

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH

ABU BEKR BELKAID UNIVERSITY, TLEMCEM
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
SECTION OF ENGLISH

**ARABIC DIGLOSSIC ASPECTS IN TLEMCEM
SPEECH COMMUNITY:
SPEECH PATTERNS OF MOSQUES ORATORIES**

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and Foreign
Languages in Candidacy for the Degree of "Magister" in
Sociolinguistics.*

Presented by:

Mr. FATMI Fayssal

Supervised by:

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Academic Year: 2009-2010

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To: Ms. Z. Djebbari & Ms. A. Khaldi,

DEDICATION

*To my family, for supporting me through my endeavours -
always appreciated, much love to you all.*

*To my tender parents whom I owe all my considerations
and admiration:*

Thanks for still being there and being as supportive as ever.

To my lovely sister Rahima and her little family

To my brothers; Bouziane, Fouzi, Aissa and

Ibrahim:

Thank you for being so generous with me!

*To my friends: Youcef, Nouredine, Amida, Abdou,
Kafi, Anouar, Widad, Souad, Soraya, Abdelkader,
Rafik, Rafika & Faiza Benmansour*

Thank you all very much

ABSTRACT

The present research is conducted during the Fridays' sermons to diagnose the diglossic situation in Algeria in general and in Tlemcen speech community in particular. It is meant to draw attention on the shift in the linguistic codes from low to high varieties and vice versa. This shift has been thought to be clearly felt and observed by relying on mosques oratories, where the Imam tries to make sure that the message intended is received by the audience in anyway, attracting the audience attention and awareness.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify the importance of being aware of the "where and when" to shift from a high to a low variety. In view of this, three chapters are brought into play; the first introduces a review of related literature, exposing the most important key-concepts and theories. The second tries to describe the target situation under research, describing the sociolinguistic tools used. The third one attempts at analyzing and interpreting the results gathered from this case-study.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The diversity of language seems to be of crucial importance for linguists, as it displays the original aspects of this human phenomenon. This, in fact, is supposed to contribute to the elaboration and establishment of their hypotheses to form the coordinative groups of languages which constitute the same linguistic family with a common origin, notably Latin, Greek and Roman, and the derived Semitic languages. This may be attained through the use of a number of linguistic research instruments within a general coherent theory of a body of data.

Nevertheless, language problematics nowadays, is no longer language itself, but language as a human function in different human and social forms among nations, peoples, tribes and individuals. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that human language has got particular natural properties such as; creativity, double articulation, language displacement, and traditional transmission. Additionally, according to the communicative theory, language is regarded as a means by which to transmit linguistic messages composed of selected arbitrary and conventional signs, according to different situational contexts, and where a number of variables are engendered and interrelated;

particularly, in the present research that is based on the Arabic linguistic context. For instance, when one uses language, he naturally chooses his words whose function is submitted to a set of norms and rules.

Among the most important phenomena that attracted the interest of sociologists and linguists, are the different uses of language in the same society; there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects, different from the Tunisian, Moroccan and Mauritanian ones, though all of them are said to have the Arabic language as their first and official national language.

In this sense, our problematics relies on the fact that the analysis of Language as an independent fact has been concerned with two major dimensions: studying language as a system and a structure, or studying Language as a means of communication and social interaction. This approach is explained by conceiving Language as a behavioural system which takes different and interferential forms, since one may notice several linguistic popular uses within the same speech community. The aim, through this

research work, is to study the different factors that control the nature of relationship between the social milieu and the distinguished linguistic behaviour in the Algerian society, then the linguistic type which results from this mutual influence of a particular social context, essentially the diglossic character of the Algerian situational context, in general, and Tlemcen Speech community, in particular, approaching mosques oratories to diagnose the diglossic aspects.

The investigator, in this research work, raises the following research inquiry:

- *Is there actually a diglossic situation in Tlemcen Speech Community, and what may be the linguistic aspects characterising such a linguistic situation?*

From this general question, it has been thought of the necessity to derive other secondary questions in relation to this topic:

- What are the major causes of this linguistic behaviour?
- What are the main linguistic aspects of such a diglossic behaviour in a society like Algeria, in general, and Tlemcen in particular?

It is, consequently, supposed that *Diglossia and its impacts are the absolute evidence of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria*. Other partial hypotheses can be considered in this context:

- It is possible that the historical, social, political and cultural factors in Algeria have led to diglossia.
- Probably, diglossia is adopted in Algeria to serve two different categories of the society, marked by dialectal differences.

To do so, the lay out of this research work is framed within three distinctive chapters theoretically and practically articulated as follows:

A first chapter almost reserved to a theoretical background account, depicting the notion of diglossia and what does it entail as a key-word in the bulk of sociolinguistics.

Based on this, a second chapter is, rather, devoted to a general description of the situation analysis, including the target sample population and

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Perspectives

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

How many times every one of us have ever repeated the expression: 'I cannot find the words' for what I actually think or feel. Fishman once asks "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" indeed, it is not clear how 'language' should be defined when people often complain about language as related to their thoughts and emotion. Recently Linguistics has been related to sociolinguistics to clarify the phenomenon of language and society.

1.2. LINGUISTICS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The issue of linguistics and sociolinguistics is highly problematic when we classify the speakers' origin, from where they come, age, gender, and social/educational background which call urgently for the institution of sociolinguistics to determine the variation as socially significant.

1.2.1. Linguistic and Communicative Competence

Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages including social, factors in their explanation. As for learning the language Chomsky(1986) suggests to have a mind or brain state that every member of our species attains and he calls it mature linguistic competence. As exactly

there is a universal language there is analogically a universal grammar to view language as a physical system, basically psychological or cognitive but eventually biological. Language has a social explanation especially in the act of communication involving human mental abilities that Chomsky calls linguistic performance. In fact:

Within the Chomsky paradigm, language is highly idealized. Clearly, the use of language to communicate messages, from hypotheses or fix beliefs requires social explanation. But these are not of Chomsky's language.

(Downes 1998: 11).

At criticism of limiting 'competence' to grammatical knowledge, Hymes (1964a) .extended the concept to 'communicative competence' to put aside grammatical competence as part of a larger competence that was worthy of study.

Moreover, the sole study of competence misleads the core of language especially as a means of communication as used in its social context. Progressively one starts to believe that language knowledge involves two categories of rule: grammatical and social; linguistics, then, account for both linguistic competence (generative grammar)

and communicative competence (sociolinguistics). Accordingly, linguistics caters for the study of the native speaker's innate linguistic abilities.

1.2.2. Social Aspects

In fact, the relationship of linguistics to sociolinguistics may be summarized in giving two types: the first focuses social patterning of variation and change through sociolinguistics patterns such as class, sex, geography, and formality which other disciplines confirm as variation studies and modern urban dialectology ; the second, rather, examines small-scale speech situation between speaker A and speaker B and other disciplines are interrelated to deal with it such as pragmatics, conversation analysis, the ethnography of communication and discourse analysis.

Though language has been found as long as men were created on earth, the interest in the social aspects of language has just started in the last fifty years when sociolinguistics as an academic field developed. Sociolinguistics as a word was already coined in an article by Thomas Hodson in 1939 entitled "Sociolinguistics in India"; the word was first used in linguistics by Eugene Nida in his "Morphology" in 1949 and in 1952 but the field of sociolinguistics has become popularized by the

1960s. It sheds light on various colossal topic researches dealing with speech and variation. Whitney (1867: 404) points out:

Speech is not personal possession but a social: it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society...the whole development of speech, though initiated by the acts of individuals, is wrought out by the community.

On the other hand, dialectology is considered as earlier attempt to deal systematically with dialectal variation and rural speech habits as recognized in a given society, and so, sociolinguistics constitutes a confluence of disciplines that highlight the concept of linguistic variety, society and culture because as Dell Hymes (1968: 113) in "the Ethnography of speaking" puts it "it is clear that the status of a form of speech as dialect or a language or level cannot be determined from linguistic features alone...there is a socio-cultural dimension".

In this vein of distinguishing dialect from language many scholars namely Ferguson and Gumperz (1960), Haugen (1965) and Stewart (1968) attempt to attribute the two terms to four criteria: mutual

intelligibility (there is an understanding between speaker A and B), historicity (the historical development of a variety from a language family), autonomy (a standard variety can be autonomous and independent) and standardization (standard variety has codified grammar and vocabulary).

1.3. LANGUAGES, DIALECTS AND VARIETIES

The subject of linguistic varieties is dependent on a matrix of inter-related factors: historical development, autonomy, standardization, the speakers' attitudes and social networks that sociolinguists argue to institute language system.

As for the difference between dialects and languages, the question is the most wondering and critical for many specialists because there is no criterion agreed on to distinguish between the two and all the difference is a matter of degree and not kind:

The term "dialect" has a connotation in technical usage which is somewhat different from its ordinary meaning. To the linguist there is no real difference between a "dialect" and a "language" which can be shown to be

related, however remotely, to another language. By preference the term is restricted to a form of speech which does not differ sufficiently from another form of speech to be unintelligible to the speakers of the latter.

(Sapir 1949:83)

A dialect may be helpful to know the origin of languages and the institutionalization of the standard but it is in no case lower or deviant from the norms. Dialects are useful in research to highlight language differences, innovations, variation and change through time and space.

The vast majority of so-called dialects are merely the regular, differentiated development of earlier forms of speech which antedate the recognized languages. Popular confusion on the subject is chiefly due to the fact that the question of language has become secondarily identified with that of nationality in the larger cultural and ethnic group which, in course of time, absorbs the local dialect.

(ibid: 84)

Dialects are no more considered as substandard of low status or rustic form of language lacking prestige; users of language are essentially speakers of dialects, language then is not linguistically an independent notion but speaking dialects are dialects of a language and the standard language is originally a dialect and so no dialect is in any way superior than any other.

To avoid which to use 'language' or 'dialect' specialists have suggested the word 'variety' to mean dialect or language or both. Any language is not simply a kind of object for study but it exhibits internal variation in the sense that any language comprises varieties and undermines both social and regional Variations:

Dialect variation (including both regionally and socially differentiated varieties), particularly phonological variation, has been the main focus of recent sociolinguistic literature.

(Southworth 1990:27)

In fact there are various factors to determine two types of dialects 'social and regional' like

origin, place of residence, cultural background, class, ethnicity...and so on.

1.3.1. Regional Dialects

The first point that may be marked whenever people talk is their regional difference that exercises a fascinating peculiarity that both dialect and accent may adjust in their way of speaking. People of distinct dialect backgrounds may be source of academic studies and research especially by sociolinguists. Sociolinguists, like Wardaugh, relate the regional variation in the way a language is spoken especially:

As you travel throughout a wide geographical area in which a language is spoken, and particularly if that language has been spoken in that area for many hundreds of years, you are almost certain to notice differences in pronunciation, in the choices and forms of words, and in syntax.

(Wardaugh 2006: 43/44)

Crystal comments on regional variation as far as English is concerned by saying that:

The study of regional linguistic variation has thus more to offer than purely descriptive interest. The more we know about regional variation and change in the use of English, the more we will come to appreciate the striking individuality of each of the varieties which we call dialects, and the less we are likely to adopt demeaning stereotypes about people from other parts of the country, or of the world.

(Crystal 1995: 298)

Regional variation affords an answer to the question "where are you from"; but this is not enough for any analyst of variation unless the latter is linked to society. In the same vein, Gumperz defines the regional dialect in the country of India by stating that:

The regional dialect is the native language of small town residents. There are some variations between one town and another, but these are minor in comparison to the difference on a local level.

(Gumperz 1971:4)

As for Wardhaugh, the definition of regional dialects is rather a simple matter. He says:

One basic assumption in dialect geography is that regional dialects are really quite easy to sample: just find one or two people in the particular location you wish to investigate, people who are preferably elderly and untraveled, interview them, and ask them how they pronounce particular words, refer to particular objects, and phrase particular kind of utterances.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 139)

To understand some words regionally is not all to know a dialect especially when it is related to social factors denoting, sometimes, people's occupation in society.

1.3.2. Social Dialects

Throughout the world, people acquire many identities since they participate in the social structure of their languages. This enables them to belong to different social groups maintaining social activities in life. Moreover, other factors may

contribute in the social variation such as age, sex, and cultural and educational backgrounds:

The term dialect can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes. Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 49)

Most scholars refer to the pioneer study of social dialects held by Labov as stated by Wardhaugh:

The investigation of social dialects has required the development of an array of techniques quite different from those used in dialect geography. Many of these derive from the pioneering work of Labov, who, along with other sociolinguists, has attempted to describe how language varies in any community and to draw conclusions from that

variation not only for linguistic theory but also sometimes for the conduct of everyday life.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 142-143)

In some cases the regional dialect can be also the social one and the difference is difficult to make but there are some factors to distinguish one from another:

Attitudes to social variation vary widely. All countries display social stratification, for example, though some have more clearly-defined class boundaries than others, and thus more identifiable features of class dialect

(Crystal 1995. 364)

Consequently, dialects may be regional or social or both referring to the speaker's social and geographical origins.

1.3.3. The Algerian Context

Dialect refers to either 'social' or 'regional' variety which may be distributed to geographical lines called 'isoglosses' on maps to demark a

dialect from another. In Algerian Arabic the feature /q/ I an isogloss which occurs in different regions of the Algerian territory: /ʔ/ in Tlemcen, /k/ in Ghazaouet and neighbouring regions, /q/ in Algiers and the central part, /g/ in the remaining parts of the country.

Other examples may be given about the word 'saucepan' which is 'bazina' in Beni Saf, 'marmita' in Ain-youcef, 'gamila' in Maghnia and Ghazaouet, 'kasrouna' in Tlemcen, 'tawa' in Sidi Bel Abbess, 'qboucha' in Mechria.

A dialectal word can have other features such as the isophone: /q/ ([ʔ][k][g][q]), isomorph (ntin, ntina, nta, ntaja to mean 'you'), and isoseme ([ntaʔi] and [diali]). This just reminds us Gumperz (1968) who asserts that speakers generally refer to "verbal repertoires" in his daily social interaction which may lead to other linguistic phenomena such as accent, idiolect, register, dialect and language.

1.3. DIGLOSSIA

Communicating through language is a phenomenon that has inspired various scholars to deal with it. Charles Ferguson is considered as one of them to exploit big interest in language; this is why he has

been as the first to deal with the concept of diglossia in his article entitled "Diglossia" by 1959 published in the revue entitled "Word"; and Joshua Fishman in 1967 who dealt with "extended diglossia" associated with unrelated languages.

Fergusson tries to develop the concept of diglossia in referring to four cases in different countries: Greece, Switzerland, Arab countries, and Haiti. Diglossia, then, refers to a kind of bilingualism where one of the languages is considered as the high variety often symbolized as (H) and the low variety also symbolized as (L). The former has high prestige where the latter has the low prestige. Fergusson's examples take account Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L), Standard Arabic (H) and Vernacular Arabic (L), Standard French (H) and Krévol (L) in Haiti, Katharevousa (H) and Dhimotiki (L) in Greece. Ferguson, thus, uses:

Four modern language situations as the legs for his table (Swiss German, Arabic, Haitian Creole, Modern Greek), Ferguson described a particular form of bilingual community in which a special relationship existed between its primary languages, which he labeled simply the high and low codes.

Watt in Porter (2000:18-19)

However, this definition to diglossia seems to be a simple suggestion that has lacked afterwards clarity and objectivity and that is what Ferguson put in doubt when Ferguson himself has noted the weak points of his original article in *Diglossia Revisited*. (1991, *The Southwest Journal Linguistics*). For the most part he gave new supports to his original article, but he does criticize his ambiguity on specifying that his definition for diglossia was putative.

Yet, according to Fishman diglossia can be example of different countries and languages for example Alsatian in Alsace as (L) and French as (H). this is why, (H) is usually the written language used in formal situations; while the (L) is the spoken one used in informal situations. Apparently, Fishman also seems unsatisfied for the first definitions asserted about diglossia:

What Fishman effectively demonstrated was the need for increased flexibility in Ferguson's paradigm; what he appears to have lost in the process was definition, for the application of 'diglossia'

to multilingual situations would soon become so broad, one might wonder what multilingual situation in the world today is not diglossic.

Watt in Porter (2000: 19)

In fact, Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to include "several separate codes, and recognized two types of compartmentalization: functional and social/political" (Chen 1997:4). This is why Watt in Porter (2000:18) claims that there were "philosophical differences between the conflicting traditions of Charles Ferguson (1959, 1991) and Joshua Fishman (1967, 1971) - something that has animated much of the broader literature von diglossia". Since that there were many discussions necessary to have good understanding, or at least modifications, about diglossia which explains that

Ferguson's self-modified (1991) version of his landmark 1959 article contains the necessary definitions and constraints needed for a productive application of the term, and it comprehends the undeniable fact that tertiary languages and spoken variants of high forms are present in the speech repertoire of many communities.

(idem)

The differences about the concept of diglossia are logically related to the complex situations of language systems in the world particularly in the Arab world characterized by multilingualism.

1.4.1. Arabic Diglossia

The language has got different features and notions, and hence researchers sought to simplify it, starting with MOTHER TONGUE a very important language for the linguists as it shows the first aspects of this human phenomenon, that they use to establish their hypothesis to form the coordinative groups of languages which constitute the same linguistic family with a common origin, like Latin with Roman, German with English and Mother Semitic with the derived Semitic languages.

1.4.1.1. The Arabs' Premise in Language Variation Study

There is a fact that Arab scholars have been interested in Arabic linguistics and dialectology and topics related to dialects and languages in addition to the linguistic variation at all levels:

The systematic study of dialect geography is a typical invention of Western European nineteenth-century linguistics. But it would be wrong

to suppose that the Arabs themselves were not aware of the variation in speech in the Arabophone world.

(Versteegh 2001:130)

The Arabs were basically aware of dialect studies through the movement of many scholars to remote places and recording the data from the mouths of different tribes with the objective to save the Arabic tongue from erroneous uses of language which they call 'lahn al a'amma'. There are many proved evidence through the phrases "kama qualat tamim" or "lughat hadil".

Qu'ran is good reference to prove the advent of Arabic in the field of dialects to have included more than the dialect of Kuraychi tribe at all the phonological, syntactic and semantic levels; Aba hiyan al-andalousi includes 63 readings including dialects in his interpretation of Koran. Sibawayh says that the verse "mahada bacharan" is with fath tanwin while with banu tamim mahada bacharun" bi raf'e tanween. Others like Gahiz does notice the difference in the talks of speech in a particular geographical area:

At an early date, Gahiz informs us that the people in the cities talk according to the language of the

Bedouin immigrants that had settled there, which is why you find lexical differences between the people of Kufa and Basra and Syria and Egypt.

(idem)

Besides, Ibn Kaldun in al Miqaddima who devoted a whole chapter about:

The differences between sedentary and Bedouin speech, entitled the language of the sedentary population and the city-dwellers is an independent language, differing from the language of Mudar

(idem.)

It is true that the Arabs classified and categorized and discovered the dialectal phenomena, described the phonetic variation in everyday speech, knew even diseases of the tongue like taetaa or faefaa but could not go further through instituting and codifying systematic rules about dialects to create an independent discipline for it called dialectology. This task was done by the Germans and the French before the English starting by traditional ways of collecting the data through climbing rocky mountainous regions in remote rural

areas to gather the different features of dialects from the mouths of old people with the intention to save such dialectal heritage before the death of these people. Recently methods of research in dialectology have radically changed especially within the advent of Sociolinguistics and other disciplines like discourse analysis and pragmatics; thus the use of some innovative research tools to develop the analysis of data is primordially required like the use of questionnaire, interviews and maps originally used through the development of technology and computer assistance.

1.4.1.2. Diglossic Phenomenon in Arabic

Though it is generally known that Ferguson was the first to have introduced the term of diglossia inspiring it from the French term "diglossie" from Marçais but in fact the term 'diglossia' was first used in 1903 by the German Karl Krumbacher who discussed the question of both Greek and Arabic diglossia.

The phenomenon of diglossia has created very hot polemics until doubts about its existence and spread from a society to another, in particular in Arabic, because recently, **"there has been a renewed interest in the concept of diglossia (Fishman 1983, !tabouret-Keller 1982) and its applicability to the**

language situation in the Arab world" (Mahmoud 1986:239). There is a big similarity between the terms diglossia and bilingualism in Arabic, the former refers to the coexistence of many linguistic registers of a same language; other linguists use it to say Bilingualism which means the coexistence of two different languages, and vice-versa.

In the case of Arabic diglossia, Freeman (2000) has profoundly dealt with the concept of diglossia in Arabic languages asking the question of how we can accommodate Arabic to a working model for diglossia. This is why diglossia in the Arab world is suggested to be rather a multiglossia since there are more than two varieties of Arabic:

Arabic diglossia is being re-evaluated through the use of the term "Arabic multiglossia", which is introduced because it more accurately reflects the existence of more than two varieties of the language. These varieties can be placed on a continuum that reflects the options open to native speakers in various social situations and conditions.

(Hary 1992:3)

In fact it is not to cut off the struggling matter between diglossia or multiglossia in Arabic world but they are some indicators that may describe the situation a speaker is involved in like:

- 1- Personal or public affairs
- 2- Standard vs. Dialect
- 3- The type of topic discussed
- 4- Occupation
- 5- Setting
- 6- Formal vs. informal style
- 7- Native vs. non native

They are others that through the following points they will be discussed.

1.4.2. Language Prestige

Prestige in sociolinguistics denotes the level of respect that a language or dialect is afforded in a speech community. In some countries, like England, prestige is related to class to mean upper class in which prestige is positive and it is negative in the case of lower class. Generally, **"greater prestige tends to be attached to the notion of the standard,**

since it can function in higher domains, and has a written form" (Leith 1997: 18).

Prestige, be it for dialect or standard, is a phenomenon that differs from a country to another and has distinct effects on language structure but most linguists believe that there is no variety of language better than another because there is no language inherently better than any other language for every language serves its purpose of allowing its users to communicate (Wardough 2006: 335).

Though, the concept of prestige is related to standard language where the very prestigious dialect is likely to be standard language, but in the case of the Arab speaking world this rule is not easily applied to Arabic notably based on factors as religion, literature and society.

1.4.2.1. Arabic and Prestige

Arabic has to do with language prestige especially the subject of spoken varieties of Arabic in relation with Standard Arabic is evoked; Schmidt and Shohmy (2004:220) in Palmer (2007:112) comments on the situation of Arabic in Israel:

**One frequently hears from teachers
and pupils that formal Arabic is not**

useful language for personal communication given that it is the spoken variety, though less prestigious, which de facto is used in everyday life for colloquial purposes and for personal interactions.

The situation in the Arab world is complex because the latter is extended from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Sea in the east, and from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean in the southeast. In this gigantic world Arabic represents the union of the Arab World where different varieties of dialects and languages characterize and identify each country alone and all together since Arabic is used in formal speeches, politics, mosques and educational institutions but also used in the streets and home with different accents and dialects.

In the case Arabic, Arabs feel some superiority in Arabic mainly due to the divine protection of Arabic in Qu'ran:

It is not an exaggeration to say that Arabs are passionately in love with their language. Just speaking

and hearing it can be a moving aesthetic experience. Arabs are secure in the knowledge that their language is superior to all others. This attitude about one's own language is held by many people in the world, but in the case of the Arabs, they can point to several factors as proof of their assertion.

(Nydell 2006: 95)

Arabic represents an exception to the rule since it is a saint qu'ranic language and a rich literary heritage in addition to other considerable international standing since there are **"prestigious and standard variety that coincide to the extent that the two terms can be used interchangeably"** (Ibrahim: 1986: 115). Arabic, be it spoken or written, has its prestige in the whole Arabic countries.

1.4.2.2 Spoken and Formal Arabic

The very concern of foreign and Arab scholars is how to study the gap between Arabic colloquial dialects and Modern Standard Arabic. Though it is normally acquired that spoken Arabic is the use of non educated people and Formal Arabic for educated ones , but the use of spoken Arabic by academicians,

professionals and the authors' classrooms make the question of dialect and standard Arabic a real issue to give two varieties of Arabic Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA).

Yet, formal Spoken Arabic (ESA) is named by other scholars as Educated Spoken Arabic that Mahmoud (1986: 239) defines:

The emergence of a new, intermediate form of Arabic called Educated Spoken Arabic is commonly cited as evidence that the diglossic situation is undergoing a dramatic change (Abdel-Masih 1975, Bishai 1966, Mahmoud 1984, Mitchell 1962).

The problem is raised when the subject of non standard Arabic is evoked:

In the past 40 years, the world of research in Arabic theoretical linguistics has expanded considerably, but the production of professional quality textbooks and reference books for colloquial Arabic has remained limited.

(Ryding, Mehall 2005:xv)

Arabic then is a treasure reflecting a long history and its musical rhythm makes it a good language of art and it deserves to be the language of Qu'ran:

Arabic, if spoken or written in an ornate and semi-poetic style, casts a spell. Hearing the words and phrases used skillfully is a poetic experience, and people respond as much or more to the style as to the content. A talented orator can wield power in this subtle way. Beautiful Arabic conjures up images of once-memorized Qu'ran passages or bits of poetry, and it can be just as intricate orally as the most complex Arabic calligraphy designs.

(Nydell 2006: 95)

Other scholars are rather optimistic about the diversity of dialects in the Arab world because this may endorse thoroughly Arabic dialectology that contributes to offer a great deal of linguistic theory:

The wealth of information that may be collected and studied over such large area, a good amount of historical evidence that can be

brought to bear, as well as increasingly detailed studies on social history, all make Arabic a powerful case for testing, proving, and even generating theory.

(Brustad 2000:1)

FSA or ESA refer to spoken and colloquial languages including dialects and subdialects; besides Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) that is largely used in the medium of education and instruction which may create an interplay between it and FSA or ESA. MSA, then, is considered as the modern version to Classical Arabic which is:

The language of Qu'ran and of medieval literary and religious texts. Many Arabs and especially the few who have mastered it, proudly credit it with preserving the Arabs' rich and glorious heritage and making it continually accessible to succeeding generations.

(Mahmoud 1986:240)

it I then suggested that there are different varieties of Arabic: MSA formerly called Classical

Arabic, and ESA or FSA to mean the vernacular of the educated people, let alone idiolect and slang that maybe easily heard in informal contexts. Out of these varieties diglossia had been studied as changing in the Arab World and ESA is useful means to bridge the gap between varieties for the elite as stated by Mahmoud (1986. 247):

Diglossia is not an unchanging, stable phenomenon as it may have appeared to Ferguson, and ESA is a definite harbinger of change in the Arabic speech community since it seems to be bridging successfully the gap between the two forms of Arabic and increasingly satisfying the communicative needs of its elite (El Hassen 1978, Al Shaayib 1976, Mahmoud 1984).

Diglossia concept should be clarified through the efforts of all scholars concerned with Arabic language so that to avoid issues in the community especially at broad communication among different regional and social groups. Indeed the Arabic language situation may seem complex where members of the same speech community cross different repertoires this is why Fishman (1972) ,discussed a language situation where diglossia and bilingualism may be considered theoretically the same.

1.5. DIGLOSSIA AND BILINGUALISM

The relationship between diglossia and bilingualism was raised at the period when Latin was the official language of Great Britain and linguists wonder how to call such situation for both Latin and English were used in education but at the same time Latin was the language of the elite and English was the possession of the peasants especially in rural areas. The dichotomy diglossia/bilingualism is a subject of debate in other societies like in many countries of the Arab world:

The functional distribution in the Arabic-speaking countries is nothing but a special case of a general phenomenon of sociolinguistic variation in all speech communities

(Versteegh 2001:190)

Not all members have a unique equal command of using language. The use of two ,languages may be diglossic but also bilingual; when a speaker uses MSA in formal contexts and ESA in informal is the case of Diglossia but in the same country a foreign language may be used in Formal context and native language in informal use and inhere the dichotomy of Diglossia/bilingualism in enlarged:

In the Arab world, an example of such a situation is Algeria just before the independence. The majority of people in the speech community knew only Arabic and at the most a smattering of French, but a small group of intellectuals had been raised and educated in French and lost the ability to speak Arabic.

(idem)

Language situation may be intricate in the case of speech variables used by different members of linguistic communities.

1.6. LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES

The subject of language nowadays is no longer sought as a separate language for its own sake but as a human function in different human and social forms among nations, peoples, tribes and individuals. Therefore, human language has got special characteristics like: creativity, double articulation, language displacement, and traditional transmission. Additionally, according to the theory of communication, language is considered also, as a transmission means of linguistic messages composed of selected arbitrary and conventional signs.

Indeed, when we use language we naturally choose our words whose function is submitted to a set of norms and rules; for example when we use the definite article *al* in Arabic, we cannot add a verb just after because in Arabic grammar this phoneme is related to nouns and not verbs.

It is noticed from the linguistic investigations of different researches, that there exist many questions about the ideological systems of the origin and identity of Language, among the different linguistic communities, since there are two levels of language: supreme and low; this distinction is due, in fact, to the social conditions which influence on the attachment to languages and their saving to next generations. Gumperz (1971) used the term by analogy with Ememeau's term "linguistic area". He defines it 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.

(Gumperz 1971: 101)

He also adds that "linguistic communities may be viewed in terms of functionally related roles, defined according to Nadel (1957)" (idem).

Among the most important phenomena that attracted the interest of the sociologists and linguists in addition to anthropologists are the different uses of language in the same society: there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects, different from the Tunisian, Moroccan and Mauritanian ones. Therefore various speech communities may appear in the body of the one society.

1.6.1. Speech Communities

The analysis of Language as an independent fact has taken two ways: studying language as a system and a structure, or studying Language as a means of communication within different members of speech community but in fact:

There are no priori grounds which force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language. Total bi- or multi-lingualism is the rule rather than the exception in a wide

variety of societies including the nineteenth century Russian urban elite, the ruling groups of many modern Asian and African nations, the American immigrant groups as well as many others.

(Gumperz 1971:101)

Through the language system, members of a speech community can communicate with each other, and communication is the essential aspect of language; communication is the transmission of significations vocal signs put in conventional structures and systems which distinguish a community.

This approach is explained by the being of Language as a behaviour system which takes different and interferential forms since we notice several linguistic popular uses in the same society.

As for speech community it is the regular correlation that sociolinguistics attempts to describe between language structure and social structure; in this vein, Gumperz (1968: 381) in "the Speech Community": international encyclopedia of the social sciences states that **"the speech community is 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".

The term is, thus, applied to any human social group which exhibits regular patterns in social interaction as well as linguistic behaviour. Verbal interaction is essential point that sociolinguistics asserts and in this context Fishman (1972:2) in his book "Language in Sociocultural Change" maintains that:

Part of the ultimate quest of descriptive sociolinguistics is concerned with describing the generally accepted social organization of language usage within speech community.

As for Labov (1968) who dealt with only monolingual speech communities thinks that a speech community is a set of collaborative norms shared by the members to constitute a uniformity of abstract patterns of variation.

1.7. Arabic and Religion

Arabic is of a special status when religion is associated to; Arabic is suitable not only to our

prayers but also to different other situations as confessed by the Lebanese A. Furayhah (1955:33) in Mahmoud (1986: 242):

We think, speak, sing, murmur our prayers, talk kindly to our children, whisper to our beloved, seek understanding with whomever we want to, and insult those whom we see fit to, in a flowery and smooth language which does not retard our thinking nor require much effort.

Arabic variety at use depends a lot on the speaker function and goal changing from lawyer, teacher, orator, preacher, imam, or lecturer; and this creates a linguistic identity that adjust their stress, rigidity of rule or simply informal style when it is required. If we consider that the imam is basically an educator, it is logically assumed that he is confronted with a diglossic situation:

It is perhaps in the field of education that the impact of diglossia has been most acutely perceived both in the mode of acquisition and use of the two forms of Arabic.

(Mahmoud 1986: 242)

The power and richness of Arabic enables it to be used in different settings at communication especially in some religious gathering like in the mosques.

1.7.1. Arabic at Mosques

Diglossic situation in Algeria may occur in different places. Schools, Mass media, administrative and educational institutions, court, republic, literature, public places, streets, and of course mosques. The latter have been of big interest to research since the phenomenon of diglossia is found in the speech of the imam using simplified Arabic to clarify his speech to people of different levels of education, age and culture.

The mosque has a good effect to help the spread of Arabic language. It had been the only place where Arabic was safe during the French colonization. Actually in Algeria **"there are more than 10.000 mosques that may constitute positively in the spread of spoken Arabic, especially that in every mosque, there imams who daily use Arabic besides Fridays and Religious feasts"** ¹ .

¹ يوجد في الجزائر في الوقت الحالي ما يربو عن عشرة آلاف مسجد، ومن شأن هذا العدد أن يكون له تأثير عظيم في العربية المنطوقة، ولا سيما إذا علمنا أن كل مسجد يؤومعهشرات الأشخاص كل يوم، وخاصة أيام الجمعة والأعياد الدينية.

Therefore mosques can be good source to learn Arabic especially at reference to Qu'ran and al-Hadith:

The Qu'ran is treated with the greatest respect. Although it has been translated into many languages, most Muslims read the text in Arabic, which is said to be the language of God.

He adds by stating that:

The original Arabic text always remains the same- it has not been changed since it was first written down. Mosques often have beautiful copies of the Qu'ran that are enriched with Arabic script in bright colors and gold page decorations.

(Khan 2003:6)

Mosques are considered as social and religious centers for Arabic Muslim speech community, an important institution to announce daily Islam and faith at the call of God. There are also some qu'ranic schools associated within mosques to teach islam but also Arabic.

منشورات المجلس الأعلى للغة العربية . الغلاقة بين الفصحى والعامية. مجموعة من الأساتذة. سلسلة منشورات الجيب. أبريل 2005. الجزائر.

This is why, "Schools (mad-ra-sa) have always been associated with mosques, primarily to teach the Koran but also reading, writing, and arithmetic." (Wise: 53). Mosques are, then, institutes for sermons and prayers even if in America:

Speeches given at the mosques in Arabic on Shi'a Muslim topics should suggest to the congregation that Arabic is the appropriate language to be used in such contexts, thereby encouraging its use. This should be the case when topics are highly elevated ones, such as theology and philosophy. There is a difference in the degree in which Arabic is spoken at the two mosques in the area.

(Rouchdy 1992:202)

Mosques are the best viewed buildings for native, strangers and even tourist; they are national and religious monuments often suitably ornamented wince the words of Allah are recited.

1.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has been devoted to underline basic concepts that may be involved in a linguistic

situation where different varieties of the one language are interplayed especially in Arabic which has represented a dilemma to describe its status in the Arab World as a bilingual or diglossic situation. As far as the topic research is concerned, the linguistic situation at the mosques under consideration in Tlemcen speech community is rather classified as diglossic and not bilingual because the French language is not used and the most focus is on Arabic language.

In the following chapter, we will tackle the type of Arabic used by the Imam in the speech community of Tlemcen situated in the west of Algeria to infer the kind of relationship instituted in the interior of mosques at the use of Arabic by the imam

CHAPTER TWO:
The Situation Analysis

2.1. INTRODUCTION

2.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

2.3. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN TLEMCCEN SPEECH
COMMUNITY

2.3.1. Tlemccen Geographically

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2.4. THE RESEARCH METHOD

2.4.1. The Sample Population

2.4.2. The Research Instruments

2.4.2.1. The Field Observation

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2.5. CONCLUSION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter seeks to expose a field-based experimental information and groundwork to investigate the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, focusing essentially on the diaglossic situation in Tlemcen. It is, in fact, the practical aspect of the theoretical framework resulting from the literature review tackled in chapter one.

This enquiry starts by identifying a detailed account on the concerned situation and population; it also describes the research instruments used in conducting this research work concentrating on the diaglossic aspects of the target situation.

2.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

However, such a relative coexistence of those Maghribi dialects seems to gather, in fact, a great number of internal variations of the Arabic varieties and dialects mixture, especially in Algeria as an important area marked by its intricate history.

First and foremost, it should be well-noted at this level that though this research work is not

concerned with the linguistic variation coexisting in Algeria, but it is of crucial importance to mention that there exist quite typical linguistic facts at which we should stand.

In addition to the Tamazight dialects which have been preserved in some of the areas of the country, in spite of the spreading of arabization since the Islamic openings the Algerian inhabitants appear to be clearly influenced from the linguistic view point, by the French colonization. Such a linguistic influence seems still lasting after almost 50 years of independence, since the French language is still witnessed to play an important role among the different daily speeches and written administrative stuffs of several concerns. Added to this, the great number of vocabulary borrowed from the French language and which has gradually become part of the Algerian Arabic daily speech. This has known a phonological adaptations that the Algerian make use in order to communicate and set a mutual intelligibility according to the context at hand. This is what has been called by B. Jumpers "situational shifting where the two languages process at the same time several and different social meanings.

As an illustrative example to such a linguistic situation where the two languages are systematically mixed, it's very often that one may hear individual speakers talking to each other using the following utterance: "tla3na felbus wamshina lafac" , which means in English: we've taken the bus and went to university. And this is, in fact, a sentence containing two borrowed words /bus/ and /fac/ syntactically adapted to the Algerian Arabic dialect. Much can be said about such a linguistic co-existence that resulted from a mixed code of two contrasted repertoires or linguistic codes, or which is the result of a bilingual situation.

In this sense, and in order to get a better picture of the diaglossic situation in Algeria and the different contexts in which it is practically processed, our research work here rather focuses on the linguistic behaviour of bidialectal speakers characterizing a particular environment in which the interlocutors are involved.

Ferguson (1976) classifies languages according to three fundamental categories for the sake of comparison: Primary languages, secondary languages, and languages of a special status. This linguistic classification is highly determined by its sociopolitical criteria, some of them are of an

official and national order, and others are of an administrative and standardized nature. Therefore, the sociolinguistic phenomena in Algeria seem to display a number of specificities particular to a sociolinguistic model quite typical to its sociocultural context.

On one hand, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), for instance, is considered as the official national language of Algeria, and its uses are almost reserved for specific purposes in particular formal contexts. On the other hand, the French language plays an important social role for daily interaction as well as still marking its presence in some of the administration, and both of them (the Arabic and French language) are observed to take up a considerable linguistic space for distinctive reasons. In addition to this, a great number of social and regional dialects of the Arabic language co-exist all over the country besides a minority of other dialectal varieties, namely Berber dialects.

On the basis of what has been previously said, the linguistic situation in Algeria in general, seems quite complex and intricate, noticing that the low Algerian Arabic varieties, in contrast with MSA, are much more frequently used.

In this respect, it might be hypothesized that the linguistic behaviour for the most of the social groups and individual speakers, is split between two distinctive linguistic varieties of the same language alternately used. each of them revealing functional uses and social roles well-related to very particular contexts, notably those areas that are closely bounded to the field of education and the written form of language, such as university conferences, mosques oratories and some TV programmes and the like.

This linguistic situation where, in fact, two distinctive varieties peacefully coexist and operate in different social contexts for different purposes, is what Ferguson (1959) has originally named *Diglossia*.

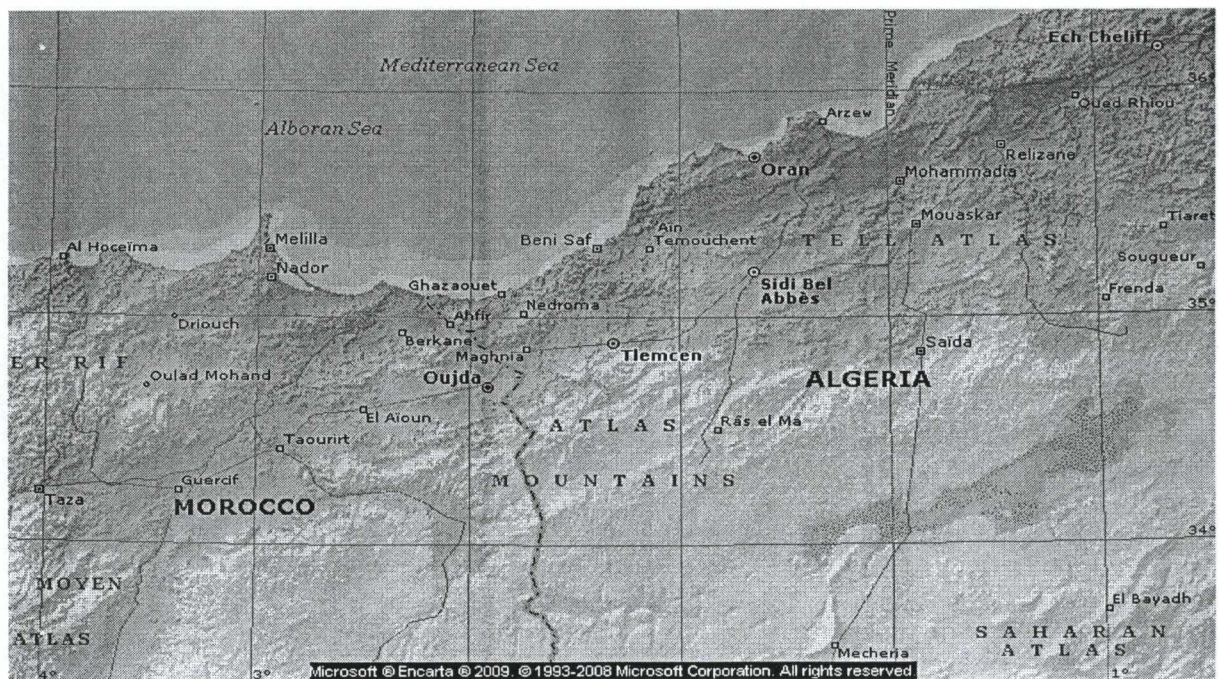
2.3. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN TLEMCEN SPEECH COMMUNITY

It has been thought that it would be wiser to tackle the linguistic situation in the Tlemcen speech community by exposing first its geography, history and population to provide the reader with a general overview of the target situation analysis.

2.3.1. Tlemcen Geographically

Tlemcen, a town located in Northwest of Algeria, is the capital of the *Zianides*, as it is said to be one of the famous cities prominent with its art and civilization, i.e., it takes a high rank socially speaking. It is situated near the Moroccan border at the west, and Ain Temouchent town at the north east, and Bechar at its south. It stretches over an area of 2,020 km² and lies at an elevation of 2,648 feet. Also known by its cool climate in the mountains have made it an important center of tourism in Algeria.

Administratively it is composed of 21 *daira*, it is bordered by Maghnia then Remchi in the west, Mansourah in the north, Oulad Mimoune in the east and Sebdou in the south. The following map illustrates its location as follows:



Map: 2.1. Tlemcen Geographical Map

It has prominent monuments which are worthy of comparison with those of Granada. For instance, the great mosque (Jamaa-el-Kebir) has a brick minaret of 112 ft high, adorned with marble columns, and cased with mosaic of the most varied designs. This mosque was built in 1136 A.D. to replace a much older building.

Although the town is sufficiently inland, being thus, far from the influence of the humidity of the Mediterranean coast, it is near enough to receive cooling sea breezes in summer. The result is a temperate climate. Tlemcen is also characterized by its various landscapes, coastlines, hills, mountains, and plains. Geographically speaking, it can be divided into four main sub-areas:

- a. From the North Heights of Trara till the Mediterranean coast;
- b. Marne ;
- c. Mountains which occupy more than one third of the territory of the town;
- d. Plains which are mostly situated in Maghnia and Hennaya.

The case study of this thesis is rather concerned with the दौर of Tlemcen, particularly, its commune mosques during six Friday oratories, the first one situated in Kifane, while the second has

been selected in Abu Tachfine, but the third and the fourth respectively, in Chetouane and Ouzidane, in addition to, Aid Edefla and Saf Saf.

2.3.2. Tlemcen Population

Most of the researchers agree that the Berber people are indigenous inhabitants of North African areas starting from "Siwa" oasis of the eastern Egyptian region to the western Atlantic sea till the southern Niger River. In this regard, as far as the name Berber is concerned, it has nothing to do with the human-being descendents, but rather a connotation attributed by the Greeks to a foreigner who, by the fact, doesn't speak their language. Later on, the Romans went almost through the same logic, giving this name to every individual who does not submit to their sovereignty and, thus refuses integration within the empire.

In this respect and what is worthy observational at this level is that history has proved to us that the Berber ethnicity constitutes a wide antic nation traced back to its ancient civilization that had been founded and spread all along North Africa. In fact, this is what may explain and justify their presence nowadays inside cities and many famous capitals in general, and in Algeria in particular; and more precisely in Algiers the capital where Bani

M'zghen and the Sanhagis lived; in addition to Djurdjura and Ouargla and banu Ouartilane in south Algeria, and in Mniaa, Tiaret, Tlemcen and its suburbs. They also coexist in Cherchal, Tenes and in Al Ouancharis mountains, in addition to the surrounding areas of Ammour Mountains in Oran city, and souk Ahrass, Constantine and Diar sebka in Beninzab region as well.

Prior to that, north Africa; Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia had been subject to a Roman invasion, who established a geographical connection between those regions, and set up a bulwark to ban the surrounding tribes raids, who refused to admit that they had been defeated and did not want to stop fighting against the existence of this coloniser of their own land for looting and pelage as opposed to the so-claimed propaganda of Religious, educational and civilisational missionary tasks.

Such a camp was given the name of "Pomaria" well known today as "Tlemcen city". A Roman town, Pomaria, occupied a site east of the present town. It derived its name from the abundance and luxuriance of the apple, pear and other fruit trees in the neighbourhood. The Roman town was ruined in the period following the Vandal invasion, and at the time of the Arab conquest appears to have been

deserted. This, in fact, refers to the first historical Monuments of the two first tombs dating back to the Alexander Severe, and the other one goes back to the Kurdish. Consequently both of them reveal the leaders of the Romanian Armored that belonged to Pomaria. In this vein, Tlemcen had been considered as the city of the gardens par excellence and it is linked to the coast through two distinct roads; the former crosses the city of Ain-Temouchent, and the later stretches all along Siga the ancient capital of the Berber king called Syffax till Tafna issue.

Regardless the Latin manuscripts that have been found on different walls, notably on the down part of Agadir, these monuments as being historical markers, and a prove of the existence of the Romans in Tlemcen city, might to some extent, explain the degree of civilization that the city of Tlemcen had witnessed during that era since several and various civilizations came across. As there have been a number of conquests among which some lasted and others rapidly vanished such as that of the Vandals and the Byzantines around A.D. 641.

It should be also mentioned at this level, that while the Romans were marking their presence in Algeria, the Islamic openings started to take place

and a large state stretching its expansion from east to west, have been gloriously founded. Later on and gradually, Egypt then the Arab Maghreb was opened, reaching finally El-Andalouss Area. Yet, Tlemcen was opened by the Arabs headed by Okbaa ibn nafii and Abi Almuhadjer during the first century of El hidjra 7th century A.C).

As a matter of fact, though Tlemcen area witnessed an intensive existence of the Berber, fundamentally justified by the great amount of vocabulary used in Tlemcen dialects, the Arabs took control over the middle and extreme Maghreb where they started spreading Islam for the sake of getting the Berber closer.

In A.D 675, those Islamic openings reached Tlemcen city and eventually contributed in learning Arabic by its inhabitants, and in consequence to that, there had been a kind of fusion between the Arabs and Berber. However, in A.D. 690, the Idrissites settled down in Tlemcen for the building of a new city named Agadir (Berber, the fortress), and then The Almoravides who reigned sixty-five years, ruling the area in 1079 AD, under the leadership of Yusef ibn Tashfin and his son Ali ibn Yusef. In 1080 the Almoravide sovereign Yusef ibn Tashfin, after besieging and sacking Agadir, built a

new town on the site of his camp. Afterward, and in 1143, the Almohades governed Tlemcen under the leadership of Abdel Mumen ibn Ali, an era during which this province knew a noticeable economic progress.

Yet, the most prospering and flourishing era that Tlemcen knew was that one reigned by the Zianids state and its civilization between the 13thC and the 16thC, when it became the capital of the middle Maghreb in 1248, due fundamentally, to its founder and his efforts, namely Suleiman Abu Yahia Yarmorasen (Ghamarasan); it became a commercial centre of a paramount importance in the Arab world, especially because of its strategic geographical location.

On the other hand, the collapse of El-Andalus, in general, had a remarkable impact on the other Algerian cities, and Tlemcen in particular, to which a great number of Muslims and Jews exoded, after they had been fired by the Spanish who steadily had power over it, and who had been, in their turn, invaded by the Turks from whom Tlemcen inhabitants harshly suffered as a result of their soldiers' mistreatment.

Such a significant impact on the city of Tlemcen and its inhabitants has also, in a way or another, immortalized the hallmarks of this presence strongly reflected in some of the names and titles inherited from one generation to another. What should be noted in this context as well, is that the negative impact on their whereabouts, impoverished the hallmarks of the city and seldom any technical, scientific and even religious emulation, following, for instance their predecessors El-Murabits. Hence, this land went through a new era of pain and tragedy, giving to the enemies the opportunity to spoil the country. Then, it was France after the Turks and Spaniards, one of the principal colonialists who imposed their complete hegemony all over the country.

As a result of this, the city of Tlemcen was raped under the Principality of Marshal Clausel in 1836, and the President of the Turks Mustafa ibn Ismail leading them into El-Meshuar Fort, which has long ensured the protection of long-term occupation, until there had been a break of the treaty Tafna, in 1842, when General Peugeot took control over the city on the ground that France tended then deliberately to impose its control in almost all aspects of life.

That led, gradually, France to attempt intentionally to eradicate the Arabic language and strategically and purposefully establish the French language to gradually compel it on the Algerian people. With such a linguistic policy which was not less important than the other fields of expansion, the French language use reinforced different Algerian dialects of different areas, fundamentally aiming at planning and considering the Algerian geographical division as an extension of the French territory, by monopolising, at the same time, the political, economic and social domains.

This was embodied in the general policy of the French colonialist, in form of mechanisms often appearing peaceful and educational, while its hidden content has no purpose except to get rid of the necessary elements closely related to the national identity and what it entails of social, cultural and civilisational values, notably its linguistic means of communication and social interaction. As a matter of fact, the French linguistic code alone became the language of instruction at all levels for teaching and learning purposes.

Moreover, the French administration and the Mass-medias relied totally on this language too. The main objective behind such a procedure was, in fact,

to make of the Algerian cultural environment part of the French one, on the basis of the 1948 decision which considered the French language as the governing language.

Through this historical overview, it can be said that there are various races that settled in Tlemcen through different historical periods. Consequently, Tlemcen dialect had been clearly affected by those peoples' languages and dialects, and thus mixed with a huge number of foreign words. These races can be summarised as follows:

1-*The Berber*: who are said to be the first race who had settled since long times ago in Tlemcen; notably El-Zinatyun who resided in Middle Maghreb, in addition to other peoples who also settled in the suburbs of Tlemcen city, which caused the mixture of the Arabs with the inhabitants of the city because of their exodus to the Maghreb.

2-*The Arabs*: according to the historical researches, Okba Bnu Nafii and his companions, on their way to North Africa, initiated that exodus to the Arab Maghreb; they built their own houses and got their own families which allowed them to fully be integrated and become like any

other ethnic group maintaining an identical style of life of that area. This Arab exodus had a significant impact on the Berber customs and traditions, including even their linguistic code in that the Arabic language had become their first language though some of them still preserve Tamazight for some communicative purposes.

3-*The Turks*: they originally descended from Ottoman soldiers and mercenaries who married, at that time, with some of the Arab or arabised Berber women of that city.

2.3.3. Tlemcen Linguistically

Tlemcen, as any other city in Algeria, has been also subject to various linguistic changes quite worthy to tackle. In this sense, its linguistic variety witnessed a vital diachronic development at different levels, from purely phonological to absolutely semantic.

This might be traced back, in fact, to the different civilisations and tribes and population shift, such as the Spaniards, Turks, and earlier the Arabs who came from diverse places, and who are marked by a co-existential and tribal spirit, characterized by a conservative style of life due to

particular hard social and environmental conditions. All this enormously contributed to the emergence of a very specific speech variety typically local.

As a result, it is clearly observed in general that the different dialects coexisting with each other, display a kind of discrepancy, mainly recognised in the phonological particularities, especially if one considers that the speech sounds production constitutes the basics to any communicative situation while conversing with each other as interlocutors.

For a more detailed background account, it is believed that an exposé of the linguistic situation of Tlemcen has to be discussed on the basis of two distinctive eras; the former before the French coloniser, and the latter after the independence.

2.3.3.1. The Pre-colonisation Era

Researchers commonly agree that during this period, Tlemcen citizens were mainly communicating and interacting through three distinctive varieties, more or less, quite linguistically close to standard Arabic. As mentioned above, Tlemcen speech variety as regarded as one of the urban dialects embedded by the first Arab conquerors in North Africa coexisted

side by side with the rural ones implanted, later on, by the Arab settlers, namely the nomadic populations.

Therefore, there was a linguistic variety spoken by sedentary people called in Arabic terms "hodor", and two other rural speech varieties; the one marking that population living near around the city, notably "houzi dialect", and the other one settling completely in the villages, called "arab or nomad" as stated by Ibn Khaldun in his book *El-Muqaddima*, clearly marked with specific dialect features, mainly phonological and morphological aspects, and some of the lexical items, all which we will deal with in chapter three. However, this social distinction, as mentioned by Dendane (1993) in his unpublished Magister thesis, tends to disappear nowadays since the merging populations of the two speech types both coexist in the city and the big commercial centres to which they intensively shift, and which can be explained by the fact that they were fleeing the hard conditions of life of the rural areas because of diverse socio-economic and political issues that Algeria witnessed through different epochs.

In the light of this, some of the Arab modern linguists have seriously been preoccupied by the

omission of the grammatical marker or mute the words endings what the Arab grammarians called /el-waqf/ or /sekt/, one the most ancient linguistic features in spoken Arabic dialects. Such a linguistic feature is rather supposed to be used by the interlocutors to ease and speed language use, and realise a kind of language economy in terms of language production while interacting with each other in daily conversation.

2.3.3.2. The Post-independence Era

While and just after the French colonisation, the Tlemcen dialect, as any other regional variety of the Arabic Algerian dialect as a whole, found itself in a weak position because of a number of circumstances, which among them, its partial abandon by its native speakers. Politically speaking, it also can be explained by the fact that there were several measures taken against those who write it or even just have it as a subject of research.

Such a condition soon got its influences on the linguistic situation in Algeria; where several changes occurred both at the phonetic and phonological levels; as there has been an emergence of new grammatical structures with the introduction of a new foreign lexical repertoire inserted in the Arabic language system, and which has no equivalent in the standard Arabic language system. This, in

fact, gave birth to new modes, forms of speech and styles of expression to be used for different communicative purposes to perform different social roles. Therefore, many linguistic rules and norms, totally different from that of the standard Arabic language system, came out to create a typical linguistic system in terms of language use.

As an illustration to this, the most relevant linguistic features of Tlemcen speech varieties lie basically on the phonetic realisation of a great number of phonemes and morphemes, such as most of the suffixes and some of the lexical items. For instance, the difference in use of the verb "to come" which varies from an urban speech form to a rural one, respectively as follows: /aeji/ Vs /rwah/, also the word "to do" which is realised as /3mel/ Vs /daer/ or simply the interjection "yes" which takes the form of /yih or ih/ Vs /wah/ and so on and so forth...Nonetheless, the classical Arabic phoneme /q/ as voiceless, is particularly realised as a glottal stop /ʔ/ by Tlemcen sedentary people whom are identified as "hodor", coming from the urban centre, as already pointed out above, or either as the voiceless /q/ or /k/ or the voiced velar rural /g/ as realised by the arab (nomads).

Although, Tlemcen has often been regarded as a long-established urban centre strongly marked by highly conservative social and cultural characteristics that is reflected even in its population speech, by the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ which, in fact, does not vary according to any socio-economic style differentiation, such a linguistic distinction tends more and more to disappear mainly because of the intensive population shift (rural exodus) towards large sedentary centres (adapted from Dendane's; *ibid*).

As far as the present work is concerned, it should be stated here, that the diaglossic situations in the Algerian speech communities, there seems to be no support of linguistic variation correlating with such aspects as class and style in a similar way for two major reasons:

a/ A sharp distinction between classical Arabic which is merely used in its written form, and especially in formal situations, like Religious ceremonies and political speech deliveries, and any low variety (dialects) of daily conversations, should be systematically drawn.

b/ At a social dimension level, it is harder to correlate linguistic characteristics with socio-economic stratification because of some political and religious motives (adapted from Dendane's; *ibid*).

To put it in a nutshell, though the realisation of the glottal stop variable seems to undoubtedly personify the Tlemcen speakers' identity, particularly when associated with linguistic situations almost free from any social constraint, and though women speakers tend to preserve their own vernacular aspects whatever the context they are involved in, it should be quite obvious that this does not occur in some social contexts.

Moreover, the socio-economic status of the speaker has nothing to do with this, and that the large-scale rural exodus, after the independence, and the fact that, in Algeria, the glottal stop realisation is often viewed as *stigmatized*; an effeminate speech form to mock at when produced by men, contributed enormously to a situation shifting to some of the linguistic features of the rural variety, like to avoid the glottal stop use or some lexical items, essentially because of *dialect contact* phenomenon (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980).

2.4. THE RESEARCH METHOD

Because of the difficulties and limitations that our field of research work may encounter, it has been decided, at the onset of this investigation, to work on a particular case study, by choosing a sample population of the original society, which may reveal to the reader a general picture of the target linguistic situation, and therefore, facilitate our data collection procedure. In the following sections, the whole research method which has been followed will be exposed, including the research instruments, techniques and procedures, in an attempt to get control over data collection and thus, data treatment, and in hope to attain reliable results.

2.4.1. The Sample Population

Methodologically speaking, and in an endeavour to achieve 'representativeness' in sociolinguistic data collection practices, by constructing a random sample of the researcher's target speech community, the selection of a sample population, in social and human sciences, has always been conceived as one of the most intricate aspects in research methodology (def. Shuy et al. 1968: 229, Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 57, Milroy & Gordon 2003: 25, Tagliamonte 2006: 18); for the simple reason that it should fulfil the three recommended criteria, namely

representativeness, suitability and generalisability (Lawrence; Morrison; Cohen, 2005). For this reason, the researcher opted for a case study based on consulting six distinctive mosques randomly selected.

2.4.2. The Research Instruments

Any investigation should be supported by research instruments on which the experiment is build. The present research work is based on two research tools, namely field observation and audio recordings, in an attempt to cross-check the results achieved for data validation and thus, data evidence.

2.4.2.1. Field Observation

As with other data collection techniques, Observation methods are powerful tools for gaining insight into situations. The most distinguishing characteristic of observation as a research process is that it offers an investigator the prospect to collect 'live' data from naturally occurring social situations. The use of observation may lead to yield more valid or authentic data, and this may be the task and aim of observation.

From another layer of analysis, there seems to exist other attractions in its favour; for instance, Robson (2002: 310) posits that:

What people do may differ from what they say they do, and observation provides a reality check; observation also enables a researcher to look afresh at everyday behaviour.

In planning observations, one has to consider the following adopted points (Cohen 2005:412):

- When, where, how and what to observe.
- The duration of the observation period, which must be suitable for the behaviour to occur and be observed.
- The timing of the observation period (e.g. morning, afternoon, evening).
- The context of the observation (a meeting, a lesson, a development workshop, a senior management briefing etc.).
- The need for there to be an opportunity to observe, for example to ensure that there is the presence of the people to be observed or the behaviour to be observed.

Furthermore, observations (Morrison 1993: 80) enable the researcher to gather data on:

- The *physical setting* (e.g. the physical environment and its organization).
- The *human setting* (e.g. the organization of people, the characteristics and makeup of the groups or individuals being observed, for instance, gender, class).
- The *interactional setting* (e.g. the interactions that are taking place, formal, informal, planned, unplanned, verbal, non-verbal etc.)
- The *programme setting* (e.g. the resources and their organization, pedagogic styles, curricula and their organization).

It is important to recognise that observers have some choices about what kind of record should be kept of a phenomenon. The following section will be concerned with recordings.

2.4.2.2. Audio Recordings

While observing, it is wiser to record what is observed, in order to be analysed later. Ways of recording observation are at variance, for instance, small compact video cameras and sound cassettes offer further options beyond written notes. This is why the researcher opted for a sound cassette in his investigation. What follows is a summarised table of the possible ways of recording the observation. Each approach has advantages and disadvantages:

| Method | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Written Account | Immediate and fresh account available; economic use of time; account can be available for discussion immediately after Lesson; full picture of events available to observer at time of observation. | Observer must make immediate decisions about what to record, so may be superficial or unreliable account; no chance of 'action replay'; some effects on behaviour because of observer's presence. |
| Video Cassette | Good visual and sound record which can be replayed several times; no pressure to make instant decisions; focus can be on teacher only or on individual or group of pupils; lesson can be discussed with participants. | Loss of information such as room temperature, smells, events out of camera shot; effects on class of presence of camera; increase in time needed for analysis. |
| Sound Cassette | Good sound record can be replayed several times for discussion, analysis, or corroboration of written account; | Loss of important visual cues such as facial expressions, gesture, body language, movement; sound quality can be |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| | <p>radio microphone can be used to obtain high quality record of what the teacher says; observer's comments can be recorded simultaneously on twin-track tape; allows registering to be transcribed by audio typist.</p> | <p>poor without radio microphone, especially if acoustics are poor; difficult to identify individual children who speak; analysis time substantially increased.</p> |
| Transcript | <p>Enables really detailed analysis at leisure; permits analysis by several People not necessarily in the same place, as text can be distributed easily; person being observed can work on specific aspects of language, such as choosing good examples of analogies, using an appropriate vocabulary</p> | <p>Loss of important visual and sound cues such as tone of voice, volume of noise, emphasis; high cost in time and money to have recordings transcribed (one recording might fill twenty or thirty pages); difficulty of deciding what to focus on if numerous transcripts are collected.</p> |

Table 2.1. Recording Observations

Wragg (1999 :17)

2.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter was basically an attempt to present a general picture of the situation analysis, as far as the Algerian speech community is concerned in general, and Tlemcen in particular. It provides a historical background about its history and population, stating at first, its geographical location. Moreover, it exposed the research instruments on which the investigator relied to conduct his practical side of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Results Analysis & Interpretation

3.1. INTRODUCTION

3.1. QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

3.2. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

3.4. RESULTS ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.3.1. Data Analysis

3.3.2. Data Interpretation

3.3. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

3.4. CONCLUSION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Within this kind of analysis, the researcher will often consider the idea and frequency of the phenomenon referred to. The present chapter will be, in fact, concerned with the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered using statistics and graphs to visually represent the results. This has been closely undertaken with the diglossic situation in Tlemcen.

Hence, this research has drawn our attention towards the fact that the characteristics of the contexts are said to have an official status; this is the case of religious speeches, notably mosques oratories, particularly which may be assumed as having a "classical status". In the present research, observation was held on six mosques, where the researcher focuses his attention on each Imam while retaining the context of the same situation.

The researcher has built his first experience of this case study, each Friday, at the core of the mosques in Tlemcen, during the year 2008-2009. A first mosque oratory was selected to observe the speaker (the Imam) throughout the linguistic interaction that occurred between him and the audience which is supposed to be passively involved. It seems important to mention at this level that the researcher has discretely recorded him, i.e., without informing the speaker about the study; this

is not to affect the informants' linguistic behaviour of the target situation.

As far as the second and the third experiment were concerned, the researcher has opted for a religious context again, where another "Imam" was the speaker who was, in fact, presenting his "Friday Sermon". In both cases, we have noted that we tracked and noted and recorded the informants (the two Imams) within three different time's occasion.

At this level, it is worth explaining what a sermon is; as far as the Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World (1995: 432), sermon is "an address called a xutbah is delivered by xhati:b (orator), usually in a masdjid (mosque), during the Friday service, celebration of religious festivals or on other occasions". Hence, a sermon is an oration which highlights important Islamic matters which have a direct impact on the Muslim's contemporary life along with focusing on social issues.

The Sermon is considered very important to the extent that it is part of the prayer, because the daily noon prayers are composed of four cycles or kneels (raka'at), but the Friday prayer is composed of only two parts. In our study, we have selected six sermons to analyse from a diglossic perspective.

The present chapter has allowed us to plan statistically the linguistic behaviours of the six different Imams. The researcher adopted both a quantitative and a qualitative approach for data analysis.

3.1. THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

Quantitative research is based on the measurement of quantity or amount. It is applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity. In quantitative research one classifies results, counts them, and even constructs more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed (Selinger & Shohamy 1989).

The qualitative analysis is considered as being a set of techniques and methods approved for the qualitative approach, which represent a simple investigation and use. Within such an approach, the researcher does not need to be a highly experienced observer, but his concern is to provide a very clear interpretation of the meaning and frequencies and seeks at the same time to represent his findings in the form of bar-graphs and charts. The quantitative approach involves the generation of data in quantitative form which can be subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis in a formal and rigid fashion.

3.2. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Results from this type of research are usually said to be of an "explanatory" nature. Qualitative analysis allows, therefore, a fine distinction to be drawn because it is not necessary to limit the data into a finite number of classifications. Data may take the form of interview, written responses or observations (Weir & Robert 1994).

Presumably through the full registration of all the facts that occur within the status of linguistic minorities, to disclose how the approach of rich descriptive data and, in connection with what is happening in the framework of this act. For this reason, it is expected from the researcher to present a comprehensive picture of the linguistic and scientific phenomenon studied. Therefore, it seems to be compulsory to take into account what is going on in front of the researcher with the possibility of being misled by the complexity of the target situation and its chemistry of changing variables. This is to allow him to study this linguistic behaviour in a strict, careful and deep manner.

All what the researcher needs, at this level, is the availability of data. And to avoid value judgments, one should focus as much as possible on a reasonable description of the important elements of

the target situation of the studied problematic. The purpose of all this is to conduct a study which is described as being experimental and scientific. Registration has provided the researcher to approach closely to the interaction that occurs between the various elements of phenomena being studied.

In this context, the monitoring of oral behaviour within the social interaction can be readily observed while examining the data obtained from the recordings. Thus, the researcher put a great emphasis and establishes in-depth exchanges of the oral ongoing discussion within the process of this oral event.

Concerning the process that was employed in measuring and analysing data, the researcher relied on both qualitative and quantitative dimensions in an attempt to control the different sets of data. In this vein, Newman and Benz (1998) believe that any investigation may entail a **"combination of qualitative and quantitative constructs which are often regarded as a matter of continuum rather than a clear-cut dichotomy"** (quoted in Davies 2004: 488). This combination of approaches is generally set as a basis to carry out research within an analytic-deductive design.

Thus, as we continue to hopefully involve our research towards objectivity and credibility, we

have opted for the use of small mini recorder, secretly used, in order to avoid any change in the behaviour of the informants to achieve naturalistic data, which allow us to draw on the results in a systematic, scientific and procedural mode, and this is required by standard academic methodological research.

It seems to be that there is no doubt that predominance in Algerian society and the inevitability of the observations do not require a large content of hardships, and that the French language still occupies a position which is characterised as being distinct despite the numerous attempts by the authorities of the country to demonstrate that Algeria is a linguistically and culturally unified, its official language is Arabic.

However, if we look at the current situation, one notes that Standard Arabic seems not to represent at all the existing reality of language for the Algerians but also, and most important of all, one may notice almost exclusively the dominance of the many local dialects and the various utilized varieties in different parts of the country. This has, in fact influenced the diverse works of art in which the status of French started to appear in the theatre, cinema and even in the art of singing.

Notwithstanding this fact, currently, the Arabic language has known a remarkable revival within the generation that grew up with an awareness of the importance of the classical Arabic, to the extent that they mastered it better than any foreign language including French.

And the best example to this assumption may be drawn from the present case study and the possible deductions throughout this modest experience in teaching English. For instance, it is to be noted at this level that students who have enrolled in the basic education program seem to be Arabised than ever, as they face serious difficulties in learning and understanding a foreign language notably, English and including French.

From another standpoint, and despite the gradual progress that Arabic has witnessed within this new generation, it remains confined in official domains, in general, such as schools, lectures and speeches whether official, political or religious.

On the other hand, Nadji (1991: 10) suggest a third variety, often labelled as moderation, which is commonly referred to as "*Medium*", i.e., a centrist language, or what is known in Arabic "*normative*" which is widespread in the media and in different sectors of education.

Within the same line of thought, this variety seems to be accepted by the population more than the classical Arabic language, which is seen at the present time as a complex variety. This language situation is described by linguists and researchers as being a triangulation this is to compare interesting facts. For example English and French are two distinctive languages, with excessive affinities, and have gained both high statuses; so that they are used widely in daily life communications, especially by intellectuals, and also by the speakers of the upper class. Nonetheless, the classical Arabic language seems not to be employed in the daily linguistic interactions, even though it is considered as the national and official language of the country, and taught in various domains.

Within the same direction, Ferguson clarifies the nature of the discrepancy between the linguistic system, i.e., the classical Arabic language (slang or against dialect) and the linguistic systems of the current Western societies.

Conversely, studies in Arabic-speaking world disclose a certain evolution, no matter how slow, but it is gradually getting very important. This is, in fact, related to the use of the operative part of some classical forms, especially at the lexical

level in cases of less formal such as religious speeches on Friday or in university lectures.

It is to be noted here, for example, and based on the comparison between the methods used in the television, in the ethereal dialogues (after nearly 40 years of independence), and between the way the current evolution, there is a gradual but basic progress toward miscellaneous. This seems to be a reality which may appear as an indicator of the presence of a slow, but significant, path towards the standard Arabic language in all over the Arab world.

Our overall perspective to the situation of the Algerian linguistic group is that, with the exception of some of the classic uses in certain cases, the upper does not employ a varied, even within the official domains such as the discussions with the knowledge, or serious debates that which call the academic style like that found in Britain. This, we can conclude that the linguistic situation in Algeria can not be definitively in the same way as it is the case of English or French.

From this, the present work attempts to approach the linguistic diversity in the region under consideration, namely Tlemcen which was selected for our field work, according to the social linguistic

models which appears to be different from what was introduced by sociologists and language researchers.

On this basis, one may concentrate very carefully some important differences in the linguistic structure between the upper variety in classical Arabic, and the lower one namely dialectal Arabic, along the daily interactions and conversations. The researcher, at this level, focus on the diaglostic situation characterising the Arabic-speaking groups (Ferguson, 1959 to 1970; Jumper, 1962; Fishman, 1968). We tried to clarify the vital characteristics which symbolize the two varieties, this is, in hope to ensure that the researcher examines closely the target situation and differentiate between the upper and lower ones. This what Ferguson (...) calls "Colloquial Arabic", in which he considers a series of regional dialects compiling the mother tongue and the language of origin of the Arabs. This phenomenon is taking place between the varieties may possibly be observed at all levels of language as followings:

- *Phonetic Level*: It represents the level at which sounds are changed or substituted, replacing the fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ with the plosives /t/ and /d/, this substitution may occur in several varieties of the language itself, particularly in urban societies.

Additionally, there is also lessening of hamzah in the classical Arabic words like-per-thousand: for example, / Rat - var / (AA). Furthermore, the offset elimination of Alhamzah, as reflected in the word / elboka? /, which became / bka /, or /anisa?/ which became /nsa/. In addition to this, there are also the phoneme / Q / in some dialects of rural or Alsoamt / k, a, s / in some other parts.

- *Phonological Level:* From another layer of analysis, it is often claimed that the phonological arena seems to be one of the pillars of classical schools which plays an important role in the social production of language. What is noticed from this is that quite a number of vowels are reduced in modern Arabic dialects. This later has facilitated a contact with this level of some phenomena, such as the deletion of "elmahmouz" caused by the continuing high degree of integration. This is clearly demonstrated in the following examples, which are taken from the recordings.

- / haraba :/(هَرَبَ) to /herb/: (هَرَبَ)
- /rakiba/ (رَكِبَ) to /rkeb// زَكَبَ /
- /kaθora/ : (كَثَرَ) to /kter/: (كَثَرَ) /
- /naqosa/ : (نَقَصَ) to /nqas/ : (نَقَصَ)

The shortcut of "el mahmouz" is also considered as a phonological phenomenon, this what the researcher will try to analyse in the present case study through the following examples:

➤ /yaqoulo laho/: (يَقُولُ لَهُ) to /yqol/ (يَقُولُ) or /ygoul/ (يَقُولُ) in some rural varieties, and /y ?oul/ : (يَقُولُ) in Tlemcenian variety. It is worth mentioning, at this level, that even verbs are

- *Morphological Level*: at this stratum of analysis, and as it was previously mentioned, the morphological change start from the morpheme in classical Arabic language, i.e., the change is at the level of the feminine singular addressee, specifically with regard to a form of the verb in the dialect of Tlemcen; for instance, instead of the use of the imperative form of /okhrodgi/ : (أخرجي) to the form /okhredg/: (أخرج) or simply /khrodg/ (خُزج). This formula is applied to both sexes (masculine and feminine).

Another phenomenon of projection is at this level in the displacement of a subsequent act for the duality "Muthanna" in all dialects. Instead of saying /ism ?\a/ or /isma ?\ani/ , to show that we are

addressing to two or more people. In addition, the morpheme (i:) plays an important morphological role either in classical Arabic or other low varieties, this importance lies in holding the role of singular speaker in the possessive case, e.g., /kitabi/ (كِتَابِي) /kotob/ (كُتُب).

- *Lexical level:* At this level, transformation in the diversity of diacritics, causes differences in meaning. And the most common word is / mʃa / (مَشَى), which turned to be (مَشَى) in some dialectal forms and which means "go away" in an expression of anger. Furthermore, though the richness of the Arab lexis, there was still a linguistic deficiency which led to borrowing a considerable number of French terms, Spanish, and Turkish words that are used in all daily life.
- *Grammatical Level:* Throughout this research, it was found at the level of grammar, there seems to exist disappearance or non-use of grammatically correct structures which require being more analytical. For instance, a sentence used to express a new lesson or a lecture may be

formulated as follows "سَمَعْتُ دَرْسَ جَدِيدٍ"
/smaat ders jdid/.

Language is recognized as being a picture of life of the nation in its systems, traditions, its intellectual directions, and religious and social life. Arabic language frequently expresses ideas from the perspective of various levels, expressing the thoughts through great writing styles which confirm the Arab mind and serenity. In this line of thought, Osman Amin (1986:114) posits:

العرب يعبرون عن التفكير الواعي
بألفاظ القلب و اللب و الحاجة و
النهى أكثر مما يعبرون عنه بألفاظ المخ
و الدماغ و الرأس، و يفرقون بين
القرباة و القربى و إحداهما لغة الدم و
الأخرى رابطة الروح".¹

Further, it should be noted at this level, that the Arabic language has throughout history its strong customs which direct lay men and particularly the educated elite speak about matters related to the unseen world. A number of linguists tend to claim that the effects of friction and conflicts between languages may appear if the particular species or at least two platoon of the convergent, but if they are not involved in the origin, the effects of friction and conflict limited effects,

¹ Osman Amin, philosophy of language Al-Arab. 37, Abdel-Ghaffar Hamid Helal, linguistics between the old and the modern 1986, pp. 114، في عبد الغفار حامد هلال، 37، علم اللغة بين القديم والحديث 1986، ص. 114.

especially with regard to infrastructure, and is rarely affected by language and to overcome this other Veseltha not this what was written by Dr. Abdul Wahid Wafi, in his book Language and society (p. 97) and may be the result of juxtaposition of languages and a key factor in the struggle not to keep the language one the same, but change, and possibly split the dialects Tsaal area in which they live and do not Tsalha in another language or by the victory, and the different physical environment and temporal and multi-cultural, which overcome the societies and peoples of the speaker, and the transition from one generation to another, as happened to the Arab in the growth of the speakers, and beating the surrounding areas of Egypt and the Levant and Iraq, as happened to Germany in spread to large areas in Central Europe and all Led to overcome those languages on the languages of the country of origin, and resulted in the latter distinguish the Arabic language, and German to local dialects.

3.4. RESULTS ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The present chapter of this research work tries to analyse and interpret the results obtained. It summarizes, thus, the main results and discusses the evidence of the research questions. The researcher's aim stresses the idea of how subjects behaved or performed either through descriptive

statistics of the performances or graphic representations that indicate the dispersion of the scores. This might be useful to understand how data can be visually represented.

The methodological process of data analysis was comprehensively discussed in the preceding chapter, and the results of this analysis will subsequently be reported in this chapter. As it is widely acknowledged, data analysis helps looking at and summarizing different data obtained through the case-study with the intention to extract some useful information that may answer the researcher's problematics and help drawing conclusions. In this sense, data analysis refers to the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of the collected data.

This section focuses, in particular, on the application of the inquiry that has been built upon the registration and field' observation, and presumably which refers to the fact there is two varieties of the same language. It has been shown from a preliminary inspection of the various cases registered, the actual use of the various linguistic forms. Such speaking behaviours may be due to the counting conditions that seem to change the role of the utmost importance in the selection, or the performance of the linguistic structures.

3.3.1. Data Analysis

The selection of a specific data analysis technique according to Seliger & Shohamy (1989) depends fundamentally on:

- the nature of the research problematics,
- the design chosen to investigate it,
- and the type of data collected.

Once the research data have been collected, data analysis is often a research procedure that refers to sifting, organising, summarising and synthesising those data so as to arrive at the results and conclusions of the research.

Religious discourse is very sensitive issue which involves a shift in the varieties used to convey messages. The content of Islamic sermons carry important information which has to be accurately presented to the audience, who have the right to receive a correct message intended by these sermons. Hence, having such an importance, the researcher selected six sermons addressing various issues. They will be analysed as follows.

- First Recording (The fast)

The researcher attended a lesson which lasts for one hour; this recording was done to observe the linguistic landscape of the statement given by the

Imam. At this level, one needs to point out that in this situation, the preacher had used, at a large extent, his dialect particularly in the interpretation or explanation of the range of religious information presented.

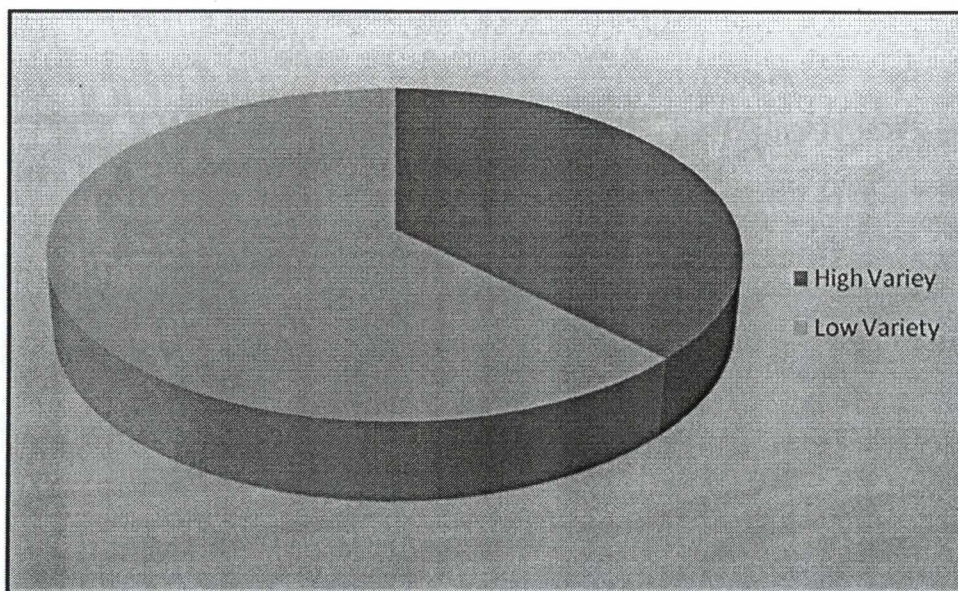
The recordings gathered are based on the information provided, i.e., every idea presented by the Imam especially where he made use of almost new wording in dialectal Arabic. The Imam used simple and easy-to understand language, because the nature of the topic (fasting) denotes the use of dialects and standard Arabic to convey the message which was addressed to laymen. Thus, it was wiser on his part to use dialect which aimed at how communication may be achieved in a simpler and more straightforward way which may in all probabilities lead to conviction. For instance, in introducing the topic, he started using standard Arabic as:

*"Ramadan is the month of repentance and forgiveness, obedience and good deeds, Remembrance and love, devotion and piety, nearness and intimacy. The Prophet (PBUH) said: **"A great loser is he who witnesses Ramadan but fails to have himself forgiven."***

However, in describing the Prophet's kind of food he used to eat to break his fast, he provides the audience with this Hadith: It was also narrated

by Salman Ibn 'Amer that the Prophet (PBUH) said: "When one of you breaks his Fast, let him do that by (eating some) dates, for they are blessed. If he does not find dates, then water is a purification."

At this level, the Imam, used dialect to explain the usefulness of "tamr" (dates) to be understood by the audience (laymen). Thus, this may be presented statistically as follows:



Pie-Chart 3.1. Percentage of the high & Low Variety used

On the other hand, our presence in a sermon had inspired us the use of the standard language and very formal, in form and content. It is worth pointing out that we did not see any shifts from high to low varieties in the lesson as it happened before, i.e., we may deduce the fact that there is a dominance of standard classical Arabic at the

is not to affect the informants' linguistic behaviour of the target situation.

As far as the second and the third experiment were concerned, the researcher has opted for a religious context again, where another "Imam" was the speaker who was, in fact, presenting his "Friday Sermon". In both cases, we have noted that we tracked and noted and recorded the informants (the two Imams) within three different time's occasion.

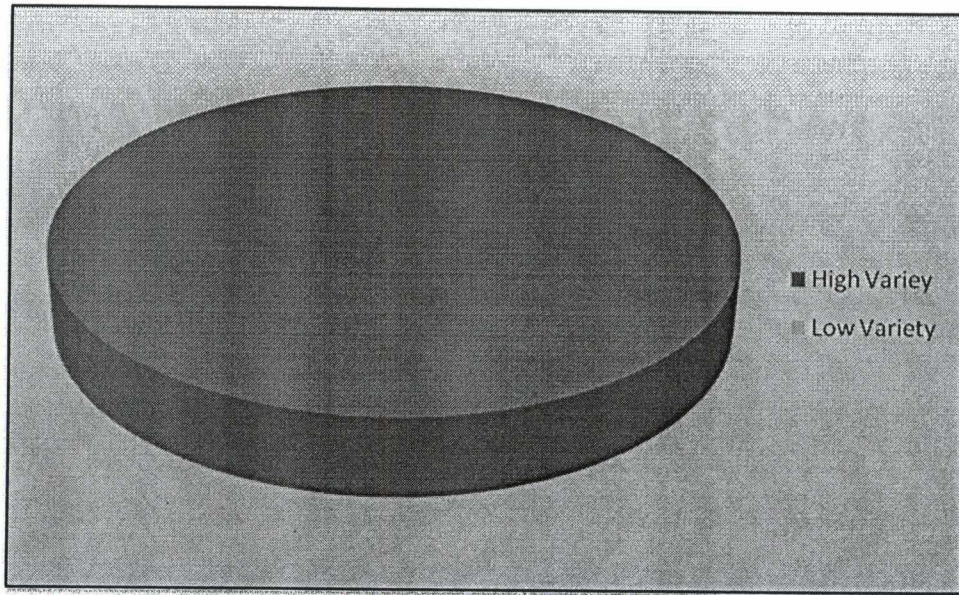
At this level, it is worth explaining what a sermon is; as far as the Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World (1995: 432), sermon is "an address called a xutbah is delivered by xhati:b (orator), usually in a masdjid (mosque), during the Friday service, celebration of religious festivals or on other occasions". Hence, a sermon is an oration which highlights important Islamic matters which have a direct impact on the Muslim's contemporary life along with focusing on social issues.

The Sermon is considered very important to the extent that it is part of the prayer, because the daily noon prayers are composed of four cycles or kneels (raka'at), but the Friday prayer is composed of only two parts. In our study, we have selected six sermons to analyse from a diglossic perspective.

the research instruments adapted to data collection procedure.

Ultimately, a third chapter strives to analyse the gathered data, relying on a quantitative and qualitative approach. This was achieved through descriptive statistics and graphic representations.

expense of its dialect, the following representation shows this clearly:



Pie-Chart 3.2. Percentage of the high Variety used

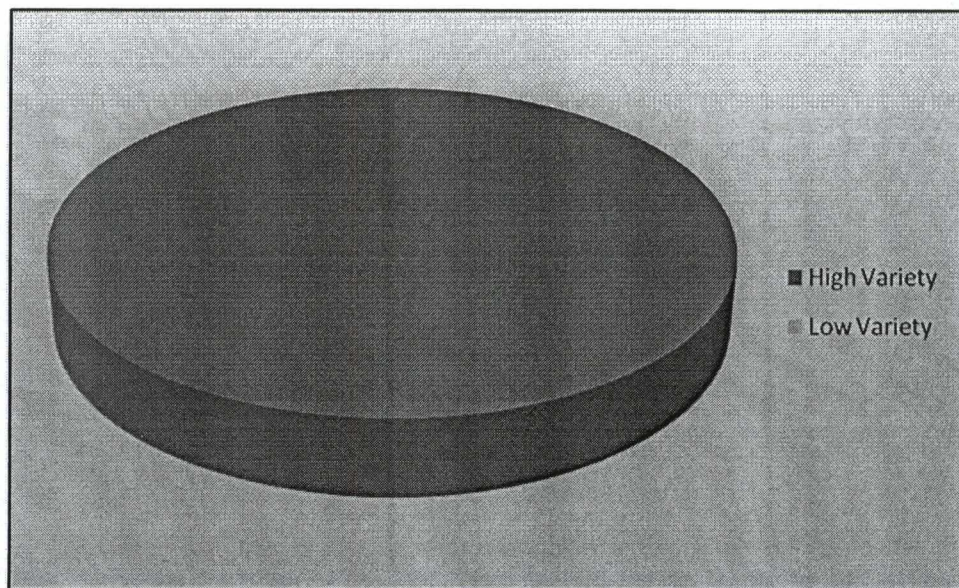
- Second Registration: Knowledge

Throughout this registration, the researcher aims at drawing the possible substantive provisions and conclusions of the concrete and representational status. In the first phase, we came to another mosque and another Imam with another lesson, namely *knowledge*. Our registration fell on the representation of the entire speech which was in the classical Arabic with a total absence of dialectal Arabic. In this sense we may, then, make sure that the context of the lesson and the way it is presented is totally different from the previous recordings.

On that basis, and in contrast to what we have seen throughout the previous two lessons, it was noticed rather this time an issue of context in the sense of occasional and contextual frameworks which was taken into account during the presentation of the lesson under investigation, i.e., the kind of the topic needs careful selected variety. For instance,

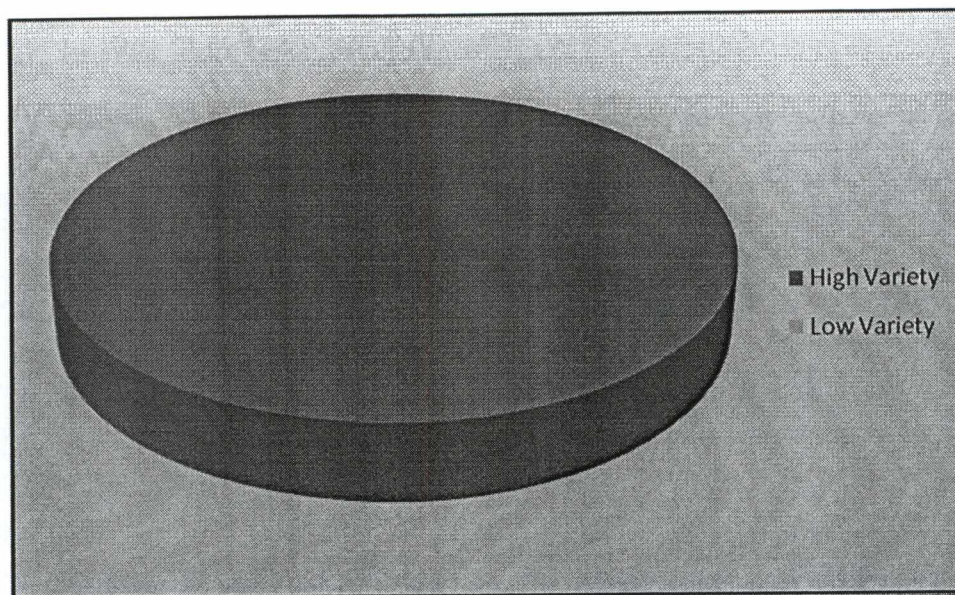
"Knowledge, in the sight of Islam, is like the soul for the body. Man's whole existence is vested in his intellect; and those who are not possessed of intellect are possessed of no religion, and vice versa. Because religion is based on intellect, about one thousand verses from the Holy Koran speak about knowledge and intellect. It is enough here to mention the Koranic supplication, "and say, 'O my Lord, increase me in knowledge'". [IX; 114].

The following chart may represent what we have said clearly:



Pie-Chart 3.3. Percentage of the high Variety used

In the second stage and during our registration, we have noted a status similar to those found in the previous registrations, and also very systematic view of what is recommended in all mosques not only in Algeria, but also in all the Arab Muslim world as a whole. Since Muslims are tied to a single formal language across the entire speech, the high variety is used more. This fact may be presented depicting the total absence of dialect as follows:



Pie-Chart 3.4. Percentage of the high Variety used

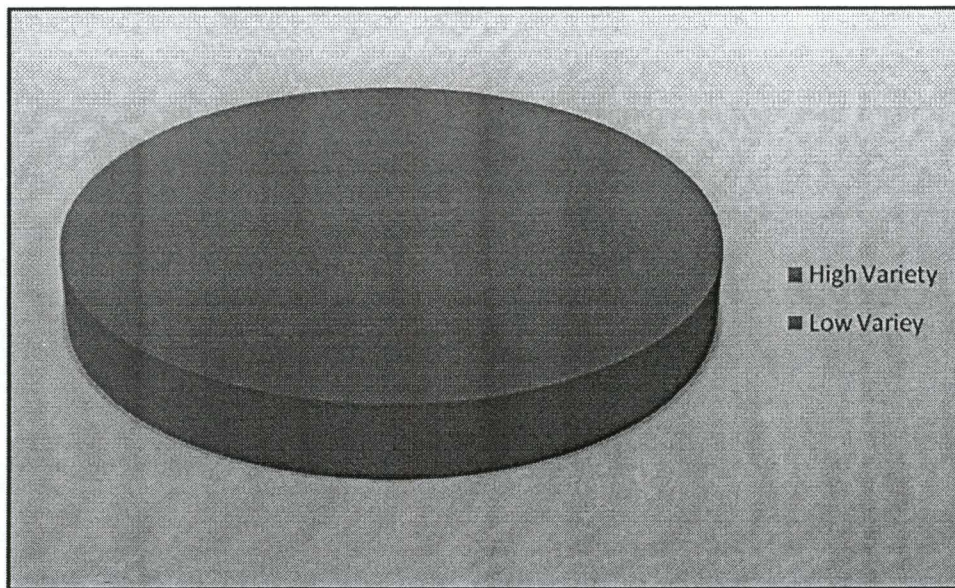
The third Registration: *Rules of Hadj*

Within another registration of the sermon, which was entitled "Rules of Hadj", and delivered by another Imam, it seems clearly that there is a certain distinctive diaglossic situation shaped the same way as described by Ferguson (1959). This recording may reveal the noticeable language interaction of two linguistic codes which are characterised by the use of varieties taken from same language. For instance, when addressing general knowledge about the pilgrimage, the Imam used a formal linguistic behaviour very appropriate with the target context. For example:

"The Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) is an individual duty ordained for every Muslim, male or female, adult, sane, free, and able.

It is performed once for life. Those who deny it are deemed as unbelievers; those who neglect it are deemed as profligates.”

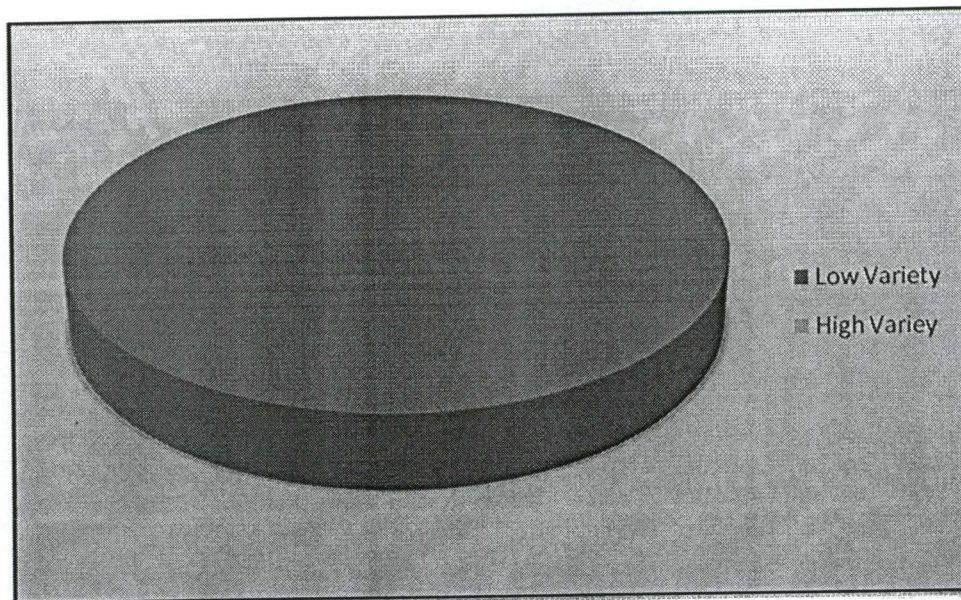
This may be attributed to the fact that the context was very official that they need a certain level of formality using the standard academic language. This may be shown in the following pie-chart:



Pie-Chart 3.5. Rates of the High Variety Used

On the other hand, and at another layer of analysis, the Imam used during his oratory his dialect to make his message clearer. Especially when talking about the rules of the pilgrimage, he used a low variety to make sure that the target message is achieved. This is related to one of the interventions which turned, in fact, using dialect and without any reference to the normative language

used during the sermon. This may allow us to demonstrate statistically, through the use of the following chart, the diaglossic variety of the two linguistic codes language.



Pie-Chart 3.6. Rates of the Low Variety Used

- Fourth Recording: Worship

After the first recording, the researcher attempts at registering again three weeks later, where the researcher has registered this time some of the differences with regard to the target linguistic situation. At this level, the Imam used in his lecture some lexical units and also grammatical structures especially using some metalanguage, i.e., Islamic-specific concepts related to the topic in question. For example, his discourse was entitled: "worship", when talking

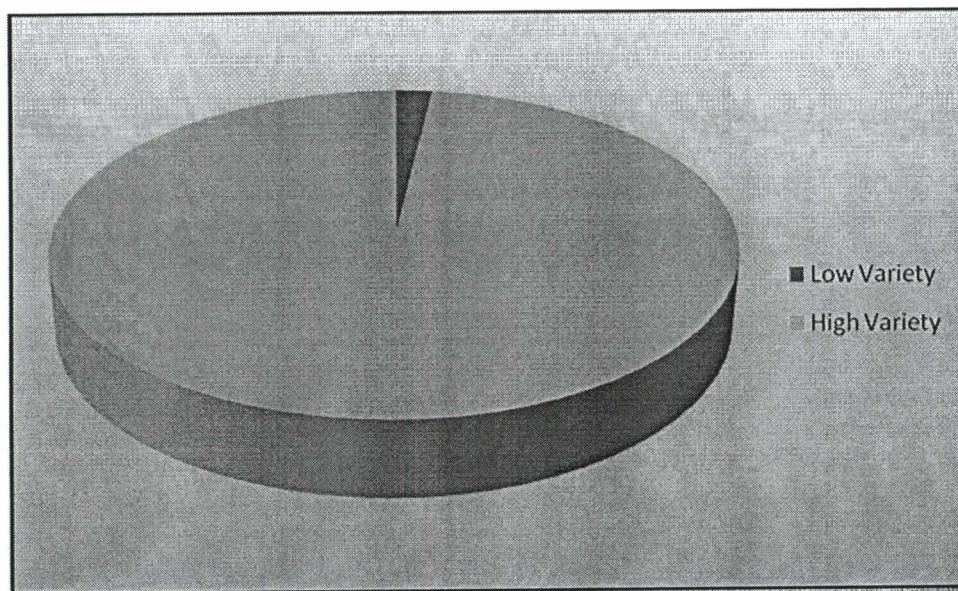
about the significance of worshipping ALLAH, he used points to be followed:

- No one but Allah, Alone, deserves to be worshipped. And in fact, the Oneness of Allah and His worship are the purport of all Divine Revealed Messages,
- Worship is nourishment for the soul,
- True servitude to Allah is the means for real freedom,
- Divine Trial for man,
- Worship is Allah's Right upon His slaves,
- Worship also denotes seeking Paradise and deliverance from Hell-Fire,
- Worship is the only means for the proper development of man's conscience.

This was also re-explained differently and rather simply, using dialect to make sure that the message was clearly understood. We note, at this level, that there are contexts within the oratory where the Imam found himself driven by other variables and factors which are important and they need further research and investigation.

In sum, one may statistically map this situation which may shed light on the following results. If one approximately considers that one person produces four sentences in one minute, it

seems fairly clear that the three or four sentences spoken in dialectal Arabic by the Imam hardly represent a 02% of his lecture courses of the total production of the standard Arabic language; this may be illustrated in the following chart:

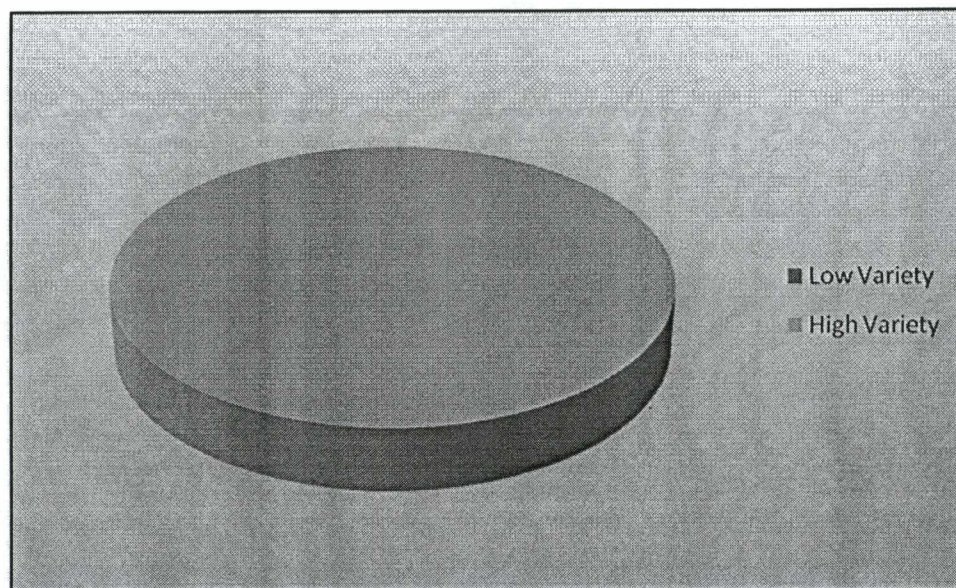


Pie-Chart 3.6. Rates of the High and Low Varieties Used

- *Fifth Recording: be rightful and dutiful to our parents*

In contrast, we enrolled a fifth recording to compare it with the preceding ones. As it seems to be also proven, a speaker uses compulsory moral and necessary academic standards while using Arabic in such restrictive formal conditions. In fact, formalities vary in different contexts and at different levels, for instance, providing a preaching lecturer, in principle, reflects the upper linguistic and social situation of the speaker, with

few exceptions. From this recording, it was found again that 100% use the classical Arabic in the high linguistic variety, and this is what can be explained in the following pie-chart:

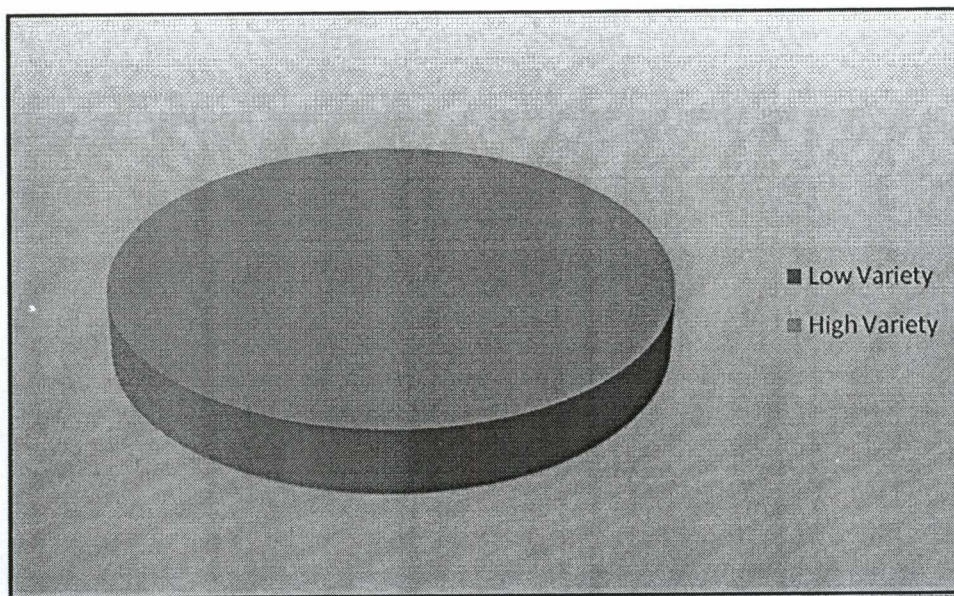


Pie-Chart 3.7. Rates of the Varieties Used in Formal Contexts

On the other hand, the registration done represents, in fact, a dialogue between the Imam and a person who came to ask for a fatwa where it was revealed the use of dialectal Arabic at the expense of high-standard language although the nature of the actual context is typically formal. This is may be due to the fact that the context is formal, but it would be wiser to use dialect to make sure that the answer was understood. Fro instance, within the same context, the Imam exemplifies saying:

A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Who is more entitled to be treated with the best companionship by me?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man said, "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man further said, "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your mother." The man asked for the fourth time, "Who is next?" The Prophet said, "Your father

In order to better demonstrate this, the following pie-chart is suggested:



Pie-Chart 3.8. Rates of the Varieties Used in informal Contexts

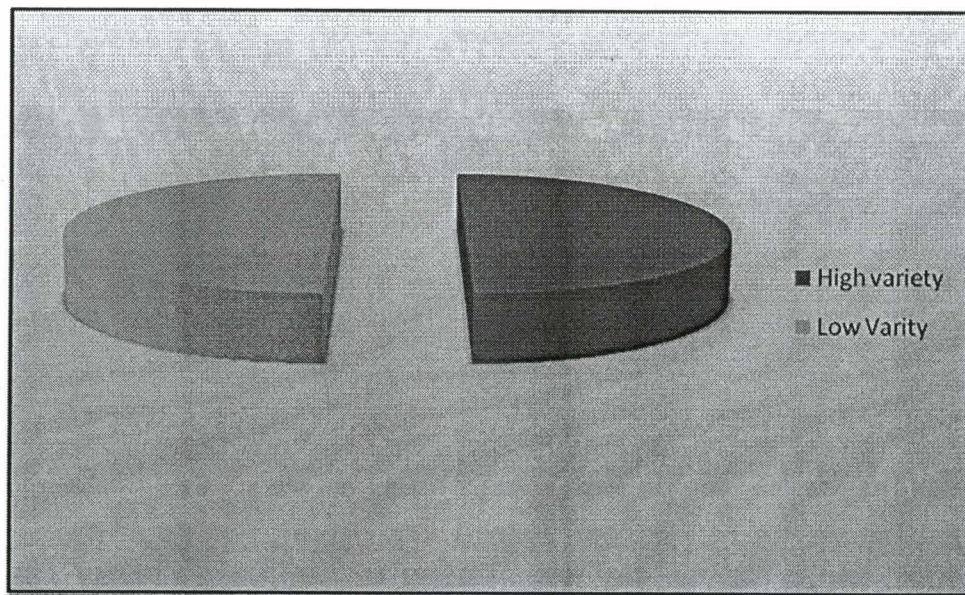
• Sixth Registration:

In order to have validity to the results achieved, and measure the strength and credibility in a systematic way, another situation was brought into light to cross-check data. However, this situation is rather in a different context that of a Friday sermon. During the first session, it was noticed that this kind of speeches enjoy a particular importance and respect from the part of the hearers. This sermons start immediately after the second call to prayer where the audience is supposed to remain silent and very attentive to the words and speech of the Imam. And this is following our religion's needs : (من مس الحصى فقد لغى، فلا)
(جمعة له)

However, our concern was, in fact, inclined rather to the linguistic behaviour of the Imam who was addressing people using the standard Arabic. It was noticed also that the Imam did not use any of the dialectal Arabic in his discourse although the illiteracy rate need to be considered among the audience. This may lead us to the conclusion that their understanding of the message may be very limited.

Our analysis of this incident is connected to the idea that the speaker (Imam) morally and religiously is obliged not to interfere, in any of

the cases, using his dialect, this is to make his speech very formal in terms of both the form and content. In contrast, as far as the first lesson submitted after the first call to prayer, the researcher attended a speech where the Imam shift his language from the standard Arabic to the dialect according to the target message. This is what is known in sociolinguistics as Code switching. For the sake of presenting a clearer picture, and for further clarification, the following chart attempts at clarifying the differences in the use of both existing language structures in the two contexts.



Pie-Chart 3.9. Percentage of the High and Low Varieties

3.4. CONCLUSION

The present chapter sought to analyse the data gathered from the instruments adopted, namely field observation and the audio recording. Based on both a qualitative and a quantitative approach, the researcher conducted an empirical study concerning the diaglossic situation in Tlemcen in two formal contexts, notably the mosque oratory and a university lecture.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

GENERAL CONCLUSION

To sum up, this research work tried to tackle the linguistic situation in Algeria marked by the diglossic character of the Arabic language; it undertakes Tlemcen as a sample population in general, and the mosque oratories in particular.

It is noticed from different linguistic investigations of different researches, that there exist many questions about the ideological systems of the origin and identity of language. However, among the different linguistic communities, Algeria, like most of the other Arabic country, two kinds of varieties are practised, notably the low and high variety. This distinction is due, in fact, to both historical and social conditions, i.e., the first approach of this phenomenon leads us to synchronic process to shed light on the linguistic changes happened in the use of this linguistic community.

The phenomenon of diglossia has created a polemical banner about its existence and spread from a society to another. The terms diglossia and bilingualism in Arabic are sometimes used interchangeably, whereas the former refers to the coexistence of many linguistic registers of the same language, while the other, linguists use it to refer to the coexistence of two originally different languages.

Based on this conceptualization of the two terms, the researcher holds his investigation to focus on Diglossia in Algeria, and Tlemcen as a sample on which to conduct our sociolinguistic research.

This sociolinguistic research revealed the diglossic characteristics as well as its effects which may reveal the mechanisms and aims of this human behaviour. It attempted to take into account the styles, sentences, words and meanings used in this language of daily conversations which penetrates homes, mosques and even the academic institutions and public media. Through a field work observation of the a number of Fridays mosques oratories, it has been noticed the coexistence of two types of language varieties.

The selected subjects were under study, making use of some sociolinguistic methods and techniques according to the context nature. This step of the study concerns the accurate descriptive analysis of the gathered data and observations; we use the statistic and analytic method to get some quantitative statistics of the data which focus on the main objectives of the research, and a qualitative sociological and interpretative analysis of those data; we used the discrete records to capture the purely natural speeches of the sample categories without improvement or selection.

This case study focuses on the religious speeches in the mosques during Friday sermons. Therefore, it has been opted for what we call in Sociology "Representatively"; in

hope, from the researcher, to reach the pragmatic category which has been believed to better correspond to the objectives of his study.

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APPENDICES

| Contextual forms | | | | Name | Translit. | Phonemic Value (IPA) |
|------------------|-----|--------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| Isolated | End | Middle | Beginning | | | |
| ا | ـا | ـا | ا | ' <u>alif</u> | □ / ā | various, including /a:/ |
| ب | ـب | ـب | ب | <u>bā'</u> | b | /b/, also /p/ in some loanwords |
| ت | ـت | ـت | ت | <u>tā'</u> | t | /t/ |
| ث | ـث | ـث | ث | <u>tā'</u> | <u>t</u> | /θ/ |
| ج | ـج | ـج | ج | <u>ǧīm</u> | ǧ (also j) | [dʒ~ʒ] |
| ح | ـح | ـح | ح | <u>hā'</u> | ħ | /ħ/ |
| خ | ـخ | ـخ | خ | <u>ḫā'</u> | ḫ (also kh, x) | /x/ |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| د | د | د | د | <u>dāl</u> | <i>d</i> | /d/ |
| ذ | ذ | ذ | ذ | <u>dāl</u> | <i>ḏ</i> (also <i>dh, ḏ</i>) | /ḏ/ |
| ر | ر | ر | ر | <u>rā'</u> | <i>r</i> | /r/ |
| ز | ز | ز | ز | <u>zāy</u> | <i>z</i> | /z/ |
| س | س | س | س | <u>sīn</u> | <i>s</i> | /s/ |
| ش | ش | ش | ش | <u>šīn</u> | <i>š</i> (also <i>sh</i>) | /ʃ/ |
| ص | ص | ص | ص | <u>sād</u> | <i>ṣ</i> | /s ^ʕ / |
| ض | ض | ض | ض | <u>dād</u> | <i>ḍ</i> | /d ^ʕ / |
| ط | ط | ط | ط | <u>tā'</u> | <i>ṭ</i> | /t ^ʕ / |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-------------|----------------|--|
| ظ | ظ | ظ | ظ | <u>zā'</u> | z | [ð ^ʕ ~z ^ʕ] |
| ع | ع | ع | ع | <u>'ayn</u> | □ | /ʕ/ |
| غ | غ | غ | غ | <u>ġayn</u> | ġ (also gh) | /ɣ/ (/g/ in many loanwords) |
| ف | ف | ف | ف | <u>fā'</u> | f | /f/, also /v/ in some loanwords |
| ق | ق | ق | ق | <u>qāf</u> | q | /q/ |
| ك | ك | ك | ك | <u>kāf</u> | k | /k/ |
| ل | ل | ل | ل | <u>lām</u> | l | /l/, (/l ^ʕ / in <i>Allah</i> only) |
| م | م | م | م | <u>mīm</u> | m | /m/ |

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|------------|-----------------------|--|
| ن | نـ | نـ | نـ | <u>nūn</u> | <i>n</i> | /n/ |
| هـ | هـ | هـ | هـ | <u>hā'</u> | <i>h</i> | /h/ |
| و | و | و | و | <u>wāw</u> | <i>w / ū / aw</i> | /w/ / /u:/ / /au/, sometimes /u/, /o/ and /o□/ in loanwords |
| ي | ي | ي | ي | <u>yā'</u> | <i>y / ī / ay</i> | /j/ / /i□/ / /ai/, sometimes /i/, /e□/ and /e/ in loanwords |

- *Short Vowels (fully vocalised text)*

| Short vowels (fully vocalised text) | Name | Trans. | Value |
|--|-------|----------|-------|
| | fathā | <i>a</i> | /a/ |
| | ḍamma | <i>u</i> | /u/ |
| | kasra | <i>i</i> | /i/ |
| Long vowels (fully vocalised text) | Name | Trans. | Value |

- *Long vowels (fully vocalised text):*

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------|------|
| ا | fathā 'alif (أ) | ā | /a:/ |
| آ | fathā 'alif maqṣūra (آ) | ā / ay | /a/ |
| و | ḍamma wāw | ū / uw (و) | /u:/ |
| ي | kasra yā' | ī / iy (ي) | /i:/ |

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----|------|
| و | fatha wāw | aw | /au/ |
|---|-----------|----|------|

- Long vowels : (unvocalised text)

| Long vowels (unvocalised text) | Name | Trans. | Value |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-------|
| ا | (implied fatḥha) ‘alif | <i>ā</i> | /a:/ |
| ى | (implied fatḥha) ‘alif maqṣūra | <i>ā / ay</i> | /a/ |
| و | (implied ḍamma) wāw | <i>ū / uw</i> | /u:/ |
| ي | (implied kasra) yā’ | <i>ī / iy</i> | /i:/ |

- Diphthongs : (fully vocalised text)

| Diphthongs (fully vocalised text) | Name | Trans. | Value |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| اي | fatḥha yā’ | <i>ay</i> | /ai/ |

ملخص باللغة العربية:

يصب اهتمام هذا البحث حول نتائج تراكم الأفكار و المعارف في وضعية الديغلووسيا ضمن خطب المساجد من أجل الاهتمام بملا الهوة بين استعمال العربية الفصحى و الدارجة من طرف الأئمة في خطبة الجمعة. هذا البحث يتمحور أساسا حول مختلف استعمالات اللغة العربية داخل نفس المجتمع. و عليه، يوجد لغات دارجة تميز بين أصناف و طبقات المجتمع، من حيث أنها لغات تخصص أو لغات دارجة محلية جهوية، كذلك التي نجدتها في الدارجة الجزائرية. لذلك قمنا بهذا البحث في المساجد قصد محاولة الإجابة على هاته الإشكالية.

الكلمات المفتاحية :

علم الاجتماع اللغوي - علم اللهجات - الوضع اللغوي التلمساني - الديغلووسيا في المساجد.

Résumé en Français

Le contenu de ce mémoire est, en effet, axé principalement, sur un nombre d'idées et des connaissances sur des situations diglossiques dans les Mosquées durant le sermon a fin de combler le fossé entre l'utilisation de l'arabe standard et le dialecte par des imams pendant les sermons du vendredi. Cette enquête est basée sur le fait que, dans les différentes utilisations du langage dans la même société, il ya des dialectes qui manifestent une distinction entre les différentes catégories et classes sociales, par exemple les jargons de professions, et les dialectes locaux régionaux comme ceux observés dans les dialectes algériens. Par conséquent, une recherche a été menée dans les mosquées pour répondre à l'ensemble des problèmes.

Mots Clés :

Socio-linguistique - Dialectologie - Situation Linguistique à Tlemcen - Diglossie dans les Moqués.

Résumé en Anglais

The present work is, in fact, the result of accumulating ideas and knowledge about the diglossic situation in Mosque Oratories for the sake of bridging the gap between the use of standard Arabic and dialect by Imams during Friday Sermons. This investigation is based on the fact that within the different uses of language in the same society, there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects. Hence, a research was conducted at mosques to answer the problematic set.

Key Words :

Sociolinguistics - Dialectology - Linguistic Situation at Tlemcen - Diglossia in Mosque