AHMED DRAIA UNIVERSITY – ADRAR

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES

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Styles and Language Variation:

A Sociolinguistic Study in the Speech Community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

Presented by: **Supervised by:**

Miss. Zineb Boucif   **Pr.BACHIR BOUHANIA**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to :

My dearest mother for her patience and support.

My beloved sisters, brother, colleagues and friends.

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First and foremost, I thank Allah, the Almighty, for the accomplishment of this work.

A great deal of respect and esteem to my supervisor Pr.Bachir BOUHANIA for his generous advice and support.

I would also like to express my great and sincere thanks to all the teachers of English department from whom we have learnt a lot.

My special thanks also go to my sisters,brothers and all my freinds.

ABSTRACT

Through the lines of this research paper, we have tried to analyse and interpret the sociolinguistic situation of the speech community in El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh. One of the south-western towns of Algeria.The present work aims at the examination of the linguistic variables that are articulated in the speech community of El-Abiodh S/C.Mainly phonological, morphological and phonological variables have been integrated with the speaker's age, gender, level of education, and style.The research work embraces three chapters. The first one presents a general overview of the field of sociolinguistics focusing on the key concepts. The second chapter throws light on the situation of Algerian language and the complexity of its varieties; it also draws a picture of the sociolinguistic situation of El-Abiodh S/C.The third chapter deals with the description of the linguistic features of the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh; it also introduces age, gender, level of education and style as the independent variables. The social parameters have been correlated with the phonological, morphological and lexical variables. The data is a collection of questionnaires and recordings which have been analysed quantitatively.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

III

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- ❖ S E: Standard English.
- ❖ MMC : Middle Middle Class.
- ❖ LMC : Lower Middle Class.
- ❖ UWC : Upper Working Class.
- ❖ LWC : Lower Working Class.
- ❖ M.S.A: Modern Standard Arabic.
- ❖ A.A : Algerian Arabic.
- ❖ L : Low Variety.
- ❖ H : High Variety.
- ❖ S/C : Sidi Cheikh.
- ❖ D1: Dialect One, Dialect of Native Inhabitants.
- ❖ D2: Dialect Two, Dialect of Ouled Ogbi.
- ❖ D 3: Dialect Three, Dialect of Non-native Speakers.
- ❖ { } : Morphemes Boundary.
- ❖ [ ] : are used to represent the variants.
- ❖ / /: are used to represent the linguistic variable.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Consonants:

Plosives

/b/ as in [beʃwɪja] "slowly"

/t/ as in [thala] "take care"

/d/ as in [durk] "now"

/k/ as in [kaas] "a cup"

/g/ as in [gaʕ] "all"

/ɖ/ as in [ɖalma] "darkness"

Nasals :

/m/ as in [mbalaʕ]

/n/ as in [naːs]

Lateral:

/l/ as in [lgdra]

Flaps :

/r/ as in [raħ] "go"

Emphatics:

/ð/ as in [ðak] "that"

/ʈ/ as in [ʈaʂ] "a pinter"

/q/ as in [qalaj] "a kettle"

/θ/ as in [θawm] "garlic"

Diphtongs :

/aj/ as in [wajn] "where"

/uː/ as in [jduːr] "to turn around"

Fricatives

/f/ as in [fatɪra] "a kettle"

/s/ as in [sɪdɪ] "my father"

/z/ as in [ziːd] "add"

/ʃ/ as in [ʃwar] "towards"

/ʒ/ as in [ʒmɪʕkum] "all"

/x/ as in [xali] "my uncle"

/ħ/ as in [ħajər] "to wonder"

/ʕ/ as in [ʕlah] "why"

/ɤ/ as in [ɤabij] "stupid"

Approximate:

/w/ as in [waʃ] "what"

/j/ as in [jfuːt]

Short Vowels:

/ə/ as in [mʂakər]

/a/ as in [jahdar] "to talk"

/ɪ/ as in [bɪʂaħ] "alright"

/u/ as in [kul] "all"

/e/ as in [besjas] "slowly"

Long Vowels :

/iː/ as in [ʒiːt] "you came"

/uː/ as in [jduːr] "to turn around"

LIST OF PIE CHARTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

General Introduction

Language as a means of human communication has been the main concern of linguistic studies.The field of linguistics has analysed language from its different structural aspects: syntax, phonology, morphology, grammar, semantics …ect.Yet, studying language from its structural side was not an adequate way to explain the huge phenomenon of language. Therefore, sociolinguistics has studied language from different perspectives ; it has examined language in its social context. Language varies from one region to another and from a speech community to another ; moreover, within the speech of the same individual. The latter has been known as language variation which has become the topic of investigation of sociolinguistic variation.

Due to the pioneering surveys of William Labov, language variation has been explained differently.In other words,sociolinguistic variationists have correlated the linguistic factors with the social factors.They analysed the linguistic variables including the morphological, phonological and lexical variables in correlation with the social parameters: speaker's age, gender, ethnic group, social class, occupation, and style.Moreover, they have manipulated the quantitave as well as the qualitative methods.

Algerian Arabic is characterized by its variability in terms of language ; each region has linguistic features different from the adjacent regions, and each speech community has its distinguishable linguistic features. In this light, this work aims at analysing the linguistic features (phonological, morphological, and lexical) of the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh in correlation with the independent variables namely : age, gender, level of education, and style.Accordingly, the problem issue of this research work could be structured in the form of the following questions:

➢ How many dialects are in the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh ?
➢ What makes the speakers of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh change the way they speak ?
➢ To what extent are the linguistic variables related to social factors ?

To answer these questions, the following hypotheses have been set down :

• Because the city of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is a mixuture of people from different regions besides its native speakers, there are many varieties spoken by each group.

- Because of the effect of newcomers and the direct contact with non-native speakers, and the raising of the rate of education and the decrease of illiteracy, the new generations have changed some linguistic features.
- Different generations do not speak the same ; as well males and females adopt different ways of speech.The speech of adolescent male speakers is more subject to change , because of their contact with other speakers. Adults and elders are more stable in their speech.

Using the quantitative method we will try to answer our questions and check the validity of our hypotheses.The data have been collected from questionnaires and recordings addressed to the informants from the region.

The present work is divided into three chapters.The first one is a general overview of the main sociolinguistic issues and concepts. It gives some elaboration on the basic terms in language variation such as : dialects, linguistic variables, variation and social factors, variation and change and stylistic variation.

The second chapter is an attempt to describe the complex sociolinguistic situation in Algeria taking into consideration the major linguistic phenomena : bilinguilism, code switching, and diaglosia.Furthermore, it introduces the dialect under investigation ; it presents the sociolinguistic situation in El Abiodh Sidi Cheikh. It refers to the general background of the area, its geographical location, the existing dialects and their phonological, morphological and lexical features.

The last one deals with the methodology, data collection and analysis. It examines the linguistic variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh integrated with the social variables mainly : age, gender, level of education and style. The results infered from the analysis will give a clear interpretation of the factors that led to variation in the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction.

1.2 Dialects as Varieties of Language.

   1.2.1Regional Dialects.

   1.2.2 Social Dialects.

1.3 Dialect Continua.

1.4 Variation in Language.

   1.4.1 Linguistic Variable.

   1.4.2 Free vs Constrained Variation.

1.5 Levels of Linguistic Variables.

   1.5.1 Phonological Variables.

   1.5.2 Morpho-syntactic Variables.

   1.5.3 Discourse/Pragmatic Variables.

1.6 Impact of Social Parameters on Variable Change.

   1.6.1 Variation and Social Class.

   1.6.2 Variation and Gender.

   1.6.3 Variation and Age.

1.7 Language variation and change.

   1.7.1 Real Time Studies of Language Change.

   1.7.2 Apparent Time Studies of Language Change.

1.8 Stylistic Variation.

1.9 Why Style Shifting.

   1.9.1 Stylistic Variation as a Function of Attention Paid to Speech.

   1.9.2 Audience Design.

1.10 Conclusion.

1.1 Introduction

In a way or another, all languages vary in a striking way. Traditional dialectology took the responsibility of studying variation among the dialects of different regions where language shows its varying forms. The recent years, things have became more precise and limited ; researchers have looked for variation among the speech of the community and the individuals themselves.In fact, regional and social variation go hand in hand to explain the way languages and dialects diverse and change over time. Social factors such as age, gender, social class, socio-economic status, and occupation were the main elements that have been examined in modern dialectology led by the pioneer of modern sociolinguistics William Labov. Among the linguistic tools that sociolinguists have used to facilitate the process was the linguistic variable ; this unit shows the main positions of variation in language.

Algeria is a very rich landscape for linguistic diversity.Therefore, regional and social variation are pervasive every where we go in the different places of the area. Furthermore, there are other linguistic phenomena appear when languages come in contact which are : diglossia, bilingualism, multilingualism, and code-switching.

In addition, Stylistic variation is another independent variable that has been used to demonstrate language variation and change.In other words, sociolinguists have claimed that people use different linguistic styles in different situations.

In this chapter, we are going to shed light on the sociolinguistic concepts that form the structure of dialectology and variability.

1.2 Dialects as Varieties of Language

Each country in the world has its special and distinguishable properties that make it different from other countries ; this appears clearly in its language, geographical area, culture, style of clothing, and traditional meals …etc. All these can be used as a means of identification and affiliation. However, it is possible to adopt other ways of clothing, living, festing and so on, but you can not conceal the way you speak even if you master other languages.In other words, language is not just a means of communication ; it is more than that, it is a complicated and ambiguous term.Through the use of language, people recognize and identify themselves ; their use of language is considered as their identity card. As far as language is concerned, during the19th and 20th century linguists and sociolinguists have raised many issues with respect to what language thouroughly means and what sets it off from other varieties. Language refers to the more standard, prestigious, and formal variety which also has a written form .It is used to mean the superordinate and the standard variety.

The term variety is neutral and can apply to any way of speaking ; for instance, languages, dialects, sociolects, accents, jargons, registers are all considered as varieties. Hudson (1996, p.22) defined a variety as "a set of linguistic items with similar distribution" ; this means that language is a variety that includes other varieties.Romaine (2000) Max Weinreich's (1894-1969) often quoted dictum, "A language is a dialect that has an army and a navy" (p.13). Language and dialects are related to each other, at the same time, it is not an easy task to draw a clear distinction between them nor can we give them a rigorous definition. Wardhaugh (2006) reported that "Haugen (1966a) has pointed out that language and dialect are ambiguous terms. Ordinary people use these terms quite freely in speech; for them a dialect is almost certainly no more than a local non-prestigious (therefore powerless) variety of a real language" (p.28).

Contrary to the concept of language, dialects are varieties which have a low status in the speech community, the varieties of the ordinary daily life which people use in informal social contexts which have no written form and no prestige. A research by Chambers and Trudgill (1998) indicates "a dialect is a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige" (p.3). A dialect differs from other dialects in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar or syntax ; "the term dialect refers, strictly

speaking, to differences of vocabulary and grammar as well as pronunciation" (Trudgill, 2000, p.5).

As an obvious example, Standard English is a widespread variety which is spoken in different ways around the world ; we can refer to British English, American English, Scottish English, Australian English, Canadian English, Welsh English…etc. Similarly, Standard Arabic, the pervasive language in many regions and places, embraces a huge number of dialects as Algerian, Egyptian, Saudi-Arabian, Tunisian, Mauritanian and other dialects.

In all dialects, varieties may diverge from each other to be sub-divisions of the dialect spoken in a certain area. In this case we take Algerian Arabic dialects which vary distinguishably from a region to another these are : Oranian, Tlemcenian, Costantinian, Becharian, and other Algerian Arabic dialects that show grammatical, lexical, and phonological similarities and dissimilarities.

1.2.1 Regional Dialects

Undoudtedly, dialects have a tight link with the geographical area where the speech community adopts the linguistic items and properties of a given variety.In this sense, a dialect is considered as a variety of language that has relation with the geographical area ; it has different linguistic features that distinguishes it from the varieties of other geographical areas.

Varieties can be so striking if we observe the way dialects of the same language vary from one region to another ; these dialects have differences in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.Varieties which are associated with a specific place are called Regional Dialects. For Wardhaugh (2006) "Dialect geography is the term used to describe attemps made to map the distributions of various linguistic features so as to show their geographical provenance" (p.45). Standard Arabic is a variety that embodies a considerable number of regional dialects including Algerian Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, Morroccan Arabic, Libyan Arabic, and Gulf Arabic…etc. If we take the North African countries as an illustrating example of such regional dialects, Algeria, Morroco and Libya are Arabic speaking countries having a language which can be understood among all their speech communities. Neverthless, dialects show another linguistic reality in which linguistic items used in V1 (Algerian variety) are lexically, grammatically and phonologically distinct from the linguistic features of V2 (Morrocan variety) and V3

(Libyan variety) . For instance, the linguistic item 'Yes' in Algerian dialects is pronounced as [wah];[ʔeh]; [jjih]; [ʔijjih].In Morroco, the speech community uses [wakha] and according to Libyan dialects [aywa] is articulated. Through these linguistic features which are strongly related to the geographical boundaries, any person can make a judgement from where the speaker is ; that is, dialects convey a geographical identification about the individuals.

Concerning Standard English many regional dialects pervade ; we can mention Canadian English, American English, British English, Australian English, New-zealand English, Caribbean English, and South African English…etc.Inevitably, the linguistic features of each dialect differ more or less gradually, i.e., both American and British are varieties of SE.However , a clear distinction can be drawn between the two taking into consideration the grammatical, phonological, and lexical levels.Words such as aeroplane, axe, ensure, gramme in British variety are spelt differently from the American variety in which there is another way of spelling : airplane, ax, insure, gram respectively (David Crystal,1995,p.30).The differences also include grammar such as 'I have got' in British variety vs 'I have gotten' in American (Trudgill, 2000 , p.6).The British phrase 'single parents' is used by Australians as 'Sole parents' ; whereas, people in New-Zealand say 'Solo parents' (Holmes, 2013, p.13).

In Algeria, regional dialects can be noticeable as you move from one region to another, as you travel from Algiers passing by Bouira, Djalfa, Ghardaya, Bechar, and Adrar.Surprisingly, anyone can notice the regional differences that identify the geographical affiliation of a speech community. According to a sociolinguistic study, the Standard Arabic word /qaːl/ is realized in different ways in Algeria as [gaːl] ; [ʔaːl] ; [kaːl] (Bouhania, 2012, p.127).The choices of the word also may change from a region to another, a speaker from the North calls school as [lmsid] ; whereas, another speaker from the west may say [lkʊliːʒ], and another speaker from the South uses [madrasa].

One may wonder on what basis these dialects are organized in such a way and how people can identify the dialect areas.In fact, dialectologists used to draw lines on the maps around the places where the speakers tend to use the same linguistic features for the sake of designing the boundaries of each dialect.In other words, these sociolinguistic lines have been labelled as isoglosses, using such a methodology allows to claim where a speaker starts to use another linguistic feature or a set of features.Romaine (2000) claimed "An

isogloss represents the boundary of any linguistic features or set of features which separate one speech variety from another" (p.136).

There are a lot of isoglosses around the world.Holmes (2013, p.136) illustrated an obvious example of the isoglosses used to show how the English word 'splinter' is realized in the dialect areas of England. Another self-evident model of a set of isoglosses is the one located in the North of Europe.These isoglosses separate High German from   Low German "the features comprising the isoglosses include the pronunciation of final consonants such as p/t and k in words such as dorp/dorf ('village'), dat/das ('that','the'), and ik/ ich ('I')" (Crystal, n.d, p.29).In words ending with   plosives , /p,t,k/ are the variants used in Low German ;on the other hand,fricatives in dorf, das, and ich are for high German (Romaine, 2000 , p.136).

1.2.2 Social Dialects

When we ask the question 'Where are we from ?', inevitably, we expect an accurate and specific answer that has a link with geographical belongings .However, the question 'Who are you ?' or 'what is your status in your community ?' will be a sophisticated question especially from a linguistic perspective.In other words, the way speakers use the language conveys not just the regional affiliation, but it also reveals information about our social identity and backgrounds.

Before the 1960s, dialectologists had focused their sociolinguistic surveys on rural dialects using a straightforward methodology in which linguists took a speaker as a sample for all the members of a certain area.The transforming point has started with a sociolinguist, William Labov, who carried out his first social dialect survey in 1961 on Martha's Vineyard (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.16).Accordingly, studies on social dialects have taken a way forward.

Social dialects are dialects that correlate with societies ; the latter consist of members who have diverse occupations, status, classes, ages, and sex.In fact, these forms of social differentiation affect strikingly the way the language is used as well as give birth to new dialects which have social characterestics. Wardhaugh (2006) reported that "social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity" (p.49).

Social class is one of the main factors that have a profound influence on the language of a speech community ;" The term social class is used here as a shorthand term

for differences between people which are associated with differences in social prestige, wealth and education" (Holmes,2013,p.143). As far as English is concerned, SE is considered as a variety of the highest social class ; not anyone speaks SE.Simply because it is a dialect of newspapers, broadcasting, and well-educated people.Conversely, the non-standard varieties are taken for granted ; they are the dialects of the lowest social class.In other words, only people who have no degree of education and those who live in rural areas use the non-standard varieties (Trudgill,2000, p.30).

To be well acquainted with the issue of language and social class, there are a lot of linguistic markers which are associated with different social classes.The sociolinguistic studies on social class have emphasized first on the phonological variables and their social distribution among the different social groups. For example, in the varieties of English, the variable /r/ in words like 'guard','farm', and 'car' has mainly two variants ; either to be pronounced or not.The sociolinguists noticed that the pronunciation of the [r] sound in some areas is a tool of social group stratifications. The variationist William Labov had conducted an experiment in three department stores which are differentiated in terms of high, middle and low ranking stores.Using the noun phrase 'fourth floor' " This expression contains two opportunities for the pronunciation (or not) of postvocalic /r/, that is, the /r/ sound after a vowel. Strictly speaking, it is /r/ after a vowel and before a consonant or the end of a word" (Yule, 2010, p.255). He came up with convincing results in which the assistants of the high ranking stores pronounce more /r/ .On the other hand, both the two middle and low ranking stores have no /r/ in their pronunciations (Holmes, 2013,p.147).Yet, it is not always the same case for all English varieties.Trudgill conducted a study on the same variable ; i.e., the postvocalic /r/ in England where reading with postvocalic /r/ is closely correlated with working class speakers ; whereas , upper and middle class speakers considered reading with postvocalic /r/ as no more prestigious (Romaine, 2000, p.67).

Other studies took place in Norwich and elaborated on other phonological variables which also proved to what extent social class has a strong impact on the social linguistic variety.In words as in 'belonging', 'working', and 'giving', the linguistic variable / ing / with respect to the varieties of English is either pronounced with alveolar /n/ or a velar nasal /Ŋ/.Absolutely, alternations between the two variants [n] and [Ŋ] in the varieties of English have a link with the social class.Taking Norwich English study as a

demonstrating example, the results show that speakers from the working classes tend to use the alveolar /n/ rather than the velar nasal /ŋ/ ; by contrast, speakers belonging to middle classes prefer the presence of the velar nasal /ŋ/.Chambers and Trudgill (2004) concluded " This correlation shows, first, that there is a very clear relationship between usage of this variable and social class membership: the (ng)-2 /n/ variant is much more typical of working-class speech" (p.58).

Social classes are the most apparent and pervasive form of social stratifications ; in addition, in many societies the ethnic groups are very influential on the linguistic varieties of the speech communities.In USA, most people have self-evident knowledge about how Black African Americans use a variety of English which is distinct from the variety of White Americans.One of the well-known linguistic variables that is associated with Black English speakers is the deletion or the absence of the copula 'be' in the grammatical sentences :

"She real nice"   " They out there"

"He not American"   " If you good, you going to heaven"

                                                                              (Trudgill, 2000, p.55)

1.3 Dialect Continua

Speakers who share the same language are able to understand each other due to mutual intelligibility between the dialects of the language.The concept of mutual intelligibility is used as a vital criterion to draw a clear distinction between what is a language and what is a dialect. More precisely, speakers who use a particular language, are supposed to understand and communicate with each other without any difficulties (Crystal, n.d, p.25).

It would be apparent to any person who travels from one place to another that dialects are related to each other forming a discontinued chain.When travellers move from an area to the next, they notice that some linguistic features are common ; people can communicate using the same dialects.This is called geographical dialect continuum.However, moving in the same direction in rural areas shows that the linguistic differences appear gradually ; such differences are cumulative.This means "the further we get from our starting point, the larger the differences will become" (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p.5).

There are a lot of examples of such geographical dialect continua which spread around the world. Examples from European continua are the well-known ones including West Romance Continuum (it consists of the rural dialects of French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish and Potuguese), the West Germanic Continnum (dialects of German, Deutch, and Flemish), the Scandinivian Dialect Continuum (Norwigian, Swedish, and Danish), the North Slavic Dialect Continuum and the South Slavic Dialect Continuum (Romaine, 2000, p.11-12).

1.4 Variation in Language

There were assumptions among linguists that language is not variable ; they considered language as a static and unmoving entity.However, the birth of contemporary sociolinguistics and dialectology has proved that language is no more static.In other words, the focus on the study of language variation has appeared with the tendency of urban dialectology which had been initiated with the pioneer sociolinguist William Labov who claimed that "language is always moving, changing, in accordance with the interaction between different parts of society and the way society is organised and is being developed" (cf.Guy et al.,1996 as cited in Chambers & Trudgill 2004 , p.127).

Indeed, variability of language can not be hidden, it is apparent everywhere in language ;"Everyone knows that language is variable", said Edward Sapir in 1921 (Chambers & Trudgill 2004 ,p.127).Variation in language was obvious in the traditional linguistic studies of language change over time (diachronic change) and the study of language on a particular period which refers to the synchronic variation.Moreover, language varies from one speech community to another, from an individual to another.More precisely, variation between individual speakers is not the only variation rather variation within the speakers occurs "not only was there variation between individual speakers (interspeaker variation) on the Vineyard, there was also variation within individual speakers (intraspeaker variation)"(Meyerhoff , 2006, p.17) .

In the last few decades, many studies and surveys have been conducted to witness the fact that people do not speak in the same way.Yet, contemporary studies in dialectology have emphasized more on the reality that the same individual speaks differently from one social context to another and from time to time .A group of people

may use the same word frequently but each one pronounces it different from the other, as well as, the same speaker alternates between words in the same context :

"Jed! Come here! [heə]

  (silence from Jed)

Jed!! Come here!! [hiər]" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.10).

   In this exchange the same speaker uttered the word "here" using two different pronunciations.

1.4.1 Linguistic Variable

      Actually, the studies and investigations in the domain of social dialects led to the development of many techniques. This latter was principally useful for linguists and sociolinguists in describing variation in language.Among these investigations were the ones of the pioneering work of William Labov who contributed to the development of the concept of the linguistic variable ; "As we have just indicated, variation has long been of interest to linguists, but the use of the linguistic variable has added a new dimension to linguistic investigations."(Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.148).

      Many sociolinguists have defined the term linguistic variable as "a linguistic unit which has two or more variants that are used in different proportions either by different sections of the community or in different linguistic or contextual circumstances." (Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen & Spencer, 2009, p.48).The linguistic variable is the item that involves the existence of at least two variants which are also known as its actual instantiations.For example, an English speaker may use the [n] or [Ŋ] to pronounce the word 'giving', in this case the feature that varies is /ng/ which is the linguistic variable and the two realizations are considered as its variants. Meyerhoff (2006) reported that the relationship between the linguistic variable and its actual variants resembles the relationship between the phoneme and the phonetic realizations of that phoneme.

      Furthermore, the linguistic variables are not just concerned with the phonological aspects of language ; they may exist in syntax, grammar, semantics, and vocabulary ; "Variables are also found at all other levels of linguistic structure" (Llamas, Mullany & Stockwell, 2007, p.3). Studies carried out in many cities showed clearly how different levels of variables describe the variations between the speakers of a speech community and within the individual speakers themselves. In 1966, William Labov conducted a work in New York city where he chose five phonological variables which are (r), (æh) ,(oh), (th) and (dh).Trudgill carried out a study in Norwich (1974) where he dealt with thirty-three

phonological variables, three of them were consonants and the rest were vowels. Another study of Shuy et al.(1968) and Wolfram(1969) took place in Detroit where one phonological variable and two grammatical variables were chosen.Through these three fundamental studies, sociolinguists refered to most variables that have been examined (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.151).

1.4.2 Free vs Constrained Variation

For many years, linguistic studies on variation demonstrated that variation which occurs in the linguistic contexts is systematic and predictable. In other terms, phonologists have set rules for the pronunciation of phonemes that may have different realizations or ways of production.This latter refers to their phonetic variants or allophones, depending on their position in the word. Examples in this sense are the most available in every language in the world ,i.e., the phoneme /p/ in English has two main realizations it is either aspirated or not aspirated.What determines this is the linguistic context where the phoneme occurs in the word, /p/ is aspirated [p^h] when it is in the initial position of the word, as in pen. However, the contrast happens when it is the final sound of a word, as in gap, or preceded by s at the beginning of a word, such as in speed (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.9-10). Similarly, the allophones [b] and [ß] in Spanish can be predicted taking into consideration their occurrence in the word ; the former is pronounced at the beginning of the word, as in [bino] 'wine', and the latter in the other positions, such as in the word grape [ußu].

Obviously, the linguistic variables that have been examined by linguists are linguistically constrained ; they are predictable and regular. Any speaker is able to predict which variant will be used.Linguists refered to this kind of constraints as internal or linguistic factors.Nevertheless, not all linguistic variables are predictable ; in other words, how linguists can account for the way English speakers alternate between the two variants of the linguistic variable /ing/ that occurs in words as in speaking, singing, taking, ect.British English, as well as some other accents, pronounces /h/ at the beginning of the word and in other accents it disappears completely.Furthermore, examples taken from Bequia (an island in St Vincent and the Grenadines) showed that people pronounce 'chair' and 'cheer' alike.Strikingly, such alternations may take place between individual speakers (interspeaker variation), as well as,in the speech of the same speaker (intraspeaker variation) (Meyerhoof, 2006, p.8-17).

In fact, linguists have explained variations that are not constrained through linguistic factors to be in free variation.In other words, such variations are unconstrained and free from linguistic constraints.Inevitably, this was the case before the 1960s. However, it was no more the same after 1962 when the acknowlegded sociolinguist William Labov conducted a study on Martha's Vineyard (US).In his social study, he found out that " in addition to these linguistic constraints, Labov also found that there were some very clear correlations with non-linguistic factors as well" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.20).

The first remark that Labov had was how people of Martha's Vinyard pronounced some variables differently from the mainland which was self-evident in previous linguistic studies.In fact, residents of the island were characterized by the realization of the raised centralized variant [əi] of the diphthong (ay) such as in words like 'ice' and 'time'. However, W.Labov discovered that not all people realized the diphtong (ay) in similar way, there were different variants which were alternated from one speaker to another.That is, the variable /ay/ was also realized as a low fronted variant [ai] (Mayerhoff, 2006, p.17).

William Labov pioneered new techniques to interview people and gather as much as possible information.He intended to interview people in formal situations, then the informal ones.Moreover, he interviewed people from different places on the Vinyard who had different occupations and were in varying ages.By the end, he came up with ultimate interpretations in which he realized that in more rural areas the more centralized variants were used. As far as occupation is concerned, workers in the fishing industry tended to realize much more the raised centralized variants. He also noticed that people in their thirties and forties precisely between 31-45 pronounced more centralized variants than other ages (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.20).

The pioneering work of Labov on Martha's Vinyard challenged what linguists called free variation. Sociolinguists demonstrated that there is no free variation, all what we have in language is either constrained by linguistic factors or social factors (i.e., age, occupation, religion, etc.).Strictly speaking, both linguistic and social factors contribute to shape the form of the linguistic variable. "In sum, a sociolinguistic variable can be defined as a linguistic variable that is constrained by social or non-linguistic factors, and the concept of a variable constrained by non-linguistic factors emerges straightforwardly from the traditions of dialectology" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.11).

Recently, Sociolinguists have conducted many studies on different socioliguistic variables that are correlated with social parameters ; for instance, the linguistic variable

/ing/ that is mainly correlated with age, sex and social class.Findings in Australia proved that teenagers are more likely to use [n] ; "Similarly, Labov's work in New York City found that [ŋ] is sensitive to age" (Tagliamonte,2012 ,p.187).For Chambers (2003) [ŋ] is a distinct marker for females ; by contrast, males prefer to use [n].In respect of social class and formality, people belonging to the working class who are less educated use more [n] in their speech, in careful and formal situations [ŋ] is remarkably realized (Tagliamonte, 2012).

1.5 Levels of Linguistic Variables

In order to study language variation, linguists based their surveys and studies on the linguistic variable.This latter is the most significant unit in the linguistic structure, yet over time sociolinguistics focused more and gave more interest to the sociolinguistic variables by exploiting a range of variables at different levels : phonological variables, discourse variables, and grammatical (morphological and syntactic) variables (Llamas et al. 2007, p.3).

1.5.1 Phonological Variables

Phonological variables are the most well-known variables among the sociolinguistic studies of variation ; therefore, "Sociolinguistic methods have been fruitfully applied to the study of a wide range of phonological variables" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.138).They were widely the variables used by sociolinguists; fundamentally, they were the simplest variables to observe and analyse.

Examples of phonological variables embrace a wide range of consonants and vowels.Concerning consonants the (ing) variable was frequently studied, this variable in words, as in walking, coming has two alternations. It is either pronounced as [ŋ] or [n].The variable (t), as in better, is either [t] or [ʔ] ; the (h) variable at the beginning of words can be pronounced or dropped at all. The two variables (t) and (d) at the end of words are either uttered or not ; in words such as 'three' the variable (th) is [θ] or [t] ; likewise, the variable (dh) in 'their' is either [ð] or [d].Vowels include (e), (a), (u), (o) and (e), as in the following words pen/bad/pull/dog and beg respectively (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015).

1.5.2 Morpho-syntactic Variables

At this level of variables, social differences can be easily identified.In other words, sociolinguists exploited more morpho-syntactic variables than phonological ones when they came to examine the social strafications in a speech community ; "Morpho-syntactic variables, or grammatical variables, have traditionally been viewed as features which mark social differences more dramatically than phonological ones (e.g.Chambers 2003: 57)" (Tagliamonte, 2002, p.206).

Sociolinguists focused on several morpho-syntactic variables ; for instance, the variable verbal (s) of the third person singular or the third person plural as it is clarified in the following examples :

"She always phones me here and reverseØ the charges to me. (GYV/006)"

"Cos then people comeØ along and they comes in with the kiddies. (DVN/009)" (Tagliamonte, 2002, p.208).

Another morphy-syntactic variable is (ly) which marks the formation of adverbs in contemporary English.This latter indicates that such a variable is a newcomer to the morphology of English.Accordingly,in forming adverbs, there are two alternations, either to mark the adverb with the suffix (ly) or to omit it. Tagliamonte elaboreted on the case giving illustrating examples :

"We get our pension on a Monday and pension day comes around so quickly doesn't it? … It does come round quick, you-know, you can't believe it. (YRK/031)" (Tagliamonte, 2002, p.217).

Wardaugh and Fuller (2015) stated that 'be' is a variable which varies in its occurrence or its absence, such as in He is happy/He be Happy/ and He happy. Furthermore, among the morpho-syntactic semantic variables that Tagliamonte (2002) emphasized on is the deontic modal 'have to' which implies the meaning of necessity or obligation of doing a duty. A range of variants were taken into consideration : must, have (got) to, got to, need to, and should .Here are examples illuminating the use of these variants :

"You've got to have a vice of some kind. (CMK/022)"

I said, "You have to come up." I said, "You must come up." And to the person on the phone, I said, "I've gotta go." (TOR/075)" (Tagliamonte, 2002, p.228).

1.5.3 Discourse/Pragmatic Variables

Discourse/pragmatic variables refer to the means that are used to structure discourse, the markers that are used in conversational turns such as I mean, you mean and you see ; tags and tag questions (Llamas et al. 2007, p.3). Other variables illustrated in the study of discourse variation were the quotatives well-known for introducing hypothetical speech, quoted dialogue and direct speech (e.g, said, asked, and thought, ect.).Additionally to these quotative forms, Tagliamonte (2002) displayed a new quotative variant which has been used in the sense of other quotatives, quotative 'be like'.The following examples illuminate such alternations between quotatives :

"So then, she was like, "Oh, it's okay. Just remember to count to five and everything's okay."And I was like, "Oh, that's- that's okay." So then um, today she asked me again, "How are you juggling everything. I hope everything's going okay." And I said, "Well not really this week. This week is really stressful." (TOR/030)" (Tagliamonte, 2002, p.248).

1.6 Impact of Social Parameters on Variable Change

Obviously, the linguistic constraints are not only the factors that affect the way people and individuals vary in their speech. In fact, there are social dimensions that sociolinguists have discovered to explain the linguistic variation that exists among different people in different social communities.Social class, gender, and age are the most influentual parameters that play prominent roles in language variation and change.So, how are linguistic variables associated with social variables ?

1.6.1 Variation and Social Class

Social class is an independent variable that has been used to stratify people into groups, and such stratification is reflected on the linguistic behaviour of speech communities. "According to Labov (1972c: 212), "the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behaviour."(cited in Tagliamonte, 2012, p.25).The term social class has been coined as a result of the industrialisation and urbanization that had invaded some parts of the world around the eighteenth century then had expanded to pervade the rest of the world .In other words, most people who lived in rural areas have been fascinated by the huge increase in technology and mechanics ; towns and cities have become full of factories and automatically more work chances were available. Therefore people from the suburbs have moved towads the urban areas. Indeed the emergence of industrialisation and

urbanization had its impact on both the social structure and the linguistic behaviours. Critically speaking, different people from different places who spoke different dialects and languages have come into contact .That is to say, urbanization and industrialisation were the main reasons for the emergence of social stratification.Trudgill (2000) defined social stratification as "a term used to refer to any hierarchical ordering of groups in society" (p.23).The issue that sociolinguists attempted to solve is the way social stratification affects the use of language.

Before the 1960s, dialectologists were concerned with the study of rural dialects.Their concern was mainly to catch up with the dialects that were threatened by loss and death.However, this did not last for a long time ; in the second half of the twentieth century sociolinguists have turned their attention to the study of social variation in more populated areas. It seems that it was somehow a complicated and more difficult task because of the linguistic diversity of cities and towns. Despite such barriers, social class was the most researched variable.It was investigated to find out the relationship between linguistic variation and social variation.

In their studies, sociolinguists questioned the way speakers of a particular speech community can be divided into social classes.In fact, different sociolinguists have determined social classes using different criteria and scales. For instance, in 1966 William Labov established ten social classes on the basis of three criteria : education, occupation, and income. Labov's classes were grouped into four strata including Lower Class ; Working Class ; Lower- Middle Class ; and Upper-Middle Class.Another study of linguistic variation in Norwich, Trudgill (1974) used six indices (occupation, education, income, type of housing, locality, and father's occupation.).By means of these factors, he distinguished between five social classes : Middle Middle Class (MMC) ; Lower Middle Class (LMC) ; Upper Working Class (UWC) ; Middle Working Class (MWC) ; and Lower Working Class (LWC).He found out that speakers who belonged to the lower working class used most of the time the linguistic variable (he go) ; on the other hand, speakers from the Middle-Middle Class uttered (he goes) most frequently (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.43).

Generally, sociolinguists exploited two kind of approaches to relate linguistic behaviour to social class. Either by using linguistic behaviour to assign individuals to social class or to specify the groups these speakers belong to and then relate the observed linguistic behaviour to them.

1.6.2 Variation and Gender

Gender is another type of social differentiation that has a relationship with linguistic differentiation ; Labov (1990) claimed that "Of all the sociolinguistic principles, the clearest and most consistent one is the contrast between women and men" (p.205) (cited in Tagliamonte, 2012, p.32). Returning back to the traditional studies of language variation dialectologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focused in their studies on the analysis of the language used by men taking for granted women's use of language. Strictly speaking, they ignored women's speech because they assumed that men were the best representatives of the regional dialects ; "Many dialectologists based their surveys almost entirely on the speech of men, on the assumption that men better preserved the "real" and "purest" forms of the regional dialects" (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003, p.99).

Nevertheless, sociolinguists proved that men and women do not speak the same ; "Women and men do not speak in exactly the same way as each other in any community." (Holmes, 2013, p.160). The work of William labov in 1966 in New York city demonstrated that all people had the same chance to be representatives of a speech community ; this was done through the random selection of the sample. According to him, men and women from different social classes, ages, and ethnic groups can be equally selected.

In all speech communities, the speech of men and women contrasts in a way or another. Sociolinguistic studies have shown many distinct language characteristics that are relevant to women rather than men and vice versa. For instance, in 1958 Fischer was considered as the first sociolinguist who linked variation to gender. He stated that the vernacular alveolar variant (ing) was used more by boys ; whereas, girls tend to use more frequently the velar variant (Chambers & Schilling, 2013, p.369).The British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill in 1974 showed that Norwich men tended to use pronunciations that were more close to the vernacular and less close to the standard English.This finding was restricted not only to Norwich English ; Romaine (2000) claims that "A number of sociolinguistic studies have found that women tend to use higher status variation more than men"(p.78).Subsequent studies and findings carried out in different parts of the world explored that the non-standard variants are frequently used by males. On the other hand, females tended to use more standard language.The following examples show the way (ing) and (dh) variables are pronounced by women and men.

"(ing) variable: women [iŋ] > men [iŋ]

(dh) variable: women [ð] > men [ð] " (Mayerhoff, 2006, p. 207).

Generally speaking, women's and men's use of standard language is reflected in their linguistic behaviour.More precisely, reseachers noticed that women are more sensitive to prestigious variants and use less stigmatized forms than men.In the 1970s, the American linguist Robin Lakoff suggested that women tended to insert certain devices to regulate their speech so as to be more standard ; for example, the use of tag questions ; various kinds of hedges (e.g.I mean,you know) ; rising intonation on declaratives ; and conventional politeness (Eckert & Mc Connell-Ginet, 2013, p.158).

Despite the fact that gender is a salient social variable and can be reliably used in language variation, this social parameter can not stand for its own.Gender interacts with other factors (social class, age, style, and ethnicity).Peter Trudgill (1995) elaborated on some findings to clarify the relationship between gender and social class.He mentioned that lower–class speakers in Detroit use more non-standard multiple negation than the higher-class speakers do.Women in these social classes tend to avoid using such forms which explain their sensivity to stigmatization (p.69).

1.6.3 Variation and Age

In the sociolinguitic studies and investigations of language variation and change age was at the core of such studies .That is to say, in order to investigate language variation in progress variationists approached the chronological age for the sake of categorizing speakers and observe the sociolinguistic differences across their age. According to the hypothesis of apparent time, the only evidence to language change is the linguistic differences between different generations.In other words, such a method involves the synchronic study of speakers of the same generation, then, drawing a comparison with other groups of speakers from other generations.By the end, researchers infer the diachronic developments and changes of language (Llama, Mullany & Stockwell, 2007, p.69).

Using the apparent-time method, in 1992 Britain observed that New Zealand English had submitted to intonational changes.In his study, Britain chose three generations and compared speakers who were aged from 20–29, 40–49, and 70–79.He infered that there

was "a steady increase in the use of the intonation pattern across the generations" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.35-36).

Romaine (2000) asserted that "age, of course, makes a difference too" (p.150). She reported that a study carried out in Tunisia distinguished the linguistic differences between older women, middle -aged women and younger women.Strikingly, the diphthongs /aw/ and /aj/ are pronounced by older women ; by contrast, the alternations between diphthongs and monophtongs occur in the second generation.However, the use of the monophthongs characterizes the speech of younger women.

So, different age groups have different speech patterns. In other words, variation exists in the pitch, pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of individuals of different ages.Across our lifespan, we witness at each stage specific and distinguishable linguistic features from other oncoming stages.

1.7 Language Variation and Change

In order to understand language variation and change, Labov related language to the social context.Succesfully, he illustrated that social factors such as social class, age, and sex have a great effect on language variation.Moreover, there was another crucial factor that gave a robust argument to language variation.This salient parameter is change ; Chambers (2004) claimed that "In the variationist paradigm, linguistic change thus falls out naturally as one particular kind of sociolinguistic variation."(p.355).

In fact, founders of linguistics such as Bloomfield, Saussure and Hockett have asserted that we could examine language change at two or more points on a time line ; but it is impossible to track this change in progress. In other words, they maintained that the only thing we can observe is the consequences of such change ; Bailey (2004) has cited Hocket's (1958) assertion that "the actual process of language change is unobservable – it can only be detected through its results" (p.312). For them, language change can be either internal or external.The former change refers to the variation that is constrained by circumstances as in the pronounciations of /p/ sound or the free variation that has no linguistic constraints.Whereas, the latter change has more to do with borrowing from other dialects and languages that lead to some systematic changes to language (Wardhaugh, 2010, p.196).

Apparently, historical linguists used to study the history of a particular language and made a comparison between two or more moments or phases.This method had been

known among linguists as the diachronic study of language change.Nonetheless, decades later variationist sociolinguists had proved that language change can be observed while it is in progress.Chambers(1995) believes that the study of change in progress might be "the most striking single accomplishment of contemporary linguistics"(p.147) (cited in Bailey, 2004, p.312).Fundamentally, this could be only done through the initiation of new methods for studying language change.Indeed, variationists have raised the question : how can language change be obsereved in progress ?

1.7.1 Real Time Studies of Language Change

Real time has been considered as an ideal evidence for language change. Strictly speaking, it involves studying a speech community in a particular period of time and compare the way they speak after a period of time has passed.This kind of study can be undertaken in two main ways : the first one is the trend study which demands different people to be surveyed after a period of time.The second way is Panel study by which the same members of a speech community are surveyed over time (Wardhaugh & M.Fuller, 2015, p.161).

Jenny Pope (2002) was one of the variationists who studied language change using trend study ; she attempted to replicate Labov's work on Martha's Vineyard. Pope followed as much as possible all the techniques and tasks Labov has done in his work for the sake of getting results that provide real time data.Pope's replication was about 40 years after Labov's original study .Therefore, what has been infered was that the results of the centralization of (ay) and (aw) on the island in 1962 and 2002 were not alike.That is, by returning to Labov's results of cenralization ,they showed that "centralization is most obvious in the 31–45 age group." ; and "the change was merely an exaggeration of an existing tendency to centralize the first part of the diphthong."(Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 204). Moreover, " the higher the centralisation index, the more raised the onset of the diphthongs (ay) and (aw)…however, it is equally clear that Pope's results differ from Labov's in the overall rate of centralisation."(Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 143).

The second way of language change in real time is called Panel studies .This latter differs from the first one in that the same speakers are surveyed in different points in real time.Taking as an obvious example of studies that conducted Panel way is the one sociolinguists have carried out in Montreal French.They tracked the change in the pronounciations of rolled (r) in three points in time 1971, 1984 and 1995.Through their

analyses, researchers have infered that alveolar variant [r] was the norm of older Montreal.However, this variable has gradaully shifted to the uvular variant [R].In other words, there was gradual increase in uvular [R] in real time by which in 1995 the frequent use of the uvular [R] reached over 60 percent (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 140).

By the end we can say that the two ways of real time sudies were of great importance to the sudy of language change and variation. Furthermore, both of them gave clear and convinced evidence to the instability of language over time. Holmes (2013) had claimed that real time study is "a very reliable method of identifying changes."(p. 221).Nevertheless, real time studies are difficult to deal with since researchers have to follow the same speakers or different speakers over some periods on time. This will, of course, be a big challenge that may lead to success or failure. For that reason, sociolinguists have set up another methodological innovation that gave them more accurate and robust evidence for how languages vary and change over time.

1.7.2 Apparent Time Studies of Language Change

As opposed to real time studies, apparent time method is another way to show to what extent language is related to change over time.This principle involves the comparison of individuals'speech of different ages at a particular point in time.Theoretically, this hypothesis had its validity by assuming that the speech of individuals remains stable after they are exposed to the linguistic system of their native language in their early years of acquisition.That is to say, speakers who are 40 years old today reflect the speech community norms before 35 years ago when they were children .More precisely, linguists and psycholinguists have proved that the acquisition of language is limited to what they call the critical period. Children at this period acquire the basics of the phonological system of their mother tongue.Nevertheless, what we have said does not imply that the linguistic behaviour of the speaker is going to be stable at all levels ; evidently the speaker through his life will acquire more lexical, morphological, and syntactic patterns of language (Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, 2004, p.312-329).

Critically, sociolinguists exploited this hypothesis to innovate a principle that has been considered as a surrogate for the real time method.Apparent time construct has facilitated the process of tracking language change while it was taking place in time.Since the innovation of this method, sociolinguists have carried out their surveys on language change using apparent time studies.

The most interesting studies that have capitalized on this hypothesis were the ones done by William labov (1963) in Martha's Vinyard ; Sali Tagliamonte (1990s) in Yorkshire in north England and Richard Cameron (1998) and Puerto Rican in Spain. All of these studies have centralized on some variables that characterized each area ; then, they grouped the speakers according to their ages.Surely, by means of apparent time method the predicted results were either stable increase or steady decrease in the use of linguistic forms.And this latter is the desired goal to show to what extent apparent time was significant for researchers in understanding language change and specifying the direction and the rate of change.

1.8 Stylistic Variation

Generally speaking, the word style refers to a particular thing that is done in different ways.There are styles in our ways of clothing, behaving, performing, designing, and writing.This fashionable concept may imply in a way or another the meaning of change and variation.Therefore, style has also been very fundamental to language variation.In other words, speakers use different ways of conveying their messages to others. These ways depend most frequently on the factors that a person is engaged in .In this sense, Bell (2007) claimed that " The main factors which turn up again and again in sociolinguists' discussions of what influences a speaker's style are who the addressee is, what the topic is, and the nature of the setting where the interaction occurs" (p.95).

During the 1960s, William Labov has conducted two main dimensions to study language variation.The first one has a relation with society ; the social dimension bywhich language variation is strongly affected by social parameters such as : social class, gender, and age.The second dimension is the stylistic variation which also refers to intra-speaker dimensions of variation. Sociolinguists have emphasized the profound importance of studying linguistic styles to language variation and change ; "Style is a pivotal construct in the study of sociolinguistic variation. Stylistic variability in speech affords us the possibility of observing linguistic change in progress" (Labov, 1966 ; cited in Rickford & Eckert, 2001, p1).

The fact that individuals speak differently as they are shifting from one situation to another. Or when their interlocutors are different .Or when they are from different social contexts has led variationist sociolinguists to look for the main reasons that governed stylistic variation. Simply speaking, why do we use a special style when we speak to those

who are older than us or younger than us ? Why do we speak very formal in a formal context ? And do not we care about the style we use at home ? On what basis our choices are made ? And on what basis our formality or informality is determined ?

To answer such debatable issues, sociolinguists have adopted distinct perspectives.Therfore, many approaches have been initiated to give to some exent explanations and clarifications to the way people shift styles. Furthermore, there were different methods and techniques devised to achieve their goals.In the following steps we are going to deal with the most influential approaches to stylistic variation.The first one was conducted by William Labov and the second one was attributed to Allan Bell.

1.9 Why Style Shifting

William Labov (1966) and Allen Bell (1984) proposed two different models to explain why speakers shift styles.

1.9.1 Stylistic Variation as a Function of Attention Paid to Speech

In 1966, William Labov carried out a survey in New York city aiming to elicit the different styles used by the residents.During his survey, the main variable he manipulated was the /r/ which characterized the speech of New Yorkers.To do so, he interviewed different people using different methods and tasks.In other words, additionally to the principle technique, 'the interview' ; he exploited other language tasks to facilitate the process of monitoring styles.

Labov asked the interviewees to read a list of minimal pairs as in 'guard'and 'God' ; a list of isolated words that may include the variable /r/ or not, short narratives, and talk about different topics concerning their own experiences in life. However, all these tasks aimed to make the interviewees paying more attention to their speech.That is to say, in the first and second tasks the speakers will pay more attention to the way of their pronunciations.And therefore they produce more careful speech .Whereas, the interviewees will give less attention to their speech when they were freely talking about their lives (Schilling-Estes, 2004, p.378).

Fundamentally, Labov believed that shifting from more formal styles to casual ones is due to the amount of attention speakers pay to the way of speaking. In this sense, he states that "styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov, 1972b: 208 ; cited in Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.200).By

saying that, he related the styles produced to the self-consciousness of the speech. Specifically, the more speech is self-conscious the more formality of the speech and vice-versa.

Nevertheless, Labov's model was critically challenged for some points. Allan Bell (1984) claimed that attention could not be regarded as the whole dimension to style rather it is just a factor in interview.Furthermore, sociolinguists had proposed the difficulty of separating the casual speech from the careful one. Based on other surveys and findings of different sociolinguists, Allan Bell (1984) has proposed the model of Audience Design which is totally rejective to the previous one (Llamas, Mullany & Stockwell, 2007, p.96).

1.9.2 Audience Design

As opposed to the model of William Labov, Allan Bell (1984) has proposed another model which is based on that the major effect on stylistic variation is the audience not attention.In other words, he (1984) claimed that "Style is essentially the speakers' response to their audience" (p.145).For him speakers shift language style to respond to their listeners. Furthermore, Bell demonstrates that the speaker is affected not only by the existence of the addressee ; however, there are other kinds of audiences.The latter includes auditors, overhearers, and eavesdroppers.The first one is the person who is ratified but not directly addressed ; and the second is a non-ratified participant, and the last one is neither known nor ratified (Bell, 1984).

Notably, in order to support this model of course, Bell depended on many surveys and findings.The first and the major effective one was carried out in New-Zealand in almost a decade before his modal establishment.This survey involves the recording of newscasters who read national news on two stations.One of the stations was popular for most of its addresses were people from lower social classes.Whereas, the classical station was preferable to higher social classes.What Bell has observed was that in the former station the announcers used linguistic features that were more closer to New Zealand English.However, in the latter more Standard English was used.So, as a result Bell found that the addressee is the central effect of stylistic variation (Meyerhoof, 2007).

Moreover, Bell suggested that stylistic variation derives from social variation ; that is " Stylistic or intraspeaker variation derives from and mirrors interspeaker variation" (Bell, 1984, p .145).For more explanation, this means that the linguistic variables

associated to different groups are embedded in the individuals's variability.In this sense, stylistic variation represents the overall social groups linguistic differences. For example, the speaker attunes and accomodates as much as his speech according to the addressee's linguistic and social background (Geogrieva, 2014, p.149).

Obviously, it was the kind of addressee that Bell focused on to explain style-shifting among individuals. However, he also mentioned other factors by which stylistic variation is affected.Topic and setting are also non-audience factors that influence speakers' style shifting.That is to say, speakers shift styles depending on the kind of topic and situation ; whenever there is a shift in style it indicates a change in a topic or setting (Schilling-Estes, 2004, p.384).

1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shed light on some basic sociolinguistic concepts .The latter give a clear picture of what sociolinguistics as a broad field consists of. Sociolinguists have examined and analysed quantatively and qualitatively the linguistic phenomena and the data collected.The main aim of sociolinguists was to demonstrate that language variation is no more random or free ; therefore, they correlated the dependent variables (linguistic) and the independent variables (social).

What we have seen in this chapter will be illustrated to some extent in our case study .We will deal with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general and the sociolinguistic situation in one of its towns "El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh" particularly.

CHAPTER TWO : The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1 Introduction.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape of Algeria.

  2.2.1 Historical Background of Algeria.

     2.2.1.1 Algeria from the Prehistoric Period to the First Half of the 19th Century.

     2.2.1.2 Algeria under the French Colonization.

     2.2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Situation of Algeria after 1962.

2.3 Algerian Languages in Contact.

   2.3.1 Diglossia.

   2.3.2 Bilingualism in Algeria.

   2.3.3 Code-Switching.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Situation in El-Abiodh S/C.

   2.4.1 General Background of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

   2.4.2 The Dialects of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

   2.4.3 The Dialect of the Native Inhabitants (D1).

     2.4.3.1 The Phonological Variables (D1).

     2.4.3.2 The Morphological Variables (D1).

     2.4.3.3 The Lexical Variables of   of D1.

2.5 The Dialect of Ouled Ogbi (D2).

     2.5.1 The Phonological Variables of D2.

2.1 Introduction

Sociolinguists have become more and more interested in studying the colloquial varieties of the language and how this may differ from one speaker to another.Through their surveys and studies, they have infered that each language has its linguistic varieties and each variety has distinct morphological, phonological, and lexical features.The latter is a quality that may vary from a speech community to another and from one individual to another ; furthermore, within the same person.

Algerian Arabic is a language that is characterized by its variability.That is to say, each region has a dialect that is linguistically different from the adjacent regions.In this paper, we have studied the dialects of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh where we live ; it is a sociolinguistic research that adopts new sociolinguistic methods and techniques.

The present chapter draws a general picture about the complex sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Furthermore, it describes the sociolinguistic situation in one of the Algrian towns called " El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh ".

2.2 Linguistic Landscape of Algeria

The linguistic situation in Algeria is so sophisticated; this is mainly due to a set of historical, geographical and political factors.

2 .2.1 Historical Background of Algeria

History was one of the most influential factors in the language of Algerian native speakers.Algeria   has witnessed the existence of many civilizations and nations which contributed in a way or another to the complexity and variability of language.

2.2.1.1 Algeria from the Prehistoric Period to the First Half of the 19th Century

Linguistically speaking, the situation of Algeria has been characterized by its complexity and diversity.This latter was due to the impact of various cultures and civilizations that the area has witnessed through its history.Because of its vastness and geographical location, Algeria had been invaded and controlled by conquests from different empires and states.

Briefly, historians believe that during the prehistoric period a group of people came from different regions and settled in north Africa.Later on the Greeks and the Romans called these tribes berbers ; their language was simple and natural and reflected their way of living.

The Phoenicians (800 B.C) were the first invaders who spoke the Punic language.This latter had a little influence on the language of the natives ; mainly, only those who had a direct contact with the Phoenicians could speak Punic.And the majority of berbers retained their language.However, Punic provided Berber with the alphabet which was named Tifinagh (Chami, 2009, p.387).

Around 146 B.C, the Romans controlled Algeria and called it Numidia.The Roman's official language was Latin which was spoken by civil servants, soldiers, and religious men.Furthermore, it was the language of financial power and faith. Despite the hard attempts of the Roman's rulers to impose their language ; Numidians held their language and Rome could not get rid of their linguistic variety (Mostari, 2005, p.38). However, Latin was largely adopted by the inhabitants in the cities who were obliged to acquire the language.On the other side, peasants and those who were living in the countryside spoke their native language (Ben Mouhammed el Jilali, 2010, p50).

After almost three centuries of Romans' control, in 431 A.D the Vandals conquered Algeria .Not lasting for a long time was the reason for the weak influence of the Vandals on Berber.It was common that the Vandals spoke just a vernacular variety that had no value ; therefore, Latin remained as a means of communication (Bouaziz, 1995, p.196).

The Byzantines invaded the country for more than one century. Around the seventh century, it was the first Arab conquest that had a significant and profound influence on people's religion, culture, and language.Unlike the previous invasions, the Arabs' arrival was to introduce Islam and the language of Quran.The importance of Arabic stemmed from its religious and cultural status. In other words, at that time Arabic was the official language ; the dominant language of literature, art, science, and the language of faith.Therefore, it profoundly influenced the linguistic repertoires of the Algerians. Berbers welcomed Islam and arabized themselves.Over time, the Arabs converted most Berbers and taught them Arabic ; Arabic and Berber integrated with each other (Chebchoub, 1985, p.4-5).

In the first half of the 16th century, the Spaniards evoked internal conflicts to take control over Algeria.The Ottoman empire came to put an end to their dominance.The Turks

ruled the country from the early 17th century until the 19th century ; however, surprisingly Algerians preserved their languages .That is to say, the majority of the spoken varieties were either Arabic or Tamazight.

2.2.1.2 Algeria under the French Colonization

Before 1830, Algeria has become linguistically diverse.The mother tongue of the Berbers was Berber ; Arabs spoke Arabic ; minorities from Spain spoke Spanish and settled in the west ; Ottoman Turkish was spoken by the Turks ; in the east of Algeria there were Italians who spoke Italian ; and Judeo-Arabic was the variety of the Jews (Belmihoub, 2012, p.2).

Algeria from 1830 to 1962 was occupied by France.The colonization had two major objectives : to eradicate Arabic and cultivate the French culture and language within the Algerian society.

Ibrahimi (2000) states that the French language was

"The only language among the other languages which lasted and influenced the users. It has gained a particular status in the Algerian society. The French language which was imposed on the Algerian by fire and blood, constituted a fundamental element in the French policy of depriving people from their identity and the deculturation" (p.66).

2.2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Situation of Algeria after 1962

The post-independence sociolinguistic situation of Algeria was complex. Nowadays Algeria has principally four linguistic varieties : Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or formal Arabic; Algerian Arabic (AA) ; French and Tamazight .Furthermore, English is increasingly getting place in the educational and technological domains.

Th Algerian government had tried to arabize people and remove the French language. This policy was officially implemented through the constitution of 1963 that declared Modern Standard Arabic as an official language of Algeria. And in 1976 the constitutional amendment laid down MSA as the national and official language of Algeria. It is the language spoken by educated people, used by mass media, in formal context ,and literature.

Algerian Arabic is the dialectal variety of the majority of the population in Algeria ; "Indeed, approximately 72 % of inhabitants daily use the Darija, which is the Algerian Arabic

dialect" (Hamdani, Selouani & Boudraa, 2010, p.160).It is the variety spoken in informal speech, daily life communication, as well as, it is the native variety spoken at home.AA differs from MSA at the phonological, syntactic, semantic and morphological levels.

Tamazight is a linguistic variety that the Algerian government has declared as a national language ; " in October 2001, President Bouteflika agreed that Thamazight should be recognised as a "national language" in the constitution" (International Crisis Group, 2003, p.8) and in 2016 as an equal language to MSA.Tamazight is now the language spoken in many parts in Algeria by different groups ; approximately 20-25% of Algerian population use Berber as their means of communication (Belmihoub, 2012, p.6).

According to the University of Laval documentation,there are twelve recognizable dialects which belong to Tamazight: Thaqbaylit, Shawiyya, Thamazight, Thashelhit, Thumzabt, Thaznatit, Thamahaq, Shenoua, Thamazight Tidikelt, Thamazight Temacine, Thagargrent, and Thadaksahak.These dialects spread across large areas in Kabylia including Algiers, Béjaia, Tizi-Ouzou, Sétif, and Boumerdés; central Sahara (Ouargla) and in Mzab; the Aurés in South-Eastern Algeria especially in Batna, Khenchla, Souk Ahras, Oum el Bouaghi, and Tebessa; and others in some parts of Arzew, Tlemcen, and Sidi Bel Abbés (cited in Mouhleb, 2005, p .17).

After more than one century, French has left traces on the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers. Despite the efforts of the Algerian state to reduce the use of French as an official language after independence; French has retained its status as a first foreign language. After the independence, the policy of Arabization determined the role of Arabic as an official language. Furthermore, it was the only language that the government has imposed to be used in education, institutions, official positions, television broadcasts, textbooks, lectures and generally in public.

However, despite all these attempts to eradicate the use of the French language, the second largest French speaking community is Algeria. Specifically, post-independence strategy to reinforce Arabic usage was somehow difficult to be totally successful.In other words, the government had to keep French for scientific reasons since most educated people had received their studies in French language.

Nowadays, French is widely used in the planning of school curriculum. It is considered as a first foreign language that is taught from primary school to higher education.

More precisely, there has been an estimation that most Algerians have some knowledge about French language in the sense that the majority are able to understand French and about 20% can write and read in French.

English has increasingly become the international language; it is the language of science, technology, and modernization.Therefore, in the 1990s the Algerian government had suggested to introduce English as a first foreign language instead of French .However, there was no attendance from the public.Nowadays, it is considered as a second foreign language after French.

These languages in Algeria play different roles; they form another serious issue when they come into contact. Noticebaly, one can not say that all Algerians speak just MSA and/or AA; or most of them use French and Berber .Even in the speech of the same individual one can not predict which variety the speaker is going to use.In fact, this kind of mixing between languages has created other sophisticated linguistic situations such as diglossia, bilingualism and code-switching.

2.3 Algerian Languages in Contact

The contact between the varieties spoken in the speech community of Algeria has created linguistic phenomena : Diglossia, Bilingualism and code-switching.

2.3.1 Diglossia

Diglossia is a linguistic phenomenon that was firstly introduced during the 1950s by Ferguson who gave a clear discription of how diglossic relations were manifested in many speech communities. He defined diglossia as a stable situation which occurs in a societal context where there are two varieties of the same language.As well as, he added that the two varieties had to be different functionally and structurally from each other.Using Arabic is an obvious example ; he mentioned that all Arabic speaking communities have two linguistic forms of their language .The first one is the High variety and the second is the Low variety.In the Arab world Classical Arabic is considered as the high variety ; whereas, the low variety is attributed to colloquial Arabic (Wardhaugh, 2010, p.85).

According to Ferguson, the High variety differs from the Low variety functionally. By this, he means that each variety is used in specific circumstances .For instance, H is restricted to formal situations such as formal public speech, religious speech, literature, broadcasting,

formal writing, and so on and so forth.By contrast, the L variety is limited to informal positions; it is a variety spoken at home for every day conversations. Strictly speaking, the High variety is characterized by its standardization and high prestige; whereas, the low variety is no more prestigious.Structurally, there are grammatical, morphological, and phonological differences between the two verieties (Hudson, 2001, p. 226).

Taking the case of Algeria, MSA and AA are in a diglossic relation.The former is the H variety that is used in schools, official situations, political and religious matters .On the other hand, Algerian Arabic is the vernacular that has no official value ; it is the native variety acquired at early ages at home.

2.3.2 Bilingualism in Algeria

Bilingualism as defined by Blanc "refers to the co-existence of two or more languages used by individuals and groups in society."(Mesthrie, 2001, p.16). Bilingualism is a linguistic situation that is common in the Algerian social environment. This linguistic phenomenon is represented in the use of both French and Arabic or French and Berber. However, it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the two forms of bilingualism ; i.e., the societal and the individual. Societal bilingualism refers to the situation where the majority of people have the ability to acquire and speak the second language .Whereas, the second refers to the situation where an individual is able to use two or more languages.

Nevertheless, the ability of Algerians to use French and Arabic or French and Berber does not indicate that all of them are bilinguals.There are some of them who are monolinguals.The same case goes for the individuals who can be either balanced or unbalanced bilinguals .A balanced bilingual is a speaker who has the same competences in the languages he acquires. An unbalanced bilingual, on the other hand, has an unequal mastery of the languages used.

2.3.3 Code-Switching

Obviously, bilingual speakers find themselves in a difficult linguistic situation. In other words, it is rarely to find a bilingual speaker who uses just one variety in speech.In fact,unconsciously bilinguals who are fimiliar with two codes switch from one variety to another.This latter indicates the most common linguistic phenomenon in the speech of bilingual communities which is Code Switching.In this sense, McCormick (2001) claims that

"Taken broadly, the term 'code-switching' refers to the juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages or dialects." (p.447).

In Algeria, people frequently switch from Berber to AA and from AA to Berber; they also switch from AA to French and From Berber to French. Even illiterate people who have never been to school switch from their vernacular to some common French words. To illustrate more here are some examples taken from a survey done in Algeria to show how code-switching is pervasive in the speech of Algerians.

"Bezaf m3a saifi walah mnkalifoha majərbaħch

Had enough with Saifi.

Mais les filles ta3na ysedkou n'import quoi ana hada face book jamais cheftou khlah kalbi

Our girls believe anything, I have never seen this Facebook before."

(Cotterell1, Renduchintala, Saphra, & Callison-Burch, n.d, para.8).

Other examples of switching of Berber and French :

"Azul felawen amek tesilim ma sava."

Hi, How are you, are you ok.

"Jewere yerad le but yechevah."

Footballer scored an amazing goal.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Situation in El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is one of the Algerian towns that has a complex sociolinguistic situation ; it is characterized by its social variation.

2.4.1 General Background of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

It was named El-Abiodh according to a well which water was white ; whereas, Sidi Cheikh refers to the 26th grandfather whose name was Sidi Abd-el-Kader Ben Mohammed Ben Slimane Ben Bou Semaha.Historically, Ouled Sidi Cheikh was a tribe that came with the

Islamic conquest of the North of Africa.They came during the 11th century from Saudi Arabia to settle in different parts of Algeria such as Tlemcen, Djordjora, and Tnas.Historians claim that Ouled Sidi Cheikh are the descendants of the companion of the prophet Abou-Beker Esseddik رضي الله عنه.In the first half of the sixteenth century this family settled in the oasis "Tankrit" in the Oranian South.Nowadays, this area is called El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.The family sub-divided into two branches : Ouled Sidi Cheikh Sharaga led by Si Boubaker el Srir and his son Hamza and Ouled Sidi Cheikh el Gharaba guided by Cheikh Ben el Taib .

The father Abd el-Kader Ben Mohamad died in 1615 (1022-1023 Hegira).He left 18 children who took the heritage of this prestigious family.The family established many religious schools; the famous is known as Zaouia Cheikhiya. Furthermore, during the French colonization they revolted and gave hand to the independence of Algeria.The revolution of Ouled Sidi Cheikh lasted from 1864 to 1884.

El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is a city that was constructed during the 9th Century Hegira.This historical area is located in the South-West of Algeria; it is the gate of the Sahara due to its geographical location. El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh has borders with El-Bayadh from the North, Naama and Bécher from the West, Laghouat and Ghardaia from the East.It also borders the Mountain of Bou Nagta to the North, the Mountain of Tamda to the West, Dunes to the South, and the Mountain of Tismert to the East. It has a surface of 16 023 km^2 and a population of about 40 000 inhabitants.

Map1 : The Geographical Location of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

The area of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is a fertile land ; people there live on agricultural activities and the raising of animals.This city has four main districts as follows :

-Hay El Sharqui : where tribes of Ouled Sidi Cheikh, Ouled sidi Abou Hafs and the slaves of Ouled Sid El Hadj Bouhafs live.This place has a traditional Qsar with a gate called the gate of Sidi El Hadj Bouhafs.

-Hay El Yatama : the majority of the population in this place was orphans that is why it was called Yatama.The groups of Ben Kamo, Ben Atala, Ben Dine, Ouled Jramna, Ouled bel Khadim, Ouled Sid Naami, and Ouled Sid Hadj Bahous live in the district.

-Hay El Gharbi : in the northern side there are Ouled Sid El Hadj Ahmad and Sidi Ben Cheikh ; whereas, the eastern side is populated by some of Hmayan, Ouled Sidi Ibrahim, Ouled Sid El Hadj Abd El Hakem.The western side live Ouled Moulay Yagoob.

-Hay El Chaab : it is a mixture of different people who came from different regions.There exist the tribes of Ouled Aïssa, Ouled Ziad, and Ouled Sid El Hadj Ben Amer.

El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh embraces many tribes and ethnic groups ; therefore, there are many dialects spoken by each group.The linguistic variability is so obvious in some tribes than others and in some places than others.In other words, there are about 13 tribes that live in the city which explains the sociolinguistic situation.Among these tribes are:

Ouled Abd Krim (El Krarma), Djeramna, Nouaoura, Ouled Aïssa, Ouled Amara, Ouled Ogbi, Ouled Sid Hadj Ahmed, Ouled Sid Hadj Bahous, Ouled Sid Hadj Bencheikh, Ouled Sid Cheikh, Ouled Sidi Brahim, Ouled Sidi M'Hamed, Ouled Ziad.

Explicitly, this diversity in terms of population has created a sophisticated diversity of language.In other words, the sociolinguistic situation of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is complex by which a newcomer may feel that he/she is not in the same social context.

2.4.2 The Dialects of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

We can distinguish between three major dialects ; the dialect of the native inhabitants including the dialects of Ouled Sid Cheikh, Ouled Sid Hadj Bencheikh, Ouled Sid Hadj Bahous, Ouled Sid Hadj Ahmed, Ouled Sidi Brahim, and Ouled Sidi M'Hamed.The second variety is the dialect of Ouled Ogbi who have apparent phonological, morphological, and lexical differences.The last ones are the dialects of the non-native inhabitants including :

Ouled Abd Krim, Djeramna, Nououra, Ouled Aissa, Ouled Amara, and Ouled Ziad. The latter are tribes who are not originally from El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh; they came from different adjacent regions.

2.4.3 The Dialect of the Native Inhabitants (D1)

The native inhabitants are the first people who settled on the area.They live in blocks and most of them are neighbours and relatives; they settled in El-Hay Charqui and Hay El-Yatama.Therfore, their way of speaking is alike, which differentiates them from other existing varieties.The phonological, morphological, and lexical features of D1 are :

2.4.3.1 The Phonological Variables of (D1)

The most noticable phonological variable uttered by the native inhabitants is the variable /q/ in words such as in :

[ħɒʈɪ əl muqraf wəl qrafa ʕla ʈabla wəl qalaj ʕla nar] : put the spoons and the bowels on the table and put the kettle on the fire.

[qaðbalah] : God's anger.

[alah qaləb] : God is the winner.

[hadak əl qaʃɪ ga:ʕ maqbu:n] : Those people are all disabled.

[smaʕt qunja lɪ qanaha sɪ slɪman fɪ maqnɪja] : I heard a song that the singer Slimane sang in Maghnia.

[waʃ rakum qaja] : Are you ok ?

[kʊnt baqa nuqda əl hawʃ ʕamɪ] : I wanted to go to the house of my uncle.

[ʕad raha baqa zu:ʒ swajeʕ] : It has still remained two hours

The second phonological feature of D1 is the use of the diphtong /aj/, For example :

[ʒajt] : You came.

[mʃajt] : You went.

[wajnta] : When.

[walajt] : You have returned back.

[xbajz] : Bread.

The third phonological feature is the use of [g] sound instead of /q/ in Modern Standard Arabic.

MSA   **D1**

 /qal/   [gal] : He said

/qalb/   [galb] : Heart

/qasama/   [gsam] : To divide

/qaːsa/   [gas] : To measure

2.4.3.2 The Morphological Variables (D1)

   Adult speakers of this dialect use the prefix {qɪ-} to mean most of the time "just" or "when" for example :

[qɪrwahɪ mʕaja] : Just come with me.

[qɪʃuftək ʕraftk] : as soon as I saw you, I have recognized you.

[qɪʒɪbɪha mʕak] : Just bring it with you.

However, their children in their early ages use another prefix {ʔɪ} such as in :

[ana ʔɪgultlajha] : I just told her.

[ʔɪrwahɪ mʕaja] : Just come with me.

2.4.3.3 Lexical Variables of D1

Speakers of this ethnic group use frequently the word [ræbi] twice or more in an expression when they want to ask for something.For example :

-[ræbi ræbi ɪʕʈɪnɪ nʒarab] : Please, let me try.

They also use a lot insulting terms when they are angry such as :

-[qaðabəllah] : God's anger.

-[jaqrɪgɪ nəndbah] : I will scratch myself.

-[jawajlɪ] : my torture !!

-[jaqadada] : yuck !!

As far as the lexical variables are concerned we will draw a table containing the three dialects.

2.5 The Dialect of Ouled Ogbi (D2)

Most people of this tribe settled at Hay El-Gharbi where their dialect is phonologically, morphologically, and lexically different from the other dialects. According to historians, the father of Ouled Ogbi came from Morroco and settled in different regions of the South-West.They have a distinguishable dialect from D1 and D3 ; this appears phonologically, morphologically, and lexically in their speech.

2.5.1 The Phonological Variables of D2

As opposed to D1 and D3, speakers of D2 pronounce /ɣ/ as [ɣ] ; this is the most striking feature of Ouled Ogbi's speech.For example :

-[ɣudwa w la mənɣad rajha nʒɪːkuːm] : tomorrow or the day after I will come to you.

-[kɪraku:m ɤaja] : Are you ok?

-[ɤadja nʕajat əl kul l ɤaʃɪ baʃ jtɤadu] : tomorrow I will call all people to take lunch.

-[brit ngulək ɤadja ntzawaʒ fɪ oktubr] : I want to say that my marriage will be on October.

-[ɤadja nəʃrɪ ɤuraf w mɤarəf sɤar] : I will buy a pinter and tea spoons.

-[ɤudwa əruħ əl ɤardaja] : tomorrow I will go to Ghardaia.

-[had əl ɤaʃɪ kul mrɪ:d] : all these people are mad.

Another phonological variable characterizes the speech of D2 ; it is the long vowel /i:/ as opposed to /aj/ in D1, for example :

-[mʃi:t w ʒi:t] : I went and I came.

-[zi:t] : oil

-[ma gutli:ha walu] : I did not tell her nothing.

2.5.2 The Morphological Variables of D2

People in D2 add the prefix {ɤɪ} instead of {qɪ} in D1 which also means " just", for example :

-[ɤɪgutlək] : I have just said to you.

-[ɪla rakɪ baɤja tʒɪ ɤɪrwaħɪ] : If you want to come just come.

-[ɤɪʒi:t ʕajatlak] : when I came, I called you.

2.5.3 The lexical Variables of D2

Ouled Ogbi are known for their use of words that are not pronounced at all by D1 and D3, i .e. these words do not have equivalent terms in D1 and D3, some of them are :

D2   **MSA**

[sma rabɪ ʕabd rabɪ]   By the name of God, the worshipper of Allah.

[gliʕ l ɣnam]   the disappearance of cattle.

2.6 The Dialect of the Non-native Inhabitants (D3)

The non-native inhabitants are the minority tribes who are not originally from the city.They are Ouled Ziad and Ouled Amara who came from Rougassa, Ouled Abd Krim (Krarma) who are from el Mhara ; there are also Djeramna, Nououra, and Ouled Aissa from the rural areas.

2.6.1 The Phonological Variables of D3

Speakers of D3 have mainly the same phonological variables as D1.

2.6.2 The Morphological Variables (D3)

People of this tribe use also the prefix {qɪ-} which means just or when ; however, they emphasize more on the variable by adding /j/ such as in :

[ʂlah qajhadɪk ʒɪha] : Brush just this side.

[gutlək qajʒɪbɪha] : I told you just bring it.

The variable {qaj-} is a linguistic feature that attributes to the speakers who come from the suburbs.Therefore, it can be hardly observed.

2.6.3 Lexical Variables (D3)

Almost all people of these tribes have the same linguistic repertoires as the native inhabitants of the city (D1); the only difference we can notice is the lexical feature. The speech of D3 have been profoundly influenced by the speech of D1.

2.7 Code - Switching in the Speech Community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

Code switching is a linguistic phenomenon that exists in all speech communities.However, not all speakers can switch ; old people, adult people and teenagers do not have the same linguistic repertoires.For instance, through the recordings and observations of the speekers of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh, we have infered that Old people do not switch a lot unless they use some french terms acquired during the colonization period. Most people over 50 years are illiterate and have no contact with the new technology and inventions.Whereas, adult people and teenagers are literate who have learnt French at all educational levels.Therefore, they switch a lot from Arabic to French.We have recorded some dialogues ; the following example is a dialogue which took place in an educational establishment between three workers who have already taken their high degree :

A-[maʕlabakumʃ wajnta əl kunkur]

Do not you know when the competition will be ?

B-[ʃuft f sɪt ntaʕ wɪzarat tarbɪja katbɪn bɪlɪ kajən fɪ le mwa avrɪl]

I saw on the site of the educational ministery, they wrote that there will be a test at the end of April.

C-[wah sah galu nabdu nadfʕu lɪ dusɪj fɪ la fa ntaʕ mars]

Yes indeed, they said that we are going to submit our files at the end of March.

B-[ɪla kan sah l kunkur nurmalmu rajəħ jku:n fɪ lə pru:ʃən mwa]

If it is true, the test normally will be on April.

A-[ɪh ! had əl kunku:r qɪprutukulat w daxlat]

Yes ! This test is just protocol and illegal affairs.

B-[maʕlɪ:ʃ ndɪruha fɪd rabɪ əl muhɪm əl partɪsɪpasj]

Do not worry, we trust Allah, the most important thing is participation.

As we see, this short dialogue is full of Code Switching.The three persons are females who are aged 25-27 years old, and have the same educational level.

2.8 MSA and Colloquial Variety in El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

Through the observations, we have concluded that the use of MSA is restricted only to the formal situations as in: schools, administrative places…ect.Whereas, in informal situations people use the colloquial variety: at home, street, public places…ect. Moreover, not all people can use MSA since not all of them are literate; people who did not learn MSA at school can use only the colloquial code in all situations (formal and informal). People like teachers and directors use MSA in the place of their work and between them; however, they mix between MSA and the dialect inside and outside their professional settings.The latter creates another linguistic phenomenon which is "diaglossia".

2.9 Conclusion

The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is so complex and it is getting more and more difficult to have a clear picture of its linguistic landscape.Moreover, regional and social dialects contribute to its linguistic variation; almost each area has linguistic background different from others.The linguistic differences can be in terms of phonology, morphology and vocabulary.

The next chapter will study and analyse the sociolinguistic situation of the variety under investigation. It aims at showing the linguistic variation in El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh and how social factors are related to linguistic variables. Following Labovian method in studying language variation, we are going to analyse our data quantitatively.

CHAPTER THREE : Methodology, Data Collection and Analysis.

3.1 Introduction.

3.2 Research Methodology.

   3.2.1 Data Collection.

      3.2.1.1 The Questionnaires.

      3.2.1.2 The Recordings.

      3.2.1.3 Direct Questions.

      3.2.2 The Selection of Informants.

3.3 Linguistic Variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

      3.3.1 The Phonological Variables of El Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

         3.3.1.1 The Variable /q/.

         3.3.1.2 The Variable /ɣ/.

         3.3.1.3 The variable /q/ in MSA vs /g/ in D1, D2 and D3.

         3.3.1.4 Variables [aj]and[iː].

3.3.2 Morphological Variables of El Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

      3.3.2.1 the variants [qɪ],[ɣɪ]and[ʔɪ].

3.3.3 Lexical variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

3.4 Why Style Shifting in the Speech Community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.

3.5 Conclusion.

3.1 Introduction

Variation in language has been a very interesting research for sociolinguistic investigators.Therefore, language variation has been studied from different angles ; using the quantitative methods the linguistic variation has been related to the social context.In the previous chapter we had a look at the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and the linguistic situation of MSA and its varieties.We have also shed light on the linguistic features of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh and the way the speakers behave linguistically towards their dialects.

In the present chapter we examine the linguistic variation of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh in relation with the social parameters : age, gender and the level of education.We collect the necessary data from the speakers of the city and we analyse them quantitatively.At the end, we also examine style shifting and analyse the data according to the level of education.

3.2 Research Methodology

Language variation has been the main interest of sociolinguists .Traditional sociolinguistics had studied language variation in relation to the geographical area ; the findings demonstrated that moving from one place to another showed how language varies in terms of its phonology, morphology, and lexis. Sociolinguists have called this latter geographical variation. Nevertheless, sociolinguistics has increasingly progressed and the way studying language variation has also been changed.William Labov has created another methodology to study language variation ; he proved that language can vary in the same social context and between individuals and more precisely within themselves. For him, people vary in the way they speak has a strong relation with social factors such as age, gender, ethnic groups and occupation.

Following the Labovian methodology, my research has taken its way. In other words, the phonological, morphological and lexical variables have been studied in relation to the social factors using the quantitative method. In a small city such as El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh age, gender, occupation and ethnic group have an effect on the way people use language. Through this reseach, we will try to ensure to what extent such social factors may give an explanation to the use of different linguistic varieties.

Furthermore, we have a look at the reasons beyond speakers'shifting styles in El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh. Taking the models of Labov and Bell as the basis.

3.2.1 Data Collection

We have tried as much as possible to use a number of methods to data collection, for the sake of making our analysis of language in relation to independent variables more reliable. The collection of data was based on methods which have been addressed to the informants. The validity of this latter may confirm or refute our main hypothesis.

3.2.1.1 Questionnaires

For a long time, questionnaires have been used as a beneficial and reliable technique for gathering data.Questionnaires are written in a language that speakers of different ages, educational levels, and genders can understand. Furthermore, this technique gives some freedom to the informants to answer without any subjective views or prejudices.

We have distributed written quetionnaires to different people in the city ; they were of different ages, levels of education, and gender.

3.2.1.2 Recordings

We have also used the technique of recording without showing the recorder to our informants for the sake of getting a natural speech. The recordings were done in public places such as : the market, celebrations of the marriage, at home …ect.

3.2.1.3 Direct Questions

We have also informed people of our research and asked them to give us some information and knowledge, especially the old people. We asked the elders about the history of the area and the origins of each tribe .However, this method has not succeeded because of the lack of understanding and the high rate of illeteracy among old people.Not only that, but we have also found obstacles with young and adult people who have no ideas about the sociolinguistic study of language.

3.2.2 The Selection of Informants

We have chosen a random sample from the population; participants are all from El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh with different ages, gender and levels of education/occupation. The data was gathered from 80 informants from different places : at schools, home, and in the

street.The following table represents the disribution of our informants in relation to two social variables.

Age group	Male	Female	Total
From 05 to 12	10	10	20
From 13 to 30	10	10	20
From 31 to 50	10	10	20
From 51 to 83	10	10	20
Total	40	40	80

Table 3.1 : Sampling of informants according to age and gender.

3.3 Linguistic Variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

We have analysed the speech of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh according to the linguistic variables used by the whole community.We collected data from different people of D1, D2, and D3 ; and we have examined the phonological, morphological, and lexical variables of the speakers.

3.3.1 The Phonological Variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

We examine the phonological variable /q/ in D1 vs the phonological variable /ɣ/ in D2 ; as well as the realisation of /q/ in MSA as /g/ in the three dialects. Furthermore, we examine the variables [aj] pronounced by the speakers of D1/D3 and [i:] that characterizes the speech of D2.The following variables are examined in relation to two social variables : age and gender.

3.3.1.1 The Variable /q/

/q/ is a well-known variable among the speakers of D1 ; They use /q/ a lot in their speech such as in : [muqraf] "a spoon", [qarfɪja]"a bowel" and [quraf]"a pinter".

3.3.1.2 The Variable /ɣ/

This sound is the most recognizable variable of D2 .Speakers use the sound [ɣ]in the same places where speakers of D1 use the sound [q]; for instance, they say [muɣraf],[ɣarfɪja] and [ɣuraf].The two variables are common in the speech community of El Abiodh S/C; and through the data examined we will see if these variables are affected by the speaker's age as shown in the table below :

	Age 05-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
[q]	13	8	12	08
[ɣ]	07	12	08	12

Table 3.2 : Scores of the variants [q]and [ɣ] in correlation with age.

Obviously, the table draws a clear picture of the role of age in variation .The variant [q]is highly scored in ages (05-12) and (31-50) ; Whereas, adult speakers (13-30) and the elders (51-83) use less [q].On the other hand, [ɣ] is highly scored among the speakers of (13-30) and (51-83) ; however, few speakers pronounce the [ɣ] in the first and third categories of age as it is shown in the following graph :
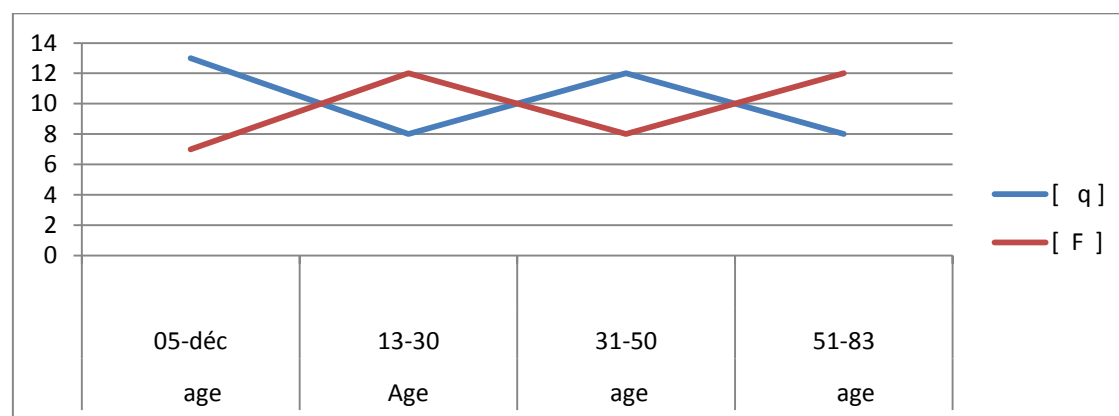

Figure 3.1 : Scores of the variants [q] and [ɣ] in correlation with age.

In fact, through our observations we found a difficulty in the variation of these two variants.The reason is that the majority of the population are students who move to other regions for education ; and their contact with other people influences their native dialect.For instance, when speakers of D1 move outside, they change the variable /q/ to /ɣ/ believing that /ɣ/ is better than /q/.This is apparent in the table 3.2 where the second category (13-30) 12 speakers use [ɣ] compared with 08 speakers who articulate [q].Gender is also a vital factor in language variation as it is shown in the table :

	[q]	[ɣ]
Male speakers	21	19
Female speakers	25	15
Number of occurences	46	34
Percentage	57.5 %	42.5 %

Table 3.3 : Scores of the variants [q]and [ɣ]in correlation with gender.

This table shows the behaviour of male and female speakers towards the variants [q] and [ɣ].Gender as an independent variable plays an important role in language variation as the following figure indicates :
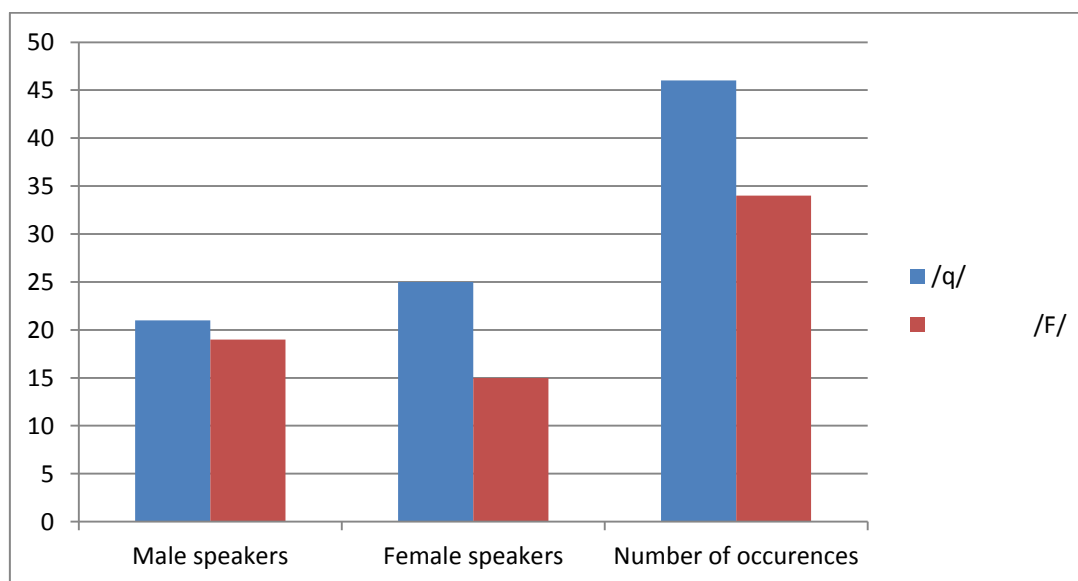

Figure 3.2 : Scores of variants [q]and [ɣ]in correlation with gender.

The gragh shows that female speakers articulate [q] at a high rate than male speakers ; however, male speakers tend to use more [ɤ] than female speakers.Generally, the previous tables and graphs prove that the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is characterized by the use of the variant [q] which belongs to the dialect of the native inhabitants.This may also prove the fact that native speakers of D1 are still adherent to their dialect even after the coming of different people from different places.

3.3.1.3 The Variable /q/ in MSA vs /g/ in D1, D2, and D3

/q/ is a phoneme that is pronounced in MSA in words such as /qala/ (to say) ; however this variable is realized as [g]in some lexical terms in the speech community of El-Abiodh S/C.Therefore, we have collected data to see whether this variable is still uttered or has been altered.To do so, we have opted for three words :[qala] : "to say", [qadɪma] : "old",[lam aqdər] : "I could not" .The following tables expose the rate of [g] and [q] according to age and gender.

Word	English	Articulation	Males	Females	Percentage
[qala]	To say	a-/qal /	00	02	2.5%
		b-/gal /	40	38	97.5%
[qadɪma]	old	a-/qdɪma /	12	24	45%
		b-/gdɪma /	28	16	55%
[lam aqdər]	I can not	a-/ maqadɪtʃ/	18	19	46.25%
		b-/magadɪtʃ/	22	21	53.75%

Table 3.4 : Scores of variants [g]and [q]in correlation with gender.

The results show that female speakers are more likely to use the sound [q] than [g] compared with male speakers who tend to use more [g] than[q]. According to the independent variable gender in all the three words [g] has a higher score than[q].

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83	Percentage
a-/qɑl / b-/gɑl/	00 20	00 20	01 19	00 20	1.25% 98.75%
a-/qdɪma/ b-/gdɪma/	17 03	19 01	09 11	12 08	71.25% 28.75%
a-/ma qadɪtʃ/ b-/ma gadɪtʃ/	05 15	16 04	08 12	04 16	53.75% 46.25%

Table 3.5 Scores of the variants[g] and [q]in correlation with age.

In table 3.5 we have correlated the scores of the variants [q] and [g] with age, and it shows that younger speakers tend to replace [g] by [q] in /qdɪma/ and /maqadɪtʃ/. However, adult and elder speakers use more [g] than [q] which may reflect their level of education and their direct contact with the native dialects. The word /qala/ remains with the articulation of [g] with a very low rate scored in the third category.

We have also summarized the occurrences of [q]and [g]related with gender to see who is more likely to use the standard form, the males or females .Generally, when we speak about formality and prestige we find that the majority agrees that females tend to use more formal and prestigious ways.

	Male	percentage	Female	percentage
[q]	30	25%	45	37.5%
[ɡ]	90	75%	75	62.5%

Table 3.6: Number of occurrences of the variants [q] and [g] according to gender.

Obviously, the table ensures that women are more likely to use the standard form [q] than men who prefer the colloquial form [ɡ].We have also infered that [ɡ]is more frequent in the two genders than[q] .In other words, the variant [ɡ] reaches 165 of the occurrences which indicates 68.75%. The variant [q]occurs 75 which means 31.25 %.
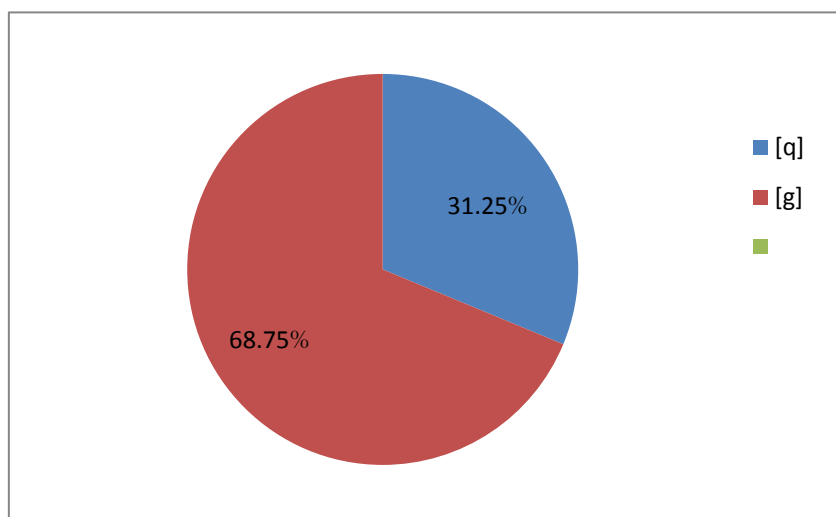
Pie Chart 3.1: Percentages of the use of the variants [q] and [g] according to gender.

	Age 5 -12	%	Age 13-30	%	Age 31-50	%	Age 51-83	%
[q]	22	36.66%	35	87.5%	18	30%	16	41.36%
[ɡ]	38	63.34%	05	12.5%	42	70%	44	58.63%

Table 3.7: Number of occurrences of the variants [q] and [g] according to age.

Speakers from the age category (05-12) articulate more variant [g] than [q] which may indicate their relationship with their mother dialect at home at their early age. Adolescent speakers tend to use the variant [q] which refers to their awareness of the standard form due to their level of education.However, after this period adult and aged speakers return back to the colloquial form which implies their ignorance of the standard form.The following graph clarifies more :
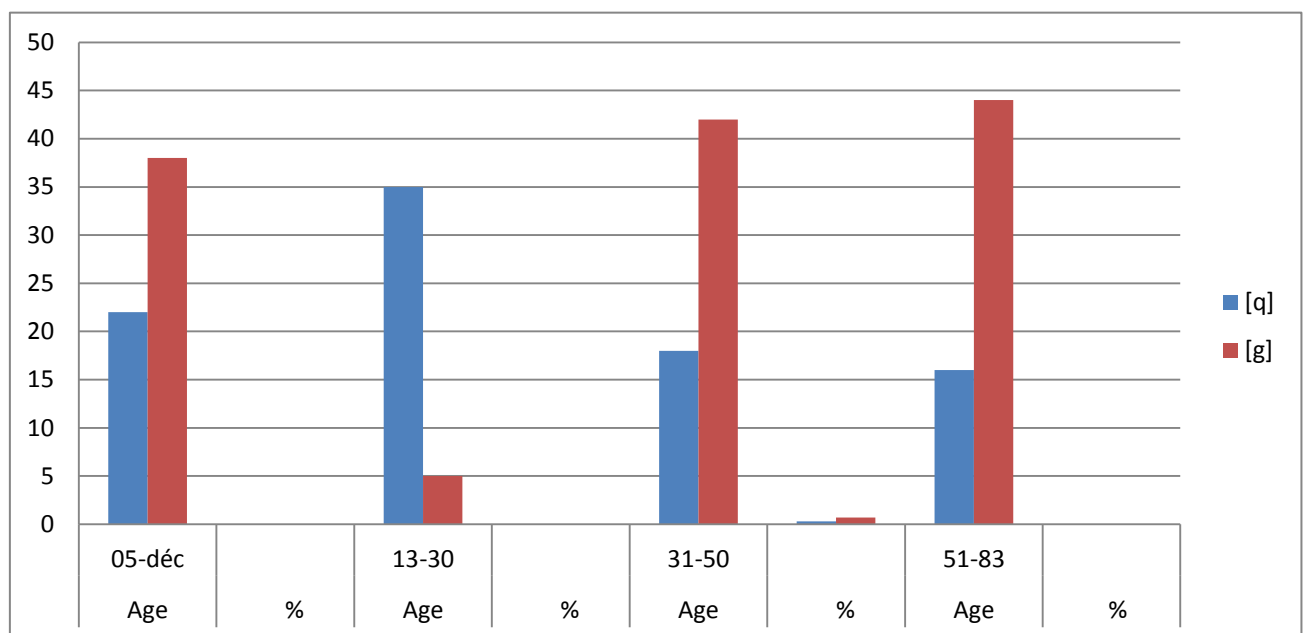

Figure 3.3: Scores of the variants [q] and [g] in relation to age.

3.3.1.4 Variables /aj/and /iː/

Speakers of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh are characterized by the frequent use of the diphtong /aj/ and this linguistic feature is more available among the speakers of D1 and D3. For instance in verbs such as in : [ana mʃajt] "I went",[ana ʒajt] "I came" and in nouns :[xbajz] "a loaf of bread" and[klajb] "a pup". On the other hand, speakers of Ouled Ogbi especially the young people use the long vowel /iː/ instead of /aj/; however,this variable is subject to variation in correlation with age and gender.The following tables will illustrate the use of [aj] and [iː]by the speakers of the speech community of the city.

	Male	%	Female	%
/aj/	28	35%	30	37.5%
/i:/	12	15%	10	12.5%

Table 3.8 : Number of occurrences of the variants [aj]and [i:]in relation to gender.

The results show a high percentage of the use of the variant [aj] by females 37.5% vs 35% of the use of the variant [aj] by males. The total number of the use of the variant [aj]by both males and females is 58 which means 72.5% ; and the total number of the variant [i:] is 32 which means 27.5%. The overall percentages are shown in the following pie chart:
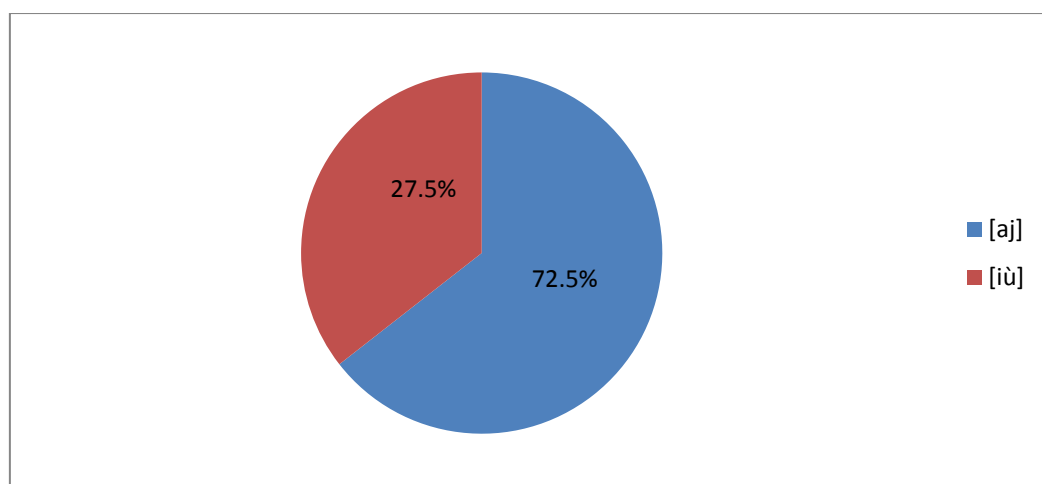
Pie Chart 3.2 : Percentage of use of the variants [aj] and [i:] in relation to gender.

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
[aj]	16	14	17	18
[i:]	04	06	03	02

Table 3.9: Total number of occurrences of variants [aj] and [i:] in relation to age.

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
`[aj]`	80%	70%	85%	90%
`[i:]`	20%	30%	15%	10%

Table 3.10: Percentage of use of variants `[aj]`and `[i:]`in relation to age.

The tables show the variation of the two variables according to the speaker's age. The results indicate the high percentage of the use of the local variant `[aj]` in all age groups than the use of the variant `[i:]`.We have also infered that old speakers are more likely to use the variant `[aj]` at about 90% compared to the other three categories ; this may explain their tied relation with the local dialect and less contact with other dialects. Adolescents' speech is subject to linguistic change as the percentage of the use of the variant `[i:]` has increased in the second age group. The following graph summarizes the use of the variants `[aj]`and `[i:]` related to the age :
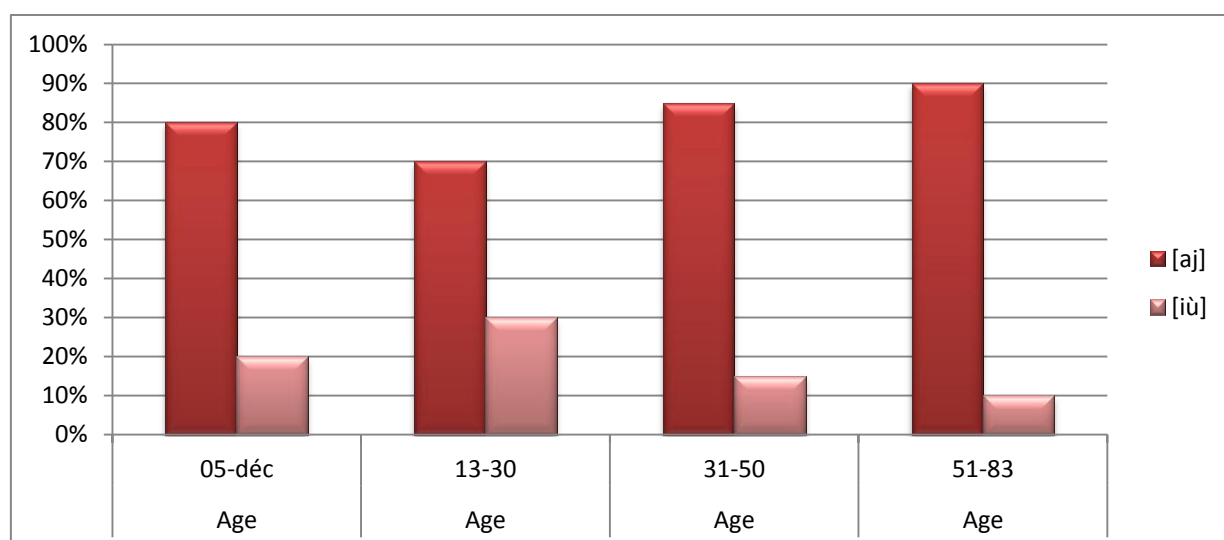

Figure 3.4 : Percentage of use of the variants `[aj]` and `[i:]`in relation to age.

3.3.2 Morphological Variables of El-Abiodh S/C

As far as the morphological variables are concerned, we have examined the morphemes {ʔɪ}, {ɣɪ} and {qɪ}.

3.3.2.1 The Variants {ʔɪ}, {ɣɪ} and {qɪ}

Speakers of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh articulate the variants as prefixes to mean " just" or "when" for example : [qɪrwaħɪ],[ɣɪrwaħɪ],[ʔɪrwaħɪ]" just come" . Through our observations of the speech of the three dialects we noticed that the variant [ʔɪ] is a widespread feature among the children and young people ; the variant [ɣɪ] is a linguistic feature attributed to the speakers of D2 (Ouled Ogbi). And the last variant[qɪ]is used by the speakers of D1 and D3.We have examined the three variants in relation to age and gender, the following tables sammarize their occurrences and percentages :

	Male	percentage	female	percentage	Total
{qɪ}	15	37.5%	16	40%	38.75 %
{ɣɪ}	18	45%	12	30%	37.5 %
{ʔɪ}	07	17.5%	12	30%	23.75 %

Table 3.11 : Number of occurrences of the variants {ʔɪ}, {qɪ} and {ɣɪ} in relation to gender.

The results show that the variants {ɣɪ} and {qɪ} are more frequent in both genders than {ʔɪ}.Moreover, the table reveals that women tend to use the variant {qɪ} (40%) vs men who are more likely to use {ɣɪ} variant (45%).The {ʔɪ} has a low percentage of use in both male and females. The total number of the variant {qɪ} is 31 which means 38.75% ; and the total number of the use of the variant {ɣɪ} is 30 which means 37.5 % ; and the total number of the use of the variant {ʔɪ} is 19 i.e. : 23.75%.
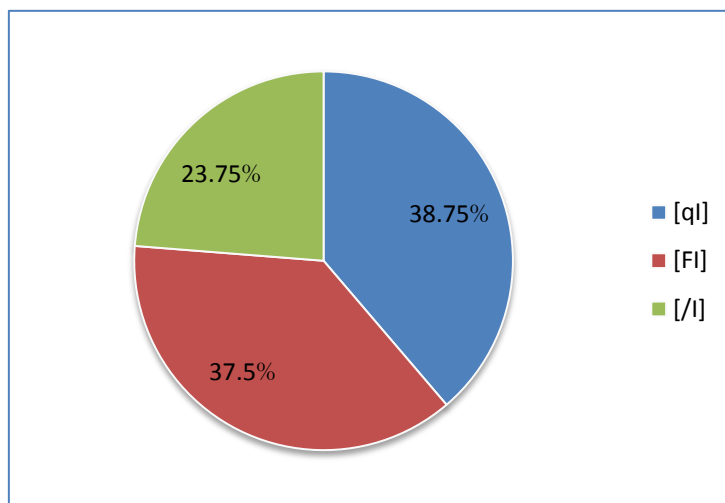
Pie Chart 3.3: Percentage of use of the variants {qɪ}, {ʔɪ} and {ɣɪ} in relation to gender.

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
{qɪ}	01	08	10	08
{ɣɪ}	01	10	07	11
{ʔɪ}	18	02	03	01

Table 3 .12 : The total number of occurrence of the variants {qɪ}, {ɣɪ} and {ʔɪ} in relation to age.

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
{qɪ}	5%	40%	50%	40%
{ɣɪ}	5%	50%	35%	55%
{ʔɪ}	90%	10%	15%	5%

Table 3.13 : Percentages of the variants {qɪ}, {ɣɪ} and {ʔɪ} in relation to age.
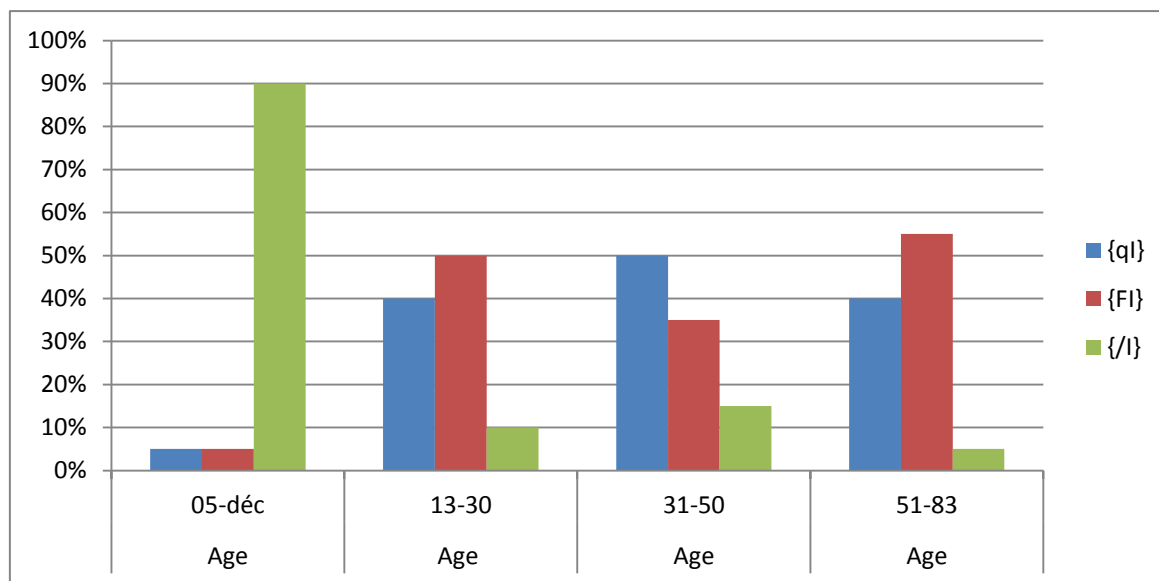
Figure 3.5 : Percentage of use of the variants {qɪ}, {ɣɪ} and {ʔɪ} in relation to age.

From the tables and the gragh, it is obvious that young speakers preserve the variant /ʔɪ/ during their early ages ; this may be due to the influence of the first stages of the acquisition of the mother dialect.However, this tendency has changed gradually in other age categories. Old people use more /ɣɪ/ (55%) than adults (35%) and adolescent speakers (50%).The variant /qɪ/ has an equal percentage of use among the speakers of the last three age categories.

3.3.3 Lexical Variables of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

Variation in terms of lexis is the most noticable feature among the varieties of language and also in the same speech community.The variety under investigation is one of the Algerian dialects that is lexically different from other dialects ; the lexical variation exists also in the speech community and within its members.Therefore, we have chosen some words to examine , and to see how this lexical variation is related to the speakers' age and gender.The words are shown on the table below :

word	English	articulation	male	female	percentage
/maða ħadaθa/	What happened	a-[kɪsra]	26	25	63.75%
		b-[waʃ sra]	14	15	36.25%
/ʔajna ðahaba/	Where does he go ?	a-[wɪn mʃa]	27	19	62.75%
		b-[wɪn raħ]	13	21	37.25%
/kaθi:r/	too much	a-[bəzzaf]	12	17	36.25%
		b-[jasər]	28	23	63.75%
/nɪsaʔ/	women	a-[nsa]	27	25	58.75%
		b-[nsawɪ:n]	13	15	41.25%

Table 3.14 : Scores of the lexical variants in relation to gender.

The results show how lexical variation is related to gender.The first lexical variable /maða ħadaθ/ is articulated by males and females in two ways ; the variant [kɪsra] is more frequently used (63.75%) than the variant [waʃ sra] (36.25%). The high tendency of the use of the latter variant may be due to its closeness to the standard form /kajfa/ ; so this term has been contracted to /kɪ/ of the colloquial form. The second lexical variable /ʔajna ðahaba/ is also realized in two ways by which both men and women tend to use more the variant [wɪn mʃa] (57.5%) than the variant [wɪn raħ] which has 37.25%.[bəzzaf] and [jasər] are variants used to the word [kaθi:r], males and females are more likely to use the second variant (63.75%) compared with the first one with only 15.21% .Concerning the last variable, there is a high percentage of the use of the variant [nsa] than [nsawɪn].The latter also demonstrates that speakers are far more closer to the standard form by tending to articulate the similar form to MSA than to the colloquial one.

These results are shown in the following figures where we illustrate the use of the previous lexical variables related with the independent variable gender.
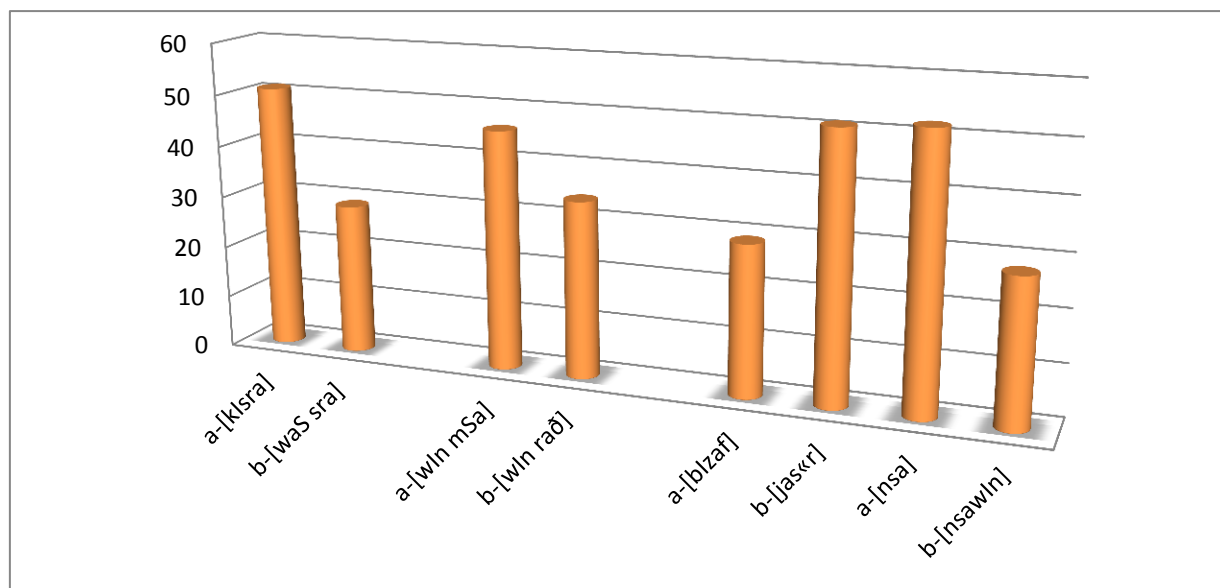
Figure 3.6 Scores of the lexical variants in correlation with gender.

The lexical variation has also a relation with age, as it this manifests in the way these variables are used over periods of time.Using the following tables we explain how lexical variation is correlated with age :

		age 5-12	age 13-30	age 31-50	age 51-83
1-/maða ħadaθ/	a-[kɪ sra]	15	04	09	06
	b-[waʃ sra]	05	16	11	14
2-/ʔajna ðahab/	a-[wɪn mʃa]	09	08	11	05
	b-[wɪn raħ]	11	12	09	15
3-/kaθiːr/	a-[bəzzaf]	08	10	06	13
	b-[jasər]	13	10	14	07
4-/nɪsaʔ/	a-[nsa]	14	16	12	13
	b-[nsawɪn]	06	04	08	07

Table 3.15 Scores of the lexical variants according to age.

	Age 5-12	Age 13-30	Age 31-50	Age 51-83
a-[kɪsra]	75 %	20%	45 %	30 %
b-[waʃsra]	25 %	80 %	55 %	70 %
a-[wɪnmʃa]	45 %	40 %	55 %	25 %
b-[wɪnraħ]	55 %	60 %	45 %	75 %
a-[bəzzaf]	40 %	50 %	30 %	65 %
b-[jasər]	60 %	50 %	70 %	35 %
a-[nsa]	70 %	80 %	60 %	65 %
b-[nsawɪn]	30 %	20 %	40 %	35 %

Table 3.16 : Percentages of use of the lexical variants in relation to age.

Tables 3.15 and 3.16 expose the way the variables are distributed over speaker's age. Speakers for unknown reasons, vary in the articulation of some common words. For example, the speakers who are from 5 to 12 years old tend to use at a high percentage the variant [kɪsra] at 75% ; going forward to the second age group the percentages are reduced to 20% .The last two age categories increase to some extent the tendency of using the variant, and the same situation goes with all the rest of the variants.
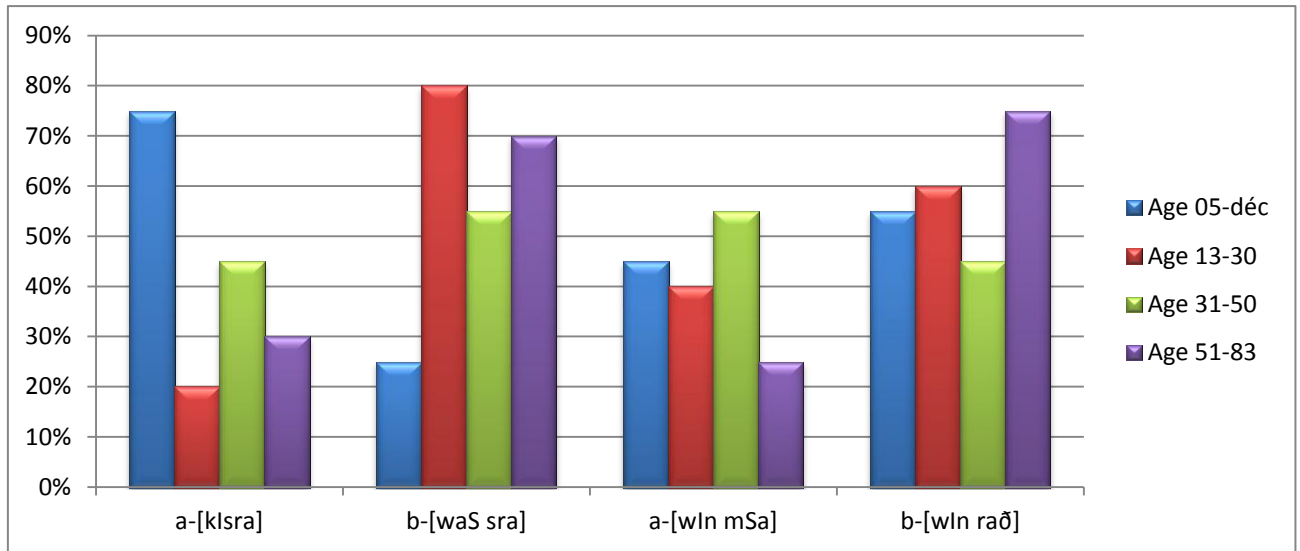
Figure 3.7 : Percentages of the use of the variants[kɪsra], [waʃsra] ;[wɪnmʃa], [wɪn raħ] in relation to age.

The graph shows that the variant [kɪsra] has a high percentage of use in the ages 5-12 years old .Whereas, the variant [waʃ sra] is articulated at a high level by adolescent speakers whose ages range between 13-30 years old.The variant [wɪn mʃa] have almost an approximate tendency of realisations ; on the other hand, the variant [wɪn raħ] is more used.by speakers over 51 years old.
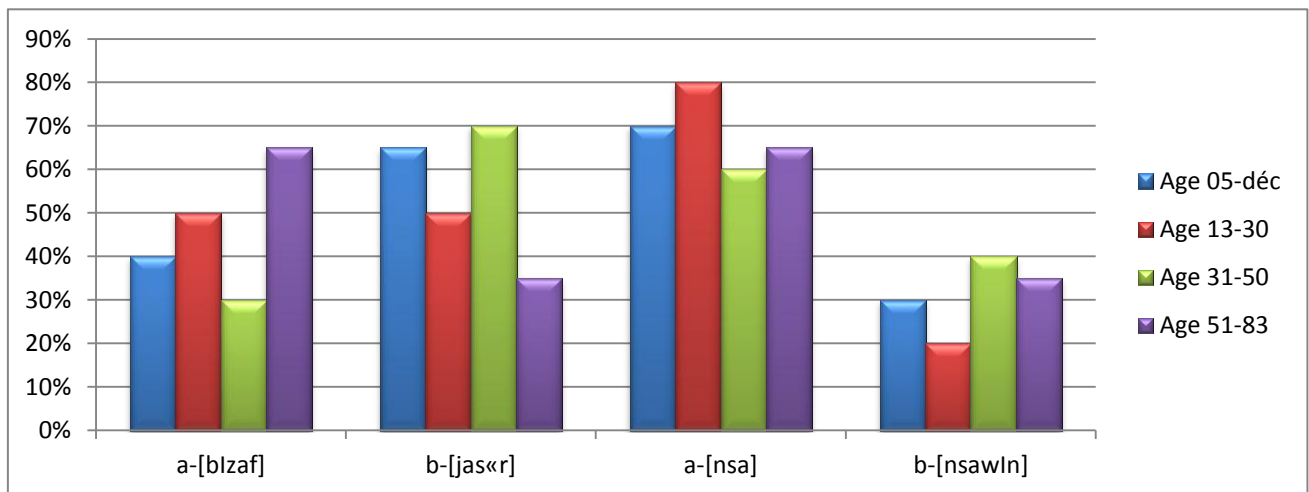

Figure 3.8: Percentage of the use of the lexical variants[bəzzaf],[jasər] ; [nsa],[nsawɪn] in relation to age.

Figure 3.8 illustrates the percentages of use of the variables /hada kaθiːr/ and /nɪsa/ ; the two variables have two realisations .The graph shows how these lexical terms are varied in relation to age. Speakers at their early ages prefer to pronounce some variants than others and the same occurs with other age groups. In fact, during our investigation and by following our observations we conclude that such variation is not due to only one factor ; all the social, personal and geographical factors contribute in the creation of language variability.This fact makes us certain that an individual's speech is the product of all what he/she surrounds them.

3.4 Why Style Shifting in the Speech Community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

When we speak about styles of speech, most of the time we refer to the way of speaking in different contexts. People may speak formally or informally depending on the situation when the speaker is.To study how speakers of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh behave in different social contexts, we have picked up 50 educated people from our previous sample and asked them two main questions :

   a. Does your choice of the formal style have a relation with the kind of audience or is it a random use ? The latter aims to see if people shifting style is the effect of the type of audience.
   b. The second question is : When does the speaker pay attention to their speech ? When they read a passage or when they are telling a story. The following analysis shows the two situations :

	percentages
particular people	40%
Random shift	60%

Table 3.17: Scores of   Style Shifting between particular people and random shift.

The table above shows the number of speakers who shift the styles according to the audience design. We observe that most speakers do not care about who the persons are talking to ; they shift from formal to informal style randomly.The following graph explains more :
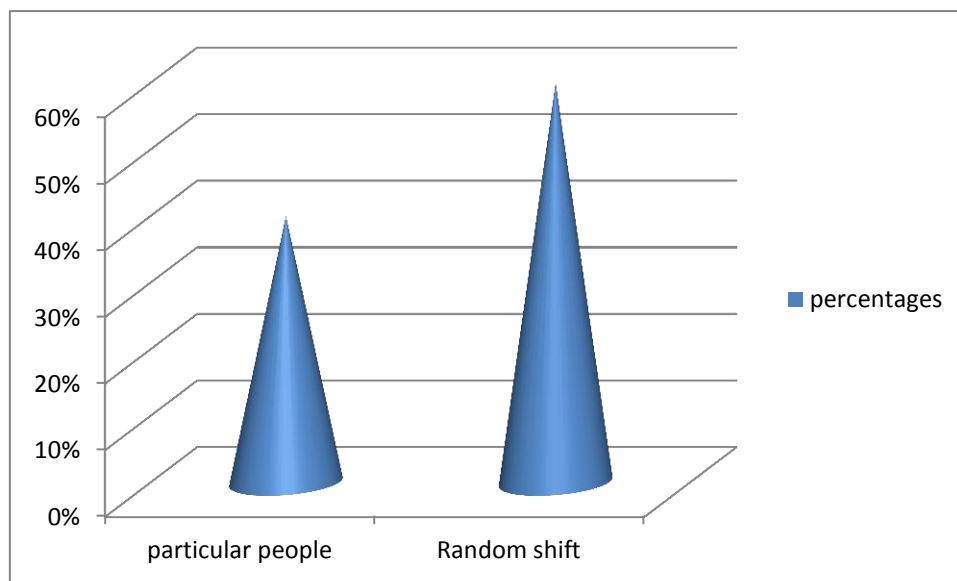
Figure3.9 : Percentages of style shifting between particular persons and random shift.

The results show that speakers of El-Abiodh S/C shift their styles in a random way (60%) ; they are not influenced by the type of audience that surrounds them.The latter does not prove the model proposed by Allen Bell (1984) who claimed that the major effect on stylistic variation is the audience design.

	The number of occurences	Percentages
Reading a passage	43	86%
Telling a story	07	14%

Table 3.18: Number of style shifts for reading a passage and telling a story.
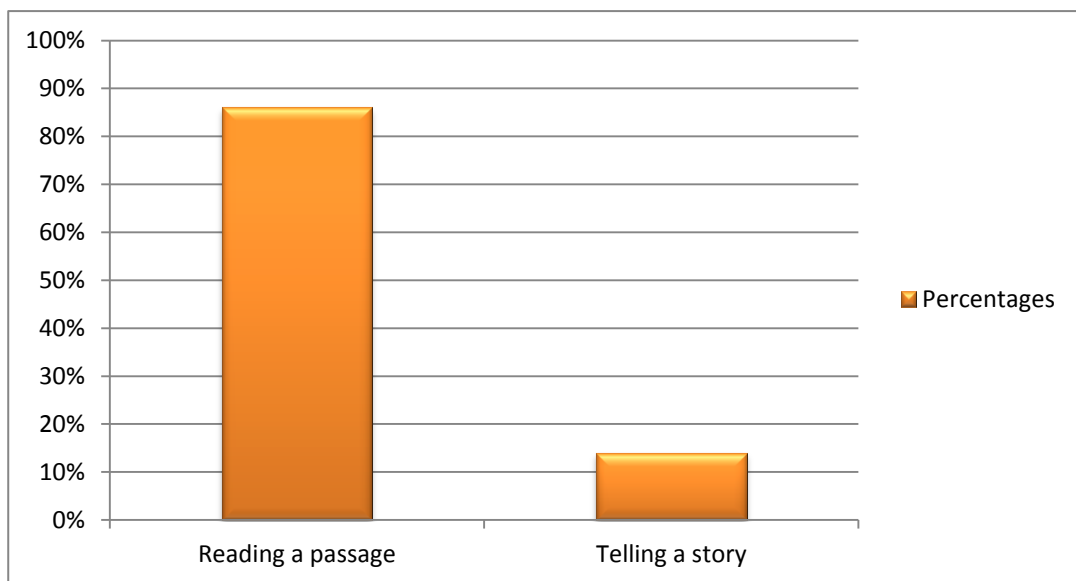
Figure 3.10 : Percentage of shifts for reading a passage and telling a story.

From table 3.18 and figure 3.10 we infer that speakers are more likely to pay attention to speech when they read a book, at about 86% ; the contrast happens when they are telling a story (14%).The latter gives an argument to the Labovian Model of styles which states that shifting styles is due to the amount of attention speakers pay to the way of speaking.The following table summarizes the two cases :

	percentage
Audience design	40%
Attention paid to speech	86%

Table 3.19 : Percentage of audience design and attention paid to speech.

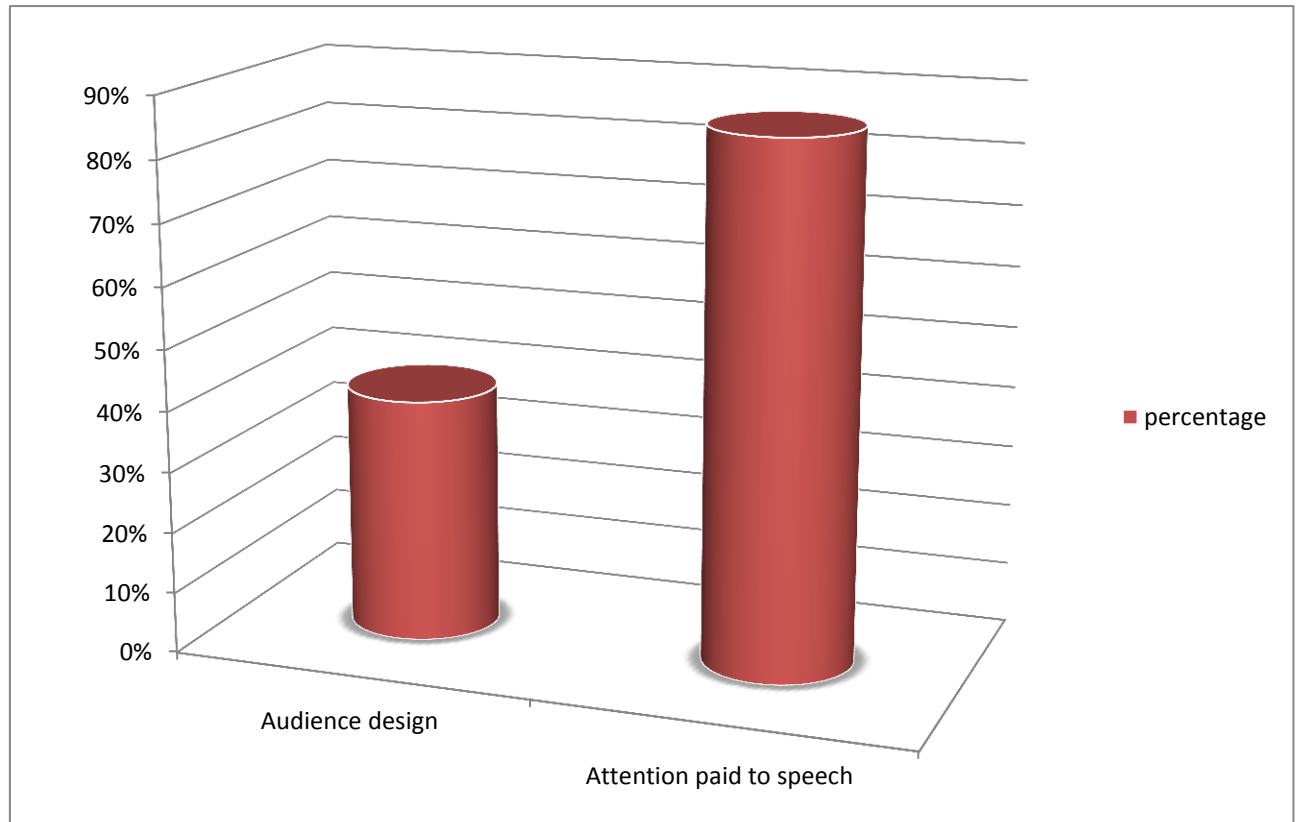**Figure 3.11 : percentage of audience design and attention paid to speech.**

The results expose the percentages of the reasons beyond speakers' shifting styles.We conclude that the high percentage (86%) is due to the attention paid to speech ; what Labov has proposed in his model of styles. And a less percentage (40%) of speakers shifts styles as an effect of audience design.

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter presents the sociolinguistic situation of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh where we have correlated the linguistic features with the social factors.The speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh is characterized by the diversity of its population that creates linguistic variation. Each ethnic group has its distinguishable variables which identify them. We have divided the varieties of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh into three dialects D1, D2, and D3. D1 and D3 have almost the same linguistic variables ; the interest focused on D1 and D2 where phonological, morphological and lexical differences are obvious. However, it was difficult to have a clear distinction between the dialects, simply because of the influence of the speakers on each other. Furthermore, there are many people who are not content with their dialect due to the other speakers' judgment and prejudice. This fact had a negative effect on the reliability and validity of the data gathered. Furthermore, we have a simple study of style shifting in the speech community of El-Abiodh S/C.We made a kind of comparison between what Labov (1966) and Bell (1984) proposed in their models of style shifting. The researchers found it interesting research to deal with ; however, the researcher did not focus a lot on this last part.

General Conclusion

In the present work we have analysed the linguistic variation in the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh.Following the Labovian method to studying language variation, we have integrated the phonological, morphological, and lexical variables with the social factors : age, gender, level of education and style.Then we have analysed and interpreted them quantitatively.The main purpose of this analysis was to explain and illustrate the way speakers of the region behave towards their dialects.

Through our investigation and description of the sociolinguistic situation of El Abiodh Sidi Cheikh, we have come up with interesting and striking remarks.The latter have led us to give answers to our previous questions as well as to verify our hypotheses .The following points are the findings of our investigation :

➢ There are mainly three dialects in the speech community of El-Abiodh Sidi Cheikh, D1 is the central dialect of the city because it is the variety of the native inhabitants. D2 and D3 are the varieties spoken by non-native speakers. However, the speakers of D3 have been influenced by the speech of D1 by which they look the same.

➢ Adolescent speakers are more likely to change and shift from their dialect to other varieties ; this explains their contact with outside dialects and their level of education.Despite the coming of people from different regions, old people remain stable to their native dialects.

➢ Female speakers are more prestigious in their speech ; they prefer to be closer to the standard form.

➢ At the level of style, educated speakers who are familiar with MSA shift the style from informal to formal when they pay attention to their speech ; they do not care about the audience around them.This may be due to a lack of dialogue culture.

As a general finding all the geographical, social, cultural, level of education and personal factors contribute to language variation and change.In addition, individuals are more influenced by the way people around them use the language.

This study has left other questions which need more investigation : What will be the major dialect of the speech community of El-Abiodh S/C ? What will happen to the dialect of the native inhabitants ? And what about the new generation, which dialect are they going to use over a period of time ?

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Appendices

Appendix : 01

Questionnaire

Age :

Gender : male ☐ female ☐

Level of Education/Occupation :

Part One : Phonological Variables

1-Choose the word that you use frequently with El Abiodh   Sidi Cheikh speakers and then circle it:

A-Variables as [q] or [ɣ]

-/əl nas/ "people"⟶ [ɣaʃi] [qaʃi] .

-/ uɣnɪja/ "a song" ⟶ [ɣɒnjæ][qɒnjæ].

-/faraɣtu/ "to pour out"⟶   [faraɣt][faraqt].

B-Variable /q/ : the realization of /q/ as [q] or[g]

-/ qala/ "to say"⟶   [qal][gal].

-/lam æqdər/ "I could not" ⟶ [maqadɪtʃ] [magadɪtʃ].

-/qadɪma/ "old" ⟶ [qdɪma] [gdɪma].

C-Variables /iː/ and /aj/

-/ðahabtʊː/ "I went"⟶ [mʃiːt] [mʃajt].

-/ʒiʔtu/ "I came" ⟶ [ʒiːt] [ʒajt].

-/qultu laha/ "I said to her" ⟶ [qult liːha] [gult lajha].

Part Two : Morphological Variables

A-Variables {qɪ}, {ʔɪ} and /ɣɪ/

-/taʕalɪ/ "come" ⟶ [ɣɪrwaħi] [qɪrwaħɪ] [ʔɪrwaħɪ].

-/tataʒawal/ "to turn around" ⟶ [ɣɪduːr][qɪduːr][ʔɪduːr].

~ 76 ~

-/jatakalam kaθɪrən/ "to talk a lot" → [ɣɪjahdər][qɪjahdər][ʔɪjahdər].

Part Three : Lexical Variables

-/maða ħadaθa/ "What happened " ⟶ [kɪsra] [waʃ sra].

-/ʔajna dahaba/ "where does he go" ⟶ [wɪn mʃa][wɪn raħ].

-/kaθɪːr/ "a lot" ⟶ [jasər] [bəzzaf].

-/nɪsaʔ/ " women" ⟶ [nsa] [nsawɪːn].

Part Four : Stylistic variation : Put an X in the box

 A.Does your choice of the formal style have a relation with ?

Particular people ☐   Random shift ☐

B. when do you pay more attention to your speech ?

Reading a passage ☐   telling a story ☐

Appendix : 02

D1	D2	D3	MSA	English
jfuːt ʕla	jfuːt ʕla	jtajəm	marartu bɪ	Pass by
qda	rah	qda/mʃa/marajt	ðahaba	To go
kɪːsra	waʃ sra	kɪːsra	maða ħadaθ	What happened
stana	qaraʕ	əsbər/stana	jantaðir	To wait
jkub	jʂub	jsarbɪ	jaʂubu	To pour out
bɪzaf	jasər	ʕalama/ħbuba	kaθɪr	Too much
ʕlah	ʕlah	lajah	lɪmaða	Why
jʕarass	jʕarass	jaxud	jatazawaʒ	To marry
men ʒɪht	əl	ʃwar	jataʒəh ɪla	Go toward
jnagraʃ	jahdar	jʒaqbal	jatakalam	To talk
jduːr	jduːr	jsaʕsag	jataʒawal	To turn around
qalt	wahəm	qalt	muxʈəʔ	To be mistaken
besjas/belʕqal	beʃwɪja	bʃawr	bɪhuduʔ	Silently
gaʕ	kul	ʒmɪʕkum	ʒamɪːʕ	All
bɪʂah	bɪʂah	lajkuːn	ʂaħɪħ	Is it true ?
baja/sɪdɪ	sɪdɪ/baja	ħbɪbɪ/aːbɪ	abɪ	My father
jawaxdɪ/jakhlaj	jawajlɪ	jabaːrdɪ	ja ɪlahɪ	Oh my God !
qalaj	fatɪra	qalaj	ɪbrɪːq	kettle
lxdɪma	lgdra	tanʒɪːr	əl qadr	Saucepan
mʂakər/mbalaʕ	mdawax	mbawqal	ɣabɪj	stupid
quraf	ɣuraf	ʈaʂ	kaas	pinter