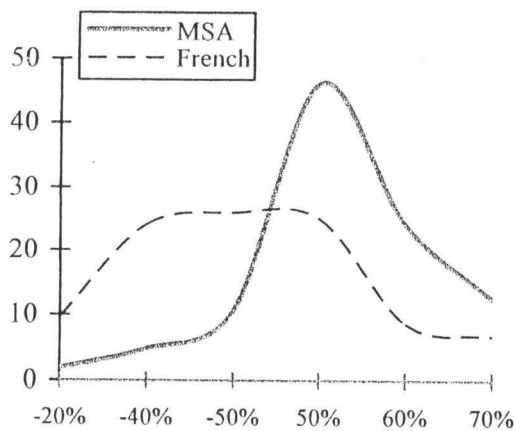


Fig. 4.10a. Understanding MSA vs. French. Middle School pupils. N=104

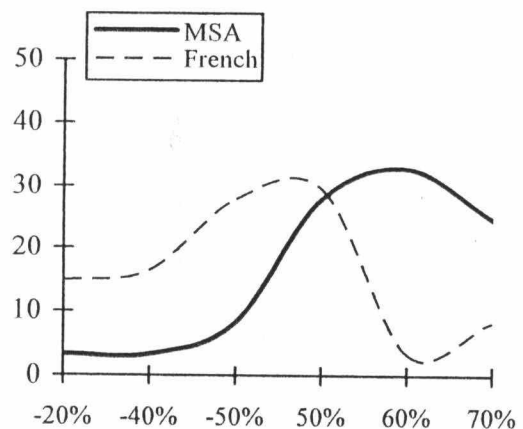


Fig. 4.10b. Understanding MSA vs. French. Secondary School Pupils. N=61

Not surprisingly again, the results here show that the pupils of the two groups, just like the students above, possess fairly higher aptitudes for understanding Standard Arabic, though on the whole the curves for both languages in the graphs draw similar lines going up to average levels and then down to different degrees. At first sight, the Arabic curve (solid line) in Fig. 4.10a 'tells' us that the younger pupils are better in MSA for it reaches 46% of those whose degree of comprehension is more than 50% against 27% among older ones. But when all

the positive scores (from 'more than 50%' to 'over 70%') are tallied for both age groups, we discover that the Secondary School pupils are in reality quite better: indeed, while the Middle School respondents' scores fall down abruptly to 24%, then to 12% by the end of the positive side of the curve, those of the older ones go up perceptibly to almost 33%, and then down to 24.5% for the highest degree of comprehension, i.e. roughly 82% vs. 85% for the elders when all the positive scores are added. The positive answers of the students in the sub-section above as to MSA comprehension reach proportions that are a little higher (almost 90%). This seems to go in accordance with the level the older subjects have reached in their schooling which is undertaken in that language.

Mention should be made here again that MSA is not the pupils' mother tongue, and they learn it at school almost as a foreign language or like any other second language. This is an important reason, though perhaps not the only one, explaining the fact that a fairly good number of respondents in our questionnaire declare they understand French better than Standard Arabic.

In fact, the scores for comprehension in French are quite high, though much lower than those for Standard Arabic. Also, they seem to be equivalent for both age groups: about 40% of the informants in each group have given positive answers, that is, from understanding French 'more than 50%' to 'more than 70%'. This can be explained mainly by the fact that pupils today, students and learners on the whole, are in continual contact with French in the society at large both in its written and spoken forms, in addition to the overall positive attitude towards this language and the resulting motivation to learn it.

Among the benefits that television technological improvements, aeriels and satellite dish connections provide us with today is the possibility to get a great number of channels from all over the world, and hence the exposition to different languages. This gives many Algerians the opportunity to view a huge variety of programmes in Arabic and French, in particular, the two languages that are in competition in the society and accessible to many, though to different extents.

Against the background of such exposition to the two linguistic systems and the impact they both make on the society, we put forward the hypothesis that the informants in our corpus will show diverse choices as to the language they favour in watching various types of TV programmes. And so, combining all the pupils into one group of 165, we have tried, in question four, to bring forth their scores.

Table 4.13. Language preferences in watching TV. N=165

	Serials	News	Docs	Cartoons	Films
Arabic	119	104	85	61	35
French	23	30	53	65	108
Both	23	31	27	39	22

The scores in the above table represented in percentages in the diagram below, show almost perfectly opposite patterns as to the two languages favoured by the informants for various TV programmes.

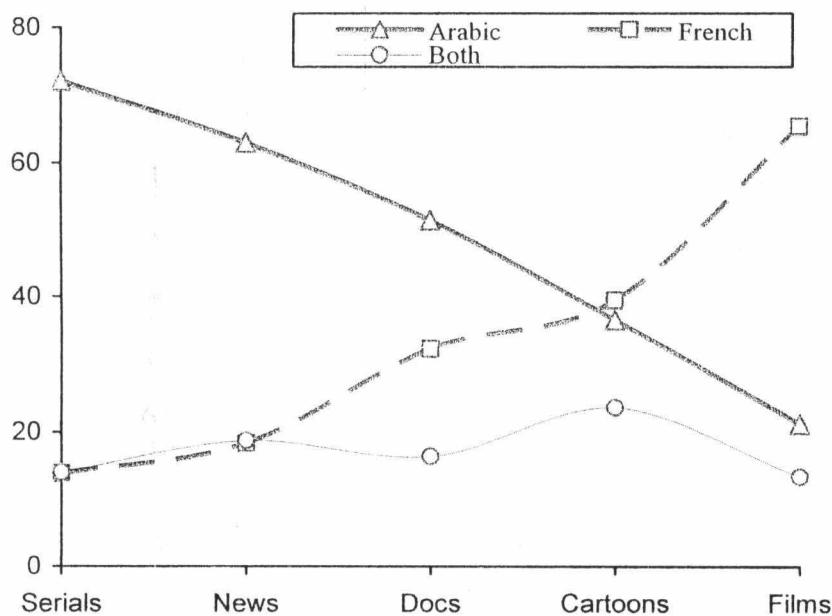


Fig. 4.11. Pupils' language preferences in watching TV in %.

The MSA slope in solid line starts very high with 'serials', for which more than 72% of the respondents prefer Arabic, then almost 63% for 'news', and then it goes gradually down to a little more than 21% for 'films'. The broken line for French draws an opposite pattern as it begins as low as a little less than about 14% for watching 'serials' and then, gradually, it goes through almost 40% for 'documentaries' up to 66% for 'films', which is indeed a high proportion when we know of the possibility today to get a great number of Arabic TV channels, on the one hand, and the supposedly better aptitudes in MSA today, on the other. The two lines representing MSA and French meet at the pointer 'cartoons', watched by a more or less equivalent number of pupils for each (61 vs. 65).

A relatively small number of pupils on the whole say they watch the programmes in both languages as shown in the figure by the dotted line which remains under a quarter of the population, fluctuating from about 14% for serials up to a little more than 23% for cartoons, and then down to 13% for films. Does this mean that the other pupils are less competent in one or the other of the two languages, or that many of them just favour one language more than the other? Such questions can only be answered through a more advanced investigation that takes account of every individual's actual proficiency in the language in addition to the declarations we have obtained in the questionnaires. What we can claim is that French is not unfamiliar to anybody in a society for which the impact of this language has been so strong that it is regarded as a second language in spite of its classification as a foreign one on official levels.

- Interpretation of the results

The results reveal much similarity with those obtained with the students (sub-section 4.4.1.1) showing that the overall patterns of preference depend on the types of TV programme watched: Arabic is preferred among most respondents in both groups for serials and news and, to a lesser extent, for documentaries. But again, a remark must be made here, just as for the students' scores above, that the choice made about serials and films may have been Algerian Arabic or any other

dialectal form, for it is true that films and serials are almost always broadcast in the Low variety. But we think that such amalgamation will not bias our results as far as the opposition to French is concerned, for it is most likely that the choice of Arabic in the minds of the informants includes the standard and any other colloquial variety.

French is notably favoured for seeing films presumably for the reason we have already mentioned in relation to the questionnaire carried out with the students. In fact, a great number of informants, both among younger and older adolescents, tend to favour seeing films in French for the quality associated with their making and the interest they arouse. For some of the pupils it is the easiness in understanding the film story in French rather than in Standard Arabic.

Given the apparently declining skill in French comprehension among the young today, in comparison with aptitudes in this language among pupils and students of earlier generations due to their instruction in French, a fairly limited number of pupils claim they watch TV programmes in either language. This may be due to some extra-linguistic factors such as the parents' environment in which they have grown, particularly as far French is concerned, or to their attitudes towards the two languages. But only individual in-depth interviews with each of these pupils would reveal the real reasons for their behaviour.

The following graphs draw a comparison first in terms of age group, in the two figures 4.12a and 4.12b, then in terms of gender in 4.12c and 4.12d.

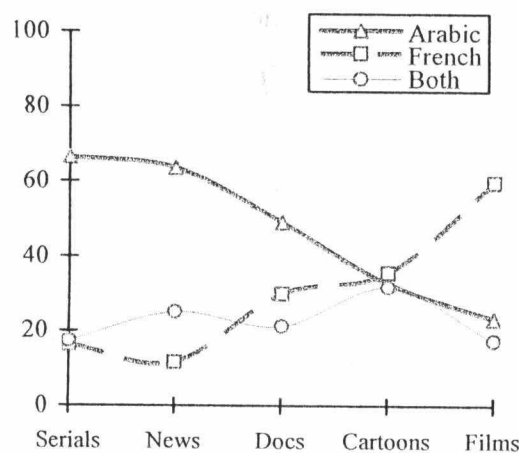


Fig. 4.12a. Middle School Pupils, 104.

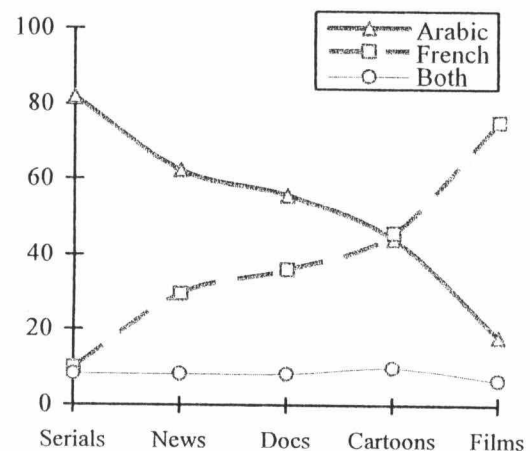


Fig. 4.12b. Secondary School Pupils, 61.

Just as for the overall results shown with the whole population of the pupils' preferences in watching TV, in Fig. 4.11 above, the two lines representing Arabic (solid line) and French (broken line) appear to draw opposite directions for the two age groups: the Arabic line starts very high for watching 'serials' and then, gradually, it goes down under 25% for 'films', while the French line begins much lower and then climbs up to more than 60%. It is clearly noticeable, however, that a quite greater number of secondary pupils prefer seeing serials, news and documentaries in Arabic (e.g. 82% vs. 66% for 'serials') which may be related to the fact that the older adolescents have become more competent in MSA, but in French too, for their results are also higher as far as their choice to see films in French is concerned.

A much similar pattern obtains when considering the respondents from the perspective of gender, though in this case, as it appears clearly in the two graphs below, the girls' slope for Arabic seems to be going down in a rather smoother manner; that is, the gap between their highest and lowest percentages (69 minus 23 = 46%) is less wide than that for boys (56%), which means perhaps that girls are generally a little less inclined towards MSA.

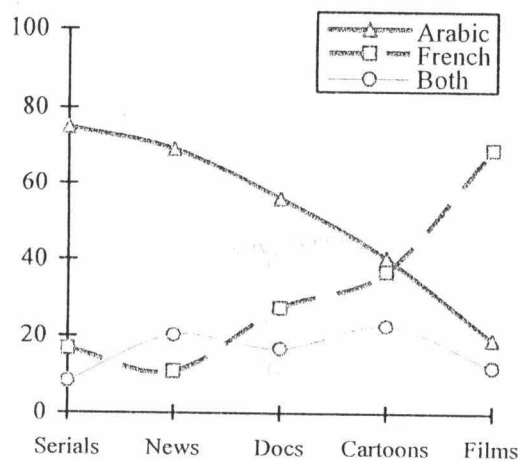


Fig. 4.12c. Middle + Secondary: Boys, 84.

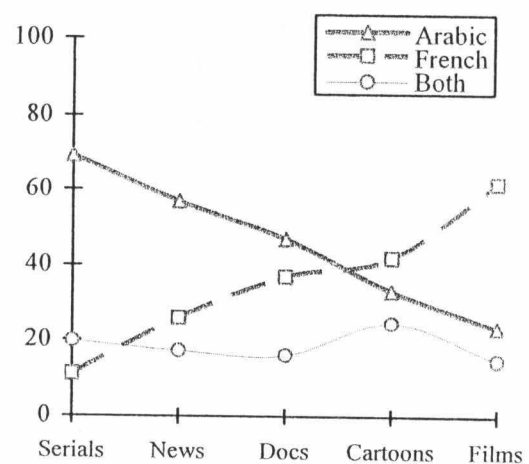


Fig. 4.12d. Middle + Secondary: Girls, 81.

Just a word about the informants who tend to watch TV programmes in the two languages: the dotted line, which corresponds to their results, remains low in

all cases, age and gender, oscillating in an irregular manner between 6% and 31%, but revealing some pupils' equal competence in, or at least their positive attitudes towards, the two standard varieties co-existing in the Algerian society. This adds some flavour to the opposition French / MSA and illustrates very well, in a kind of 'preference continuum', the diversity of language choices that young adolescents display in their everyday language practices in the community today.

In any case, such results confirm on the whole our suggestions on the quite regular patterns of language choice in a passive activity such as that of watching TV programmes. But to have a somewhat more reliable idea about language proficiency in general in the two standards, we need to examine the degree of their production as well.

The next three questions deal with the extent to which the pupils actually use the two languages. In the first one, we have asked them which of the two standards they think they speak better and, quite surprisingly, more than 65%, the two age groups taken together, claim they speak Standard Arabic better, as shown in the table below.

Table 4.14 Which language do you think you speak better?

Age	Language	MSA	French
13 to 15. N = 104		60	44
	%	57.69	42.3
16 to 19. N = 61		45	16
	%	73.77	26.22

But we expected a majority to declare they spoke French better, for, as we know, French is used in many more domains, if we set aside the formal contexts in which MSA is attested. That is, people may be – and are indeed often – heard to speak French in everyday interactions, though quite often mixed with AA, while MSA as a rule is not.

One explanation we may give about the pupils' scores is that they may have thought the question was about speaking the two languages in the school context, in which case it comes as no surprise, because it is true that today's young pupils

are more competent in using MSA than French as a consequence of the massive arabisation undertaken a few decades ago in the educational system.

What seems to be surprising, too, is that more 13-to-15 pupils than older ones claim they speak French better, as shown in the graph below (42% vs. 26%).

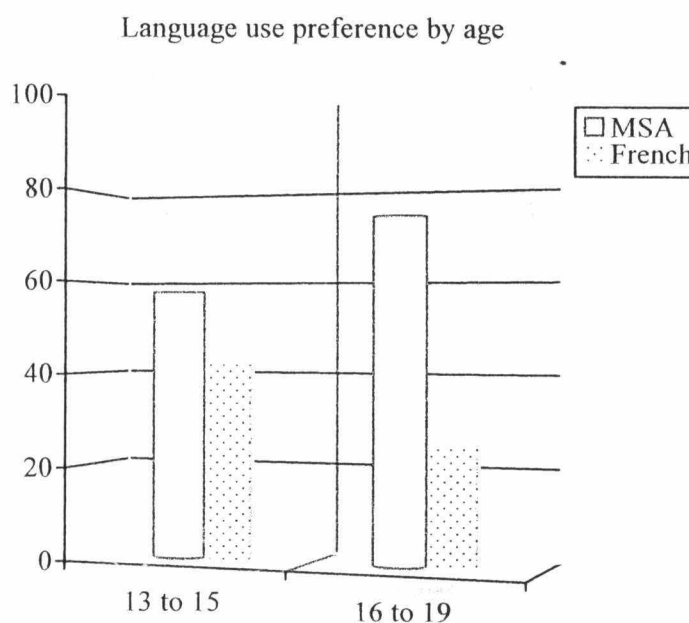


Fig. 4.13. Production competence in MSA vs. French by age.

One plausible reason for the younger pupils' claim might be that, at the middle school level, they still lack ability to speak 'correct' Arabic in class and of course do not practice it outside; and thus French, often heard among people in day-to-day interaction – including perhaps their own parents and relatives –, seems to be easier to use, though usually mixed with spontaneous AA speech. But again, only deeper work on individuals' speech can help us gain more insights into their real production skills in the two languages in competition.

The next question is more concerned with mixing MSA and/or French in AA both in the form of borrowings and switching.

As already indicated in Chapter 3 (3.6.4.), code-switching and all other forms of mixing two or more languages or language varieties make up a natural output in societal bilingualism. The Algerian linguistic setting is particularly favourable

for research in language contact and resulting switching and mixing phenomena. Basing our assumption, on the one hand, on the fact that Algerian speech is quite commonly 'stuffed', as it were, with French in the extremely complex form of a borrowing/code-mixing/code-switching trichotomy, and on the hypothesis that today MSA too is used increasingly in AA, on the other, though to a much lesser degree, we have asked a few questions to the pupils to attempt to bring forth the extent to which they use the two standards in their everyday speech interaction.

Table 4.15. Do you use Standard Arabic / French in your everyday speech?

	Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	No, rarely	No, never
MSA	45	47	40	33
French	41	89	35	0

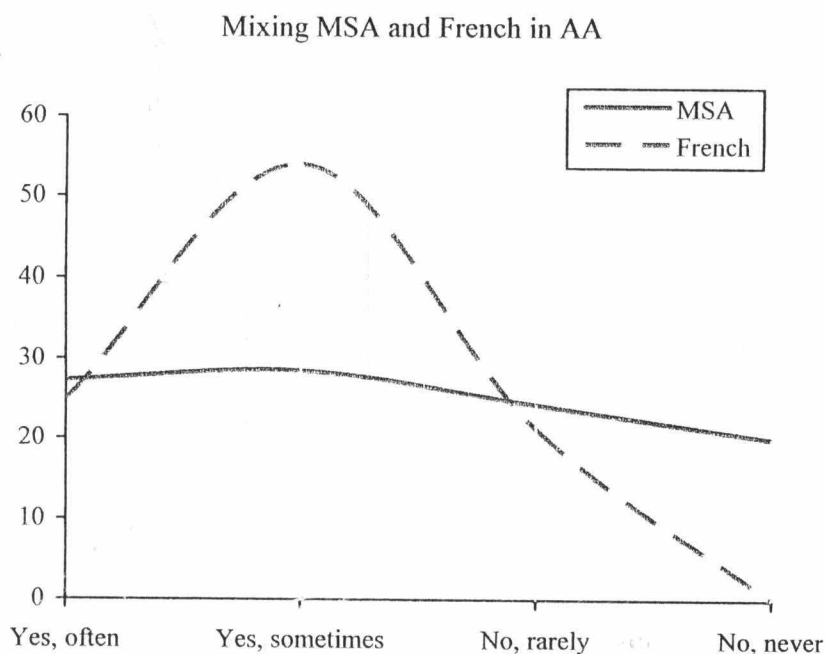


Fig. 4.14. Scores of using MSA and French in AA in %.

The table and graph above show clearly that the pupils use MSA and French to varying degrees in their everyday speech interaction, though the amounts of

use in both languages at the same time for individual informants do not appear in their scores. But, as expected, the scores of pupils who say they use French in their everyday speech are much higher than those for MSA, particularly if we add their two positive answers: i.e. 130 French vs. 92 MSA. What confirms our assumption that the pupils are consciously aware of the use French in AA, is that no-one answered 'No, never' to the question "Do you use French in your AA?". That is, each and every individual knows he or she uses at least some French in his or her local vernacular, while up to 20% say they never use MSA.

These results appear to reflect to a large extent the way Algerians in general behave in relation to the two standards with AA, though the 92 positive answers (55%) for MSA seem to be quite overstated. It is obvious that, as a result of the policy of arabisation having led to general instruction in Arabic, to the religious revival and the media impact on the society at large, a quite consistent amount of MSA can be attested in people's everyday use of lexical items or ready-made expressions related to political speech, religious aspects and so on. But it is also evident that French remains ingrained in Algerians' speech. Speakers, in urban communities in particular, often have recourse to French borrowings and expressions, spontaneously most of the time we believe, to name things and concepts and to convey ideas and feelings, whatever the degree of formality of the situation.

In an attempt at observing, in a quantitative manner, the degree to which today's young people use French in their AA, we have selected in a random manner seven expressions which may be heard in both languages, and asked the 165 pupils in our questionnaire to state whether they use the French ones, the Arabic ones or both in their daily speech (Cf. App. I, Questionnaire 2).

The table below and the corresponding graph reveal, by age first, the number of expressions which have been computed in descending order; that is, counting the number of pupils who state they use the seven expressions in French, then those who use six of them, then five and so on, down to none.

Table 4.16. Use of French expressions in everyday speech by age.

Age	N ^o	seven	six	five	four	three	two	one	zero
13 to 15 N = 104	→	15	19	26	19	10	12	2	1
16 to 19 N = 61		15	12	14	8	11	0	1	0

As we are interested in the pupils' use of French expressions in AA, we do not take into account the scores of those who use only Arabic expressions such as [ʕla rəɟlina], 'on foot', or those who use both this Arabic phrase, for example, and the equivalent French one, *à pied*, alternatively, a discourse strategy that occurs very often in Algerian speech.

It clearly appears from the raw figures in Table 4.16 and in the graph below that the overall pattern draws a downward curve starting from the seven French phrases used by a relatively good number of informants, then it continues in a somewhat uneven shape according to the number of expressions, particularly with the older ones, but ends down with quasi-nil scores for the use of only two phrases, one and no French at all among the seven proposed.

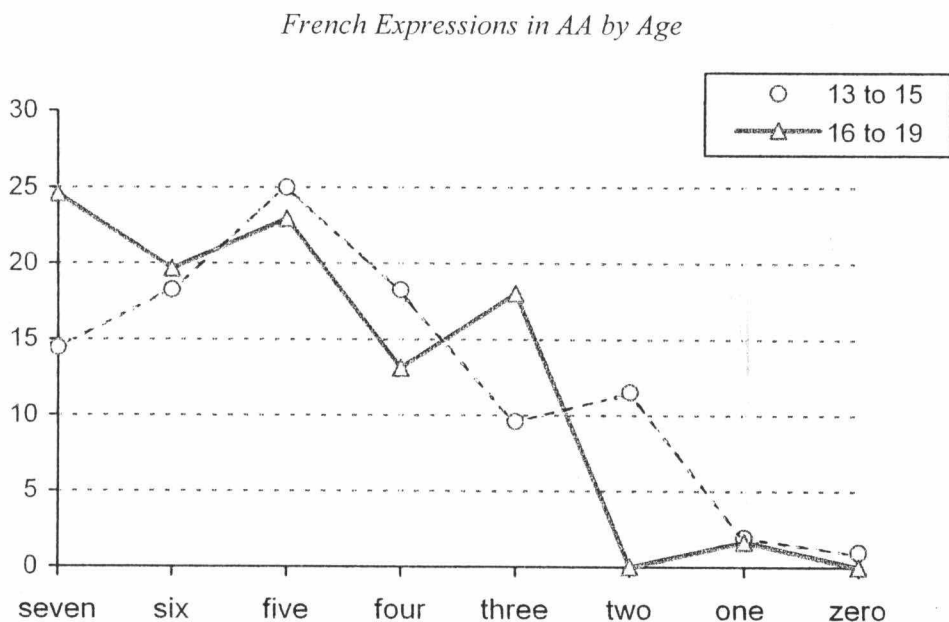


Fig. 4.15. Use of French expressions in AA by age in %.

It is worth noting that the older pupils tend to use more French phrases as they start at almost 25% for seven phrases as opposed to less than 15% for the younger ones, whose curve, however, climbs upper with the highest score, 25%, at the level of five French expressions, compensating thus for the lower scores obtained for 'six' and 'seven'. Then, the two curves go down more or less proportionally to the decreasing number of phrases till they reach the zero point where only one secondary school pupil states he never uses French in his speech, which is rather inexplicable in an environment where most people use French sometimes for the simple reason that Arabic equivalent phrases are not available.

In any case, the overall pattern, combined in the figure below grouping the two age-groups, clearly shows that most of the informants use the selected French expressions in their everyday speech, though some also use the Arabic ones in an alternative way. The curve falling abruptly down to zero-use is a clear reflection of the important role that French continues to play in people's speech.

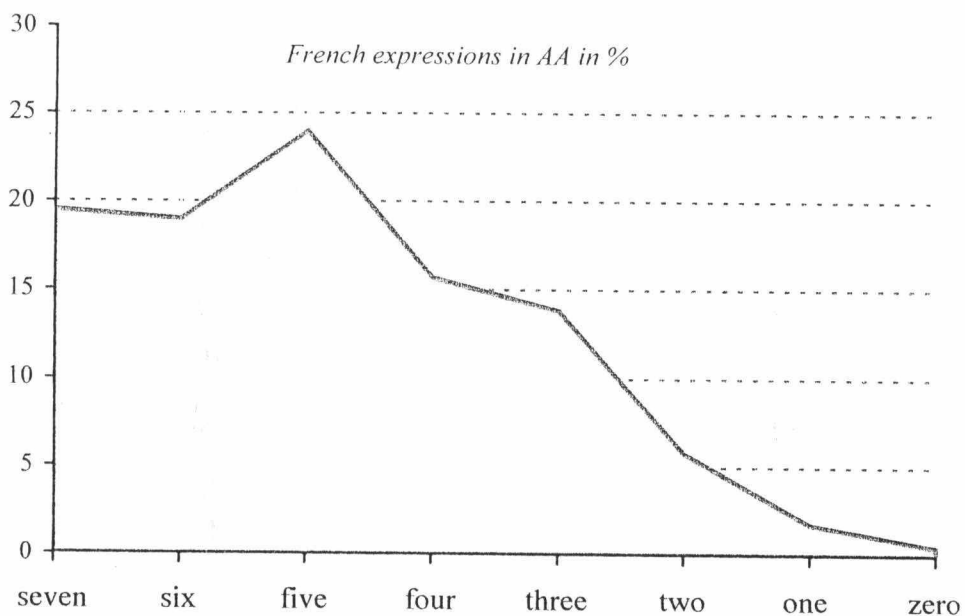


Fig. 4.16. Use of French phrases in AA in %: Both age groups.

The scores by gender represented in what follows give a similar downward slope, but they also show that the girls are more inclined than boys to use French phrases and to switch to it in a rather spontaneous manner, a linguistic behaviour that seems to be associated with women's tendency, in urban settings in

particular, to make use of such strategy to seek prestige and social advancement. But the general pattern for both sexes is, as shown by the median curve (the dotted line highlighted by a + sign in Fig. 4.17), again of the downward type towards very few or no pupils never using French.

Table 4.17. Use of French expressions in AA speech by gender.

Sex	N°	seven	six	five	four	three	Two	one	Zero
Boys N = 84		12	14	22	13	10	9	3	1
Girls N = 81		19	17	16	14	12	3	0	0

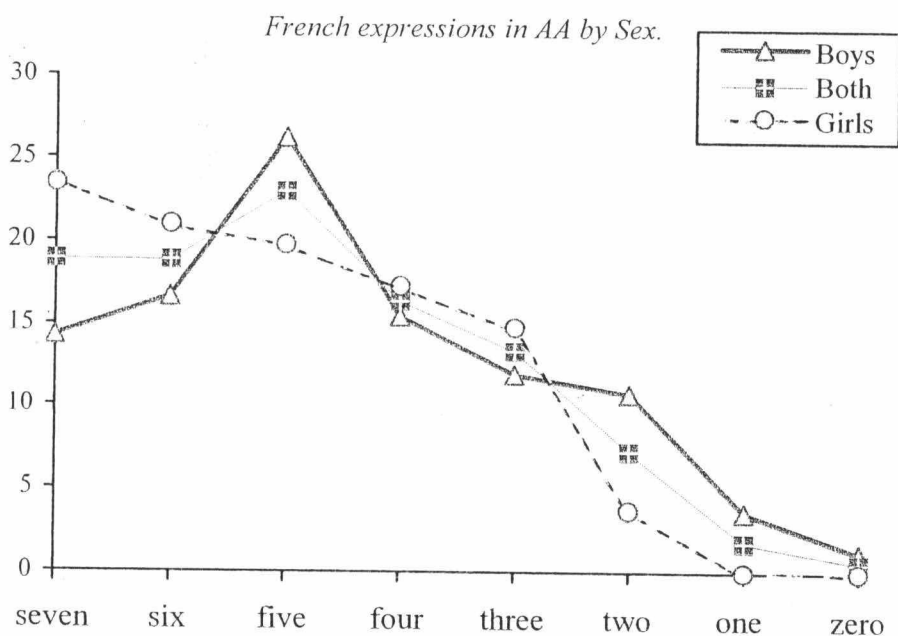


Fig. 4.17. Use of French expressions in AA by sex in %.

To conclude this basically ethnographic exploration of a rather limited sample of young adolescents' linguistic behaviour in relation to their daily use of French and MSA from a dual perception/production perspective, we can state in the first place that the two standards co-existing in the society beside Algerian Arabic are associated with two kinds of prestige: French is regarded as the language of modernity, science and technology, and as an open window on the western world, while MSA is seen as the language of nationhood and identity,

but also as the language of the Qur'an and religion when equated with CA. Second, in spite of a somewhat uneven distribution of the scores obtained, the two languages make up a wide range of linguistic resources that enables many speakers, in particular those having reached a certain level of proficiency, to convey messages by having recourse, when need be, to one or the other, or to both French and MSA according to the context. It also often happens, as we have seen, that speakers mix one or the two languages while interacting in their AA varieties in various domains of speech.

However, in addition to the different types of status ascribed to the two standards, we must call to mind that, in terms of actual everyday use, French holds a much more important position than MSA which is virtually never used in a spontaneous manner by any portion of the community to the exception of a few common illocutions and phatic phrases drawn from CA, eg. *assalāmu 'alaykum* 'Peace on you', and a slowly increasing number of borrowings used today in AA as a result of arabisation. It is precisely this relation to MSA, only used for certain functions and in certain settings, which characterizes the Algerian community in terms of diglossia relationship. But French has been so acutely deep-seated in the Algerian society that it can be heard in everyday speech far more often than MSA: the number of French borrowings that have become part and parcel of the AA lexicon is far greater, and many people can hold a whole conversation in French in a spontaneous way to the extent that it can be considered as a second language. Its written form too is ever-present everywhere either combined with MSA in street names, signposts, invoices and many other printed items, or in some categories of books, magazines and newspapers, and hence, the characterization of the Algerian community as bilingual. These two phenomena, bilingualism and diglossia, constitute the complex linguistic reality of the country and lead to fascinating samples of language variation.

The next section will focus on another aspect of linguistic variation attested in Tlemcen speech community and that we have already mentioned throughout this work: the co-existence of the urban vernacular and a type of rural speech that has long imposed itself as an important Arabic variety.

4.5 Sociolinguistic Variation in Tlemcen Speech

Without aiming at an exhaustive coverage of today's language situation in Tlemcen, we attempt in this section to explore some aspects of sociolinguistic variation by examining the extent to which native speakers vary their speech according to a number of social parameters. In addition to the rural speech pressure on Tlemcen vernacular and the resulting linguistic behaviour on the part of native speakers, we shall take a quick look at the reverse pattern of influence in the community; that is, the way non-TA speakers, almost exclusively among women, have 'learned' to adapt their speech as a result of long-term contact with Tlemcen speech use.

By means of plain empirical work consisting of anonymous observation of speech, questionnaires, interviews and conversation recordings, we shall try to shed light on the various ways people behave in different contexts towards some linguistic features specific to native TA speech, in correlation with some social variables, resulting in practices in the speech community for which we may borrow Labov's label 'sociolinguistic patterns' (1972*a*).

Since Labov's work on New York City (1966), sociolinguistic variation has been confirmed, from both theoretical and empirical perspectives, as being a structured inherent characteristic of human language. It is not at all far-fetched to point out that language is used not only to express thoughts and feelings but also, and often perhaps more essentially, to convey social information and symbolic meaning. To define the objective to be achieved by sociolinguists in their study of how language functions in social context and to show the reasons why people vary their speech in relation to social features, Holmes (2001:1) writes:

Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people signal aspects of their social identity through their language.

An [r]-full user in Britain, someone who uses postvocalic *r* in all environments, may well signal his or her origin in the country, but also their identification and solidarity with members of a group or a lower social class, while [r]-less speech is the RP prestige norm generally used by higher class speakers, and more so in formal styles. Similarly, the glottal stop use in London indicates the speakers' Cockney accent and their probable belonging to a working class community; but it also gives a cue about the casualness of the situation.

Correspondingly, but without pushing the comparison too far, the use of the glottal stop in Tlemcen is an obvious indicator of the native character of its user, and may be used to signal solidarity though, as often indicated in our work, it is avoided by some categories of native speakers in certain contexts. Conversely, it may happen that a rather limited number of non-TA speakers, mostly among women, may be heard to use it for the sake of resembling the people of Tlemcen. Why should it be so? What are the contexts in which native TA speakers avoid this linguistic feature and others specific to Tlemcen speech? Who are the people easily inclined to switch to rural forms, or to adopt them in a definite manner?

Analysing the data collected by means of different techniques in the speech community, we shall attempt to provide some answers to these issues and see the contexts in which, and the extent to which, TA users vary their speech.

4.5.1 The Glottal Stop as a Sociolinguistic Stereotype

From the methodological point of view, a central issue in a sociolinguistic exploration of language variation lies in the choice of linguistic variables that are characterized by frequency of use and distribution to be the most significant and instructive about the speech community under investigation. In this regard, Labov (1972a:8) says that the linguistic variable

[...] should be structural: the more the item is integrated into a larger system of functional units, the greater will be the intrinsic linguistic interest of our study.

Our selection of the phonological variable (ʔ) as the focus for the analysis of Tlemcen speech community, among other linguistic items, is unavoidable in fact because of its salient character which is due to its extremely frequent distribution in TA lexicon, most particularly in the recurrent use of phrases consisting of the verb /ʔæ:l/, 'to say, to tell', as in ['ʔælli], [n'ʔullu], ['ʔulli] (respectively 'He said to me' 'I (will) tell him' and 'Tell me'). The verb /ʔæ:l/, in its different forms and tenses, has occurred no less than 63 times in the recording of a fifteen-minute talk between two Tlemceni women. The glottal stop variant can indeed be obtained very easily in natural discourse and brief interviews, as suggested in Labov (*ibid.*), or just in rapid anonymous observation of people's speech for, in addition to its omnipresence in the frequent uses of the verb /ʔæ:l/, it is found in a great number of lexical units and in all positions, as in, for instance, ['ʔatt], ['maʔla], [h'maʔ], respectively, 'cat', 'frying pan' and 'crazy'. Furthermore, what makes the study of this phonological feature exceptionally attractive and rewarding at the same time is the fact that virtually all the people in the community, natives and non-natives, are consciously aware of it and occasionally make comments about it. As a consequence, many native speakers tend to avoid it in certain contexts precisely because of the negative comments that it provokes. Such behaviour allows for a relatively easy observation of the use of the three variants [ʔ], [g] and [q] and their correlation with such social categories as age and gender (but not social class, as already indicated; see 2.3), though sociolinguists would rather value those linguistic variables that people are least aware of. The point is that Tlemcen glottal stop has risen to a high level of social consciousness and thus has been made to reach such a degree of stigmatisation that it can be regarded as a 'highly developed sociolinguistic variable' or a 'stereotype' in Labov's terms (1972*a*), whose observation in the community reveals remarkably interesting fluctuations according to the addressee, the setting or social network and, and at the same time in relation to age and gender, as we shall see in the next sub-section.

4.5.1.1 Gender and Age

Given the crucial role that speech plays in most social activities and the multidimensional correlations it has with socio-cultural factors, different types of research based on various theoretical assumptions and empirical explorations have been carried out for the analysis of the speaking skill as part of social interaction. In parallel with the relevance of a number of social factors – setting and participants, topic and function as well as domains of use – in accounting for language behaviour, large-scale social categories and groups interacting with the dimensions of status and style, power and solidarity have been considered for a better appreciation of the mechanisms of linguistic variation and language change. Among these external variables, age first and then gender later on have been considered and proved fruitful in the explanation of variation in all types of speech communities for their universal character.

Taking into consideration TA glottal stop as a linguistic variable, we shall attempt to see, in the following, how gender and age differentiation and their interaction, are relevant for the explanation of the sociolinguistic patterns that this variable entails in TA speech.

4.5.1.2 Variable (?) and Gender

Only quite recently have most sociolinguists incorporated linguistic variation related to speaker's gender in their lines of investigation. Gender is indeed one major aspect of social variation in every society for, just as women differ from men in clothing, for instance, or in other kinds of social behaviour resulting from quite distinct patterns in the socialisation process, they also tend to acquire speech features that are specific to their social identity and to the role they are expected to fill in society as opposed to males' linguistic behaviour.

Considerable interest has been attached to women's speech behaviour over the last few decades (e.g. Cameron, 1985; Milroy, 1987; Coates, 1993)²⁸; and many sociolinguistic studies have revealed that female speakers tend to produce

more standard language than men, in different societies, but more so in today's industrialized western world where the 'weaker' sex aspires for higher status, work and social advancement precisely through the (rather subconscious) choice of prestige language forms. Observing that most of these studies have been applied to language systems that distinguish between standard and non-standard forms, languages that are "linked to some kind of social-status hierarchy", Hudson (1998:193) reports proportionally greater amounts of standard variants in women's speech by saying:

One remarkable pattern has emerged repeatedly in these studies: for virtually every variable, in virtually every community, females (of every age) use high-prestige standard variants more often than males do.

Labov (1972a:302) explains the fact in terms of women's "sensitivity to prestige forms" and Coates (1993:78) confirms that they are more sensitive to linguistic norms in response to "their insecure social position", more linguistically status-conscious and thus more subject to 'pressure from above' (Labov 1972a). That is, because of the relatively subordinate role that they play in the society, women show more sensitivity to social symbolic forms associated with higher social status in the community, and standard linguistic variants are important for their rapport with social attitudes. Men, in contrast, tend to react against normative pressures by virtue of their masculinity usually associated with toughness; the fact is that they do not need to assert their social status, and thus feel no constraint in using non-standard vernacular forms. Attempting to relate linguistic behaviour to different types of social pressures exerted on the two sexes in different ways, Trudgill (1983:73) suggests 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.

Men and women are certainly socially different in all societies, but a question to be raised here is whether such supposedly universal patterns of social pressures on language in relation to gender differentiation are applicable in an Arabic-speaking community such as that of Tlemcen, and in what way they are reflected in females' and males' speech. On the face of it, evidence from everyday speech clearly shows that, apart from some cursing forms²⁹, obscene language, taboo words and downgrading expressions only uttered by some men in quarrel circumstances or in dirty jokes, for instance, and some lexis specific to women's things related to household, cooking, dressing and the like, gender-differentiation does not actually reflect in TA speech, or in any other AA variety on a style dimension, the way it works when people style-shift on a scale of formality in western speech communities as documented in many sociolinguistic studies. There appears to be a simple reason for that: given the diglossic state of the community and the distinct specialised functions that the High and Low varieties fulfil (see 3.6.1) – i.e., H for the written form and the media, in formal education, for religious and political speech, and L in everyday spontaneous conversation –, neither men nor women normally use H forms for the purpose of everyday communication whatever the type of relationship with the addressee. Indeed, apart from a few lexical loanwords or expressions from MSA that have slipped into AA in recent times as a result of increasing literacy in Arabic, it would appear inappropriate to use the High variety, *al fuṣṣḥā*, in everyday conversation. And thus, despite the overt prestige generally accorded to the standard forms of Arabic, we cannot claim that women or men seek to use them because they are more acceptable or they confer higher status and a better social position. Gender differentiation, however, does arise in Algerian speech situations in the degree of bilingualism and code-switching to French, for, on the whole, particularly among relatively adult people who had their instruction before arabisation, or younger ones who have reached an acceptable degree of proficiency in this language, it appears that women tend to use more French than male speakers, depending of course on the interlocutor, the topic and the setting, as already noted (see 3.6.4).

But another dimension in which gender has emerged as an important variable in the community of Tlemcen is the urban/rural speech variation. We have shown in our earlier investigation (Dendane 1993), and throughout the present research work, the extent to which TA male speakers avoid some native linguistic features for their stigmatisation and replace them by rural Arabic characteristics in mixed situations; this occurs especially the glottal stop which they realise as [g] or [q], less often. Women, on the other hand, generally maintain their native speech, as shown below, without being bothered about what others think or say about it.

Because of a quasi-uniform behaviour in native women's speech in Tlemcen, as opposed to native men's fluctuating use of variable (?) as considered below, there is no need for a table and graph that show the degree of (?):[g~q] among the 202 TA female informants – ranging from little girls of less than 6 years old to elderly women of more than 60 – when interacting with non-TA speakers. As it appears clearly in the conversations, as well as in the subjects' own reports, TA women simply do not feel the need of changing their way of speaking whatever the addressee or setting.

However, five native TA women school teachers out of twelve in a primary school, said they sometimes used [g], and [q] where appropriate³⁰, with non-native pupils outside of the class because they feel these children may not understand TA speech; they would say, for instance, [ma t'gulʃ], 'Don't say...' instead of their usual [ma t_s'ʔulʃ]. For the same reason, they also use the 2nd person feminine suffix morpheme {i}, as in [ʔəs'səm*ʕ*i] 'Listen!', instead of the suffix-less [ʔəsma^ʕ], when addressing little girls as well as the three school cleaning women who happen to be rural speech users. But evidence shows that, on the whole, female TA speakers maintain the use of the vernacular by strongly sticking to the use of the glottal stop and other TA forms which males tend to avoid, particularly in the presence of non-TA speakers, because these features are associated with feminine speech. We have used the women's rather uniform scores of (?)-use to bring forth males' speech behaviour as to the use of the rural variant [g].

The following diagram clearly illustrates the wide gap between the two genders' behaviour towards the use of the variant [g] in mixed settings.

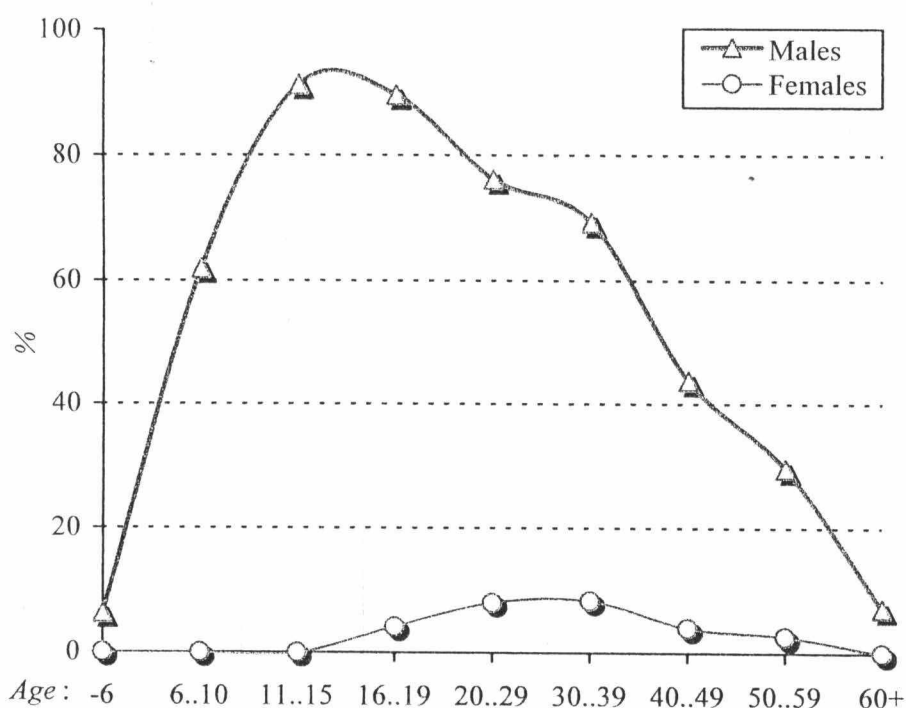


Fig. 4.18. Use of Variant [g] among TA speakers by Age and Gender

- Interpretation of the comparing diagram

What is certainly attention-grabbing about the graph, which contrasts males' behaviour with that of females as to the use of (?):[g] in TA/non-TA speech interactions, is the configuration with very slight differences at both ends of the two curves: the youngest and oldest male informants use almost no [g]s in their speech (i.e. one little boy under six out of 16, and two sixty year-olds out of 28), while absolutely no switch to [g] occurs in the speech of the female counterparts, just like the girls aged 6 to 10 and 11 to 15 who also score 0% for the variant. Then, while among all the other females very few sporadically use (?):[g] (a total amount of 7 out of 158!), the males' scores climb up in a sharp slope to reach about 90% with the teenagers when interacting with non-TA speakers; and it is even quite common to hear [g] instead of [ʔ] in the speech of some of them when

they interact with one another; that is, for an increasing number of young boys, it has become a speech habit to keep using [g] and other non-TA items even when there is no constraint or pressure to justify their conduct. Such regular avoidance of the stereotype [ʔ] reflects perhaps the early stages of drastic linguistic changes in Tlemcen vernacular.

The negative reaction towards the overall stigma of the glottal stop and the pressure of its counterpart [g] on TA male population are so strong that they have led not only to the rejection in some cases of TA vernacular forms, but also to the emergence of the phenomenon that Labov (1972*a*:123) calls 'hypercorrection' which plays an important role "in the propagation of linguistic change", as he states (*ibid.*). The TA phrase [man'ʔadʃ], for example, meaning 'I can't', is normally realised [man'qadʃ], with [q], in non-TA speech; but, as a result of an overgeneralisation of the shift [ʔ]-->[g], it has come to be pronounced [man'gədʃ] with [g] by young TA speakers who are then imitated by their rural peers. The increasing use of the phrase may reach the 'completion of the change' (*ibid.*), the stage at which it will displace the competing older form.

The diagram reveals that the greatest amount of shift occurs with younger and less young adolescent boys, starting at or after the age of ten and going on into their early twenties. Corroboration of this observable fact has been supplied by many sociolinguists (e.g. Labov 1966, 1972 *a* and *b*; Trudgill 1974/1995; Cheshire 1982, Romaine 1994/2000) who have dealt with young male peers 'going against' standard 'correctness' and the established norms of language use, favouring covert prestige and peer norms, and even innovating in a few cases. Then, along with the subjects' ageing, the males' slope starts going down in a quite steep way towards very little use among those in their sixties. We assume that such behaviour reflects the TA adults' moderate accommodation to rural speech, but also, at the same time, a certain commitment to the linguistic forms associated with their identity. Such language loyalty is obvious enough among the older ones reaching the age of 50 and beyond who produce the glottal stop much more than [g] and [q], as shown in the sub-section and Fig.19 below in which we attempt to examine males' variation in (ʔ)-use in relation to age.

4.5.1.3 Variable (?) and Age

The literature on sociolinguistic variation is rich in studies carried out primarily in relation to the two social variables, class and style; but in spite of the deep insights gained through the description and analysis of the impact that these factors have on language use in various speech communities, our understanding of complex phenomena illustrated in linguistic diversity and language change, communicative competence and speech accommodation, bilingualism and code-switching, language choice and attitudes to language behaviour has only become broader by the consideration of more self-evident social dimensions such as age and gender, for example. These two 'individual' variables have of course been incorporated in many stratificational studies as they certainly intersect with social class and style shifting; but, as put forward above, in a diglossic community such as that of Tlemcen, gender and age as crucial factors influencing language behaviour are to be considered independently of social stratification and style differentiation. We have suggested, indeed, that just as linguistic differences are reflected in gender differentiation in western speech communities, men in Tlemcen do use different forms of speech from those of women, but not on the same grounds as those attested in standard-with-dialect situations: for example, reacting differently towards the social meaning of the phonological variable (?) cannot be analysed, as we believe, in terms of relationship with social status or on a scale of speech formality. Similarly, the age factor bears precious cues in making out the distribution of a number of vernacular features in the community, as, for instance, consistency and inconsistency in the use of the glottal variant [ʔ]. In fact, the fluctuations observed in variable (?) may allow us to consider the phenomenon in terms of 'age-grading' (Hockett 1950)³¹ which Hudson (1996:15) defines as "a pattern of use in which linguistic items are used by people of a particular age, who then stop using it when they grow older." Indeed, as we shall see below, that the different age-groups display a kind of pattern that is comparable to western settings in which very little children, still unaware of the importance of higher status language, use vernacular forms; then, through

adolescence and early adulthood, speakers gradually become conscious of the prestige language and, under the powerful social force exerted on them, 'pressure from above' in Labov's terms (1992a:123), they start using newer 'correct speech' in formal situations. But getting older, they no longer worry about social pressures and come back to the vernacular forms they acquired with their native tongue. What is different though, in the context of TA (?), lies in the fact that the variant [g], to which preadolescent, adolescent and middle-aged native speakers switch, is definitely not a high-status feature but another vernacular form, and the motivation as well as the pressure leading to its use are thus different, too.

The hypothesis put forward here is that the age of the speaker, interacting with psycho-social factors, is a reliable indicator of the degree of consistency in [g]-use among native speakers, and that patterns of age-grading show up in the increasing use of this variant among young children and adolescents due to strong pressures and negative attitudes to the use of the glottal stop which have led to hypersensitivity to this stigmatised feature; and then a decrease in the number of [g]-users as the subjects get older. But do these patterns of (?) reflect a stage of on-going phonological change? Or is this differential use of the variable a stable and regular pattern characterizing the phenomenon of age-grading?

Another assumption that we attempt to explore in the examination of variable (?) in Tlemcen is related to the increasing number of young male speakers whose use of non-TA features seems to be solidifying; that is, not only do they use, for instance, [g] instead of [ʔ] when interacting with non-TA people, but also in constraint-free situations. The age-grading effect in (?) may be indexical of a linguistic change in progress, particularly if it is accompanied by more cases of hypercorrection in which even rural lexical occurrences of [q] are realised with [g] by these native speakers, as in the expression [g_w'bæjəl], meaning 'a while ago', which is a 'ruralised' form of TA [ʔ_w'bæjəl], the real rural equivalent being [g_w'bilæ:t]. If nothing impedes such behaviour, and if such uses spread to a large majority of the native community, we will attest dialect shift in the long run. But, as we argue, with their conservative character and their overall indifference to the stigma on [ʔ], women will never allow drastic changes to occur in TA speech

- *The investigation*

Our quantitative investigation of the TA variable (?) in co-variation with the age factor has laid emphasis on a male population for, as indicated in the subsection above, TA women's speech is rather characterized by maintenance of [ʔ]-use whatever the setting. In contrast, an ever-increasing number of native male speakers systematically switch to the rural variant [g], on the whole, for the reasons we have already mentioned repeatedly in our research work, primarily the association of the stereotype [ʔ] with effeminacy.

Though our findings need supporting statistical analysis, the raw percentages obtained from the speech of 209 male subjects classified by age according to whether they use [ʔ], [g] or [q] in their speech – and whose native background is checked by relevant questions about their parents' and grandparents' origin – have revealed very interesting results as to the distribution of the most salient TA variable, a phonological item that virtually all members in the community are consciously aware of. It is instructive to make a remark relevant to what is meant here by consistency in the use of one variant of (?) or another. In contrast with the frequency of *r*-use and *r*-less speech according to class and style, revealed in Labov's work in New York (1966; 1972*a*), or Trudgill's percentage of *-in'* in different contextual styles in the Norwich investigation (1983*b*), in Tlemcen, for the majority of adolescent speakers and young adults, it is rather a question of exclusive use of one variant in some contexts and the other in others. But of course, we may attest individuals, particularly among the middle-aged ones, who sometimes mix [ʔ] and [g] in the same piece of conversation. The individuals in each age group are thus compared according to whether they use one or the other variant of (?) in a consistent manner *in the presence of* non-native speakers: for example, two of the 29 adolescents aged 16 to 19 use [ʔ], 26 use [g]; only one avoids both variants and uses the uvular stop [q]. Thus, 'consistent' use of [g], for instance, in our context means uniform choice of [g]-use; that is, a TA teenager who opts for switching to rural forms would consciously not 'allow' a single glottal stop to slip into his speech because of the stigmatisation that this

feature is loaded with, unless he finds himself in a fully relaxed situation like in the home. Furthermore, this selective strategy of linguistic items among TA switchers almost always occurs with congruency, that is, with the choice of linguistic items that 'go together' in one variety: talking to a non-TA speaker, a TA switcher would predictably say, for instance, ['gullah nəd'dihum 'gæ:ʔ], 'Tell him I'll take them all', an utterance which includes phonological, morphological and lexical items from the same rural variety. Such behaviour, we believe, should rather be regarded in terms of code-switching or accommodation, and the speaker as bi-dialectal. A less proficient speaker who would only react to the negative social meaning of [ʔ], replacing it by [g], would say ['gullu nʔab'bihum 'kæ:məl] keeping the 3rd person masculine object morpheme {u} and the TA lexical items.

One wonders. Why does switching always occur in one direction, i.e. *to* rural speech and almost *never* the other way round, except on the part of a very limited number of non-TA females who wish to identify with TA women's speech? The usual pattern of switching and language shift in urban centres, as shown in many studies (e.g. Giles and Powesland 1975; Gal 1979; Downes 1998, Romaine 2000) goes this way: in the case of situations with different languages, members of the minority language learn the 'host' language like migrants have to when they decide to settle in the host country; and in the case of varieties of the same language, new-comers in an urban community tend to adapt their speech to that of the majority. The same process of speech assimilation happened indeed before independence with the rural people living in the areas surrounding Tlemcen. But, increasingly, all along the recent decades, it is the native speaker who shifts to rural speech. Is the strong stigmatisation of the glottal stop enough to explain such linguistic behaviour? Because of this lack of 'dialect-loyalty' (Gumperz 1964a)³², which seems to reveal weak solidarity at the same time among the youth of Tlemcen, we cannot help feeling that such dialect shift to rural speech may lead to the loss of the glottal stop and maybe of other linguistic features of Tlemcen Arabic. Or should we regard the use of rural Arabic as a whole, and [g] in particular, just as a stable dialect-switching that reflects a dual linguistic competence? We suppose so, in spite of the consistent use of [g] shown below.

Consider the table below and the corresponding graph:

Table 4.18. Variable (?) in Males' speech and Age differentiation.

Age → Variant	- 6	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	+ 60	Total N=209
[ʔ] %	15 93.75	8 38.09	2 8.69	2 6.89	3 14.28	8 30.76	12 54.54	15 65.21	24 85.71	89 42.58
[g] %	1 6.25	13 61.9	21 91.3	26 89.65	16 76.19	15 57.69	6 27.27	5 21.73	2 7.14	105 50.23
[q] %	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 3.44	2 9.52	3 11.53	4 18.18	3 13.04	2 7.14	15 7.17

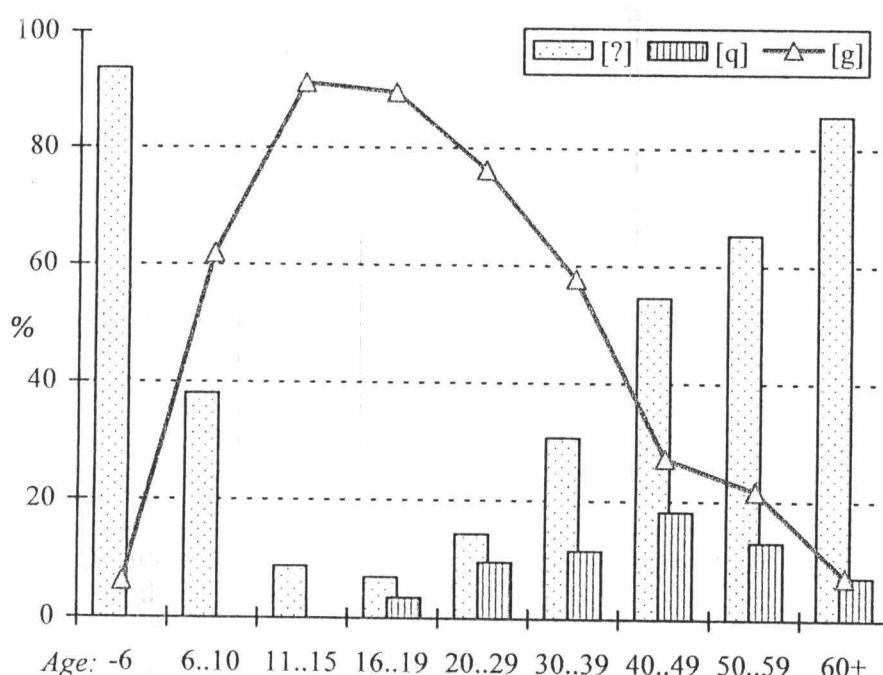


Fig. 4.19. Variable (?) among TA Male Speakers by Age, in %.

The graph represents an overall picture of the extent to which native TA male speakers switch to the non-glottal variants of (?), [g~q], usually in mixed settings where rural Arabic speakers are, or felt to be, present. It is instructive to note again that the items in which /q/ only surfaces as [q] in rural speech are not tallied here; that is, words like [qard] 'monkey', ['baq] 'still left' or [fæ:q], 'He has woken up', and cases of lexical 'classicism', such as [qur'ʔæ:n] or [əlqa'ɗja], 'the affair', are never pronounced with [g] in any AA variety.

Rather, the aim in this account is to show, on the one hand, the contrast of men's use of [ʔ] as opposed to [g] in relation to age and, on the other, the instances in which [ʔ] is avoided for its stigmatisation but *not* replaced by [g]. There are indeed TA adult males who, increasingly as they move into age, avoid both colloquial variants by using [q] as a 'safer' choice. The only explanation we can give to such speech behaviour is that the speakers' use of [q], as in ['qultlu] 'I told him', puts them neither in the category of [ʔ]-users who do not bother being commented on negatively, nor in that of [g]-switchers who give way to the strong pressure of rural speech co-existence. As it clearly appears in the diagram, virtually no speaker younger than 16 uses [q], just one among the 19 year-olds, and then the scores of (ʔ):[q] show a slight rise with the higher occurrences among the speakers in their forties. Then, slightly, the [q]-line starts going down with the men of fifty and older, while their use of [ʔ] increases in contrast with their progressive avoidance of [g].

Let us now turn to the examination of [g] scores in our results. As clearly shown by the [g]-curve in the graph, the influence of rural speech on the children aged less than six is almost nonexistent to the exception of some scattered cases of early close contact with non-TA peers. The usual pattern is illustrated in the domination of little children's speech by their parents' vernacular forms, in particular those of the mothers which they naturally imitate in the course of the process of native tongue acquisition. But what is natural as well in children's language development, above all among boys who make up play groups more easily than girls, is that they soon start diverging from their parents' speech patterns; this is the stage at which little children start 'going out' and having friends, a period which usually coincides with the first school years, and thus, the speech patterns that dominate are those of the group. Given the large number of citizens whose native tongue is rural Arabic in today's community of Tlemcen, and due to the overall one-way influence of their speech forms over TA, these native little boys quickly start switching away from their vernacular as soon as they become aware of the way TA speech forms are laughed at. This occurs especially with the glottal stop which they consciously avoid, for, as they say,

they do not want to be called *ʔaw* 'ʔawa, 'peanut', and thus, they learn to replace the 'effeminate' [ʔ] by the 'tougher' [g] sound.

As a matter of fact, full awareness of the glottal stop stigma in the community is manifested at an early age: while little boys under 6 still use [ʔ], in all probability because of the natural influence of mothers and the home domain, they quickly begin switching to [g], as already noted, as soon as they reach school age and start having contact with non-TA peers whose speech is different from theirs. This sudden shift in their behaviour is illustrated in the graph by a sharp rise of the [g]-curve which climbs up from about 6% to almost 62 % with the 6 to 10 year-olds, then to 91.3% with the third age-group in which the number of [ʔ]-users suddenly drops to less than 9%; i.e. only 2 out of the 23 informants do not switch to [g] even when interacting with non-TA speakers, because, as some say, they do not mind being mocked at for their use of the glottal stop and the Tlemceni dialect as a whole. Such loyalty to the vernacular, which is attested in older men's speech and in women's conversations, is indeed unexpectedly unusual among young TA males talking to, or in the presence of, non-TA speakers.

As to the 16 to 19 year-old group, in addition to their high scores of [g]-use, almost 90%, which is an obvious reflection of what may be seen as a kind of compulsory accommodation to rural speech as a result of its pervasive pressure on Tlemcen vernacular, two features characterize these adolescents:

- First, they display the lowest percentage of [ʔ]-use, which, associated with systematic production of the [g] variant, yields a configuration that reflects hypersensitivity to the social meaning of the glottal stop, and adaptation to a feature of less idiosyncrasy for its wide use in and around Tlemcen as well as in many parts of the country;
- Second, however limited it may be, the timid appearance of [q] seems to be a manifestation of linguistic insecurity vis-à-vis both TA use and non-TA speech, and thus, the uvular stop [q], which is certainly, though perhaps

unconsciously, associated with the prestige of *al 'Arabija*, the 'real' language, is a compromise choice between avoidance of [ʔ]-stigmatisation and giving in to [g]-pressure.

With the young adults in the twenties, the [g]-line begins showing slightly lower values, first going down quite smoothly, and then much more steeply with the next three age groups, the middle-aged, to reach very low scores with the older subjects. At the same time, the scores of [ʔ]-users display a reverse pattern steadily increasing from values as low as 14% among the young adults to almost 55%, then to more than 85% with the men in their sixties. It is evident that this configuration of (?):[g] vs. (?):[ʔ] with different amounts of use in correlation with different age levels reveals, a) native people's awareness of the social meaning of each of the two variants; and b) their tendency to alter their reactions towards both pronunciations while ageing as a result of reduced social pressures on them, and thus c) a 'return' to the native TA vernacular form.

The issue raised here is whether this 'apparent time' exploration of the age-grading effect in (?) can be confirmed by a 'real time' survey; that is, will the extreme tendency shown by young TA speakers towards the use of [g] diminish gradually as they reach their thirties, forties and fifties? And did today's older people pronounce [g] much more and [ʔ] much less in the past? If they did, then we could speak of age-grading and a relatively stable reaction to the two variants according to age group. In other words, does the same phenomenon occur over and over again through time, or are we attesting a linguistic change in progress? There is much evidence, however, that the overwhelming stigmatisation of the glottal stop and the strong inclination towards its replacement by [g] among the young of today will most likely yield different results from those obtained here: one reason for predicting less use of [ʔ] as they grow older comes from the remarks made by some old men who say they did not speak the way the young speak today, and that they were proud of using TA speech forms when *they* were younger. It is in fact true that 50 years ago there were fewer rural speech users and the pressure on TA was much weaker.

4.5.1.4 Variable (?) and the Social Network

Although the analysis of actual speech requires first and foremost the observation of individual speakers, sociolinguists have had to devise approaches to linguistic variation on the basis of large-scale correlations with the aim of discovering general language practices in speech communities, social classes and other groupings such as those natural categories organised by gender and age. In fact, as Labov (1966, 1972*a*) and others claim, linguistic variation appears to be incoherent when considered as individual behaviour and, because they are socially conditioned, many language patterns only emerge through the study of group speech interactions.

However, linguistic variability can also be approached from the stand-point of individual-based considerations, as every member in every community has social contacts with other individuals and behaves linguistically according to established norms. The social network model, as we have seen in Chapter 2 (2.3.1), has been developed by Milroy and Milroy (1978) and L. Milroy (1987) to observe the speech patterns of individuals in the social interactions they are involved in, laying emphasis, as J. Milroy (1992:84) says, on the fact that

...individuals have social contacts with other individuals, because social network is about individuals and the relationships that can be contracted between them, and not primarily based on pre-defined group structures. To that extent it does not matter in principle whether the individuals are described in a particular society as 'upper class', 'middle class' or 'lower class', or whether the society is urban or rural: it is a universal that all individuals in all societies have contact with other individuals.

Such methodology is certainly more easily applicable to a community which is characterized, on the one hand, by traditions and class profiles that are different from those in advanced capitalist countries, and diglossia on the other. In contrast with western society where linguistic variation has been shown to correlate with the two dimensions of class and style, our intuition as a native of an Arabic-speaking community, reinforced by our observation of people's day-

to-day speech behaviour, leads to the claim that, apart from switches to French and to MSA, both regarded as prestige languages, we cannot apply the model of class stratification and style differentiation in a society where neither people's socio-economic status nor their different speech ways are reflected in the use of the Low variety. But a network approach would work better. Downes (1998:196) acknowledges that "...stratification applies only to one type of society. But everyone lives within a social network irrespective of the type of larger society." Studying the ways individuals behave linguistically as they interact on a more or less regular basis with members of the group they belong to has proved fruitful in the exploration of linguistic variation and language change. In a given social network, the relations and speech behaviour are typically more or less formal depending precisely on the density and multiplexity of social interactions.

A point to be made at this level concerns the very notion of *social network*; we feel it is to be applied in a particular way in our society for, while in Britain, for example, members of a dense network tend to use more non-standard forms than in weak-ties relationships, linguistic variation in relation to social networks in a diglossic community operates on other dimensions. Apart from formal situations such as university lectures and school lessons, religious sermons and political speech, TV news and radio programmes, people do not use the High variety whatever the relationship existing between the interlocutors. People do interact in 'polite manners' using careful speech, but it is neither MSA nor CA that they naturally think of using in such settings; also, speakers from different socio-economic statuses use more or less the same type of colloquial Arabic in everyday interactions, if we leave aside the use of French which is associated with education and higher-level social categories, in particular in certain formal discussions held by people having had their instruction in French. This is the case of a doctor, for instance, discussing medicine problems with his or her colleagues in French. A simple reason for that is that they would not be able to discuss them in AA, just like those speakers who have to use some MSA in certain formal settings. But people normally interact in AA, which, as we have seen, is often mixed, to different degrees, with French, or with MSA to a much lesser extent.

Thus, the extent to which a speaker uses more or less French, along the continuum borrowings/code-switching/bilingualism, and similarly more or less MSA, could be examined to characterize the type of social network relations that an individual is involved in. The other dimension of language variation that is worth mentioning for its relevance in the community under investigation here, concerns switches from urban speech to rural forms on the part of native TA speakers.

So, we would like to emphasize that, apart from the pervasive phenomenon of AA/French code-switching and code-mixing in everyday speech, and some use of MSA borrowings within AA for certain purposes (cf. 3.6.4 and 4.4), both being practices that are widespread in the Algerian society, the most salient fluctuation in a TA male speaker's behaviour is shifting from TA vernacular in a close-knit network of natives to rural linguistic forms that are less marked in the wider community. Though 'close-knit' here refers to members of a dense network constituted by native speakers, TA individuals may of course have tight relations with non-TA people as well and, conversely, loose contacts with other Tlemcenis. The point is that, whatever the density of the network, most native speakers, almost exclusively among male speakers and more than ever among younger ones, only use those features that are characteristic of TA when they feel linguistically 'secure' and unconstrained. Otherwise, the mere presence of a rural speech user in a conversation – who, ironically sometimes, may himself be a native but either no longer uses TA or shifts to rural forms thinking his interlocutor is a non-TA speaker – is enough to trigger avoidance of TA idiosyncrasies, particularly the glottal stop. Indeed, as mentioned repeatedly throughout our work, by virtue of its stigmatisation and people's resulting awareness of the negative comments that its use brings about, in particular for its association with effeminacy, the glottal stop is almost systematically avoided, when native TA speakers mix with non-natives, and replaced by its rural counterpart [g], which is generally thought to be 'tougher'. Women, on the other hand, maintain its usage whatever the configuration of the social network they are involved in and the social contacts they weave.

Though we need to explore more fully how social networks are organised in the wider community of Tlemcen and their ensuing impact on people's linguistic behaviour, on the ground of our observation of everyday speech in different contexts and the data obtained on the variable (?) and other linguistic variables, we can put forward the following set of statements: within a given network, be it dense or loose, uniplex or multiplex,

- a) the social pressures exerted on a TA individual's speech do not operate along a dimension of formality as is the case in standard-with-dialect speech communities;
- b) the locus of variation among TA native speakers is rather reflected in colloquial Arabic urban/rural switches that are 'handled' according to the addressee's speech;
- c) the weak loyalty to TA speech resulting from its overall stigmatisation combined with the strong influence of rural forms seem to be leading to some linguistic change, in particular towards [g]-use in a number of TA lexical items (e.g. [ngədd] 'I can' instead of the rural item ['naqdər]);
- d) female TA speakers are typically not affected by the presence of rural speech users, and thus tend to maintain TA vernacular features;
- e) non-TA speakers, as a rule, do not bother accommodating their speech towards that of TA speakers, except for isolated cases of non-native women who sometimes wish to imitate TA female speech;
- f) the prestige felt about the higher-status languages, MSA and French, is shared by all members of the community, and thus, cases of AA/MSA and AA/French code-switching are not TA-specific, but concern the whole Algerian society.

The above assumptions based on long-term observation of TA speakers' behaviour leads to claim the possibility of accounting for variation in the speech community of Tlemcen by using an eclectic approach that includes the methodology provided by Labov and his variationist paradigm, the Milroys'

concept of 'social network' as well as the social psychologists' 'accommodation' theory. We shall see, in the following, how even Fishman's (1964, 1971) construct of 'domain', originally proposed for the analysis of appropriate language choice in a bilingual community, is absolutely relevant in explaining dialectal variation in Tlemcen as native TA speakers have learned to select, from their verbal repertoire, the variety that is most appropriate in a class of situations and another one in another range of domains.

4.5.1.5 TA speakers and Domains of Language Use

By means of the concept of 'domain' provided by Fishman (*ibid.*), we attempt to explain code choice among the members of a few Tlemceni families. One aim is to check the underlying assumption, reported in Hudson (1996:78), that the choice of a language "varies from domain to domain, and that domains are *congruent* combinations of a particular kind of speaker and addressee, in a particular kind of place, talking about a particular kind of topic." In the context of the present study, we set out to appreciate the extent to which the diverse patterns of variation obtain according to setting, topic and participants, but at the same time in correlation with the dimensions of age and gender which are also relevant for the explanation of people's differential language behaviour. Some issues are raised here: Do native TA speakers display regular amounts of variation according to domains? How do they behave in cases of incongruent situations such as, for instance, a non-TA young boy invited by his TA friend to spend an afternoon at home with him and his family? How will the TA boy behave in relation to TA glottal stop which, in principle, he only uses at home or with other TA friends? How do the social domain pressures leading to variation relate to, and interact with, such social variables as age and gender? Another issue of concern here deals with 'domain allocation', a crucial factor in language maintenance. Will the shrinking domains in which TA vernacular is used and the perceptible on-going process of change favour dialect shift? And will dialect shift concern the whole community, sub-groups, or just some individuals? Only more

extensive data obtained in the community by means of different techniques based on various theoretical models and long-term observation can help us answer such thorny questions.

This sub-section will only consider a restricted number of natives and their speech behaviour in relation to the home domain as opposed to the street domain.

- *Fieldwork*

Participants: three native families with children.

- Family A: parents with 2 boys aged 9 and 12 and a girl aged 15.
- Family B: parents with 1 boy aged 16 and 4 girls aged 9 to 14.
- Family C: parents with 3 boys aged 8, 12 and 17.

In an interview with one father (family A) about his children and the relationship they have with their peers in the district situated in the outskirts of Tlemcen, he said he always hears his two sons use non-TA linguistic features, [g] in particular, when playing in the neighbouring streets; but at home they switch back to [ʔ]. The father, aged about 40 years old, said he doesn't change his way of speaking and uses the glottal stop with everybody and in all contexts. He showed some annoyance when talking about his sons not keeping their native speech relating this to pride. Indeed, he spoke Tlemceni during the discussion, though I noted one phrase in which he seemed to have unconsciously used [g] instead of the usual [ʔ], most probably because of the very common use of the expression [ki'ma ngulu], meaning '...as we say', and that he uttered repeatedly in a kind of phatic manner. As for his daughter, he said "there's no problem with her...She speaks Tlemceni and never changes her way of speaking whatever the situation." The fact that he said "There's no *problem* with her" seems to reveal that the man's awareness of the lack of loyalty among natives of Tlemcen.

The mother in family B is proud of sticking to her native tongue and does not feel the need to change anything in it; but her husband, also a native of Tlemcen, often switches to rural features outside home, particularly when interacting with

non-TA speakers. Just like other men, he does not want to be mocked at when saying, for instance, [ʔadʒi nʔullək ɦal ɦadʒa], ‘Come, I’ll tell you one thing’. He prefers to avoid linguistic features that characterize Tlemcen speech and readily accommodates to that of rural users by saying [ʔarwaɦ ngullək ʔaɦa] or [ʔarwaɦ ngullək waɦidəl ʔaɦa].

His sixteen-year-old son seems to follow his steps but, in reality, the boy’s reasons for using non-TA speech are quite different from his. It has become spontaneous for him to switch to rural speech as he has always done it with his friends. It is as if TA was not the language to use in the street or in the playground, for it sounds effeminate and too refined for tough games, fights and ‘dirty’ jokes, in a word for manliness. In addition, he thinks that non-natives understand him better when he speaks like them. In reality, for him and for most young male TA speakers, switching to rural forms in such domains is almost like switching to French when addressing someone who does not understand Arabic. This indeed makes our young adolescent a perfect example of a bi-dialectal individual. But does he mix – or code-switch between – the two Arabic varieties the way bilingual speakers often behave when mixing two languages? He does, in all probability, for the simple reason that he may *not* be aware of *all* linguistic features specific to TA, and so, as a result of his unconscious maintenance of some vernacular characteristics, he may be heard to utter, for instance, an expression like [ʔasəm ʔællək], ‘What did he say to you?’, in which [ʔasəm] belongs to TA and [g] is rural specific.

Another type of dialect mixture occurs especially among TA and non-TA girls alike. This sometimes happens in the speech of the youngest of the four sisters in family B. Confirming our claim that native Tlemceni females show no differential pattern in their use of (?), on the whole, and that they almost never introduce rural features in their speech, these four girls do not bother using their vernacular, the glottal stop and all TA lexical items, in whatever situation and if TA speech is regarded as effeminate, they are females after all and do not have to worry, for their glottal stop will not be commented on negatively by anybody. But the nine-year-old sister has ‘learned’ to mix a non-TA item in her TA

speech: the suffix morpheme {-i} used in the 2nd person verb form used to address a woman, as in [s'ma^ʕti], meaning 'Have you (2nd fem. sing.) heard...?'. Not respecting Gumperz (1971) 'co-occurrence rules', the girl often says ['ʔu:lili], 'Tell me!', even when talking to her sisters, mixing this way TA glottal stop with the rural suffix morpheme {i}. As already indicated, such mixture can also be heard among non-TA female speakers who use the glottal stop with the aim of resembling the women of Tlemcen for their 'more refined' speech, but unconsciously or perhaps unconsciously, they keep the feminine morpheme {i}, while the TA verb morphological pattern for addressing either a male or a female is ['ʔu:l] and [s'ma^ʕt].

The same pattern of using plain TA in absolutely constraint-free settings (with relatives and intimate TA friends, for example, and in the home domain, in particular), and rural speech in mixed interactions can be attested in the speech of family C's three boys. Indeed, they all easily alternate between the two varieties in accordance with the situation they find themselves in, a linguistic behaviour that illustrates their conscious awareness of the two types of Arabic (in addition to the 'school variety', MSA, which they perfectly know it is not to be used out of the classroom domain). It worth noting again that, very early, little children become aware of the existence of the two Arabic varieties in the community: at the age of eight, the youngest brother in family C has already acquired the ability to select the appropriate code that suits the interaction; in other words, not only has he learned to be communicatively competent in his own vernacular in different situations with different members of his family, relatives and friends, but also in the others' variety in other domains, such as the school playground or simply the street. Throughout our investigation of the community, we have noted numerous instances of school age boys (six- to nine- year-olds) who already start using rural features, such as [g] in place of TA [ʔ] and a number of lexical items such as ['ʔarwa:h] 'Come!' instead of ['ʔadʒi]³³, and of course the vernacular at home where they feel linguistically more secure, as Labov (1972a) would see it. In fact, most instances of TA male speakers' switching to rural forms can be

explained in terms of Labov's 'linguistic insecurity' which can be illustrated, as he points out (1972a:117),

...by the very wide range of stylistic variation used by lower-middle-class speakers; by their great fluctuation within a given stylistic context; by their conscious striving for correctness, and by their strongly negative attitudes towards their native speech pattern.

Again, linguistic insecurity, as it characterizes New York lower-middle-class people, does not correspond with our context in the same way, for neither does it relate to stylistic variation nor does it lead to seeking for speech 'correctness' – let us remember that, in principle, the functional character of Arabic diglossic speech communities rules out such linguistic behaviour in everyday interaction. But linguistic insecurity in Tlemcen does arise from negative considerations and self-downgrading of TA speech features. So, native TA speakers, mostly among younger males, would rather give way to strong social pressures by switching to rural forms than be mocked at or commented on in negative terms. Besides, evidence shows that even young Tlemcenis themselves sometimes display "strongly negative attitudes towards their native speech pattern" (Labov *ibid*), particularly towards the glottal stop. To the question 'Why do you avoid [ʔ] and use [g]?', the twelve-year-old boy in family C said he did not want to sound like *ʔaw ʔawa* speakers, those who speak in a girlish manner, he said. It is precisely this association of the glottal stop with female speech which has led to the strong stigmatisation which in turn is responsible for TA males' fluctuating speech. Strong evidence corroborates indeed our assumption that TA boys are far more inclined than girls to varying their way of speaking by switching away from the vernacular, as soon as they become aware of Tlemcen speech stereotypes through people's negative views about them.

During our observation of natural speech, we have come across a few cases of mentally handicapped TA male subjects aged 13, 15 and an adult of about 45 who, in contrast with 'normal' males, they maintain the use of the glottal stop and all other features of the mother tongue; and, apparently, they do not 'know'

how to switch to rural speech. This may be due to lack of contact with 'outsiders' during their socialisation process, as this is what usually happens with retarded children. But the most plausible explanation of the phenomenon is that such children remain spontaneous in the way they have learned to speak and, growing older, they do not acquire any further communicative competence to control another variety. Just as they seem not to be affected by any speech stigmatisation, they must not be aware of rural speech use. This reinforces the idea that normal little boys, who soon learn about the existence of the two AA varieties in the community, quickly feel pressures on TA forms like [ʔ] and start avoiding these in constrained situations to the extent that the use of [g] and other rural speech forms becomes consistently attested in more and more domains.

4.5.2 Tlemcen Speech: a Locus of Change in Progress?

The assertion that all languages are affected by variation in a particular place and tend to undergo change in time is largely determined by the very fact that members of any society are different in terms of societal variables such as age, gender, status, education and social behaviour as a whole, and that no speech community is totally homogeneous. What we would like to focus on, however, in this sub-section, is that speech communities are affected by variation and change to different degrees due to varying pressures from various extra-linguistic factors. The precariousness which characterizes Tlemcen speech and leads to substantial variability among natives' behaviour as opposed to the far greater constancy in rural speech and its influential character illustrate such discrepancy between the two Algerian Arabic varieties.

It is quite tempting to try to explain the influence of rural linguistic items on the native urban variety by borrowing an analogy used by Hudson (1996:40) to describe the spread of linguistic change. Dropping the 19th century wave theory, which compares the spread of linguistic items and isoglosses to the effect of stones dropped into a pool causing circles to spread out and intersect with others, Hudson (ibid. p. 41) suggests another analogy that involves "different species of

plants sown in a field, each spreading outwards by dispersing its seeds over a particular area.” The different species correspond to different linguistic items co-existing on the same spot, in competition with one another. Certain species may be ‘stronger’ than others on certain fields and thus develop by displacing the weaker ones. This is precisely what seems to occur in Tlemcen speech with a number of rural features which have succeeded in displacing urban ones, especially in some favourable loci such as young male groups. Alternative use of two equally strong variants of a particular item co-exist in the same place: many speakers, rural and urban alike, can be observed to say, for instance, [ra:h] and [mfa] for ‘He’s gone’, the first phrase being typical of rural use. Other species, however, are strong enough, particularly in favourable fields, to displace – and maybe even to ‘kill’ – fragile ones. A good example is illustrated by some increasing use of rural [g] instead of [ʔ] in a number of lexical items; some of these, like [ˈgərnɔːʔ], ‘artichoke’ or [ˈgaʃˈa] ‘a large couscous plate’, mentioned in Dendane 1993, used to be pronounced [ˈʔərnɔːʔ] and [ˈʔaʃˈa].

The analogy may also be used to clarify the use of a mixture of items: new plant species may arise from mutation or from a mixture of seed elements, and if they are strong enough, they will replace both older competitors. This is the case of the expression [ngədd], ‘I can’, which can be heard increasingly by some categories of young TA males and non-TA speakers; the phrase is neither urban nor rural but a mixture of TA [nʔadd] with the rural [g] replacing the glottal stop, the usual rural expression being [naqdər] with the uvular [q], not [g].

Another interesting instance resulting from this dialect contact is illustrated by a semantic merging because of the displacement of [ʔ] by [q] this time: little children, boys and girls, are often heard to say [ˈʔe:s ˈʔe:sha li], meaning ‘Throw, throw it to me!’, when playing with a ball. The amalgamation here lies in the fact that the glottal stop is used with a rural lexical item [qe:s] whose equivalent in TA is [ˈʔərmi] from another verb stem. What is ambiguous about [ʔe:s], ‘throw’, is that the word exists in TA with another meaning, ‘try’; thus the influence of rural forms on TA speech has generated a homonymy to the extent that, out of context, we may understand the utterance [ˈʔe:sha li] as ‘Try it to me’ instead of

'Throw it to me!'. Furthermore, perhaps as a consequence of this semantic ambiguity, TA [ʔe:s] (realised [gi:s] in rural speech), from CA /'qaasa/, 'to try, or to measure', seems to be in the process of an on-going displacement by the phonologically adapted borrowing ['sijji] from French *essayer*.

These few sparsely chosen samples of language behaviour attested in the speech community of Tlemcen reflect perfectly well the powerful dynamics of contact between languages and language varieties, the effects of which are undoubtedly conducive to linguistic variation, but also, in all probability, to language change and, in the long run presumably, to the definite loss of some TA items, particularly those that are most stigmatized. The pressures of rural speech are so strong that TA use is increasingly confined to restricted domains.

We have already pointed out this peculiar one-way switching that most of this research work is about. But it would be wrong to claim that no rural Arabic users are influenced by TA speech. Indeed, as a result of long-term establishment of at least three generations since the first rural migrants arrived in Tlemcen urban centre, some TA characteristics can now be attested in the speech of some non-TA speakers, particularly those who have long been in close contact with natives. The motivations of those who do use some TA features can perhaps be explained either in terms of speech accommodation or as a wish to be well integrated in the environment of the urban society. In any case, apart from some non-native women who have gone so far as to adopt even the glottal stop in order to resemble Tlemcen women in their 'refined' speech, the linguistic items usually borrowed by non-TA speakers are only those which are not heavily stigmatized. A number of lexical items seem to have been easily adopted, as they allow the speaker to gain some approval in the native community and, at the same time, the cost to pay is quite low, for such items do not lead to rejection on the part of members of the rural 'family'.

One interesting instance that illustrates our claim is the non-native speakers' frequent use of the question word ['ʔæsəm] 'What?'. Our observation of the item in anonymous conversations shows that they appear to have almost abandoned the rural form ['waʃta] for its TA equivalent ['ʔæsəm]. It is presumable that they

do this either because, unconsciously perhaps, they somehow aspire to identify with Tlemcen 'refined' speech, or because they consider the term ['wafɥa] as too rough for urban speech. But, interestingly, in borrowing the TA item, they clearly insist on avoiding the production of [ʔ], quite consciously in all probability – though here it is just a glottal onset, not the typical TA glottal stop – and tend to replace it by the less 'showy' bilabial onset [w], giving ['wæsəm]. As a matter of fact, if it is acceptable from a non-TA male speaker to use TA words like ['jaʔməl], 'He makes', or even [χɑ:j]³⁴, 'My brother', it would be awkward to hear him use a strongly marked TA feature like the glottal stop in a rural speech utterance as in, for instance, ['ʔullah jdi:r 'gæ:ʕ əlmarʔa], 'Tell him to put on all the sauce', the TA utterance being ['ʔullu jaʕməl 'kæməl əlmarʔa].

Another interesting phrase that some non-native speakers use at times, most likely for the same reasons mentioned above, is ['ʔæzi], used to ask a person to come (either a man or a woman; the final vowel [i] is part of the verb form and should not be confused with the 2nd pers. fem. verb morpheme {-i} (Cf. 4.3.2.)). The expression alternates with the rural forms ['ʔarwɑ:h] and ['ʔarwɑ:hi] when addressing a male and a female, respectively. Here again, non-natives produce a segment differently from native TA speakers who say ['ʔædʒi], with the affricate [dʒ]. Apparently, rural speakers are not aware of such difference, but any native who hears ['ʔæzi] with the fricative [ʒ] will know the speaker is not a Tlemceni.

Such constant fluctuations in language use result from interrelations between the linguistic, the social and the psychological, and thus only an eclectic analysis of the community could help us achieve a better understanding of the intricacies of native people's linguistic behaviour in contrast with that of rural speech users which is relatively more stable. To elucidate the underlying motivations for the patterns of variation so self-evident in the speech community of Tlemcen, a careful look at the association between social stereotypes and language behaviour is crucial. But exploration of speech evaluation by different members of a community and their attitudes towards language variation can also provide insights into the matter. Social-psychological enquiries have shown their direct implications on people's linguistic behaviour, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter 4

- ¹ Quoted in Downes (1998:93).
- ² Mentioned in Lawless and Blake, 1976:80.
- ³ Two types of educated people characterized the first period of independent Algeria: 'Arabophones' and 'Francophones'.
- ⁴ The High variety of Arabic, *al luġha l fuṣṣhā*, is often labelled 'Classical', presumably by analogy with classical languages such as Latin or Ancient Greek. However, unlike these, CA is still used, and will continue to be used, in many domains, written and spoken, particularly in association with religion, literature, and even in radio and TV programmes, though more often in that contemporary form called Modern Standard Arabic or MSA.
- ⁵ Various labels have been proposed for modern formal uses of Arabic: Literary Arabic (LA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Educated Arabic (EA), Educated Standard Arabic (ESA) etc
- ⁶ Mentioned by Ferguson 1987:192. In Huebner ed. 1996.
- ⁷ Note how the stress shifts, in this example and many others, from the first to the second syllable in AA when a preceding syllable centre is dropped.
- ⁸ Note here that, as a result of vowel elision in the first syllable /'ka-/ , the stress is shifted onto the next syllable though its open vowel, called *fatḥa* in Arabic, is realised as a schwa [ə].
- ⁹ The dual form in personal pronouns and in verbs is indeed a particular characteristic of Arabic (CA/MSA) and is not found in any other language to our knowledge.
- ¹⁰ The other word used in AA for CA *milaff* is the French borrowing 'dossier' often pronounced [dose].
- ¹¹ Such modal verbs have no equivalent forms in Western languages like English and French.
- ¹² - *marfūʿ*: nominal constituent carrying a close vowel [u] as a morphological case ending;
- *manṣūb*: adjectival constituent carrying the particle [an] as a morphological case ending.
- ¹³ *ʾinna* in CA is a particle used to emphasize a state of things or an action: e.g., *ʾinnahu fi beytihi lʾān*, would mean 'Indeed, (I confirm) he's at home now'.
- ¹⁴ In CA /ʾa'ra:ka ma'ri:ḍan/ is literally 'I see you ill', which has become in AA [rak m're:ḍ], after elision of the pronominal prefix *ʾa-*, two weak vowels within the utterance, and the case ending *-an*.
- ¹⁵ Mentioned in Owens 2001:423.
- ¹⁶ See Ingham's (1973) study of Iraqi dialects and his article 'Urban and Rural Arabic in Khuzistan' (1973:553). The original meaning of the term 'arab is 'nomad'. See Ibn-Khaldun's *Muqaddima*, in Wafi (ed) (1957-8). Cf. also Cantineau (1949), W. Marçais (1950) and Cohen (1960).
- ¹⁷ Quoted in Bouamrane 1989:13.
- ¹⁸ There are indeed a good number of words in TA in which /q/ is only realised as [g] as a result of the introduction of rural lexical words referring to items or instruments specific to bedouin

and rural life such as ['gərba], a kind of bag made of dry goat skin used for collecting and storing water for nomad journeys, or ['gadu:m], a type of spade used for digging the soil. In Tlemcen, the word ['gaʃba] only means a type of flute used by shepherds or in Bedouin music bands while the same word with the glottal stop ['ʔaʃba] means an osier rod; but the same word ['gaʃba] means both in rural speech. [g] is also found in a number of words which have long lost their glottal stop: ['gərnu:ʕ] 'artichoke' and [əl'gəmra] 'the moon', for instance, used to be pronounced ['ʔərnu:ʕ] and [əlʔmar] a few decades ago (Dendane 1993).

- ¹⁹ This reminds me of a reflection made to us, when we were students of English in Oran University, by an Algerian teacher of phonetics when he called English users of [ʔ] 'the Tlemcenis of England'.
- ²⁰ In Dendane 1993. Master thesis, Oran University.
- ²¹ *ərrodʒla* is a substantive that comes from the noun *radʒul* meaning 'man', with the connotation 'manhood' as opposed to 'femininity'.
- ²² The address morpheme {k} is used at least for two different functions in Arabic: possessive adjective, e.g. [k'tə:bək] 'Your book'; and object pronoun, e.g. [ʔdarbak] 'He hit you'.
- ²³ Until June 2004, French was only taught from the 4th year Primary School on. Now children start learning it as a subject (second language) as early as their 2nd primary year.
- ²⁴ The concept of 'bilinguality' has been defined by Hamers a Blanc (2000:6) as "the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication"
- ²⁵ The same questionnaire presented to students of French or Arabic would perhaps yield different results.
- ²⁶ We have used the term Standard Arabic (SA) in the questionnaire for the sake of simplicity.
- ²⁷ My translation.
- ²⁸ Mentioned in Downes 1998:203.
- ²⁹ Swearing to God, is a very common practice equally attested in among men and women in Algeria and in the whole Arab world; in the Arabic equivalent of the verb 'to swear', there is no such negative or bad connotation as the one found in English, meaning 'to curse'.
- ³⁰ In rural speech, as well as in all other AA varieties, /q/ does not surface as [g] but is only realised as [q] in a number of words, e.g. ['qari] 'educated' or [ħmaq] 'crazy'.
- ³¹ Mentioned in Hudson (1996:15).
- ³² Mentioned in Giles and Powesland 1975:17.
- ³³ The [ʔ] in these two instances, ['ʔarwa:ħ] and ['ʔadʒi], has nothing to do with the glottal stop specific to Tlemcen variety (in which CA /q/ → [ʔ]). It is just an onset to vowels, used as a fixed pattern in the imperative form of Arabic, as in CA /ʔuktub/, 'Write! (you, 2nd person masculine)'. The same glottal onset occurs with the TA question word ['ʔæsəm] 'What?'
- ³⁴ The phrase [ħu:j], meaning 'My brother', is indeed regarded as characteristic of Tlemcen speech. It is pronounced ['ħuja] in practically all other Algerian varieties.

Chapter Five

*Attitudes Towards
Language Behaviour*

5. Attitudes towards Language Variation

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have attempted to describe language use in the speech community of Tlemcen by first considering linguistic practices typical of Algerian speech as a whole and reflected in the use of French and MSA in a dual relation to Algerian Arabic and, to varying extents, according to functional and social variables such as the degree of formality of the situation, the level of education, motivation or merely, but more commonly, in the form of spontaneous switches and borrowings, especially in French. Then, our major aim has been to throw light on some of the reasons and motivations for the increasing variation that can be attested in the speech behaviour of Tlemcen Arabic native speakers. Using different techniques of elicitation, we have been able to show to a certain extent the tight relationship between the linguistic systems at play and today's social structure in Tlemcen. Though we have considered in our work various portions of the society with its cosmopolitan social configuration, we have focused on the reasons why younger male native speakers tend to avoid TA linguistic characteristics, particularly in conversations involving (or thought to involve) the presence of non-Tlemceni interlocutors.

Thus, in parallel with the specific linguistic situation in the community of Tlemcen with its distinctive and idiosyncratic Arabic characteristics and the ensuing speech variation among its native speakers, much linguistic behaviour here can be regarded, to a large extent, as representative of language practices in the Algerian society as a whole: i.e. the complex two-fold dynamic use of AA in correlation with MSA on the one hand for certain purposes, and French on the other for others, with varying 'linguistic dosages' of these two non-native standard language systems in accordance with a number of socio-cultural and functional variables.

The data collected from our corpus samples during the investigation clearly reveal this dual dynamic relationship that characterizes Algerian speech:

- 1) – Random samples of data collected from the speech community of Tlemcen have been very instructive in showing how speakers behave linguistically in a diglossic community. Everyday speech interaction is of course carried out in the mother tongue, AA, with its different regional varieties that include varying amounts of French borrowings, and a much smaller number of MSA lexical items. But in spite of the low proficiency in producing speech in the High variety, many people generally understand what they consider as *al Lughā*, 'the language', i.e. Classical Arabic or MSA, that they hear on TV, on the radio and in the mosque, as a result of frequent exposure to it as well as a feeling of veneration, pride and loyalty towards 'the language Arabic Nation', *al Umma l 'Arabiyya*. However, the degree of actual use of MSA outside of educational domains is insignificant on the whole, and can only be attested among a certain category of educated people¹ in public and formal or semi-formal settings, often with rule simplifications on all linguistic levels and at least some switching to AA forms. Obviously, it is the mother tongue which is used in all domains of everyday speech, though a kind of 'middle variety' seems to be emerging among a rather limited number of people who use that variety in certain situations involving 'serious-topic' discussions. This is the case, for instance, of a group of lawyers talking about a case outside the court, or teachers discussing about school programmes or other pedagogical issues. With AA as the base language, such speakers try to re-produce the High variety in a more simple form by avoiding case endings, by eliding or shortening vowels mainly in unstressed open syllables, and by breaking certain morphological and syntactic rules. This 'simple' variety which can be heard, for example, in rather serious debates in TV or radio interviews and 'round table' talks, may well lay the foundations for a process of standardization of Algerian Arabic, though the existing MSA, particularly in its written form, will perhaps never allow such a process to reach its end so easily.

- 2) – The other interesting facet of the Algerian linguistic configuration, also embodied in the community of Tlemcen, is the omnipresent use of French in everyday conversation though to varying degrees according to a number of social variables such as level of education, age, gender and region². Here again, we have to distinguish two levels of use. First, the spontaneous pattern of using a great number of French lexical items and expressions *within* the Low variety, in both adapted and non-adapted forms, is a characteristic that makes Algerian Arabic so different from the colloquial varieties used in other Arabic-speaking communities³. Second, apart from this quasi-natural use of French borrowings which have long become part and parcel of AA, many Algerians, particularly in urban areas, have ‘learned’ to switch to French, when the need arises, or between the two languages in relation to factors such as topic of conversation, setting and addressee. However, the boundary between borrowing and code-switching is often hard to draw, to the extent that the phenomenon may be better described in terms of a continuum that stretches from ‘pure’ Algerian Arabic (with no French items) to plain French.

Therefore, it is in the midst of such complex linguistic general background that various types of Algerian individual speakers (more or less educated, for example) gradually acquire

a) the knowledge of their respective native local varieties (an Algerian Arabic variety or a form of the Berber language in a few areas of the country) mixed to various extents, according to linguistic and/or extra-linguistic variables, with French in everyday speech, and with MSA in more or less formal contexts;

b) the way of using these varieties by mixing them and switching codes in appropriate ways in different situations, that is, how to become communicatively competent.

The matter constitutes an interesting theoretical avenue of exploration, for every speaker in every type of speech community is constantly confronted with code choices to make 'motivated negotiations' (Scotton 1983*a*) from a verbal repertoire depending on various factors ranging from individual competence (both linguistic and communicative) in the varieties acquired, to interlocutors, social networks and domains of use. In a word, consciously, or perhaps unconsciously, depending of course on his or her language proficiency and motivation, the speaker always negotiates the type of variety to choose to use in day-to-day relations with different members of the community by accommodating his or her speech form selected from the repertoire at his or her disposal, and in accordance with the social forces at work therein. In this respect, Downes (1998:270) writes:

The individual speaker lives in a multi-dimensional set of relationships to various groups in society. Therefore, an individual speaks subject to a multiplicity of conflicting pressures mediated by the social symbolism of the variants.

But while these issues fall under societal linguistic variation observed from an ethno-linguistic perspective, deeper insights can be provided by means of analyses of individual speech practices from a social-psychological standpoint, as we shall attempt to show in this chapter which deals with this fascinating aspect of the complexity of language use in society: people's attitudes towards language behaviour. What is attractive about this line of investigation, based for the most part on quantitative analyses, is that it may cover the exploration of three closely related issues:

- a) the status of the language and/or language varieties in competition in the community;
- b) the relationship between the speakers of these varieties in terms of linguistic behaviour;
- c) the listeners' reactions to contrasting languages and/or language varieties.

These issues may be re-articulated in the form of the following set of questions:

- What do people's language attitudes teach us about contrasting languages and language varieties in a speech community?
- How do language attitudes reflect inter-group communication?
- What linguistic variation, and eventually language change, may obtain as a result of people's language attitudes?
- To what extent are speakers affected by people's negative or positive evaluation of their speech behaviour?
- How does gender differentiation affect language attitudes?

By means of field observation, questionnaires and other eliciting techniques addressed to a number of respondents, we shall attempt, in this chapter, to provide answers to the above questions in order to bring evidence about people's attitudes towards MSA as opposed to French, on the one hand, and to the existing Colloquial Arabic varieties, on the other. But in the next section, we shall first have a look at how social psychology has contributed, and still contributes, to the development of sociolinguistic research in general.

5.2 Sociolinguistics and Social Psychology of Language

Without rejecting the language universals formulated by formal linguists, their analyses of structural aspects of grammar and the deep insights achieved in core linguistics, a good number of linguists have devoted themselves to analysing language in its socio-cultural context, and have strongly insisted that language use, linguistic variability and language change be included in their scope of investigation. Such properties, which are obviously characteristic of all natural languages, and certainly more perceptible by lay people than formal linguistic structures, can only be accounted for through quantitative analysis in terms of explanations related to social practices. Speakers' behaviour and language variation in all types of communities have indeed proved to be strongly

influenced by a number of socio-cultural variables in addition to internal inherent linguistic variation. It is evident that in order to obtain a clear picture of such relations, one has to 'penetrate' the speech community under investigation and to analyse people's day-to-day linguistic behaviour in relation to social interactions and practices. These alternative conceptions of language have been regarded as paramount for deeper explanations of language phenomena. As a matter of fact, in approaching linguistic variants in terms of the social meanings related to them, and speakers' ingroup and outgroup day-to-day speech interactions, scholars in sociolinguistic work are on their way to formulate a fuller and more inclusive theory of language.

Social explanations of language, however, usually contrasted with accounts in psychological and cognitive terms, have recently been complemented by social-psychological approaches (e.g. Lambert *et al* 1960; Brown and Gilman 1960; Weinreich 1963; Lambert 1967; Fishman 1971; Labov 1972*a* and 1972*b*; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Giles and Powesland 1975; Ryan and Giles 1982*etc.*)⁴. Looking at language within a sociological framework, Fishman (1971:1) confers greater importance to its symbolic values when he says:

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.

Thus, language carries much more than mere content; and attitudes towards the way people speak constitute a precious source of information about the social aspects that characterize a speech community. Labov, for his part, particularly in his *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972*a*), has paid attention to listeners' judgements and implications about the relationship between linguistic forms and social features. In addition to his primary analysis of what he calls 'the differentiation of objective behaviour' in social stratification of language (Labov 1972*a*:116),

that is, as a result of direct observation of speakers' behaviour in correlation with social stratification and style differentiation, he considered people's social evaluation of others' speech as well as their self-evaluation by using a set of 'subjective reaction tests' to examine informants' unconscious attitudes towards a number of phonological variables, such as the pronunciation of post-vocalic *r*. One important aim in the analysis of the subjects' ratings of New Yorkers' speech was to obtain correlates of linguistic features with social stratification and a better vision about the social significance of these variables; and an interesting result of Labov's subjective reaction tests is the uniformity of ratings, positive for example in the case of *r-use*, particularly among lower class younger individuals, in spite of their adoption of the stigmatized *r-less* forms.

Clearly then, research into people's language attitudes and evaluation of speech forms has drawn the attention of a number of scholars for the last few decades, for it has become urgent to consider the intricacies involved in the relationship between language use and socio-cultural factors on the one hand, and, as Giles (1982:viii) says, "how speakers cognitively represent their social and psychological characteristics", on the other. This orientation, which has set out to look at the crucial importance of how language and social context are mediated by cognitive representations, has contributed to a large extent to a better understanding of the intricate and dynamic relations of language use in social life. Such social psychological perspective has certainly broadened the scope of research into language use, and will lead to the development of sociolinguistic theorizing as a whole.

But in spite of the recent developments in studies of language attitudes, there is still much to be done in the field in comparison with other attitudinal research achieved in psychological, social, and political areas (e.g. human behaviour, races, politics, etc.). Many sociolinguists admit that further research in language attitudes is required to bring about a substantial contribution for a more profound understanding of language use, for much linguistic behaviour – both in 'spontaneous' use of the mother tongue and in the learning process of another language or language variety – is actually the outcome of people's positive,

negative or neutral attitudes towards the languages or language varieties in competition in the community. In this regard, Carranza (1982: 63) points out that:

...it is apparent that this phenomenon does indeed influence language behaviour. Language attitudes can contribute to sound changes, define speech communities, reflect intergroup communication, and help determine teachers' perceptions of students' abilities.

Though pioneering studies in language attitudes were conducted by social-psychologists, particularly in Canada by Lambert (1967) and his associates, a few sociolinguists, Labov in particular (1966, 1972*a*, etc), have acknowledged social-psychological approaches to language, as indicated above, and incorporated, in their research data, people's judgements and feelings about what is said and how it is said in a given situation. "After all", as Giles (1982: vii) puts it, "much of an individual's behaviour occurs in a social context, is manifest linguistically, and mediated by cognitive processes." In other words, for a more comprehensive understanding of these relations, language must be examined along three avenues of exploration: linguistic, social, and psychological. Clearly, then, only a thorough analysis of the complex relations between these processes will reveal the essential nature of language. These three 'forces' have been described as necessarily exerting strong mutual influences which may lead to important linguistic variation and language change, and thus, according to Giles (*ibid*: ix),

...not only is speech behaviour in important social settings influenced by a complex set of cognitive mechanisms but also these very same speech behaviours can influence (sometimes change and other times even determine) one's own and others' attitudes and cognitions as well.

Before turning to the reflection on the effects of social and psychological interferences with language use and linguistic behaviour in today's speech community of Tlemcen and the resulting language attitudes, we believe it is essential to have another look at the socio-cultural context of our language

situation, for, in spite of the shared norms of usage described in sociolinguistic terms as referring to "a set of common evaluative judgements" (Guy 1988:50), people often display different reactions to different linguistic variants. We shall then try to provide a tentative description of how the varieties at play in the speech community are evaluated by its members, an evaluation that is not based, of course, on intrinsic linguistic characteristics. It has long been established that all languages are linguistically equivalent. In fact, considerable work has been done by linguists to demonstrate that no language is linguistically 'better' or 'more correct', or aesthetically more or less beautiful than another one. People, however, do make different types of judgements about the status of the languages and/or language varieties used in their community, and, as Edwards (1982:21) reports, the studies of Giles and his colleagues (1974, 1979)

...suggest that judgements of the quality and prestige of language varieties are dependent upon a knowledge of the social connotations which they possess for those familiar with them.

In other words, to exhibit attitudes about speech ways, it is evident that one must belong to the speech community or at least be familiar with a set of shared norms, experiences and assumptions in that community, and thus be sensitive enough to its cultural and linguistic stereotypes. A foreigner in the Algerian society would not react of course in any way to people's speech behaviour even if he has got a very good command of Standard Arabic. The only attitude he might have in this case would be to wonder why no one speaks that variety in their everyday conversations, if we may call this 'attitude. Similarly, an Algerian citizen from the East, for instance, would not understand the reasons why and the contexts in which native speakers of Tlemcen vary their speech, unless he/she is aware of the idiosyncrasies of Tlemcen Arabic, its stigmatised linguistic features and people's attitudes towards such features. Thus, attitudes towards a particular variety only crystallise through a complex of social and psychological factors which engender various types of social stereotypes.

5.2.1 The Concept of Attitude

The notion of attitude is an important evaluation tool used in sociology and social psychology. It has been viewed in broad terms by Sarnoff (1970:279)⁵ as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”. This predisposition is assumed to involve knowledge of the object in question, a feeling towards that object, and a certain reaction to it.

In social psychology of language, the concept of language attitude is used broadly to mean “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties and their speakers”, as stated in Ryan *et al* (1982:7). In fact, it has been shown that people’s reactions to a language variety are actually attitudes to the *speakers* of that variety (Lambert 1967; Edwards 1982; etc.). In other words, people use speech cues to ‘learn’ about a speaker’s personal characteristics, social group membership, level of instruction and psychological state (Ryan *et al.* 1982). Below the level of conscious awareness, listeners perceive people’s speech, *and hence the speakers themselves*, in positive, neutral or negative terms, an evaluation being triggered by social stereotypes associated with linguistic variables of the variety in question. Furthermore, the socio-historical and sociostructural features of a community can be highly valuable for explaining people’s language attitudes. Bourhis (1982:61) points out that

Social psychological studies of language attitudes cannot ignore the socio-structural contexts which inevitably influence such attitudes. [...] in the absence of actual empirical data, an overview of sociostructural factors affecting ethnolinguistic groups can be a precious source of information for assessing language attitudes in target speech communities

Among the theories developed to explain the nature of language attitudes, two competing views have been put forward: the behaviourist view, which is only based on the affective component, considers language itself as social behaviour,

and thus attitudes according to behaviourists can be observed directly in people's responses to social stimuli. Mentalists, for their part, view attitudes as consisting of a complex of cognitive, affective and behavioural elements, and thus can be better inferred in an indirect way. Within the mentalist view, Williams (1974)⁶ describes the concept of attitude as "an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response."

The models developed by Lambert (1960, 1967) and his colleagues are based on mentalist conceptions, particularly the 'matched-guise' technique that they introduced as a means of assessing language attitudes in a French-Canadian bilingual context.

We shall see in the next sub-sections the extent to which this elicitation technique may be applicable against an Algerian linguistic background with the manifold relationships between languages and language varieties, particularly in the context of Tlemcen speech community.

5.2.2 Lambert's Matched-guise Technique

Devised by Lambert and his collaborators in 1960, and then developed later on in Lambert 1967, Gardner and Lambert 1972, Lambert and Tucker 1972⁷, the matched-guise technique was used in a bilingual context to bring out people's evaluations of and reactions to the two languages in competition in Montreal (Quebec). The principle in the technique is to elicit judges' attitudes about speakers' personal qualities through listening to a recorded text: in fact, the speaker, whose voice is tape-recorded and played to the audience, performs *the same text in different guises* (in the case of the Canadian study, in the two languages, English and French); and the judges (some L1 English- and others L1 French-speaking individuals) evaluate the speaker's text exclusively on the basis of the language, convinced that they have listened to two different persons. In contrast with direct questionnaires or interviews, this indirect method of eliciting attitudes towards distinct languages or language varieties allows the production of unconscious, spontaneous social judgements, and sincere reactions to the

spoken forms heard. Lambert (1967) says in this respect, that this technique “appears to reveal judges’ more private reactions to the contrasting group than direct attitude questionnaires do”. The sociolinguistic interview and traditional questionnaire have sometimes proved to reveal somewhat biased responses, and hence the devising of techniques that may get round the ‘observer’s paradox’. Furthermore, as Labov (1972a: 145-6) states in a comment on the matched-guise technique developed by Lambert as a basic tool for the observation and explanation of people’s subjective reactions to a language or language variety,

The essential principle which emerges from Lambert’s work is that there exists a uniform set of attitudes towards language which are shared by almost all members of the speech community, whether they use a stigmatized or a prestige form of that language. These attitudes do not emerge in a systematic form if the subject is questioned directly about dialects; but if he makes two sets of personality judgments about the same speaker using two different forms of language, *and does not realize that it is the same speaker*, his subjective evaluations of language will emerge as the differences in the two ratings.

The emphasis in Labov’s text above highlights the importance of the innovative spirit of the technique as it allows the investigator to unveil unconscious social attitudes.

Lambert’s findings have revealed favourable reactions towards English for its higher status in Canada, not only among the English-speaking subjects, members of the majority language, but also with the lower-status group, the French speakers. While the positive reaction from the English speakers is predictable to a large extent as it reflects *their* higher status, the evaluations in favour of the English language from the minority group judges is clearly indexical of the powerful impact of social stereotypes. Indeed, negative bias against whatever type of minority group (e.g. lower working class in western society, non-standard speakers, or blacks in the US) will lead people to unconsciously downgrade their own ethnic group, though they may display strong ties of solidarity, and sustain a kind of covert prestige as to their vernacular speech forms in opposition with the

prestige language in a given community. But uniform evaluations of a speaker's differential status, personality traits or level of education can be obtained, apparently on a sub-conscious level of awareness, solely on the basis of the type of language, language variety or accent he or she uses.

Insisting on this uniformity of language attitudes resulting from social attitudes and stereotypes, Labov (1972*a*: 248, n. 40) goes on so far as to regard the fact as a strong defining feature of a speech community when he writes,

[...] it seems plausible to define a speech community as a group of speakers who share a set of social attitudes towards language.

The significance of language attitudes as a sociolinguistic variable has roused so much interest among researchers that the matched-guise technique and other indirect methods have been used in various influential social-psychological and sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Lambert 1967; Cheyne 1970; Giles 1970 and 1971*b*; Labov 1972*a*; Edwards 1977*a*, etc.)⁸.

A similar impetus has led us to make the decision to use Lambert's technique in our research and see how it applies to an Algerian urban speech community, though of course we have to take into account the specificities of our society as a whole and the sociolinguistic configuration of Tlemcen speech community in particular. It is worth noting indeed that, for the reasons we intend to look at in the following sub-section, members of various types of societies will display different patterns of language attitudes, as it will clearly appear in a parallel between western and Arabic-speaking communities.

5.2.3 Standard-with-Dialect Communities vs. Diglossic Situations

It is certainly very important to look into the social history of a country or a community to have a clearer idea of how language attitudes have come about. Indeed, in order to grasp the way language attitudes develop, "it may be necessary", as St Clair (1982:164) points out, "to reach back into the past and

investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation.” It must be borne in mind that, in fact, in addition to its use as a primary medium of communication, language carries strong symbolic functions that are tightly related to socio-historical components of society.

Considerable sociolinguistic research work and language planning studies (Haugen 1966; Ferguson 1977; Fasold 1990, etc.) have revealed that in western speech communities, as well as in other types of societies, the standard variety of a given language is evaluated more favourably for its association with power and dominance, although, as indicated above, it is, in principle, equivalent to any other dialect or accent on linguistic and aesthetic considerations. On the face of it, in Arabic too there is nothing inherently better in one variety or another, particularly from the linguistic point of view. However, the diglossic character of the Arabic-speaking communities makes language evaluation quite different from what is attested in standard-with-dialect situations, as we shall see below. In this regard, Giles and Powesland (1975:13) admit that not all prestige varieties necessarily go through the same process in gaining higher status when they state that “it may be premature to suggest unconditionally that all prestige speech styles acquire their status and favourable aesthetic ratings by means of cultural norms...” In fact, whereas London English and Parisian French, for instance, were due to become the standard languages of the two nations for historical reasons – i.e. as a result of the establishment of the Royal Court in London and the King’s Court in the ‘Ile-de-France’– and the subsequent language policies developed for their enforcement, the institution process of Arabic as the sole language of the whole Arab Nation (*al 'Umma l 'Arabiyya*) is *not* a direct consequence of arbitrary decisions taken by a powerful group of leading people. Rather, not only did Arabic acquire its high status as a long-standing language of a huge size of classical literature (both pre- and post-Islamic), of philosophy and scientific discourse⁹ and then modern writings, but primarily because of its association with the rise of Islam, and more specifically for its undeniable status as the language of the Qur’ān, the sacred book regarded by Muslims as the Word of God. Indeed, the fact that a number of Qur’ānic verses¹⁰ insist on bringing up

this inextricable link between Arabic and the Holy Book makes people believe that the language of the Qur'ān cannot be surpassed, and thereby hold it in the highest regard, though in practice it is a lower-status variety that people use in everyday speech interaction. This dual linguistic situation, which has in fact existed ever since the codification of Classical Arabic, or *al Fuṣḥā*, on the basis of the sacred texts, the Prophet's Traditions, and the whole bulk of Arabic literature, does not seem to disturb Arabic speakers who took and continue to take it for granted that CA, or MSA, is the 'real' language across the Arab world and a symbol of wider identity. And therefore, no regular standardisation process had to be undertaken after the tight link established between that language, the Arabs' culture and their religion; the only thing that contemporary Arab policy makers have succeeded in doing in all modern Arab nations, after the long periods of European colonisation and/or political dominance during the last two centuries, is to implement this long-established variety, rightly described by Ferguson (1959a: 336) as "a highly-codified [...] superimposed variety".

However, in spite of this distinctive process of standardisation, the high prestige ascribed to CA (or to its modern form, MSA, which, in reality, differs very little from what is called the High Variety¹¹) is reflected in positive and favourable attitudes that are comparable in many respects to the status attributed to RP English, Standard French, or to any other western European standard.

On structural grounds, supposedly in all communities, attitudes towards high-status and low-status languages or language varieties may vary along two important dimensions, social status and group solidarity (Ryan *et al.* 1982), which are reflected, respectively, in the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties. In other words, while social status and power are the sphere of the standardness dimension, group solidarity factors are the realm of lower-status vernaculars, and contribute to the vitality and viability of these non-standard or colloquial varieties. So, the society's relation to a higher-status variety as opposed to lower-status social or regional variety appears to be the same everywhere, whatever the sociolinguistic profile of the speech community. The typical contrasting pattern in the overall profile of a language variety within a

standard-with-dialect society lies in the stability of the standard language as opposed to the potential changeability of the non-standard variety. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:8) put forward the idea that

...standardness and status are much more stable than vitality and solidarity with regard to diachronic changes across time as well as synchronic variation across speech communities, subgroups within speech communities and situations.

Indeed, when a given dialectal variety has been chosen, codified and definitely established as the standard language of the nation, to be taught and used for a virtually indefinite period of time in all public institutions and for all administration and government purposes, a non-standard variety is much less stable and subject to constant variation and change; and it may, in the course of time, either gain or lose vitality and solidarity depending on the attitudes and reactions of the members of the community where it is used.

Therefore, in many types of communities, particularly in the western world, language attitudes are deeply influenced by language policies which typically promote the variety of the capital city as the national and official language of the country. Consequently, the prestige ascribed to that standardized form is passed on from generation to generation, whereas the local vernaculars are seen as less valuable except in terms of covert prestige, i.e. on the dimensions of solidarity and group identity. The working-class Cockney accent, for instance, has gained some prestige and is spreading out of London (Romaine 2000; Holmes 2001) by the adoption of some of its features such as the glottal stop in words like *bit* and *better*. It is through the influence of the media, in particular that of Cockney TV heroes, that this local variety has gained positive attitudes and started spreading. On the whole, low-status varieties are evaluated in a positive way on in-group dimensions such as solidarity, language loyalty, social attractiveness and friendliness. But in spite of the fact that some non-standard varieties may obtain positive ratings along a number of social dimensions, the standard of the country remains the most prestigious variety for its association with power and status, on

the one hand, and its consideration as the language required for education and socio-economic advancement on the other.

Nevertheless, in a diglossic context, which has tended to be relatively stable for centuries, as Ferguson remarks in his oft-quoted definition of diglossia (1959a:336), particularly in the Arabic-speaking world, people's reactions and attitudes towards the High variety is clearly more uniform across the whole community, even when sometimes they cannot understand it well. The relation to *al Lughā*, as it is often referred to by lay people, displays much more stability from the diachronic perspective than in the case of English or French; that is, the High variety (CA or MSA) has always enjoyed privilege and the prestige of a written language, while the typical attitudes towards Colloquial Arabic, which is not taught in school as it only belongs to the oral tradition, are unfavourable and characterized by a kind of disdain; and thus, in the face of high-status Arabic, Arabs commonly see their vernaculars as 'deficient', broken-down, 'incorrect' and not worthy of value. Ennaji (1991:12) says in this regard:

For most Maghrebins, governments and people alike, Dialectal Arabic is a corrupt or incorrect form of Arabic which is useless in important matters.

There have been, however, some attempts for standardizing some varieties spoken in Arab capitals such as Cairo or Damascus. Cairene Arabic, for instance, enjoys a certain status as a result of the long-established prestige of Cairo as a cultural and commercial centre. But such status is restricted to oral exchanges and no serious attempt of writing Cairene Arabic has been successful, apart from some folk literature, plays, songs and cartoons. Similarly, a semi-formal Arabic variety of the Algerian capital – a form of AA that includes a good number of H linguistic items while at the same time it gets rid of some French borrowings – seems to be gaining some prestige as a consequence of its frequent use in TV programmes, films and plays as well as in radio talks and political speech. This variety might be seen as a likely candidate for standardisation. But, in reality, if such variety is not used in everyday speech by any portion of the community, and

if it continues to borrow linguistic forms from the High variety and to displace French words and expressions, and if it were to acquire a written form, then there would be no need for a standard Algerian Arabic, simply because such a variety will get closer to MSA, which is already regarded as the standard of the country, its official and national language. Nonetheless, as indicated above, this duality of the linguistic situation, MSA/AA, described as diglossic and typified by a functional complementary distribution, does not seem to bring about sociolinguistic problems for Algerian speakers, or presumably anywhere else in the Arabic-speaking world. Actually, because of a general feeling rooted in Arabic-speaking communities that *al Lughā*, the language, does not belong to any particular group or social class, there appears to be no such things as separation of majorities and 'in-groups' from minorities and 'outsiders', as is the case in the US for example (Cf. Labov 1972 *a* and *b*), except perhaps at the level of contrasting and competing low varieties co-existing in the same urban setting. We have seen in Chapter 4 how, in spite of the traditional prestige felt about Tlemcen town, many features of its speech are avoided by native speakers themselves because of an overall stigmatisation, while the rural variety co-existing with it does not seem to 'suffer' from negative comments, though no prestige is felt about it. In contrast, MSA enjoys in general the same degree of prestige by both groups in the community as a whole.

In contrast with the western context then, the prestige of the High variety remains unchallengeable in the entire Arab world, and the attitudes displayed towards CA or MSA seem to be unanimously positive not only among Arabic speakers, but also among large numbers of non-Arab Muslims as a result of its association with the Qur'ān and its religious significance as a whole.

In the next section, we shall try to examine some young people's attitudes towards, and subjective reactions to, the different varieties at play in Tlemcen community whose speech configuration can indeed be regarded as representative of the Algerian linguistic profile as a whole, apart from the rural/urban speech contrasts that are rather specific to Tlemcen, as described in Chapter 4.

5.3 Attitudinal Aspects in the Speech Community Tlemcen

One crucial aspect of the complexity of the linguistic situation in Algeria is reflected in a formal-informal 'complex' which is far from being equivalent to the standard-with-dialect dimension prevailing in the western world. Indeed, due to the socio-historical great events which led to the establishment of Islam in the country along with the introduction of Arabic more than ten centuries ago, and then, many centuries later, to the enforcement of French and its deep-rootedness resulting in societal bilingualism, two language systems, in a twofold relation to the native tongue(s), are in continual competition as far as prestige is concerned:

a) the High variety, with its 'dual standard' CA/MSA, gains its prestige from its being the language of the Qur'ān and the whole bulk of religious and literary works, the language of the Arab nation, and, today, the language of education and the media;

b) Standard French too is regarded as prestigious for its association with education, especially in technical and scientific domains, and for the role it plays in economic sectors and transactional relations, but also for its consideration by many as a symbol of modernity and global communication.

Both languages thus are felt to have high status in the Algerian society, as described in Chapter 4 (4.4.2.), though we may at times attest confrontational opinions related to cultural and ideological orientations, particularly among those educated 'francophones' as opposed to 'arabophones' (See note 4, Chap. 4). Algerian Arabic, on the other hand, the mother tongue of most Algerians, has no overt prestige though it is the language of solidarity and national identity.

On the grounds of such multi-dimensional configuration characterizing the linguistic setting in Tlemcen speech community, and following Lambert's model (1960, 1967) of language attitudes elicitation, we have set out to observe the reactions of a number of youngsters towards the language varieties at play.

By making use of linguistic variation involving the two high-status languages, MSA and French, and the two low Arabic varieties (TA and the rural form of Arabic used in the community and that we shall call RA hereafter) existing side by side in the speech community of Tlemcen, we attempt in this section to explore reactions to people's linguistic behaviour and to elicit stereotyped subjective impressions and biased views held about representatives of the different languages and language varieties.

5.3.1 Reactions to Language Varieties

- *The investigation*

The procedure, as used in Lambert *et al.* (1960), intends to carry out, by means of the matched-guise technique, an assessment of the language attitudes displayed by 50 young students aged between 18 and 23 (there were 57 initially, but seven answer sheets have been dismissed for failure in filling in all sections).

The aim of the experiment is to elicit the informants' reactions to the forms of speech tape-recorded by a single speaker in four different 'guises' representing the four varieties commonly heard in the community. The speaker happened to be a man, but it would be interesting to carry out the same experiment with a woman; for, a female speaker would certainly bring about different reactions as gender in itself is a social stereotype. The informants, here called judges for the matter, were asked to evaluate the *four* speakers on a number of dimensions; it was four *guises*, in fact, but the judges thought they were listening to four *real* persons, and we are almost certain that they did not guess they heard only one. Performed perfectly well (as if each of the fictitious four speakers was using his own natural way of speaking), the same passage was read in the four varieties, and the whole was played twice in the order: 1: Tlemcen Arabic; 2: Rural Arabic; 3: MSA; 4: TA/French. (Scripts, translation and questionnaire in Appendix III). As the judges were students of English in the Department of Foreign Languages, we have decided to compose the questionnaire in English. We believe that the neutrality of English for the experiment helped to avoid all bias as to the varieties

to be evaluated. The questionnaire sheets were handed out after the first playing of the tape; then, after giving some explanations about how to fill them in, we played the recording a second time and gave enough time for the filling in.

- The text

The one-minute passage was read at a natural speed rate (less than five minutes were taken to read it in the four guises). We have composed the text so that there would be no emotion felt by the listeners which would have diverted them from the aim of the test. The only problem we had was with the third guise which was characterized by a kind of incongruity as an everyday event was related in MSA. In his study of Moroccans' reactions to the use of Arabic and French, Bentahila (1983:96) says in this respect:

A case where such incongruity might arise is where the varieties being compared are the high and low varieties of a diglossic situation, as is the case with Classical and Colloquial Arabic.

In fact, we noticed that during the MSA guise performance, our students could not help expressing amusement when they heard, for instance, [la: ta χa:fi: ja: ʔumma:h la: ta χa:fi:] 'Don't worry Mother, don't worry', an utterance we would never hear in everyday settings. But the aim of including the High variety in the test was precisely to elicit the informants' reaction to it as opposed to AA.

As for the two AA guises (TA then RA), they naturally included a few French borrowings, which is commonplace in the Algerian society. But the fourth guise consisted of considerable code-switching between Tlemcen Arabic and a type of French that is closer to the Standard form used in France. We know of course that our students understand French to a large extent, just like many Algerians, especially those exposed to it in school, on TV, etc. However, as examined in the previous chapter, not all of the respondents have a good command of French in terms of production.

- *The results*

Before exposing the results which reveal the students' reactions to the passage they heard, a few methodological points have to be made:

- The questionnaire administered is in the form of the 'semantic differential' proposed in Osgood *et al.* (1957)¹²: i.e., relevant adjectives describing 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 socially regarded as positive to negative (e.g. *rich ... poor*; see App. III); and thus, the seven points on the scale are given scores, from 6 on the left (positive) to zero on the right (negative).

- On each characteristic of the variety or trait of the speaker, proposed to the judges for evaluation, the results are computed and overall percentages are obtained for each 'speaker' and compared.

- For an overall observation of the results, the tables and graphs show the evaluations of the whole group of judges on three dimensions: evaluation of the variety, the speakers' personalities, and then the job that would better suit them.

- But, to obtain contrasting attitudes, we have then split up the 50 judges' rating sheets into two separate groups on a personal background basis: 30% native speakers, and 70% non-TA speakers (information provided by the students). The contrast between TA users and RA users being a central aspect of our investigation in the community, the reactions of the two groups of judges (natives vs. non-natives) are contrasted so that we can observe the extent to which the members of each group favour or disfavour their own variety.

- A final direct question is addressed to the judges themselves: it aims at exploring the likeability of one variety through the degree to which they would like to resemble one speaker or another.

- Deeper insights into language attitudes would have been achieved from the gender differentiation perspective had we used a female speaker in the various guises; but we did not have the opportunity to verify such assumption because we did not find a woman to carry out the experiment.

5.3.1.1 Evaluative reactions to the speaker's variety

The first test consists of a table to fill in about the language variety that each guise-speaker uses and on each of the five traits proposed: *pleasantness*, *status*, *urbanity*, *clarity*, and *manliness*. Our decision in selecting the four 'guises' using TA, RA, MSA and TA/French is based on our assumption, as a native speaker aware of the dynamic and often confrontational relationships between the varieties used in the speech community, that the judges are potentially sensitive to these varieties and hold stereotyped impressions of the groups that use them. The five characteristics chosen are intended precisely to elicit such impressions. Consider the tables below and the corresponding graphs:

a) Pleasantness

Table 5.1. How pleasant do you find each variety?

N = 50	Pleasant ----- Unpleasant						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	17	6	8	13	5	0	1
RA	3	4	4	10	13	3	13
MSA	13	9	7	6	6	5	4
TA/French	19	12	10	8	1	0	0

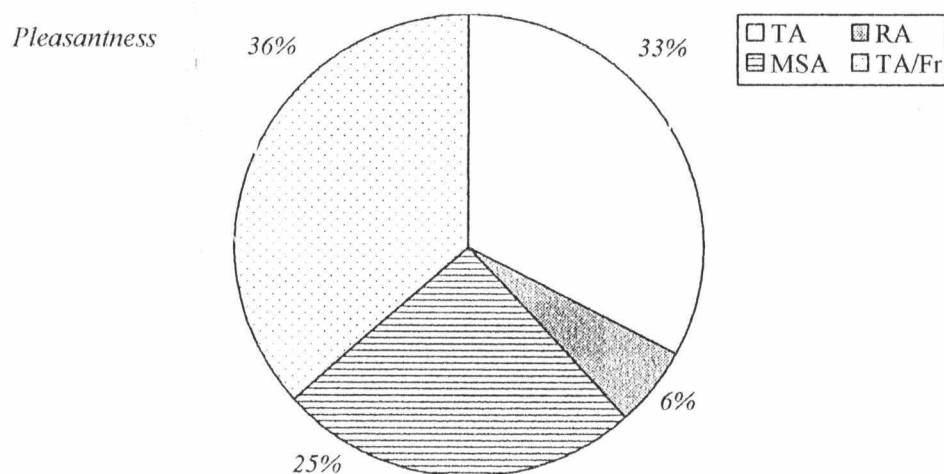


Fig. 5.1. Students' evaluation of pleasantness.

The results obtained and the overall configuration of the above pie-chart reveal that, in spite of the higher number of non-TA judges (35 out of 50), the urban varieties, TA mixed with French and then TA, are viewed as the most pleasant, while MSA is valued slightly lower (25%). In contrast, the rural variety is perceived as much less pleasing and only reaches a 6% overall percentage.

Combining the scores obtained on this attribute by assigning values from 6 to zero for each of the four varieties, the following pie-charts compare the results in a 'pleasantness degree' so as to show the contrasting views of TA judges as opposed to non-TA judges:

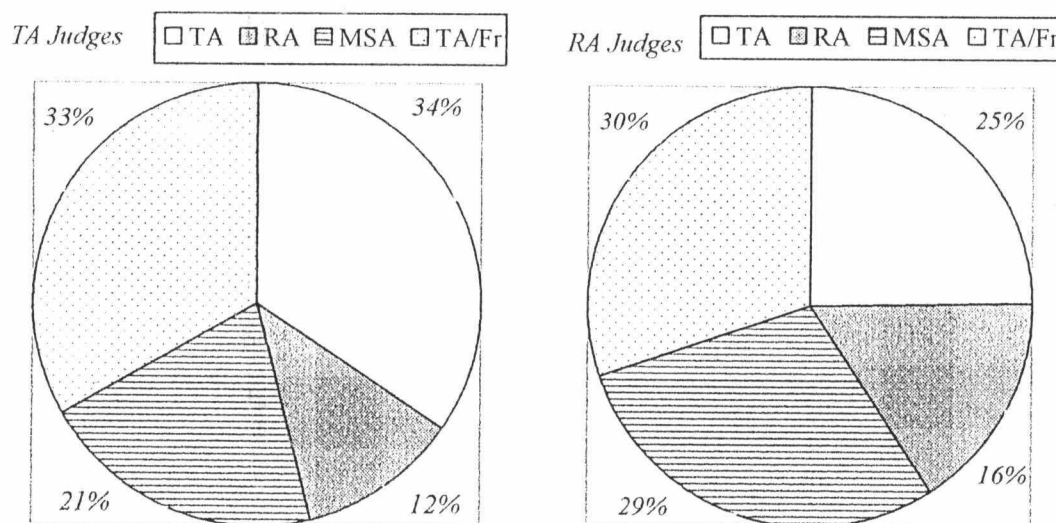


Fig. 5.2. - a. TA ratings of pleasantness. - b. RA ratings of pleasantness.

The TA judges' reactions to the varieties show clearly that they favour TA first, their own vernacular, then TA heavily mixed with French. MSA, too, is viewed as quite pleasant (21%); but they consider RA as much less pleasing. What is surprising is that the rural speech users rate their own variety as quite unpleasant as opposed to TA which they themselves value unexpectedly better than theirs (25% for TA vs.16%). The RA judges also clearly favour TA/French more or less to the same degree as their counterpart, but they perceive MSA as more pleasant than do TA speakers (30% and 29% respectively).

The graph below, taken out from Fig. 5.2 above, highlights the two groups' reactions to rural speech as opposed to the adding up of TA in its two forms, i.e.

TA + TA/Fr. This clearly shows higher scores for TA, not only on the part of the natives – which is predictable though Tlemcen speakers on the whole often avoid using their vernacular – but also in the reactions of the non-native speakers who unexpectedly devalue their own variety.

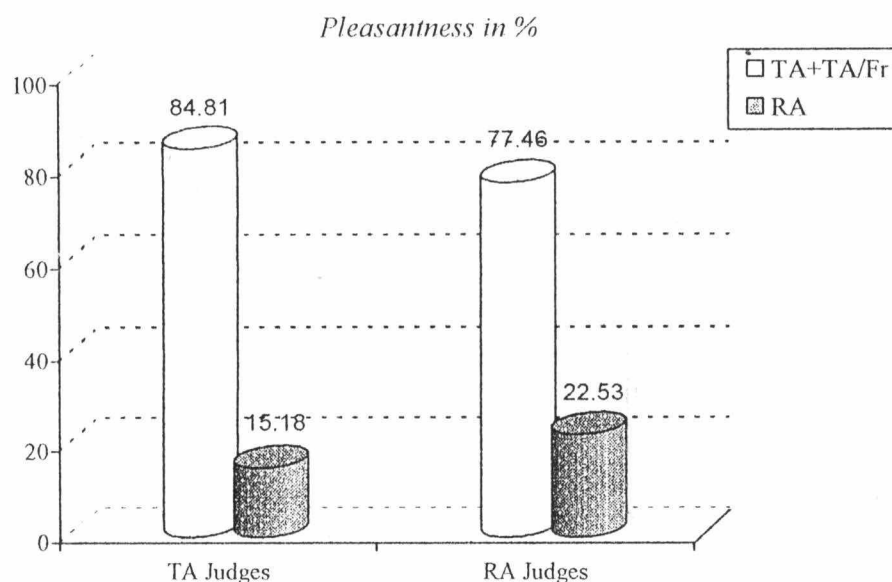


Fig. 5.3. Judges' ratings of Pleasantness: Tlemcen speech vs. RA, in %

Such attitude leads us to raise a few questions: If the non-TA speakers living in Tlemcen evaluate TA as more pleasing than their own speech, why don't they accommodate their way of speaking to that of TA speakers? And, what is more, why do they persist in mocking at Tlemcen speech to the extent that many of its characteristics have become strongly stigmatised, the glottal stop in particular?

Mention should be made here again that, in this investigation that follows Lambert's matched-guise technique, our intention is to elicit reactions to a language or a language variety as a whole, but it is crystal-clear that it is mostly the phonological opposition (?):[?~g] which makes Tlemcen speech an idiosyncratic variety in Arabic-speaking Algeria. Tlemcen speakers are indeed often labelled as 'those who speak with ?a'.

We shall try to put forward some tentative answers to the questions above and to other issues after considering attitudes and reactions towards other attributes.

b) Status

Status in relation to language has been considered as an essential factor in sociolinguistics, for because of its association with power and prestige, it allows the ranking of different language varieties in a society in hierarchical terms. Language status arises mostly from the functions it is associated with.

In our context, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, it is MSA, the High variety, which enjoys high status and is used in education, in the written form and formal settings. But, French too enjoys its share of status as it is regarded as a language of modernity and technological advancement. On the basis of these considerations, we have decided to include the language status attribute in our attitudinal investigation to see how these two languages are viewed by people in contrast with the two low varieties, TA and RA, used in the speech community of Tlemcen. Consider the following.

Table 5.2. How do you consider the status of each variety?

	High ----- Low						
N = 50	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	3	7	16	13	8	3	0
RA	1	4	4	9	18	5	9
MSA	9	7	6	12	5	4	7
TA/French	19	11	9	9	2	0	0

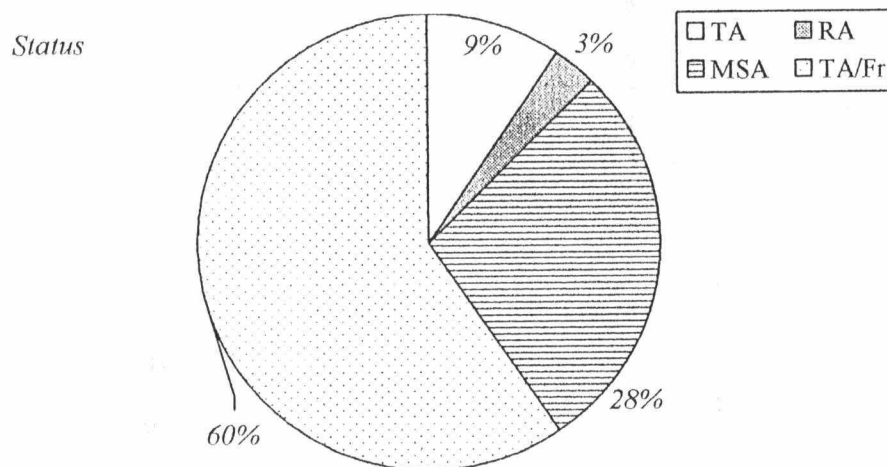


Fig. 5.4. Students' evaluation of status.

As expected, the overall scores show that TA/Fr is perceived as much higher in status, not because of TA, but most likely because of extensive use of French which, as mentioned above, still enjoys prestige in the Algerian society as a whole. Then, MSA receives quite high scores in contrast with TA alone and RA.

Considering again the results from the perspective of the two groups, we have obtained quite similar scores as those above.

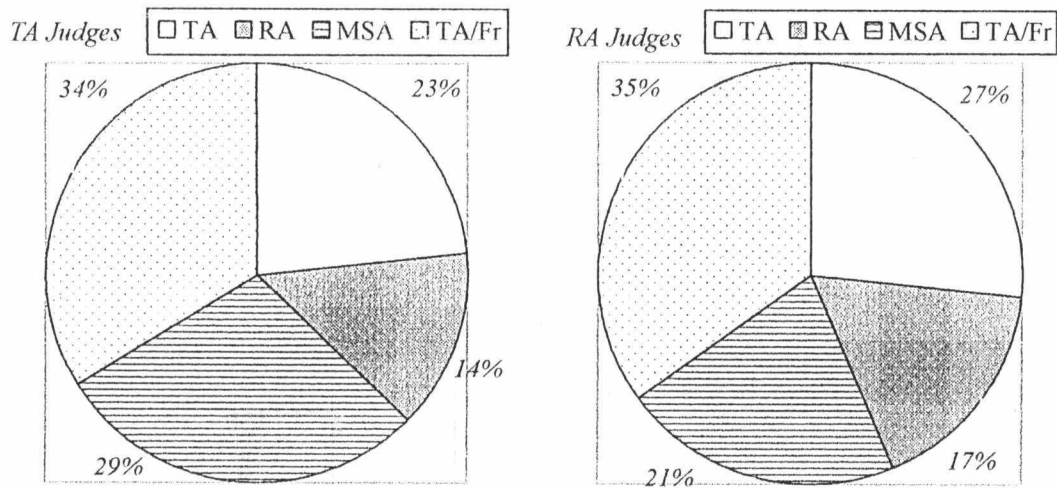


Fig. 5.5. - a. TA ratings of status.

- b. RA ratings of status.

And, interestingly, a strikingly downgrading of RA by RA judges, more than that of the trait of pleasantness appears here with, at the same time, higher status scores for TA, especially when combined with TA/Fr in the graph below:

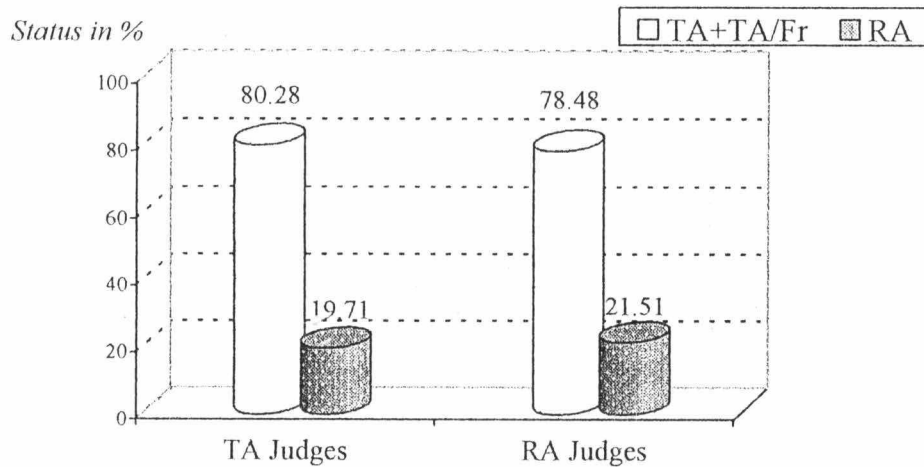


Fig. 5.6. Judges' ratings of status: Tlemcen speech vs. RA.

c) Urbanity

The results obtained on the aspect of urbanity seem to match the reality, as very few judges perceive RA as having reached a certain degree of 'refinement', in spite of its long co-existence with the established urban variety of Tlemcen. Is this a reflection of loyalty and solidarity displayed both by TA and RA judges to their respective language varieties?

Table 5.3. Which variety do you think is more urban?

Urban N = 50	Rural						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	25	12	8	4	0	0	0
RA	2	1	5	5	5	11	21
MSA	9	11	5	5	3	3	14
TA/French	27	9	6	6	2	0	0

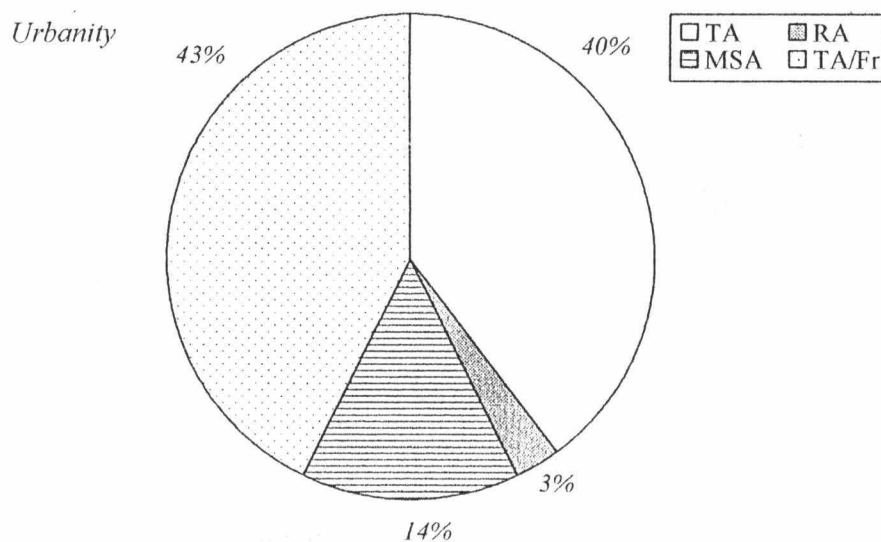


Fig. 5.7. Students' evaluation of urbanity.

The only explanation we can provide about the students' judgements is that, as we have seen throughout our work, the influence exerted by TA on rural speech users is very weak and only noticeable in the use of a few lexical TA

items, such as [ˈwʌs@m] ‘What?’, or [ˈf&j@n] ‘Where?’, instead of the rural forms [ˈwʌstɑ] and [wi:n]. It is rather the urban variety which is strongly influenced by rural speech for the reasons we have pointed out, particularly avoidance of mockery at the glottal stop and a number of native TA linguistic characteristics.

As to MSA, both TA and RA respondents perceive it as ‘less urban’ than TA and ‘less non-urban’ than RA. That is, to the ears of the judges, MSA is neither an urban variety nor a rural one.

d) Clarity

The scores obtained on which variety sounds clearer seem to reveal no real consistency of one of the four guises on this attribute as they share the pie chart in almost equal portions. Consider the table below and the corresponding chart:

Table 5.4. Which variety do you think is clearer?

N= 50	Clear ----- Confusing						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	19	9	11	8	1	1	1
RA	21	6	5	9	5	3	1
MSA	15	5	11	5	7	3	4
TA/Fr	21	5	3	11	7	3	0

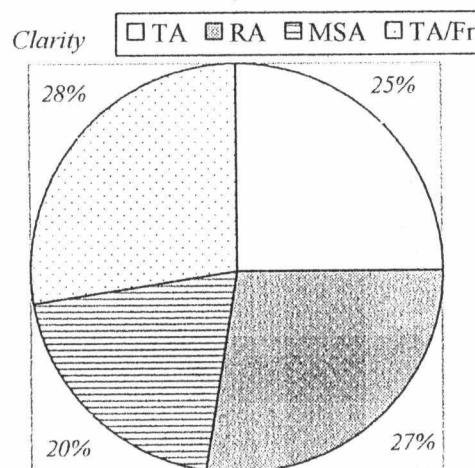


Fig. 5.8. Students' evaluation of clarity.

MSA, however, gets the lowest scores (20%) perhaps because its use in the context of everyday talk – the text played in the four guises here is common speech – appears to be quite peculiar to the judges who perceive the other varieties as ‘clearer’ for the setting.

e) Masculinity

Research into sociolinguistic variation has shown that some variety in a given speech community, generally the least prestigious in western society, is viewed as rough because of its association with lower class people and more so with men, while women in general use more refined forms of the standard, seeking to reach prestige and status (See 4.5.1.1). But we have seen that in Tlemcen it is the women who tend to stick to TA speech which has come to be associated with females; consequently, a stereotype has arisen: TA linguistic features, like the glottal stop, are viewed as feminine, and such stigmatisation has led to their avoidance by male speakers, as shown in chapter 4.

The scores obtained in the attitudinal test seem to confirm our assumptions that TA male speakers, particularly younger ones, tend to avoid TA idiosyncratic features in mixed settings, and readily accommodate to rural speech, precisely because they do not want to be ridiculed for their saying [ʔ&lli], 'Tell me'.

Let us consider the table below and the corresponding pie chart, and see how the two groups view the different varieties in terms of masculinity.

Table 5.5. Which variety do you think is more masculine?

N= 50	Manly ----- Feminine						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	4	5	5	5	5	11	15
RA	30	12	5	1	2	0	0
MSA	8	11	5	9	7	4	6
TA/Fr	11	13	9	10	3	3	1

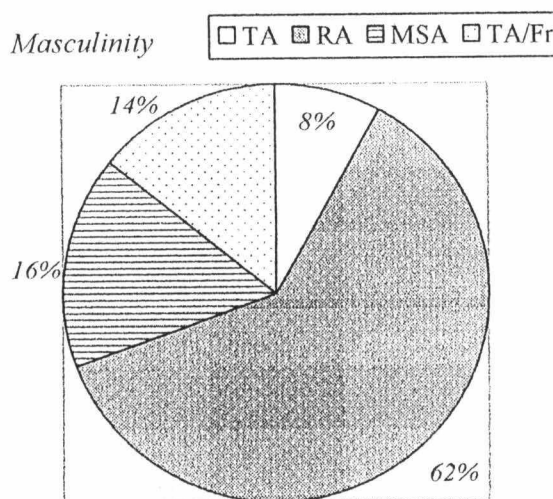


Fig. 5.9. Students' evaluation of masculinity.

The general pattern indicates that RA receives the highest scores on this trait. The evaluators' judgements allow the expression of social stereotypes, and the scores obtained here clearly represent the dual social stereotyped reaction: rural speech is associated with masculinity and toughness, and Tlemcen urban speech with femininity and 'refinement'. Indeed then, as expected, the two TA varieties are viewed as much less 'manly', rather 'feminine', in spite of the fact that the performance of the tape recorded text was achieved by a man's voice.

The following diagram shows the extent to which the two groups react practically the same way towards the two low varieties, TA and RA, which points to the shared social stereotype as to the speakers' manliness or femininity:

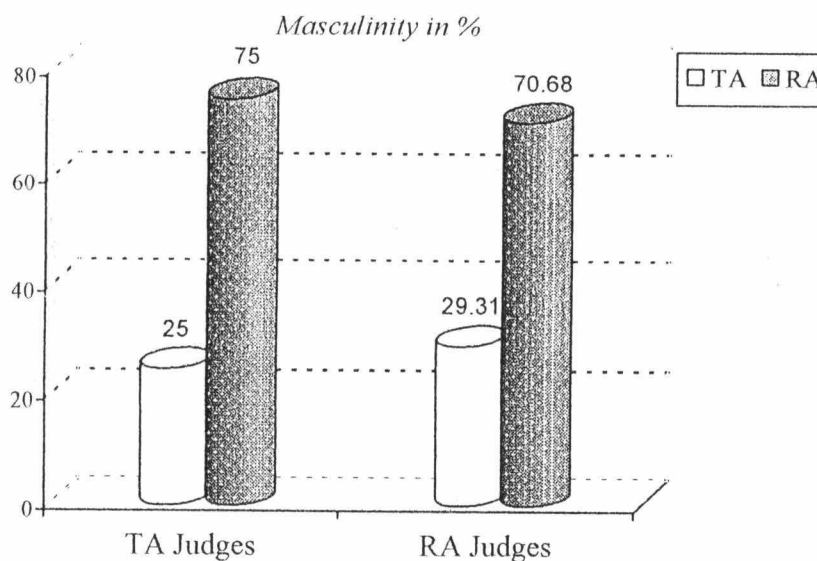


Fig. 5.10. Judges' ratings of masculinity: TA vs. RA.

- Interpretation

The most important point to make in considering the reactions to the varieties on various dimensions is that the indirect 'matched-guise' technique provides us with identification of social features and stereotyped images of speakers through speech cues. It must be emphasized again that it is not the speech itself which is

evaluated by the judges, but the *user* of the speech variety. Trudgill (1974:8) says in this regard:

All varieties of a language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers. It follows that value judgements concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are *social* rather than linguistic.

A related fact is that the judges' evaluations of speech here are different from the informants' attitudes obtained through direct questionnaires such as those we have used in 4.4.2 to elicit conscious views about MSA and French production, for example. What we need to know, however, is whether conscious attitudes match up with people's evaluative reactions. Bentahila (1983:93) says that

... it has been suggested that such explicitly elicited attitudes may not always correlate exactly with the possibly unconscious attitudes which are reflected by more indirect methods of investigation.

Our findings reveal indeed that speakers' actual linguistic behaviour and their conscious comments on their own speech or on other varieties in the community do not always match up with their attitudes towards, and evaluation of, people's different ways of speaking. We have seen throughout our work that TA is on the whole avoided in many settings because of its stigmatisation, but this does not prevent people, native speakers and non-natives alike, to evaluate it as pleasant speech. Conversely, though non-TA speakers almost never adapt their speech to that of Tlemcen, they evaluate this latter as much more pleasant than theirs. Such behaviour, we believe, clearly reflects their loyalty to rural speech and solidarity with members of their community.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that there are some contradictions that need to be explained: Why do rural speakers view Tlemcen speech as pleasant and as higher status variety, but continue to make fun of its users, particularly native male TA speakers? Another issue raises itself here: Why do TA male speakers

turn away from their vernacular when they 'know' that it is regarded as more pleasant and higher in status? The point is that, even though we consider their accommodation to RA in mixed settings and their switching back to TA in unconstrained ones as a kind of bi-dialectal competence, there is much evidence that today an increasing number of native TA speakers have got used to utilize rural speech characteristics in a quasi-spontaneous manner even in relaxed situations.

Such speakers' behaviour in avoiding the glottal stop, for example, for its irrational association with feminine speech correlates perfectly well with the judges' evaluation of TA as the less masculine variety (See Fig. 5.9 and 5.10 above), a social negative stereotype that is undeniably regarded as responsible for the overall 'shame' of using idiosyncratic features of Tlemcen speech by males.

Will these negative unfavourable attitudes lead to definitive convergence to RA speech and, eventually, to TA dialect shift? Trudgill (1983:23) points out in fact that "*attitudes* to languages clearly play an important role in preserving or removing dialect difference."¹³

But in spite of the acknowledged spread of RA, we strongly believe that the preservation of Tlemcen speech will persist, unless women too start using rural speech forms consistently; that is, if they use the 2nd person feminine suffix morpheme {-i}, as in [roʔi], 'Go' and, more decisively, if they replace [ʔ] by [g] by saying, for instance, [gɛlli], 'He told me', instead of [ʔɛlli], in relaxed domains such as the home, with relatives and friends, and with little children who will acquire these forms as part of their native tongue. But, for the moment, there is evidence that little TA boys only start switching to rural forms outside of the home, when they reach the age of mixing with non-TA children and, thus the switches occur in a rather conscious manner, illustrated in their double aim: to avoid being made fun of, and to sound tough in the playground.

In the next sub-section, we shall find out how our judges view the four guises on personality dimensions.

5.3.1.2 Attitudinal reactions to personality traits

The second matched-guise test was intended to elicit the fifty listeners' evaluations on four personality traits selected on the basis of a limited number of social characteristics reflecting socio-economic status, competence (intelligence and instruction) and social attractiveness. Using the same technique as in 5.3.1.1 (that of Osgood *et al.* 1957), we asked the judges to rate the 'four' speakers on each of these traits.

a) Wealth

The first trait which concerns the socio-economic status of the speaker has been decided on the somewhat biased idea that the Tlemceni people are wealthier and indeed the ratings below confirm this assumption, the TA/Fr speaker being perceived as much better off than the TA guise, most likely for his use of French which is highly rated on many dimensions. The user of MSA is not viewed as rich, but the poorest of all is the RA speaker.

Table 5.6. How wealthy do you think the speaker is?

	Rich ----- Poor						
N= 50	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	9	9	19	11	2	0	0
RA	3	3	2	17	13	7	5
MSA	7	5	6	17	9	3	3
TA/Fr	25	14	7	2	2	0	0

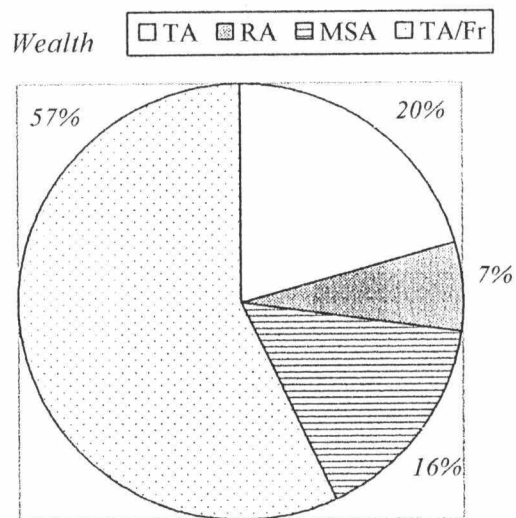


Fig. 5.11. Evaluation of speaker's wealth.

b) Competence

Quite similar evaluation patterns as those above have been obtained on the two personality traits related to competence as, in general, the TA speakers, particularly the guise using French, are perceived more favourably than the RA and MSA guises. The 'urbanity' of the speaker surely has some impact on the judges' upgrading, but again, the use of Standard French mixed with TA receives the highest scores on both attributes related to instruction, intelligence and education, as shown in the combined table below and the corresponding graphs:

Table 5.7. Speaker's intelligence.

Intelligent ----- Stupid								
	N= 50	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	9	12	15	11	1	1	1	
RA	6	1	9	13	11	7	3	
MSA	7	3	9	10	7	5	9	
TA/Fr	23	10	9	7	1	0	0	

Table 5.8. Speaker's education.

Educated ----- uneducated								
	N= 50	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	19	8	11	11	1	0	0	
RA	5	3	8	13	9	7	5	
MSA	15	7	7	7	10	2	2	
TA/Fr	27	15	5	3	0	0	0	

Intelligence □ TA ■ RA ▨ MSA ▩ TA/Fr

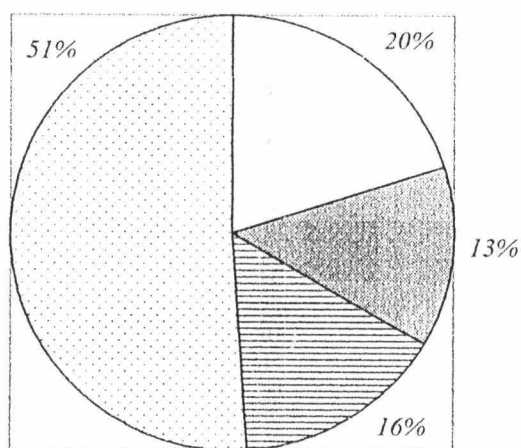


Fig. 5.12. Speaker's intelligence.

Instruction □ TA ■ RA ▨ MSA ▩ TA/Fr

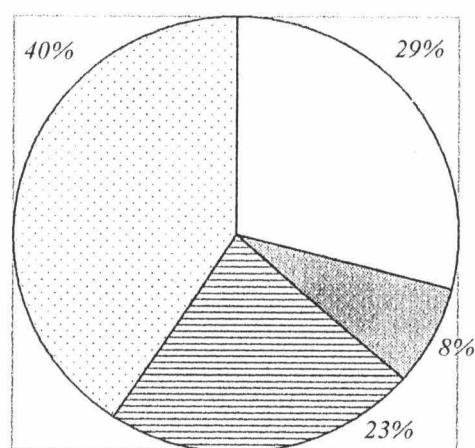


Fig. 5.13. Speaker's education.

c) Friendliness

While the TA and TA/Fr speakers receive high scores on competence traits, they are slightly downgraded on social attractiveness, specifically on the friendliness attribute. The RA guise, on the other hand, is rated more favourably on this trait though, on the whole, the values are somewhat shared for the four guises, as clearly illustrated in the pie-chart below (Fig. 5.8).

Table 5.9. Which speaker do you find more friendly?

N= 50	Friendly ----- Unfriendly						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TA	7	7	9	13	6	5	3
RA	14	9	7	8	7	2	3
MSA	8	5	8	13	7	5	4
TA/Fr	11	5	10	11	5	4	4

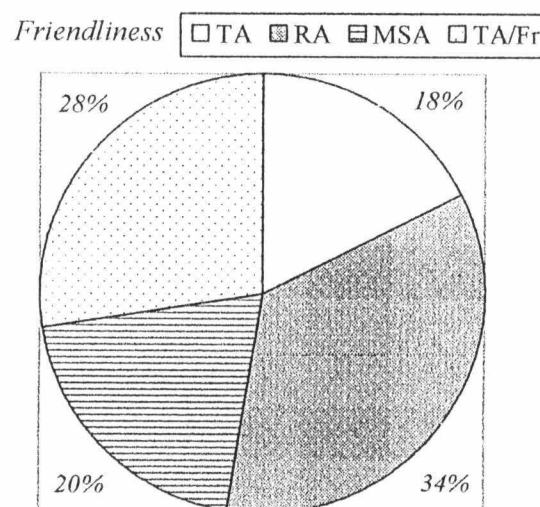


Fig. 5.14. Evaluation of speaker's friendliness.

The point to make is that the results here are comparable to some extent to the findings we have come across in the literature on language attitudes (e.g. Lambert 1967; Ryan and Giles 1982). That is, the low values obtained on competence traits in the case of the RA speaker are counterbalanced by higher scores on more 'human' traits such as social attractiveness and solidarity. Conversely, the use of extensive French in TA, combined with the 'undesirable' stigmatised glottal stop, tends to cause a feeling of social distance, particularly on the part of RA judges, and consequently rather negative evaluations are felt for TA speech on the friendliness trait. Now, how do the two groups of judges evaluate our 'guises' on a socio-professional dimension?

5.3.1.3 Views on speaker's job suitability

The third matched-guise test was administered in the form of a direct question to get the informants to choose one job that would suit best each guise. The five occupations selected for this experiment reflect various positions in the society. The aim is to see how listeners associate the type of job with the type of speaker, only on the basis of speech cues. Of course, they are supposed to ignore they are rating the same speaker in different guises, and thus, as Labov (1972a:213) says, "they unconsciously translate their social attitudes towards language into differential judgments of the speaker's honesty, reliability, intelligence, etc." So, how do our judges evaluate the 'speakers' on the occupational dimension?

Table 5.10. Speaker's job suitability

Variety Job	Teaching	Medicine	Self-employment	Manual labour	Farming
TA	22	7	13	7	1
RA	1	1	9	12	27
MSA	23	5	10	6	6
TA/French	9	37	3	1	0

N = 50

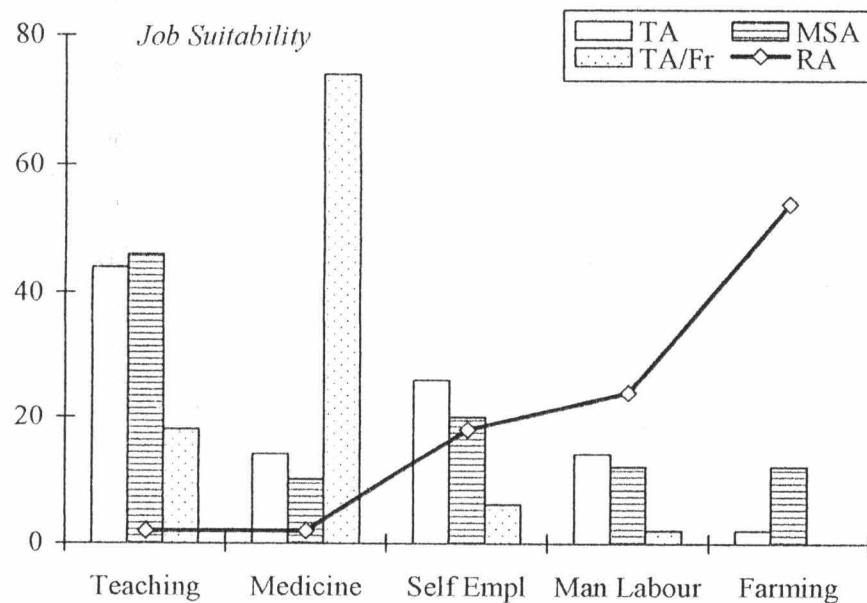


Fig. 5.15. Judges' reactions on job suitability.

The most salient feature that the diagram above reveals is the judges' negative estimation of the RA guise as to the jobs that do not suit him: a teacher or a doctor. Their virtually unanimous impression reflects the social stereotype that a rural speech user cannot hold an intellectual occupation such as teaching or medicine. Such opinion about job suitability associated with the type of language used is not random but has a social background. Holmes (2001:343) writes in this regard:

People generally do not hold opinions about languages in a vacuum. They develop attitudes towards languages which reflect their views about who speak the languages, and the contexts and functions with which they are associated.

Indeed, that country people in Algeria could not be doctors or teachers was conceivably true in the past when they lived in rural areas with no opportunity to go to school, particularly during the French occupation. We know, however, that anyone today may show aptitude for getting a degree in both fields, but the social stereotype does not seem to have vanished. Rather, the jobs that better suit our RA speaker may be in the sphere of manual labour or to a lesser degree in self-employment; but he is best viewed, even by the RA judges themselves, as a worker on a farm, as represented by the sudden rise of the RA curve in the graph.

Conversely, the urban speech guises in our experiment are rated much better on higher occupational status. In particular again, we believe that because of his extensive use of French in a form closest to the Standard, the TA/Fr speaker is perceived as most suitable for medicine by TA judges, and, surprisingly, more so by RA judges. The graph above (Fig.5.15) is displayed below in a different manner so as to show the scores obtained for each guise on the occupational dimension, but also to highlight by means of a curve the informants' evaluation about suitability for doing medicine, the most highly esteemed job in our society. The curve starts very low with RA; then, the MSA and TA guises receive quite low values (10% and 14% respectively) compared with the TA/Fr speaker who is rated significantly more favourably as he is granted no less than 74%, illustrated by the steep rise of the curve. The judges' attitude seems to confirm the prestige

that French continues to enjoy in the Algerian society as a language associated with modernity but also with scientific fields, reflected here in medicine, one of the fields in which the Western world is well ahead of us. And, as a matter of fact, medicine is one of the few domains that are still taught in French in the Algerian university.

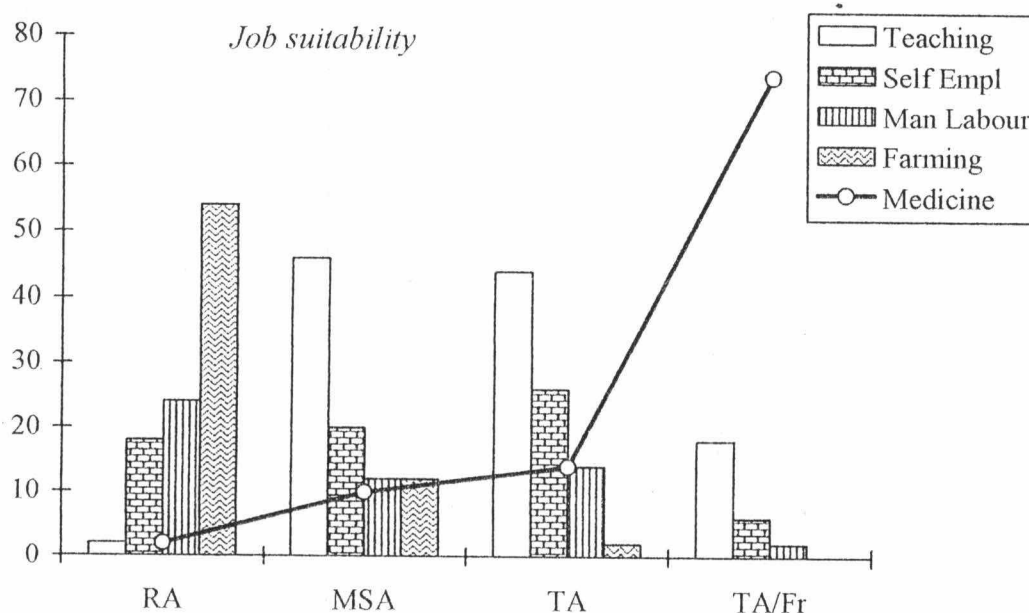


Fig. 5.16. Speakers' occupation suitability.

The TA and MSA speakers, on the other hand, are perceived as more suitable for the teaching domain. This perception is understandable for MSA whose status as the High variety used in formal education is acknowledged by everybody, but we wonder why the TA guise, using a low AA variety, receives just slightly lower scores for teaching than the MSA user, while the judges' reaction toward the RA guise, who also uses a low variety, shows that he is not fit for being a doctor or a teacher. The point of central importance here is that, most probably below the level of conscious awareness, rural speech users display a positive attitude toward TA, which does not coincide with their actual negative treatment of the variety, as pointed out throughout our work. In fact, it is predictable that a positive attitude toward a language variety or to a linguistic variant leads to its adoption or at least to people's desire to make use of it in certain contexts, as is

the case with RP English in Britain. But this is definitely not the case in our investigation in spite of the high values assigned by RA judges to TA, as can be seen clearly in the patterns below.

The two pie-charts reveal the stereotyped impressions on the occupational dimension that each group of judges holds of the guise using the variety of the contrasting group. The two TA guises' scores (TA and TA/Fr) are added up here to draw attention to the RA judges' overall evaluation. It is worth noting here that whereas the RA judges rate the TA speakers favourably with the highest scores for medicine and teaching and with low scores for low-status occupations, none of the TA judges 'thinks' that the RA guise could be a doctor or a teacher. In the face of it, he receives more than 90% of the values on the two low-status occupations, 60% of which going to farming while only 7% to self employment.

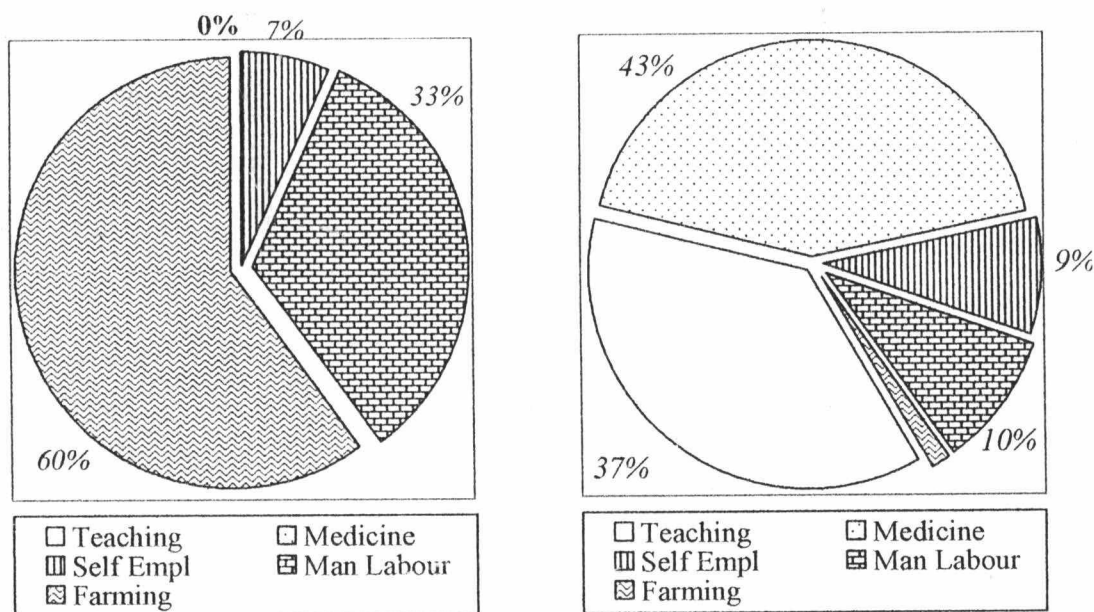


Fig. 5.17. Job suitability:

- a. TA judges on RA guise.

- b. RA judges on TA+TA/Fr guises.

Thus, it appears unequivocal that rural speech is associated in people's minds with low-status jobs, a biased attitude that persists despite today's large-scale urbanization and opportunities for studying at the university open to everyone. A question arises on this point: Why do people continue to use varieties that are downgraded when, at the same time, many consciously or unconsciously wish to identify with a better viewed one, as shown in the results below?

Table 5.11. Which speaker would you like to resemble?

Judges	Guises	TA	RA	MSA	TA/Fr
TA Students N=15		6	0	2	7
RA Students N=35		5	17	4	9

The listeners' answers to the direct question "Which speaker would you like to resemble?" reveal the configuration in the graph below: first, it is obvious that many students of the two groups identify with the guise using their own variety; that is, they do not aspire to sound like the speaker using the 'other' variety. But, what is interestingly unexpected again is that 40% of the RA respondents report they would like to resemble the two TA guises, particularly the one using French.

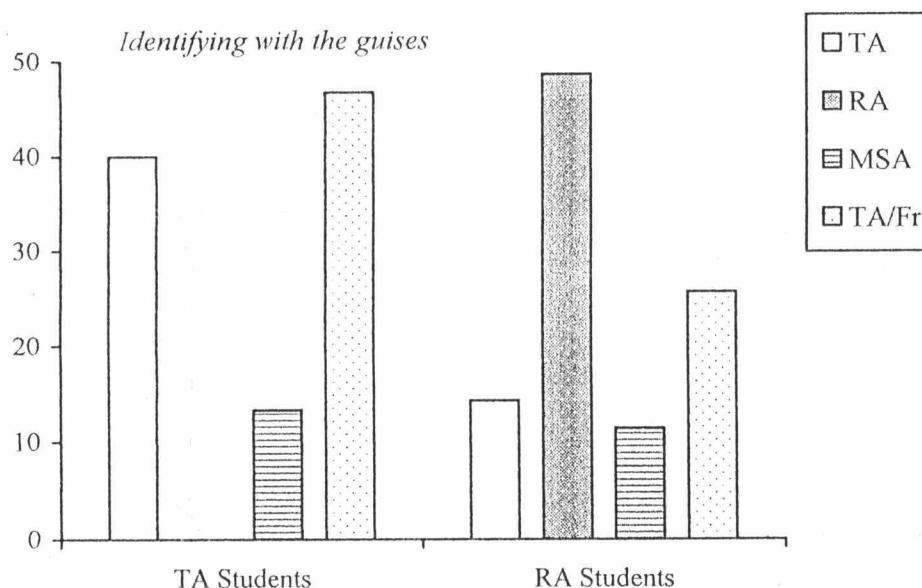


Fig. 5.18. Listeners' degree of identifying with the four guises, in %.

We understand that they must have been influenced by the TA/Fr guise, for the overall feeling is that, alongside MSA, a good command of Standard French may give access to high status and to a wide range of social positions in society.

But why are they also inclined to identify with the other TA guise when, at the same time, not only do they virtually never accommodate to TA speech, as we have seen in Chapter 4 (4.5.), particularly in the use of the glottal stop, but also tend to ridicule its users?

Conversely, the results show that the TA respondents do not wish to resemble the RA guise, even though in reality an increasing number of native TA speakers, mostly among younger males, do switch to rural speech in many domains (4.5.), to the extent that such linguistic behaviour seems to reflect on-going change in the urban variety. We shall try to see briefly, in the next sub-section, the role that language attitudes play in bringing about linguistic change.

5.3.2 Language Attitudes and Linguistic Change

Language attitudes have been considered one of the central factors that engender linguistic variation which in turn may lead to change in the language. Gauchat's study (1905) of the French-speaking dialect of a Swiss village, has been regarded as a pioneering work on historical sound change, as a number of phonological features were observed in apparent time in the speech of three generations, i.e. in the speech of three age groups. His age-grading investigation revealed fluctuations of the old form [l], for instance, pronounced [l~y] or [ly] among the middle-aged speakers, and then [y] in the speech of the youngest generation (Gauchat's transcription). Hermann's (1929)¹⁴ follow-up report in real-time depth confirmed Gauchat's sound change in progress in the same village, as it showed that some of the phonological features had reached completion. The change could only occur under the influence of a negative reaction to the older form or to positive evaluation of the newer one. In his work on New York City, Labov (1966) has shown that attitudes towards language are responsible to a large extent for linguistic change in progress. And, in an attempt to explain the correlation between the objective linguistic changes observed and people's subjective reactions, he (1972a:162) puts forward two approaches:

The indirect approach to this problem correlates the general attitudes and aspirations of the informants with their linguistic behavior. The more direct approach is to measure the unconscious subjective reactions of the informants to values of the linguistic variable itself.

Indeed, the social significance that a linguistic variable has for different groups have led sociolinguists to understand linguistic change in progress, and evidence from numerous studies (Labov 1972 *a* and *b*; Trudgill 1974; Romaine 1994:2000; etc.) has shown that much language change can be explained in terms of subjectively negative and positive attitudes attached to linguistic variables.

However, while in western speech communities such attitudes are related to prestige and status, power and solidarity, resulting in concepts such as 'change from above' and 'change from below' (Labov 1972*a*), in a diglossic situation, the prestige variety does not 'belong' to a category of people but to the whole community. Therefore, at variance with the overall pattern in a standard-with-dialect context, the very fact that the High variety, CA/MSA in our case, is not used in ordinary speech interaction by any portion of the society, but represents a supra-language associated with religion, literature and formal education, it is unanimously highly valued. The locus of negative/positive attitudes lies rather in the contrasting low varieties of everyday speech, Colloquial Arabic.

As we have seen throughout our work, the co-existence of two Arabic low varieties in the speech community of Tlemcen brings about linguistic variation, in particular among native speakers who tend to avoid idiosyncratic TA features, precisely because of the negative attitudes towards these features. Such attitudes, which are elicited not only among non-native speakers who associate TA speech on the whole with femininity, but also among native male speakers, have led to strong stigmatisation of some linguistic characteristics, the glottal stop being the most salient one, and will probably result in substantial change in the variety. Indeed, evidence from our investigation shows that, just like in Gauchat's study, native TA speakers use [g] in place of [ʔ] more or less consistently according to age, gender and situation. The increasing avoidance of [ʔ] in the speech of the younger people even in unconstrained settings is a clear index of a linguistic change in progress. And if these young speakers continue to use its counterpart [g] and adopt it as they grow older, we will attest the progressive loss of [ʔ] and a drastic change in the variety, unless women remain strong enough to continually revitalize its use whatever negative attitude it may bear.

Appendices

Appendix I - Questionnaires

Questionnaire 1: Standard Arabic vs. French

Age Sex:

1. How well do you understand Standard Arabic (*al luġha l fuṣḥā*)?

- Very well - Quite well - A little bit - Not at all

2. How well do you speak Standard Arabic (when you have to)?

- Very well - Quite well - A little bit - Not at all

3. In which contexts do you use it?

- In class with teacher - In class with students - Outside class

4. Would you like to be able to speak Standard Arabic fluently? - Yes - No

5. How well do you understand French?

- Very well - Quite well - A little bit - Not at all

6. How well do you speak French?

- Very well - Quite well - A little bit - Not at all

7. How often do you use French in everyday speech?

- Very often - Quite often - Sometimes - Rarely - Never

8. Do you mix Arabic with French?

- Yes, often - Yes, sometimes - No, not so much - No, never

9. What language do you think you speak better? - Standard Arabic - French

10. What language do you think is more beautiful? - Standard Arabic - French

11. Which one do you think is more appropriate for sciences? - St. Arabic - French

12. In which language do you prefer...

- Reading books/newspapers? - Standard Arabic - French

- Listening to news? - Standard Arabic - French

- Seeing films/documentaries? - Standard Arabic - French

Questionnaire 2 Language use : AA – MSA – French

Answer the following questions:

1. Do you change your way of speaking?

- very often - often - sometimes - rarely - never

2. In which contexts do you switch to another dialect?

3. What language seems most pleasant to you?

- Classical Arabic - French - Algerian Arabic

4. What language do you think is most appropriate for...?

<i>Religion</i>	<i>news radio/TV</i>	<i>education</i>	<i>political speech</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>everyday conversation</i>
Standard Arabic	Standard Arabic	Standard Arabic	Standard Arabic	Standard Arabic	Standard Arabic
French	French	French	French	French	French
Algerian Arabic	Algerian Arabic	Algerian Arabic	Algerian Arabic	Algerian Arabic	Algerian Arabic

5. Which standard language do you understand better on radio/TV?

- French - Standard Arabic

6. Which standard language do you think you speak better? -

- French - Standard Arabic

7. In which language do you prefer reading?

- French - Standard Arabic

Questionnaire 3: Algerian Arabic: Urban vs. Rural speech - (in Arabic)

الإسم السن مكان الازدياد مهنة الأب والأب
مكان ازدياد الأب مكان ازدياد الأم

1. أية لغة تفهم (ين) أحسن؟ - العربية الفصحى - الفرنسية (ضع علامة X في المربع المناسب)
2. أية لغة مكتوبة تفهم (ين) أحسن؟ - العربية الفصحى - الفرنسية
3. لأي درجة تفهم (ين).... (ضع (ي) جوابك في إطار، مثلا: (أكثر من 50%))

الفصحى؟	أقل من 20%	أقل من 40%	أقل من 50%	أكثر من 50%	أكثر من 60%	أكثر من 70%
الفرنسية؟	أقل من 20%	أقل من 40%	أقل من 50%	أكثر من 50%	أكثر من 60%	أكثر من 70%

4. على شاشة التلفزيون، بأية لغة تفضل (ين) (ضع (ي) جوابك في إطار، مثلا: (ع) أو (ف))

الأفلام	المسلسلات	الأشرطة الوثائقية	الرسوم المتحركة	الأخبار
ع (عربية)	ع	ع	ع	ع
ف (فرنسية)	ف	ف	ف	ف

5. هل تستعمل (ين)، في حديثك اليومي (يعني الدارجة)، كلمات أو عبارات... (ضع علامة X في الخانة)

	نعم بكثرة	نعم بعض الأحيان	لا إلا القليل	لا أبدا
- عربية فصيحة؟				
- فرنسية؟				

6. بأية لغة تفضل (ين) المطالعة أو قراءة أي شيء؟ - ف - ع (ضع (ي) دائرة، مثلا: (ع))
7. أية لغة تظن (ين) أنك تتكلم (ين) أحسن؟ - ع (العربية الفصحى) - ف (الفرنسية)

8. هل تقول عادة في حديثك اليومي... - عَنَدُنَا composition غَدْوَة - عَنَدُنَا اختبار غَدْوَة - كلا العبارتين؟

- (ضع (ي) سطرًا تحت إجابتك) - يسكن فالعِمَارَات - يسكن ف les bâtiments - كلا العبارتين؟
- راه يَنقَرَج les informations - راه يَنقَرَج الأخبار - كلا العبارتين؟
- خُصَّكَ تكون واعي - خُصَّكَ تكون conscient - كلا العبارتين؟
- ما عَنَدُنَاش les possibilités - ما عَنَدُنَاش الإمكانيات - كلا العبارتين؟
- مَشِينَا à pied - مَشِينَا عَلَى رَجَلِينَا - كلا العبارتين؟
- غير ممكن! - C'est pas possible! - كلا العبارتين؟

وشكراً...

Questionnaire 4: Algerian Arabic: Urban vs. Rural speech – (in English)

First name Birth place Age Now living in

Father's birth place Mother's birth place

Put the word or expression you usually use (in your dialect) in a **frame**.

1. How do you say 'He said to me' when speaking ...?

to your parents	to your brothers/sisters	to your friends	to the students	to your teacher
qælli	qælli	qælli	qælli	qælli
ʔælli	ʔælli	ʔælli	ʔælli	ʔælli
gælli	gælli	gælli	gælli	gælli

2. 'He's sleeping' ... - rah ra:qəd - rah ra:gəd - rah ra:ʔəd

3. 'I'm coming' ... - rani ʒaj(ja) - rani madʒi(a)

4. 'Sit down!' (to a boy) ... - ʒəmṃaʕ - ʔəgʕod - ʔəʒləs

5. 'Go!' (to a girl) ... - ro:hi - ro:h

6. 'Come!' (to a girl) ... - ʔarwa:hi - ʔarwa:h - ʔædʒi

7. 'I can't.' ... - manqadʃ - manʔadʃ - mangədʃ - manaqdərʃ

8. 'It hurt me (my tooth)' ... - wəɖʕatni - qarratni

9. 'I hit him' ... - qrabtu - qrabtah

10. 'Take this one' ... - ha:k hada - ʒo:(d) hada

11. 'What...?' ... - wəsəm - ʔəsəm - wəʃ - wəʃta - ʃa(huwa)

12. 'You did it!' (to a boy)... - nta lli dərtha - nta lli ʕməltha - ntina lli ʕməltha

13. 'Yes!' ... - je:h - ʔe:h - wa:h - nʕa:m

Appendix II - Conversations

Conversation 1: Code-switching. **Setting:** Three colleagues talking about the results of the 'Bac' exam 2004. The first question is about whether the son of one colleague has got it.

* **NB:** French words and phrases are not transcribed. They are in *italics*, except for what is considered as borrowings.

- A : fəwwət əlbak əlwəld...nʃaʔʃe:k
- Z : ʔe:h fəwwət
- S : fawaʔ ərresylta haʔʔa ... əddizwit əlla...
- Z : əddizwit wəlla əddiznef...əddizwit *au soir* balak
- S : əs*Samedi*
- Z : ʔe:h əssəbt wəlla lħadd
- A : jəssəmma rom kamli:n *les corrections en principe*
- Z : je:h, *ça y est*...baʔda *surtout certaines filières*
- A : lju:m asəm rahna *le 15*
- Z : ʔəlla...kəmm̩lu ewa...ʔana *déjà* tlaʔe:t hadak əlli χdəm mʔana hāl ʔa:m
- S : ʔe:h, *ça y est, ça y est*...
- Z : ʔalli hna rabʔajja:m kəmm̩lna...*Les lettres hein* bəʃʃah̩ balak wah̩duχre:n jzidu juma:jən wəlla təltəjja:m... fħæ:l kurizina bəkri...
- A : bəʃʃah̩ darwaʔ əl *procédé* tbəddəl. *C'est vrai*. taʔrəf *ce qui a changé, c'est que* had *l'informatisation* kajən *problème*. darwaʔ kullʃi jədχul ləllogiciel, *première correction, deuxième correction, troisième correction* fəllogiciel
- Z : bəʃʃah̩ ...ʔada *l'ordinateur* jʔullək mahuwa...
- A : ʔəssənna... kullʃi jədχul ləllogiciel jə:k ...ma jdəχχlu:ʃ *la deuxième correction* hatta kə:məl *les matières* jədduχlu... kə:məl rek fahəm... kima hna hədəl ʔæ:m gʔadna nəssənnaw ʃħa:b əl *Maths* əlli ʔandhum χəmsa wəlla sətta taʔ *les intercalaires* ldaχəl ...rek fə:həm
- S : ʔe:h rani fə:həm
- A : wzi:d ki tədχul *la deuxième correction* ʔada əllogiciel jcomparaît. *Ce qui est rapide c'est que* llogiciel jkompare məmbaʔd jχərrəðʒ lək *la liste* taʔ *les jurys* əlli jfəwwtu *la troisième correction ; ça prend soi-disant un peu de temps*.
- Z : ʔejwa manaʔrəf...
- A : whad əlʔa:m χərdʒu *sur Internet* ʔbəl ma jʔallʔu *fles lycées*.
- S : je:h ʔaluli...ʔbəl ma jʔafijiw

- Z : *Donc nfəttʃu sur Internet nharəssəbt...*
- A : *ʃuf finternet, ouais, ssəbt əʃʃbah wəlla mʔa le tard tani c'est très probable*
- Z : *ʔasəm ntapew...Bac Algérie wəllasəm*
- A : *ʔaratʃu ana nəktəb lək...onec-dz.org*
- Z : *huwa après chaque épreuve j'ulli ça va, ça va...*
- S : *C'est-à-dire pour éviter les questions*
- A : *C'est vrai...ʔejwa nʃallah jərbah*
- Z : *æ:mi:n*

Here is a more or less literal translation of the conversation:

- A: So, the boy (meaning your son) has taken the *Baccalaureate*, I (want to) ask you.
- S: When are the results, by the way? The 18th, isn't it?
- Z: The 18th or the 19th, yes. Maybe the 18th in the evening.
- S: On Saturday?
- Z: Yes. Saturday or Sunday.
- A: This means the corrections are over in principle?
- Z: Yes, they are... especially for certain branches.
- A: What day is it today? The 15th?
- Z: No, they must have finished. I've already met that guy who worked with us that year...
- S: Yeah, all right.
- Z: He said to me "We've finished in four days", he meant the literary branch. But maybe in other branches, they will continue for two or three days... You know, we corrected (in the Bac) for so long in the past.
- A: But now the process has changed... It's true, you know what has changed is that (with) this computerization there is a problem. Now, everything is entered into the software programme: first correction, second correction, third correction... into the programme...
- Z: That's true. Then, the computer tells you what...
- A: Wait...everything is entered into the software, OK? They don't enter the second correction until all the exam papers 'get in', all of them, you understand. This year, we stayed there (in the correction centre), waiting for the mathematics examiners who have five or six inserts inside (the exam paper), you see?
- S: Yes, I understand.
- A: And then, it's only when the 2nd correction gets in that the software compares. What is rapid is that the computer compares. Then, it provides you with the list of the juries for the 3rd correction. It takes time, so to say.
- Z: Well, I don't know.
- A: And this year, they appeared on the Internet before they are put up in the *lycées*.
- S: Yes, they told me... before they put them up.
- Z: Yes. So, we can look up on the Internet on Saturday...
- A: Yes, on the Internet; Saturday morning or later as well, it's very likely.
- Z: What do we type? Bac Algérie, or what?
- A: Give it to me (a pen), I'll write it (the address) for you... onec-dz.org
- Z: After each exam, he (my son) says to me "It's all right, it's all right".
- S: That is, to avoid questions.
- A: That's true... Well, he'll succeed, *in chaa 'Allah* (may God will).
- Z: Amen.

Conversation 2: Negative attitude toward TA glottal stop

In this short conversation, someone I know (a waiter in a café who is **not** a native TA speaker) is recorded talking to a native and showing a negative attitude towards TA speech, particularly by mocking at [ʔ]-use by men. For him, [ʔ] is a feminine characteristic and not fit for male speakers at all.

- Non-TA: ʔællək (?)axaj ʕabbaha lædda:r...
- Native: matɕi:ʃ ʕli:k əlhadrə ttləmsaniija
- Non-TA: lijah nta tɕi ʕli:k... nʃallah ma tɕi ʕli:k əl ʔa
- Native : bəʃʃah ana tləmsani... nahdar bəttləmsaniija
- Non-TA : gutlək matɕi:ʃ ʕli:k... ərrazəl gæʕ ma tɕi:ʃ əʕli:h əl ʔa
- Native : waʕla:ʃ manahdarʃ bəl ʔa
- Non-TA : əl ʔa mədjura ləl mra... ʔana raha ʕandi tahdar bəl ʔa
- Native : wə wlədək kifæʃ jahhadru
- Non-TA : wlædi zuʕər... bəʃʃah ərrazəl razəl... jwəlli jgu:l ʔælli... hadi gæʔ
mazajjæ:ʃ
- Someone comes in : ʔaʕtɪnɪ həl ʔahwa lla jxəlli:k
- Native : ewa ha:smaʕ

Here is a somewhat literal translation of the conversation:

- Non-TA : He said to you, oh my brother, he took her home...
- Native : It doesn't suit you to speak Tlemceni
- Non-TA : Why? Does it suit you? I swear the [ʔa] doesn't suit you.
- Native : But I'm a Tlemceni... (so) I speak Tlemceni.
- Non-TA : I told you it doesn't fit you... The [ʔa] doesn't suit a man at all.
- Native : Why don't I speak (using) the [ʔa] ?
- Non-TA : The [ʔa] is fit for women . I got one (my wife) who speaks (using) the [ʔa]
- Native : And your children? How do they speak?
- Non-TA : My children are fair-haired...but a man is a man; he starts saying [ʔælli] ? This
is not appropriate at all !
- Someone comes in: Give me a coffee, may God keep you (alive)...
- Native.: Well, listen to that... (meaning 'Here's another man who uses ʔ').

Conversation 3: Borrowings

A man talks to a neighbour about his son and his enrolment in the military service.

A: ewa mʃa kæn ədda əddəsje wmaqabluʃ mənnu

B: ɕæh *l'ordre d'appel*

A: ki mʃa ʃɑ:b *l'ordre d'appel* ewa rah əddej əddəsje mʃah wmanaʳəf

B: ʳandu ttəszi:l ʳandu

A: ʳa

B: ra msəɕɕəɕ

A: ma msəɕɕəɕ kæn ʳada ma səɕɕəɕ

B: lla bəʃʃah dərwak dərwak

A: lla gællək jəmʃi jfəwwət jla qablu jət[ɔlqu:h wəlla ma talqəhʃ...

B: ʳe:h

A: ki jʃu:f *les postes* taʳah taʳ əlxədma ʃwija jəhbəl ... ewa rah mʃi... nhar əssəbt jəmʃi

B: ewa llah jwaffaq

A: huwa rah əddej wahd əlmiləff mʃah wəmmanaʳəf... rah əddej *soutien de famille*,
wəddej *maladie*, wə ssertefikæ:t ... wejla ma qablu:ʃ jfəwwət

* (Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is an approximate translation of the conversation.

A: Well, he went and took the file but they haven't accepted it.

B: Has he received the call up?

A: When he went (there), he found the call up... Well, now he's taking the file with him, and... I don't know...

B: Has he got the registration?

A: What?

B: He's registered?

A: No, he's not registered, not yet.

B: But now?

A: No, He says he'll go to be examined and if they accept to let him go... If not...

B: Yes.

A: When he sees the posts (that he could have) for his job, he gets a little crazy. Well, now he's going... He'll leave on Saturday.

B: Well, may God help (him).

A: He's taking a file with him and I don't know... He's taking a document showing he is a 'wage earner in the family', and he's taking a sickness certificate... And if they don't accept he'll do it the military service).

Conversation 4: French use in AA discussions

Three former school teachers (all educated men of 65 and above) are talking about the situation in Algeria in the past as opposed to how things have become today.

- A:[Beginning not clear].....
- B: *Non, ʃɔf...D'ailleurs n'allons pas très loin; tous ceux qui sont partis, dans tous les domaines, dans l'enseignement, dans la médecine, dans l'armée..., kæməl lli mʃæw nəʒɦu, kæməl nəʒɦu kæməl ; même dans le football.*
- C: ʔe:h, kullʃi... kæməl nəʒɦu
- B: *Pour peu qu'ils soient un peu sérieux...*
- A: ʃɔ:f hædik l'arabisation; c'est qu'elle est mal partie, mal programmée...
- C: hædik əlli ʔatlətna ʃwija...
- A: *C'est-à-dire, kima ana, par exemple fəssport; ʔandi les termes techniques ntaʔi en français wkullʃi...Je n'peux pas...jaʔni kima gæ:l...C'est ça ce qui est malheureux.*
- C: *Ouais, c'est ça qui a brisé l'élan tæʔ...*
- A: *Actuellement en Algérie nous avons des sommités, wallah əlʔaʔe:m, en maths, en langues...ʔanna des gens compétents mais msækən ils manquent de savoir-faire; ils ne sont pas pris en charge... ʔana par exemple, ɣrəʒt en retraite en 85. Bon, ləwkæn ʔaluli ɣil ʔawənna...ʔana j'ai pas besoin de leur argent. Mais ils auraient pu nous exploiter...wkæn habbu ɣi jəstvəlluna pour le pays...wkæn ɣi kabbru bina...ʔæl a ɣaj jla thəbb de temps en temps ʔərfəd ton cartable wrəh ltirni (a village) rəh ʔawənhum. Moi, j'aurai pu aider très valablement. J'ai des bouquins de maths; j'ai un trésor en maths à la maison, une centaine de livres que j'aurai pu distribuer à droite et à gauche Alors kəjən kifi en maths, en sciences, en français, fəl ʔarbija...*

* (Non-adapted French is in italics)

Translation :

- A:[Beginning not clear].....
- B: No, look..., besides let's not go too far; those who left, in all domains, in teaching, in medicine, in the army..., all those who left succeeded, all of them, even in football.
- C: Yes, all of them... All of them have succeeded.
- B: If they were a little bit serious...
- A: Look, it's that arabisation; it started very badly, badly programmed...
- C: That's what killed us a little.
- A: That is, take my example in sports; I have some technical terms in French and all...I can't... that is, as it is said, That's what is regrettable.
- C: Yeah, that's what broke the enthusiasm of....
- A: Nowadays in Algeria, we have leading experts, (I swear) by Allah the All-Mighty, in maths, in languages... We have competent people but, the poor, they lack the know-how; they are not taken in charge... Me, for example; I retired in 95. Well, if they told me 'Just help us'...I...I don't need their money. But they could have exploited us...If they wanted, they would just make the most of us for the country. If only they honoured us...They would say (for example) 'Oh brother, if you want, from time to time, take your satchel and go to Terni (a village quite far from Tlemcen); Go and help them". I could have helped pretty well. I've got maths books; I've got a treasure in maths at home, a hundred books that I could have distributed all over the place. Well, there are (people) like me in maths, in sciences, in French, in Arabic...

Conversation 5: AA/French Code-Mixing and Code-switching

Three or four men in their forties are having a chat about the 2006 World Cup, football teams, famous players and the results before the final games.

A : *dərwək c'est la tactique qui compte.*

B : *Ah oui, kæməl les scientifiques j'ulu bælli la technique ma b'a:tʃ*

A : *40% des buts sont marqués...*

C : *L'Italie ʕandha défense thəbbəl bəʃʃaħ contre l'Espagne kænət ɣasra*

A : *wallah əlla c'est une très grande équipe l'Espagne... ma ʔallʕuʃ mliħ eddeuxième tour mʕa la Hollande.*

B : *dərwək əlli jʕabbi lmilieu raħ jərbaħ*

C : *dərwək ça remet en cause beaucoup de choses.*

A : *ʔətlək rek ʕæʔəl l'entraîneur tæʕ l'Argentine. Il a modifié son équipe mʕa la France. A part les deux actions, c'était de l'impuissance. On n'a pas vu les défenseurs français.*

B : *Mais elle n'a jamais eu de difficultés. C'était la seule action əlli un joueur particulier a pris le dessus. C'était un cafouillage.*

A : *bəʃʃaħ c'était stérile. Les Français ont joué à l'italienne, c'est très simple...*

C : *Ah oui, c'était un exploit individuel.*

B : *ʃəttu l'arbitrage hæd əl ʕæ:m... catastrophe !*

* (Non-adapted French is in italics)

Translation :

A : Nowadays, it's the tactics which matters.

B : Oh yes. All the scientists say that there's no more technique.

A : 40% of the goals are scored...

C : Italy has got a defence that drives you crazy, but against Spain it lost.

A : I swear (by Allah) that Spain is a great team... They didn't start well the second round with Holland.

B : Now, those who occupy the 'middle' will win.

C : Today, a lot of things are called into question.

A : I said, you remember the coach of Argentina. He modified his team against France. Apart from the two actions, it was inability. We didn't see the French defenders.

B : But it never had difficulties. It was the only action in which a particular player gained the upper hand. It was a blunder.

A : But it was fruitless. The French played the Italian way; it's as simple as this...

C : Oh yes, it was an individual achievement!

B : Did you see the refereeing this year? (A) disaster!

Conversation 6: Code-mixing

This is rather an anecdote, not a conversation. Someone telling his friends about something he has heard from a primary school teacher in a village quite far from Tlemcen. The teacher asks from the administration in the local education authority if there is a possibility for a transfer of his post to the urban area.

ħal wahəd *enseignant* fħal *village* dʒa l *l'académie pour une intervention*.

saʔsa əssekrétaire ʕla lposte əʒʒdi:d

ʔællu χoʃʃək ətʃu:f butəfliʔa

ʔællu wæʃəddani gæʕ ʕand butəfliqa hada xir *changement de poste* a bən ʕammi

* (Non-adapted French is in italics)

Translation:

Someone, a teacher in a village, came to the local education authority for an intervention (on his behalf). He asked the secretary about the new (teaching) post. He told him that he had to see Bouteflika. "Why do I have to go to Bouteflika?" he said. "This is nothing but a transfer of the post!"

(What is funny about this is that there's a misunderstanding: the teacher thought he had to see President Bouteflika, he didn't know that the inspector in charge in the administration is also named Bouteflika.)

7. Miscellaneous short conversations: - Recorded from TV interviews and used in the description of MSA use vs. French use in rather formal settings.

(1) fəlħajat əljawmijja kæjən eʃʃoro:t mwəffra...

(In day-to-day life the conditions are available.)

qədər təddi *safi* mʕæk...wla trijjəħ f*tabla* kulləʃ hædək tarmi:h fiha

(You can take a (plastic) bag, and if you sit at a table you throw all that in it.)

(2) ra:ʒaʳ lisu:ʔ ət̪tarbijja...hadi waħda

(It results from bad education... This is one (thing).)

0æ:nijjan əlʔinsæ:n ma jχəmməmf ʳla ʒa:ru

(Secondly, the individual doesn't think about his neighbour.)

(3) Ali : -- ki tmu:t ʔbəl bbʷæ:k wlædək ma jawwartu:f mən ʒəddhum

(If you die before your father your children do *not* inherit from their grandfather.)

Bachir : -- hada ɪʒtihæ:d ... qanu:n waqʳi:

(This is a 'consensus'; a 'human-made' law.)

Ali : -- ma tʳulli:f ɪʒtihæ:d...kæjən əddali: əʃʃarʳi: wkæjən əssunna

(Don't tell me about any consensus. There is the legal proof, and there is the 'Tradition'.)

Omar : -- waʳlæ:f bəddlu *la loi 14 siècles après*

(And why did they change the law 14 centuries later?)

Ali: -- ana *ça fait trente ans que je subis ça... Alors ne me dis pas que ça fait 14 siècles* wənnæ:s vət̪ʒa

(Me, for thirty years I have suffered from this... So, don't tell me that people have been wrong for 14 centuries.)

Bachir : wəħəd ki twərrilu *l'erreur... səggmuha 14 siècles après.*

(Someone when you show him the mistake... they fixed it 14 centuries later.)

Omar : hada *c'est un problème qu'ils n'ont jamais voulu comprendre...*

(This is a problem that they have never wanted to understand.)

Ali : -- ħna *certain problèmes on n'veut pas les voir*

(We, certain problems, we don't want to see them.)

(5) ləwkæn kull wəħəd mənna jnaqʳaf roħo...ʔawwalan əlʒəsm ntæʳo...əlħwajeʒ ntæʳo

(If everyone of us cleaned himself... First, his body...his clothes... his appearance,)

da:ro...mæʃi ʳir da:ro wjarmi lwsæχ lʒa:ro...

(his home, not only his home and he throws rubbish to his neighbour.)

jku:n mrabbi fəl mejdæ:n hada ...wkull wəħəd mənna jʒe:b wsax jarmi:h fi *blaʒtu*

(He must be well-bred in this field, and anyone finds rubbish should throw it in its place.)

kima rana ndiru ħna hna nkunu læbæs bina

ma kanʃ ət̪rabja...ət̪rabja naqsa bəzzæf

Appendix III – Attitudes

Matched-guise Technique: Scripts

Guise 1: *Variety 1.*

lbærəh ʒæ:t kōvokasjō lχaj əssvɛ:r mura:d bæf jəmfi jʃuf əddosje tæʳ larme - ʳla χatər
mæzæl maʳmɔlf əsservis nasjonal - lju:m əssbaħ nɑ:ð bəkri wʳælli naʳte:lo loʈoʈi -
ʳøltlu bælli lwaja:ʒ lwahrən [we:l wʳøltlu jaħðe rɑ:so fəʈtre:ʳ - ʳælli maʈχa:fʃ ʳaʳtene
lmfætaħ - wəmʃa ʳandəssəbʳa - fæ:t ənnhar kæməl wəssənninæ:h hæʈta ləlməvrəb
wmaʒæ:fʃ - wəbdæ:t əmmʳa təbki wəʳʳu:l hada ksida ʃrɑlo hada ksida ʃrɑlo - wəbʳa:t
təbki təbki hæʈta lli ttelefon sona - wʳælənnɑ χɑj bælli maʳadʃ jwəlli fəlli:l - wʳælətlu
mmʳa maʳlikʃ a wəldi maʳli:fʃ - χofna ʳli:k - wʳællha maʈχa:fʃ a mmʳa maʈχa:fʃ -
vədda nkun fəddar nʃalla:h -

Guise 2: *Variety 2.*

lbærəh ʒæ:t kōvokasjō lχuja ssvɛ:r mura:d bæf jro:h jʃuf əddose tæʳ larme - ʳla χatər
mæzæl madarʃ əsservis nasjonal - lju:m əssbaħ nɑ:ð bəkri wgælli naʳte:lah loʈoʈa -
gutlah bælli lwaja:ʒ lwahrən [we:l wgutlah jaħðe roħah fəʈtre:g - gælli maʈχa:fʃ
ʳaʳtene lmfæti:h - wra:ħ ʳandəssəbʳa - fæ:t ənnhar gæ:ʳ wəstənninæ:h hæʈta ləlməvrəb
wmaʒæ:fʃ - wəbdæ:t əmmʳa təbki wəʳgu:l hadi ksida ʃratlah hadi ksida ʃratlah -
wəbqɑ:t təbki təbki hæʈta lli ttelefon sona - wgælənnɑ χuja bælli maqdərʃ jərʒaʳ fəlli:l -
wgætlah mmʳa maʳli:kʃ a wəldi maʳli:fʃ - χufna ʳli:k - wgællha maʈχafi:fʃ a mmʳa
maʈχafi:fʃ - vɑdwa nkun fəddar nʃalla:h -

Guise 3: *Variety 3.*

lbærəh *on a reçu une convocation* lχaj əssvɛ:r mura:d bæf jəmfi jʃuf əddosje tæʳ
l'armée – parce qu'il n'a pas encore fait son service national - lju:m əssbaħ nɑ:ð
bəkri *et il m'a demandé de lui donner ma voiture* - ʳøltlu bælli *le voyage* lwahrən [we:l
et je lui ai dit de faire attention sur la route - ʳælli maʈχa:fʃ *donnes-moi les clés* -

wəmʃa vers sept heures - fæ:ʃ ənnhar kæməl et on l'a attendu haʃʃa ləlməvrəb
 wmaɔʒæ:ʃ - Ma mère a commencé à pleurer en disant hada ksidā ʃralo hada ksidā
 ʃralo - Elle n'a pas cessé de pleurer haʃʃa lli ttelefon sona - C'était mon frère qui nous
 dit qu'il ne pouvait pas rentrer le soir. Ma mère lui a dit ma^olikʃ a wəldi ma^oli:ʃ -
 ɣofna ^oli:k - w^oællha maʃɣa:ʃ a mm^oa maʃɣa:ʃ - demain je serai à la maison nʃalla:h

Guise 4 : Variety 4.

ɔʒæ:ʔa stid^oæ:ʔ ʔams liʔaɣi ʃʃavi:r mura:d litaswijat milaffihi l^oaskarij liʔannahu lam
 juʔaddi lɣidma l waʔanijja ba^od - ʔistajqəða bæ:kiran ʃaba:h əljawm wa ʔalaba minni:
 ʔan ʔu^oʃijahu sija:rati - fa qultu lahu ʔinna ssafara ʔila: wahra:na ʔawi:l - wa qultu lahu
 ʔan jaku:na haðiran fittari:q - qæ:la li: læ: taɣaf ʔi^oʔeni lmafæ:ti:h - wa ðahaba ^oinda
 ssæ:bi^oa - ʔinqaða ljawmu kulluh wantaðarna:h haʃʃa lmayrib wa lam ja^oud - fabadaʔat
 ʔummi tabki: tabki: wataqu:l hæ:ðihi hæ:diθa ʔaʃa:bathu hæ:ðihi hæ:diθa - wa ma:
 zæ:lət tabki haʃʃa: ranna lhæ:tif - wa qæ:la lana: ʔaɣi: ʔinnahu lam jaʃtaʔe^o ʔan jarɔʒi^oa
 fillejl - maʔadʃ jwəlli fəlli:l - wa qæ:lat lahu ʔummi: la: ^oalajka ja : waladi: la: ^oalajk
 ɣifna: ^oalajk - wa qæ:la laha: la: ta ɣa:fi: ja: ʔumma:h la: ta ɣa:fi: - vadan ʔaku:nu
 filbajti ʔin ja:ʔalla:h -

English translation :

Yesterday my younger brother received a calling-up to settle up his military file, for he hasn't done his national service yet. He got up early this morning and asked me to lend him my car. I said that the trip to Oran was long and told him to be careful. "Don't worry", he said. "Give me the keys", and he left at seven. The whole day went by, and we waited for him until the sunset but he didn't come back. My mother started crying and said "It must be an accident... It must be an accident..." And she went on crying until the telephone rang. It was my brother who told us that he couldn't drive back at night. My mother said to him: "It's all right my son, it's all right... We were anxious about you." And he said: "Don't worry Mother, don't worry. Tomorrow, I'll be back home *In shaAllah*".

2. The speaker is...

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Variety 1:</u> rich	___	___	___	___	___	___	poor
intelligent	___	___	___	___	___	___	stupid
educated	___	___	___	___	___	___	illiterate
friendly	___	___	___	___	___	___	unfriendly

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Variety 2:</u> rich	___	___	___	___	___	___	poor
intelligent	___	___	___	___	___	___	stupid
educated	___	___	___	___	___	___	illiterate
friendly	___	___	___	___	___	___	unfriendly

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Variety 3:</u> rich	___	___	___	___	___	___	poor
intelligent	___	___	___	___	___	___	stupid
educated	___	___	___	___	___	___	illiterate
friendly	___	___	___	___	___	___	unfriendly

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Variety 4:</u> rich	___	___	___	___	___	___	poor
intelligent	___	___	___	___	___	___	stupid
educated	___	___	___	___	___	___	illiterate
friendly	___	___	___	___	___	___	unfriendly

3. The speaker's job may be... Choose ONE answer from each line; eg. teaching

Variety 1: - teaching - medicine - manual labour - self-employment - farming

Variety 2: - teaching - medicine - manual labour - self-employment - farming

Variety 3: - teaching - medicine - manual labour - self-employment - farming

Variety 4: - teaching - medicine - manual labour - self-employment - farming

4. Which speaker would you like to resemble? Variety: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4