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List of Abbreviations

CA: Classical Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

SA: Standard Arabic

AA: Algerian Arabic

B: Berber

F: French

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LA: Language Attitudes

List of Maps

Phonetic Symbols

1. Vowels:

Short	Example	Gloss	Long	Example	Gloss
æ	[mʃæt]	she went	æ:	[ktæ:b]	Book
A	[duda]	a worm	a:	[ħa:wəl]	Try
I	[lila]	a night	i:	[fi:l]	Elephant
E	[fatema]	Fatima	e:	[mre:đ]	ill (sing.masc)
U	[Χuja]	my brother	u:	[ʃu:f]	look!
ɑ̣	[mređɑ̣]	ill (sing. fem)	ɑ̣:	[ṭa:r]	it flew
Ǝ	[qbəl]	Before	ɔ:	[ftɔ:r]	Lunch

2. Consonants:

SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʔ	ʔæna	Me	đ	đɑ̣ḷəm	Unjust
B	bæb	Door	ṭ	ṭɑ̣:r	it flew
T	tæʕi	Mine	ð	ðuba:b (CA)	Flies
Ɵ	Ɵaʕləb	Fox	ʕ	ʕæ:m	one year
ʤ	ʤiʕæ:n	Hungry	ɣ	ɣæli	Expensive
ħ	ħammæm	Bath	F	fu:l	broad beans
Χ	Χəmsa	Five	Q	qamar (CA)	Moon
D	dunja	Life	K	kæjən	there is
ð	ðæ:lika (CA)	That	L	li:l	Night
R	rəmla	Sand	M	mdi:na	Town
Z	zi:n	Nice	N	nsi:t	I forgot
S	saħa	all right	H	huwa	Him
ʃ	ʃbæ:b	beautiful	W	wæ:d	River
ṣ	ṣɑ̣:m	he fasted	J	jæbəs	Dry
			G	gælli	he told me

General Introduction

After the pioneering work of Wiliam Labov (1966), many areas that had been previously considered inaccessible to formal linguistic analysis started attracting more and more sociolinguists' enthusiasm for investigating areas such as social and stylistic variation and the unconscious subjective reactions to distinctive variables of different varieties.

In sociolinguistics, language is seen as inherently variable. Many works have been conducted to identify the conditioning factors that determine that variation. Scholars explored ways of incorporating aspects of social theory into the study of language variation. To study language variation, variationists proceed mainly by observing language use in natural social settings and categorizing the linguistic variants according to their distribution. Stylistic variation involves variation in the speech of individual speakers. Speakers shift deliberately or unconsciously from one style to another and use features that they may be very aware of or do not realize they use eventually.

Language variation carries social meanings and so can bring very different attitudinal reactions, or even social disadvantage or advantage (Garrett, 2010:2). Language attitudes are noticed throughout different societies. Indeed, there are different reports in the research literature of language attitudes. People usually tie up their attitudes towards languages and varieties to attitudes that they basically have towards groups of people. Stereotypes are very important in attitudinal responses. People react, whether positively or negatively, to the pronunciation, words or grammar of a language or dialect. In order to understand the foundations for language attitudes, the researcher should understand the folk belief about aspects of language itself.

The work which is reported in this study is an investigation of sociolinguistic variation and language attitudes within the social context of the community of Mascara. It deals mostly with some aspects of language use and attitudes in this Algerian town in relation to a particular linguistic phenomenon. To assess the relative complexity of sociolinguistic variation and language attitudes presented at the beginning of the work, it was imperative to relate this investigation with the use of the linguistic particle 'ma' in the community of Mascara as an illustration to sustain the theoretical part with the practical one.

The spoken variety of Arabic used in this wilaya is really worth studying because of its peculiarities. It is also a rich field of investigation which is characterized by dynamism as a consequence of a deep social upheaval. The reason behind our interest for such a research is mainly because it has never been studied before from a sociolinguistic perspective in regard to speech accommodation, language use and attitudes. This lack of such endeavour in addition to being a native member of this town triggered in us a certain curiosity and motivated us to initiate at least a first step to conduct this study.

Our hypothesis suggests that the use of the particle /ma/ in the community of Mascara is strongly related to men, and people with higher educational level seem to avoid its use since it is highly stigmatized. Furthermore, this particle /ma/ seems to be exclusively used with relatives but not with strangers or outside Mascara city.

All along the study, and through the use of the particle 'ma' with reference to sociolinguistic variation and language attitude notions, we tried to answer the following research questions:

1) What are the characteristics of Mascara spoken Arabic in relation to language use and attitudes towards language behaviour?
2) To what extent can gender and level of education affect speech variation?

We selected randomly one hundred (100) participants to complete the questionnaire. They are all natives , living in the city centre of Mascara, among them fifty (50) males and fifty (50) females, aged between nineteen and seventy-nine of different levels of education and various occupations, not all of them were born or raised up in Mascara.

This sociolinguistic investigation was carried out by means of a composite questionnaire composed of four sections (A,B,C,D). In general, the questions were inspired by works of Bentahila (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Benhattab (2004), Dendane (2006) and Benali-Mohamed (2007). The questions are directional in nature. The respondents were asked to give only one answer out of a suggested series of two, three, or four choices. Sections C and D of the questionnaire were devoted to the study of the particle /ma/. In fact, the questionnaire C was modelled on that of language attitude of Labov (2006:420) in 'The Social Stratification of English in New York City 2nd Ed'. The aim of this section is to find out about attitudinal-affective behaviours towards the Mascarian dialect. At this point, the questions were less highly structured. We wanted to know the speakers' own opinions and attitudes towards their

own dialect in general and a direct way. Section D of the questionnaire is based on personal observation. In fact, we noticed that the use of the particle /ma/ in the speech community of Mascara is a widespread phenomenon. This is why in this section, we wanted to verify whether the use of /ma/ is associated with embarrassment and mockery or not and if it is generally avoided with strangers (non- Mascarians) or outside Mascara, while it is greatly used by its natives with relatives and without prejudice or negative attitudes. For this part, we selected an open-ended questionnaire related to language use, speech accommodation and language attitudes. The questions were presented in a random manner so that the informants would not feel controlled and guided in their answers. However, we had to repeat some important questions that were formulated in different styles but need the same answer in order to prove the authenticity and validity of the responses. Our objectives from this particular section are to seek answers to these research questions:

What is the significance of this particle? When is it used? And who uses it the most?

The research work is divided into four chapters:

In the first chapter, we introduce the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. The linguistic profile in Algeria is said to be a complex one. At first, we give a glance at the history of Algeria referring mainly to the people and language of each period. Then, we try answering questions concerning characteristics of languages that are in contact in Algeria. In fact, Berber, Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French are the four varieties studied in this chapter. Basically, we try to give some important features to describe each variety such as how it is regarded and what is its functional role in our society. As a crucial part in this chapter, we had to emphasis on some important linguistic concepts such as diglossia and bilingualism in order to understand and examine the linguistic situation effectively.

The second chapter brings together a group of numerous research studies widely recognized for their contributions to the field of sociolinguistics with the purpose of providing accessible overviews of the major areas of concern for our study. In fact, there are numerous studies which might be cited in this chapter. However, only specific empirical studies which are of particular interest to the analysis of our questionnaire and relate to the elaboration of the present study are mentioned. Given the size of this chapter, it is obvious that no claims can be made so that it covers all the vast field of sociolinguistics.
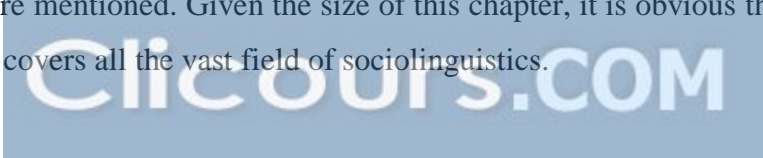
The third chapter sketches some findings, questions, and trends in approaches to the study of language attitudes. It gives a broad overview of the different ways with which researches have approached the question of language attitudes in various societies. The scope of this particular chapter is limited to works that are broadly representative with the objectives of our study. For more development on the investigation field, the chapter incorporates an analysis of the speakers' attitudes towards the languages in Algeria. We present the data interpretations of the questionnaire with the possible analysis for each question regarding language use and attitudes towards it.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the study of sociolinguistic variation and attitudes towards the use of the particle 'ma' in the community of Mascara. Firstly, we describe the geographical location and historical background of Mascara. Then, we present the suggested functional definitions given to the linguistic particle /ma/ according to our initial hypothesis. In order to sustain our assumptions, we give some examples where the particle /ma/ occurred in real and spontaneous speech. We collected these instances during our investigation in casual conversations without the knowledge of the participants. In fact, different conversations were recorded and analysed according to the context, the speaker intentions and the addressee. To finish the study, we present the data analysis concerning the last part of the questionnaire which is related to the use of the particle /ma/ in relation to gender and level of education as two main variables, in addition to the possible interpretations of the results concerning the attitudes of the speakers towards this linguistic particle.

This work ends with a conclusion which draws a general picture of the results, limitations and the perspectives of this study in future research.

Chapter One

The Linguistic situation in Algeria

1. The linguistic situation in Algeria

1.1. Introduction

Following the initial sociolinguistic purposes of our study and trying to stick to the steps of a precise and concise sociolinguistic research, we intentionally avoided detailing the historical events that Algeria witnessed. Nevertheless, we give a glance at the history of Algeria referring mainly to the people and language of each period briefly.

1.2. Historical background

Algerian history is one of repeated invasions. Algeria was invaded by the Vandals in the 5th century who occupied the country for a hundred years before being driven out by the Byzantine army. During the 7th century, the Arab conquest of North Africa thwarted the expansion of Byzantium and permanently changed the character of North Africa. In the beginning, the Berbers resisted the Arab invasion to finally embrace Islam. Then, Algeria became part of the powerful Arabo-Berber empires of the Almoravids and Almohads which dominated the Maghreb and Andalusia.

The name 'Algeria' was coined by the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century to describe the territory controlled by the regency of Algiers, initially a Turkish colony. Later on, Algeria was annexed to France despite intense popular resistance. The French authorities worked on eliminating and destroying the local culture of the Algerians, bearing in their minds the concept of a 'French Algeria'.

1.3. A multilinguistic situation

It is imperative to stress that all the Algerian historical background had a direct influence on its current linguistic situation. The linguistic profile in Algeria like North African countries is said to be a complex one. Four main languages co-exist in the country. These languages have different political and social statuses. In Algeria we have: 1) Classical (literary Arabic) as the official language (replaced by Modern Standard Arabic),2) French as the language for scientific teaching, knowledge and rationality, 3)Algerian Arabic as the mother tongue of the majority, and language of daily use in informal situations and 4) Tamazight with its different varieties. In the following section, we describe the main characteristics of the four languages and varieties that are in contact in Algeria.

1.3.1 Berber

The native population of North Africa came to be called Berbers. Ancient Berbers used Tifinagh as a writing system for their language. Some Tifinagh inscriptions were discovered in Libya and in the Algerian Sahara. Distinguished primarily by cultural and linguistic attributes, the Berbers lacked a written language and hence tended to be overlooked or marginalized in historical accounts. Historically, it was the Greeks who first called the people living in the Maghrib as barbarians. The word 'berber' was eventually adopted later on by Romans, Arabs and Europeans. But the kabyles, the largest and most politically active community of Algerian Berbers, prefer the term Imazighen, which means free or noble men.

The original language of Algeria was Berber, which has different varieties throughout the country. Tamazight is a language of oral tradition which belongs to the Chamito-Semitic family. Berber varieties covered a huge territory from Egypt to the Atlantic borders; and from the Mediterranean to the Nigerian River. Algeria is the second country in which Berber languages are found after Morocco. Moroccan Berbers use the Arabic script to transcribe the different Berber varieties. Even in Algeria, M'zab, for instance write their variety in Arabic scripts.

It is difficult to give the exact number of Berber inhabitants. They are estimated to form approximately 20 percent of the Algerian population[1]. Berber varieties are confined to mountain zones and domestic use only. The major Berber groups are found in:

- Kabylie Mountains: Kabyle is the most widespread variety spoken mainly in Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaia (referred to as Great Kabylie), Bouira, Boumerdes and Bordj Bouariridj (Small Kabylie).
- Aures Mountains: Chaoui is another variety of Berber spoken exclusively in the Aures Mountains comprising places like Batna, Biskra, Oum El-Bouaghi, Aïn Mlila, Aïn Beïda.
- North Sahara (Ghardaia): M'zab is a veriety spoken mostly in Ghardaia and other Ibadite cities.

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[1] « En tout état de cause on peut admettre que l'ensemble des berbérophones doit représenter un pourcentage minimum de 20% de la population algérienne. » S. Chaker, Manuel de Linguistique Berbère I, éd. Bouchéne, Alger, 1991, p. 08

- South Algeria (Touareg of Tassili): In Algeria, there are only 40,000 to 50,000 Tuareg speakers Tuareg has remained the most pure of these Berber languages, containing relatively few French and Arabic loan words. The three main dialects are Tamahaq (Algeria), Tamasheq (Mali), and Tamajeq (Niger).[2]

Actually, all Berber or Tamazight dialects compete with Arabic dialects and French in particular in cities of centre Algeria, causing a clear retreat in status and usage of Berber language. Nonetheless, words from these wide Tamazight varieties are often found in the spoken Arabic dialects. Ultimately, many French words are also heard in the Tamazight varieties, usually terms that have no equivalents in Berber varieties. There were serious actions taken by scholars in order to elaborate and codify Berber language. Salem Chaker and Mouloud Mammeri are famous names who tried to develop a standardised grammar for Tamazight during the 1980s.

Communities of Berber-speakers seem to be dissatisfied with the current situation of their language. They claim an official status for Tamazight. They also demand recognition for Tamazight as a national language which should give the citizens the right to use the language in any circumstances of public life.

Nowadays, Tamazight is introduced into two important spheres. In fact, it is taught in schools and universities such as great and small Kabylie and it is also admitted in the media where many exclusive Tamazight TV and radio channels broadcast a myriad of Tamazight programs. These effective measures certainly worked in favour for a strong and lasting status of Tamazight.

North African Berbers resisted several attacks and preserved their customs and oral heritage through though times. Phoenician traders established Carthage and expanded small settlements along the North African coast. They were followed by the Romans, who annexed Berber territory to the Roman Empire. In 429, a Germanic tribe of Vandals crossed into Africa from Spain and pillaged Carthage. In 533, the Byzantines raided the Vandal kingdom. From 642 through 1830, Muslim armies invaded and brought Islam to the Berbers.

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[2] Andrew Savage, 'Writing Tuareg — the three script options', Int'l. J. Soc. Lang. 192 (2008), pp. 5–13

1.3.2. Classical Arabic

The period from the third through the fifth centuries is referred to as 'Early Arabic', which resembled to a certain degree CA. This literary Arabic evolved to its most eloquent form, especially the Arabic ode, or 'qasida'. There are conflicting theories regarding the nature and status of this poetic 'koiné' or language. Some refer to it as 'the elevated, distinctive, supra-tribal language shared by the leadership of the Arabic-speaking communities; while others consider it as the actual vernacular of a region or tribe which was adopted by poets as a shared vehicle for artistic expression.' (Ryding, 2005:2) From the seventh century AD, Arabic was not only a language of great poetic power but also very sacred since it is the chosen language for the Quran. Shortly after, it became the object of centuries of religious study and grammatical analysis.

It is argued that when a new type of Arabic emerged after the Islamic conquests in the 7th century AD, the language went through the process of "pidginization[3]" and "creolization[4]", as can be concluded from the sociolinguistic context of the period. Versteegh (1984) proposes that the dialects underwent a stage of 'pidginization' before stabilizing in the form ancestral to the modern dialects. In his opinion, the explanation to the problem of the origin and development of Arabic dialects can be studied by "using the results of recent research in the origin of pidgin languages, transferring these results to the field of Arabic and applying them to the problem of the relationship between CA and the dialects." (Versteegh, 1984:35)

Versteegh attempts to give evidence for a theory that regards modern dialects as originally pidginized varieties of CA, which were almost creolized by children who were born of foreign mothers and Arab fathers or of foreign parents who belonged to different linguistic communities with only Arabic as a common language. He also argues that the rate

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[3] "As soon as people start to speak their own approximation of a given language – as soon as they apply their universal second language learning strategies to the language they hear – we are dealing with a process of pidginization, whether or not this leads to a discrete variety which is used for some time and which might be termed a 'pidgin'." (Versteegh, 1984: 40)

[4] "The process of becoming a creole may occur at any stage as a makeshift language develops from trade jargon to expanded pidgin, and can happen under drastic conditions, such as where a population of slaves speaking many languages has to develop a common language among slaves and with overseers." (The Oxford Companion to the English Language, 1992:271)

by which those creoles were decreolized[5] was determined by the contacts between the regions involved and the centre of the Islamic empire. Pointing to the possible causes that retained the pidginized Arabic dialects, he states that: "In areas that were soon cut off from the empire, especially in those cases where the speakers were non-Muslims, who did not have the same attitude towards the *Qur'ān* as the Muslims, the local Arabic dialect could retain its pidginized and creolized features, since it did not undergo the normative influence of the Classical language which elsewhere filtered through via the recitation of the *Qur'ān,* and via its use as a prestige language." (Versteegh, 1984:116)

There are assumptions that Classical Arabic was the mother tongue of none. The term 'Arabiyya' itself comes from the Quran, where it designates the language of the holy book and nothing else. Elgibali (1996:8) claims that "*to presume that Classical Arabic was the native language of any speaker either immediately before or at the time of inception of Islam is, at best, a gross misrepresentation.*"

In Algeria, the Arab settlement took place during two main periods: the first Arab conquest began in the 7th century, the second wave dated from the 11th century with the migration of large numbers of Arab nomads. This second invasion of 'Banu Hillal' was the most important one because of the great linguistic, sociological and political transformations. Nonetheless, the Islamisation and Arabisation of the region were complicated and lengthy processes. Indeed, as stated by Bouamrane (1986:30) during that period "*if Islamisation was almost total, Arabisation on the contrary was only partial.*"

CA has a certain prestige due to the fact of being the language of Islam. Being the language of the sacred Quran, CA is defined by its fixed forms, richness of vocabulary and regularity of grammatical rules. It is the language of instruction, religious teaching, above all it is the reference and symbolic tool of an Arab-Muslim identity. Algeria is considered to be an Arab-Muslim country in which Arabic is the official language. In addition to its religious functions, Arabic is used in education systems, administrations and

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[5] "When a creole remains in contact with the prestige language from which it was largely constructed it may undergo significant decreolization – adjustment towards that prestige standard and the result may be a creole continuum, a range of varieties from a highly conservative version of the creole through increasingly decreolized versions to something more or less identical to the prestige standard." (Language and Linguistics the Key concepts 2nd Ed, 2007: 60)

state institutions. This variety is mainly learnt at schools to be used in particular formal contexts such as court of justice or political and religious speeches. However, it is not practised within the Algerian society in usual conversations.

After independence in 1962, Algerian nationalists wanted to regain the Arab and Muslim identity despite the French language which was imposed during the colonial era, so they set plans in favour of Arabic. The process is called 'Arabisation'. The Algerian government proceeded to the Arabisation of vital fields such as education, administration, the media and economics.

However, it is not exactly CA that is used nowadays but a modern Arabic called 'Modern Standard Arabic' (MSA). The MSA variety emerged as an alternative between CA and SA. The MSA is used by literate people on occasions calling for more formality.

1.3.3. Modern Standard Arabic

The end of the eighteenth century marks the period of modern Arabic. During this time, Arabic was contemporaneous with the concept of universal education, the beginning of journalism, and exposure to Western writing practices and styles such as editorials, short stories, plays, and novels. (Ryding, 2005: 4)

Many linguists make a distinction between Classical Arabic (CA), the name of the literary language of the previous eras, and the modern form of literary Arabic, commonly known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). CA differs from MSA in style and vocabulary, since each one represents the written traditions of different historical and cultural eras. However, the linguistic structure of both CA and MSA are largely similar. MSA syntax and style are said to be complex forms comprising modernized expressions in the journalistic, broadcasting, and advertising fields. Nevertheless, there exists a certain degree of similarity between CA and MSA that shows a strong link to the literary and Islamic tradition. A sound knowledge of MSA is a mark of prestige, education, and social standing. (Ryding, 2005: 4-5)

Above all, Modern Standard Literary Arabic (MSLA) is used in the press and other media such as television and radio channels. In addition to this, it is considered to be the language of diplomacy and official communication between Arab States. Indeed, MSA is usually used in

situations calling for greater formality such as conferences, socio-economic or political meetings. It is also used in education, public forums, including the media, religious contexts and communication between Arabs of different regional origins.

The emergence of this new variety is witnessed not only in Algeria, but also through all Maghreb states. Although this new variety of Arabic is becoming more and more apparent in the Algerian linguistic profile, CA still keeps its prestige despite the view of some people who consider it a dead language.

1.3.4. Algerian Arabic

AA is the mother tongue of 83% of the population[6]. It represents the language of daily use. It is the real instrument of communication between the Algerian speakers. Without written scripts and only spoken, this variety developed and evolved within the population consecutively. AA reflects the folk's culture and oral heritage of popular songs, stories and sayings. Though strongly stigmatized, AA seems to be of instant resistance to arabisation. AA remains a dialect that is unable to convey the complexities of science fields or even to be taught in schools.

Colloquial Arabic with French borrowings is a common feature of the spoken varieties of Arabic throughout the Maghreb[7]. Foreign languages (French, Turkish, Spanish…) have always influenced the speech of Algerians. A mixture of foreign words (borrowed and adapted phonologically) can be heard in AA as part and parcel of daily communication. It is true that code mixing is a major characteristic of Algerian spoken Arabic, in the sense that speakers consciously or unconsciously use different codes in different situations for different purposes.

Algerians use spontaneously this variety in everyday life to communicate with each other. There has never been an obstacle for comprehension even though there are some regional variations. We distinguish three large dialectal areas distributed around Constantine and Algiers in the East; the Oranie regions in the West; and the Saharian Atlas in the South. Each region is then divided into urban and rural dialects. This division seems to be a general

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[6]Leclerc, Jacques (2009-04-05). "Algérie: Situation géographique et démolinguistique". *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Université Laval. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/AXL/AFRIQUE/algerie-1demo.htm. Retrieved 2010-01-08.
[7] Boucherit, 1988: DJITE 1992

simplification of a much deeper dialectal situation in the country. In fact, each region has its own way of speaking.

1.3.5. Educated Spoken Arabic

The level of education plays a major role in shaping the spoken dialect. Owens (2001:430) says that "*Education is one of the most important elements contributing to variation in modern-day Arabic*". Indeed, people speak according to their educational level. In the mid-70's, Mitchell developed the idea of Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). It is the variety of Arabic composed of elements from both SA and the dialect spoken typically by educated people. He argued that speakers choose from a range of comparable forms according to parameters set by stigmatisation and degree of formality[8].

Blanc (1960) studied the nature of the stylistic variations introduced in the dialects of educated speakers of Arabic in Baghdad with different dialect backgrounds when they converse on subjects requiring the use of 'higher' or more learned forms of Arabic. The modifications in phonology, grammar, and lexicon of the language so used are catalogued and described. Blanc (1960) defined five levels of speech, each one characterized by its own linguistic traits:

(1) Plain colloquial
(2) Koineized colloquial is a 'plain colloquial' into which leveling features have been introduced
(3) Semi-literary
(4) Modified classical is CA with various dialectal admixtures.
(5) Standard classical

Badawi (1973) gave a similar typology to that of Blanc. According to Badawi, there are three types of spoken Arabic: Illiterate Spoken Arabic, enlightened Spoken Arabic and Educated Spoken Arabic. The first type of the variety is spoken by people of poor or no education level at all. It is known by the extensive use of colloquial expressions without influence from SA. The second type is used by people who have a certain degree of education but not a high one, and it shows some influence on SA. The third type is used by the highly educated, and it is greatly influenced by SA and has a strong connection to advancement in technology, politics and the media.

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[8] Owens, 2001: 427

In addition to this, Blau (1981:25) distinguished three main levels of Middle Arabic, Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture, semi-Classical Arabic and classicized Middle Arabic. Indeed, Blau (1965 and 1966-67) attempts to delineate the structural characteristics of Middle Arabic, a term he uses to mean urban dialects which arose in the early years of the Arab conquests. Blau's model (1966/67, 1981) of synthetic language of the Bedouins gave way to an analytical Middle Arabic which appeared under the influence of the widespread of the Arabisation of non- Arab urbanities. During that time, the Classical Arabic of early Islam remained the literary language, but the spoken Arabic of everyday life turned into regional varieties. For this case, Ryding (2005:4) states that: "*Those vernaculars were constantly in a changing mode adjusting with the everyday life changes, though never reaching a status of separate languages.*"

Arabic speakers may use all these levels or interchangeably and unconsciously shift from one type to the other depending on the formality of the situation, who the addressee is and the context of speech. Native speakers of Arabic rarely stick to merely one variety i.e. SA or their dialect only. In reality, Arabs are fluent in at least one vernacular form of Arabic (their mother tongue) which is used for ordinary everyday topics, even though the standard form is still there used in its appropriate fields as mentioned above.

1.3.6. Spanish and Ottoman traces

The Spanish (1504 -1792) constructed outposts and collected tribute especially in the West and on the coastal areas which were also commercial routes for Spanish, Italian, British and Levantine sea traders. However, it is necessary to mention that the Algerian vernacular is full of abundant Spanish lexis due to this Spanish presence of course.

The Ottomans (1554 -1830) captured Algiers and established it as the centre of the Ottoman Empire. Since Algeria was a part of the Ottoman Empire, their impact on the Algerian sociolinguistic profile was somehow slight but still present through the Turkish borrowed words that the Algerians use nowadays.

1.3.7. French

The French (1830 -1962) captured Algeria and annexed the country. When the French came, they attempted to obliterate the native culture, and they imposed the French language on the people. The arrival of French in Algeria not only profoundly affected indigenous language and culture but also defined the boundaries of the state. It is often said that French colonialism was based on assimilation: being the wholesale conversion of a society to French language and cultural values (Holt, 1994: 26). At independence, Arabic was declared the official language after a war that lasted seven and a half years. Of all the invaders, it is the Muslim and French conquests that have had the greatest and heavy lasting impacts.

In Algeria, F was spoken with more or less fluency by the majority of Algerians, but this situation changed considerable. F is mainly learnt at schools. It seems to be the best suitable language for fields of scientific and technical expressions. In recent years, F use has been expanding with the proliferation of private schools. These latter are using F as the language of instruction as opposed to public schools where it is reduced to a subject taught with limited number of hours. However, French still occupies a prominent place within the Algerian society mostly at the economic, social and educational levels. In the domain of publication and distribution of books, French language continues to benefit from a significant status. Despite the many efforts made to promote books in Arabic, French books' readers are more and more numerous. Fifty years have passed after independence and the arabisation policy, yet French position has not withdrawn, on the contrary, since then it gained more space and power.

French has kept its prestige in Algeria particularly in intellectual fields. Algerian speakers use French in different domains in everyday life, as students, traders, business men or politicians. Thus, French represents the language of the elites and it competes with CA in many areas, including economics.

French is not only a colonial legacy; it is still present in the Algerian society through different famous French daily newspapers that have their faithful readers such as 'Le Quotidien d'Oran', 'Le Soir d'Algérie', 'Liberté' and many more, in addition to well-known French TV channels such as TF1, France 2 and TV5 that still record a good number of Algerian viewers. The Internet should also be mentioned as a tool to interact in French, which also facilitates its diffusion.

Linguistically, Arabic and Berber dialects borrowed numerous French terms and adapted them phonologically to their systems to the point that some people who do not know French cannot tell if the words are from French origin.

1.4.Bilingualism in Algeria

The term bilingualism generally refers to the ability to communicate in two languages. Multilingualism or plurilingualism is generally the use of three and more languages by individuals, groups or regions. Weinreich (1953) defined bilingualism as the alternate use of two languages. In the same year, Haugen suggested that bilingualism begin with the ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances in the second language[9]. Similarly, Bouamrane (1986:15) combined several scholars' interpretations and formed the following definition that considers bilingualism as: "the use by an individual, a group or a nation of two or more languages in all uses to which they put either".

Individuals may be bilingual to various degrees depending on circumstances of acquisition, opportunities for use of the other language, aptitude, and motivation[10]. Myers-Scotton (2006: 3) says that "being bilingual does not imply complete mastery of two languages." She illustrates that most children who were exposed ,at a very young age, to two languages seem to speak them equally well as small children, but do not maintain equality in the two languages later on. (2006:38)

On one hand, there are few speakers who have equal proficiency in the two languages. These were previously called balanced bilinguals and they have native-like control of two or more languages. However, there are other bilinguals who are more fluent in one language more than the other. For this case, these bilinguals represent individuals who do not have the opportunity to use a language for particular purposes, and hence may not develop full proficiency in it. On the other hand, passive bilinguals may be able to understand another language without being able to speak it well or even at all.

Having the ability to use two or more languages by individuals, or communities is a sociolinguistic situation noticed all over the world. Algeria like any other country in the world offers a rich panorama on the matter of multilingualism. In Algeria, there exist two main

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[9] Edwards (2004:8)
[10] the Oxford Companion to the English Language p. 126

groups: Berber speaking communities and Arab speaking communities who merged through history without neglecting French language used by both groups eventually. This highly indicates the plurilingual situation of the country. Suleiman (1994:24) writes about the debate in what concerns the place of Arabic, particularly in the North African context where Berber communities exist. He says that this coexistence of Berber and Arab communities creates bilingualism (Arabic / French), and even trilingualism (Berber/ Arabic/ French). Suleiman says that Arabic is a necessary criterion to underpin an Arab national ideology for the proponents of Arab nationalism. However, it is not the case for local nationalism advocates. In parallel, he writes that with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, proponents of Arab nationalism believe that Arabic can sustain a secularist Arab nationalist ideology, while adherents of Islamic orthodoxy deny the validity of the basis upon which this nationalist analysis is built. Yet, he asserts that both parties share a common love and admiration for Arabic.

Mouhadjer (2004:999) writes that 'Algerian bilingualism is a special one. Bilingualism in Algeria is the result of educational strategy since both Arabic and French are learnt at primary school. It is not a homogenous one'. Furthermore, he claims that Algerian bilingualism is "subtractive[11] because Arabic is replacing progressively French in many domains: education, politics and administration." (2004:990)

He also classified Algerian bilinguals into balanced and unbalanced ones and says that: "In the pre-independence period, Algerians who were in contact with French people were qualified as more balanced bilinguals." However, he said that unbalanced bilinguals: "are those who came after and whose competence is higher in one language than the other and generally in the mother tongue." (2004: 990)

Algerians who lived during the French colonialism were considered to be 'active bilinguals because of their ability to speak and understand French. However, children of Algerian immigrants living in France are considered to be passive bilinguals since they cannot communicate in their parents' mother tongue but they understand it.

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[11] "Subtractive bilingualism refers to cases in which the acquisition of a second interferes with the development of a first language. This kind of bilingualism often obtains when children from minority groups attend school in the second language and are not given the opportunity to develop their native-language skills." (the Oxford Companion to the English Language p. 127)

In Algeria, we notice three types of bilinguals:

1. Speakers who maintain excellent proficiency in French and use it in their daily life

2. Occasional French-speaking people: the individuals who use French in specific situations (formal or informal). These people use French words or phrases alternatively in order to explain certain aims such as ordering, insulting, being ironic or taking decisions.

3. Passive French-speaking people: this category concerns people who understand this language but do not use it regularly or fluently.

1.5. Diglossia in Algeria

Diglossia was long the linguistic situation which portrayed the Arabic world in general and North African countries in particular. In the case of the Arabic language, a diglossic situation arises from the gap between the language of everyday Spoken Arabic and the literary Arabic or modern standard Arabic. The problem of the existence of a literary language side by side with an everyday language in the Arab world has attracted many scholars.

The French Arabist, William Marçais (1930) reports in his research on North Africa, "La diglossie arabe" that there exist two types of Arabic in these communities: one written in Classical Arabic, which is used in formal publications and educational institutions; however, it is never used in everyday conversation, and the other one represents the only spoken kind of Arabic used which reflects the cultural heritage of North African communities. Bouamrane (1986:2) translated the original text of "La diglossie arabe" and wrote that: "*The Arabic language appears ... under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) a literary language so called written Arabic ... or regular, or literal, or classical, the only one that had always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which still today are written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles judiciary acts, private letters, in a word everything that is written, but which exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere, and which in any case is not spoken now anywhere; 2) spoken idioms, patois…, none of which has ever been written…, but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultured circles*" (Marçais, W., 1930: 401)

Ferguson's well- known article "Diglossia" (1959) marks the beginning of Arabic sociolinguistics as a scholarly unit. In the article, Ferguson included the spoken language, thus marking a shift away from the philological Arabist tradition oriented mainly towards the analysis of written texts. According to Ferguson (1959), 'diglossia' means that two distinct, codified and stable varieties of the same language exist side by side in the same community, with two different functions. Ferguson's (1959) work on diglossia in Arabic-speaking communities revealed the existence of a high (H) and low (L) variety of the closely-related languages in the same speech community.

Ferguson attempts to identify the sociolinguistic characteristics of the phenomenon of diglossia by studying the features common to Arabic and three other languages which have a standard colloquial language dichotomy. In fact, it is on this fact actually that Ferguson was greatly criticised by other scholars such as Blanc who described his attempt as an unsuccessful tentative.

As far as the Algerian diglossia is concerned, it is highly characterized by the following features of Ferguson:

a) Function

Each variety is used for quite distinct functions, but the high and low varieties complement each other. In Algeria, for instance no one uses H in everyday conversation. H is mainly used in religion, TV news or education, but this does not prevent people from discussing the subject, the news or the lesson in the low variety.

b) Prestige

Sometimes people admire the H variety even if they cannot understand it. Both of CA and F are regarded as superior to dialectal Arabic. Algerians have positive and respectful attitudes towards these two languages. The H variety is seen as more logical, beautiful and better in expressing important thoughts. Nevertheless, the L variety has also its solicitors and is highly valued by some Algerian speakers.

c) The existence of a written language

For Ferguson, the H variety is supposed to be written; however, the L variety is only spoken. This is exactly the case in Algeria, since Classical Arabic and French are written languages, and AA and Tamazight varieties are transmitted orally. Because of its sizable body of written literary heritage, the H variety is held high in esteem among the society. However, some people also cherish the oral heritage of the L variety.   In the case of Algeria there is a new tendency to use Algerian Arabic in the written form, for instance in newspaper caricatures, plays and literay prose, and sometimes in personal letters. This also applies to Tamazight which is generally written in the Latin alphabet Arabic or Tifinagh scripts.

d) Acquisition

Adults use the L variety when talking and raising their children and hence the children acquire the L variety as their mother tongue (the L variety is Algerian Arabic). The actual learning of the H variety which is the case of Arabic and French is done through a long process of schooling. CA or MSA lacks vitality because it is not a native language used daily.

e) Standardization

The H variety is a standard one as opposed to the L variety because of the great measures given to its codification. There are lot of books on grammar, pronunciation, style and dictionaries in the H variety. However, the L variety is full of variation in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. In Algeria, CA is the standard language because of the great number of manuals and language references to Arabic.

f) The stability of the diglossic situation

Diglossia typically persists at least several centuries and it can possibly last over a thousand years. By stability, Ferguson meant that each community would accept their diglossic situation without making any troubles unless there are:*"Trends toward (1) more widespread literary ... (2) broader communication among different regional and social segments of the community ... and, (3) desire for a full-fledged standard 'national' language as attribute of autonomy or sovereignty."* (Ferguson, 1959a: 18-19) Diglossia in Algeria is characterized by its non stability which is resulting from the constant change of its linguistic situation.

g) Grammar

Grammar is one of the most salient differences between the H and L varieties. Most linguists agree that the H variety has grammatical categories that are clearly and purposely absent in the L variety. The L variety cannot be taught in schools because it just lacks grammar.

h) Lexicon

The H and L varieties share some common vocabulary, yet with variation in form and differences of use and meaning. Exceptionally, the H variety includes technical terms and expressions that are not found in the L variety. However, even the L variety seems to be full of popular expressions and names of homely objects that have no equivalents in the H variety.

i) Phonology

In phonology, the sound system of the H and L varieties constitutes a single phonological structure. Therefore, there is a quite close phonology in Arabic of both H and L.

On the contrary to classical diglossia, Fishman proposes functional diglossia (1971:74) referring to different languages that may fill different functional roles with distinctive registers. Both in structural and functional terms, differences between the H and L varieties are not as sharply delineated as in Arabic[12].

In the same year, Wexler (1971) suggested that diglossia has two 'subtypes': interlingual and intra-lingual diglossia. As far as these subtypes are concerned, Bouamrane (1986) explained that, for Wexler, intralingual subtypes meant "diglossia as defined by Marçais and Ferguson", and by interlingual subtypes he meant "contexts in which the varieties are not genetically related". Regarding the Algerian context, this distinction can be illustrated by the co-existence of French and Arabic, two totally different languages: Arabic belonging to the Semitic family and French to the Indo-European family. So, we distinguish three types of diglossia in Algeria:

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[12] Owens, 2001: 423

- Intralingual diglossia for CA or MSA /AA

- Interlingual diglossia for CA or MSA / F

- Interlingual diglossia for F / AA

Dichy (1994) characterizes the Arabic situation as 'pluriglossic'. According to him the introduction of this term allows one to distinguish Arabic from diglossic configurations where different functional domains are filled by completely different languages[13].

The Arabic language situation is characterised not simply by the separation between the written forms and the spoken ones, but also as the continuum of 'gradations' from "High" (very literary or formal) to "Low" (colloquial), with levels of variation in between. These levels are characterised by two different sociolinguistic dimensions:

1. Social function: the situations in which speakers find themselves in, for example, religious, formal, academic, casual or intimate.

2. Educational and regional backgrounds of the speakers. Arabic speakers can use MSA as a basis even for everyday communication. However, it is according to the situation of the speech, the speaker's backgrounds and level of education that Arabic speakers easily and spontaneously adjust their speech to suit the context and the interlocutors.

1.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we introduced the real linguistic situation in Algeria with reference to its historical background which played a prominent role in shaping the actual sociolinguistic image of the country. It is evident everywhere, that Algeria is a multilingual country. This complex linguistic situation was created due to the different languages that are in contact and the linguistic phenomena that arise from it such as diglossia and bilingualism. The presence of different languages in Algeria reveals the loyalty of its people towards their original oral heritage, and at the same time, their openness to the world of civilisation.

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[13] Owens, 2001 : 423

Chapter Two

Overview of the Literature

2. Overview of the Literature

2.1.Introduction

Since the 20th century, the systematic study of language, i.e. linguistics, embraced overwhelmingly many other disciplines. In fact, findings of linguists have always interested the other work field of sociologists, psychologists, anthropologist and teachers.

Sociolinguistics is a branch of Linguistics. In general terms, it deals with the relationship between language and society. It describes the role that language plays within social groups and institutions. It is also tied to psychology with regard to people's attitudes and behaviour towards languages.

Ever since the mid and late 1960s, many articles, journals and books where published developing issues, theories, methods, and study cases of sociolinguistic interest. Sociolinguistic studies, especially language variation have been enriched by several international conferences such as "The New Ways of Analyzing Variation" (NWAV) and the International Conference on Language Variation in Europe.

We distinguish two different, however complementary work fields of sociolinguistic issues. Micro sociolinguistics studies the influence of social factors such as age, gender, education and others on the way people talk. In the other hand, "macro sociolinguistics studies what societies do with their language, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement." (Coulmas, 1998)

As its title indicates, the chapter provides fairly coverage of basic concepts in sociolinguistics. The concepts selected for inclusion are all among the most important ones that appropriately suit this thesis purpose. These key concepts are described with reference to the historical origins and including the name of the individuals who have made the concept prominent.

2.2.Language

Goodenough (1981: 5) defines language as *"a set of standards and organizing principles for a proper speech behavior. The standards comprising every known human language may be seen as ordered into several systems or levels of organization: the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and symbolic."*

A language is always associated with a standard status based especially on its written form. If we take English as an illustration, we can say that standard British English is the language of printed newspapers and broadcasting media. It is also the standard language taught in schools with its specific vocabulary, spelling and grammar.

It is important to take into consideration the social and political function in order to define a language. Janet Holmes (1994) defines language as *"a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language, which functions to unite and represent them to other groups."*

2.3. Dialect

All people have their own distinct accent when speaking. It is this accent that usually gives clues about the speaker's geographical or social origins. In these concerns, Chambers et al. (2003:17) said that a dialect *"varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on all three linguistic levels: phonologically, grammatically and in terms of vocabulary."*

Regional dialects are differences of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar according to the geographical area of the speakers, while social dialects are more concerned with social groups. People of different social backgrounds such as level of education, class, and occupation speaks differently at the lexical, grammatical and pronunciation level.

Sometimes sociolinguists use the term variety to avoid confusion. A variety *"is a neutral term which means any particular 'way of speaking'. [...] when we observe an utterance it is always in a particular language, in a particular dialect of that language, and pronounced with a particular accent."* (Chambers, et al: 2003)

2.4. Dialectology

Dialectoloy is another sub-field of sociolinguistics which dates from the mid 19th century. Crystal (1999:87) defined dialectology as *"the study of dialect, especially regional dialects."*

Dialectology studies with a scientific way speech variation on grammatical and phonological levels based upon regional areas. Traditional dialectologists have published dialect maps on which boundaries or 'imaginary lines' called 'isoglosses' were drawn to separate the different features used in different regional areas.

Modern dialectology also called urban dialectology follows a synchronic study focusing on the relationship of language and social features such as age, gender, and ethnic groups and more. Through the use of questionnaires, interviews and participant observations, a dialectologist can investigate the frequency of occurrence of typical speech forms of a certain social group in a quantitative or qualitative method.

2.5. Arabic sociolinguistic studies

Arabic sociolinguistics has grown up largely in the wake of the 1960's when Sociolinguistics emerged as a semi-autonomous discipline developed at first by the work of William Labov and other scholars. (Owens, 2001: 439)

Significant progress has been made in Arabic dialect studies since World War II. In fact, Dialect areas that were totally unknown have been worked on successfully. One of the most promising developments in the field is the emergence of a number of linguists who are native speakers of Arabic.

The European Arabist philological tradition focused on the written text; however the spoken word represented the core element of analysis for works done after World War II. Owens claims that Western grammarians of Classical Arabic such as Reckendorf, Blachère and Gaudrefroy- Demombynes approach language as a product to be packaged, described, and consumed by the interested public.

Sociolinguistics has concentrated on the spoken word. It thus stands in close relationship to dialectological traditions, though in contrast to dialectology the main focus of variational sociolinguistics has been on urban areas. (Owens, 2001: 439-420)

In the Arab world, dialect studies have long been neglected and looked down upon except some works on Arabic dialectology referring mainly to grammars and dictionaries. Cantineau argued that a relatively large number of linguistic studies have appeared in the form of full scale grammars, monographs, and articles. Dialects were very rarely, if ever, written, and hence our knowledge of them is not based on direct sources. (Abboud, 2001:453) Many important works were still unpublished making them unavailable for scholars to examine and evaluate.

Arabic grammarians gave plain recognition to the existence of linguistic variation in language. They legitimized or prohibited variation according to social and political institutions with which variation was associated.

Variation was institutionalized by the [Arabic] grammarians themselves. Notable in this respect are the different Koranic reading traditions, the qira'at. The existence of the variants, however, reflects a socio-political tension in early Islamic society whose history has been traced in the works of Beck (1946), Kahle (1948), Jeffery (1948) and others. (Owens, 2001:422)

Even though such variation was recognized, grammarians and scholars never developed a conceptual frame explaining the functional linguistic interrelationships between these varieties, nor their historical development. (Owens, 2001:423)

After World War II, there has been a great manifestation of numerous descriptive studies dealing with various Arabic dialects. Such general descriptive studies would include Fleisch (1958) who gives the main phonological and grammatical characteristics of the Eastern Arabic Dialects, and Ph.Marçais (1958) who concentrated on the Western dialects of North Africa. Furthermore, Colin (1945), W.Marçais (1950), and Ph.Marçais (1957) give surveys of Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian Arabic respectively. (Abboud, 1970:443)

For North Africa we have a number of studies dating back to pre-war days. The more important ones are W. Marçais (1901-02) for Tlemcen in Algeria, the series of articles W. Marçais (1906-09) on the Bedouin dialect in Oran, and M. Cohen (1912) on the Jewish dialect of Algiers. In his works, Ph.Marçais (1956) includes a detailed account of the dialect of Djidjelli in Algeria. He followed the typical French scholars' approach of that time, that is to say merely descriptive studies focusing mainly on grammar and phonology.

In terms of approach, the American- trained scholars are rigidly descriptive, while European trained scholars are descriptive in goal, generally include historical, dialectological and comparative materials. In presentation, European works are often encumbered by exhaustive details, with the result that important generalizations and clear patterns are missed. On the other hand, American works in general tend to be impatient with details. In methodology both schools are in the long and venerable tradition of orientalist scholarship. (Abboud, 1970:444)

Arabic linguists have been too busy discovering the linguistic facts to bother with theory. The treatments of the different components of the grammars are not equally developed. Phonology is usually more satisfactorily handled than other parts of the grammar. […] most analyses present a more or less clear picture of the sound system. The morphology generally forms the bulk of the work. […] Syntax was for long a neglected area. (Abboud, 1970:444)

2.5.1. Arabic sociolinguistics and gender

 Numerous studies have documented sex-based differences which led to various and somehow difficult interpretations. The reasons behind this can be related to the fact that the case of each study should not be generalized but a specific to the studied area alone; and the second reason is that the significant gender differences can be linked to other variables such as age, addressee and status relationship between the interlocutors.

Beginning with Schmidt (1974, 1986:59), a number of studies carried out in Egypt and Levantine Arabic showed the men tendency of using /q/ whereas women tended toward /ʔ /. In the light of this, Ibrahim (1986) distinguished between standard and prestige variants in Arabic. Palatalization of Cairene dentals is a further sex-based study from this region. Furthermore, Haeri (1991, 1997b) documented the preference of Cairene women for using the local prestige /ʔ/ rather than /q/. She suggests that the female orientation towards non-SA variants reflects rejection on their part of traditional Islamic values[14].

Dekkak's (1979) study of sex differences in Tlemcen in western Algeria reports that Tlemcen glottal stop /ʔ/ (ق) is strongly associated with female speech, while men use it in informal situations. Women in Tlemcen appear to favour neither the standard /q/ nor the

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[14] In Owens, 2001:444

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variant of wider prestige /g/. Dendane (2006) carried out a similar study to investigate the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in relation to gender. He found that female Tlemcen Arabic (TA) speakers are not affected by the presence of rural speakers who use /g/, and thus tend to maintain TA vernacular features. (Dendane, 2006: 237)

2.5.2. Arabic sociolinguistics and ethnicity

Ethnic studies include a number of social parameters intended to distinguish between social groupings in terms of separate religion, history, skin colour and place of origin.

Brunot (1950b: 16-19) and Ph. Marçais (1956:218f) discuss both "the socio-economic and religious dialect situation that obtains in North Africa." (Abboud, 1970:443)

Blanc's (1964) study of communal dialects in Baghdad is a classic example of ethnic difference associated with linguistic differences. Blanc (1964) finds in Baghdad as many dialects as religious communities, i.e. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish. The dialects show distinctions in their phonology, grammar, and lexicon that are well correlated with these religious groupings.

Holes (1987) worked on sectarian differences between the Arabs considered as recent immigrants and major split of being Sunni and Shiite. He isolated 19 variables in phonetics and morphology for comparison. The study shows that Baharna tends to move towards Arab phonological variants, whereas Arabs make the reverse switch to a far smaller extent[15].

Another classic instance of ethnically-based variation is the work of Abd-el Jawad[16] in Amman and northern Jordan regarding the variants q – ʔ – g – k of Arabic 'ق' [qaf] as in [qala], [ʔal], [gal], [kal]. The study reveals that each variant has specific socio-political association: /q/ standard, /ʔ/ urban Palestinian origin, /k/ rural Palestinian and /g/ rural Jordanian. He shows on a geographical contrast, that Amman has a stronger /ʔ/ orientation, whereas northern Jordan does not. On another level of contrast, he shows that women tend to strongly favour /ʔ/, while men somewhat favour /g/.

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[15] Owens, 2001:434
[16] Owens, 2001: 433

2.6. Study of language variation

Any language of the world is considered to be a complex and constantly dynamic phenomenon, each having its own distinctive characteristics, however the same communicative role.

The study of language variation and change is the core of sociolinguistic enterprise (Chamber, et al, 2004). Beginning with the pioneering work of Labov, the father of sociolinguistics, in the mid and late 1960s, the study of variation has formed one of the key areas of sociolinguistics and took serious amplitude. Long before that, the study of language variation in relation to societal behaviour was neglected by formal dominant theories. In fact, Saussure's theory, the American and the Prague Structural Schools and Chomsky's theory focused on standardized forms of languages. Those previous scholars ignored variability in their research and considered it an 'accidental' fact which happened randomly, and thus considered as useless to be studied. Furthermore, despite the efforts of Meillet (1921) for linguistic investigation in the social context, many scholars excluded the study of any external factors to the structure of language.

The work of William Labov and first generation variationists such as Walt Wolfram, Ralph Fasold, and Peter Trudgill introduced important considerations of issues regarding validity to the study of dialect. Labov showed in his work that "*variability of language is, or may be shown to be structured.*" (Milroy & Milroy, 1998)

Forty years of variationist studies have yield to the constant facts that "observations in real language use is systematic and its analysis can directly inform a number of theoretical frame works about human language use." (Bayley & Lucas, 2002: 1)

Variation as Chambers (2003) defines it is "*the different 'ways of speaking' the same language*".

Following Chambers' example (1998):

 "(1) Adoniss saw himself in the mirror

 (2) Adoniss seen hisself in the mirror"

The two sentences convey the same grammatical meaning, though they differ at the morphological level on two variables (the verb tense form and the reflexive pronoun).   The

utterances express different social meanings as a direct result of their morphological variant. The first sentence represents a standard form of middle class, educated and formal speech, while, the second one corresponds to working-class, uneducated or highly colloquial (vernacular) speech[17]. Hence, the speech variability can reveal a lot concerning the speaker's socio-economic and psychological background.

2.6.1. Dimensions

Language variation is studied on linguistic and extra linguistic dimensions. Linguistic dimensions focus on language structure, i.e. the sound, the word and the phrase of the language itself. "*Language is inherently variable at a number of structural levels –in phonology, morphology and syntax.*" (Milroy and Milroy, 1998)

In pronunciation, phoneticians claimed that some variations in sound patterns can be structured. In regard to the principle of the 'least effort' introduced by Martinet (1964), sound change can involve processes such as assimilation and elision. The pronunciation of /n/ in 'bacon and eggs' can be realized as velar rather than alveolar nasal as a consequence of rapid or casual speech (Milroy and Milroy, 1998). Furthermore, /h/ dropping in words like hotel /'otel/ is "evidence of laziness and slovenly speech." (Holmes, 1994: 154)

In Montréal, the frequency with which /l/ is deleted in the pronoun 'il' distinguishes the French of two social groups. (ibid: 157) It also differs according to the grammatical status. /l/ has almost disappeared in Montréal French in impersonal 'il'.

Labov conducted his famous 'fourth floor' experiment in New York. He wanted to investigate the pronunciation of /r/ in relation to social class. So, he asked shop keepers about and item he already knew was in the fourth floor of the store. In order to get valid results he pretended not to hear the first natural response and made the speaker repeat his answer to get a second careful pronunciation of /r/. He concluded that 'the posher' the store, the more people used post vocalic /r/." (Holmes, 1994: 154)

However, in England when reading pronouncing /r/ is considered as less prestigious. This is why; post vocalic /r/ is a variable which illustrated the arbitrariness of particular forms which are considered standard and prestigious.

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[17] Chambers 1998

Grammatical variables have been studied in non-standard forms of languages. Black English Vernacular (BEV) is a good example of English grammatical variation. This variation can be characterized by the copula is/are absence, plural –s absence, double negation, use of ain't…etc.

Extra linguistic dimensions can be divided into two main categories: natural dimension and human dimension. Natural dimension concentrates on time and space. Language variation in time is the subject matter of historical linguistics. However, language variation in space is the subject matter of dialectology. On the other hand, human dimension deals with the social part. It studies language variation in regard to the individual's age, gender, ethnic group, socio-economic class, level of education, context and style.

2.6.2. Methodology

Variationists proceed in their method based on empirical work by counting variants and comparing the frequency of occurrence of variants in different groups of speakers. This method is called sociolinguistic quantification[18]. Concerning the method, Milroy & Milroy (1998) said that "it depends on collecting naturalistic speech from real speakers and insisting on full accountability to the data so collected no matter how messy some of the data may be."

Technology is a major reason for current progresses in variation studies. The use of tape recorders instead of writing down every word was very beneficial for researchers in multiple ways in their study analysis.

2.7. Discourse variation

Language can be used for a variety of purposes. This use can be examined through a discourse analysis. Discourse can be written or spoken sentences or phrases. Harris defined discourse as "*any connected linear material which contains more than one elementary sentence*" (1963:7)

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[18] Quantitative approach: 'A statistical approach to the study of variation in language […] it has revolutionized the study of language by demonstrating that linguistic behaviour is ever more highly structured'. (Stockwell,2007:240-241)

Meanings of words and context are very important factors for discourse analysis. In fact, when Harris attempted to find some general characteristics related to discourse, he found it necessary to involve the meaning of each morpheme. Macaulay (1998) described the study of discourse variation as "*the attempt to find patterns of language use that characterized the spoken language of a definable group in a specific setting.*"

Examining variation in discourse has different problems than those of investigating phonological, lexical or morphological variation. For this purpose, the context, the speaker, the addressee should be taken into consideration for such analysis. Macaulay (1998) pointed out that investigating a spoken discourse "*requires evidence collected in settings where the nature of the speech event is clear and the roles of the participants can be established.*"

The study of discourse variation is still at elementary stage. Consequently, the study of discourse variation is very confusing for its methodology, data collection and the ways by which specific features are examined. Tannen (1994) confirmed that "there is no general agreement on methods of collecting or analyzing data, on what features are suitable for investigation, and how to identify possible discourse features, and what significance to attach to the use of a particular feature."

There are two approaches to discourse studies. The first one is concerned with the 'ethnographer's observation of communicative practices' (Macaulay, 1998) .This is generally referred to as the ethnographic study. For this approach, the investigator needs to spend some time in the studied community and pay attention to the behaviour of its participants. The second approach is more concerned with the "socio-linguistic examination of language use" (Macaulay, 1998). For this approach, the sociolinguist has to focus on the transcriptions of recorded discourse patterns or analysis of written materials such as questionnaires in relation to age, gender, social class and many other social categories.

Based on an ethnographic discourse study in relation to gender, Robbin Lakoff (1973, 1975) worked with middle-class women in the USA and gave a list of some features that characterizes 'women's language'. Her work motivated different studies of these features attempting to sustain or disprove her statements.

There were also various quantitative studies of discourse features in terms of gender differentiation. Dubois and Crouch (1975) initiated such studies when they investigated the
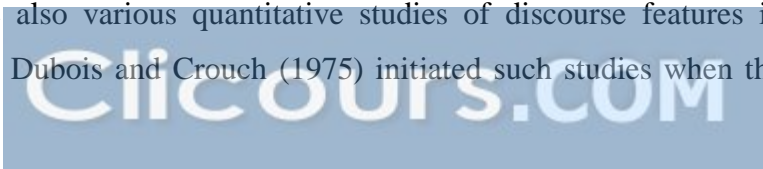
use of tag questions after meetings at a small academic workshop. They found that 33 tags in the sessions were produced by men.

Holmes (1984) classified the functions that tag questions can hold as either: epistemic modal i.e. to focus on information, or challenging, facilitative i.e. to encourage the listener to speak, and softening especially after imperatives or negative critics. She showed that "*women were more than twice as likely to use facilitative tags as men.*"

There is a fundamental problem concerning the validity of the results conducted under a quantitative study for discourse variation. The most reliable way to check on the exactness of the results is to double conduct a similar study of equivalent population. However, no one is intrigued to replicate his own study or that of others.

2.8. Speech community

Linguistics focuses a lot on terms such as 'language' and 'dialect', whereas sociolinguistics focuses mainly on the speech community.

According to Labov, the speech community "*is a locus in which speakers agree on the social meanings and evaluations of the variants used, […] it incorporates variability in language use.*" (Milroy & Milroy, 1998)

Linguists emphasized that language variation is part of human communication in the different speech communities. Indeed, investigators proposed the existence of homogeneous speech communities consisting of the same monolingual people living in isolated places, and other heterogeneous speech communities which can be found in towns and big urban spots. There is another complex type of communities characterized by multilingual and diglossic features.

Since no two individuals would speak exactly in the same way, linguists agreed on the acceptance of the heterogeneity of any speech community. Noticeably, language variation in the small isolated village is less obvious than the large inhabited areas, where people of different origins are in daily contact.

The term 'Community of Practice' has recently shouldered its way into the sociolinguistic lexicon. It bears a strong similarity to the existing term "speech community". The term 'Community of Practice' was introduced to language and gender research by Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992). Following Lave and Wenger (1991), they defined it as follows: "*An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a Community of Practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages.*" (1992:464)

Wenger (1998:76) identifies three crucial dimensions of a Community of Practice:

1. **Mutual engagement:** This involves regular interaction: It is the basis for the relationships that make the Community of Practice possible. People who work together interact regularly. They are usually in pairs or small groups discussing particular or general projects.

2. **Joint enterprise:** The joint enterprise is not just a stated shared goal, but a negotiated enterprise, involving the complex relationships of mutual accountability that become part of the practice of the community (Wenger 1998:80).

3. **Shared repertoire:** Over time, the joint pursuit of an enterprise results in a shared repertoire of joint resources for negotiating meaning (Wenger 1998:85). This includes linguistic resources such as specialized terminology and linguistic routines, but also resources like pictures, regular meals, and gestures that have become part of the community's practice.

2.9. Speech Accommodation

Many speakers tend to modify the way they speak under the influence of different factors such as the addressee and the setting. This process is called 'speech accommodation' which is defined by Giles and Powesland, (1975) referring to speakers who "*accommodate their speech to their addressee in order to win their approval*". (Stockwell, 2007:268)

Giles gave no particular prominence to accent/dialect variation. Accommodation could relate to all manner of communicative modalities and features, such as rate of speech, pausing, levels of self disclosure, bodily posture and key (e.g. light-heartedness versus

seriousness). The accommodation model did not focus on specific meanings attached to any particular communicative feature or style, but on the degree of similarity or difference between speaker and listener.

There are two types of accommodation: Convergence and divergence. By convergence we mean that speakers try to sound like or imitate the speech style and accent of their addressees. There were various studies that demonstrated how speakers converge with each other in several ways. As an alternative to converging, speakers may maintain their style of speech, as a way to display some language loyalty or identity emphasis, this is called divergence. Hence, speakers diverge from their addressee in order to differentiate themselves from other individuals or groups.

Conclusion

Some of the concepts listed above were quite complex and including all of them in detailed sections was a hard task. In fact, each concept alone would take more than a dozen pages to explain, examine and illustrate it properly. However, we avoided too many details and organized the chapter in equal proportions for the sake of a precise and concise work in general.

This chapter, as noticed, lacks the notion of 'Language attitude'. The concept of Attitude has a major place in psychology, sociology, anthropology, education and even creative arts. As far as sociolinguistics is concerned, and following the proposed plan division of this work, we devoted the next chapter to describe, analyse and illustrate Language attitudes with reference to the Algerian languages.

Chapter Three

Speakers' Attitudes Towards the Languages of Algeria

3.   Speakers' attitudes towards the languages of Algeria

3.1.Introduction

This chapter focuses on aspects of language attitudes that can inform this study of the languages in Algeria. At first, we give series of different definitions of the term 'language attitude'. In fact, there is a myriad of written literature on language attitudes that reflects the evolution of attitude theory through time. We also refer to important methodology and attitude measurement that helped in the development of the research field. For the last part, we analyse people's attitudes towards the languages of Algeria. In this section, we interpret the questionnaire's results regarding language attitudes towards the four languages in Algeria: Classical Arabic, French, Algerian Arabic and Berber.

3.2. Definition of language attitude

The word 'attitude' is derived from the Latin word '*aptitude*' and the Italian '*atto*', which means 'aptitude for action'.[19] Over time, the term has undergone various interpretations depending on area of use. The notion of attitude is revealed as a stimulus and response which is studied in many scientific disciplines, including psychology and sociology. Indeed, attitude is an essential concept in the explanation of social behaviour.

In order to study language attitude, it is very important to look at certain key variables. Attitudes toward language tend to change with age. Children may change their attitude when they become teenagers, and teenagers' attitudes often change when they grow up to be adults. They adopt language attitudes according to their social interaction and environmental experience. Attitudes toward language might be different according to the socio-cultural behaviours of males and females. The educational context in which language attitudes develop can be a significant factor. More or less favorable attitudes and attitude change may be produced through the formal or hidden curriculum in school. Other variables that may affect language attitudes are ability, language background and cultural background for the people in a society.

Baker (1992:11) describes 'attitude' as latent and inferred from external behaviour. He says that: "*attitudes often manage to summarise, explain and predict behaviour.*" However, he carries on and explains that observation of external behaviour does not lead to accurate and valid understanding because sometimes expressed attitudes can deceive. He says that:

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[19] Baker 1992: 11

"observation of external behaviour may produce mis-categorisation and wrongful explanation. Such behaviour may be consciously or unconsciously designed to disguise or conceal inner attitude." (1992: 15)

E. Glyn Lewis (1975) makes a sixfold conceptual distinction between dimensions of attitude:

1. General approval, e.g. 'I like speaking Welsh'.

2. Commitment to practice, e.g. 'I want to maintain Welsh to enable Wales to develop'.

3. National ethnic tradition, e.g. 'we owe it to our forefathers to preserve Welsh'.

4. Economic and social communication importance, e.g. 'Welsh offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'.

5. Family and local considerations, e.g. 'Welsh is important in family life'.

6. Personal, Ideological Consideration, e.g. 'Welsh provides a range of aesthetic experiences in literature'. [20]

Baker (1992:32) states that there are two components of language attitudes: 'instrumental' attitudes and 'integrative' attitudes. An instrumental attitude to a language is mostly self-oriented. Instrumental attitudes of people toward a language can be both positive and negative because of the desire to gain achievement, status, personal success, self-enhancement, or basic security and survival. On the other hand, an integrative attitude to a language is mostly social and interpersonal in orientation. It is the desire of people to be like members of the other language community. People who have positive attitudes toward a particular language want to identify themselves with a language group and their cultural activities.

The study of language attitudes begins with a decision to choose one of two theories about the nature of attitudes. One theory focused on "a mentalist view of attitude as a state of readiness", while the other one focused on the behaviourist view that *"attitudes are to be found in the responses people make to social situations"* (Fasold, 1984).
People who accept the behaviourist view consider attitudes as a single unit. However, people who accept the mentalist definition consider attitudes to have three elements: cognition, affect and readiness for action. Cognition concerns thoughts and beliefs. A favorable attitude to the language of people might entail a stated belief in the importance of continuity of the language. The affective component concerns feelings towards the attitude's object. The action

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[20] Cited in Baker 1992 : 31

component of attitude concerns a readiness for action. It is a behavioural intention or plan of action under distinctive contexts and circumstances (Figure. 1).
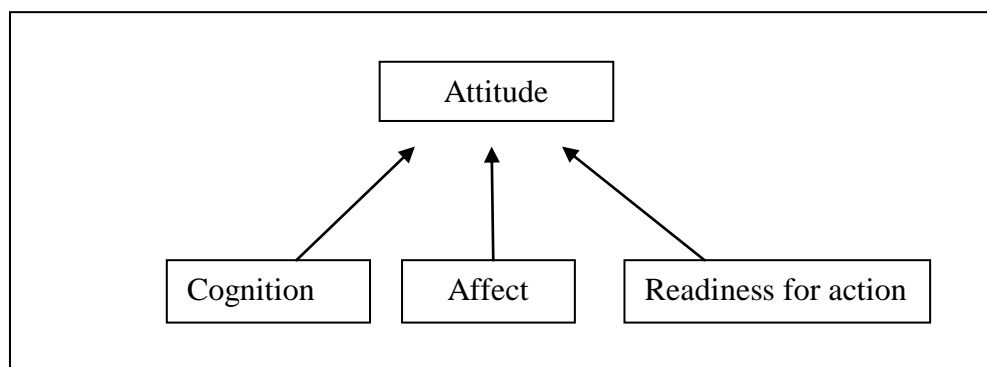
3.1. The hierarchy of attitude and its components (Baker 1992)

Attitudes towards language, whether positive or negative, are often influenced by the process of standardization in languages. Milroy (2007: 133) writes that "language attitudes are dominated by powerful ideological positions that are largely based on the supposed existence of this standard form, and these taken together, can be said to constitute the standard language ideology or "ideology of the standard language". According to Peter Garrett (2010:7) "People are apparently not conscious of the influence of these ideological positions and tend to consider it as a question of common sense."

3.3. Methodology and attitudes measurement

There are various kinds of methods that can be applied to test people language attitudes. According to Baker (1992:17), there are large amounts of research methods for measuring individual attitudes toward a language such as document analysis, content analysis, interviews, case studies, autobiographies and the matched guise technique. In order to get a balanced picture of the community, the method should cover both individuals and groups.

Fasold (1984) wrote an article that can be of great help to the researcher to design a suitable method for determining the attitudes of people towards their mother tongue. According to him, language attitudes usually entail attitudes to the speakers of a particular language or dialect. There are two ways to determine language attitudes: (1) either directly or (2) indirectly (Figure 2).

A direct method requires subjects to respond to a questionnaire or interview questions that are used to ask their opinion about their language or another. An indirect method is designed

to keep the subjects from knowing that their language attitudes are being investigated. Most research attempts to include both direct and indirect research methods.

In order to discover language attitude researchers usually use questionnaires. These questionnaires consist of two types of questions, open and closed questions. Another way to measure language attitude is through interviews where researchers are likely to ask open questions.

The matched guise technique is often used in language attitude research. In preparation for a matched-guise test, different speakers are tape-recorded reading the same passage. Speakers who are fluent in more than one dialect or "guise" are chosen, sample listeners from the speech community are then asked to listen to the tape-recording and explicitly asked to give their opinions of speaker's characteristics. The opinions of the speakers' different guise give indication of language attitudes.

The last kind of method is observation. This method is designed to collect naturalistic data.

Direct			Indirect
←			→
Questionnaire	Interview	Matched guise	Observation
3.2. Direct and indirect methods to measure language attitudes.			

3.4. Attitudes towards language variety

Language attitudes are the feelings and reactions of people toward their own language variety and the language varieties of others. People usually make assumptions on the way others speak. One can have negative or positive attitudes toward a specific variety of a specific region or social group. In fact, many dialects have been judged as funny, harsh, aggressive, prestigious, classy…etc. However, no variety should be qualified as the best or worst based on people' irrational and subjective feelings.

Language change is perceived as a negative thing. Janet Holmes (1994:154) mentions the arbitrariness of attitudes to language varieties and said that: "*the particular linguistic forms that people regard as prestigious or stigmatised are in general totally arbitrary*". She claims that usually the speech of the prestigious social class is the one that attracts positive attitudes.

For sociolinguists, one important goal has been to construct a 'record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes' (Labov, 1984:33). From this perspective, language attitudes research provides a background for explaining linguistic variation and change.

3.5. Stereotypes

The word stereotype is derived from the Greek word *'stereo'-* solid and *type:* compare *cliché*.[21] Stereotype is by extension, a stock concept, image or type such as racial, ethnic and sexual stereotypes.

Stereotypes generally constitute a specific form of verbalization of attitude. It is characterized by the agreement of members of the same group upon certain traits that are adopted as valid and discriminated to describe other differences.

'Stereotype' appears as an element of the structure of representations. Flay (1997: 57) describes stereotypes as: "*generalized representations made of a priori without empirical or rational foundation, bringing to judge individuals according to their categorical appearances and resistant to supply the information, stereotypes will serve as the basis for social stigmatization processes, in other words the value judgments.*"[22]

Stereotypes identify stable and decontextualized images, schematic and shortcuts that function on the shared memory to which certain groups adhere. The degree of membership and the validity given to stereotypes by some groups of speakers or individuals may be related to behaviours, to language behaviours and learning behaviours.

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[21] In The Oxford Companion to the English Language, 1992: 985
[22] The original text in French is « représentations généralisantes forgées à priori, sans fondement empirique ou rationnel, amenant à juger les individus en fonction de leur apparences catégorielles, et résistantes à l'apport d'information, ils vont servir de fondement aux processus de stigmatisation sociale, en d'autres termes de jugements de valeur » in S.M. FLAY, (1997),'la compétence interculturelle dans le domaine de l'intervention éducative et sociale' in Cahier de l'actif. Actif. Paris, p.57

3.6. Representations

The term social representation was originally coined by Serge Moscovici in 1961. He referred to it as a "system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history"[23].

Moscovici describes two main processes by which the unfamiliar is made familiar: 'objectification' and 'anchoring'. In the process of objectification something abstract is turned into something almost concrete. It produces a training of the unfamiliar in an active way. Objectification saturates the idea of unfamiliarity with reality. By 'anchoring' he meant attributing meaning to new phenomena – objects, relations, experiences and practices. When anchoring, the integrated object is being represented into existing worldviews. In this way, there will be no threat that the strange and unfamiliar object poses[24].

The term 'representation' is conceptualized by several disciplines of human sciences such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, epistemology, and philosophy.

Generally, the term refers to "the fact to recall an object in mind, this latter is represented under the form of symbols, signs, images, beliefs, values, etc."[25]

According to J.C Abric (1999), in social sciences representation means, "the process of a mental activity, through which an individual or a group of individuals reconstitute the reality they are facing and attribute to it a specific signification."[26]

Representations are constitutive of identity construction, the relationship between self and others, and construction of knowledge. Representations are not exact, nor wrong, nor definitive. They only permit to individuals or groups of individuals to categorize themselves and determine traits that they perceive pertinent to construct their identity in relation to others.

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[23] Moscovici Serge, (1973), Foreword. In C. Herzlich (Ed.), "Health and illness: A social psychological analysis" (pp. ix–xiv). London/New York: Academic Press.
[24] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_representation
[25] Encyclopédie philosophique universelle, (1990), « Des notions philosophiques », Dictionnaire n°2, éd, PUF, France. P.2239-2241
[26] Cited in D. Jodelet, (1989), 'Les représentations sociales', PUF, Paris, P 206

3.7. Analysis of people's attitudes towards the languages in Algeria

This section is devoted to the analysis of people's attitudes towards the languages present in Algeria. The informants were given the choice between four answers and they had to choose one. Each question is illustrated with representative graphs and followed by discussions and possible explanations of the results whenever possible. The participants to the questionnaire (see appendix) were one hundred (100) people, all living in Mascara. Among them, fifty (50) males and fifty (50) females, aged between nineteen and seventy-nine of different levels of education and various occupations.

a) Questionnaire A

1) Which language do you find the richest?
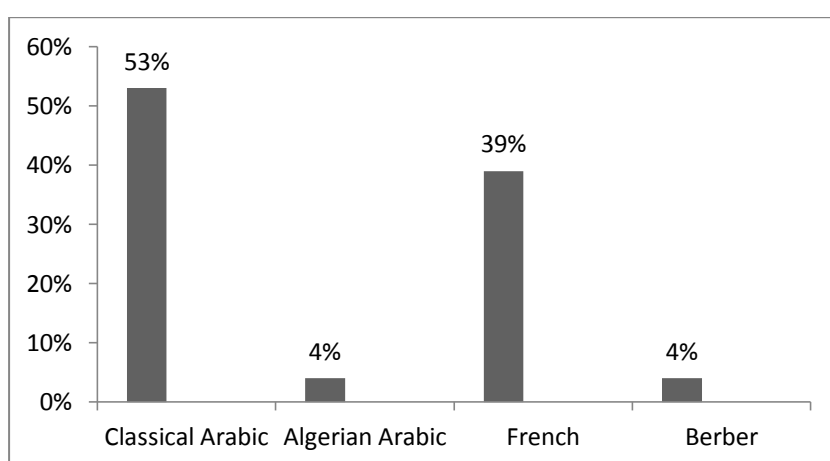
The graphs for this question indicate that CA is perceived as the richest variety (53%) as opposed to AA (4%) and B (4%). The respondents consider CA as the richest in terms of vocabulary and religious documentation whether they studied it or not. As far as CA is concerned, it is regarded as the language of old literary heritage and the Quran, while AA and B seem to rate a low score because the two varieties lack written traditions. The two spoken varieties are overloaded with F and CA loan words, in addition to code switching which highly characterises both AA and Berber.

F gets a second high score (39%) compared to AA and Berber. In fact, F is seen as the language of modernity and science. Perhaps those respondents who describe it as rich think of it as superior to the rest in scientific and technical terms. French is still considered as a prestigious language by the old generation who received their education in French, now all retired and also the young generation whom seems to be deeply influenced by the French culture.

2) Which language do you find the most beautiful?
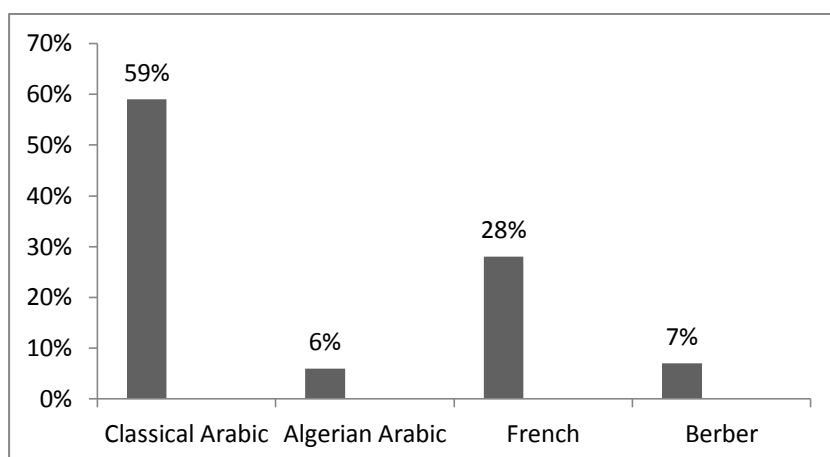
 The first noticeable remark is that CA rates at high score (59%) as far as the beauty of language is concerned. CA is considered beautiful mainly because of religious considerations and the attitudes of these speakers towards the heritage of this language. In fact, these informants seem to be conservative and closely attached to the Muslim culture. The view that CA carries prestige and possesses qualities such as beauty and musicality has been first observed by Ferguson (1959). The different attitudes towards the values of CA and AA reflect the so-called diglossic situation in which the H variety (CA) is associated with prestige in contrast to the L variety (AA). Positive attitudes are also observed towards French. In fact, 28% of the respondents chose French as the second most beautiful language. This score comes mainly from respondents who have liberal jobs such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc. The influence of the internet and the media, and the relation that French has with science and technology might be the factors that explain its high rate for this question.

3) Which language do you find the most modern?
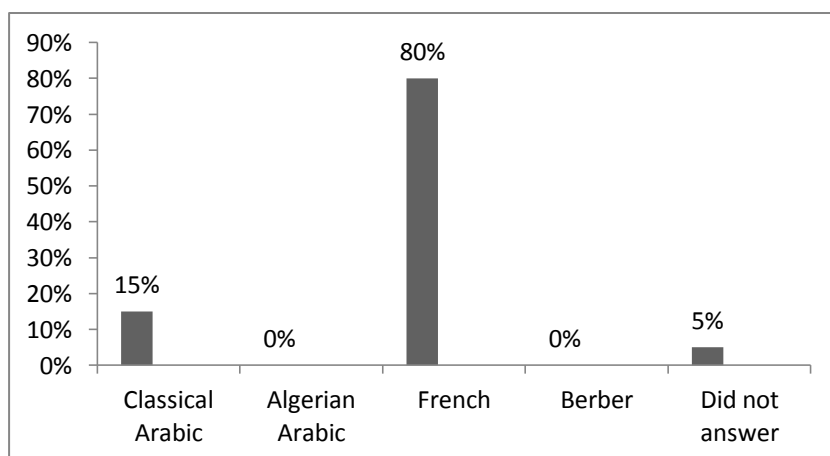
4) What language do you find the most useful for studies?
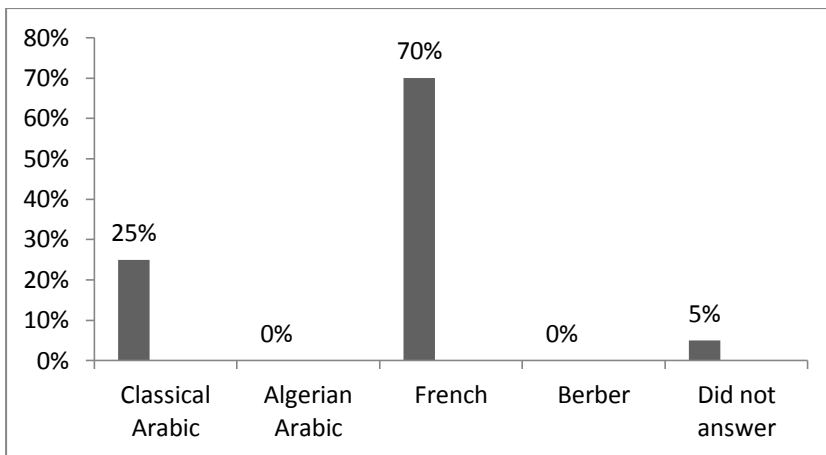
Those who did not answer (5%) represent respondents who found English as a modern language and the most useful for studies.

5) Which language do you consider as lively?
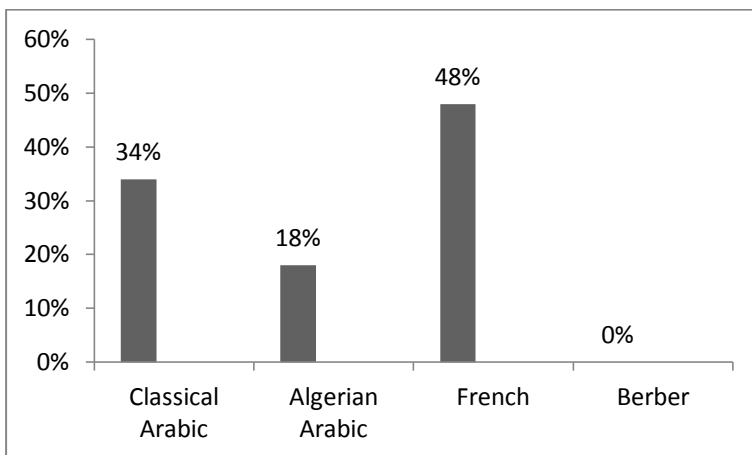
Reasons behind the high score of French as a modern (80%), useful for studies (70%) and lively (48%) language might be the fact that it is still the language used as a medium of instruction for scientific disciplines at the university. Another fact is the abundance of French books and publications especially reference works. French receives positive attitudes from these participants for its association with sciences, modernity and technological development. In fact, some of them said that English copes well with technological and scientific advancement and that in Algeria French triumph over English.

According to the results, CA (15%) is clearly inefficient towards modern sciences and unable to keep up with modern life as French or English. In fact, CA has nothing at all or very small contributions in technological and essential modern fields of study and research. Unfortunately, Arabs seem to neglect, voluntarily or involuntarily, the importance of Arabic

compared to other languages for different reasons mostly due to its inefficiency in modern sciences. Van Mol (2003: 25) argues about the mediocre state of the Arabic language productivity and writes: "From the 12th century onwards the Arab-Islamic world goes through a less productive period on a cultural and scientific level. No important literary works were produced and the use of classical Arabic became very limited. This silent period lasted till the 19th century." Unfortunately this stagnant state is still lasting and has become a huge horrifying silence that denotes a negative attitude toward the Arabic language from its own people and strangers as well.

6) Which language do you find the most outdated?
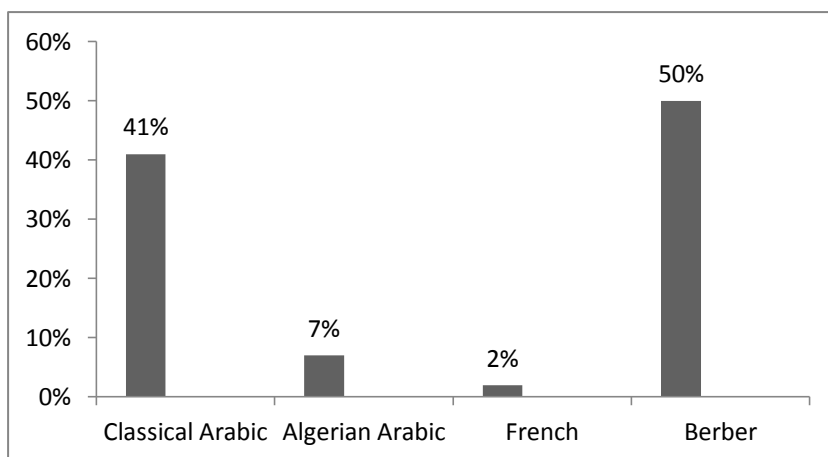
7) Which language do you find useless?
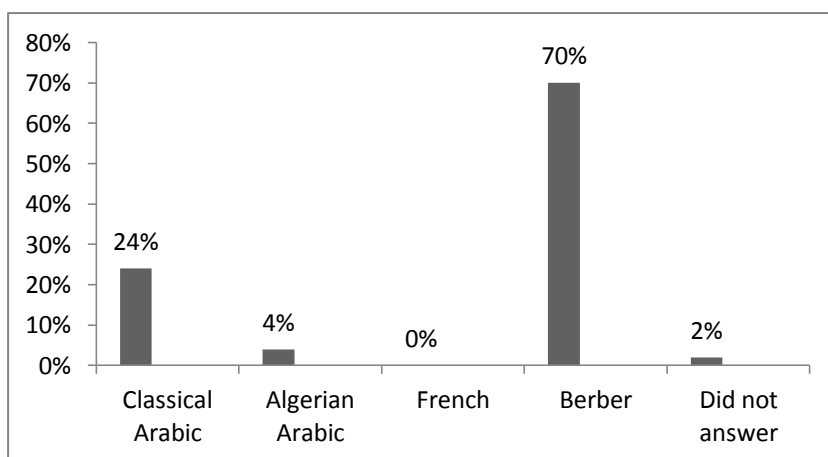
According to my informants' answers, 50% consider Berber as an outdated language which cannot cope with modernity. At the same time, CA is also considered as an outdated

language (41%). The choice of B as an outdated language is due to the fact that the majority of my informants are not Berber speakers. Meanwhile, they think that B is inefficient towards modern sciences and modern life as well since it represents the old language of native Berbers. Then, B is seen as a useless language (70%) according to the respondents. The informants who answered as such are non-Berber speakers, primarily. They mainly use AA for everyday conversations and find B useless. Comparably, the explanation for the score of CA as a useless language (24%) is definitely because none uses it for daily conversation. We already know that people naturally prefer to speak their own mother tongue whenever they can.

For CA, it is the lack of vitality that makes it a useless language compared with the mother tongue of everybody. Those who did not answer to this question represents (2%) respondents who avoided answering and said: I quote, 'in order not to sound racist against any language'.

8) Which language do you find the most practical in everyday life?
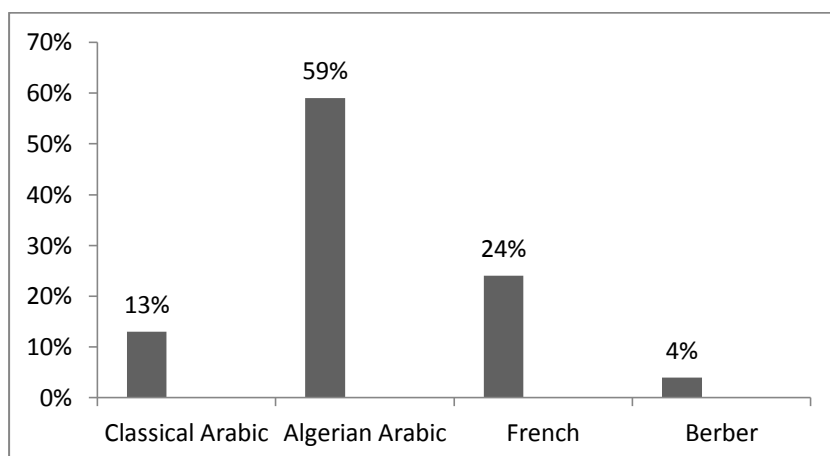
AA is the mother tongue of the majority of Mascarians. They (59%) naturally use their mother tongue to communicate for the daily basis which is the easiest way whenever there is a contact of any kind. French (24%) is found practical mainly for reasons of administrative, educational or medical purposes. CA (13%) gets the lowest score on practicality compared with AA and F in everyday life since it is essentially a written language. There were only 4% of the few Berber speakers who consider it as the most practical for everyday. This may be justified by the fact that B is their mother tongue. It is a simple, natural and spontaneous language too.

9) Which language do you think Algerians should use above all?
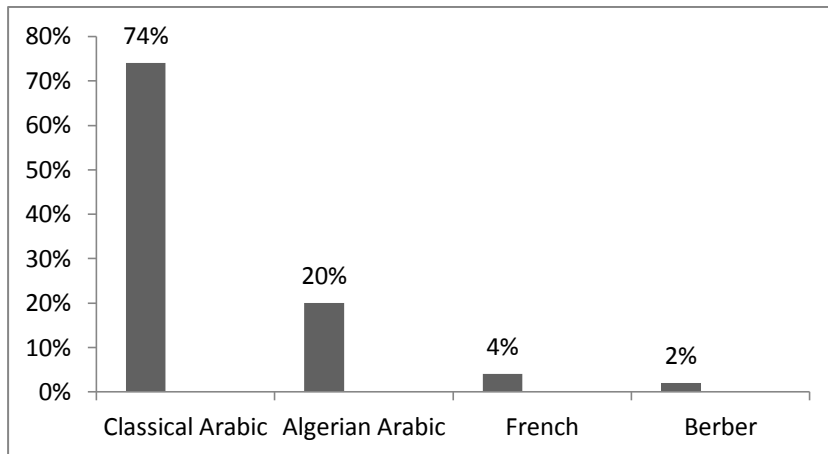
It is surprising to notice that these respondents chose CA to use above all (74%). One should expect AA to be selected. Nevertheless, reasons that could be suggested to explain the high score of CA have to do with its association with the Quran, Arab nationalism and Arab culture; hence the very low score of F for this question. In fact, Arabic is of a considerable value in the Arab communities. It is the language of religion and culture, Muslims pray only in Arabic and the most treasurable literary and scientific heritage is in the Arabic language. Being aware of the importance of the language to its nation, Arabs find it hard to abandon their Arabic language, but the danger is so overwhelming that Arabic is confronted with internal and external threats.

AA (20%) receives a much higher score than F (4%) and the reasons might be related to its being the mother tongue. This is confirmed in the results of the next question, where AA is judged as the least difficult and the most practical in everyday life. This relatively shows that our informants hold a somehow negative attitude towards their mother tongue. Only 2% of the minority of Berber speakers chose Berber to be the language that Algerians should use above all. We can speculate here these Berber speakers have a negative attitude toward their native language just like the rest of our informants.

10) Which language do you think is the most difficult?
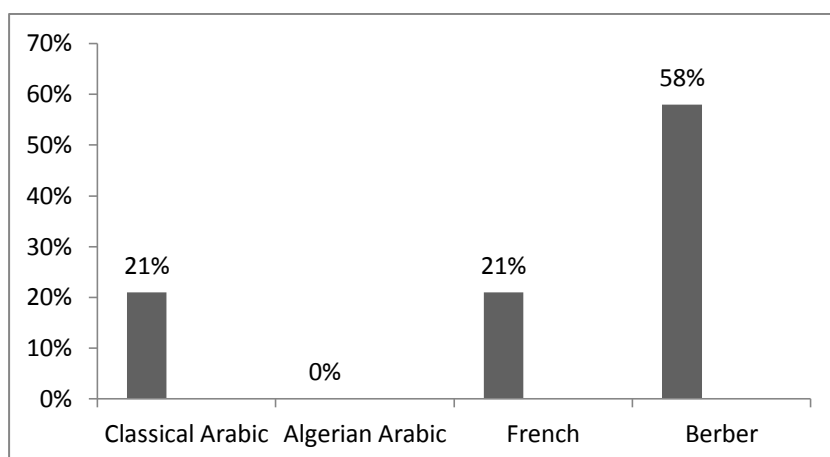
Berber scores the highest rate with (58%) of my informants who consider it as a difficult language. They see it as the language of a minority and somehow of a restricted family heritage. This choice seems logical since everything new looks difficult at first. The fact of being an old language just like CA, B also reflects this complexity to the eyes of non Berber speakers.

Both French (21%) and CA (21%) are found as the second most difficult. Since school is the appropriate environment where F and CA are used, we suggest that the informants who selected these two languages probably dropped school at an early age or did not finish any higher studies. The difficulty of CA is generally linked to the difficulties related to its writing system and grammar. The reason behind classifying CA as a complex language might be the old methods of teaching which are not as effective or attractive as might be desired. Mustafa Mughazy 2007/June/27 shows his disapproval towards the negative attitudes that native Arabic speakers hold regarding their language. He says that: "we should not take pride in claiming Arabic to be one of the most difficult languages on earth. I once heard a teacher say 'Arabic is so difficult that even its native speakers do not speak it well.' That simply discourages students to the point of giving up"[27]. Arabs Younger generation lost interest and kept moving away from learning Arabic or using it on the pretext that it is a difficult language and other reasons as well. With reference to this, Lecerf (1933: 294) maintains that Arabic is a difficult language among others; however its complexity did not prevent it from expansion.


[27] Tarjama, Editions du CEFAL:94

11) Which language do you like the most?
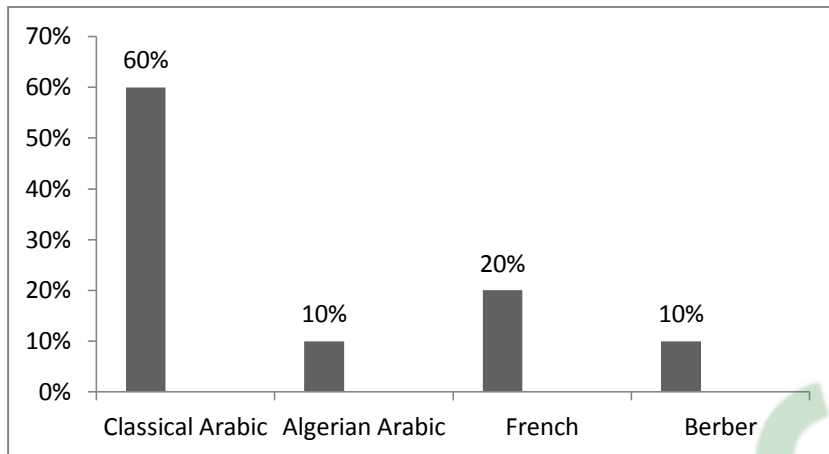
Walters (2006: 651) says that: "language attitudes are psychological states related in complex ways to larger abstract language ideologies". Because of this it is difficult to obtain the real attitudes of people in a straightforward questionnaire.

Although being a difficult language, CA is the most liked language by a great majority of our respondents (60%) than the rest of the proposed varieties. One should mention here what Ferguson suggests in relation to the prestige of the H variety in the case of diglossic situations. In fact, my informants seem to admire the H variety even if they cannot understand it. CA is regarded as superior to AA and Berber. Such results reflect positive and respectful attitudes towards CA. The H variety is seen as more logical, beautiful and better in expressing important thoughts. Nevertheless, the L variety has its admirers and is also valued by some speakers.

12) Which language do you like the least?
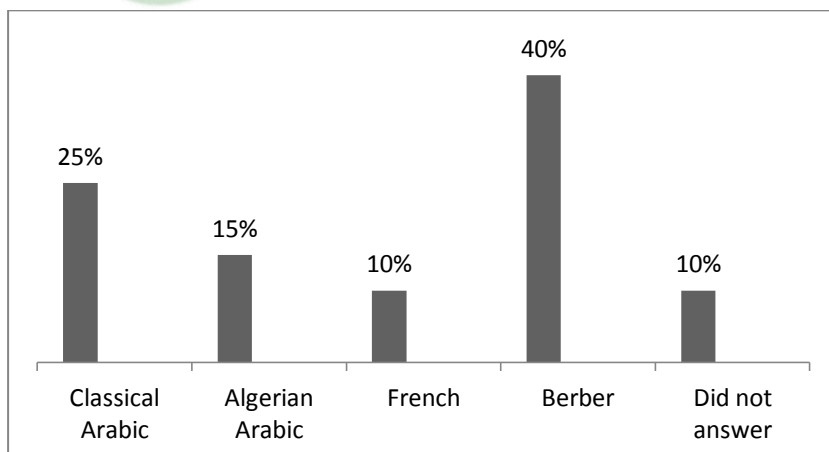
Those who did not answer (10%) represent participants who avoided answering and said that they do not want to sound racist against any language. Again, this shows the sensitivity of the question for the Algerians in general. They were very hesitant for answering questions of this kind may be because of political confusion. It seems to be hard to speak openly about political orientations.

I must say that I do not want to initiate any battle between the two varieties, but the fact that Berber (40%) scores a high percentage for the least liked language is primarily because the majority of my informants were non-Berber speakers (just 10%). This reflects a very negative attitude towards it. In the above questions, Berber was selected as the most difficult language. And people naturally tend to avoid difficult matters. In fact, who likes difficulty after all? So, this result automatically confirms that B has a negative attitude because of subjective assumptions of being difficult. Comparably, the reasons for disliking F (10%) might also be connected with the difficulties encountered in learning it by some respondents. AA (15%) is probably disliked for reasons related to the general views that it is the limited L variety.

13) Which language do you find the easiest?
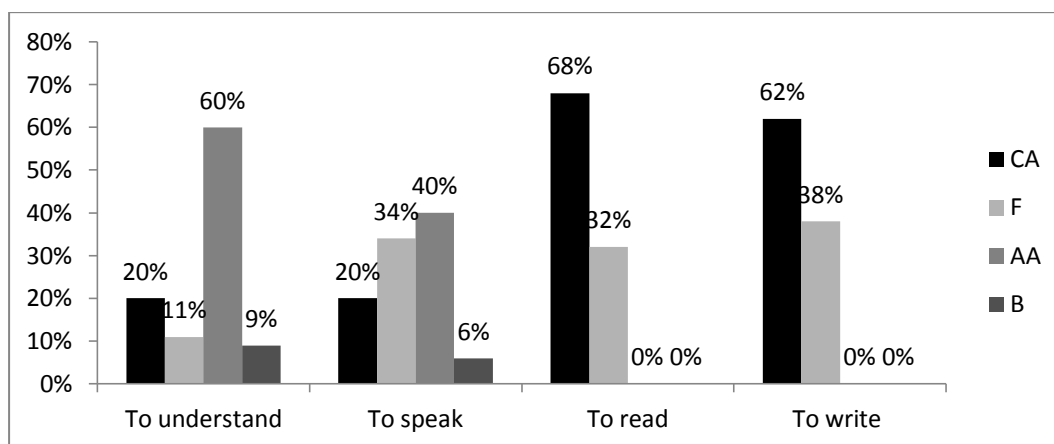
The above question is an attempt to have an overall idea of the degree of competence in the four varieties and in association to attitudes towards them. The graphs show that AA is considered as the easiest variety in relation to speaking (40%) and understanding (60%) it.

In reality, these results were expected. The respondents eventually choose the mother tongue as the easiest variety to speak with and understand. As far as reading and writing is concerned, the participants seem to be very inclined to CA as the easiest language to read (68%) and write (62%) compared with French reading (32%) and writing (38%) scores respectively. These results probably reflect the impact of the arabisation of education mainly. Though CA is the mother tongue of no one, most of the informants understand, read and write it quite easily as a result of their schooling achieved primarily in this variety, as well as their exposure to it in domains such as the media (TV, radio and the newspapers), the mosque and other legal papers written in Arabic for administrative procedures as in the law court cases.

b) Questionnaire B

The following questions are related to the speakers' reading and writing preference. In an attempt to find out what are the most favoured languages for reading books or newspapers; and for writing letters, SMS and e-mails, we found the following results:

1) Which languages do you prefer for…?
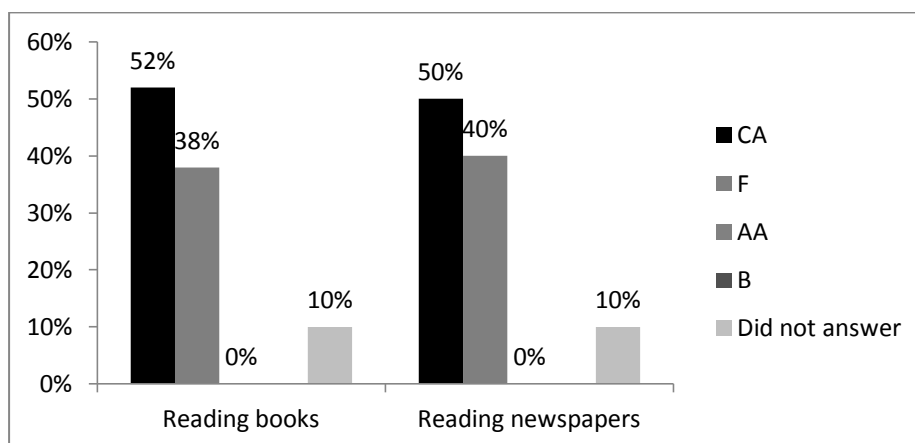
According to the graphs, 52% of the participants prefer reading books in CA. Similarly, 50% of the informants prefer reading newspapers also in CA. Those who answered so are probably young readers who have been educated in CA and have a better mastery of it compared to F. However, there were participants who selected F as their favourite language

for reading books (38%) and newspapers (40%). It is clear that these informants have a positive attitude towards French and above all a good proficiency in the target language. They represent old retired persons who received their education in F mainly and specialized professionals in their disciplines that require F documentations such as language students, teachers, researchers, doctors, etc. Another reason behind the participants' choice of F is the considerable amount of French books and publications that are available to them.

2) In which language do you prefer writing …?
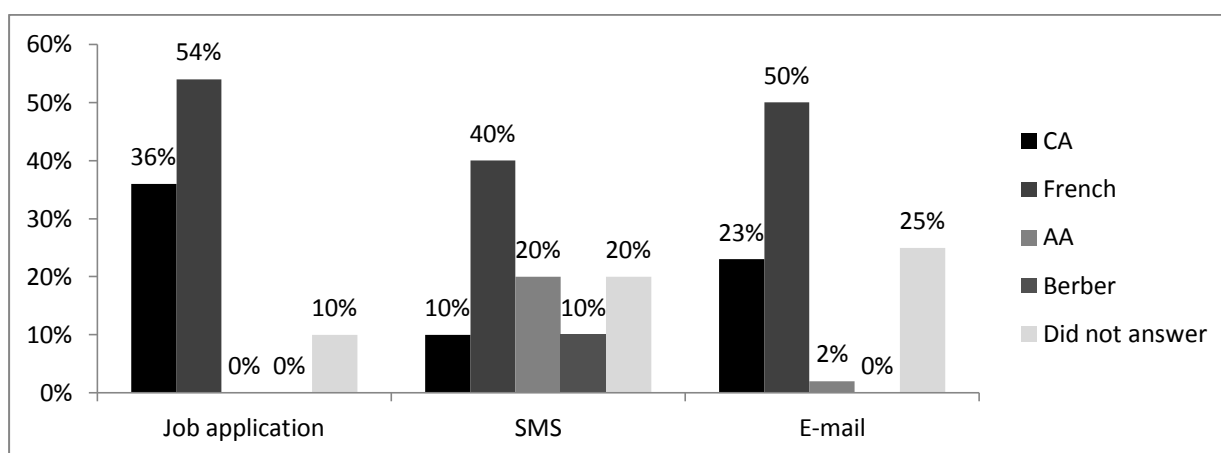
The most important remark we can notice is that there is a general preference for French (54%) language when writing. The second characteristic we can note is the predominance of F for administrative letters such as job applications. The reason for such choice is that the Algerian administrations still operate in French despite the imposed legislations regarding the use of Arabic. Writing in F requires a certain proficiency in the language, so those who write in French transmit an imbedded desire to show their competence in French language. Still, there are some informants who prefer writing in CA (36%). They are participants who have received their education in Arabic and hence acquired a certain ability in writing it. There were housewives and students who did not answer this question.

On the other hand, a great number of the participants selected French (40%) as their favourite language for writing messages on their mobiles. Obviously, they have a quite good command of the language and a positive attitude towards it use. Some of them said that the reason they write in F is because their cell phones have only French alphabet however they sometimes write Arabic with French alphabet (20%). The people who did not answer represent informants who claim not to use the SMS at all and other participants who prefer to write in English.

For writing e-mails, the respondents choose F (50%). This is highly associated to the fact that F is the language of modern times and that of technological advancement. Some of them said that they are obliged to write in F as their PC's have keyboard with Latin characters. Others prefer to write in English. Writing in CA was not dismissed though. In fact, some respondents prefer to write in CA not only e-mails but also comments on Facebook and similar web sites. They said that they want to signal that they are Arabs and they have to preserve their language against foreign languages. Noticeably, these participants show a quite positive attitude towards CA.

3) In which language do you prefer watching/ listening to …?
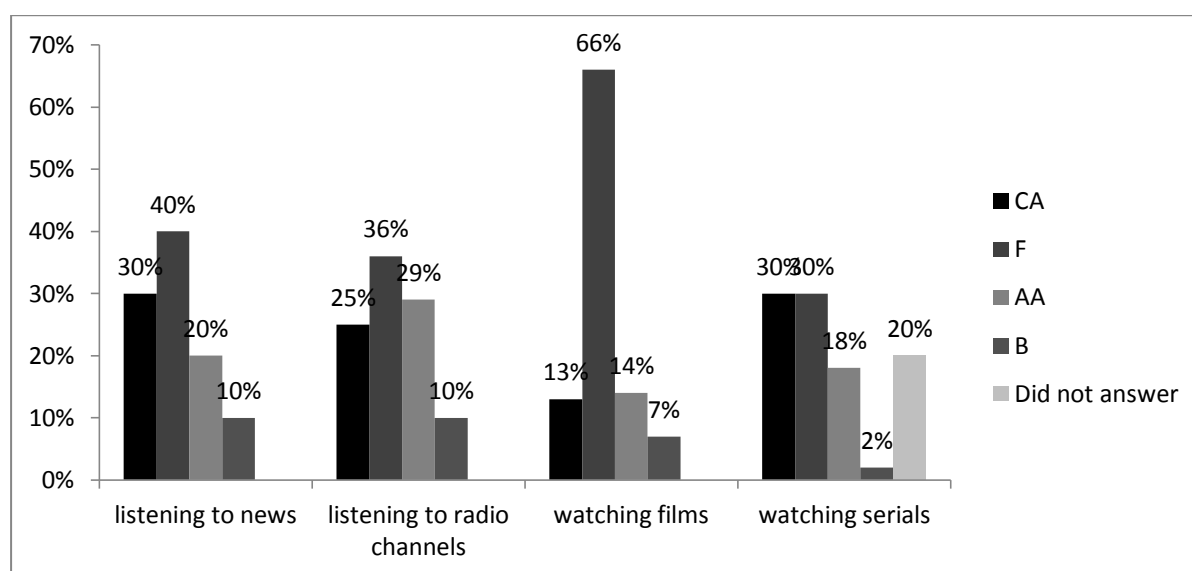
From the graphs above we can deduce that French holds the highest scores for all media preferences. In fact, 40% of the informants prefer listening to French broadcasting news. Men prefer French channels for their premium ways of broadcasting different international news and also for their credibility. Lately, this credibility is highly questioned because we no longer differentiate the broadcasting news scenarios from the movies.

As far as the radio is concerned, both F and AA radio programmes are listened to, especially music and entertainment programmes. A good number of the participants (29%) prefer listening to AA programmes. Similarly, Berber-speaking (10%) participants prefer listening to radio programmes broadcasted in Berber varieties. In fact, each region in Algeria has its own radio channel that its listeners tune to hear their local news in their dialectal variety.

As far as television programmes are concerned, F again is evoked by the respondents. 66% of the participants prefer watching films in F for the quality associated with their making and the interest they arouse. However, currently many English and French films are dubbed into Arabic. As for those who selected CA (13%) films as their favourite, they justify their choice by claiming that they like watching religious films produced in Arabic. This reflects the religious value of CA. On the other hand, AA films are also favoured by a good number of the participants (14%). Some people like watching comedy or social films that deal with social issues in their mother tongue as a means of entertainment. The same would be said for Berber- speakers who prefer watching films in their native language.

As for serials, an equal number of the participants (30%) favoured CA and French serials. Women tend mainly to favour CA not because they are proficient in CA but mainly because of the plots, actors and high quality of shooting. Yet, they also prefer watching serials of different dialects in Arabic such as Egyptian and Syrian. AA serials are also favoured by 18% of the participants. These people said they prefer watching something they can identify with and AA serials seem to reflect issues of their society. Similarly, Berber-speakers (2%) prefer to watch serials in their mother tongue. This is to maintain their language use mainly. The two groups show a positive attitude towards their mother tongue.

3.8. Conclusion

Multilingualism in Algeria should not be seen as a problem to the country, in the contrary it is highly recommended in this multicultural world. The coexistence of French and Arabic is very favourable for the development of the country. Attitudes towards the languages of Algeria seem to be quite consistent throughout the community of Mascara. The subjects from different groups did not have widely different attitudes. We noticed that Classical Arabic still holds its prestigious place as it is seen as the language of the sacred Quran. French is also important for the subjects, especially, to be accepted as the language of modernity and scientific teaching. However, Algerian Arabic and Berber have negative attitudes in the eyes of the participants, since the two varieties are seen as the low variety that cannot fulfil vital functions like a high variety does.

Chapter Four

Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes Towards the Particle 'ma'

4.   Sociolinguistic variation and Attitudes towards the use of the particle 'ma'

4.1. Introduction

Variation due to differences between men and women are manifested at different levels of language, and the aim in this chapter is to add empirical support to the hypothesis that gender plays a crucial role in language variation and change. On the other hand, the level of education is assumed to play a prominent role in the use and development of linguistic forms. Holistically, in this chapter, we tried to combine two large scopes: sociolinguistic variation and language attitudes through the use of the particle 'ma' in the community of Mascara. Firstly, we have focused on the relationship between variation and two main variables: gender and level of education. Secondly, we analysed speakers' attitudes towards the use of this particle. The sociolinguistic data were collected by questionnaire and observation.

Before proceeding into details about the definition of the particle 'ma' and the analysis of the questionnaire results, we should start by introducing Mascara city. The following pages describe the history and geography of Mascara.

4.2. Mascara: historical background

Regarding the important role that the geographical environment and the historical events played in the lives of the people of Mascara, it is imperative to give an overview of the history and geography of the area. I will emphasize on facts that revealed the importance that the city gained among other Algerian Western cities through its social, economic and political role.

Mascara is a province situated in north western Algeria. It is divided into 16 districts (daïras), which are divided into 47 communes. It counts more than 760 523 inhabitants (2010 estimation) living in an area of about 5.941 km^2. Mascara lies along the Beni Chougrane Mountains at 2000 ft. above sea level, on both sides of the Wadi Toudman. It is located in the south of the Atlas Mountains, from the hill of Griss in the west to Beni Chougrane Mountains on the northwest. Mascara has good road and rail connections with other urban centres of Algeria. Relizane is 65 km northeast, Sidi Bel Abbes 90 km southwest, Oran 96 km northwest, Saida 80 km south, Mostaganem 80 km north and Tiaret 105 km northeast.

 Mascara is considered as an agricultural wilaya. Its agricultural surface zones extend to over 310.880 ha. The city blends the old with the new and is an important industrial, administrative and agricultural centre providing such annual crops as grains, dates, grapes,

olive oil, citrus fruit, potato and tobacco. Wine production is a major industry. The wines produced in Mascara are known for their high quality throughout the world. Light industries include chemical and pesticide production. It also has an administrative importance as well as a commercial one.

The etymology of the word Mascara finds its origin in Oum el Assakir (mother of soldier) or Mouaskar (gathering place) which means a military garrison. Considered as one of the most ancient known cities before the prehistoric era (500 year B.C), Mascara is also distinguished by the existence of ' the Man of Palikao' in Tighennif known as a human species that lived there during the 'Stone Age'.

With reference to the origins of Bani Chougrane بني 'شقران and their descendents, there is evidence that this area was initially inhabited by Berber tribes before Roman existence and Arab conquest. When the Arabs arrived in this area, they found it populated by Berbers who had very organized resistance mainly in the mountains. Afterwards, Berber and Arab tribes lived peacefully together sharing national conscience within one community.

Mascara city and its rural surroundings were originally inhabited by the Zenata زناتة , a Berber tribe. These tribes moved to Fekan before the Arab conquest and made it their market. Then, an Arabic tribe of Banu Souwaed invaded their area. These motions are the only valid data recorded on the people and their development through historical periods prior to the Ottoman entity in this region. History does not record the exact date on which Mascara was created. However, it was significantly cited in writing of great historians such as El Bekir, El Edrissi and Ibn Haoukel.

The people who lived in Mascara during the Islamic period were composed of:

(1) Banu Togin بنوتوجين (natives from Zenata tribes)
(2) Hachem الحشم(used by kings of Banu Ziane بنو زيان to control Banu Togin who got out of Tlemcen)
(3) Al Moravids (came from Morocco and El Saguia el Hamera الساقية الحمراء)
(4) Al keraghela الكراغلة(from Ottoman origin but they were very few)

The most famous Berber tribes that lived in Bani Chougrane are Meghawra مغاورة. They constitute a Berber tribe that comes from West Wencharis Mountains جبال الونشريس. In the 13th century, the Arabic tribe of Banu Souwaed settled in Bani Chougrane mountains, during the Hammadits dynasty. Ibn khaldoun mentioned the tribe of Bani Souwaed in his book. He states

that they lived in Bani Chougran mountains during the war between Khaled Ben Amer and Bani Souwaed. He reported that from 1070 to 1072, Mascara was conquered by Youssef Ibn Techfine, the founder of the Almohadids dynasty.

We can draw a map to show the geographical distribution of the tribes that settled in Bani Chougran before the Turkish entity[28]:

- In the North: Zenata Berber tribes which were Howara, Beni Rachid, Meghrawa and Mediouna.
- In Southern Bani Chougran: Arabic tribes which were Habra, Bani Amer in South East Mostaganem and South Oran; and the tribe of Souwaed, Flita and Hamian in South Mascara.

The natural location of the Mounts of Bani Chougran made it a strategic place for historical realms such as Berbers and Romans. Then, it was a good destination for Arabs and other people coming from Andalousia, in addition to being a passage for the Turkish Army and the capital of the Beylik of the West. Later on, it stood as a citadel for the Mujahidin during the Algerian revolution against the French army.

4.3. Mascara: a symbol of resistance

Emir Abdelkader was a political and military leader who led a struggle against the French invasion in the mid-19th century. Mascara, his place of birth was the capital chosen by Emir Abdel Kader during his resistance against early French colonialism from 1830 to 1847. For a decade, he scored many victories. He often signed tactical truces with the French, but these did not last. His power base was in the western part of Algeria, where he was successful in uniting the tribes against the French. Until the beginning of 1842, the struggle went in his favour; however, the resistance was put down by Marshal Bugeaud. Emir Abdelkader and his family were detained in France at first and then in Damascus. He died in Damascus on 26 May 1883 and was buried there.[29] His career, as it stands before the public eye is without a counterpart in the annals of great and extraordinary men.

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[28] Adda, Ben Daha (2005), 'Mascara through History', Ed Dar Alkhaldounia, 74- 75
[29] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdelkader_El_Djezairi#cite_note-13

Geographical characteristics of Mascara[30]

4.4. Some characteristics of Mascara dialect

For Algerian dialects, we can make the distinction between urban and rural dialects. These differences are on phonological, morphological and lexical levels. According to Cantineau (1939) the realization of ' ق ', /qaf/ can make the difference between bedouin (when /ق/ is realized as voiced /g/) and urban. (when /ق/ is realised as uvular /qaf/, velar /kaf/ or glottal ʔ)

As far as the Mascarian dialect is concerned, we can say that it is supposed to be a rural dialect since the /ق/ is realized as /g/ such as /gal/ for /qal /'قال' (he said).

The interdental fricatives 'ث' /Ɵ/, 'ذ' / ð/ and 'ظ' / đ / kept their original pronunciation as in CA. Palatal affricate 'ج' /ʒ/ is pronounced /ʤ/ as in /ʤæ:b/ (he brought).

There exists some lexical variation in the Mascarian dialect such as the use of / ɣurjan/ to refer to a child. In his work 'Lexical Variation among Arabic Dialects in Algeria', Bouamrane (1990) found that the percentage of lexical cognition between the Mascarian dialect and CA is 68.68 %, which he considered as a low score compared to other dialects.

- **The linguistic particle 'ma'**

The Mascarian dialect is distinctively known for the use of /ma/, a variable that all native members in the community use it and are aware of. Being an active participant of this speech community, I decided to investigate the ambiguity behind the use of this specific linguistic feature exclusively in this area, as no other Algerian dialect seems to share this linguistic feature.

4.5. Hypothesis

Based on the research questions, the following hypotheses are proposed for this study. Our hypothesis seems to suggest that this particle /ma/ is used as a negative particle for tag questions in the speech of Mascarians. It is highly related to men and people of higher educational level seem to avoid its use due to their negative attitude.

This particle is highly stigmatized due to the reactions of non-natives whenever they hear it. People who use the particle /ma/ are generally embarrassed and tend to avoid it with strangers since these latter ironically laugh at such a particle. And now, even young native Mascarians tend to avoid it, so there is no place for such particle in times where French and English words are so fashionable and at the same time a necessity.

4.6. Research questions of the study

The use of the particle /ma/ in the speech of Mascarians is a widespread phenomenon in this area exclusively. So, I interviewed my informants and I asked them what characterizes the most the Mascarian speech? They all agreed upon the use of the linguistic particle /ma/. However, while investigating its use, I recorded a certain negative attitude towards it especially university students who tend to avoid its use. Our objectives of the study are to seek answers to these research questions:

1) What are the characteristics of Mascara spoken Arabic in relation to language use and attitudes towards language behaviour?
2) To what extent can gender and level of education affect speech variation?

4.7. Data collection

In trying to collect suitable data for this research, we selected the following examples. These instances represent short passages that I wrote down whenever I heard someone using the particle/ma/ in his or her speech. In general, I was acting as normal as I could, however very alert to the speech of others in order to catch appropriate sentences. Along one year I wrote down and transcribed speech anonymously in private and public places with relatives and strangers. I wanted to pick from each context at least three examples, this is why I chose various topics of spontaneous speech from men and women, young and adults, educated people and non educated as well.

4.7.1. The questionnaire

This investigation of language use and language attitudes was carried out by means of a questionnaire. I printed two versions of my questionnaire: in Arabic and French. I handed to each participant the questionnaire according to their preferences. The questionnaire was divided into two main sections: the first one investigating the attitudes of the Mascarians towards their own dialect. The second part focuses on the use of the negative particle /ma/ and the attitude of the participants towards it. To answer the questions, the subjects had to choose only one answer out of a multiple-choice series.

4.7.2. The informants

Those who participated to the questionnaire were one hundred (100) people (see below table 1 and 2) all natives among them fifty (50) males and fifty (50) females, aged between nineteen and seventy-nine of different levels of education and various occupations. Not all of informants were born or raised up in Mascara, among them two kabyle families and one M'zab family members consisting of 12 Berber-speakers; however they are still living in downtown Mascara. By downtown, I mean the city centre and its surroundings in contrary to rural and countryside. In order to have a valid representative sampling, the questionnaire was distributed to informants occupying different functions. I grouped them as follows:

- Group one: (13 informants) Unemployed informants (housewives, retired persons…)
- Group two: (20 informants) Pupils and university students
- Group three: (30 informants) Public professions and wage earners (administrators, teachers…)
- Group four: (20 informants) Liberal professions (doctors, architects, lawyers, managers…)
- Group five: (17 informants) Traders and others (taxi drivers, hair dressers, waiters...)

Level of education	Male (%)	Female (%)
Primary school	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
Middle school	7 (7%)	4 (4%)
High school	17 (17 %)	19 (19%)
University	25 (25%)	25 (25%)
Total	50 (50%)	50 (50%)

4.1. Distribution of the respondents by gender and level of education

Age	Informants
Under 20	4 (4%)
[20 – 29]	24 (24%)
[30- 39]	21 (21%)
[40 – 49]	30 (30%)
[50 – 59]	9 (9%)
[60 – 69]	7 (7%)
[70 – 79]	5 (5%)

4.2. Distribution of informants by age

Concerning the birthplace of the informants, a small number of them were born and raised up in different cities and the dairas of Mascara. However, all of them are living in Mascara for more than three years. The table bellow classifies the nineteen from the one hundred informants with their corresponding birthplaces:

Birthplaces	Number of informants
Mascara dairas	11
Other cities	8

4.8. The Linguistic particle /ma/

At first, one would ask what is the significance of this particle /ma/ and when is it used? When, I interviewed some sociolinguistic researchers, university lecturers and historians, they all agreed upon one similar answer, it is "the simplification of the Arabic question 'ما بك؟' or 'ما بالك؟' in Algerian Arabic it would be 'مالك؟', which means 'what is wrong with you?'. There is another acceptable hypothesis which suggests that it is the simplification of the question ' ما هو؟', which means what is? The question is contracted by keeping only the interrogative word /ما/ and omitting the rest of the question. Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence (written materials) of how, when and why the question went through such process of simplification. This would rather be found out via a diachronic study of this variation. Because this particle has not been documented before this work, its historical development consists a handicap and only speculations in this present sociolinguistic study.

However, the purpose of this study is merely to demonstrate the use of this linguistic particle following a quantitative and synchronic approach at the level of two social factors: gender and level of education.

Versteegh claims that there were many interrogative pronouns and adverbs of different languages that were subject to pidginization through time. He says that these pronouns and adverbs which "are expressed in the target language by means of lexicalized forms that are semantically inexpressive, they are replaced by nominal periphrases with a much more concrete content." (1984:96) He quotes a few English-based examples from Tok Pisin that Bauer (1974:66-67) cited such as: *wanem* (*what name?)* "what?", *husat* (*who's that?)* "who?", *wataim* (*what time?)* "when?". He also notes that there are two sets of interrogative pronouns and adverbs in French creoles. The first one represents the periphrastic development, whereas the other is derived from the normal French interrogative pronouns and adverbs. He gives examples from Seychellois French Creole where he finds for instance both *kā* and *keler* (*quelle heure?)* for "when?", and both *komā* and *ki maỹer* (*quelle manière?)* for "how?" Here, we can see the effect of decreolization at work again. (Versteegh, 1984:96)

Furthermore, he notes that for the modern Arabic dialects, the replacement of the Classical interrogative pronouns and adverbs by nominal periphrases has often been noted in studies about their origin and structure, but this phenomenon has never been connected with an explanation of the process that led to their origin.

Fischer & Jastrow (1980:85-86) report the fact that in modern Arabic dialects most interrogative adverbs have been replaced by a periphrastic expression and, in particular, the fact that Classical *man* 'من؟' and *mā* 'ما؟' have practically disappeared. I disagree with them on this point because according to our study in Mascara dialect, the use of interrogative /ma/ apparently did not disappear as they claim.

Versteegh (1984:97) compares the most important interrogative adverbs and pronouns in a few modern Arabic dialects. He finds that in most cases some of the Classical forms have been replaced, and that in some cases there are parallel forms, one of them being a periphrastic expression, and the other as the reflection of the Classical form just like French creoles described above. He also finds that in other cases the reflection of the Classical form seems to be the only one available. He presents a sample of some Arabic modern dialect and their different ways of expressing interrogative forms.

	Moroccan	Syrian	Egyptian	Uzbekistan Arabic (Fischer 1961)
When	*fuq-aš, waqt-as*	*'ēmta*	*'imta*	*matā*
What	*aš, š-, šnu*	*šū, 'eš*	*'ēh*	*ēš*
Where	*fayn, fin*	*wēn, fēn*	*fēn*	*ēsāb (< ayy sāb)*
Who	*skun*	*min*	*mīn*	*min*
Why	*'las*	*lēš*	*lēh*	*lī, šinī*
How	*kif*	*kīf, šlōn*	*'izzāy, 'izzayy*	*ištūr(<ayyusay'intawr)*
How much	*šhal*	*'addēš*	*'addǐ'ēh*	*kam*

	Lebanese (Bišmizzīn)	Maltese (St. Julian's)	Cypriot Arabic (Borg 1982)	Chad Arabic (Abbéché)
When	*'aymtīn, 'aymta*	*šhīn*	*mītan*	*mata, mitēn*
What	*'aš, 'ayš*	*ši-*	*ayš, aš*	*šinu*
Where	*wayn*	*foeyn*	*ayn, an*	*wēn*
Who	*min*	*min*	*men*	*yätu*
Why	*layš, lay*	*ąqlis*	*kifta (< kayfa hatt*	*le šinu, māla*
How	*kif*	*kif*	*aššik(<ayššikl)*	*kikēf*
How much	*'iddayš, 'idday*	*koemm*	*aška(<ayšqadr)*	*kam*

Comparative sample of interrogative adverbs and pronouns in some modern Arabic dialects (Versteegh, 1984:97)

In Arabic grammar books, the interrogative pronouns are used to fulfill different literary purposes. Arabic interrogative forms can be used to report or wish. They are also used as forms of admonition, reprimand, cynicism and negation. There are many examples of interrogative form in the Quran that were used to fulfill different purposes such as:

"wa ma lakum ʔla taʔkulu: mima ðɔkira ismu allah ʕalajh" 'وما لكم ألا تأكلوا مما ذكر اسم الله عليه'

(Al-ʔAnʕAM الأنعام: 119)

In this Quoranic verse the interrogative form includes negation on what abstain from the action as there is nothing that prevents from doing it. The translation in English says: "And why should you not eat of that upon which the name of Allah has been mentioned while He has explained to you in detail"

In Arabic grammar, the interrogative pronoun /ma/ has many functions. It can be used as a relative pronoun, a preposition, or negative particle and many more usages. We are more concerned with /ma/ as a negative particle. It is also called /ma/ higaziyya. Syrians, for instance use /ma baʔrif/ or /la ʔʕrif/ when replacing 'ma' or 'la' with 'laysa hijaziyya', the meaning is the same /lasto ʔʕrif/ which means 'I don't know'. In fact, a well-known difference between the Higaz and the Tamim dialects is the construction of /ma/ as a nominal negator. According to the grammarians, /ma/ could be construed in the same way as the verb laysa ', ليس'to be not' with an accusative in the predicate e.g. /ma huwa kabiran/ 'he is not

big'. This use of the so called ma higaziyya did not occur in the Eastern dialects. (Versteegh, 2001:45)

From this point, and firstly, my hypothesis concerning the use of /ma/ in the spoken dialect of Mascara is definitely that of a negative particle i.e. /ma/ 'higaziyya' that works as /laysa/ 'to be not'. Secondly, when the negative particle /ma/ occurs in the speech of Mascara it has the function of tag questions.

Based on what has been illustrated above and as long as the dialect under investigation is concerned, the negative particle /ma/ has always one syntactic position. It always occurs sentence-finally in all the speech of Mascarians. In order to demonstrate what has been said, /koul/, for instance, is an imperative verb used in Algerian Arabic to order or invite someone to eat (considering the context). A Mascarian mother talking 'angrily' to her child and ordering him to eat would say: /koul ma/ with a rising intonation, as if she would say in English: "Eat, will you! Or (come on!)" This is to show her authority and power over her kid. Usually, this happens when the imperative verb is repeated for the second time, for instance following the same example, the mother would at first order her child to eat, if he does not obey or listen literally to her, she would shout to order him again to eat using the particle /ma/ at the end.

a) Uses of tag questions

Sociolinguists find it complicated to categorize tag questions. Cameron et al. report that the "task of classifying tag questions 'was not unproblematic', partly because most utterances are multifunctional". (Macaulay, 1998)

In most languages, tag questions are more common in colloquial spoken usage than in formal written usage. They can be an indicator of politeness, emphasis or irony. They may suggest confidence or lack of confidence; they may be confrontational, defensive or tentative. Although they have the grammatical form of a question, they may differ from questions in that they do not expect an answer. In other cases, when they do expect a response, they may indicate to the listener what response is desired.

According to Lakoff, a tag question is a "syntactic device which may express uncertainty" (Holmes, 1994: 318).She showed that tag questions may be used as a hedging or boosting device. However, our study reveals that the particle /ma/ is used to express anything but

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uncertainty. In fact, it is used to focus more on the previous given information. In this case, we have to follow what Holmes (1994) suggests about tag questions as expressing 'affective meaning'. Hudson (1975: 77) argued that "tags, unlike ordinary interrogatives, always express expectation of agreement or disagreement […] .Tag forms seek confirmation, express shared beliefs, or soften imperatives into invitations or requests."

b) Tag questions formation

Tag Questions are formed in several ways. In some languages the most common one is a single word or fixed phrase, whereas in others it is formed by a regular grammatical construction. Tag questions are normally used when the speaker is checking the accuracy of his information. They are tacked onto the end of a statement. In English, such a construction can use only one negative. Thus, an affirmative statement uses a negative tag such as: He is going to London, isn't he? Or the inverse, when a negative statement uses an affirmative tag: He isn't going to London, is he?

Arabic tag questions use a fixed form whether the preceding statement is negative or affirmative:

/ʔa laysa kaðalika ?/ ' أليس كذلك؟ ' for isn't it so?

Arabic speakers have much difficulty in interpreting and properly answering tag questions. This is because English combines two elements in the tag which are foreign to Arabic:

1) Where Arabic uses a set phrase, English uses a repetition of the auxiliary or model.
2) The negative always occurs in the negative tag. In English, the tag is negative only if the statement is affirmative.

Although the basic structure of tag questions is positive-negative or negative-positive, it is sometimes possible to use a positive-positive or negative-negative structure such as: 'So you're having a baby, are you? That's wonderful!' Negative-negative tag questions usually sound rather hostile: So you don't like my looks, don't you? (British English)

In many languages, the tag question is a simple positive or negative. Spanish and Italian use 'no?' as a tag question respectively. Another common formation is equivalent to the English 'correct?' or the informal form 'right?' In fact, the tag 'right?' is common in a number of dialects across the UK and US. Alternatively, a word or short phrase indicating agreement can be used, such as the French 'd'accord?' Finally, some languages have words

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whose only function is a question tag. In Scottish and certain dialects of English, 'eh?' functions this way as French has 'hein?'

In English grammar books, comment tags which can be formed with auxiliary verbs can be used as equivalent to 'really!' or 'indeed!' showing surprised reaction, for instance. The chief use of these tags is to express the speaker's reaction to a statement. By the tone of the person's voice, he or she can signal whether she or he is interested or not, surprised, pleased, angry or suspicious.

In English sometimes question tags are used with imperatives (invitations, orders), but the sentence remains an imperative and does not require a direct answer. We use 'won't' for invitations. We use 'can', 'can't', 'will', would for orders:

Take a seat, won't you? (polite invitation)

Help me, can you? (quite friendly order)

Help me, can't you? (quite friendly with some irritation order)[31]

c) Intonation

We can change the meaning of a tag question with the musical pitch of our voice. English tag questions can have a rising or a falling intonation pattern. With a rising intonation, it sounds like a real question. As a rule, the English rising pattern is used when soliciting information or motivating an action, that is, when some sort of response is required. But if our intonation falls, it sounds more like a statement that doesn't require a real answer[32]:

Example	intonation		meaning
You don't know where my wallet is,	do you?	/ rising	real question
It's a beautiful view,	isn't it?	\ falling	not a real question

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[31] http://www.englishclub.com/grammar/verbs-questions-tag-special.htm

[32] http://www.englishclub.com/grammar/verbs-questions-tag-special.htm

4.9. Material recorded

When studying the pragmatic particle /ma/, one should take into consideration its functional distribution, the speaker's mood, intensions, the addressee and the context. When Mascarians use the negative particle /ma/ or /ma/ 'higaziyya' in their speech, it has the function of tag questions. However, it is never to show uncertainty. On the contrary, it is used as an affirmation device and mainly to focus on the information. I noticed that the Syrian dialect (that of Homs mainly) has a similar application of this particle. In fact, Syrians still use the negative particle /ma/ sometimes /mou/ as a tag question in their dialect.

Here I list some examples in which I heard actors and actresses using the particle 'ma' sometimes 'mou' in different Syrian TV series:

Example (1)

A father was teaching his 5 year old daughter how to pain a boat[33].

Assia, the little girl asked: /hajək **ma**?/: like this, right? (when she was using the brush).

The father replied: /ih hajək/ : yes, like this. (with a smile).

Example (2)

A young man was talking to a manipulative woman[34].

The young man: /bi təfakeri b tilʕabi bi ʕoʔu:l el nas, **ma**?/: you think you can play with people's minds, (right /don't you)?

Example (3)

A brother and sister were talking about how he mistreated his wife and wanted to get divorce[35].

The sister asked: /ʃo sa:r bil maχluʔa ? /: what happened to the poor thing (when you told her you wanted a divorce)

The brother (a deep silence as he was thinking about something), then he replied: /ʔæna ɣelet̪ət **ma**?/ : I was wrong, don't you think?

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[33] From 'Asi', a Turkish Syrian dubbing TV series.
[34] From 'Ask-i memnu', a Turkish dubbing TV series.
[35] From 'Bokaat dhaw 9'a Syrian TV series.

This study was designed to investigate stylistically conditioned occurrences of the particle /ma/ in the speech of Mascarians. Although, the particle /ma/ is a widespread phenomenon in the variety of Mascara, there seems to be no published research on this particle. The following study should therefore add to our knowledge of Mascarian speech behaviour.

In the next section, I give some examples (phrases and sentences) where the particle /ma/ occurred in real speech. I listed down series of several real utterances and classified the particle according to its functional use in regard to the context. I noticed how major occurrences of the negative particle /ma/. The first one after imperatives and the second one right after the negative particle 'no' (ﻻ). I have to emphasize that the subjects mentioned below were all from Mascarian origins.

a) The negative particle /ma/ occurring after imperatives

As discussed above, when the negative particle /ma/ or /ma/ 'hijaziyya' occurs after imperative verbs, it has the function of a tag question. It is said with a rising intonation to show authority. This interrogative form includes negation on what abstain from the action as there is nothing that prevents from doing it. Therefore, the right substitute for the negative particle /ma/ in this case would be 'why don't you?'

Example (1)

At home, a father was talking to his child asking him to put on his trousers.

The father: / ru:h dir serwalək **ma**/

The father used a rising intonation when he used the negative particle /ma/. It was used as a boosting device after the imperative verb. In this case, it was used to show authority and power over the child.

Example (2)

In a private school, a female teacher of 25 years old was shouting at her students ordering them to keep quiet and listen to her.

The teacher: /sukətu: **ma** ! […] haja ha sanətu:li **m (a)**/

The teacher pronounced the first /ma/ with a rising intonation; however, she pronounced the second /m (a)/ with a falling intonation. The first use of /ma/ was used as a boosting device to

show authority. The second use of the particle was used to soften the imperative as a hedging device.

In this particular example, I noticed that /ma/ is lessened and lacks extended vowel. The reason for this is probably because of the /ha/. It is common to add a /ha-/ (هـ) prefix to demonstratives. This prefix will change nothing in the meaning, but this /ha/ is called the 'ha of attention' (هَأْءُ التَّنْبِيْهِ). It is usually used to draw the hearer's attention. The teacher used the particle /m (a)/ with a lessened degree because she already used the /ha-/ to stir up her students attention. However, I also recorded a male speech where he used both the negative particle /ma/ and /ha/ of attention:

A 31 year old magistrate male asked a woman who kept talking to keep silence but she did not listen. So, he shouted at her and said: /ha soketi **ma**/ 'shut up, will you?' He used the particle with a rising tone to impose his words and claim obedience.

Example (3)

A teenage girl was playing in the garden of their house. It was a cold and snowy day, so the mother, who is a housewife of 45 years old, ordered her to enter the house.

The mother: /duχli **ma**?/ 'get inside, why don't you? (since it's very cold).

The mother shows some authority over her daughter when she uses the particle with a rising intonation to be listened to and obeyed.

Example (4)

In a shop, a university student girl of 22 year old was talking to her uncle on his health issues. He already told her, not to send him coffee because of his blood pressure. They changed the topic of conversation. Then, the girl asked him again (as if she has forgotten)…

The girl: /ʃa nerselək ?/

Her uncle: / ma tersliliʃ, la tension raha t̪aləʕa **ma** /

The uncle used the particle /ma/ with a rising intonation which serves as a boosting device to focus on the information.

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Example (5)

In the street, a man was speaking loudly when he saw his friend walking towards him. He asked him how he was doing before getting closer.

The man: /kiræk dajər **ma**?/ (he was smiling, just to sound funny)

The man used the particle /ma/ with a rising intonation to encourage the listener to speak. Such occurrence of the particle mainly after interrogative words such as 'who (is it)…?' /ʃkuːn **ma**? /…etc., is considered to have a facilitative function in order to encourage the other person to reply.

b) The negative particle /ma/ occurring after a negative particle /la/

In this case the basic structure of tag questions is negative-negative structure such as the English expression 'you are not coming, aren't you?' These negative-negative tag questions usually sounds rather hostile. When the negative particle /ma/ occurs after the negative particle /la/, it is the contraction of the question 'what is the matter with …?' or sometimes equivalent to the expression 'no, no way!' The chief use of comment tags is to express the speaker's reaction to a statement, for instance 'really!' can be used to show a surprised reaction. By the tone of the person's voice, we can depict whether she or he is interested or not, surprised, pleased, angry or suspicious. The following examples illustrate what is mentioned before.

Example (1)

A 59 year old father was talking to his elder daughter and the younger son. He referred to a French proverb. He started it and looked at his daughter to finish it but it is the younger son who completed the proverb. Then, the brother asked his sister if she has forgotten the proverb. She was not interested with the subject she was simply eating and did not want to talk.

The father: 'dit moi avec qui tu marches …!'

His son : 'je te dirai qui tu es.'

Then, son looked at his sister and said: /nsitiːha?/

The father replied: / la **ma !**/ astonished how his university student' daughter could forget such a simple proverb. He was surprised as if he did not believe her.

Example **(2)**

A 40 year old university English teacher wanted to sell her car at around 75 million dinars. They offered her 67 millions. Her daughter solicited her to accept, but the mother refused and said: /la sɔkəti: **ma** kifəʃ mən Χamesa w səbʕi:n l səbeʕa w səti:n/

It is clear that the woman was angry and anxious about the price of her car but not over her daughter. She just wanted her not to interfere.

Example (3)

A young man of 25 years old was constantly talking about 'the freemasonry', a secret fraternal organization. His cousin suspected such a big interest or maybe she just wanted to joke about it and said: /ki weli:t ɖanit rak mʕa la franc-maçonnerie? /

The young man was surprised and answered: /la **ma**! /

His rising intonation shows his surprised reaction as if he would say 'no, it is not possible!' or 'no, no way!'

Example (4)

A young mother of 28 years old who lived in Germany was talking with her best friend via Skype. She told her that she has prepared a cake to celebrate her husband's birthday. So, her best friend asked her if she has put candles on the cake. She replied: /la **ma** /! She said it with a rising tone as if she wanted to say 'no, no way!'

4.10. Analysis of the questionnaire

4.10.1. Part one: Speakers's attitudes towards their own dialect

First, in order to analyse the attitude of Mascarians towards their own dialect I handed a questionnaire to 100 participants. The questions were modelled on Labov (2006:420) language attitude in 'The Social Stratification of English in New York City 2nd Ed'. The aim of this section was to find out about attitudinal and affective behaviours towards the Mascarian dialect. I wanted to know the Mascarians' own opinions and attitudes towards their own dialect in general and in a direct way. My respondents were asked to answer the following questions:

1. Have you ever tried to change your speech?
2. Do people recognize you from your accent?
3. Do you think that out-of-town people like Mascara speech?
4. How often do you use Classical Arabic or French words or expressions in your daily conversation?

For these questions, we found the following results:

Questionnaire C

1. Have you ever tried to change your speech?
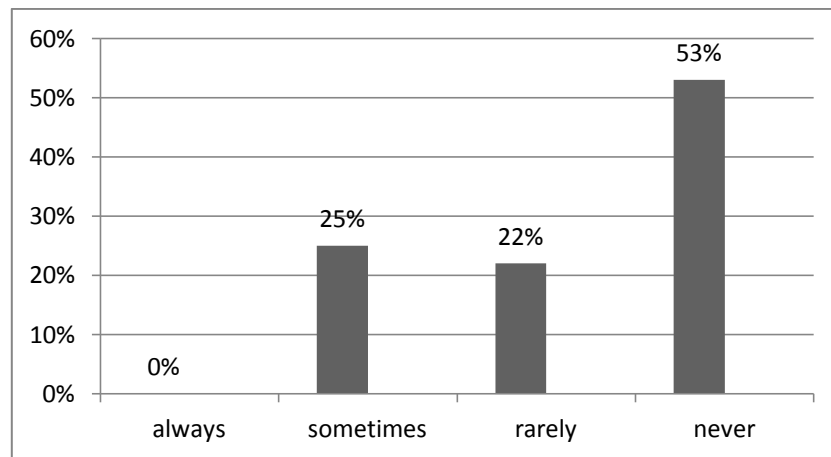
'Dialect' is a general term for socially and geographically linked speech variation, and 'accent' refers to the pronunciation aspects of a dialect. Speakers are not fully consistent in how they use accent or dialect features. However, answering the first question, 53% of the respondents indicated that they never change their accent. These respondents said that they are very proud of their accent and that they are not ashamed of it in order to change it for any reason. Still, 25% of the informants said that they sometimes change their accent. For some, the speaker's accent is not so important as long as the utterance seems to convey the same basic information. Accent features and intonation features can lead to inferences about a speaker's social origins or communicative competence. People who tend to change their accent generally do not want others to know their social origin. People usually change their accent to gain approval of the listener. This shows a certain linguistic insecurity and a negative attitude towards their own dialect.

2. Do people recognize you from your accent?
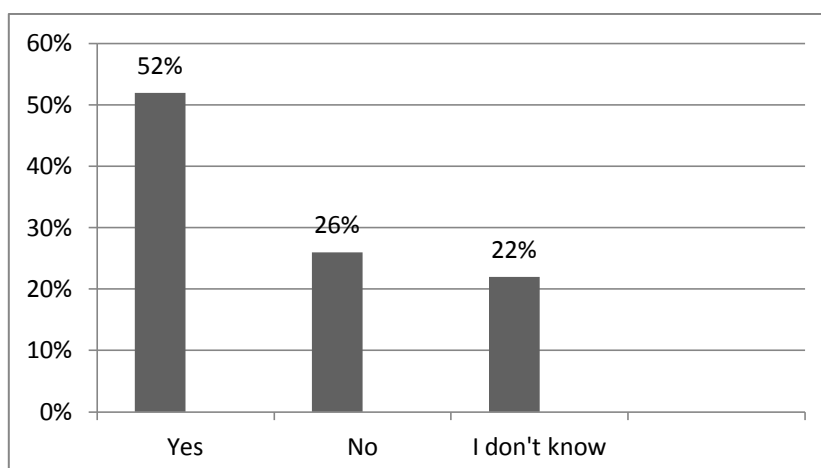
When I asked my informants if people recognize that they are Mascarians just from their accent, 52% of them answered 'yes' and only 26% selected 'no'. The great majority of the informants report that whenever they travel outside of the city, they are quickly identified as Mascarians. This represents social stereotypes as associating forms of speech with racial or ethnic categories. Because each Algerian dialect has its own linguistic features, Algerians in general tend to differentiate easily all sorts of Algerian dialects (Eastern, Western and Southern dialects). This refers to the fact that people's speech reflects their group membership. Linguistic features or indicators of ethnic groups or individuals are sociolinguistic variables that show variation in both 'social' and 'stylistic' dimensions. Finally, we have to agree with those who consider stereotypes as variables that are highly salient to speakers and are subject to overt comment and control.

3. Do you think that out-of-town people like Mascara speech?
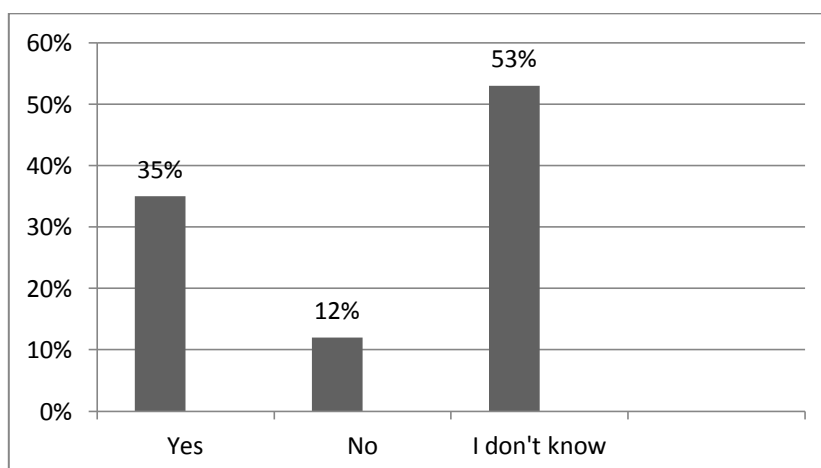
It is clear from the results that the majority (53%) of my informants avoided this question and answered that they do not know whether people who are non-Mascarian like this dialect. For those who answered 'yes' (35%), assuming that others like their dialect, it has connotations of more positive attitudes towards it. Yet, only 12% of the informants selected 'no' as an answer. Clearly, these informants have negative attitudes towards their own dialect. Or maybe there were people who told them that they do not like the Mascarian dialect. Once again, the choice to like or dislike a language, a dialect, an accent is usually based upon personal and subjective viewpoints. Sometimes past experiences with a certain dialect whether good or bad shape our attitude towards it for good.

4. How often do you use Classical Arabic or French words or expressions in your daily conversation?
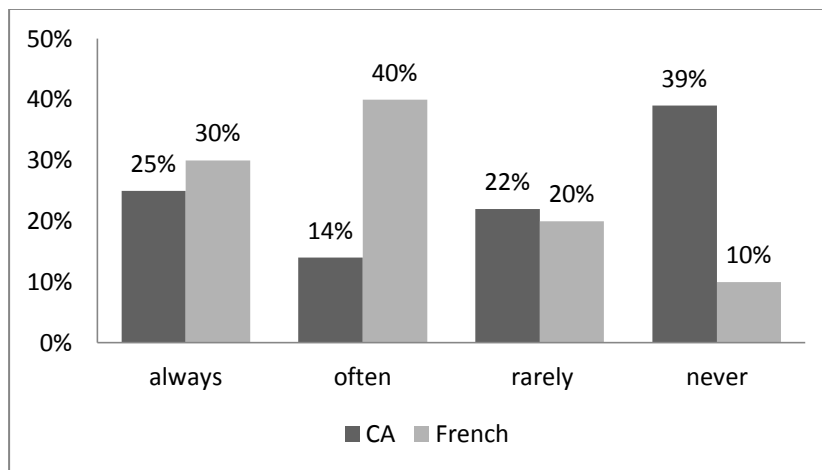
Because the question requires frequency of use of CA or F words or expressions, there is no specification in the informants' answers about the ways and contexts in which CA or F are practised. The high score shows that a good number of the participants (40%) often use French in a moderate use and mixing it with AA in the forms of borrowings and code switching. However, very few respondents (10%) claim they never use French in everyday interaction, probably not considering borrowings as French occurrences.

The results, represented in the graph above, reveal that the majority of the respondents (39%) claim that they never use Classical Arabic expressions or words in their everyday speech. The lack of vitality of CA makes it of an unactive use restricted only on the classrooms. As we know nobody speaks CA in a natural way in everyday conversations,

however, this does not prevent some from using 'religious' expressions or 'technical' words following the specific contexts such as the use of /sobhana allah/ 'Hallelujah' or/allah akbar/ 'Allah is the greatest'. 25% of the informants claim that they always use CA expressions for proverbs or verses from the Quran to persuade or exemplify within their conversations. We have to note that such a use requires the ability in the target language, so these informants have a good proficiency in CA.

4.10.2. Part two: Speakers' use and attitudes towards the particle 'ma'

The second section of the questionnaire is a collection of questions that I formulated according to personal observation and following general forms of questions related to language use and speech accommodation This section analyses the use of the particle 'ma' in relation to gender and level of education. I wanted to verify whether the use of /ma/ is associated with embarrassment and mockery or not and if it is generally avoided with strangers (non- Mascarians) or outside Mascara; while it is greatly used by its natives exclusively with relatives and without prejudice or negative attitudes.

The speakers under study had to answer the questions in my presence and I sometimes intervened to clarify some questions when they asked me. I noted that some of them hesitated and then took some time to answer language use related questions. This may have a twofold explanation. Firstly, these people were surprised and at the same time embarrassed that such a particle is examined. Secondly, it takes time to remember when and why one uses the particle since it is articulated unconsciously.

We shall start the analysis of each question considering the use of the particle/ma/ and the attitude of the speakers towards it, according to gender and level of education. Below, I display graphs of the questions calculated results, including their possible interpretations.

a) **Speakers' use of the particle /ma/ according to gender and level of education**

Questionnaire D

**Question 1. Do you use the particle /ma/ in your speech?**
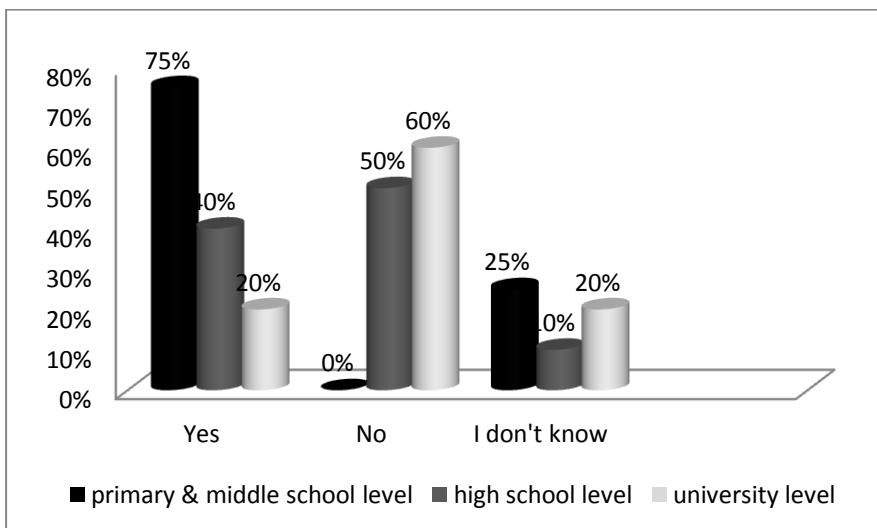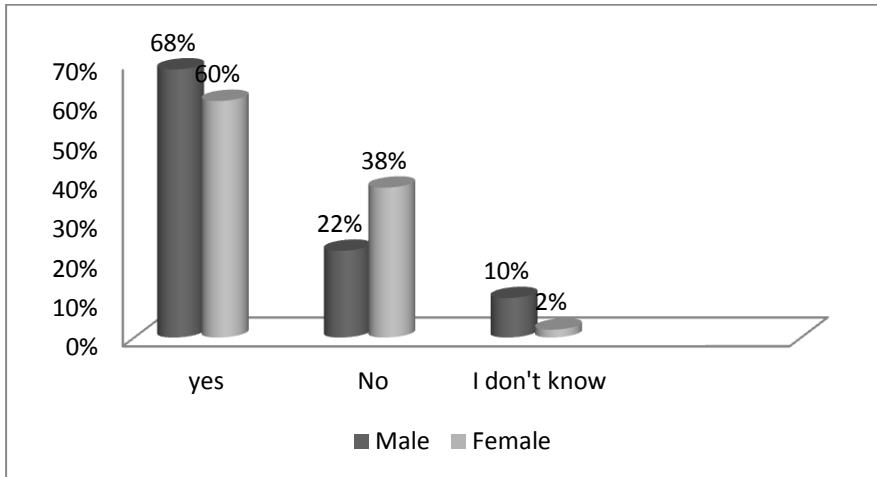
The graph for the first question concerning gender distribution indicates that both men (68%) and women (60%) admitted that they use the particle /ma/ in their speech. This high score reflects the widespread use of this particle among Mascarians. Some features are perceived as membership markers more than others this is the case of the particle /ma/. It represent a marker for this society. One would expect to know that a person using the particle /ma/ is from Mascara just from his speech.

However, 38% of the female and 22% of the male participants claim not to use it at all. Some of them may probably be Berber- speakers others were not born or raised in Mascara. 10% of

the males and 2% of the female participants did not know what to answer. It shows a certain 'linguistic insecurity'.

As far as the level of education is concerned, it seems that informants with low level of education (75%) use the particle /ma/ more than the informants with high level of education (20%). This again confirms our initial assumptions concerning the university students who avoid its use. In this question, it is clear that they denied their use even though they actually use it. In fact, I observed informants who use the particle frequently but did not select the right answer. Why? This will be discussed in another question.

Question 2. How often do you use the particle /ma/?
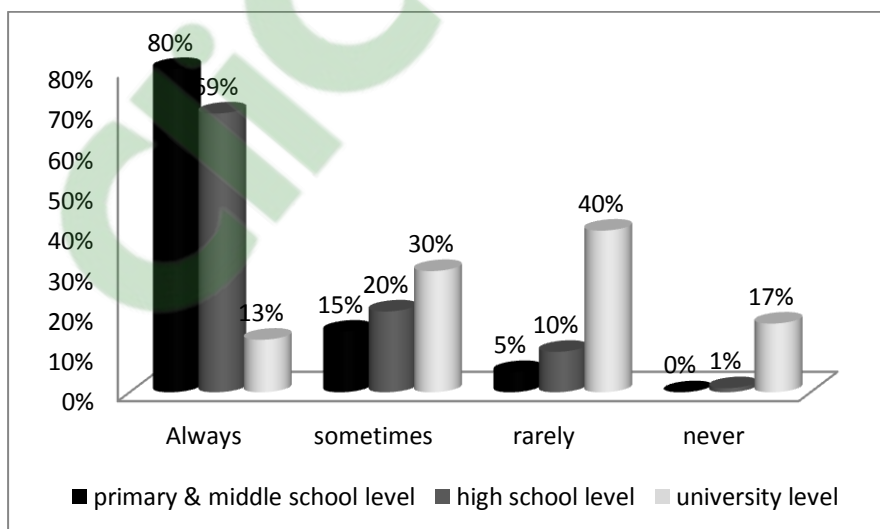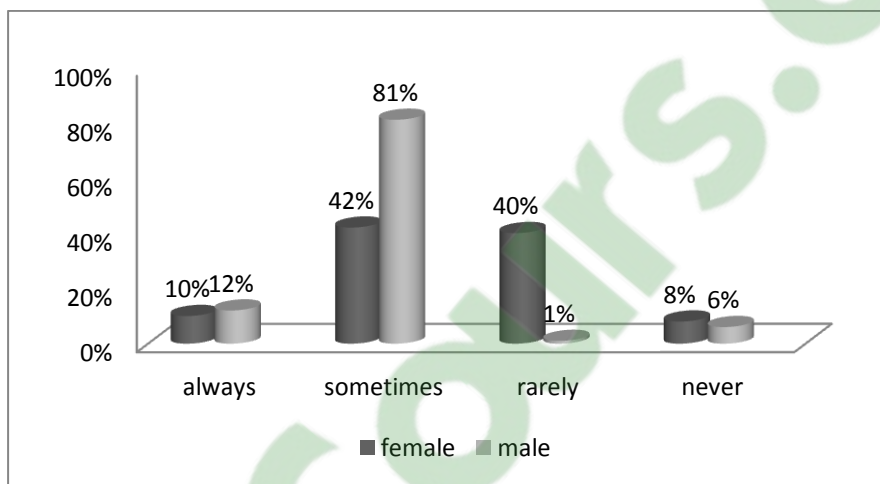
The graphs for question 2 indicate that the percentage of men (81%) who sometimes use the particle /ma/ is higher than that of the women (42%) who sometimes do. This is probably due to the fact that men use more vernacular forms than women. In this case and especially

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with these people the use of the particle /ma/ is associated with 'toughness and masculinity'. The women insisted on this reason as the cause of their avoidance of the use of this particle. However, they all agreed that they use the particle /ma/ unconsciously. The remaining answers show that only 40% of the female informants rarely use the particle. Even though, 8% (female) and 6% (male) admitted that they never use the particle /ma/ in their speech. Some of them represent Berber-speakers who tend to speak in their own accent.

As far as the level of education is concerned, the graphs show that people with primary and middle school level (80%) always use the particle /ma/ in their speech. They are similarly compared with people with high school level (69%) who 'always' use it. People with university level (40%) declared that they rarely use the particle; however, 30% of them do sometimes use it. This can be explained by the fact that they are more aware of the linguistic behaviour and the role it plays to signal the socio-cultural background. We can deduce that our informants with higher level of education seem to drop the use of the 'stigmatized' particle. Yet, this stigmatization remains merely a subjective assumption.

Question 3. Do your parents use the particle/ma/ in their speech?
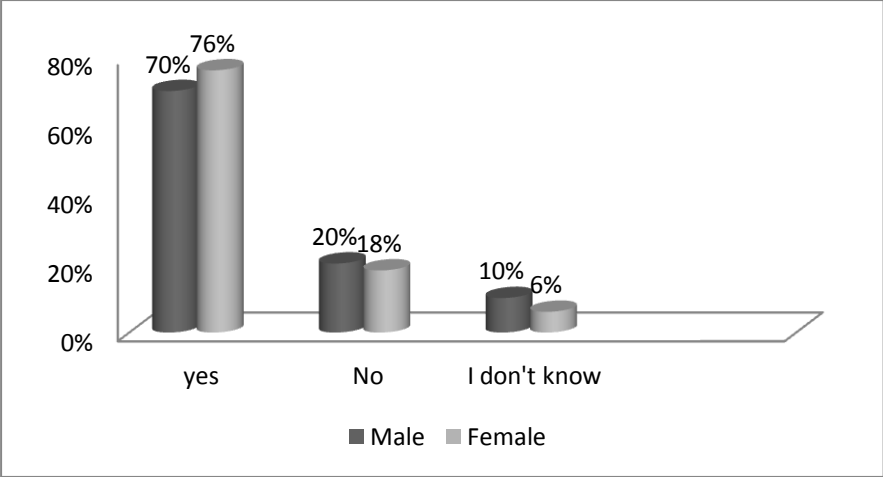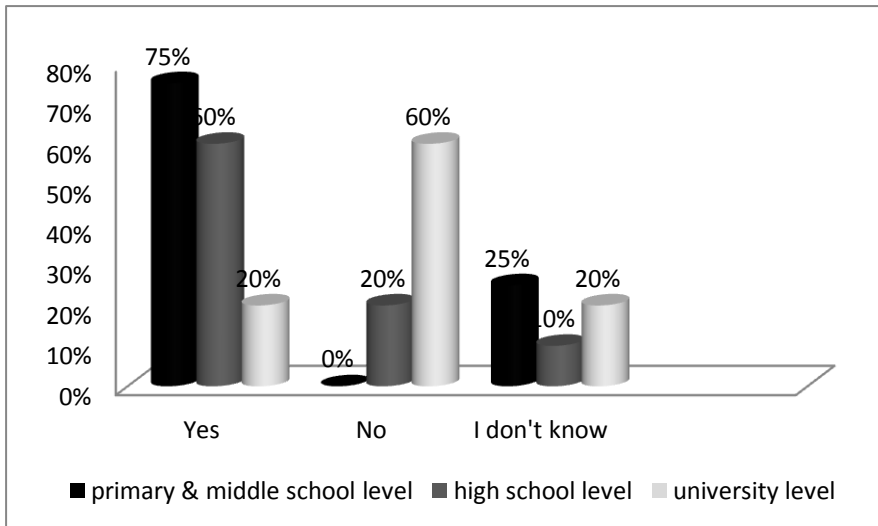
The graphs for question 6 show that parents of both men (70%) and women (76%) use the particle /ma/ in their speech. This applies to all the educational levels as well. It is generally known in sociolinguistics that language is inherently variable. Basically, the informants insisted on the fact that they speak the variety of their elders, who also spoke the language variety of their grand-parents and so on. This reflects the importance of maintaining original variety with its psychological and moral value on the speakers.

Question 4. Do your children or young siblings use the particle /ma/ in their speech?
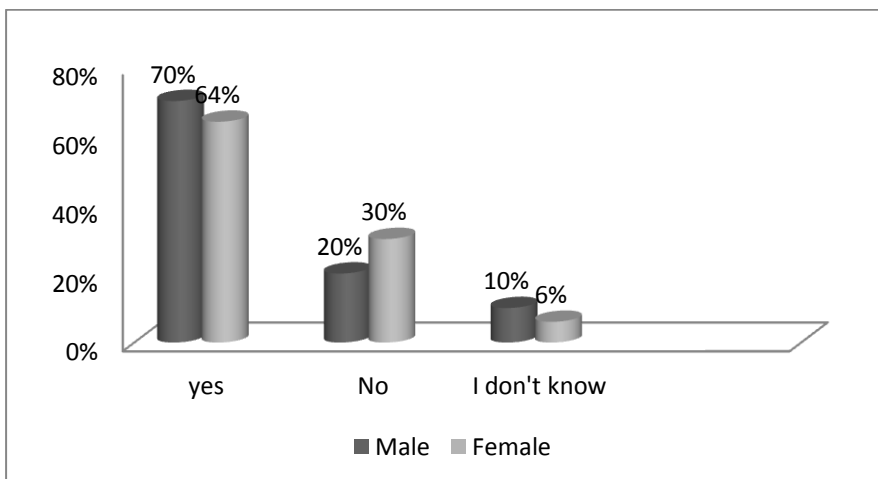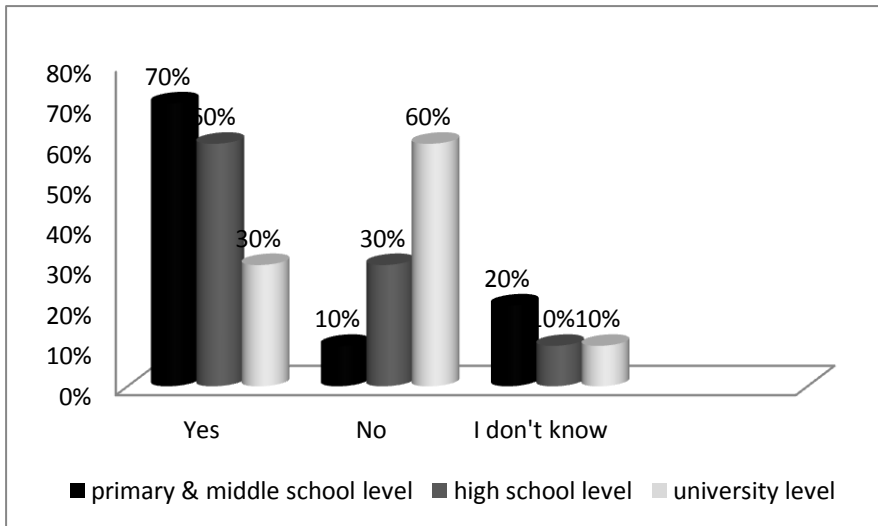
The graphs reveal that young children and siblings of both male (70%) and female (64%) informants use the particle /ma/ in their speech. This strongly emphasizes the inheritance of language variability among young children who tend to speak the mother tongue of their parents.

The graphs considering the level of education of our participants show a positive high score for all levels (70% and 60%) except, people with university level (30%). This may be the direct result of their infrequent use of the particle /ma/ which automatically drives their children or young siblings to imitate them.

Question 5. What would you say when you order angrily your child or young brother to come?
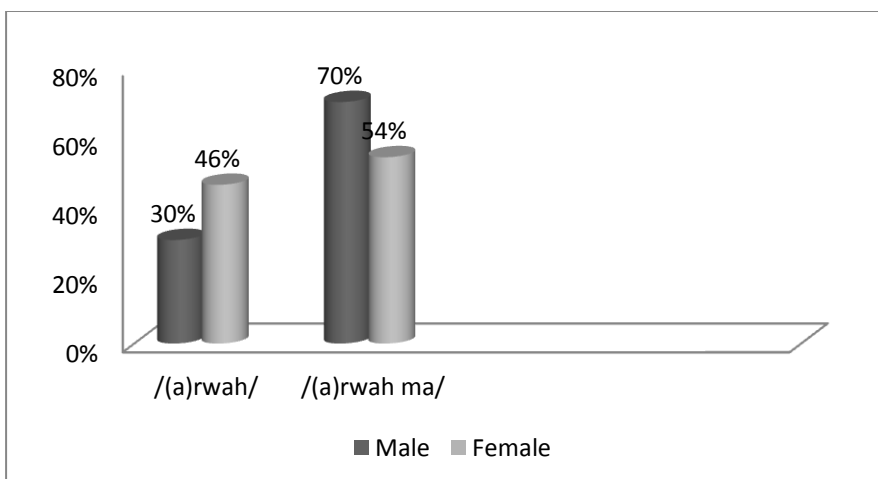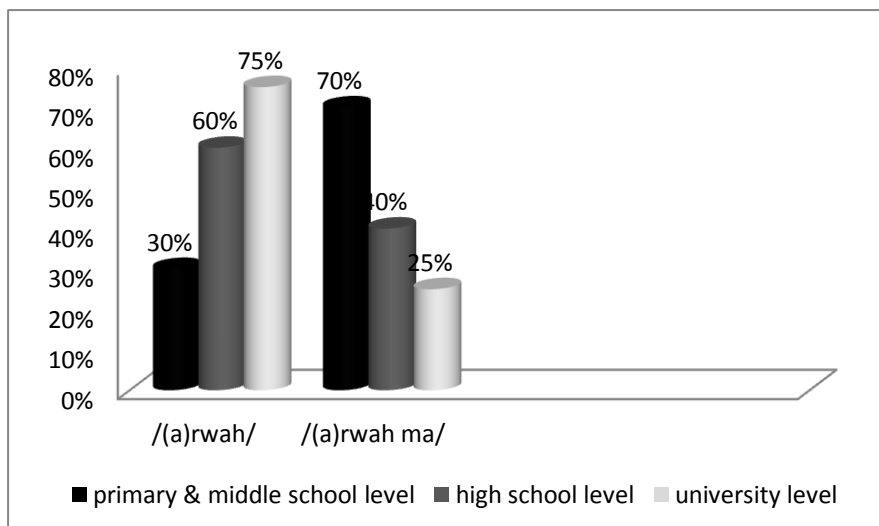
From the graphs, we can deduce that both men and women use the negative particle when ordering younger persons. However, men (80%) are more likely to use the particle /ma/ after imperatives than women (40%). Men admitted to use it in order to show some authority and power over the addressee. Women use it to show a kind of control over their offspring mainly (following the given context of the question). It is true that this negative particle /ma/ is heard a lot after imperatives and usually to order someone, generally a relative, who is less young than the speaker.

If we are to analyse the graphs in relation to the level of education of our informants, we can notice that people of both primary and middle school level (70%) and high school (40%) use the particle /ma/ after imperatives. However, only 25% with university level people use the negative particle after an imperative. To explain this, we have to take into consideration the setting, the addressee, the mood and intentions of the speakers who used the particle. This is why analysing pragmatic particles seem to create some problems to all investigators. In this case, we can say that the majority of these people use the particle after an imperative to show them their authority. This doesn't exclude the other functions (discussed in the sections above).

Question 6 With whom do you use [the most] the particle /ma/?
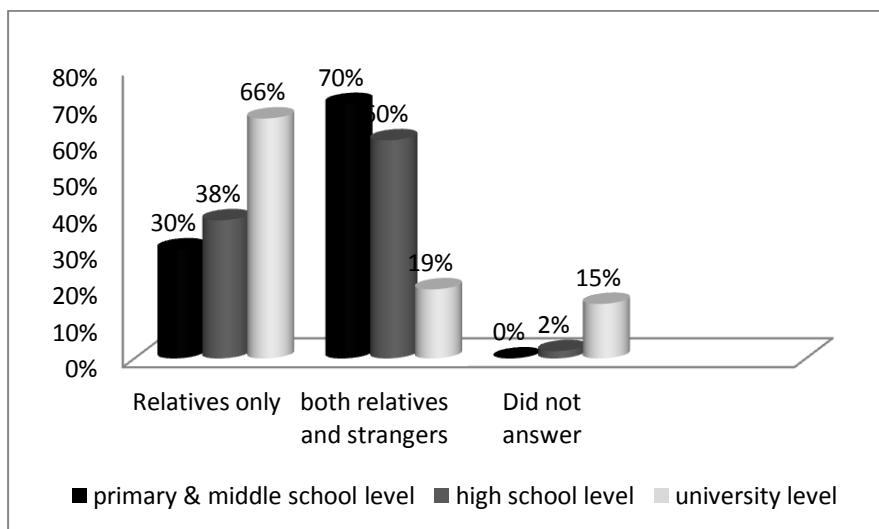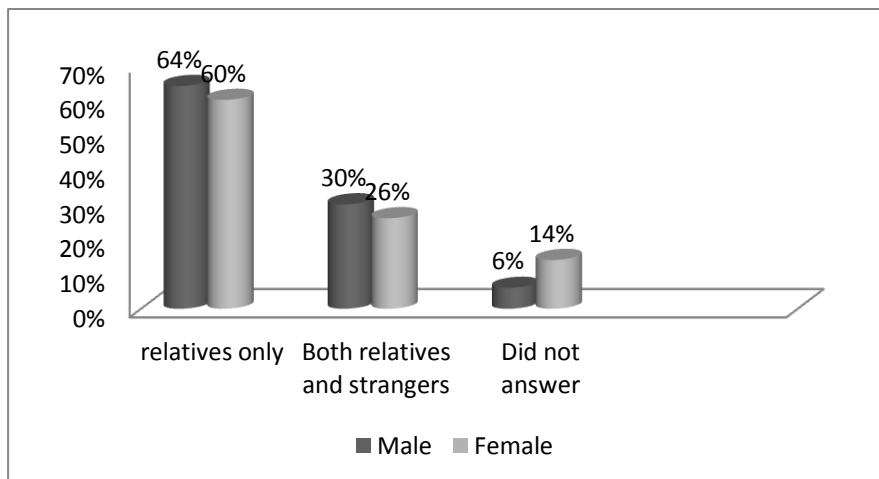

The graphs for question 6, as far as gender evaluation is concerned, show that both male (64%) and female (60%) informants tend to use the particle with their relatives and never with strangers i.e. non- Mascarians. However, men (30%) are more likely to use the particle with both relatives and strangers than women (26%). In this case, we can say that women take into consideration their addressee. Women tend to respond positively by accommodating their speech as an aspect of politeness.

Comparing the use of the particle /ma/ with both relatives and strangers of people of university level (19%) with people of primary and middle school level (70%) and high school level (60%), we can deduce that the higher level of education a person has, the more conscious and accommodating his or her speech will be.

As a distinctive linguistic feature, both genders and all levels of education seem to use the particle /ma/ reciprocally to express solidarity and loyalty between people.

Question 7 Do you use the particle /ma/ when you are at work or school/ university?
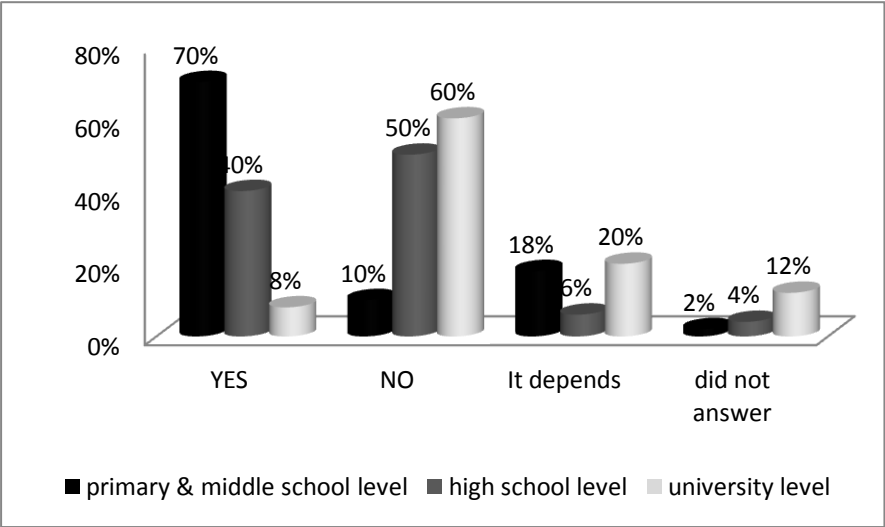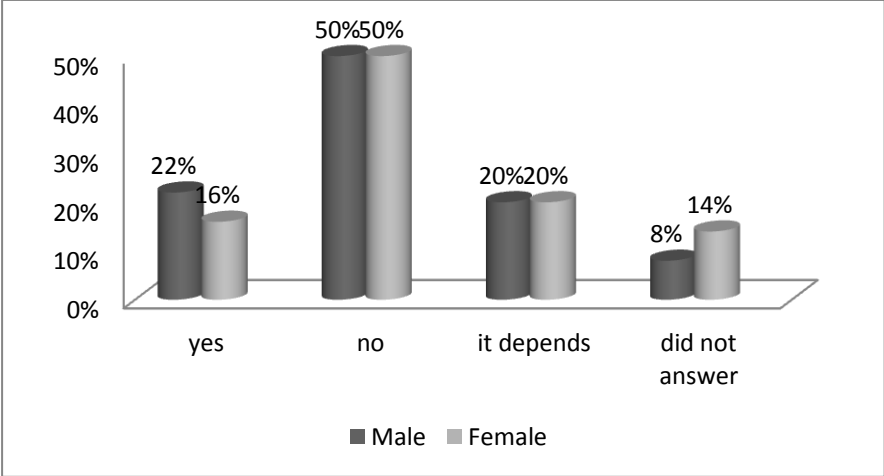
The graphs show that men (50%) are likely to use the particle at work, this is equally compared with the women (50%) score. For the results concerning the level of education, the percentage is greater with primary and middle school level (70%) than that with university level (8%). This can be explained by the fact that highly educated people can make efforts to select their language forms in formal or informal settings. Those who did not answer either by 'yes' or 'no' and selected 'it depends' said that it depends on the addressee and their personal mood and that the place of work is not a restriction. Those who did not answer at all were people who did not answer because they do not work or study such as the housewives and the jobless participants.

Question 8 Do you use the particle /ma/ with your boss or the one responsible of your institution?
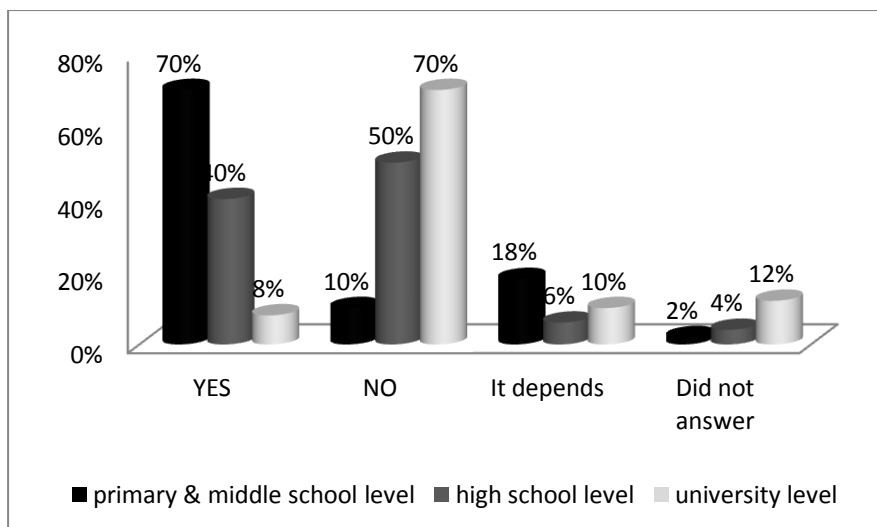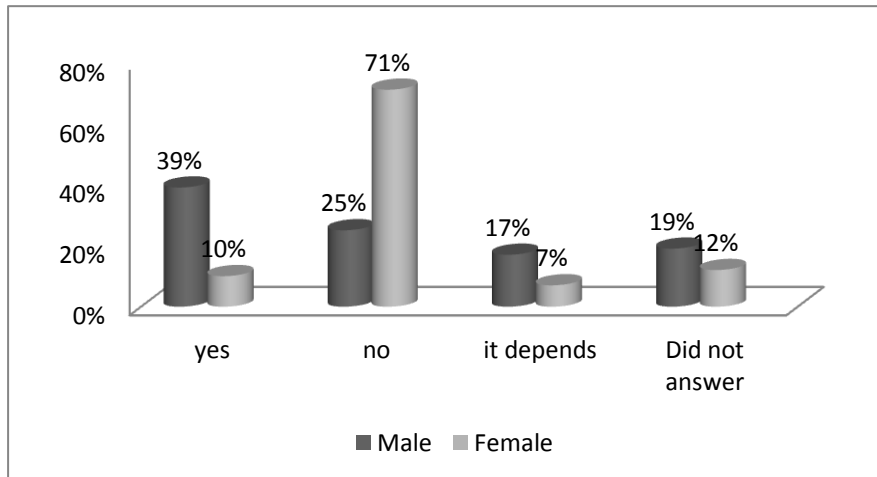
The graphs indicate that 39% of the men use the particle /ma/ when talking to their boss while, only 10% of the women use it. The reason for this can be related to women's tendency to accommodate their speech style to show their respect. On the other hand, men seem to find it hard to accommodate their use of the particle since it is typically related to 'masculinity' behaviour.

People with low level of education (70%) use the particle with their boss at work; however only 8% of people with higher level of education seem to use it. This is probably due to their awareness of the speech accommodation in relation to status. This pragmatic particle is used non- reciprocally by more powerful people to their subordinate to express superior status and power. Again, people who did not answer were mainly Berber-speakers, housewives, jobless persons, and people who are themselves holding a boss position.

**Question 9 Do you avoid using the particle /ma/ with non-Mascarians?**
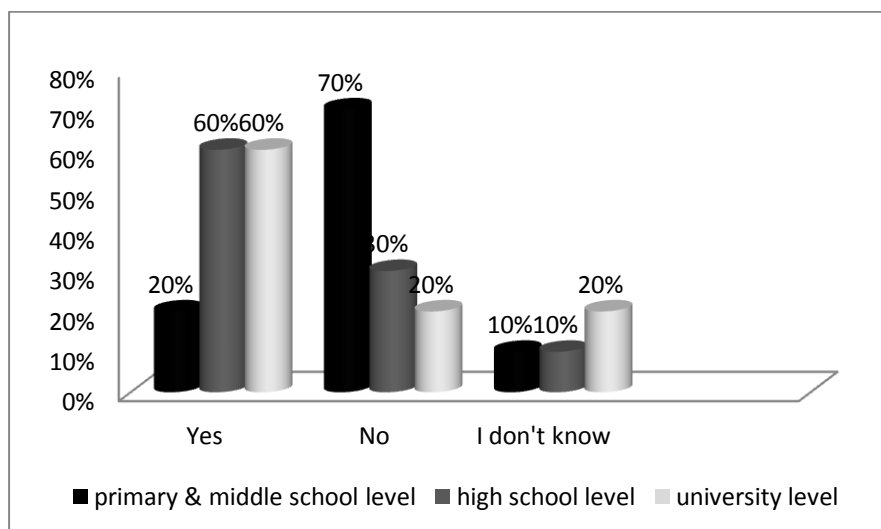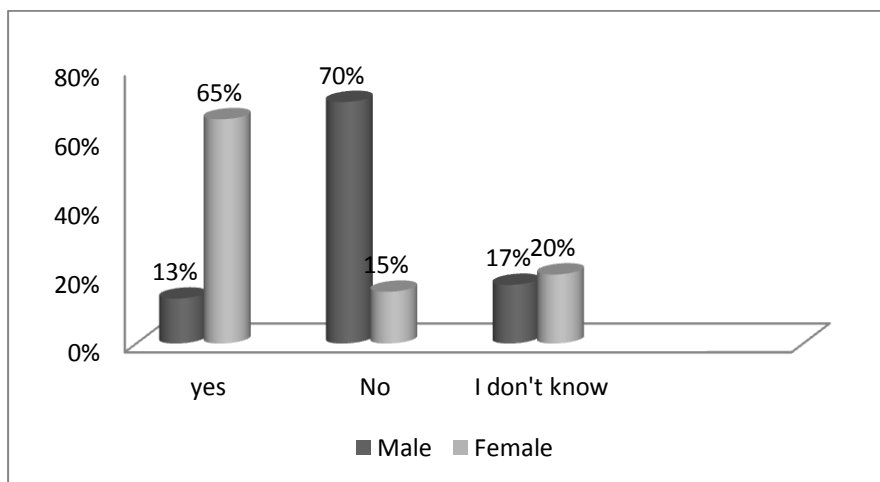
The graphs show that 65% of female informants said that they avoid using the particle with a non- Mascarian. On the other hand, 13% of the male informants admitted that they avoid using it. This could reveal the 'linguistic insecurity' (Labov, 1972) of these women toward the 'stigmatized' particle. This is related to women's tendency to avoid some of their vernacular patterns compared with men. They claim that this particle is 'additional', 'useless' and mainly 'meaningless' in speech.

However, if we were to compare the scores in regard to the level of education of our informants, the graphs indicate that there is a decrease in the use of this particle from the participant with low level to the higher educational level. Furthermore, people of university level seem to avoid more the use of this particle with non- Mascarians (60%). This great

difference could be the result of getting mingled with other university students and may be studying in other towns which leads greatly to a speech convergence of these Mascarians. However, the informants with low level (70%) of education do not bother using the particle with non-Mascarians. They said that they won't be watching their speech constantly and that it is produced unconsciously.

Question 10. Do you avoid using the particle /ma/ outside Mascara?
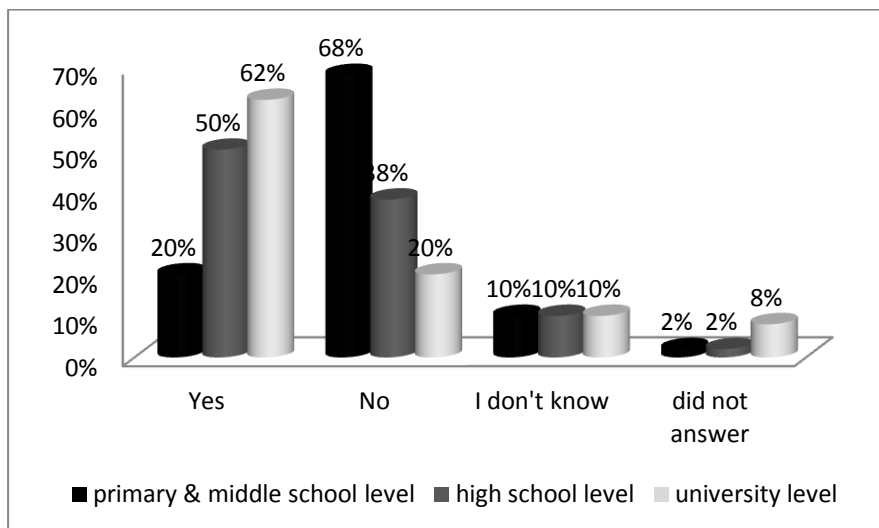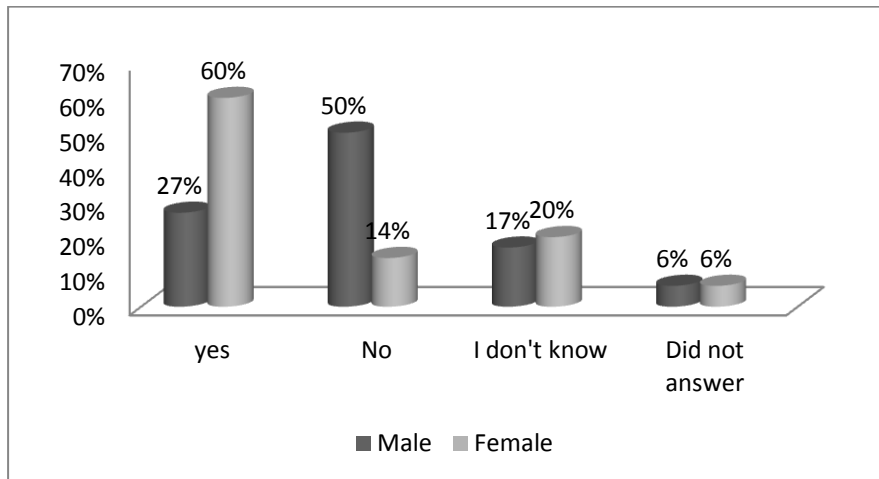
The graphs show that women (60%) tend to get highly ashamed of using the particle out-side Mascara compared to men (27%). The reason behind their avoidance is that women seem to be embarrassed when other non-Mascarians were sarcastic and started commenting on this 'unusual' particle. Yet, men showed some toughness and persisted on its use even more to show their 'pride of having Mascarian origins'. This is related to speech divergence, which in this case, the men use the particle 'intensely and intentionally' to signal their wish to be

distinguished from others. The explanations that can be proposed for this question are similar to the previous question interpretation.

Those who avoid answering said that they may use the particle /ma/ outside Mascara but it depends on the context, the people around them and especially their mood.

### b) The speakers' attitudes towards the use of the particle /ma/

The last part of the questionnaire is related to the speakers' attitudes towards the particle under investigation. In fact, the particle 'ma' seems to be highly stigmatized within the community of Mascara. Below we present the question analysis with the possible interpretations of the results.

Question 11. What is your reaction when you hear someone using the particle /ma/?
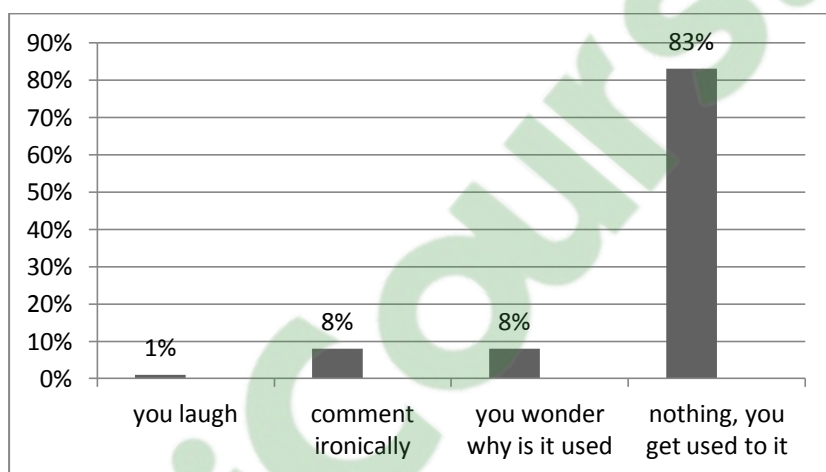

The use of certain linguistic features can indicate that a speaker is connected with a particular attitude and generally shows it explicitly. In analysing the particle /ma/, I found that it is highly associated with affective meaning and solidarity. The majority of my informants (83%) said they get used to it and do not show any negative attitude towards it. They said it is one linguistic feature (among many) typical to the dialect just like any other dialect. Still, there are some participants (8%) who showed some curiosity towards its origin and meaning; and others who comment on it ironically. These latter have a negative attitude towards the particle that they find 'useless' and 'meaningless'.

**Question 12 Do you think that a person who uses the particle /ma/ a lot has a low level of education?**
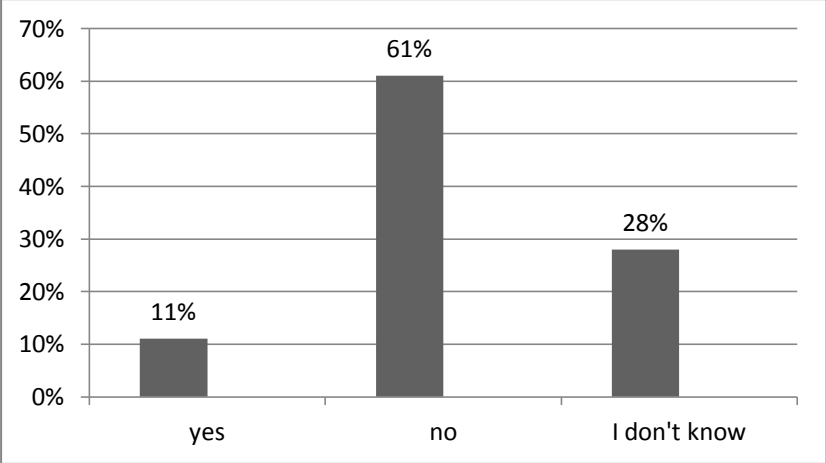
The analysis demonstrates that the use of the particle /ma/, which is a stereotype of Mascara dialect, is a variation in the speech of all the members of its society regardless of their level of education. People speak the inherited variety of their community and tend to use the vernacular forms typical to their dialect to show solidarity between the members of the community. No matter how high the level of education of a person can be, he will still use a particular linguistic feature of his mother tongue, yet in informal settings mainly.

Question 13 Do you think that a person who uses the particle /ma/ a lot comes from bedouin environment or has a frequent contact with bedouin people?
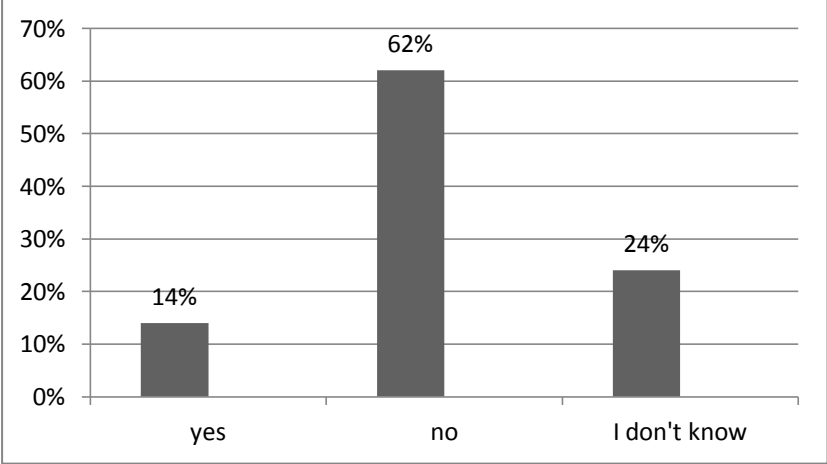
Because our field work was in the city centre of Mascara where the use of /ma/ was a widespread phenomenon, I thought that maybe it originated mainly from Bedouin

environments. However, to our surprise, it seems that the bedouins or those who live in rural milieus do not use the particle; at least this is what was suggested from our informants. Indeed, only 14% of them think that the particle /ma/ is used by bedouin people or those in frequent contact with them.

Question 14. For which reason do you use the particle /ma/?
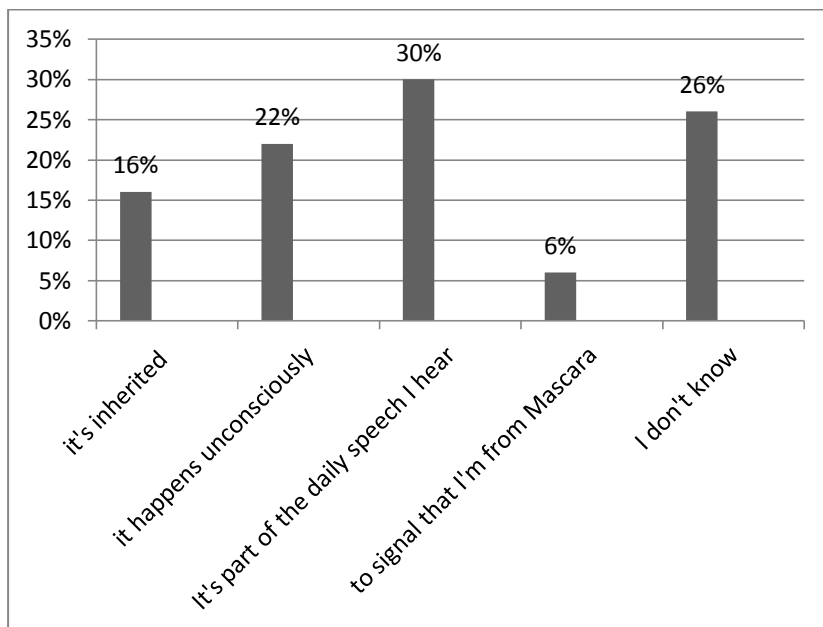
The above graphs suggest that 30% of my informants seem to be aware that they use the particle /ma/ because it is part of the daily speech they hear. This answer is linked to linguistic environment as a reason for the use of the particle. 6% of the participants claim to use the particle in order to signal that they belong to the community of Mascara. It is true that sometimes we start using markers of a specific dialect just because we heard members of our society using it. The reason behind using it is simply to show our membership, loyalty and solidarity to the group or the community we belong to.

Question 15. When do you use the particle /ma/?
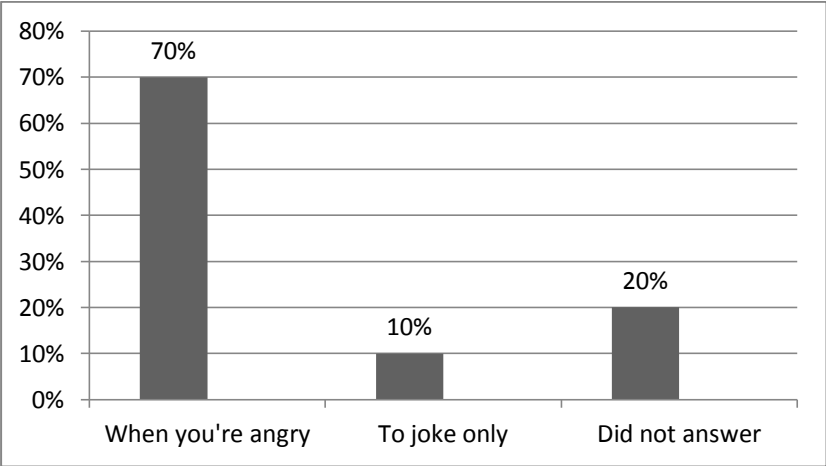
Nearly the majority (70%) of the speakers under study claim to use the particle /ma/ mainly when angry. This is done generally after imperative as it was explained previously. When an angry person uses the particle it is always with a rising tone which shows exactly his emotions. Only 10% said that they use it to sound funny. In fact, there are situations when we hear someone repeating the sentence or word with the particle that the other person used. This is often done to lighten the conversation especially if the speaker is angry. However, we noticed some speakers repeating the particle just ironically to laugh at the accent of the person who used the particle. Eventually, this act sometimes creates some friction and therefore, the particle became highly avoided.

Question 16. For which function do you use the particle /ma/?
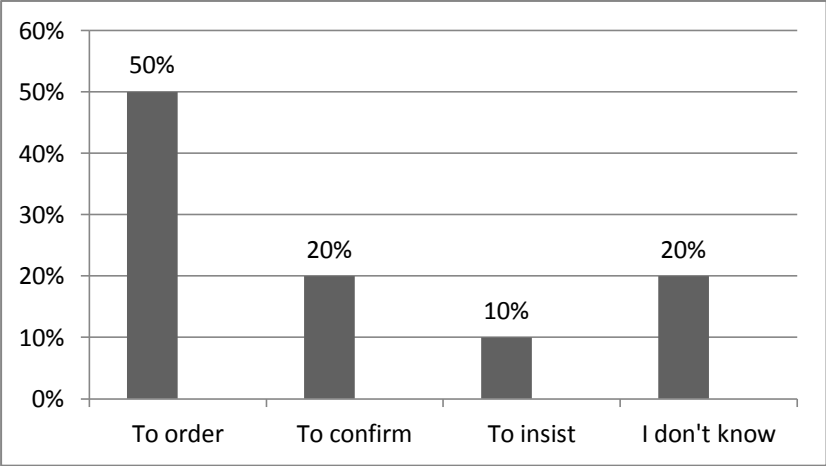
As described in the previous sections, the negative particle /ma/ is generally used after an imperative. The graphs show that 50% of the participants think that they use the particle in order to command, however it is tacked to imperatives only. The question was formulated to analyse the part of the pragmatic use of the particle. I did not want to tell my informants what my hypothesis was regarding the negative particle, when they asked for it, in order not to influence them or change some of their attitudes towards it. I noticed a big curiosity from their part concerning this particle, yet they found it hard to categorize it grammatically or semantically.

4.11. Conclusion

Many sociolinguists give evidence of how patterns of linguistic variation reflect and contrast social differences. Referring to the different features of language variation and language attitudes, we have chosen to focus on a very restricted linguistic phenomenon in the community of Mascara. From the present study, we were able to note that all subjects indicated positive attitudes towards their own dialect in general. However, we reported negative attitudes towards the use of the particle 'ma' in particular. The results denote a relatively clear difference between men and women use and attitudes towards the particle. In addition to this, there is a difference in opinion between higher educated people and lower educated people.

General Conclusion

General conclusion

All languages change over time and vary according to geographical place and social setting. The way we speak is influenced by many factors such as, the origins of our elders, our social and educational background, our working environment, our friends and our own sense of identity. People from different geographical places speak differently, but even within the same small community, people might speak differently according to their age, gender, ethnicity and other variables. As we move across the Algerian territory we experience the gradual change in the sounds we hear. Our accents and dialects generally signal to what regional area we belong.

All native speakers adjust their speech patterns depending on context. There is a difference in the way people speak in relaxed conversation in familiar surroundings and in other more formal settings. We all have a range of different voices and we modify our speech according to our addressee. Hence, the way we talk to a child is not similar to the way we talk to a friend or a foreigner. In most cases, the slight changes we make are done on the purpose of making our addressee feel at ease. In other cases, subconsciously we change our speech in order to express a shared identity or group solidarity. Sometimes, we intentionally modify our speech when we are attempting to present a certain image to the others.

For many years, certain linguistic features have been viewed more positively than others. Many of us make assumptions based on the way people speak. The fact that some dialects and accents have attracted some positive or negative attitudes is more an evidence of judgment based on social, rather than linguistic criteria. In our society, the vocabulary, structure and sounds that define the speech of a particular region are for many speakers, a source of great pride and an important expression of cultural identity.

Sociolinguistics is actually important in the sphere of the study of language. It is an integral part in the study of language and in the study of the impact of society over language. Sociolinguistics deals with how a language is modified according to different social circumstances. Through sociolinguistic investigations, we come into contact with the traditional value of a language, which otherwise would have remained unknown to us. In fact, numerous studies have demonstrated that formality, prestige, and social class go hand in hand; that is, the more formal the situation and the higher the social class, the greater occurrence of prestigious forms (e.g., Labov, (1966, 1972) investigated the postvocalic r and the interdental fricatives /Ө/ and /ð/ in New York City; Trudgill, 1974, examined -ing ([n] vs.

[ŋ]), glottal stop substitution for /t/, and h-deletion in Norwich). Differences based on gender also occur in all languages. In general, females use more prestigious forms than males. There were many investigations that have focused on the way that language and gender interact in community.

In this study, we tried to analyse the speech of Mascarians, especially, the use of the particle /ma/ in relation to gender and level of education. The fact of concentrating only on these two social factors is to verify our observations. In fact, it seems that men used the negative particle more and the higher level of education a person has the less he or she would use the particle, yet depending on the context. There is a concrete observation concerning the use of the particle /ma/ in relation to the geographical area. Some Mascarians coordinate the 'stigmatized' particle with rural speech. However, this was not the core of this study orientation, may be, in the future, it would be the subject of a further investigations.

In this work, we were not able to find out the real origin of this particle, however, it was not the reason why we conducted this research. To find answers to this question more work should be done through different methodology.

 Fortunately, our results reveal a positive insight to our hypothesis. We also found out that the degree of speech accommodation from the part of native Mascarian women and people of higher educational level is more important than that of men and people with low level of education. Furthermore, an increasing number of Mascarian female speakers and especially, those with highly educated level avoid using the particle /ma/ in their speech in certain contexts though inherently brought up with it. They confessed that they work hard to remove it. However, eliminating such verbal filler needs time and conscious efforts.

As far as the particle /ma/ is concerned, it is definitely regarded as the most characteristic feature of the Mascarian variety. In fact, some sociolinguists would consider it as a stereotype, given the conscious awareness attached to it, we can draw some conclusions:

- According to our hypothesis concerning the use of /ma/ in the spoken dialect of Mascara, we suggested and illustrated that it is definitely a negative particle i.e. /ma/ 'higaziyya' that works as /laysa/ 'to be not'. Furthermore, when the negative particle /ma/ occurs in the speech of Mascara it has the function of tag questions.

- The results show from the start that male Mascarian speakers and those with low level of education generally stick to the 'stigmatized' linguistic particle /ma/ as a way to show their loyalty and self-esteem. As a pragmatic linguistic feature, the negative particle /ma/ is used reciprocally to express solidarity and loyalty between people who know each other. The same form is used non-reciprocally by more powerful people to their subordinate to express superior status and power.

- The particle /ma/ appears to be seen as a sound that makes Mascarian speech sound 'funny', a quite subjective assumption due to people's attitude towards its use and negative comments on it. It is very common for speakers to have negative attitude towards the use of pragmatic particles and therefore to produce negative comments about them.

- An increasing number of Mascarian female speakers with high level of education confessed that they work hard to remove and avoid using the particle 'ma'. However, eliminating such verbal filler needs time and conscious efforts.

As a conclusion for this research work, we have to admit that there were some limitations to the present study that we will sum up as follow:

At first, this kind of research was very demanding for the informants because it is difficult to assess one's own language use. There were some hesitations from the informants on their responses which have maybe affected the results. Secondly, because the fieldwork took place in the city centre of Mascara, it is impossible to generalise the interpretations of the study to the whole geographical area. In fact, it seems that there are some rural areas that are not characterized by the use of the negative particle /ma/.

Furthermore, the study focused only on two social factors: gender and level of education, so it would be an interesting future challenge to continue this research based on larger geographical and social scales. It was due to time limitation that the questionnaire was arranged to fit a general and simple ethnographic study of the use of the linguistic particle /ma/ with a limited number of informants. Indeed, there are signs of negative attitudes towards the use of the 'stigmatized' particle /ma/, mainly among highly educated people, but with such limited data results it is difficult to make any strong claims about it.

Appendices

Ceci est un questionnaire qui entre dans le cadre d'une recherche sociolinguistique sur le dialecte Mascarien. Je vous prie de le remplir soigneusement.

☐ Masculin – ☐ féminin

Age: ……………………..

Niveau d'éducation : ☐ Primaire – ☐ CEM – ☐ Lycée - ☐ université

Profession :……………………………………………..

Lieu de naissance : …………………………………..

Lieu de résidence :…………………………………………

Questionnaire A : *Répondez aux questions suivantes en choisissant l'une des quatre langues*

	Arabe Classique	Arabe Algérien	Français	Berbère
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus riche ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus utile dans la vie quotidienne ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus difficile ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus utile pour des études ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus nécessaire pour un Algérien ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le moins ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le plus ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus moderne ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus démodée ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus belle ?				
Quelle est la langue que vous trouvez la plus dynamique ?				
Quelle langue vous semble inutile ?				
Quelle est la langue que les Algériens devraient utiliser le plus ?				

Questionnaire B: *Répondez aux questions suivantes en mettant une croix dans la case correspondante*

	Arabe Classique	Arabe Algérien	Français	Berbére
Vous préférez lire un livre				
Vous préférez lire le journal ou magazine				
Vous préférez écrire une demande				
Vous préférez écrire un SMS				
Vous préférez écrire un E-mail				

Vous préférez écouter les programmes radio				
Vous préférez écouter les informations				
Vous préférez regarder des films				
Vous préférez regarder des séries T.V				

Questionnaire C : Veuillez répondre aux questions suivantes

1. *V*ous arrive-t-il de changer votre langage ?

☐ toujours ☐ souvent ☐ rarement ☐ non, jamais

2. Est-ce que les gens vous reconnaissent autant que Mascarien par votre langage en dehors de votre ville ?

☐ Oui ☐ non ☐ je ne sais pas

3. Pensez-vous que les gens qui ne sont pas Mascariens aiment votre langage ?

☐ Oui ☐ non ☐ je ne sais pas

4. ***Répondez à la question suivante en mettant une croix dans la case correspondante***

Vous arrive-il d'utiliser dans votre langage quotidien des mots et des expressions …. ?

	Oui beaucoup	Oui des fois	Non un peu	Non jamais
Arabe Classique ?				
Français ?				

Questionnaire D: Veuillez cocher la réponse qui vous convient aux questions suivantes

1. Vous arrive-t-il d'utiliser la particule linguistique /ma/ (ما) dans votre langage et vous dites par exemple / رواح ما – لا ما ...? /

☐ Oui
☐ Non
☐ Je ne sais pas

2. Vous utilisez /ma/ dan votre langage………

☐ Tout le temps
☐ Souvent
☐ Rarement
☐ Jamais

3. Vos grands-parents utilisent- ils /ma/ dans leur langage ?

☐ Oui
☐ Non
☐ Je ne sais pas

4. Est-ce que vos petits frères et sœurs ou bien vos petits enfants utilisent /ma/ dans leur langage ?

☐Oui

☐Non

☐Je ne sais pas

5. Que dites vous quand vous êtes en colère pour ordonner votre petit fils ou petit frère de venir ?

☐ (a)rwah

☐ (a)rwah ma

6. Avec qui utilisez-vous /ma/ ?

☐Famille et proches

☐ Les deux (famille et étrangers)

☐ Je ne sais pas

7. Utilisez-vous /ma/ dans votre lieu de travail ou au sein de votre établissement si vous êtes étudiant (e)?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Ça dépend

8. Utilisez-vous /ma/ avec votre ou le responsable de votre établissement?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Ça dépend

9. Est-ce-que vous évitez l'utilisation de /ma/ dans votre langage quand vous parler avec des étrangers?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐Je ne sais pas

10. Est-ce-que vous évitez d'utiliser /ma/ en dehors de votre ville Mascara (dans une autre ville) ?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Ça depend

11. Quelle est votre réaction quand vous entendez quelqu'un utiliser /ma/ dans son langage ?

☐ Ça vous fait rire

☐ Vous commentez sur ça ironiquement

☐ Vous vous demandez pourquoi les Mascariens utilisent /ma/

☐ Rien, vous vous êtes habitués à l'entendre

12. Vous arrive- il de penser qu'une personne qui utilise souvent /ma/ dans son langage n'a pas un niveau d'éducation élevé ?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Je ne sais pas

13. Vous arrive- il de penser qu'une personne qui utilise souvent/ma/ dans son langage vient d'un milieu rural ou bien il doit avoir un contact fréquent avec des gens bédouins ?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Je ne sais pas

14. Quelle est la raison pour laquelle vous utilisez /ma/ dans votre langage ?

☐ C'est héréditaire

☐ Ça se produit inconsciemment

☐ Ça fait parti du langage quotidien que j'entends

☐ Pour signaler que vous êtes un pur Mascarien

☐ Je ne sais pas

15. Quand utilisez-vous /ma/ dans votre langage ?

☐ Quand vous êtes en colère

☐ Pour plaisanter

16. Pour quelle fonction utilisez-vous /ma/ dans votre langage ?

☐ Pour ordonner

☐ Pour confirmer

☐ Pour insister

☐ Je ne sais pas

Merci pour votre coopération

Appendix 2: The questionnaire in English

Questionnaire A : *Answer the following questions*

	Classical Arabic	Algerian Arabic	French	Berber
Which language do you find the richest?				
Which language do you find the most beautiful?				
Which language do you find the most modern?				
Which language do you find the most useful for studies?				
Which language do you consider as lively?				
Which language do you find the most outdated?				
Which language do you find useless?				
Which language do you find the most practical for everyday life?				
Which language do you think Algerians should use above all?				
Which language do you think is the most difficult				
Which language do you like the most?				
Which language do you like the least?				
Which language do you find the easiest?				

Questionnaire B: Answer the following questions

	Classical Arabic	Algerian Arabic	French	Berber
Which language do you prefer for reading a book?				
Which language do you prefer for reading newspapers?				
Which language do you prefer for writing job application?				
Which language do you prefer for writing an SMS?				
Which language do you prefer for writing an e-mail?				
Which language do you prefer listening to news?				
Which language do you prefer listening to radio channels				
Which language do you prefer watching films?				
Which language do you prefer watching serials?				

Questionnaire C : answer the following questions

1. *Have you ever tried to change your speech*?
   ☐ always   ☐ sometimes   ☐ rarely   ☐ never

2. Do people recognize you from your accent?
   ☐ Yes   ☐   No   ☐ I don't know

3.   Do you think that out-of- town people like Mascara speech?
   ☐ Yes   ☐   No   ☐ I don't know

4.   **How often do you use Classical Arabic or French words or expressions in your daily conversation?**

	always	often	rarely	Never
Classical Arabic ?				
French ?				

Questionnaire D:

Select your answers for the following questions

1. Do you use the particle 'ma' in your speech?
   ☐ yes
   ☐ No
   ☐ I don't know

2. How often do you use the particle 'ma'?
   ☐ always
   ☐ sometimes
   ☐ rarely
   ☐ never

3. Do your parents use the particle 'ma' ?
   ☐ yes
   ☐ No
   ☐ I don't know

4. Do your children or siblings use the particle 'ma'?
   ☐ yes
   ☐ No
   ☐ I don't know

5. What would you say when you order angrily your child or young brother to come?
- ☐ (a)rwah
- ☐ (a)rwah ma

6. With whom do you use [the most] the particle 'ma'?
- ☐ relatives only
- ☐ both relatives and strangers
- ☐ I don't know

7. Do you use the particle 'ma' when you are at work or school / university?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ it depends
- ☐ I don't know

8. Do you use the particle 'ma' with your boss or the responsible of your institution?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ it depends
- ☐ I don't know

9. Do you avoid using the particle 'ma' with strangers?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

10. Do you avoid using the particle 'ma' outside Mascara?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ it depends

11. What is your reaction when you hear someone using the particle 'ma'?
- ☐ you laugh
- ☐ comment ironically
- ☐ you wonder why is it used
- ☐ nothing, you get used to it

12. Do you think that a person who uses the particle 'ma' has a low level of education?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't think

13. Do you think that a person who uses the particle 'ma' a lot comes from a bedouin environment or has a frequent contact with bedouin people?

☐ yes
☐ No
☐ I don't know

14. For which reason do you use the particle 'ma'?

☐ it's inherited
☐ it happens inconsciously
☐ it's part of the daily speech I hear
☐ to signal that I'm from Mascara
☐ I don't know

15. When do you use the particle 'ma'?

☐ when you're angry
☐ to joke only
☐ I don't know

16. For which fonction do you use the particle 'ma'?

☐ to order
☐ to confirm
☐ to insist
☐ I don't know

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RESUME

Le but principal de ce travail est de considérer, suite aux études récentes en sociolinguistique, les complexités de la variation sociolinguistique et les attitudes envers les comportements langagiers dans la communauté de Mascara. L'arabe parlé à Mascara est considéré comme un dialecte bédouin. Les objectifs initiaux dans ce travail sont d'observer, d'analyser et de discuter des aspects de la variation linguistique dans cette région.

Le travail décrit les principales caractéristiques typiques à ce vernaculaire, on cite comme exemple l'usage de la particule pragmatique 'ma'. Cette étude précise sur des points importants dans le domaine de la variation sociolinguistique qui distingue la communauté de Mascara. On suggère aussi un certain nombre de cas qui sont considérés comme typiques à cette région. On effet, on se basant sur des observations personnels, on a pu constater que l'usage de la particule linguistique 'ma' est un phénomène très répandu dans le langage des Mascariens. On a choisi de classer cette particule sous la catégorie des particules négatives. Selon les livres de grammaire arabe, la particule linguistique 'ma' a plusieurs fonctions grammaticales. Elle peut être utilisée comme un pronom relatif, une préposition, ou bien une particule négative. On est plus concerner par la particule 'ma' autant que particule négative. Elle est aussi appelé 'ma' higaziya qui fonction comme /layssa/ 'ne pas être'. On propose et soutient nos propositions par des exemples valides dans les quelles la particule linguistique 'ma' prend la fonction d'une tournure interrogative placée en fin de phrase.

Un certain nombre d'hypothèses sont exposées dans ce travail. Apparemment le fréquent usage de la particule linguistique 'ma' est relié aux hommes, et ceux qui ont un haut niveau d'éducation évitent volontairement l'utilisation de ce dernier. Par ailleurs, les femmes et surtout celles avec un haut niveau d'éducation tentent d'éviter la particule 'ma' en dehors de leurs communauté parce qu'elle est beaucoup stigmatisée.

Les résultats obtenus révèlent un aperçu positif par rapport à nos hypothèses. On a pu trouver que le dégrée par lequel les femmes et les gens qui ont un haut niveau d'éducation qui utilisent la particule linguistique 'ma' est relativement faible comparer aux hommes et aux gens qui ont un bas niveau d'éducation.

ملخص البحث

ان الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو النظر في ضوء الدراسات الحديثة في مجال التباين الاجتماعي اللغوي (Sociolinguistic variation) و السلوكات و الانطباعات عند سكان مدينة معسكر. تعتبر لهجة سكان مدينة معسكر لهجة ذات طابع بدوي. الاهداف الاولئ من هذا البحث تتمثل في ملاحظة، تحليل و التعبير عن جوانب من التباين اللغوي في هذه المنطقة.

يتضمن البحث وصف لأهم خصائص اللهجية التي تتميز بها هذه المنطقة منها استعمال حرف 'ما' في نهاية الكلام. كما أن البحث يشير الئ بعض خصائص التباين اللغوي الموجودة فقط في مدينة معسكر.

انطلاقا من ملاحظات خاصة تمكنا من تحديد ظاهرة استعمال حرف 'ما' في سياق كلام سكان مدينة معسكر بوجه أخص.

اخترنا ان نصنف هذا الحرف ضمن حروف النفي.يستعمل حرف 'ما' في كتب قواعد اللغة العربية اما كاسم او حرف و له عدة استعمالات منها أداة مصدرية، أداة استفهام، أو أداة نفي. وتعرف أيضا ب 'ما' التي تعمل عمل ليس أوما الحجازية. كما اننا نقترح و نبرهن بأدلة فعالة تبين استعمالات حرف 'ما' كجملة استفهامية في نهاية الكلام.

هذا البحث يتركز علئ مجموعة من الفرضيات. يظهر أن استعمال حرف 'ما' كأداة نفي مرتبط نسبيا بالذكورأما الاناث فهن يتفادين استعمال هذا الحرف بكثرة و خاصة الذين يملكون مستوئ تعليم عالي. أصبح هذا الحرف يشكل نوعا من الاحراج لذلك اصبح الكثير يتفادون استعماله خاصة خارج المدينة.

النتائج الأولية التي توصلنا اليها تعكس ايجابا فرضياتنا المسبقة. فقد اكتشفنا ان نسبة الاناث تفوق نسبة الذكور في تفادي استعمال حرف الاستفهام 'ما' كما أنه هناك فرق ملحوظ بين الذين يملكون مستوئ تعليم عالي و الذين يملكون مستوئ تعليم منخفض.

ABSTRACT

The main purpose in the present work is to consider, in the light of recent studies in sociolinguistics, the complexities of sociolinguistic variation and attitudes towards language behaviour in the speech community of Mascara. The spoken Arabic of Mascara is regarded as a Bedouin dialect. The initial objectives in this work are to observe, analyse and discuss aspects of language variation in this area.

The work describes salient features typical to this vernacular such as the use of the pragmatic particle /ma/. It also points out to some crucial sociolinguistic variations found in the speech community of Mascara. It suggests a number of instances that are considered typical to this region. In fact, based on personal observation, we noticed that the use of the particle /ma/ in the speech of Mascarians is a widespread phenomenon. We chose to categorize this particle as a negative particle. In Arabic grammar books, the interrogative pronoun /ma/ has many functions. It can be used as a relative pronoun, a preposition, or a negative particle. We are more concerned with /ma/ as a negative particle. It is also called /ma/ 'higaziyya' that works as /laysa/ 'to be not'.   We also suggest and sustain our suggestions with proper examples that the negative particle /ma/ that occurs in the speech of Mascarians has the function of a tag question.

A number of hypotheses are exposed in this study. It seems that the use of the negative particle /ma/ in the speech of Mascarians is highly related to men, and people of higher educational level seem to avoid its use since it is highly stigmatized. Furthermore, women seem to avoid this particle /ma/, and also people with a high level of education do not use it outside their community.

Our results reveal a positive insight into our hypothesis. We also found out that the degree of speech accommodation from the part of native Mascarian women and people of higher educational level is more important than that of men and people of low level of education.

KEYWORDS

Language; Dialect; Variety; Sociolinguistic; Variation; Speech Community; Speech Accommodation; Gender; Level Of Education; Attitudes.