Language shift or maintenance in Tamazight:

A sociolinguistic study of Chaouia in Batna, Algeria.

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Abstract

This work is a sociolinguistic study of Chaouias in Batna, the second largest Berber group in Algeria. It examines language choice and use in three understudied communities in the plains of Aurès. It takes a multidisciplinary approach built on sociolinguistic and sociological theories to examine the role of history, language attitudes, language policies, capital, and social networks in directing the process of language shift from Chaouia, a variety of Tamazight, to Algerian Arabic.

Quantitative and ethnographic methods were employed to collect data. I used 304 questionnaires and 49 interviews, along with a social network survey and participant observation, to explore the dynamics of language use and discuss the mechanisms underlying the changing practices and attitudes of Chaouias at home, school and among friendship networks. The study concludes that the community is undergoing a shift in progress.

Statistical analysis indicates that age, gender and region are significant in the decline of Chaouia and increased use of Algerian Arabic. Gender, however, seems to have a more salient impact in the inter- and intra-generational transmission of the language at home. Similarly, the social attributes of the speakers provide more explanation to language shift than their relations and the density of their networks. The qualitative analysis, on the other hand, reveals the declining symbolic capital of Chaouia, with the rapid increase of Algerian Arabic as an index of mobility, nationalism, religious and ethnic identity through state schools. Despite some positive attitudes towards Chaouia and multilingualism in general, the majority of respondents are not in favour of transmitting the language or teaching it at school. The findings, moreover, demonstrate that language practices at home, school, or among friendship circles feed into each other and legitimate the policies of each domain.

Keywords: Chaouia, Tamazight, Algerian Arabic, language shift, social networks, home, school, language policy, language attitudes, capital, identity, domain, Berber.

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Abbreviations

NA	North Africa
SA	Standard Arabic
Fr	French
Eng	English
MZG	Tamazight
AA	Algerian Arabic
Ch	Chaouia
Both	Chaouia & Algerian Arabic
LS	Language Shift
LM	Language Maintenance
OS	Ouled Sellam
M	Merouana
B	Keshida (to represent Batna city)
SN	Social Network
SNA	Social Network Analysis
LP	Language Policy
ELP	Educational Language Policy
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale

Chapter 1: Introduction

This work is a sociolinguistic study of Chaouias in Batna, a Berber group in northeast Algeria that has received very little attention. It situates languages within the wider context of historical, social and political power forces. It combines capital, language policies, attitudes and ideologies with social networks to examine the language practices of Chaouias in three communities: Ouled Sellam, Merouana and Keshida (see Research Questions, Section 1.3). To that end, it uses quantitative and qualitative data to explore the dynamics of language use and discuss the mechanisms underlying these changing practices at home, school, and among friendship circles.

The results indicate that the community is undergoing a shift in progress because of a disruption in the transmission of Chaouia, mainly at the intra-generational level. On one hand, the statistical analysis indicates that age and gender were the most salient factors in correlating with Chaouia decline and the increasing use of Algerian Arabic. Adult and young females (mothers in particular) lead this change. Social network data, moreover, show that language choice correlates better with the social characteristics of the interlocutor than with the relations in the network. The qualitative analysis, on the other hand, emphasises the declining capital of Chaouia, with the rapid increase of Algerian Arabic as an index of religion and nationalism through state-controlled education that feeds back into the families' socialisation habitus. Despite some positive attitudes towards Chaouia and multilingualism in general, the majority of young informants, particularly females, are not in favour of learning or passing on the language.

1.1   Language contact and language shift

Mobility and change are critical aspects of life, with the rapid development in transport and economics, continuously offering new opportunities and demanding more contact with others. As languages, or dialects, of various ethnic groups come in closer contact with each other, an alteration in attitudes and linguistic behaviours is hard to escape. This language contact most often

results in a slow but progressive process of change in the habitual use of languages available in the community (Fishman, 1964).

Language shift can be observed through the decrease in the number of speakers, functional domains and competence (Brenzinger, 1992). Fishman (1991: 40) perceives language shift as a "cumulative process". It is related to socio-cultural, psychological and economic powers that seem to follow a 'regular' pattern depending on domains of use or contextual settings where certain role relations are manifested, and linguistic proficiency and frequency of use can be relatively mapped.

Language shift has always been a "societal norm" (Fishman, 2013: 466). However, (de)colonisation and nation-formation, media and globalisation, migration and urbanisation have enormously increased the marginalisation of smaller languages. With that comes a larger need for a common language for communication, but also a "pragmatic" economic and educational necessity for advancement (Edwards, 1985; Al-Wer, 1999; Canagarajah, 2008; Romaine, 2013).

Studies of language shift often address language from a sociological point of view, in which it is subject to macro-level forces (e.g. economic, political, religious and social) and micro-level ones (e.g. gender, education, residence and profession) in contexts of bilingualism and multilingualism. It is, therefore, important to look at the external and internal pressures which contribute to the progressive abandonment of the minority language in favour of the majority group's language. This covers, but is not limited to, examining the development and change of language attitudes (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992), media and education (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013), geographic distribution and concentration of speakers (Edwards, 1985), and economic power of the 'competitive' groups, as driving agents of language choice. The latter, specifically, was the most crucial in many cases of language shift (e.g. Irish (Edwards, 1985), Arvanitika in Greece (Tsitsipis, 1995), Hungarian in Austria (Gal, 1979), Breton in France (Timm, 1973)). It is, nevertheless, complex and challenging to explain how these forces motivate language change

because of their internal complexity, inter-action and vast number (Patrick, 1999: 3). All of the variables above, along with language use, are interrelated (Edwards, 1985: 72).

Contrary to the majority groups, language tends to be perceived as key to identity and group solidarity among minorities (Bhat, 2017: 1; Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992: 4; Romaine, 2013: 447; Sallabank, 2010: 190; Williams, 1994: 129, 2008: 74). Language choice in multilingual societies, therefore, becomes a link between place, history, social organisation and an aggregation of identities. Most often, this becomes more visible and complex with high contact, resistance and discrimination (Edwards, 2009: 254, 1985: 47; Bhat, 2017: 1; May, 2012: 4; Williams, 2008: 75).

1.2 Relevance of the study

Depending on how closely related languages/varieties are classified, current estimates put a figure between 6000 and 7000 languages in the world (Crystal, 2000; Krauss, 2007; Lewis, 2009; Romaine, 2013). Out of this, 94% of languages are spoken by around 6% of individuals (Romaine, 2013: 449). These languages are usually unrecognised, unwritten and limited to home functions and less powerful people whose linguistic preferences and disavowals, accordingly, become a "source of tension and conflict" (Williams, 2008: 75).

While some languages have been subject to intense research and documentation, for certain geographical areas no or few comprehensive studies are available; one of these is the region under investigation in this thesis. The dynamic history of invasions in North Africa involved continuous contact between different languages and varieties of the same language (Rosenhouse, 2013: 900). Long debates over (ex-)colonial languages and the place of Arabic have been established, but few have considered the indigenous language 'Berber' (also known as Tamazight) and its varieties. The present study is an attempt to provide further insights into one of these minority varieties in Algeria. It aims at providing a comprehensive sociolinguistic landscape for the plains of Aurès via

an examination of some ideological, political, and social variables, which are hypothesised to affect language behaviour in Batna.

It is important at this point to clarify and justify the term 'minority' as used in this thesis. Minority may have both numerical and social/political dimensions. This study uses the second dimension, and follows Romaine's definition:

> "non-elite or subordinate groups, whether they constitute a numerical majority or minority in relation to some other group that is politically and socially dominant. What is common to most minority languages from a socio-political perspective is the fact that their status is defined in relation to some administrative unit, which in the modern world is generally the nation-state." (2013: 450)

Hence, the definition is not based on the numerical size, but on the groups' observable relation to power and status in light of the state policy of cultural and linguistic homogeneity. In the case of Algeria, and despite the continuous debate on whether the majority of the population is 'ethnically' Berber or not, the common belief is that they are the indigenous people of the land, but minoritised over centuries (Ilahiane, 2006). Tamazight itself can be considered a minoritised official language within the power framework. The official rhetoric to promote it as an official language is simultaneously accompanied by hindering the conditions of its realisation as a social fact, a process Williams (2013a) refers to as the "Mask of Piety".

The study examines language proficiency, language use, language attitudes and social networks across age groups, gender, and regions. For this objective, I have focused on three main domains for language use, namely home, school, and friendship, where I could observe general patterns of language behaviour and find in-depth explanations for Chaouia language shift or maintenance in Batna. Domains, in this respect, are the units of analysis for language choice (Fishman, 1971).

First, home is selected because of its significant value as a cornerstone for language socialisation and acquisition (Lanza, 2007). By looking at micro-level language practices and decision-making

processes in family interactions, I examine the sociolinguistic complexity of the role of each parent, as well as children and grandparents. Their choice at home is "influenced by the sociolinguistic ecology inside and outside the home and by the parents' beliefs about the best strategy" (Spolsky, 2009: 18). This provides insights into how families negotiate their linguistic and cultural profile in response to the wider political and socio-economic forces.

Second, education, through its legitimacy, produces lots of social control (Williams, 1992), particularly in regards to ideology and debates over ex-colonial, official, national, minority and indigenous languages. The role of school has been central in language shift as well as revival because of its consistent use and mis-use of language(s) as "ideological constructs" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013: 508). The mass agency for language ideology (re)production is analysed in light of language policy and power hierarchy.

Third, several studies suggest that peers exert a certain level of pressure on family and school domains. Members of the same network are usually expected to share the same language behaviour and norms (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007). Hence, the members become "virtual participants in the home domains" (Spolsky, 2009: 19); their accepted values with the ongoing mobility and social change across ethnic and linguistic boundaries become challenging both in urban and rural regions. The analysis explores the fluid nature of the link between networks and language choice.

To sum up, this research aims at exploring some of the aspects of this interplay between the internal and external influences and how that accounts for developing a new cluster of attitudes and language practices. An understanding of the relationship between language practice, ideology and identity construction can facilitate an appreciation of diversity and multilingualism in a contemporary society.

On a personal level, interest in this subject derives largely from having been raised as a speaker of Chaouia. The experience threw me into a variety of situations in which the choice of language(s),

inside and outside the community, has to be justified. This justification, in many cases, was achieved through legitimating a certain group and denigrating the other language(s) or the other group. All the associated discourses of blame, pride, contradiction and discrimination were, in themselves, very interesting but perplexing in many ways. The fact is that it was not so much about the language as much as about the community and its speakers, and thus my study of the community's internal complex perceptions, reactions, practices and interpretations as a core source of explanation for how the language in question functions in its larger society.

1.3   Research questions

This study is an attempt to investigate language shift/maintenance among an indigenous Berber group in Algeria, Chaouias. The community has been in increasing contact with the Arabic-speaking community surrounding it. Speakers range along a continuum of monolingual, diglossic, code-switchers to multilinguals in different social contexts. The current research considers the following questions:

1. What are the macro forces that promote Chaouia shift to Algerian Arabic among Chaouias of the plains in Batna?

2. How do these forces influence inter-generational and intra-generational language transmission patterns at home?

3. How do schools contribute in (re)producing different attitudes towards Chaouias' linguistic repertoires and influence the use of Chaouia and the construction of their identity?

4. What is the role of social networks in language preferences in the community? How does it contribute to Chaouia maintenance/shift?

These research questions are conceived as objectives to explore, rather than being associated with specific hypotheses to be tested (see Section 8.1). They, therefore, guide the structure of chapters of analysis. The first is about family socialisation and language preferences; the second looks at language policies and ideologies; the third analyses the impact of social networks and peer pressure on language use. To that end, quantitative and qualitative research designs were adopted to collect and analyse data. Ethnographic observations, questionnaire surveys, social networks survey, in-home and in-school recordings and semi-structured interviews were used to gather data on language competence, attitudes, use and choice, social connections and future aspirations.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This chapter, **chapter one**, introduces the background to language contact and shift, highlighting the instability of languages, and stressing the complexities that govern the daily choices of multilingual communities. In addition, the relevance of the study and research questions are outlined.

Chapter two provides a background of the Algerian linguistic profile. The first section offers a historical perspective on language contact in the region, then addresses and contextualises language policies after independence. This clarifies the large change in the linguistic landscape of Berbers. The second section focuses on the speech community under investigation: its history, economy, geography and social organisation. Likewise, it emphasises the internal differences between the different regions of Aurès and their language behaviour. Outlining these socio-political factors helps in understanding the ensuing results that play out in language use and ideologies.

Chapter three lays out the theoretical dimensions of the study. It is divided into four sections. The first sheds light on the different concepts used in the literature on LM/LS and clarifies their usage in the current study. It examines concepts like domain, diglossia, language shift and death.

The second section scrutinises some common theoretical frameworks of language choice, use and shift and draws from multidisciplinary positions, focusing on Fishman's sociology of language, Bourdieu's capital, Milroy's social networks, and language attitudes. The third section looks at some cases of shift across Berber varieties in North Africa, with a special focus on Morocco and Algeria being large homes for its speakers. By outlining some case studies, I draw attention to the relationship between language, identity, place and politics of education to highlight the common factors for driving shift among Berbers. The last section looks closely at the status of Chaouia and its studies in Aurès.

Chapter four sketches the methods and data collection procedures and justifies their choices. It explains the mixed-methods approach used and describes the pilot study with its limitations and place in shaping the final research instruments. Accordingly, establishing contact in the fieldwork is described, social variables studied are justified and data collection instruments are detailed. Moreover, it discusses ethical considerations and decisions.

Data analysis and results are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7 with a general discussion in chapter 8. Due to the nature of the topic, I tried to provide quantitative and qualitative results together in each chapter to make the connections between the statistical evidence and its social meaning and interpretation. For each, though, I attempt at exploring the relation between language choice and the relevant social factors, when applicable.

Hence, **chapter five** discusses language use in the domestic domain. This provides an insight into marriage patterns of Chaouias, their language proficiency and family policy, their daily language use patterns at home across and within generations, language preferences for intergenerational transmission and aspirations. It, also, briefly, sketches language use in the surrounding domains.

Chapter six turns attention to the school domain, as a formal space but an important one. It explores patterns of language use at school, both in classrooms and outside, outlining the already-

existing trends as well as the emerging ones that might guide further research. It highlights the importance of religion, and its link to education, in reinforcing language ideologies and Arabisation among Chaouias. This is followed by outlining some of the difficulties in teaching Tamazight, then a discussion of attitudes towards foreign languages and the politics governing them.

Chapter seven relates to the previous ones and expands on them. It explores the importance of social networks, usually initiated at school or transported from the neighbourhood. The discussion is organised around each element in the network, then a general picture of all factors to highlight the role of close social contacts in justifying the daily decisions made about language use, both in in-group and out-group contexts.

Finally, **chapter eight** closes the study with a general discussion. It summarises the research findings and discusses the possible factors triggering Chaouia shift in light of the initial research questions. It outlines the interconnection between historical-political, socio-economic changes and language shift in light of the theoretical framework. It identifies a number of recommendations for further research based on the conclusions and limitations of the current one.

1.5   Note on terminology

At this introductory stage, it is useful to explain some terms, around which usually there is lots of debate and confusion, in order to clarify their use in my study.

First, throughout this thesis I use the terms *Berbers*, *Berberophones* and *Imazighen* (plural for *Amazigh*) interchangeably to mean the same thing: the indigenous people of North Africa. Similarly, *Berber* and *Tamazight* (*Tamaziɣt* or *Tmaziɣt*) serve as umbrella terms of the Berber language. My choice stems from the fact that *Berber* in English is a neutral term and its use is widely spread in the literature as well as among its speakers. This does not disregard the fact that

many activists and researchers in North Africa have recently started to abandon the name *Berber* and replace it by *Amazigh*, particularly while using Arabic. Nevertheless, varieties will be referred to by their respective names while *Tamazight* is used exclusively to refer to the standard form.

Second, *Chaouia* is used to refer to the language, which is the French and Arabic name. The language is also known in the literature as *Chaoui, Shawia*, *Shawiya, Tacawit,* or *Tashawit.* Locally, it is pronounced as [θʃawɪθ] or [ħʃawɪθ]. *Chaouias*, however, refers to the people as a group.

Third, *Arab* is used interchangeably with *Arabophones* that cover the category of 'Arabised Berbers' despite the fact that few have Arab ancestry (Chaker, 1998: 16; Gordon, 1966: 6). The emphasis here is not on the cultural aspects but rather on language use and self-identification. Nonetheless, reference to the three categories, i.e. Arabs , Berbers, and Arabised Berbers, is made when necessary.

Finally, the diglossic nature of Arabic seems to be muted by the informants. Participants usually use *Standard Arabic* (*Fuṣḥa* or *ʿArabiyya*) and *Dārja* (also referred to *ʿAmmiyya*) interchangeably in the interviews, and sometimes both are simply named *Arabic* (*ʿArabiyya*). Yet, I try to distinguish between SA and Algerian Arabic wherever important.

1.6 Note on transcription

Apart from few conversations I recorded in English and French, the majority were in Chaouia and Algerian Arabic. I opted for a broad translation in English because of the long length of the extracts, as well as the fact that my current analysis focuses on the content rather than linguistic forms and phonetic features that might require further detailed transcription. Generally, the speech of all respondents, to different levels, is characterised by codeswitching and mixing of Berber,

Arabic, French and in few cases some English among the younger respondents (see Appendix 6 for some examples in the original form).

When quoted, speakers are identified by pseudonyms along with gender, age, and region (e.g. *Nouri, M, 50, B* means Nouri is a male who is 50-years-old, from Keshida in Batna). SR, on the other hand, is the interviewer. To capture relevant details that support my arguments and/or the points the informants are trying to stress, I underlined the particular part in their quotes. I use brackets with ellipses […] to exclude extraneous speech that is not directly relevant to the topic under discussion. Finally, laughter is indicated between parentheses ().

Chapter 2: Historical Profile of Algeria and the Speech Community

2.1   Introduction

The chapter provides background information about the history, demography, politics and education in Algeria. It is composed of two main parts. The first part sheds light on the general socio-historical and political situation of Algeria before and after independence, with respect to language contact and language planning, to reflect upon the external factors which led to Berber shift and political movement. It introduces language as a proxy for conflict in Algeria (Benrabah, 2013). The second part presents the speech community of Aurès, the land of Chaouias. It accounts for its geography, history and socio-economic transitions.

2.2   Colonised (Berber) Algeria

Algeria is the largest country in Africa; it has always been considered a gateway to the whole continent. It is commonly agreed by historians that the indigenous people of NA are Berbers. They have witnessed many successive invasions, and Algeria is no exception here.

First, Phoenicians arrived in 860 BC and established Punic as the official language of the territory, and most Berbers were bilingual in Punic and Berber (or Lybic traditionally). In 2 BC, the Romans occupied the region, and multilingualism prevailed (Benabou, 1976: 488). Latin was used among the elite, while Punic and Berber remained dominant among the masses. Many Berbers, at the time, spoke the three languages as they served in the Roman army or the Numidian one[1]. Unfortunately, no available records show how these languages interacted with each other over six centuries to help explain the survival of Berber in its current form. The invasion of the Vandals

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[1] Numidians is the name Berbers gave themselves before the Romans called them Berbers.

(429 CE) as well as the Romanised Byzantines (533 CE) were not long enough to leave any remarkable linguistic influence on Berber, as Latin remained the widely used language.

With the 7th century (647-648 CE), the Arabs' conquest was fiercely resisted for almost 5 centuries[2], but the second wave of migration of Bendouin tribes seems to have reshaped the cultural boundaries of NA and ousted Latin use. By the 12th century, most Berbers accepted Islam and further led its spread to some parts of southern Europe. However, Arabic took another five centuries to oust Berber (Hamza, 2007: 14).

Spain later (1505-1791) took over the coastal areas and added Mers el Kebir, Oran, Tlemcen, Mostaganem, Dellys, Tenes, Cherchel and Bougie to its territory while helping to spread Spanish for trade purposes. In 1529, the Ottoman Empire offered its protection and regulations in the territory to cease Spanish domination. The Ottomans turned Algeria into a pirate state and encouraged the tribal division to ease its control (Benrabah, 2013: 23). Linguistically, Benrabah (2005: 394) reports "multilingualism involving approximately 15 languages prevailed" at the time. Osman Turkish was established as the official language while Arabic was preserved for religious practices, along with a simplified pidgin spoken in the Mediterranean area (ibid: 2013: 23). The majority of Berbers were bi-/multi-lingual.

In 1830, the total number of the Algerian population was about 3 million, of which only 5-6% were urban-dwellers. The Berber population represented over 50% of Algeria (ibid: 24) and was present almost all over the country (ibid: 48). Nevertheless, the distinction between Berber and Arab communities was based more on language than ethnicity, and contact zones were often multilingual (McDougall, 2017: 44).

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[2] Especially by Berbers in the Aurès region.

2.3   French Algeria (1830-1962)

Lasting for 132 years with a severe policy of assimilation, French colonisation has marked the social and linguistic situation of the country. Unlike Morocco and Tunisia, as French protectorates from (1912-1956) and (1881-1956) respectively, Algeria was announced 'French'. It was, in this sense, under the Ministry of Interior instead of the Foreign Office. The country was divided into three departments[3] which were further subdivided into: zones of civilians (mainly Europeans), mixed communities of two ethnic groups, and the Arab zone that was largely inhabited by natives and therefore was under military control (Haouam, 1990: 196). Furthermore, France introduced the country to European settlement. This resulted in displacing a large population and dispossessing peasants, mostly Berbers, to provide fertile lands to the 'colons' or settlers. These zones were deserted by Berbers and later repopulated by Arabophones (Grandguillaume, 1996: 38, Chaker, 1998: 115-116).

Equally important is the ethnic division policy. Berbers, and notably the mountainous Kabyles, were portrayed as descendants of Europeans, under what was later called the "Berber Myth" or the "Kabyle Myth"[4]. As a racial paradigm and as a divisive tool, the French promoted the idea of two different ethnic groups, i.e. Arabs and Berbers, subject to varying degrees of cultural assimilation and adaptation to the French civilisation. Berbers, hence, were praised for their religious heterogeneity and flexibility as opposed to Arabs (Benrabah, 2013: 27). Berbers were stereotypically identified as sedentary, living in the mountains, and liberal as opposed to Arabs who were pictured as nomadic, living in the plains, and Muslim (Lorcin, 2014). This policy was repeatedly reinforced with an emphasis on cultural and linguistic differences to serve the establishment of an imagined Berber nation.

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[3] Algiers, Oran and Constantine.
[4] The "Kabyle myth" is the same as the "Berber myth" except that it casts Kabyles as Berbers par excellence, as part of the French idealization. It is called a myth because it is based on inaccurate assumptions and generalisations over both Berbers and Arabic- speaking communities (for details on this, see Lorcin, 2014).

However, the persistence of Imazighen and their confrontation with the French army forced France to use the Jewish community in Algeria. [5] This was achieved by releasing the *Crémieux Decree* in 1870, reinstated in 1943, that grants the Jewish community French citizenship with full rights and was given administrative control. The decision was strengthened in 1875 with *Code de l'Indigénat*, on rights of French citizenship, which reinforced the indigenous status of Arabs and Berbers, serving as a second-class in a French ruling community. The Jews "subscribed to the colonialist ideology", despite their long good relations with the local inhabitants (Friedman, 1977: 180).

As far as language is concerned, France saw pride in its language as superior, universal, rich, and 'civilising'. French was announced the official language of Algeria in 1848. By 1938, Arabic was a foreign language by law and access to education in it was very restricted. Schools were the main bridge of France towards spreading its language and culture. Although Algerians at first resisted the French secular schooling and sent their children to surrounding countries for education, WWI changed their perspective. Out of less than 10 million people, 2 million had lived in France between 1914 and 1954 and mastered French through direct contact, of which the majority were Kabyles. In Algeria, 50% of the French schools were established in Kabylia (Benrabah, 2013: 34).

In 1954, the Algerian political party, the National Liberation Front (FLN), was established and a revolutionary struggle broke out in Aurès and spread to other regions. The French anti-guerrilla strategy was based on land re-distribution to weaken resistance and deprive the guerrillas of the continuous support from the countryside. In Aurès, policies of "scorched earth" and "free fire zone" were adopted between 1955 and 1957. The authorities created "temporary centres" in 1957 for this massive regrouping and they quickly changed to "new villages" in 1959 (Sutton, 1977; 1999).

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[5] It was mostly made of settlers who came with the Carthaginians, and emigrants from Spain. After 1830, it increased because of migration from Tunisia and Morocco to reach 130,000 in 1948 (Benrabah, 2005).

These colonial strategies provided a good ground for the spread of nationalist ideas, but caused deep changes to the traditional tribal social organisation and its agricultural economy. The regrouping, Benrabah (2005) persuasively argues, has further pushed the frenchification of the Algerians both quantitatively and qualitatively. The population that had no previous contact with French came across the French schools and were introduced to daily contact with French-Algerian speakers in the urban centres, helping to reinforce French even after the cease-fire in 1962.

2.4   Post-independent Algeria

By the time of independence, Algeria was left uncertain about its identity. In the exceptional census that considered ethnic groups in 1966, Berbers accounted only for 18,6% of the Algerian population because of the previous colonial policies of pacifying the peasants' land where Berbers concentrated. The number dropped from 36.7% in 1860 to 29.4% in 1910 according to the French administration, which continuously provided statistical data on ethnic groups (Chaker, 1998: 13, Kateb, 2005: 95, Valensi, 1969: 29). Nevertheless, in the hope of generating a democratic system, the same model of language superiority and cultural marginalisation was re-introduced by the Algerian governors.

According to Benrabah (2013: 48), the Algerian population in 1962 was about 10 million, with a quarter living in towns. The percentage of illiteracy was 90% and some estimates put the level of literacy in Arabic at 5.5%. Six million Algerians could speak French while one million could read it. At the same time, about 25,000 educators, among 27,000, left the country (Benrabah, 2013: 55). This created a crisis for the educational sector. The sharp deficiency in the number of teachers who were both well-trained and qualified in Arabic urged the government in 1964 to recruit more than 1,000 Egyptians to teach Arabic, most of whom turned out to be unqualified. Even their spoken Arabic was largely unintelligible especially among Berbers. In late 1960s, the state imported about

1,000 Syrian Arabic instructors, and requested 12,000 teachers from France out of which only 4,000 were sent (Holt, 1994: 37).

2.5 The linguistic profile and language planning

The present Algerian linguistic profile presents a multilingual context (Batibo, 2005). Among the linguistic codes used, Standard Arabic is the first official language since 1963; Algerian Arabic is the main medium of daily communication. Tamazight has been officialised in 2016. It is the second dominant spoken language with eleven geographically scattered varieties with varying degrees of intelligibility. This section provides some details about each, in relation to language planning after independence.

2.5.1 Standard Arabic (SA)

Regional variation and lexical creation for political and technical terminology in the 19th century contributed to the development of SA as a modern variety of Classical Arabic (Versteegh, 2014). While the written form of SA is relatively consistent throughout the Arabic world, the spoken form exhibits lots of variation across countries because of the influence of local vernaculars (Al-Wer and De Jong, 2018). SA is the language of education, media and formal speech but not a mother tongue of anyone.

The implementation of the policy of Arabisation in Algeria fluctuated responding to different political regimes, from moderate to extremist. Ben Bella (1962-1965), for example, maintained French and a secular rule while his successor Boumediene (1965-1978) strongly stressed Arabic and Islam as the most essential elements of national identity. All his political speeches were in SA; for his regime, it was a decolonising tool. However, the industry sector required great dependence on French support, and therefore necessitated the maintenance of French as a working language for exchange and access to resources, influencing the maintenance of French language in education.

2.5.2   Algerian Arabic (AA)

Berger (2002) refers to Algerian Arabic as the language of the street, home and enjoyment of pleasures. In the midst of crises, this language gave space to a "culture of jokes"; it allowed laughing at power through theatre and music. Its use has spread with the Rai music in the 1980s as an unconventional art of speaking up the interests of the young generation. It is the first language of most Algerians, and has ancient roots as a vernacular. The variety is loaded with borrowings mainly from SA, and French and Berber.

Urbanisation and schooling provided good channels for people to think negatively about AA and Berber. The aim of teaching policies and textbooks was explicitly referred to as corrective to the linguistic forms and 'deficiencies' of the child and their family's language use. Thus, "the school knowingly makes the student an agent of linguicide" (Saadi, 2002: 46). The use of Algerian Arabic, therefore, was also forbidden in schools. Many radio broadcasts were launched to teach people how to say words and expressions in the 'correct' Arabic. In fact, it was not until February 1992 that president Boudiaf, unlike his predecessors, addressed his people in AA as most of the previous political speeches in SA were incomprehensive to the majority of the population (Holt, 1994: 37).

Elimam (1997, 2003, 2009) argues that Maghrebi Arabic descended from Punic and evolved under the influence of Arabs in the 8th century. His argument, nonetheless, is very weak in lack of evidence of the Punic language and the small corpus he used for comparison, especially that modern AA shares more characteristics with other Arabic varieties in the 'Arab world' than Punic[6]. Such attempts of associating Maghrebi Arabic with Punic are part of a cultural movement, in response to Arabisation, that aims at distancing NA from the Middle East.

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[6] Souag, L. (2013) provides a detailed analysis of the list provided and refutes the hypothesis. See: (http://dardja.blogspot.com/2013/07/1.html), accessed on 27/02/2020.

2.5.3   French and English

Many observers repeatedly report that Algeria is the second-largest Francophone country after France itself (Saadi, 2002: 53). Since 1962, eliminating French continued to be very challenging and the elite could not but maintain its use as an operational medium for science, economy and upward mobility. This, however, did not prevent them from portraying it as a clear reminder of the coloniser. The elite took advantage of the negative attitudes towards colonialism to persuade the masses to identify with SA, and the use of French was forbidden in public administration by 1990. Bouteflika (1999-2019), in 1999, publicly opened the subject to debate and encouraged bilingualism.

Nowadays, French is considered the first foreign language. It is taught in schools, starting from grade 3 or 4. It remains the medium for higher education and scientific research, and the badge for the job market, social mobility and administrative services. Urbanisation, Benrabah (2005: 408) argues, further favours its spread over Algerian Arabic, and therefore maintains its privileged position in the linguistic market. Its use is still dominant in airports, industry, and literature especially among the elite and among the middle-aged and old generation.

On the other hand, English is the second foreign language; it is rarely used outside schools. Yet, it has recently been gaining a large audience over French especially in the oil industry, computing and scientific documentation, but also as a linguistic agent of promoting peace (Belmihoub, 2012: 16). Its neutral position in the history of Algeria and widespread use in the world are strongly recognised and encouraged in the country (see Section 6.12).

2.5.4   Berber

Berber belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language family, which includes Semitic, Cushitic, Egyptian and Chadic languages. It stretches from Siwa in Egypt to the Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean,

and from the Mediterranean coast to Niger River in the Sahara. In spite of their phonetic and lexical diversity, Tamazight varieties share the same morphological and syntactic structures. However, the long absence of a unifying writing system contributed to the unintelligibility between Imazighen (Sadiqi, 2011: 34). Also, Arabic left major traces in the vocabulary of Berber varieties.

Algeria has the largest number of Berber varieties nowadays because of its large geographical extension and special historical and political context. Berbers, according to official reports, present no more than 20% of the Algerian population. The real percentage remains challenging to estimate. This is not only because the rise of Arab nationalism distorts the census data and produces bias towards Arabic, but also because these censuses offer little data regarding the actual use of Berber varieties outside their traditional zones, which have largely changed. The major Berber groups in Algeria are briefly outlined here.

Map 2.5.1 The historical distribution of Chaouia and Kabyle in Algeria (1850-1950). [7]

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[7] Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Aires_linguistiques_du_nord-est_alg%C3%A9rien.svg

Based on the works of Salem Chaker and Pierre Bourdieu:

XIXe siècle: Salem Chaker, Textes en Linguistique Berbère, Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1984 (p.28).

XXe siècle: Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, "Que sais-je?" Paris, 1980, 6e ed. (1e ed. 1958) (p.10).

Kabyle

Kabyle constitutes the largest Berber speaking community in Algeria. It covers a relatively small but dense area in Tizi Ouzou, Bejaia, Bouira and Boumerdes (Kabylia). Kabyles, also, constitute a large Berber group in France. Chaker (2003: 5) in an article entiteled *Berber, a long forgotten language of France* estimates 1,500,000 Berbers in France, of whom two thirds are Algerians. Since 1930, Paris was a hub for the Kabyle song and production, resulting in a dense productive network of Berbers, which supported the cultural struggle in NA. By 1962, the Kabyle variety was reasonably well-documented and written mostly in the Latin alphabet (Sayahi, 2014: 19). It is widely studied and used.

Chaouia

Chaouia is numerically the second largest Berber speaking group, situated in the east of Algeria. It is rich in its geographical diversity, socio-economic practices and history of struggle against all invaders. Details about this are presented in sections 2.7 and 2.8.

Touaregs

Touaregs live in the southern part of Algeria. Their variety is different from the northern ones. It is a national language in Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso (Kossmann, 2013: 29), with some institutional support and codification. The lack of demographic density makes them a minority in the Sahara. They have many regional varieties like Tamahag in Algeria and Niger, Tamazeq principally in Niger, Tamaseq in Mali, Tawellement in Niger and Mali, and Tamaheq in Libya (Adam, 2017).

Mzabs

Mzabs live in mid-southern Algeria, mainly Ghardaia. Their residential structure is organised in terms of K'sours or castles. They are Ibadhis, a sect in Islam, and have served the spread of Islamic teachings throughout history.

The other communities represent only few thousands of speakers. Most of them are isolated and threatened by extinction. These are: Chenoua, Tashelhit, Tagargrent, Temacine, Tidikelt, Tarifit, and Taznatit (Lewis, et al., 2015). Tamazight acquired official status in 2016, but the struggle for that was long. In the following section, I detail its roots, movement and challenges before and after recognition.

2.5.5   Berber movement

2.5.5.1   Roots of the 'identity crisis'

The Berber Myth in Algeria started with the French research centres at the end of the 19th century, which devoted efforts to the study of Berber and aimed at creating standard grammar and a unified system for the various dialects. They employed some Kabyle teachers to contribute to the formation of a consciousness of the ethnic difference. Referring to Berbers, Colonel Daumas, head of Algerian affairs for the French government, said "they have accepted the Koran but they have not embraced it" (Silverstein, 1996: 12) (see section 2.3). Their social organisation was portrayed as an aspect of Europeans and therefore used to create a division between Arabs and Berbers. This myth, despite its quick failure, hindered any call for language rights after independence. It is repeatedly linked with a colonialist agenda and a threat to Arab nationalism (El-Aissati, 2001).

Tracing back the roots of the identity question, 1949 was a turning point. The guerrillas had an intense debate about the future elements of an independent Algerian nation. Nationalists led by

Messali Elhadj, in the Algerian Popular Party[8], framed Algeria as an 'Arabo-Islamic state'. They believed in Arabic as the pivotal element in marking the Algerian identity over any other part. On the other hand, the Marxist nationalists, mainly Berbers, called for a secular 'Algerian Algeria', where linguistic diversity is maintained with equal rights to whatever constitutes Algerianness. The conflict between them resulted in the 'Berberist crisis' in April 1949 which became politically noticeable and ended in excluding many Berber leaders from the party. Differences in position, however, did not hinder the parties from standing together for the liberation war.

2.5.5.2   Early policies of Arabisation

In April 1962, Ben Bella, the first president of independent Algeria, asserted, in French: "we are Arabs, Arabs, Arabs" (Benrabah, 2013: 52; Quandt, 1998: 93) paving the way to a new centred ideology of an Arab Algeria. Despite his revolutionary logos regarding Arabic, he was not ready to sacrifice the French language (Gordon, 1978: 152). Under the pressure of Ulema to push Arabisation, he declared "Arabisation is not islamisation" (Grandguillaume, 1990: 162). Ben Bella clearly showed his hostile feelings to Berbers after they opposed him when he won the first presidential elections. In October 1962, the government abolished the only Berber studies centre in the University of Algiers (Chaker, 1998: 42). A year later, Hocine Ait Ahmed, a Kabylian former nationalist militant, led an army struggle against the regime and was sent into exile. Some students were caught with documents written in Tifinagh and imprisoned under the claim of calling for separation and regionalism (Saadi, 2002: 49). In the same period, the Algerian state signed a contract with the University of California – Berkeley – to sketch the sociolinguistic map of the country. Their research suggested that institutionalising Algerian Arabic and Berber is the best policy for the country, but the recommendation was rejected (Elimam, 1997) (cited in Benrabah, 2013: 54).

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[8] Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA), which represented the doctrine of Ulema or religious scholars.

Surprisingly, the governors themselves who were promoting Arabisation could not give up the French language and sent their children to French schools that ensured high quality training (Achab, 2012: 37; Benrabah, 2013: 63; McDougall, 2011: 261). Lycée Descartes in Algiers, for instance, had a separate system in favour of French and it received students of an upper class background (*Tshitshi* – chidren of the wealthy) who were later sent to pursue higher education abroad, while the public was trained in Arabic (Saadi, 2002: 52). Holt (1994: 40) puts it: "the would-be elite persuaded the masses to identify with standard Arabic while they themselves continued to use French- a policy doomed to lead a crisis of legitimacy". The practice maintained social inequality and reinforced the elites' power, but also reflected its preceding colonial policies in terms of incredibility and bureaucracy.

From 1965 to 1978, Boumediene's regime strictly adhered to the ideal goal of setting up Algeria as an Arab Islamic state. He also ensured that power passed from the political party of FLN to the military institutions using them to control administration and economy. Under his governing, the Arabisation process reached its utmost, and the educational system stressed that Arabic and Islam are inseparable. In 1966, the publishing house of French studies was replaced by an office for publications in SA. As a result, many of the Algerian writers who had a French education and could not write in SA were severely criticised by the media, among whom were Kateb Yacine and Rachid Boudjedra. Malek Hadded, another skilled Francophone writer, ceased writing under the feeling of alienation.

The period (1970 to 1977) corresponded to systematic Arabisation. The authorities declared 1971 the "year of Arabisation" (Benrabah, 2013). By 1974, all levels of education from primary to secondary were fully arabised and French was restricted as a foreign subject. Boumediene revolutionised the economic policies from agriculture to industrialisation to turn Algeria into a petroleum exporting country. However, Arabised students, who were mostly from a rural or

recently urbanised background, found themselves inferior to the bilinguals in the urban centres. As a result, they were easily directed to non-scientific fields and left jobless without mastery of French in a newly industrial society.

The new constitution of 1977 re-confirmed the absolute commitment to the top-down Arabisation policy, and article 3 states: "the state must generalise the use of the national language in all institutions" (national language refers to Arabic). Although the Berber activists raised the issue of Berber before administering the charters, Boumediene's response was that this act was "regionalist" and a "social scourge to be eradicated" (Murphy, 1977: 7) (cited in Benrabah, 2013: 59). He, further, said: "How would our children make themselves understood by their brothers in Cairo and Bagdad if, instead of learning Arabic, they were to learn Berber?" (Sadi, 1991: 189). He added: "I don't believe in regionalism and if regionalists demand that the Chaouias need to be represented then I tell them: I am Chaoui, I am here, and that will be enough for them". This served as part of a 'Chaouia Myth', to be discussed in Section 2.7.3.

In December 1978, Chadli Bendjedid was declared the president of the state. In 1980, he consolidated the supremacy of Arabic. The Kabyle Mohamed Cherif Kherroubi was appointed as a Minister of Education, and yet his determination to further serve Arabic and refusal to speak Berber made him a subject of hatred by many Berbers. He went further in the process of Arabisation to cover social sciences and humanities along with economics in universities in 1985. Fostering the process was a reaction to, and an attempt to, silence the students' strike in November 1979 for the disadvantages they faced in the labour market. Benrabah (2013: 64) sums up the achievements of the new radical educational policies between 1965 and 1989 as follows: "the Ministry of Education in charge of primary and secondary levels turned a completely Frenchified educational system into an Arabized one".

2.5.5.3   Berber spring/tafsut Imazighen (1980)

In March 1980, Algeria experienced the most serious rioting and a milestone in the history of the Berber movement. A decision by a governor in Tizi Ouzou to ban a lecture on ancient Berber poetry by Mouloud Mammeri, a Berber activist and author living in Paris, resulted in a large Berber civil disobedience which began in Tizi Ouzou among students and teachers, then spread throughout the country. Demonstrators cried "Tamazight di Lakul" (Tamazight in School) and "Le berbère et L'arabe parlé = langues officielles" (Berber and spoken Arabic as official languages) (Gordon, 1985: 138). Yet, the police's crackdown on striking students caused more than 30 deaths and hundreds of casualties. The event became known as the Berber Spring.

Between 1982 and 1985, several *Children of Martyrs* associations were formed, under claims of improving the conditions of widows and children of martyrs with calls for democracy and cultural pluralism. For Imazighen, it was a coded way to call for the freedom of speaking Berber in public (Hoffman and Miller, 2010). In February 1985, they attended a government-sponsored seminar on writing the history of Kabyle and were arrested for 58 hours. In five months, they were jailed with charges of calling for change of regime and creating illegal associations. On August 13th, a representative from the International Federation of Human Rights was sent to Algeria to investigate about the 22 prisoners, and later urged foreign observers to be allowed to attend the trial. On November 1st, violence erupted in both Paris and Algeria in demonstrations for supporting human rights. The demands of linguistic rights, since then, started to take on international support despite the strong resistance of the regime.

The president Benjdid, in an interview with *Newsweek* magazine in 1986, claimed that Imazighen are originally from Yemen. Imazighen were easily, if not still, labelled "racists" for the simple fact of declaring themselves Imazighen rather than Arabs (Achab, 2012: 38). These ideologies

developed a sensitive view towards Berber speakers, among whom many started to believe they were Arabs.

The uprisings *(intifāḍa)* of October 1988 shook the regime and resumed the debate of 'who are we?' As such, the new constitution of 1989 loosened the socialist dimension of the Algerian society, and the single-party system gave some basic rights of opposition for discussing issues that were previously considered taboo. Thus, university teachers were able to stand against total Arabisation and recruiting Arab lecturers from the Middle East. This significant change also brought along an increase in the level of giving Amazigh names such as: Dihya, Tinhinen, Massinisa, Juba, Jugurtha (El-Aissati, 2001: 61).

2.5.5.4 Black decade (1991-2001)

Because of the economic crisis and the rate of unemployment plaguing the end of the 1980s, an Islamic group was established to call for Islam as the law of the government and Arabic its sole language. After the military cancelled the parliamentary elections of December 1991, won by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), an armed conflict for over a decade resulted in complete chaos in infrastructure, and absolute distrust for both the governing authorities and the religious institutions. Estimates were 100,000 - 200,000 victims (McDougall, 2017:291), millions of individuals displaced and hundreds of qualified Francophone professionals forced into exile, while about 7,000 were made to disappear in unknown conditions[9].

Under these circumstances, the Berber movement continued its struggle. In 1990, a department of Tamazight language and culture was established in Tizi Ouzou and another in Bejaia, in Kabylia, a year after. At the same time, however, a decree of generalising the use of Arabic was released. The act fixes fines for anyone using any language other than Arabic and proposes exclusive use of

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[9] Among those assassinated: the first writer journalist Tahar Djaout (1993), the leading sociologist Mohammed Boukhobza (1993), *rai* singer Cheb Hasni (1994), and the Berber singer/activist Matoub Lounes (1998).

the language in media, court and university disciplines. Although the decision was justified publicly by banning French in public administration (Saadi, 2002: 46), it was implicitly meant to arabise the rest of the Berber communities (Achab, 2012: 40). In February 1992, president Boudiaf froze the process of Arabisation and called for accepting diversity. Not long after, he was assassinated, in Annaba, on the 29th of June 1992, while addressing the nation and urging the move towards changing policies and discussing educational taboos.

Kabyles again proved their pioneering leadership of the Tamazight movement of rights and refusal to adhere to radical rules. Their boycotting for the whole academic year (1994-95), known as 'grève des cartables', persisted until Zeroual[10] passed a presidential decree to create the *High Commission for Berber Affairs* (HCA). Its role was monitoring research in the field and promoting Tamazight in the educational setting. Thus, Tamazight was recognised along with Arabic and Islam as part of the Algerian identity. A pilot programme was launched in Kabylia to be extended to other regions. Despite the fact that Aurès was composed of five large cities of Berberophones, it did not receive any attention. This marginalisation remained constant both because of the lack of general interest among its speakers in the territory, and the deficiency in the number of instructors and materials to be invested.

The regime of Bouteflika, 1999-2019, introduced significant changes and reforms on a political, linguistic and socio-economic level. By promoting the Civil Harmony Act, he managed to decrease the level of violence and the armed Islamists agreed to stop the armed struggle. At a linguistic level, a call for a return to bilingualism was clear in his discourse as he, himself, would speak in French and SA. His recommendations for educational reforms covered introducing French into all rural areas as a mandatory subject in primary school, and using it for scientific disciplines. This attitude shift towards favouring bilingualism was described as the "Bouteflika effect" (Elimam,

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[10] The president was a Chaouia from Batna, and previously the minister of defence.

2004: 115). Interestingly, however, his support for diversity within the new nation-building programme did not include Berber.

2.5.5.5   Berber spring (2001)

In September 1999, Bouteflika declared "Tamazight would never be consecrated in law as an Algerian official language and if it were to be a national language, it is up to the entire Algerian people to decide by referendum" (Benrabah, 2004a: 103). In April 2001, a gendarme shot dead a young Kabylian, and a social explosion burst out against discrimination and injustice. Within a month, around 123 protesters were killed and hundreds wounded (Benrabah, 2004a: 104). This has come to be known as 'Black Spring' (Printemps Noir). In June 2001, representatives of Kabylia drew up a list of 15 demands known as the El Kseur Platform. The one demand that dealt with the Berber language and identity stated: "satisfy the Amazigh claim in all its dimensions (identity, civilisation, culture and language) without referendum and preconditions and recognize Tamazight as a national and official language" (Salhi, 2001: 52).

Before parliamentary elections were due in spring 2002, Bouteflika tried to ensure Berbers' participation in the electoral process. He named Tamazight as the second national language on the 7th of April. Not long after winning the elections, the president, in his first official visit to Tizi Ouzou, stated "we are all Berbers, Imazighen arabised by Islam". A few days later, in Constantine, he announced that while Tamazight has been declared a national language alongside Arabic, Arabic must and would remain the country's only official language (Liberté, El-Watan, sep. 2005, cited in McDougall, 2010: 31).

Despite the lack of political will and support, Tamazight was announced as an official language in 2016. Efforts continue to develop its status and promote its use in different domains under the increasing number of activists and researchers.

2.6   Teaching Tamazight in Algeria: between choice and ideology

2.6.1   Script

The issue of writing Tamazight has been a subject of serious controversy across the Maghreb for the last couple of decades. Three scripts are proposed for its writing: Tifinagh, Arabic and Latin.

Tifinagh script

Tifinagh is an alphabet of 39 letters, and is believed to be the original script of the indigenous people of NA. Many archeologists argue that its orthography developed in the early times of contact with Punic, introduced by Phoenicians, dating back as early as 500 BC. The script has been used only on stones, top-down or right to left (see Figure 2.6.1.). Touaregs called this script Tifinagh, and continued to use it for recording their tradition, history and poetry. Souag (2004) observes that the script is more widely used by women than men, who are more literate in the Arabic script.
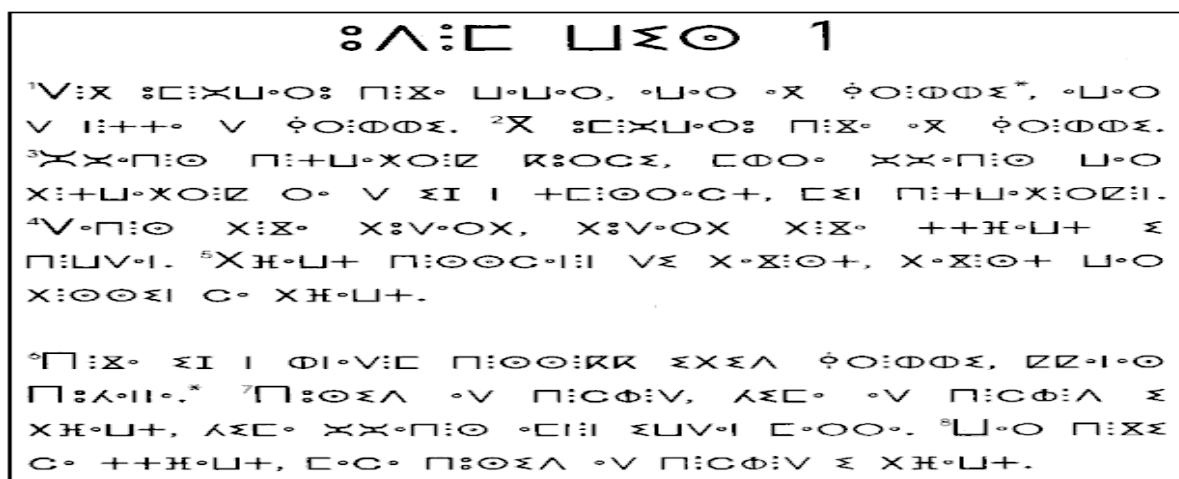
Figure 2.6.1. An example of the Tifinagh script.[11]

In the late 1960s, some Berber activists, in an attempt to stand independently from Latin and Arabic alphabets, called for a revival of the Tifinagh script. Consequently, the Berber Academy, in Paris, proposed a new orthography written from left to right and based on old Tifinagh with some additions and changes. This was later adopted by many activists, though very few people can read or write it. This is known as 'Neo-Tifinagh' script, and until people learn how to use it, it remains merely symbolic. Recently, Morocco adopted a 33-letter version of it in schools (El-Aissati et al. 2011; Hoffman, 2008).

Arabic script

The Arabic script is mainly used among Chaouias and Mzabs, but it is in continuous decline. The modernised orthography proposed by Muhammed Shafik is used in Morocco and Libya along with the other scripts, while its use in Algeria is very limited. It was, in fact, officially adopted in 1996, but abandoned soon after.

Latin script

Under French colonialism, missionaries and linguists used the Latin script to document Berber, and to a lesser extent the Arabic variety. Since independence, and particularly since the establishment of a standard transcription for Kabyle in 1970, the Latin script has been strongly promoted by Berber activists - most of whom are educated in French and more familiar with Latin than Arabic or Tifinagh. Later, the government body in charge of developing Tamazight, HCA, set Latin as its official script. The argument they placed was that "French does not represent the same threat to Berber that Arabic does" (Sayahi, 2014: 19).

2.6.2   Pedagogical restrictions

Many Berber-dominant cities in Aurès have introduced Tamazight education in their schools since 2005. However, based on the accounts of teachers and the project director of Tamazight, a number

of serious problems continue to hinder its spread. First, contact between instructors in Algeria and Morocco is almost absent. Second, the language is introduced only as a subject in middle and secondary schools and it is completely optional. Third, parents, who have no direct or frequent contact with schools, are required to provide permission for their children to learn the language. Fourth, the timing of the course is usually at the end of the day, making it inconvenient for most students who live in rural areas. Fifth, teachers' training is limited; instructors from completely different disciplines are employed to teach Tamazight[12]. Sixth, ideological conflicts between Arabic and Tamazight teachers in Batna prevail. Students still report their teachers of Arabic warn them away from this subject as having a colonial agenda.

Teaching, however, is very diverse among the Berber regions, and while it proved successful in Kabylia, it is not the case among Chaouias. While it started in 1991 in Kabylia, Tamazight was introduced for Chaouias in 2005 with the condition of teaching it in the Arabic script. Interestingly, the only teachers of Tamazight in the region were trained in Kabylia in the Latin script. In response to this regional policy, most of them were obliged to go back to Kabylia while few took the challenge (around 30 teachers). Some of them kept using the Latin orthography despite the pressure from the regional Academy. The project director, later, announced that the choice of the script goes to the pupils themselves. This raised many questions about how 10-year-old children can decide about the future of the language. Furthermore, in Kabylia, there is one syllabus to follow by all teachers, while in Aurès teachers are told to construct their own, reinforcing diversity between schools and within the same school. Most of the teachers, as a result, make their efforts to translate the manuals from Kabyle into Chaouia. [13]

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[12] The justification of the academy was based only on their 'nativeness' in Chaouia.

[13] The educational director for Tamazight integration provided the following information regarding the present status of its teaching in Middle schools in Batna (2017). Number of schools: 64; Number of classes: 378; Number of teachers: 61; Number of students: 1032. In Batna city centre, only 3 schools provided Tamazight subject. As far as the regions under investigation are concerned, there were 2 schools in OS, 2 in Merouana and 2 in Keshida, thus, came my choice of these areas to conduct my research, as a comparative study across rural, semi-urban and urban regions respectively.

After many challenges, a department of Tamazight language and culture was established in the University of Batna in 2013. Starting with 80 enrolled students, the training provided has proved fruitful. Most students are pursuing their master degrees and producing intensive research in the dialectology of Chaouia across Aurès, despite the lack of resources and institutional support.

2.7   Aurès

2.7.1   Brief overview

Aurès (or les Aurès) is a mountainous region in eastern Algeria, situated between the Sahara and the coastal area, and inhabited by Chaouias. Masqueray (1877) wrongly claims they are descendants of the Romans. The northern part is famous for its high mountains that had served throughout history as a solid line of defense against successive invasions. This special geography served as a refuge for Berbers over centuries and facilitated maintaining many ancient traditions and customs, including language.

There are three main ways to divide the population of Aurès. The first is the rural-urban dimension; the second is the Berberophones-Arabophones ethnic criteria, and the third is the tribal identification (Guedjiba, 2012). Gaudry, in her extensive sociological study of the region, considered the latter as an effective one because of the traditional strong ties between Chaouia people in Aurès, especially in times of misfortune (1929: 57). Nowadays, and because of the breakdown of the tribal system, large waves of rural exodus, high social mobility and interaction with Arabs, it becomes so hard to strictly follow one criterion to the detriment of another. The inhabitants of Aurès are originally either sedentary or semi-nomads (Gaudry, 1929). Thiriez (1986: 29) reports people in the southern part are semi-nomads, accommodating to cold weather in winter and heat in summer. The northern part, which is the focus of the present study, nevertheless, is completely sedentary (Tillion, 1938). Tillion observes Chaouia in the north have lost the sense of

harfiqt[14] under the influence of the development of private property and goods, and their situation is much more complex to be studied if compared to the south (1938: 42).

Chaouias revolted against the French authorities; Aurès was the first military zone of Algeria (1954-1962). It remained the centre of command of the Algerian revolution until independence. Accordingly, mobility in Aurès was paralysed during the revolution, due to military control. However, independence opened Aurès to the world of economic, social and linguistic exchange after a long history of self-sufficiency based on local resources and social solidarity.

In the 1970s, the agrarian revolution introduced significant changes in the social structure of Aurès. The re-distribution of fertile lands to Arabs left many Chaouias in a poor condition and further extended the social hierarchy. The development of the city started with the industrial sector in the 1970s. However, this project ceased completely between 1979-1991 because of the spread of corruption. Commerce constitutes one of the most important aspects of the economy of Aurès. Famous for its jewellery, artisanal production, fruits and vegetables, it presents an important site for markets. Women provide a great addition to the industry of the region through their practice of spinning, weaving, and hand-fashioned pottery. Tourism remains marginal, despite the various attractions and historical monuments like *Imedghasen*, *Lambèse*, *Timgad*, and *Ghoufi*. The lack of facilities provoked a massive rural exodus, and so investment in the land and pressure to maintain traditions decreased.

2.7.2   Sociolinguistic sketch

Chaouia is a major Zenati variety of Berber, spoken mainly in Batna, Khenshela, Oum el Bouaghi, and Souk Ahras. Estimates put the number of Chaouias at around 3 million speakers. Yet, accurate statistics are unavailable for a number of reasons. First, censuses in Algeria do not consider the

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[14] Harfiqt refers to the large family as unit that preserves Chaouia traditions by marrying from the same tribe.

mother tongue. Second, reference to Chaouia is stereotypically limited to Batna and part of Khenshela, while considering other neighbouring cities in Aurès as exclusively Arabophone. Third, Aurès, since independence, has witnessed a massive labour migration, which makes it difficult to establish any borders of Chaouias.

Bilingualism in Chaouia and Algerian Arabic is very common among Chaouia individuals in Batna. They are the least ethnic group to feel pride of its Berber identity or use Chaouia among Arabs (Chaker, 1990: 1163). Numerically, it is the second largest Berberophone group in Algeria but one of the least known or studied varieties since independence (Chaker, 1984), except for the texts of André Basset[15] (1964) and the syntactic study of Thomas Penchoen (1973) which dealt with the speech of Ait Frah in the Massif.

Chaouia is very close to Kabyle in northern Algeria, with which mutual intelligibility is usually immediate. However, Chaouia has more in common with the Kabyle spoken in Bejaia than Tizi Ouzou, because of the geographical distance between the two regions. The level of mutual comprehension between Chaouia and Kabyle is more than 75%, but the level of Arabic borrowing differs with 35% for Chaouia and 38% for Kabyle (Chaker, 1984).

2.7.3   Chaouia Myth

The process of Arabisation was quick in Aurès. While few Chaouias made an effort to assert their Amazigh identity, many others rejected the Berber movement on the grounds of regionalism. Contrary to the Kabyles, these Chaouias did not view themselves as alienated and marginalised from the nationalist project. In the following, I present two main factors.

First, the collective memory of French policies among Chaouias strengthened their support for Arabic to erase the traces of colonialism. The idea of independence in Aurès was as early as 1916.

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[15] The founder of Berber linguistics. He taught Berber language and civilisation in the University of Algiers (1930-1941).

Because Chaouias were the first to rebel and fight against France (as was the case with most previous invasions), their region was the first to be under siege and witness repression and regrouping. The French did not make any effort to promote literacy among Chaouias, and so few of them attempted to write down their language or using it for literary ends. While French language schools were popular in Kabylia, Islamic schools began to spread in Aurès. This made it easy to establish access to Arabic.

Second, the military organisation was crucial in generating a 'Chaouia Myth'[16]. After 1962, Chaouias showed their loyalty to the FLN, and were largely placed in the military service, sometimes without education. They became dominant in the field, across all ranks of the military (Quandt, 1998: 35-36). Along with the intense patriotic position, this assured the formation of positive attitudes towards Arabic (being the language of the military) and negative ones towards Chaouia. Compared to other Berber groups, Chaouias were put in intense contact with Arabs, where they learnt that Chaouia use is a 'social handicap' towards power. Mostly from a rural background, they found themselves inferior to bilinguals (Arabic-French) in the urban centres, and were obliged to establish a status quo through this safe short route to social mobility and financial stability. Not surprising, military service was also a common strategy used by the French to assimilate Bretons (Kuter, 1989: 81). The re-produced state policy of 'divide and rule' explains why Chaouias (of the plains, particularly) seem to stand steps behind Kabyles in preserving their cultural distinctiveness. The use of the army was particularly interesting during the regime of Boumediene. Colonel Boumediene strengthened the discourse of glorifying Aurès for its sacrifices in the war of liberation and inviting more Chaouias to join the army. The region, however, has not

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[16] This is the term I use for the idea that Chaouias were manipulated by the Algerian regime to divide Berbers, much as the Kabyle were by the French. There is no evidence that Chaouias are dominant in the army (particularly since the 80s) or as powerful as it is disseminated through public discourse, except the invented 'elite' that serves the governmental institutions and policies. Chaouias are still largely perceived as 'backward', 'tough', and 'uneducated' by the majority group because of their insufficient access to modern facilities and French (the language of status).

seen any socio-economic investment; the political discourse which was disseminated through the media was sufficient to silence Chaouias. Despite the attempt of some Chaouia officers to shake his regime in 1967-1968, the majority admired him for his power and discourse.

The regime used this discourse and nurtured it after independence to create a one-party government, FLN, legitimised by a national agenda and a religious envelope, to serve its ends and hinder the rise of any Chaouia Berber consciousness. After independence, Chaouias were highly exposed to urbanisation. Many of them moved away and started to disidentify with Chaouia and its culture because of the negative stereotypes about the community being rough and uneducated (see quote from *M71B*, Appendix 6).

Nonetheless, the engagement of Chaouias was largely present through the Chaouia song where themes of identity were always present (e.g. Markunda, Dihya, Mihoub, and Jermouni). The consciousness has been strengthened later by introducing Tamazight in education, establishing the department of Tamazight in 2013 and a radio station in Arabic/Chaouia, as well as the rise of the number of the cultural associations interested in the Amazigh issue. At present, one can observe significant, though not yet sufficient, cultural production in Chaouia folklore, poetry, theatre, and linguistics.

2.8   The speech community of the study

Following Labov's (1966) study of the Lower East Side of NY City as a speech community despite its linguistic heterogeneity, Patrick (2002: 577) argues that the speech community is a "socially-based unit of analysis". This perspective gives more weight to the social characteristics and collective behaviour of the group to explain language practices. Similarly, Batna can be regarded as one speech community that shares social norms and meanings to govern its language behaviour.

The three main sites of the present study are Keshida (in Batna city), Merouana and Ouled Sellam. To the best of my knowledge, no sociolinguistic study has tackled these regions. First, although they are geographically distant, the groups are in constant contact for economic needs. Second, the three of them have launched the project of teaching Tamazight a few years ago. This allows a snapshot on the attitudes of the young generation towards their identity and new language policies. Third, their ethnic composition is interesting. Batna city is composed of Arabic-speaking dwellers and Berbers. Keshida, however, is ethnically Chaouia-dominant, living alongside many immigrants. The community of Merouana is composed of a large group of Chaouias and a small group of Arabs, while Ouled Sellam is ethnically homogenous (Chaouias).

Map 2.8.2 The location of the regions studied.[17]

2.8.1 Keshida

Batna is considered as the capital of Aurès. The city was established as a military garrison in 1844 by the French army as an access point between the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara. It was also a supply base to control the surrounding mountainous areas and facilitate the provision of troops. In 1848, a small town, Nouvelle Lambèse, was built and the city of Batna was officially created. At the time, the civilian population of the region was estimated between 800 and 900 (Friedman, 1977: 64). The army garrison attracted many people from the countryside and was soon one of the main sources of income for them (ibid: 64).

At present, Batna city is divided into 12 urban sectors; each of them has its separate commune[18] (see Map 2.8.3). The oldest, largest and most populated sector is the heart of the city: Bouakal.

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[17] Source: Google (n.d.). Batna. Retrieved on 28 Feb 2020, from:
https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1KMwkdwtlJPSoQ8cVsbQDbg7qL4YvtimQ&ll=35.6923862345435
55%2C6.0231505000000425&z=11
[18] These are: Bouakal, Chouhada, Keshida, Zone Militaire, Route de Tazoult, Centre-Ville, Zone Industrielle, Parc à Fourrage, Quartier Ancient, Zone Urbaine 1, Zone Urbaine 2, and Bouzouran.

Keshida is also a big district. It covers a small agricultural area, an industrial zone and a new

residential area. The common Berber Chaouia tribes in the region, which are the focus of my study,

are: Aiṯ[19] Bshīna, Aiṯ shlīḥ, and Aiṯ ʿdī.
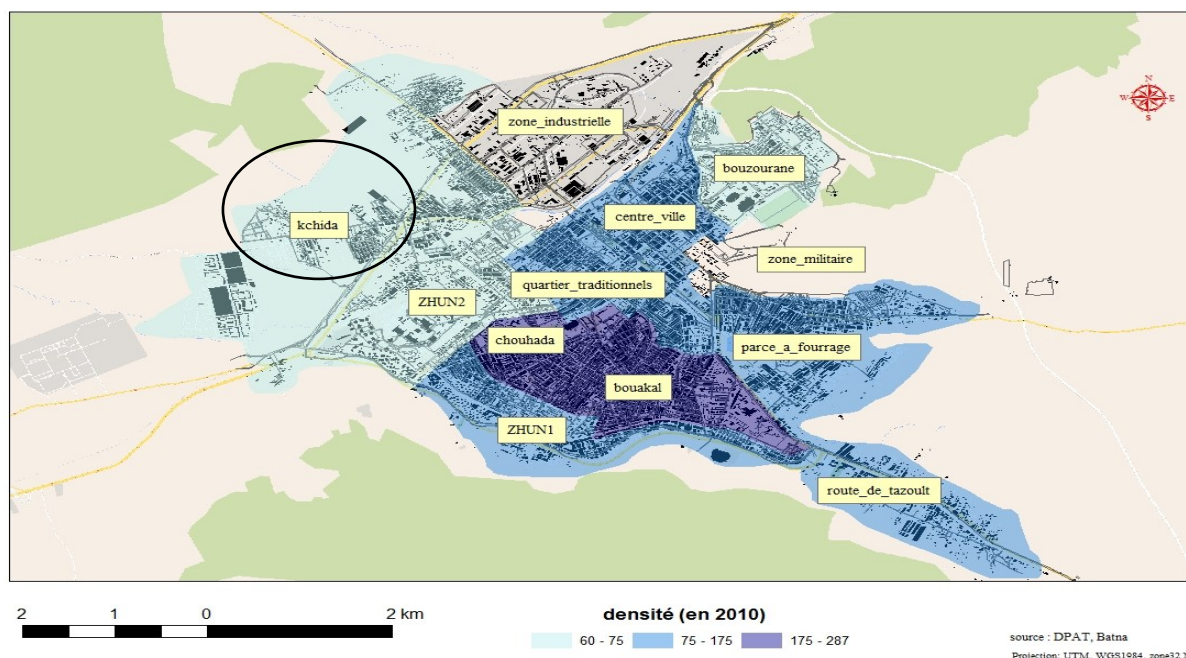
Map 2.8.3 Urban districts in Batna (Keshida is highlighted) [20].

2.8.2   Merouana

Merouana is an ancient Roman town, established in 127 BC where it was named *Lamasba* and

was a military centre that was destroyed by the Vandals and rebuilt by the Byzantines for their

retired army officers, then re-destroyed by the Arabs later. It had the first experiment of

irrigation in North Africa during the reign of the Roman emperor Elagabalus[21] (Shaw, 1982). It

has always functioned as the major urban centre with a strategic location between the mountains

and the plains, an ideal area for agriculture and economic activities. This ensured contact with

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[19] Aiṯ is a Berber patronym equivalent to Ouled/Wled or Beni in Arabic patronyms.
[20] Source: Lamine, B. M., & Mahdi, K. (2015). La mobilité motorisée dans la ville de Batna, étude de la répartition spatiale des établissements de santé vis-à-vis du CHU: approche par scénarios. *BSGLg* (64), 83-92.
[21] A.D. 218-222.

outsiders. Shaw observes that Merouana was contact point, "open to external influences" (1982: 67).

With the Ottomans, it was established again as a military base for collecting taxes. In the time of the French, it was largely an agricultural land used by the French for its good weather and availability of water. It was then turned into a settlement space with some military camps and the French administration renamed it *Corneille* in 1904. With the start of the revolution of independence, it witnessed the first attacks with more than 30 in the region and resulted in 2,000 martyrs (hence, also called 'the town of 2,000 martyrs').

The main tribes in Merouana are: Aiṯ Faṭma, Iḥidūsn, Aiṯ Ṣōlṭān, Dwāwa, Aiṯ Mhanna, Iḥlīman, Si Ḥamla, Aiṯ Buʿūn, and Houara. This last tribe is the only one in Merouana, which is perceived as Arab (and identifies itself as so). It separates Merouana from Ouled Sellam. The local inhabitants reported to me that it was brought by president Boumediene to settle there. Ibn Khaldoun (14th century), however, states they arrived much earlier. According to him, Houara's origin was Tripoli in Libya, and some of them spread across the Maghreb and abandoned all their Berber traditions in favour of Arab ones including language, clothing, and horse riding (Ibn Khaldoun, 2000).

In addtition to art and music, agriculture remains one of the most important aspects of the town. The increase of the population pushed small projects of industrialisation and trade to grow and flourish, especially with the positive attitudes the inhabitants hold towards the place. The population of the town is about 40,000 inhabitants, and it is situated 45 km from Batna city.

2.8.3 Ouled Sellam

Ouled Sellam is a village, created in 1957. Before that, it was known as *M'cil* (still largely used), and included *Talkhepmt* until 1984 where this later was announced as a separate commune. It is

almost 95 km from Batna city. Agriculture is one of the major features of the region along with traditional industry like pottery and trade. The census of Batna province (2011) reports about 53% of inhabitants are jobless, which explains the large wave of labour migration to Batna or other major cities.

The majority of Ouled Sellam's surrounding regions are ethnically Berberophone but the use of Arabic is the norm with them especially with the borders of Setif, an Arabic-speaking major province. It is an interesting site of study because as a small village it is not independent. Officially, it is connected to *Ras Alaioun* for administration, while in terms of the juridical system it is connected to *Merouana,* and health services to *Ain Jasser.* This makes it in constant contact with Arabs and arabised Berbers, putting lots of pressure on the use of Chaouia outside the intimate circles of the territory. The majority of males are bilinguals while elder women do understand only a few words in Arabic, if any at all.

Joly (1912) reports an account about the origin of Aiṯ Sellām. According to the narrative, these people are descendants of an old women *Tamr'art*, who had taken refuge in the mountains of the region. She belonged to a lineage of a Roman (probably a romanised native) who, after accepting Islam, received the name of *Sellem*. They established the tribe, and the name of Ouled *Tamr'art* or Ouled *Sellem* prevailed (ibid: 415). However, my fieldwork showed that no local inhabitant associates with this narrative.

2.9   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted the historical context of the language issue in Algeria, then, outlined some reasons behind the change of Berbers' social organisation and political movement. The linguistic conflict, since 1962, reflects three layers of tension: Berber and Algerian Arabic vs. SA, SA vs. French, and recently French vs. English. The main reason was associating Arabisation with Islamisation, French with colonialism and Berber with separation and regionalism. In this

course of language policy, a process of minoritising Berbers was introduced. The number of Berbers, consequently, decreased from more than 50% in 1830 (Benrabah, 2013: 24) to 30% in the early 1990s to 18.6% in 1966 (Chaker, 1998: 13).

Historically, the long isolation of Aurès contributed to the homogeneity of the group and its maintenance of old life modes and social structures (Bourdieu, 1958). However, the French invasion caused a large "physical dislocation" and "demographic migration" (Fishman, 1991) through its early policies of ethnic division, scorched earth policy and dispossessing lands, population displacement and resettlement, and the ideology of French superiority. In the same line of thought, huge changes in the tribal system (collective benefit) and economic capital were introduced. Consequently, the post-independent Algerian regime found Aurès a welcoming space for the ideology of national unity, with which language became an immediate necessity. The discourse of Chaouias being the protectors, defenders and army leaders of the country created a 'symbolic' image of power that justified Chaouias' initial shift to Arabic, following the French revolution's principle of '*one nation, one language*' to achieve its egalitarian goals.

Furthermore, industrialisation and urbanisation forced Chaouias to relocate in order to pursue better opportunities with state jobs instead of subsistence farming and animal husbandry. This resulted in an increased contact with the lingua franca (AA). Additionally, administrative reforms of re-organising borders contributed over decades to changing the landscape of the Chaouia population through weakening its social connections and changing the trade directions. After introducing the historical, political and language policy developments in the country and the speech community, the next chapter explores some theories of language shift and general reasons behind Berber shift in North Africa.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1   Introduction

Studies of language maintenance and shift (henceforth LM/LS) are substantial in volume. This chapter provides a synthetic discussion of some of the theoretical approaches used in LM/LS research. It, first, addresses the frequent terminology and how it is approached in the context of this study. Second, it tackles some of the forces underlying changes in the language behaviour, with an emphasis on the overlap of the approaches and their development in response to methodological and multidisciplinary advancements. The last section examines the sociolinguistic situation in North Africa, with a particular interest in Berber and the speech community under investigation to shed light on the complex array of the local factors driving language choice.

3.2   Understanding language shift and maintenance

This section introduces the concepts of language shift and maintenance, attrition and language death. Then, it briefly discusses language domains and diglossia and explores their uses and limitations. Third, it outlines the theoretical approaches relevant to the current study and their intersection.

3.2.1   Definitions

There is a common understanding that LS, often credited to Joshua Fishman, implies a gradual (or not) transition from one language to another that enjoys more functions and economic status, in increasingly different domains over time. Fishman (1991) uses the term to refer to the situation where individual speakers or communities decide to cease the intergenerational transmission of their language in favour of another. A possible scenario would be a context where different linguistic groups come in contact with each other, exhibit different behaviours towards the languages available (i.e. attitudes, switching, planning, etc.), change their habitual language

practices over time (i.e. different degrees of bilingualism), and consequently manifest different proficiencies and frequencies of use in different settings (Fishman, 1964). Later on, Pauwels (2004: 720) defines LS as when "a speech community (gradually) gives up or loses the use of its language and/or of many functions of the language and shifts to the use of another language for most, if not all its communicative and other cultural, symbolic needs". This term, however, is not necessarily limited to first languages but can be applied to all linguistic repertoire (Pauwels, 2016).

The continuous change in these linguistic practices can result in language attrition and death. The first occurs mainly among migrants living in a second language environment where the ongoing acquisition and use of L2 coincide with a reduction in L1 (Schmid, 2019). While language shift occurs at the community level, language attrition is part of language loss at the level of the individual (Schmid, 2011: 3). Nevertheless, shift from L1 to L2 does not necessarily imply L1 attrition (Myers-Scotton, 2007). The second, language death, refers to total change where the language has no speakers or communicative functions left.[22] In this regard, LM does not simply refer to the absence of LS but actually to the continuous use of the language in the face of pressure and competition (De Vries, 1992; Pauwels, 2016). Important to note, however, is that in these bilingual/multilingual contexts, the use of languages does not fall into neat patterns. The languages tend to overlap, as in cases of code-switching or diglossia where speakers perceive the available linguistic repertoires as complementary.

It is largely accepted that there is no single set of forces that stimulate shift. However, it is unlikely that shift can happen without a relative period of bilingualism in the community (Fishman, 1991). Traditionally, Fishman identified three regulators of language choice in multilingual contexts: group membership (identification), situation (levels of intimacy/formality) and topic (1965: 71). This was later extended into "domain analysis" (Fishman, 1967, 1991). This refers to situations

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[22] For details, see: Wolfram, W. (2004). Language Death and Dying. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pp.764-787).

and contexts where the habitual use of languages change according to the functions associated with each code.

3.2.2   Domains of language use

Fishman (2000: 87) defines domain as "a *socio-cultural construct* abstracted from *topics of communication*, *relationships between communicators*, and *locales of communication*, in accord with the *institutions of a society* and the spheres of activity of a culture" (Italics mine). Put differently, a domain is defined in terms of topic, participants and their relation, and setting, elements that are assumed to describe or govern the patterning of language(s) choice. This concept is based on the assumption that different codes serve complementary functions but in a more regular pattern as a result of 'stable' bilingualism. Accordingly, languages will be maintained because they are continuously used in 'their' specific predictable domains.

This stability with bilingualism, however, is rooted in the notion of diglossia. This refers to the use of two varieties of the same language in the community, with each having its special role or function (Ferguson, 1959: 325). One of the varieties is high (H) and the other is low (L). In Ferguson's classic notion of diglossia, the H variety is used in formal domains like written literature and education, and the L variety is used for informal conversations. This definite functional distribution, although complementary, means that there are situations where only H or L is appropriate, but not both. Fishman (1967) extends the use of diglossia to account for languages that are not genetically related in multilingual contexts.

Nonetheless, a number of revisions and critiques for this model were established. Martin-Jones (1989) points at how functional roles index and reinforce the political power and legitimacy of the H language. Majority languages tend to invade the minority even in their most intimate spheres without being restrained, while the reverse is strictly monitored (the use of the minority language at schools, for instance). Moreover, the assumption of functional contrasts can be rejected in cases

of the vernacular-standard continuum model in Caribbean Creoles (e.g. Patrick, 1999). Edwards (2010) persuasively argues that even stable domain usage is hard to maintain due to the unequal status of languages, which continue to justify the majority's inexorable intrusion into more and more domains traditionally reserved for the mother tongue.

Domain analysis has been widely employed as a helpful tool in explaining language choice and use among minorities. Still, the choice of domains in this study is not based on an exclusive distribution of functions in the first place. In fact, each of them will prove important in feeding language practices into the other. Relations, as well as participants' roles, are found to be fluid, crossing their traditional boundaries to inform language choice in other domains through social networks.

Looking at these general patterns of language use demands a solid choice of domains. Fishman proposes that each researcher selects them in accordance with the speech community. Hornberger (1988, 2011), in her study of Peruvian Quechua, presents a complex picture of domains where language choice becomes variable (either setting takes control over role-relations or vice versa). Consequently, she distinguishes three domains. The first is the *Ayllu* domain and it covers all the traditional life activities of the community members. In this domain, therefore, the interaction always takes place between a member and another member of the same clan. The second is the *Non-Ayllu* domain, where members come across outsiders and use Spanish accordingly to distance them through formality. She, also, identifies the *comunidad* domain where the speech event is between several members of the same community plus an outsider, particularly at school. In this domain, the language behaviour becomes more heterogeneous. The study shows that Quechua speakers consider the interlocutor as the most important factor in determining language choice, similar to what Gal (1979) has reported. Based on Gal's study, whereas the rural setting and topic influence Hungarians' language choice to a certain extent, the interlocutor was the key determinant.

The current study attempts at examining the language behaviour at home, school and among social networks (friendship). While home and school can be encircled with relatively identifiable actors, social networks are abstract and flexible in terms of its members and their roles. While relations of power are quite imposed at home and school, the selection of peer and friendship networks is relatively free. That said, language choice in the friendship domain is hard to discern because it depends on the type of social circles that members of the community want to maintain or have access to, whether that is neighbourhood ties, relatives, colleagues at work or school, or all of them. Details about each domain are discussed in chapters of analysis (5, 6, and 7).

3.2.3 Theoretical framework

Due to the multidisciplinary scope of LS, I draw on concepts and theories from different disciplines, particularly by sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists and sociolinguists. In so doing, I consider power and capital, identity, attitudes and ideologies, and social networks as some main explanatory concepts for analysing LS. Although they have developed separately, these concepts overlap to a certain extent, providing a refined tool to the analysis and understanding of language practices.

3.2.3.1 Fishman's sociological approach

Despite his strong advocacy for an interdisciplinary approach to LS, Fishman's primary interests are the sociological aspects of language. The sociology of language approach is concerned with the macro-level language use patterns in the community, looking at language users and uses rather than the language itself. It "focuses on the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behaviour, including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes and covert behaviors towards language and language users" (Fishman, 1971: 271). Pauwels (2016: 13) puts forward three main elements of his work:

1. The definition and examination of habitual language use;

2. The identification and examination of extra-linguistic factors that impact on LM/LS;

3. The role of language attitudes and language policy/planning in influencing LM/LS.

These points aim at answering: who speaks what to whom and when and why does this change?

Fishman (1991: 55) argues that LS is a social process determined and defined by a given "sociocultural space" and can only be understood across a "time continuum". That said, an understanding of the historical as well as current conditions is equally important. He puts forward three main threats to the intergenerational transmission of language:

1. Physical and demographic dislocation, voluntary or involuntary;

2. Social dislocation through unequal access to resources of power (e.g. 'good' education and job market);

3. Cultural dislocation (or homogenisation), practiced consciously or unconsciously by both repressive regimes and democracies, through modernisation for "the greater general good" that does not account for "cultural democracy" (ibid: 64).

Similar to Bourdieu's *symbolic power*, Fishman suggests that "LS occurs because interacting languages-in-cultures are of unequal power" (1991: 59). He, also, acknowledges that the socio-functional profile of language use is community-specific and not universal or fixed (2013: 483). Thus, identifying the social spaces and causes of LS is an important step towards identifying the required remedies and reversal strategies (Fishman, 2001).

Many models and scales have been designed to help evaluate the vitality of languages and reverse their shift. The GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale), developed by Fishman (1991), served as the most vital reference for more than two decades. It aims at plotting the current status of languages across different domains and the

needed procedures to reverse them, but with lesser emphasis on reasons of LS. Home domain, level 6 of the scale, is placed at the heart of language maintenance efforts. In other words, efforts for the intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue at the level of the family serve as the centre of resistance to pressures coming from other higher or powerful domains.

The scale focuses on language domains, literacy and intergenerational transmission. It comprises eight levels, in which the first six levels represent language maintenance. In the last two levels (7 and 8), however, adult speakers are not passing their language to their children. The higher the GIDS rating, the less effective is the intergenerational transmission of the language; and therefore, the more it is endangered. Language in level 1, for instance, is said to be used in mass media, education, and government at a national level, whereas, level 8 represents the stage where the only remaining language speakers in the speech community are the grandparent generation.

A number of criticisms have been put forward against this model. First, the focus on the role of home emphasises resistance but underestimates the external power relations outside. Home cannot be separated from the larger socio-economic, historical, contemporary politics that shape the decisions of the family members. Second, the GIDS does not account for all languages (such as those stronger than level 1 "international" or above level 8 with complete shift or extinction). Moreover, it does not provide an explanation for the progress from the crucial stage 6 to 7, i.e. loss of intra-generational transmission (Lewis and Simons, 2010).

Lewis and Simons' (ibid) Expanded GIDS provides a 13-level comprehensive scale that is applicable to both dominant and minority languages. The vitality of any language can be assessed using EGIDS by answering five key questions regarding the identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use (Lewis and Simons, 2010).

Using the Expanded GIDS, Ethnologue classifies Chaouia as a vigorous language at 6a level, i.e. "it is used for face to face communication within all generations and the situation is sustainable" (Eberhard et al. 2019). It is not listed in UNESCO's *Atlas of languages in Danger* and considered, on that ground, to be safe. Yet, one has to examine the accuracy of these judgements for the situation is more complicated and diverse than it is simply reported. Is Chaouia consistently used within all generations? Is the situation really sustainable? And how long can this stability be maintained across different regions of Aurès? (see Section 8.3).

3.2.3.2 Bourdieu's capital

As a social philosopher and ethnographer, Bourdieu has a major influence in many fields, but particularly in sociology. Although his theory is traditionally based on political economy and colonialism, it provides a thorough insight into understanding social behaviour. For that, he introduced three integral concepts: *habitus*, *field* and *capital* and argues they are complementary in the sense that none of them, separately, can provide any sufficient social explanation and neither is "primary, dominant or causal" (Thomson, 2012: 67). Each *field* is characterised by a certain *capital*, determined by a particular *habitus*.

Field is a social space that is shaped by actors, actions (or roles), and power relations. This can be home, market, workplace, school or a football field. In that sense, it is similar to Fishman's notion of *domain*. However, while domain is more specific and useful in analysing forms of interaction, the articulation of field, habitus and capital provides greater explanatory power than Fishman's model.

How people act and react in the field is habitus. In Bourdieu's terms, habitus refers to the "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (1990b: 53). It is "structured" by the individual's historical background, family upbringing and experiences at school. It is "structuring" in that it guides and organises the current practices. It is a "structure" in

the sense that it follows a regular pattern (Maton, 2012: 50). As a product of history, however, these rules become internalised, unconscious and spontaneous (Bourdieu, 1990b: 56). In other words, habitus captures an ongoing-process of using (and making) history into present contexts to make choices about how to behave or respond (or not) in the specific way one does. In doing so, the individual is constantly linking the social with the individual experiences, and the objective with the subjective, allowing the dynamism of habitus.

In every field, there is a certain habitus and capital. This latter is the value or asset attached to the practice; it is "transformed and exchanged within complex networks within and across fields" (Moore, 2012: 99). It can be: economic, social, cultural, or symbolic. The economic capital is determined by the currency or money assets. The social capital is the value associated with networks, group affiliations and family (similar to *social networks*). The symbolic capital is any capital that can be transported to other fields. In Bourdieu's words, symbolic capital is "nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized" (1990a: 135) that facilitates forming (or dividing) groups. In other words, its disavowal gives it legitimacy and guarantees economic profits in the long run (Bourdieu, 1980: 262). The cultural capital is the forms of cultural preferences. The latter has been heavily stressed because of its importance in explaining power relations and transferring the legitimate culture from home field to school interactions (or vice versa).

Language, by virtue of being a necessary resource for accessing the labour market, has the power of denoting relations of domination and social power (Gal, 1989: 348). Bourdieu's theory suggests that language has a particular value or capital in a given field and becomes a tool of (re)producing relations of power and reflecting social status. The linguistic field, in this regard, is "a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital" (Bourdieu, 1991: 57). Because of the close link between language and education, cultural capital

explains how social inequalities, 'false' identities, and biased perceptions are regenerated and reinforced through schools by the medium of habitus.

The school, drawing on social structures, uses specific linguistic forms and learning methods that only children from privileged (dominant) backgrounds had access to in their past socialisation. Therefore, the cultural experiences, acquired in the family, are transported to schools. To put it differently, the education field "perpetuates, disguises and naturalizes the socially rooted inequalities which shape it" (Crossley, 2003: 43). The inequalities, in this case, are mostly based on social class (though in the present study ethnicity is also critical) but mediated by language as a means of struggle where "words are both currency and commodity" (Jenkins, 2002: 157). Bourdieu (1991) suggests that language is a market of symbolic capital and power, with people competing for benefit. Children of lower class who share the same habitus and language face more challenges at school and, so, have higher rates of failure (see also Haeri, 2009).

Cultural capital can be transmitted through socialisation in the family but it is the school that is central to its legitimacy and continuity into the labour market later (ibid: 48). It is not surprising, for instance, to find some Berber parents endeavouring to speak Arabic (even SA) or French to their children at home to increase their chances in the educational field as the school system is perceived "as the principal (indeed, the only) means of access to administrative positions which were all the more attractive in areas where industrialization was least developed" (Bourdieu, 1991: 49).

In this research, I argue that these different forms of capital are explanatory factors of LS. To begin with, in terms of *economic capital*, Bourdieu (1958) argues that Berbers lack economic capital because their practices are based on honour, reciprocity and solidarity.[23] The logic of gift and

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[23] Bourdieu's work is mainly on Kabyles, but certain aspects of his observations are relevant to other Berber communities too (and when relevant, I use them for the community of Chaouias).

counter-gift assures the circulation of goods and values but does not serve the rationale of the market, which is based on interest. This practice shapes their status quo, as less privileged compared to the Arabic-speaking community that dominates the urban cities and seeks sustainable modes of production.

As far as the *cultural capital* is concerned, the school provides privileges to the Arabic-speaking majority based on the assumption that everyone speaks a variety of it natively (as part of habitus). This puts Berber speakers in a harder position of managing both the AA and SA to be able to compete in the academic sector. Furthermore, the introduction of Tamazight for Berber speakers and its poor management adds to their dilemma of learning the standard of their native varieties too. This process of codification, to Bourdieu, is an "operation of symbolic ordering, or of the maintenance of the symbolic order" (1990a: 80). As stressed previously, this field, with its built-in judgements, only legitimises the socio-economic inequalities by providing further hierarchies for language use and identity structure.

With regards to *social capital*, Berbers value their social networks and group solidarity. However, one can notice waves of change and weakening of this capital mainly in favour of economic gains and also through mixed-marriages and women's will for upward mobility (see Section 2.7.1).

While the three previous capital seem to be relatively stable, *symbolic capital* is delicate and unpredictable. In most cases, it reflects the interplay of insecurities between other forms of capital and reproduces the social injustice. In this study, I address symbolic capital through the role of attitudes and marriage.

First, language attitudes set Berber as the language of rurality and backwardness but position Arabic as a symbol of nationalism and religious identity (religious capital). Bourdieu stresses the fact that in a given linguistic market, languages are placed in a hierarchy. Speakers with different capital constantly choose between the use of the minority language, to show group membership,

and the use of the language of the dominant market, for economic success, power and status. However, speaking the minority language where the majority is expected can also be a "form of symbolic resistance" (Gal, 1988: 259). These fluctuations in symbolic meanings of different languages are usually motivated/followed by changes in perceptions of the self and the group identity.

Second, social transitions introduce new forms of practice particularly across gender. Bourdieu (1991: 50) argues:

> "women are more disposed to adopt the legitimate language (or the legitimate pronunciation): since they are inclined towards docility with regard to the dominant usages both by the sexual division of labour, which makes them specialize in the sphere of consumption, and by the logic of marriage, which is their main if not their only avenue of social advancement and through which they circulate upwards, women are predisposed to accept, from school onwards, the new demands of the market in symbolic goods".

With regard to marriage, Bourdieu (1977: 54) adds that exogamy is "officially presented as political". Its symbolic profit lies in extending the symbolic capital of the lineage's prestige, creating alliances or maintaining peace and security. Similarly, he observes that Kabyle women, least consulted for these symbolic profits, seek a material capital. He further asserts: "[t]he urge to calculate, repressed in men, finds more overt expression in women, who are structurally predisposed to be less concerned with the symbolic profits occurring from political unity, and to devote themselves more readily to strictly economic practices" (1977: 62). Chaouia women have similar customs to those of neighbouring Kabyles except that they enjoy their rights and play a "forceful and egalitarian role in family life" (Gordon, 1966: 7). However, until recently, Chaouia-speaking women rarely married to Arabs and so lacked that social promotion and economic mobility, which Berber could not provide (Hoffman, 2008). When they do, nevertheless, an immediate shift to Arabic is usually expected. The rapid changes introduced by urbanisation and

contact with the Arabic-speaking majority have introduced shifts in their roles but also aspirations for symbolic capital embodied in status and modernity (see Section 5.3).

Bourdieu's theory of capital serves as a vital sociological lens in explaining how power is culturally, economically, socially and symbolically created, legitimised and maintained through different habitus. Similarly, this model puts forward an alternative approach to language use that considers it a (covert) act of power relations rather than a simple means of communication. A language's production, perception and circulation reflect its status and domination.

3.2.3.3   Social network theory

Recent work on LM/LS has shifted towards the use of interactionist approaches foregrounding social networks (SN). It provides an important social understanding of structures and changes in group relations and their language choice. SN theory has shown to be essentially helpful in "explaining differences in language-use patterns at the level of the individual. It is less geared to explaining differences observed at the level of groups" (Pauwels, 2016: 111).

Gal (1979) argues SN was a vital determinant of language shift. She examines the identities of networks of Hungarian speakers along a peasant – urbanite continuum. The basic assumption was that Hungarian, a symbol of rural life, and German, a symbol of urban life, would be used differently among the networks depending on their attachment to traditional social values and mode of life. The results, indeed, show a positive correlation between the preference of Hungarian use and strong peasant ties, and between the use of German and the percentage of urban-oriented contacts.

With its various usages, along the three waves of sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012), this theory has become one of the most critical developments of the field. The idea of linguistic diffusion through weak ties explains the flow of attitudes and their effects on convergence/divergence. Al-Wer

(2013: 247), furthermore, argues that social network is linked to personal aspirations, attitudes towards the local and larger community, politics and residence. Accordingly, as much as it is important to study the structure of a network to examine its effect on language behaviour, it is also essential to highlight and assess the resources accessed through it, as well as the cultural and economic capital of its members. This would reflect whether it is worth more investment or not, from the individual's perspective. Coming from a working-class background, closed networks of relatives and neighbours in the current study might fail to meet these requirements and access further capital (see Chapter 7).

3.2.3.4   Language attitudes and ideologies

The development of work on language attitudes and ideology offers comprehensive views about the complexity and dynamics of language and social behaviour interaction (Chand, 2009; Choi, 2003; Garrett, 2010; Giles and Marlow, 2011; Irvine, 1989; Labov, 1966; Lambert, 1967; Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Sallabank, 2007, etc.). This approach aims at explaining the social identities and interpretations that accompany certain linguistic forms or practices. While the positive portrayal of speech communities through their linguistic choices might promote language maintenance and further use, the negative images and indexicalities associated with the speakers of certain varieties can easily motivate them to shift.

Language ideologies reflect "the politically infused ideas and rationalizations about language that explain – or seem to explain– the forms, uses, and social indexicalities of languages, their speakers use, interpret, or hear about" (Silverstein, 1979, cited in Irvine, 2018: 25). Gal and Irvine (1995, 2000) provide three semiotic processes through which people rationalise their judgements. *Iconicity* refers to establishing an inherent link between the linguistic practice and the people it represents and arguing they are inseparable. An example of that is iconically linking Tamazight with rurality (Hoffman, 2008). The second is *recursiveness* (later referred to as *fractural*

recursivity). This refers to "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38). An example of this is given by Bhat (2017: 186), in a study of the Kashmiri community in India, where the group associates Urdu with an Islamic identity due to the script's similarity shared with the Arabic language. To put it differently, the speech community first accepts that Arabic is an index of Islam and sacredness, then transmits that to Urdu through the script that is shared in between. The third process is *erasure*, which means making "some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible" (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38), such as imagining the 'Arab world' as a homogeneous entity and disregarding ethnic and religious minorities.

Sallabank (2007, 2013) puts forward a context-specific study of LS. In her work on Guernesiais, she does not only highlight the importance of attitudes of the speakers themselves but also the attitudes of the majority and their active support of language revival. She, also, sheds light on the *researcher's paradox*, as how the researcher can influence the attitude shift. Sallabank (2007: 43) rightly makes it clear that the economic, cultural, political and historical factors feed into the attitudinal element of LS. In this sense, attitudes are not only causes of LS but also outcomes of it (Sallabank, 2013). Similarly, Fishman (1991: 340) points out that these evaluations destroy the self-esteem of the "Xish" minority speakers due to "negative comparison with Yish political power, economic advantage and modern sophistication". Ideologies creates links between "ideas, power, and politics" (Irvine, 2018: 26). In the same line of thought, Sallabank justifies the paradox of giving up the first language and yet strongly affiliating with it in terms of a framework of the fluidity of identity (2013). The act of speaking it though is considered a "conscious" act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, cited in Sallabank, 2013: 77).

Accordingly, the analysis chapters of this study consistently point out the individually-held attitudes towards the different languages used, whereas the conclusions chapter (see Section 8.2.3)

will shift the focus to the abstract and norm-enforcing level of language ideology (standard, nativist and nationalist ideologies), helping to move across the micro-macro gap.

The above-mentioned theories serve as the basis of the theoretical approach in this study. Capital and language ideologies provide a strong explanatory force at a macro level; SN analysis opens up the internal structure of the groups to examine the individual, and along with Fishman's theory, they allow for a micro-level analysis of language use and the social factors associated with choice. The first level of discussion is centred around historical, power-based political and educational aspects whereas at the second level, the analysis focuses on the social relations and how they interplay with the larger picture of LS. Moreover, while the sociological approaches of Fishman and Bourdieu and the social psychology of language framework provide rich qualitative insight into how language use and identity are continuously shaped in intergroup interactions at a group level, the SN theory provides a quantitative examination of the micro variables at an individual level. Undoubtedly, the process of exploring more independent variables and measures influencing the linguistic behaviour of groups and individuals is ongoing, and this will continue to refine our theoretical as well methodological understandings of the complexities of LM/LS. The following figure is a simple representation of the factors charted in the thesis, based on the theoretical framework.
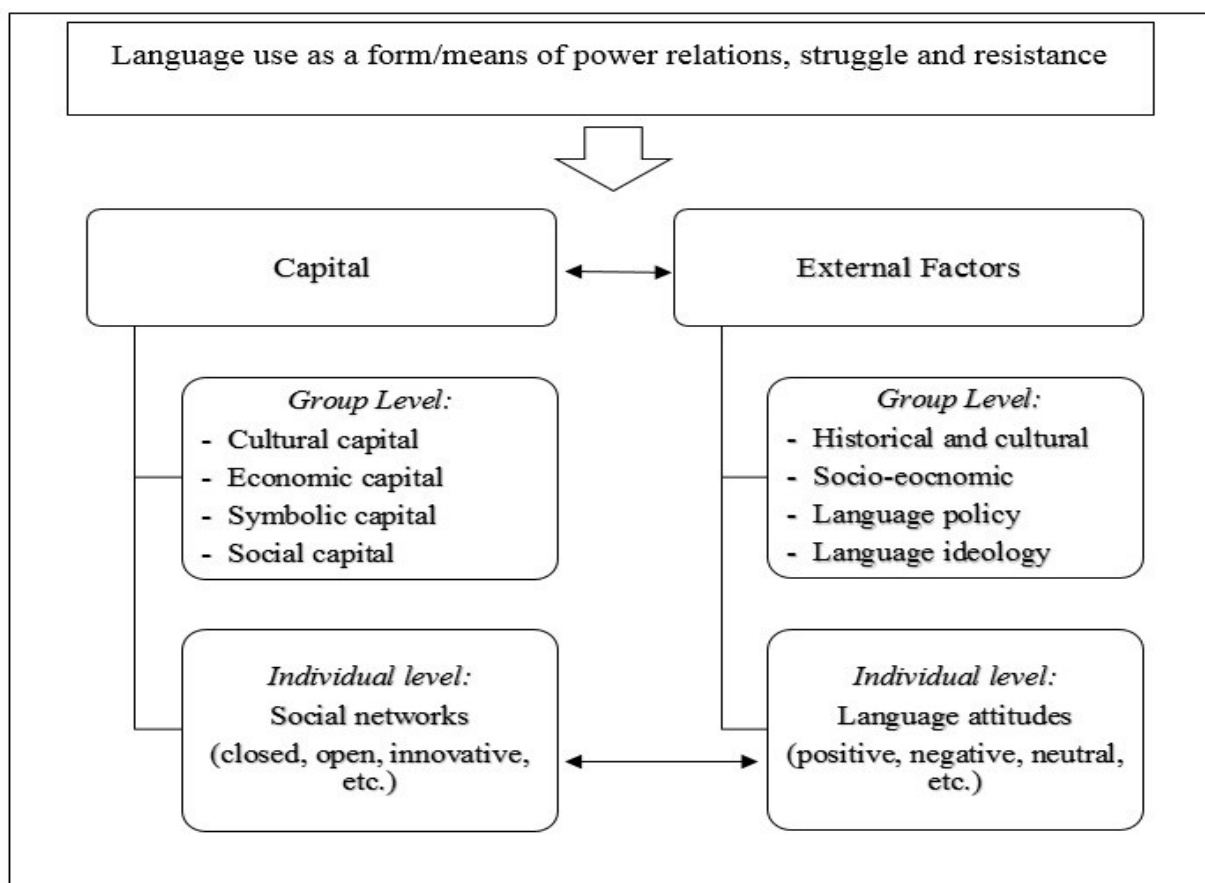
Figure 3.2.1 a short summary of the theoretical framework of the study.

In the remainder of this section, I briefly consider three other approaches to language shift, though I do not utilise them for interpreting my data on the grounds that they are not attuned to all contexts. These are more useful for typological and agenda-setting purposes than for explanatory power.

3.2.3.5   Edwards' typology of language endangerment

Edwards (1992) recognises the multiplicity of factors involved in LS and distinguishes between macro- and micro-variables, while still emphasising the link between them. He proposes a typology of language maintenance and loss, organised in two categories: one that covers *speaker*, *language* and *setting*, and a second that sketches a possible set of variables for language loss such as historical development, political conditions, and economic status. These are presented in the following Table 3.2.1, adopted from Edwards (1992: 49).

Categorisation "A"	Categorisation "B"		
	Speaker	Language	Setting
Demography	1	2	3
Sociology	4	5	6
Linguistics	7	8	9
Psychology	10	11	12
History	13	14	15
Politics/law/government	16	17	18
Geography	19	20	21
Education	22	23	24
Religion	25	26	27
Economics	28	29	30
The media	31	32	33

Table 3.2.1 A typological framework for minority-language-situation variables.

Based on these cells, he suggests developing questions to answer a comprehensive 33-question checklist. This would include, for example: 1) number and concentrations of speakers 2) extent of the language, and 3) rural-urban nature of setting (ibid: 50). For him, this would permit establishing a complete profile of minority languages, comparing the cases and predicting shift/maintenance outcomes.

Edwards makes it clear that the link between language and identity reflects "the workings of powerful economic and social forces" (1985: 160). Accordingly, language shift is an '*alteration*' (ibid: 159), where a language is abandoned but another is adopted to fulfil the same functions. In this respect, language is not necessary for the continuity of group identity, and its loss does not necessarily mean the loss of distinctive marks (ibid: 159).

Despite the fact that Edwards clearly suggests "economic (or at least pragmatic) motives determine language use" (ibid: 164), Grenoble and Whaley (1998) question his emphasis on economic factors which they claim are the most powerful to exert pressure on minority speakers. In addition, Sallabank (2007) refers to the shortage of data obtained from the questions asked in such a typology. Alternatively, she points to the productivity of implementing and collecting "context-specific" data on language attitudes and use based on ethnographic research.

3.2.3.6   Ethnolinguistic vitality (1977)

Formulated by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), this social psychological approach to LS claims that the vitality of an ethnolinguistic community, "which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Giles et al., 1977: 308), is linked to a taxonomy of three main structural variables. These are: status (prestige related to economy, society and history), institutional support (recognition and representation in formal and informal settings), and demography (number of members and their distribution). The assumption is that the higher ranking in these categories indicates that the group has a stronger link between its ethnic identity and language and, so, it is more likely to maintain its distinctive minority language. These factors are meant to present a theoretical framework "to study the interrelations between language, ethnicity and intergroup relations in a wide variety of ethnolinguistic contexts" (ibid: 343).

The model has been extended to subjective or perceived vitality by Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981). The authors argue that group members' perceptions of vitality may not always agree with the objective assessment. Despite its promising directions, the model has been severely criticised. Edwards (1985: 154) comments that the framework is "weak and decontextualized" because of its social psychological approach to language and identity. He criticises the fact that so many attitude questionnaires "tap only the beliefs of respondents, and so do not come to grips with the generally-accepted psychological conception of attitude, which is to include an evaluative, emotional or feeling component" (Edwards, 1992: 48). It is not sufficient, for instance, to ask parents whether they want their children to learn their first language or not; but it is more important to probe into the reasons behind to give detailed explanations of the cases, rather than a superficial image that tends to be similar across communities. He, also, points out that "low vitality can lead either to assimilation or group mobilisation" (1985: 158). Furthermore, Husband and Khan (1982: 195) suggest that it is "an uncritical naming of parts", which can ultimately lead to a misleading analysis

of ethnolinguistic groups. Their main objection is that the three dimensions of objective vitality are gross and inexact, not independent of one another, and are not given different weighting. Perceived or subjective vitality, in as much as it rests upon the objective measures, is, therefore equally flawed.

3.2.3.7 Sasse's GAM (Gaelic-Arvanitika model)

Sasse's (1992) contribution is the theory of 'language death' which emphasises the socio-economic and linguistic aspects of LS. Based on two well-documented cases: the East Sutherland variety of Scottish Gaelic (Dorian, 1981, 1989) and Arvanitika (an Albanian peripheral variety in Greece) (Trudgill, 2001; Trudgill and Tzavaras, 1977; Tsitsipis, 1997), Sasse (1992: 11) provides three dimensions to account for language shift and death.

1. ES (external setting): extra-linguistic factors such as history, economy and culture.
2. SB (speech behaviour): sociolinguistic factors such as language use, attitudes and domains, similar to Fishman's *who speaks what language to whom and when.*
3. SC (structural consequences): linguistic changes and reduction processes at the level of syntax, morphology and phonology as a consequence of ES.

Similar to Fishman, Sasse (1992: 14) stresses that the unequal distribution of languages manifests in the complementary distribution of domains. Equally important, he stresses that this model only applies when there is a clear interaction between the three dimensions (ES, SB, SC) (ibid: 24). Hence, the model is not applicable to all cases of LS.

3.3 Berber language shift in North Africa

The linguistic situation in the Maghreb is bi-/multi-lingual as well as diglossic (Sayahi, 2014). It is characterised by the presence of ex-colonial languages, mainly French, along with Arabic as

well as Berber and some other African languages. Most often, however, speakers do not distinguish between Tamazight and its varieties or between *Dārja* and SA.

There is an increasing interest in researching Berber. Most studies agree that different Berber communities are at different stages of shift due to direct and indirect influences. In the following, I briefly review the status of Berber in each country.

As far as Egypt is concerned, Serelli (2016) provides an ethnographic look at the linguistic practices in the oasis of Siwa. Siwi, an indigenous Berber variety, meets the daily needs of its speakers and is used in any situation involving Siwan interlocutors within the oasis. Its exclusive use for in-group interactions is automatic, and its maintenance is based on solidarity, easiness, and positive attitudes (ibid: 290). The author, nevertheless, stresses the importance of the school in bringing new changes as it continues to promote Arabisation. Some parents, consequently, express worries about their children's imperfect acquisition of Siwi because of the early exposure to Arabic in kindergartens. Although cross-ethnic marriage is not rare, Serelli puts education and urbanity at the forefront as the main mediators of language change, especially given that prestige and progress are associated with an urban modern approach to life.

In Libya, Adam (2017) investigates two Libyan Touareg communities, Ghat and Barket. In an analysis of language choice patterns in five domains (home, social events, street, school and work) across sex and age, he identifies three main factors stimulating an initial shift from Targia towards Libyan Arabic. These are political discourse and policy, socioeconomic advancements in favour of Arabic, and cultural dislocation. For the last element, religion turns out to be vital in encouraging Touaregs to learn Arabic in all its forms as well as claiming an Islamic identity that links them to the larger 'Arab world' (ibid: 321). Drifting away from Berber is noticeable in parents' deliberate decision to transmit Libyan Arabic first and not tolerating their children's use of Targia in early childhood (ibid: 322). In addition to these negative attitudes towards Targia, the increasing use of

a mixed code (Targia and Libyan Arabic) continues to limit the functionality of the former even at an intra-ethnic communication level. Identity, for Touaregs, is not confined to language, but rather history and traditions (ibid: 326-327).

In Tunisia, there is no agreement on the name of the spoken Berber variety. Some Tunisians call it Tashelhit; others call it Warghemmi, and some just refer to it as Tamazight (Hamza, 2007:2). The number of speakers that identify themselves as Imazighen, though, is estimated at 1%. Gabsi reports that Tunisian Berber is in continuous decline with no monolinguals left (2011:143). It is restricted to Chninni, Douiret, Ouirsighen, Cedouikesh and Guellela in southern Tunisia. Gabsi lists four main reasons for that decline. First, he identifies the large migration to cities because of the work shortage in these mountainous areas. Second, these Berbers are geographically dispersed with little solidarity and contact with each other. Third, he mentions the lack of institutional support and negative attitudes. Religion, furthermore, features as a driving force for constituting a new identity and strengthening the links between Islam and Arabic. In Gabsi's words: "the Islamic faith, so deeply seated in the Berber psyche, transcends linguistic boundaries between Arabic and Berber and adds a new dimension to what forms a Berber identity" (ibid:154).

Moroccan Berber[24], on the other hand, has received lots of interest from many researchers (e.g., Chakrani, 2015; El-Aissati et al., 2011; Ennaji, 1997; Hoffman, 2008; Sadiqi, 1997, 2014a). These works explore various aspects of Berber varieties, language planning and educational challenges, as well as attitudes towards Arabic and foreign languages. With almost half of the population having Berber ancestry, the royal decree in 2001 marked the establishment of the *Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture*, IRCAM, to promote Tamazight as a heritage and a "unifying symbol" instead

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[24] There are three main varieties in Morocco with little mutual intelligibility: Tarifit in the northern Rif region, Tamazight (a local variety sometimes confused with the umbrella term) in the Middle and Eastern High Atlas mountains, and Tashelhit in the southwestern part (Bentahila and Davies, 1992).

of a "source of conflict and disunity" (El-Aissati et al., 2011: 214). In 2011, the monarchy further announced Tamazight as an official language. These political changes, however, did not introduce much difference in the field. The coverage of teaching Tamazight was 15% in 2009-2010 against an expectation of 100% in 2010-2011 (ibid: 224). The causes provided are mainly around the complexities of status, corpus and acquisition planning along with the lack of training of teachers.

Similar to the context of Berbers in Siwa, Tunisia and Libya, Davies and Bentahila (1989) report that some native speakers of Berber claim an Arab identity and ancestry through the prioritisation of Islam. Language, for them, is not a necessary element for who they are. The authors, also, present urbanisation and mass media as the main reasons behind speeding up the process of shift.

In an interesting study of language policies, El-Aissati et al. (2011) discusses Tamazight language planning in Morocco after its implementation in 317 primary schools in 2003, tackling: selections of the script and variety, standardisation and curriculum, teacher training as well as their attitudes and the challenges they face at all levels. The authors note some differences between Moroccan and Algerian policies. First, Tifinagh is the official script adapted to write the three Berber varieties in Morocco with 86% of teachers favouring it for its distinctiveness and representativeness of all sounds of the language (ibid: 224). Second, the language is compulsory and taught to both Berbers and Arabs and teachers come from both backgrounds (ibid: 214).[25] Third, although the implementation starts with the use of the local varieties in grade one, there is an immediate shift to the standard Amazigh which still poses many challenges for both teachers and students. And finally, while Morocco stresses introducing Tamazight early in primary schools, Algeria puts an emphasis rather on its use in higher education.

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[25] This might be characterised as two-way additive bilingual instruction, since some children also learn Arabic for the first time.

Hoffman (2002, 2008), in an insightful ethnographic account of the language practices among the Tashelhit community, emphasises how the mobility of Berber males contributes to constructing the homeland and building the Ashelhi identity, elements that are increasingly associated with mountain-dweller females and Berber. Although this has depicted Berber women as more powerful in comparison to their Arab counterparts (Hoffman, 2008: 19), their own perception of it is summarised in hard work and lack of opportunities. Hoffman, also, points to the large influence of Algerian politics on the continuous changes in the Moroccan policies. The young participants argue that the Berber Spring in Algeria (see sections 2.5.5.3, and 2.5.5.5) is the main reason the Moroccan monarchy has established the Amazigh Institute to sustain some social stability (2008: 25).

Importantly, she raises some crucial questions about the future of Tamazight not only in Morocco but also relevant to Algeria. The first one questions how the ideologies attaching Tashelhit to backwardness while indexing Arabic with mobility and French with the wealthy are constructed and reinforced on a daily basis. Then, while Arabs do not learn Tashelhit because of their belief that the language and its people are hard, more research is required to look at what linguistic practices matter to ethnic group classifications and to whom: e.g. "an insider, a protectorate official or a state administrator" (ibid: 190). Moreover, if young Tashelhit rural women have to positively value their space, and so continue to speak the language, there is a need for facilities and services that can bring cities and mountains closer. While residents of plains, who speak a less 'pure' Berber because of the influence of Arabic, consider these women as real Ishelhin adding a burden/privilege of being its protectors, their discourses are not different from those activists in cities who downplay the hardship and challenges rural residents face on a daily basis (Hoffman, 2008).

According to Hoffman (2006: 145), the major reasons which stimulate language shift towards Arabic "include changes in political economies that put Tamazight ('Berber' language) speakers

in wage labor positions with Arab supervisors and owners and the emergence of symbolic capital in the form of state diplomas as gateway to economic betterment". Thus, rapid urbanisation and economic demands are forcing the adaptation of Berbers since they are still in a lower position of the socio-economic hierarchy.

As far as the Algerian case is concerned, there are 11 Berber varieties (Eberhard et al., 2019). Their groups are concentrated but do not sort out into neatly discrete regions due to large mobility and rural exodus. Studies of Tamazight go back to early 1900s, but have intensified since 2000. The main names are A. Basset (1929, 1952), Chaker (1984, 1990, 1998, 2001, 2008), and for language policies and questions of identity, Benrabah (2013, 2014), Maddy-Weitzman (2011) and Silverstein (2002, 2013).

Similar to other North African countries, Arabisation has introduced many changes in the linguistic profile of the country. Among the different Berber communities, Kabyles have dominated the scene of politics and research. They continue to exhibit a strong resistance to the government policy through organised uprisings, cultural activities and linguistic production both in Algeria and France. Studies of language use among Kabyles show a strong awareness of Berber identity and the maintenance of the language, whether in its mountainous homeland or urban host communities (Ait Habbouche, 2013; Silverstein, 2002). The use of Kabyle extends to formal settings, acknowledging its in-group solidarity function and covert prestige. In fact, Tamazight language in Algeria has taken a central element in Berbers' demands since the 1980s. Chaker (1998, 2008) argues the Berber language is the most distinguishing aspect between Algerian Arabs and Berbers, and thus the most important in raising collective awareness.

Ait Habbouche's (2013) study of the Kabyle minority group living in Oran, an Arabic-speaking city, assesses the different attitudes they display towards the four languages of their speech repertoire (Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, and Kabyle) as well as their use of code-

switching. The results obtained from a survey population of 100 participants, along with a corpus of recorded conversations, demonstrate that Kabyle migrants in Oran manifest strong positive attitudes towards their language and its maintenance.

Moreover, Bektache (2009) looks at the attitudes of students in Bejaia, a Kabyle speaking region, towards the different languages used at the university milieu and the functions they attribute to each. The findings reflect a large consciousness of identity and politics. Berber is associated with identity and origins. French is named second language, the code for science and prestige. English is associated with universality. Unsurprisingly, Arabic is negatively perceived. It is referred to as the language of Arabs, Arabisation, religion and the state. 56% of the respondents chose Tamazight as their favourite language followed by French and English, while only 4% stated Arabic with 95% dissatisfaction with the Algerian policy. This study clearly demonstrates that these languages are competing in Algeria and political ideologies are the main mediator for them.

To test the ethnolinguistic vitality of Zenet and Arabic in the Tuat speech community, Bouhania (2014) opts for a subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire. The sample of the study is 325 randomly-selected university students at the department of English and pupils from different secondary schools (16-20 years old). The results show a large use of Arabic to the detriment of Zenet, which he considered endangered. Although the use of this latter is very low, females turn out to be using more Zenet than males.

3.4   Language shift among Chaouias in Aurès

Unlike Kabyle, Chaouia received little attention from researchers who are mostly Francophones (e.g. Basset, 1939, 1964; Colonna, 1980, 1983; Gaudry, 1929, 1961; Huyghe, 1906; Joly, 1912; Marcy, 1941; Mercier, 1896, 1900; Penchoen, 1973; Tillion, 1938). These studies, although very old and not all linguistic in nature, are a good reference for the socio-cultural system of the community before independence. A few studies addressed attitudes and linguistic variation,

particularly in the Massif (Ghanes, 1997; Lounissi, 2012; Maougal, 1984; Menaa, 2004). It is worth mentioning, still, that most of these works about the region were limited to the Massif while the northern region is completely neglected. In contrast to the mountainous southern part where Berber tribes found their refuge and maintained their authority in the Massif because of its isolation, the northern part has always been an easy access point for Arabs who surround the whole region. To my knowledge, no other study looked at the current sociolinguistic situation of the three communities under investigation. The following is a review of two recent studies of the sociolinguistic situation of Aurès.

Guedjiba (2012) investigated language use and attitudes among 'djebailis', the inhabitants of the mountains - Massif. He considers three domains: family, school and village. The findings show a strong maintenance of Chaouia language and identity. The language is found to be actively transmitted to children even in urban areas and among Chaouia immigrants in France. Although the sample is considerably large (993 respondents aged between 17 and 35), the analysis focuses only on public usage.

Boudjellal (2015) surveyed 62 villages in Aurès to look at linguistic variation at three levels: phonetic, grammatical and lexical. Although very large in scope and geography, this interesting study does not provide a clear image of the communities at a local level and disregards the internal social differences in favour of generalisations, with no clear statistical evidence.

Nevertheless, Aurès has witnessed the largest rural exodus and social change and mobility, particularly in the plains. Thus, what works for the Massif does not necessarily represent the other regions. These studies, however important in supplying a large lexical corpus, lack a clear explanation of the methodological procedures, ethical considerations and statistical evidence as well as the social explanations for language practices.

To summarise, it is important to make some comments on the findings of language studies in North Africa. Some of the research on Berber in the Maghreb is not made clear and comprehensive to the readers. The questions used in both surveys and interviews, when provided, are generally leading and lack solid statistical analysis. Also, details of access and ethical procedures are almost absent. Davies and Bentahila (2013: 87), in a synthesis of some previous studies of language attitudes in the Maghreb, note some of these methodological limitations which apply to the cases reviewed in Algeria. The first weakness is the exclusive use of university students as respondents, accompanied with generalisations about their legitimacy to represent the entire community because of difficulties of access and contact in the outside society. The second limitation they outline is taking old studies as representative of the contemporary situation of language contact. Many of those no longer hold true because of the dramatic social and political changes in the region. Accordingly, it is important to state that the considerable literature presented across NA might be very useful, but should always be situated within its historical framework and community contexts.

Overall, the common reasons behind the decreasing usage of Berber in NA can be summarised in the following: economic and symbolic values of languages, urbanisation, and language planning in the educational system. The present research is an extension of the field to expand our familiarity with Berbers and understand the complexities of the social organisation and language choices in Batna province.

3.5   Conclusion

The main objective of this chapter was to examine some relevant concepts and dynamics of language use and choice across NA, Algeria and Batna. Berber shift is a natural outcome of contact and is rationalised by pragmatic considerations of socio-economic advancement and power. This study contributes to the existing sociolinguistic research in the region by bringing new perspectives

to the debate over language behaviour, policies, and ideologies, through an examination of age, gender, region and social network differences in an understudied variety of Tamazight. The above discussion largely excluded the question of language policy and planning, as it is already discussed in detail in chapter two. So far, I have covered language policy, historical and political motives for Chaouia shift (first objective of the study), and also briefly examined the influence of power distribution, capital, attitudes, education and social organisation on Berbers and the community in question.

One of the major advantages of using a multidisciplinary theoretical approach for LM/LS is enabling the use of mixed methods for data analysis. While the sociological approach largely uses qualitative data, the SN approach focuses primarily on quantitative analysis. Together, they contribute to the explanation of the phenomenon and inform methodologies in line with the third wave of sociolinguistics. This allows a rich array of data collection tools and analysis methods, which are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the methodological issues relevant to the present study. It is divided into three main sections. The first one describes the pilot study and access to the community. It also clarifies the status of the researcher and its importance for data collection. The second section provides an overview of the social variables used in the present study along with the rationale for their choice. The third section gives details about the methods used in eliciting the data, sampling, coding, statistical treatment, and ethical considerations and limitations.

4.2   Pilot study and establishing a network

The pilot study was conducted in April 2017. The initial observations of cultural and linguistic practices took into consideration all daily-life activities and domains. For a month, I was observing and noting the general pattern of ideologies displayed on a daily basis towards Berbers in general and Chaouias in particular. It was evident that the family and school play a vital role in shaping these practices and ideologies, but it was not until the main fieldwork that I narrowed down my target community in terms of region, class, ethnic identity, and domains of language behaviour to allow a systematic study.

Despite the usefulness of random sampling, many sociolinguistic studies tend to use judgement (or quota) sampling to select suitable participants for their projects. Similarly, this research used judgment sampling, which primarily depends on the researcher's rational decision about who best fills the quota, based on social categories relevant to their research objectives such as age, social class and region (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 30; Schilling, 2013: 35). These informants, then, are allocated to each category to construct the research sample. Although it does not guarantee statistical representativeness, the careful choice and consideration of social variables and linguistic

forms produce insightful findings which can be generalised later (Schilling, 2013: 35). With respect to that, my sample was divided according to gender, age and region.

Llamas (2007: 14) argues that entering the community is more successful when individuals are put into contact through a network of acquaintances than when approached as an outsider. Accordingly, establishing and extending my network in the community was met through the "friend of a friend" technique (Milroy, 1987). Most males introduced me to females while females introduced me to males, largely from the same social and regional backgrounds. The first participant in Batna was a mid-aged local male teacher. He was very interested in my research and so introduced me to his colleagues at work and adolescents in the surrounding area. He also generously allowed me to observe the linguistic practices in his classroom. Although later in my fieldwork, the teacher was not at the school anymore, his colleagues were happy to help. In Merouana, my initial contact was a young female shop-owner who introduced me to her male neighbours in the street and later to her family as well. Another young Kabyle resident was of great help to me as he lived in the three regions and was in a continuous process of negotiating his insider-outsider identity. In Ouled Sellam, using some acquaintances was the direct way to get access to participants.

Data collection began with visiting different local cultural clubs and social organisations. Our conversations and my active involvement in supporting their activities set the ground for a good relation with some staff members, which made their participation in the study possible. I, also, randomly visited many schools, expecting that the majority would be teaching Tamazight after elevating its status to an offical language in 2016. However, only three middle schools were found in Batna. From there, I was able to attend 4 hours of Tamazight classes and interview the teachers, along with the headmaster and later the head of the programme of teaching Tamazight in Batna. The latter provided some details about Tamazight's current status in the region and directed me towards the schools to visit in the main fieldwork. In schools, I provided help with any

administrative arrangements and educational projects as well as volunteered for teaching extra classes, following a request from students. Accordingly, my role as a friend and a researcher created the needed atmosphere for sharing data in relaxed conversations.

For the pilot study, I conducted nine interviews, two of which were focus groups. The two groups interviewed, each composed of three peers, offered extensive data and natural conversations on language-related issues. In addition to that, 50 questionnaires were distributed to adolescents and adults. They were filled in my presence with a recording of their comments and notes in the background. The questionnaire initially had 34 questions about language competence and use in different domains, language attitudes, media and Tamazight in schools. From the preliminary descriptive results, the questionnaire was then re-designed for the main fieldwork by eliminating some questions and re-wording others. Similarly, the interview was revised to meet the experience of all participants and provide informal chances for conversational topics.

4.3 Place of the researcher in the community

The researcher's multiple identities and linguistic competences are central factors which shape the community's reaction and the fieldwork relations. Milroy (1980) asserts that knowledge of the community and/or having social ties with it allows an easier access. Unlike Milroy's semi-insider status in Belfast, I initially considered myself a total insider. Being a member of the community and having lived there for most of my life provided me with a better understanding of the community's social organisation and allowed me to assess "the real nature of my status" (Eckert, 1989a: 26). Eckert comments that her status as an American ethnographer who knew about the Jocks but not the Burnouts, helped her to make sense of her story and question previous beliefs about school as well as every observation to uncover the experience of adolescents in Belten high school (ibid: 27). To obtain group acceptance, I had to manifest (and sometimes silence) different elements of my Berber identity, language competence, experience and contact with other ethnic

groups, political and religious affiliations with respect to participants' background. Similarly, I had to constantly demonstrate that I could respond to the sensitivities ethically, critically and respectfully, and always be humble (Smith, 2012: 140). To bridge the gap between being an insider and a 'stranger', I engaged in their social activities and accommodated my language behaviour to respond to the situation. Eventually, it enabled me to obtain respect, credibility and trust.

The pilot study was a good starting point to learn how to exploit these elements thanks to the initial perceptions of the fieldworker. While rural people were welcoming and willing to help even without enquiring about me and the nature of my project, urbanites tended to be more suspicious. Almost every participant I had from this second group questioned my status as a Chaouia person and an insider to Batna. I was repeatedly told that I am 'Kabyle', 'different', 'strange'. Their explanations ranged from my physical appearance, distinct accent and linguistic choices, to social behaviour.

Similarly, whereas the majority of adults perceived me suspiciously and did not feel at ease discussing the issue of language with me, elders (above 60) and adolescents welcomed my initiative and were relaxed in sharing their narratives. The conservativeness of the first category is due to the historical political background of Tamazight. Moreover, females, more than males, were hesitant and doubtful about the intention behind my research when the consent form was given and a recorder was set-up. Some of them quit the conversation and others kindly apologised for not being able to participate. In many cases of refusal, I have asked the individuals about their worries and re-assured my empathy and respect for their choices (see Section 4.5.3).

4.4   Social variables

The researcher's personal experience in the community and the previous literature on Berber were crucial starting points in uncovering the most salient and locally relevant social factors. The present research considers age, gender, region and social network strength as social variables.

4.4.1　　　Age

There are two major approaches used in explaining the process of language change, real time and apparent time. The first relies on either panel or trend studies to compare the obtained data with previous studies of the same community (i.e. different points in time). The second approach, i.e. the apparent time model, represents the generational change at one particular point in time, using a synchronic approach to investigate language change across different age cohorts in the community (Bailey, 2002: 330). It has been widely adopted in sociolinguistic investigations since Labov's (1972) study of Martha's Vineyard and the stratification of (r) in NY city.

As far as language shift is concerned, age reflects progressive change in language use over time. Since language shift is a slow process which happens over at least three generations (Fishman, 1991), considering age groups is critical to assess the level of linguistic disruption. Differences across these age groups reflect the change in people's language behaviour at different times, and subsequent comparisons can shape the level and direction of shift. Schilling (2013: 50) observes that "people's current linguistic usages are very often indicative of or at least give us valuable clues about the state of the community language variety during speakers' formative years". The speech of a 60-year-old person, in this regard, reflects the language use in a previous period of time, as compared to a 20-year-old. If data reveals, for instance, that the use of the mother tongue is higher among the elder generation than the younger group, one can argue that there is a shift in progress.

For that aim, sociolinguists group their speakers into age cohorts whether etically or emically. Etic classification refers to grouping people into equal life spans like decades, e.g. Trudgill (1974) in Norwich. The emic grouping, on the other hand, looks at some critical shared experience or historical events that influenced the community, e.g. Horesh (2014) and Wei (1994). Eckert (1997) argues that, when stratifying the sample, age should be used in culturally meaningful ways such

as life stages that determine or reflect certain socially appropriate behaviours. Maturation, for instance, is perceived and associated with age differently across cultures and this requires an insider view to look at the values connected with different age cohorts in the community.

The present study takes an emic position in dividing the age groups and draws some rational lines to provide political, historical and social meanings of each life stage and the way they affect language contact and social structure. I consider four generations: old (65 and above), middle-aged (49-64), adult (26-48), and young (25 or below), to approximately correspond to historical points in 1954, early 1970s and 1990, respectively. It is worth mentioning though that the shared experience of each cohort feeds into the successive group.

First, the elder group (65 and above, i.e., born earlier than 1954) corresponds to a critical period in the history of Algeria. In 1954, the armed struggle against the French started. This point in history implies the start of the close contact between Arabs and Berbers from different regions to prepare for the war, especially after 1945 massacres of the French Army in east Algeria. Before 1954, contact between Arabic speakers and Berbers was little. Also, this generation had received no formal education in Arabic, except a few Quranic courses in mosques. The schooling was almost exclusively in French though limited to certain privileged families. Their linguistic competence, accordingly, can give a glimpse on the language situation before the beginning of the liberation war. Elderly people are more likely to be less mobile, showing little care for the evaluative norms of the contemporary society and therefore tend to be conservative of their cultural and linguistic patterns. From a social perspective, they are associated with grandchildren and retirement. Most of them are well-respected and honoured in their communities.

Second, the middle-aged group (49-64, i.e., born approximately between 1954 and 1970) corresponds to the 'stable' bilingualism phase. Despite the early Arabisation policy immediately after independence, the majority of people in this group were bilingual in Arabic and French

(Benrabah, 2005). This period (1954-1970) corresponds to the increasing contact between Berbers and Arabs due to the war of liberation, change of the social structure of urban sites in particular, and the re-distribution of agricultural lands and properties. Moreover, the late 1960s witnessed the rise of Berber nationalism, which reflects a progress in the Berber identity awareness.

The adults' generation (26-48, i.e., born approximately between 1970 and 1990), on the other hand, represents the working force of the society. By 1974, all levels of education were arabised and French was given a foreign status. This top-down model of Arabisation resulted in a monolingual educational system, while Berber was completely marginalised. Linguistically speaking, this age group reflects an era (1970s-1990s) of monolingualism in Arabic for the majority of the population and French-Arabic bilingualism for the people in power (Benrabah, 2005). For Berbers, it was a period of an 'unstable' situation of bilingualism (Arabic/French, Arabic/Berber, Berber/French). Their perceptions of the policy can reveal important data regarding 'patriotism' and 'regionalism'. Furthermore, they represent the witness of the socio-economically unstable decades in the history of post-independent Algeria. The job market was strictly limited to French-speaking elite. This led the majority of young people to call for a radical change in society (see Section 2.5.5.4). Greatly affected by Arabisation, they demanded the exclusive use of Arabic. Socially speaking, this group is in charge of child rearing and responsible for securing all needs for the household. The age 26 is generally the 'appropriate' age for marriage; it reflects maturity and responsibility for both males and females. The decision of who to marry and what language to be used with children at home, here, is a key factor in the intergenerational transmission of the Berber language.

The political situation corresponding to the young age group is critical (1991- present). President Boudiaf, in 1992, opened some space for the use of AA and opposed Arabisation. Further, Bouteflika's regime in 1999 introduced a new era of tolerance towards French, along with the social change and globalisation with the intense ethnic contact. He announced Berber as a national language in 2002, and introduced Tamazight into schools. Although the absolute majority of

school-aged children were enrolled for a mandatory free education, this group represents the 'children of the civil war'. They represent the largest proportion of the population and an interesting case for the change in social organisation. From childhood to marriage, this time is spent learning and preparing for social duties encountered later in life. By their mid 20s, individuals are expected to reflect social norms and responsibility in their behaviours. Traditionally, however, maturation was expected at an early age; boys as well as girls were fully capable of taking responsibility and were to be married before the age of 20, with an affordable dowry, within a larger productive agricultural society. The current socio-economic situation hinders this because most females and males finish their university around the age of 23 (to obtain their Master degrees) then start looking for jobs. Everyone values higher education and therefore delays marriage, and its expensive requirements. Men, furthermore, are required to serve in the military for a year. This group, therefore, enables a glimpse into a diverse category of mostly single individuals with different family histories and attitudes towards current gender roles and language choice in the public sphere (see Section 4.5.1.1 for sampling).

4.4.2   Gender

Although there are exceptions, most of the studies in language variation and change in the Western societies commonly conclude that females generally use the prestigious standard forms, particularly for stable variables, while males often favour the localised vernacular forms (e.g. Trudgill, 1972; Labov, 1966, 1990; Milroy & Milroy, 1978). Trudgill (1972) hypothesised that women are more 'status-conscious' because the society compels them to pay more attention to the social significance of their linguistic choices. Due to their limited access to affect their status in the marketplace, women rely on symbolic means (such as language here) to achieve upward mobility. Eckert, however, argues that it is not prestige but rather power that is the most explanatory sociological concept in such analysis of gender-based linguistic variation (1989b, 1999). In other words, women, deprived of power, seek obtaining moral authority and asserting

their membership in their communities of practice through the accumulation of symbolic capital. For her (1989b: 256), women are more 'status-bound' than 'status-conscious'. She explains that women's conservative and innovative patterns lies in the

> "need to assert their membership in all of the communities in which they participate, since it is their authority, rather than their power in that community, that assures their membership. Prestige, then, is far too limited a concept to use for the dynamics at work in this context." (ibid: 256).

Linking prestige to standard language is more problematic in cases of Arabic-speaking countries. The use of SA in daily life is unusual. Arabic societies generally have a prestigious variety, in most cases urban, and another socially restricted one, both used in informal situations. A re-consideration of the linguistic situation of the Middle East shows that early studies associating the prestigious features with SA, and therefore, concluding they are used among men more frequently than women because of males' dominance in public spaces, are deemed to be misleading. Arab women, similar to the Western societies, largely lead linguistic change by using the prestigious forms (Ibrahim, 1986; Haeri, 1994, 1997a, 2000; Al-Wer, 1997, 2014; Al-Wer and Herin, 2011; Al-Qahtani, 2015; Al-Essa, 2008; Al-Qouz, 2009, Al-Rohili, 2019 among many others). For example, Hachimi (2018), in a morphosyntactic study, examined the second person singular gender distinctions and mergers among three groups with different regional varieties in Casablanca, Morocco, to explain why some of them have adopted the dominant Casablanca norm of gender marking, while others maintained their heritage norms. The study explicitly supports the observation that local norms and indexical meanings, in the context of contact, are more important than alignment with SA in understanding vernacular Arabic variation. The Fezzi and Hrizi varieties lack second person singular gender distinction in the perfect and the imperfect, whereas the Filali variety maintains gender distinction, a pattern similar to SA norms. In the Casablancan variety, however, the second person singular gender distinction is maintained in the imperfect (like the Filali case) but is merged in the perfect (like the Hrizi and Fezzi) (ibid: 66).

The findings from the multigenerational families of the three groups clearly show different outcomes of convergence to Casablanca norms. While educated Hrizis converged to Casablanca norms and adopted the linguistic variant that resembles SA (M/F distinction), educated Fezzis did not converge and rather maintained the heritage Fezzi merger (which masculinises the female addressees). Hachimi (2018: 75) explains the Hrizis' linguistic accommodation in terms of the social indexicality of inappropriateness of feminising the male addressee; the use of the suffix –i (a feminine marker) is ideologically associated with illiteracy, peasantry and old age. Fezzis' maintenance of their form, on the other hand, is linked to their tightly-knit Fezzi network, their high social status and the social acceptance of the masculine merger, rather than just being a simpler form.

Gal's (1978) and Canagarajah's (2008) studies showed that gender is critical in language shift; women lead the change for economic opportunities. Gal, further, asserts that their language choices index their preferences for future identities. With respect to Berber, however, women are considered the main bearers, if not the only, in transmitting the language (Becker, 2006; Bouhania, 2014; Hoffman, 2008; Sadiqi, 2014; Zouhir, 2014). Language maintenance largely rests on their shoulders, giving ground to the feminisation of Tamazight (Hoffman, 2008: 79). Without maternal input, children do not speak Berber even if their fathers do. This goes back to the traditional rural social structure of Berbers where men move away for work while women are left behind to take care of the house and the land. Moreover, their lack of access to education or lack of exposure to religious teachings restricted their choices of language transmission. As monolingual Berber speakers, they perceive languages as a power they lack; the majority feel disadvantaged not being able to read and write in Arabic. This is similar to Sadiqi's (1995) finding that non-working Berber women regard Moroccan Arabic as more prestigious, whereas working women, whether Berber or not, consider French, rather than Moroccan Arabic, as the language of status and education. Her study makes it clear that in one community there may be many competing varieties or languages,

as prestige is relative and is always linked to the speakers' class, ethnic background and the social stereotypes about gender roles in the society.

The way the community under investigation has negotiated gender roles and social status has changed a lot over time, and quickly after independence. It is worth elaborating on gender roles across generations to understand how they are currently being re-constructed. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 108) emphasise that:

> "Gender affects language differently in different generations because of various life experiences, and gendered language differences index salient intra-community social categories which need to be uncovered by researchers".

Traditionally, the elder generation of women was encouraged to show their strength and active participation in providing protection for their families and land. The hard conditions they witnessed during the French colonisation extended their duties from the domestic domain to public ones: building, harvesting, farming, animal husbandry as well as fighting in the war. Women have also been very productive in art, poetry and song. Their important role in the society has always been praised and referred to as a model of sacrifice and struggle, and hence the positive connotation of elder Chaouia women as strong and harsh. In fact, the sacred position of the Chaouia woman in the family was the key to maintaining this Tamazight variety. Thiriez (1986: 29) briefly summarises the 'traditional' position of the woman in the Chaouia society:

> "La femme Chaouia a su garder un rôle important dans la société. Apparemment surchargée de travail et soumise de plein droit à son frère ou à son mari, elle est paradoxalement assez libre de ses mouvements et a son mot à dire dans la gestion des affaires. Elle ne tolère ni la polygamie ni l'infidélité, elle garde sa dot et a de fait, le pouvoir de divorcer. Répudiée ou veuve, elle peut vivre indépendante (azriya). Agée, elle est l'objet d'un respect superstitieux, sous ses tatouages et ses turbans colorés".

> "The Chaouia woman has maintained an important role in the society. Apparently, overloaded by work and obedient to her brother or husband, but she is paradoxically free in her travels and has her say in the management of affairs. She does not tolerate

polygamy and infidelity; she maintains her dowry and has the power to divorce. When repudiated or widowed, she can live independently (azriya). When aged, she is still the object of a superstitious respect, with her tattoos and colourful turbans". (Translation mine)

The successive policies after independence, however, were male-led and male-dominant. Women were repeatedly reminded of their critical role in supporting the family, inside the home domain. In Batna, their mobility was restricted, the role of Theaziryin[26] was abondoned along with many public festivals in the community, as a way of conforming to the majority group. Along with devaluing females' roles, the public discourse encouraged males' power and superiority. Consequently, young adult females have adopted different strategies to negotiate their identities and respond to these transitions. Nowadays, a young Chaouia woman may be perceived negatively and behaving like 'men' if she curses, gets into fights, or sounds 'tough', even through her language choices. The larger society socialises girls into being 'feminine', 'polite' and paying more attention to their social and linguistic behaviour, particularly in public. This tendency seems quite contrary to what Hachimi (2005, 2007) and Barontini and Ziamari (2009) report on young Moroccan females adopting what is generally perceived as 'masculine' behaviour.

Hachimi (2005, 2007) looked at the interaction between dialect levelling/maintenance and identity among Fessis in Casablanca. She discusses how the use of [ga:l] instead of [qa:l] is an important resource of Fessi-Casablancan identity that is associated with 'toughness'. To become Casablancan, participants report that they have to shift from the feminine persona of Fessis in Fez to become 'ḥərʃa' i.e. tough, coarse, independent, less delicate and street smart (Hachimi, 2007: 119). The traditional traits of softness, politeness and femininity, as central to the Fessi women identity, are not perceived as practical in Casablanca. Becoming tough, mainly because of the use

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[26] Sing. Azriya, which means the free woman, who lived independently of men. *Theaziryin* are usually very skilled in dancing, singing and art, and highly respected in the society.

of Casablancan features of [ga:l] and trilled [r], does not carry a negative meaning. Rather, it indexes modernity (ibid, 2007) and it is considered an attractive characteristic that distinguishes young Fessi-Casablancans from Fessis from Fez. Similarly, Barontini and Ziamari (2009) analysed the linguistic register of two groups of women in Meknès: a rural woman M (around 45 years) who work in agriculture in the village and six young urban girls (17-20 years). The analysis showed that all these women used strategies and features recognised as 'masculine' talk, but for different reasons. For M, the rural middle-aged woman, the usage of 'masculine' talk (*rižālīya*) is a strategy of 'survie en milieu hostile', i.e., it is a necessity for survival in a hostile rude environment that is male dominant. It is a means of adaptation and gaining some respect and acceptance in the group. This involves cursing and using 'bad' language to respond to men' insults/verbal abuse; overturning the imposed male domination and having the courage to respond, for M, is the way to silence them (ibid: 160). Women's silence in these contexts is seen as synonymous to erasure, submission, and a reinforcement of men's power (161). For the young urban girls, on the other hand, 'talking like boys' is a trendy strategy to break the normative rules and differentiate themselves as a network. This is expressed through using specific linguistic features associated with aggressiveness and harshness (*ḥṛəš* and *qāṣəḥ*) such as the usage of address terms like "my friend" or "my brother", the use of the masculine grammatical inflections even with females, and the use of lexical and phonetic features commonly associated with male speech (e.g. insults and vulgar words, palatalising /t/ as /tš/).

In Batna, the opportunities open to old and young women across the three regions are very different because of their different types of networks and the change in access to facilities. Old women, for instance, are usually housewives. Their work is restricted to their local community and their interactions are confined to the members of the village. However, the young generation aspires for higher education and is encouraged to do so, both males and females. Both are mobile, with young males considerably more mobile than females. Both of their networks tend to open up for Arabic-

speaking individuals either in middle/high school where many of their teachers come from different urban centres and mostly speak Arabic, or at the university intensively. Differences between men and women's attitudes towards their local community and their social roles are likely to influence their linguistic choices. Eckert (1997) postulates the use of a community-sensitive approach to studying gender is crucial. The present study aims at exploring whether there is any difference in Chaouias' language choice across gender and if so what its motives are, and how it interacts with other social variables. My sample is almost equally divided across gender (see Section 4.5.1.1). I assume these two groups would show diferent patterns in regards to the usage of Chaouia and AA in the community under investigation.

4.4.3   Region

Region (or regionality) is an important variable in explaining language contact and change, when used along with other independent variables, especially in a mobile society of different regional and linguistic backgrounds. Sociolinguists consider different measures in deciding about their locations. Gordon (2001) compared data from two different locations, along with age and gender to examine the geographical diffusion of some linguistic features in Michigan. One town was located fairly close to Detroit while another was halfway between Detroit and Chicago linked together through a highway. The hypothesis was that because of closeness to Detroit, the first community would show linguistic convergence towards the features of Detroit. Unexpectedly, the findings show a significant resistance despite the large contact with the urban centres. Gordon explains that in terms of negative attitudes the speakers of the community displayed towards outsiders. On the other hand, Chambers and Heisler (1999), in their study in Canada, developed a Regionality Index (RI) as an independent variable of four elements: (Chambers, 2000: 179)

1. The place where the subject was raised from 8 to 18;
2. The place where the subject was born;

3. The place where the subject lives now;

4. The place where the subject's parents were born.

Informants were ranked on a scale from 1 to 7 beginning with the best representative of local place *indigene* who was "born, raised, living in same place as parents" receiving a score of 1, to the newcomer *interloper* who was "living in the region, but born and raised outside of the province" with a score of 7. Chambers and Heisler (1999) looked at regional variation in words used to refer to "carbonated soft drinks" in Quebec. Respondents from Quebec largely reported "soft drink" as the overwhelming choice (44.5%) followed by "pop" (38%). They commented that the preference of the first is higher among indigenes than interlopers, as "pop" is the dominant choice outside Quebec. They added that speakers in Quebec are geographically too far from Americans to be influenced by them, and their preference of "soft drink" as the standard regional term is apparently an independent development.

Chambers (2000: 196) notices that there are two main explanations for favouring the new variant, and so the decline of the indigenous form. First, the newcomers to the community fail either to see the difference between the local variant and theirs, or recognise that but do not change it since it is accepted among the public. Second, the second generation of these newcomers fail to distinguish between the local and their offsprings' variant because they are both widely used across different domains almost to the same extent. Following the same line of thought, a similar process can happen in cases of bi-/multi-lingualism where the use of both languages over the decades and failure to transmit the mother tongue (or heritage language) lead to a state of stable bilingualism and confusion among the younger generation to decide about which code is their heritage. This can lead even to different associations in terms of ethnicity.

More recently, Potter (2018), in his sociolinguistic study of variation in East Anglia, cautiously used three locations along an urban-rural continuum: Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market

as urban, intermediate and rural respectively. The criterion used in the classification was based mainly on the population size rather than any characteristics of urban and rural areas, along with the specific socio-cultural, historical and political background of each community as an important factor in explaining the geographical variation (ibid: 52). For the verbal (-s) variable, location was found to be significant, suggesting that there is a difference in the use of –s across these three locations. Overall, Wickham disfavours –s at .41, Woodbridge favours –s at .60 and Ipswich shows a neutral position at .50. These results suggest that although the traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular verb forms in the present tense is quite maintained in the rural village of Wickham, change is still occurring in the three areas (ibid: 156). Woodbridge, the small town with a fairly high-status than the other two regions, have the highest usage of the standard form of –s marking in all age groups. It is the most innovative community, at a quicker rate than Ipswich, the most 'urban' region. When considering the interaction between the social variables together, the pattern shows a clear convergence among the young speakers towards the categorical use of –s in the three communities and the loss of the traditional East Anglian zero marking form. Potter concludes that there is no causal relationship between the classification of the communities along an urban-rural continuum and linguistic variation. Variation is better explained by 'place', a term he used to refer to "the specific social and political environment unique to each community under investigation" (Potter, 2018: 195).

In the Arab world, region has been used in many sociolinguistic studies such as Al-Ghamdi (2014) and Al-Qahtani (2015) in Saudi Arabia, and Al-Sheyadi (fc.) in Oman, among others. Al-Ghamdi investigated the changes in the Ghamdi dialect, among an immigrant group from Al-Baha, as a result to contact with the Meccan variety in Mecca city. She used 5 main questions to extend Chambers and Heisler' (1999) index and develop a more comprehensive regionality index for the context of her study: 1. Where were you born?; 2. Where were your parents born?; 3. Where did you settle in Mecca?; 4. Where did your parents settle in Mecca?; 5. Where were you raised when

you were 10-17? Answers to these questions were assigned scores of either 1, if the place is Al-Baha, or 0, if it is Mecca (ibid: 56). Based on the aggregations of scores, the regionality index ranks speakers on a scale of 1 to 6, representing: indigenous, near- indigenous, fairly indigenous, fairly interloper, near-interloper and interloper. The score 1 refers to the best representative of the indigenous Meccan individual, while 6 refers to the most interloper or Ghamdi from Al-Baha. One of the main findings was that Ghamdi speakers are abandoning diphthongs /ai/ and /aw/ in favour of the Meccan monophthong realisations. Overall, speakers with a higher degree of integration in the Meccan community, and so lower regionality index scores, were the ones more likely to use the monophthongs (ibid: 143).

Al-Qahtani (2015) used two localities in her study of ʿAsīr. The first locality is one of the most isolated villages in the lowlands (al-Farša), while the second village is less isolated and is located in the highlands (al-Jawwa). Both localities are connected via a very narrow road that passes through rugged mountains. Al-Qahtani focused more on the social aspect of the localities in explaining the linguistic choices, mainly the inhabitants' attitudes towards their community norms and the amount of social contact they have with outsiders through daily pursuits and mobility. Her findings demonstrated that, despite geographical isolation and barriers, young women of al-Farša behave linguistically similar to the young women of al-Jawwa. She links this to the attitudes that are shared among these speakers toward their role in the local community, which seem to be a much more powerful factor in facilitating change in the local variety and adopting innovative features.

The present investigation considers three regions. Their geographical distribution is interesting in terms of urban development and surrounding locations. Ouled Sellam is a small village; Merouana is a town, while Keshida is part of Batna city. These regions allow me to cross-examine three groups, each of which offers a different degree of freedom for social change and language choice

being historically different in terms of tribal affiliation and colonial experience. Ouled Sellam is an ethnically homogeneous group of Chaouia speakers surrounded by Arabic-speaking communities from Setif. Merouana is ethnically heterogeneous with a majority of Chaouias, and is surrounded by Chaouia groups. Keshida is ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous, and also has many immigrants from Ouled Sellam and Merouana. These three communities are in continuous contact. Ouled Sellam remains disadvantaged because of its peripheral position in the province of Batna. Merouana is a medium between both regions, but is separated from Batna city by a mountainous road (see Section 2.8). Generally speaking, Algerian Arabic is the language commonly used in the urban quarters of these communities. Tamazight, and so Chaouia, is continuously equated with rurality and backwardness (Hoffman, 2008; Guedjiba, 2012).

The use of region in my study, thus, refers to place of residence as the vital element in determining language attitudes and competence, since immigrants can be easily distinguished, and excluded, through my contacts in each region, and therefore, participants of this study are all local natives who are raised and mostly live in the same region where their parents were raised[27]. Moreover, the attitudinal aspect of the inhabitants, as well as the socio-economic and historical context of each region are of paramount importance in explaining the language behaviour, and so they are highlighted in the analysis and interpretation of the results.

4.4.4   Social network

Social network (henceforth SN) is a dynamic set of social relations connecting people within one community and with other communities. An increasing number of sociolinguists have used it over the last decades (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Cheshire, 1982; Eckert, 1988; Gal, 1978; Labov, 1972; Milroy, 1980; Patrick, 1992; Wei, 1994, etc.). Most studies showed that strong networks help

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[27] The place of birth criterion does not apply in this case because although being raised and lived locally most of their lives, some participants are not necessarily born in their respective regions, rather in hospitals far away.

maintain the local norms, including vernacular features, while weak relations facilitate change and shift. Sociolinguists use it among both monolingual and bilingual, immigrant and indigenous communities. Milroy, Bortoni-Ricardo, Jabeur, Alaodini, Wei and Gal are briefly reviewed here to illustrate different applications (see Section 7.2).

L. Milroy and J. Milroy (1978) provide an insightful account of the relation between language variation and network structure. They studied three working-class communities in Belfast (Ballymacarrett, Hammer and Clonard) and analysed eight phonological variables in relation to networks' density and multiplexity. They developed a scale of five aspects to measure the SN strength for each informant:

1. Membership of a high-density, territorially based cluster;

2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood (i.e. more than one household, in addition to their own nuclear family);

3. Working at the same place as at least *two* others from the same area;

4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area;

5. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours (Milroy, 1987: 141-142).

As one can notice, the main indicators are classified into kinship, work and friendship within the neighbourhood. Milroy assigned a score of one or zero to each indicator; the sum of scores represented the strength of the network. The statistical analysis revealed that the closer ties individuals establish with their community of origin, the more likely they are to use the vernacular norms (Milroy, 1980). Stated differently, the use of the vernacular correlated positively with the density of networks in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, men were found to have denser ties in the local area than women. Milroy attributed this to females' mobility in pursuit of economic opportunities.

Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) looked at a monolingual community of rural migrants to a Brazilian urban city to track their language diffusion from the stigmatised Caipira dialect. Her hypothesis was that the change from rural to urban life involved a move from an insulated network, consisting largely of kins and neighbours, to an integrated less multiplex urban network. She developed two indices: integration and urbanisation. The first aims at numerically assessing the looseness of the personal networks through collecting data about the characteristics of the three people the speaker is frequently interacting with. The second measures the characteristics of the members of the SN (educational level, mobility, etc.) to see to what extent the contacts are integrated into the urban life. Results of the four selected linguistic variables reveal significant correlations between changes in network ties and dialect diffusion.

Jabeur's (1987) study in Rades, Tunisia, is presumably the earliest study in Arabic sociolinguistics to systematically account for the correlation between social networks and linguistic behaviour in a context of a non-Western community. He examined some patterns of phonological and morpho-syntactic variation among migrants in Rades, a community undergoing lots of social transition and adaptation from a rural society to an increasingly urban one. The process of urbanisation and rural migration results in an observed mixing between the rural variety and the urban one among rural speakers. Jabeur acknowleges the difficulty of establishing a SN index that is applicable to other communities, due to the differences of cultural organisation and patterns of labour division (40). To measure the degree to which rural migrant speakers are socially integrated in the urban life of Rades, Jabeur developed a social integration index looking at whether the social ties of each rural informant are of a rural or urban origin. The index constitutes of five elements: the regularity and length of visits to their rural districts, the regularity and intensity of contact with (rural) relatives in Rades, contacts in the neighbourhood, the degree to which contacts at work or at school are urban, and social contacts outside work. The results confirmed that "the higher a speaker of rural origin scores on the index of social integration, the greater is the likelihood that he/she [the

informant] uses in his/her speech more urban dialect variants than rural dialect variants" (ibid: 99-100). In other words, the informants whose social network has more urban ties were more likely to abondon the rural features and adopt the urban ones.

Alaodini (2019) studied two linguistic variables (fortition of /j/ and unrounding of /a:/) among members of the Dawāsir tribe in Dammam, eastern Arabia. She considered a set of linguistic and social factors, among which is the tightness of social network. To measure the strength of SN for her participants, Alaodini relied on Milroy and Margrain' (1980) scale as an initial guide, and assigned participants a score of zero or one in each of the five measures in the SN index: marriage, neighbours, meetings with the family, friends, and the place of studies (i.e. Dammam or elsewhere). A score of 3 points or more identifies the network of the participant as tight, while anything less is categorised as a loose network. A tight network is the one that is limited to the same family whether in terms of marriage, friendship or neighbourhood, with regular meetings and local studies. A loose network, on the other hand, means that the participant's ties are mainly contacts beyond the family, established through studying outside the city, marriage, friendship or neighbourhood. The change from [j] to the use of [ʤ], the innovative form, was found to correlate significantly with social network. Loose networks favoured the innovative variant at 93%. Similarly, the young group with loose networks showed the highest percentage of unrounding /a:/, in contrast to the conservative group of older women whose networks were tight.

Wei (1994) studied a Chinese bilingual immigrant community in Tyneside. He identifies two indices to examine the level of social integration: ethnic and peer index. He also distinguishes "exchange", "interactive" and "passive" ties. The first refers to the close people with whom the participant exchanges direct advice and support; interactive ties cover the contacts with which interaction is also frequent but the participant does not rely on them for important resources. Passive ties, on the other hand, refer to contacts that are not regular but their influence is significant especially in cases of immigrants and their relatives away. The various analyses demonstrate that

differences in language choice patterns are closely related to speakers' network ties. Those who adopt monolingual Chinese or Chinese-dominant language choice patterns have a strong Chinese-based network; they interact only or mainly with other Chinese; and they remain psychologically attached to their geographically distant Chinese relations. Those who adopt bilingual or English-dominant patterns, on the other hand, seem to have contracted more non-Chinese ties. They interact more frequently with non-Chinese people and value such relations. Regarding the peer-group ties, speakers who use both Chinese and English or English-dominant patterns interact more with members of their own generation and make more friends within their peer group, while those who use Chinese-only and Chinese-dominant patterns interact both with peers and non-peers.

Gal (1979) presents an interesting case for bilingual communities that manifest, in line with Wei's, that the SN of the same ethnic group can be very loose and exert significant effects on LM/LS. She studied the bilingual Hungarian/German Oberwart community in Austria. Different from previous studies, she uses 'peasantness' as a local measure of SN (i.e. the percentage of contact with individuals who own pigs and cows over a period of seven days). The assumption was that the two languages, Hungarian and German, symbolise opposing social values of rural and urban life and if Hungarian was used, it would be used among those who were more involved in the traditional peasant life, while those involved in the urban working mode of life would use German. Results show that language choice and peasant ties correlate positively among Hungarian speakers, with different patterns for men and women. This change in the network structure is also the result of economic changes.

In the community under study, many changes such as urbanisation, employment and education have introduced a change in contact patterns and hence the SN of people in general. The structure of networks in rural communities is weakening in favour of modernisation, especially among the young generation. Individuals from the three regions tend to move for higher education, trade, administrative concerns and work opportunities. These highly mobile people between the three

regions often become agents of language shift in their local community. The informants belong to a working class, and the study makes use of ego-centric SNs to explain their linguistic behaviour (see sections 4.5.2, and 7.3).

4.4.5   Other social factors

Social class, ethnicity, and religion were not used as main variables in this investigation; however, reference to them is important from a theoretical point of view and to further interpret the findings and explain some of the linguistic behaviour in the community.

Social class

Schilling (2013: 47) argues that grouping people into classes is not a straightforward task because what constitutes a certain social class is community-specific. Although its use has provided valuable data in many sociolinguistic studies, there are no concrete elements to identify or determine a certain social class quantitatively and objectively. Ismail (2007), for instance, found that when trying to draw up a stratification of speakers in two neighbourhoods in Damascus (inner-city Shaghoor and suburban Dummar) using house density, education and occupation as the three indicators of class, some speakers were placed in class groups which did not reflect their real social status (195). That was particularly apparent for some of the Shaghoori families who owned shops in Damascus and had done well financially out of them, thus moving them up into a higher class group, but they also shared a similar lifestyle and work as shop owners who made rather less money (and so belong to a lower social group). Accordingly, Ismail decided to use the 'life-mode concept' (Hojrup, 2003), as a socio-economic parameter, instead of social class to analyse this social structure of urban Damascus, where work and wealth, for some families, are an end rather than means for better social stratification (Ismail, 2007: 195).

For the Arab world, Haeri rightly argues that the upper classes are not those speaking Standard Arabic, the official language, but rather they are fluent in foreign languages, such as French and English, which they learnt in private schools (2009: 420). Full access to the labour market is not fully governed by the public school (which creates a linguistic value for SA, along with the religious establishments); private education strongly contributes to creating opposing linguistic values and symbolic capital for foreign languages (Haeri, 1997b). Knowledge of ex-colonial languages brings and reinforces power, while the state itself produces different values and symbolic capital for its official (as well as national) language(s) through its various institutions. In her ethnographic study among members of the upper- and upper-middle- classes in Cairo, Haeri (1997b) discussed the relationship between standard language(s), official language(s) and the dominant classes. The analysis clearly showed that "it is their foreign-oriented education and their bi- or multilingualism that is important and not their knowledge of the official language" (ibid: 800). Language and social class, as products of tensions between sources of power, are therefore linked in a complicated way.

In Algeria, the social hierarchy is not very salient, and such is the case in Batna. Based on my long experience in the community, I can argue that neighbourhood, housing, profession, education (and so languages used) play an important role in determining social class. However, people across the three selected regions are economically disadvantaged and the majority of them represent a working class as reported by many in the fieldwork. Their social behaviour and language use are always highlighted and judged, particularly when combined with ethnicity.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity has long served as an important element in sociolinguistic studies. Traditionally, language was the centre of discussions around ethnic identity. The assumption was that if a speech community perceives its language as a marker of identity, it is more likely to preserve it and

struggle for its rights. Trudgill (2000: 45) states that "language is a *defining* characteristic of ethnic-group membership" (italic in original). The English and French ethnic groups in Canada, for instance, separate themselves through their mother tongues more than traditions, history or religion. Later research, however, manifested that boundaries of ethnic identity are fragile. Sometimes, people from the same ethnic group report different levels of integration that affect their language use. For example, Labov's (1972) study of African-American adolescents in Harlem reveals that participants known as "lames", isolated individuals outside the local peer group's vernacular culture, did not show the same African American Vernacular English (AAVE) features as the other adolescents signalling different affiliations (cited in Fought, 2002: 447). This has also been noticed in many sociolinguistic studies across the MENA region (e.g. Blanc (1964) in Iraq, Holes (1995) in Bahrain, Hassan (2009) in Kuwait, Jebejian (2007) in Lebanon, and Bentahila & Davies (1992), Levin (2017) in Morocco). Language, or certain linguistic features, may be a vital means of expressing ethnic identity, but it is by no means the only one or the most important one for all communities. Hassan (2009) studied the language practices of Ajam, a small Kuwaiti-Persian ethnic group in Kuwait who speaks Eimi, a distinct Persian variety, within a large Arabic speaking community. The findings showed that the decline of Eimi across generations is partially because Eimi is not associated with ethnic or religious identity, and therefore, only serves as a symbol of solidarity. Arabic had a stronger linguistic capital, being associated with nationalism, religion and a marker of Kuwaiti identity. Jebejian (2007), similarly, found that the Armenian diaspora in Beirut is constantly shifting towards the use of Arabic, English and French, at different levels. Their ethnic heritage, belongingness and history have been replaced by the will to live and speak like the majority group (ibid: 152). Sometimes, the community might sacrifice its ethnic affiliation in favour of upward mobility.

Thus, studies of minority groups consider problems of ethnic identity and linguistic practices very carefully, especially when the targeted group is subject to political segregation and economic marginalisation. In the case of Algeria, ethnic identity dominated the public scene after independence. Hamza (2007: 33), in a study of Berbers in Tunisia, states that any reference to Berber is considered as essentially a neo-colonial agenda that is anti-Islam, anti-nationalism or against Pan-Arabic unity. This social and linguistic marginalisation of Berbers led to a reverse Berber movement to highlight their history and heritage. It is used as a tool for raising Berber awareness and resisting the state policies. Language, in particular, is portrayed as the most distinctive feature between Berber and Arabic speakers. However, Bentahila and Davies (1992) reported that their Moroccan Berber informants do not conceive the Berber language as necessary for their ethnic identity and its loss would not imply their identity loss.

My study is restricted to the Chaouia group. Kimble (1941) reported that there is little ethnic uniformity in Aurès, where inhabitants are a mixture of indigenous Berbers, Chaouias, and Jewish-Christian refugees who fled to Aurès mountains early at the time of the Arab invasions and settled there to become indistinguishable nowadays. Also, with the recent increase in intermarriage, partners as well as their children find it hard to delimit or define their ethnolinguistic identity. Importantly, some Chaouia tribes claim an Arab ancestry; an example of that is Ouled Ziane nomads who claim to be Arabs and speak Arabic (Hilton-Simpson, 1915: 227). Reference to ethnic identity will be made in the analysis of data (see sections 6.4, 6.5, and 6.8).

Religion

Religion is a critical aspect for how some people manage their choices in life. Religious affiliation is relatively an old factor in the categorisation of speakers and their dialectal differences in the Arab world. Examples across Muslim-Christian-Jewish, Muslim-Christian, Muslim-Jewish, and Sunni-Shii varieties of Arabic are attested across the region (to mention few examples, see: in Iraq

(Blanc, 1964, Abu Haidar, 1991), in Jordan (Al-Wer et Al., 2015), in Algeria (Cohen, 1912), and in Bahrain (Holes, 1987, 1995, 2019; Al-Qouz, 2009)). The interplay between language and religion is strong when the language is associated with a certain religion and it is the medium of its rituals and teachings, like the case of Arabic and Islam. In NA, Berbers have largely been influenced by different religious groups which came in contact with their land. Throughout their history, they generally identified themselves as pagans, Jewish and Christians, then Muslims. The historical perception of Berbers as 'less religious' and easy to assimilate was used as a colonial strategy by the French to create the Berber Myth and facilitate ethnic division (see Section 2.5.5.1). Religion, after all, has been a crucial element in defining French citizenship during the colonial period; "to be a Muslim in French Algeria was not to be French" (Quandt, 1998: 96). By the 1990s, the issue of religion and language resurfaced (see Section 2.5.5.4). The Islamic Front of Salvation (FIS) claimed a revolutionary implication of Islamic teachings, but Berbers were the least to vote for the party, with zero vote among Mzabs and less than 70 among Kabyles (Dourari, 2014: 39). When violence escalated, the state re-used political Islam as a powerful tool to silence the masses, maintain its power and justify nationalism. Because of its power of legitimation, religion has been "exploited for social, political and economic ends" (Hachimi, 2001: 38).

Kimble (1941) and Gaudry (1929) reported that Chaouias have a semi-pagan faith. Their claims centred about lack of practices, strong belief in Marabouts[28], and sacred value given to certain animals and places, as well as the secular activities of Chaouia women (Gaudry, 1929: 12). Nevertheless, the post-independent government put many efforts into 'islamicising' Chaouias and creating an elite to serve Arabisation (see Section 2.7.3). In present Batna, the majority of Chaouias consider themselves Sunni-Muslims. Discussions about religion do not directly impede language

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[28] These people claim that they are descendants of the prophet and have a miraculous power to cause good or ill and mediate to God even after their death.

shift but might help explain attitudes held towards different languages (see sections 5.3, 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6).

4.5   Data collection instruments

To answer my research questions, I use a mixed method approach that combines quantitative and qualitative data and levels of analysis in the aim of attaining multi-faceted results. The questionnaire and social network data are used to test any statistical significance for the possible correlation between the selected social variables and language behaviour. Observations and interviews, on the other hand, are used to further explain and interpret the statistical findings within the larger socio-economic and political framework.

For the fieldwork, 304 questionnaires were distributed across four age groups and three regions, and balanced in terms of gender (151 males and 153 females). Also, 128 social network surveys were collected from the same informants. Forty-nine participants were interviewed, along with participant observation at home (11 families), school (one school per region) and some public domains.

In the following section, I first present the quantitative methods (questionnaire and SN survey), then the qualitative ones (interview and participant observation).

4.5.1   Questionnaire

The questionnaire is used initially to get a large amount of data from a considerable number of people to represent a larger population. Self-reported data by participants is a common procedure in the study of language shift since it allows for statistical analysis. One of its main limitations, nevertheless, is that the questionnaire "gives us insight *not* into actual behaviour but only into *reported* behaviour" (italics in original) (Pauwels, 2016: 62). Hence, the accuracy of the answers remains dependent on the truthfulness and honesty of the respondents commenting on their

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language usage and competence. To close this gap between the reported practice and the actual one, researchers combine it with other methods such as experiments and participant observation.

4.5.1.1   Sampling

The use of random sampling in this case would have been very complicated because Arabophones and Berberophones live side by side and the sample will not be representative of any. For that reason, I used a judgmental sampling, and relied on my contacts to identify other Chaouias in the network accordingly.

The sample falls into four generational cohorts: elders (grandparents), middle-aged (grandparents or parents), adults (parents) and the younger generation. They are distributed across gender and region, as shown in Table 4.5.1. Children under 12 are excluded because of their limited (meta-) linguistic abilities. Yet, I have consulted more young speakers than other generations because they outnumber other groups whether on a national level or at a local familial level. Their social and political opinions, also, informs those of the next generation.

Age/gender	Ouled Sellam		Merouana		Keshida		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Young (12-25)	31	32	46	20	29	33	191
Adults (26-48)	8	10	12	26	8	10	74
Middle-aged (49-64)	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
Old (≥65)	3	3	2	2	2	3	15
Total	95		116		93		304

Table 4.5.1 Number of participants in the questionnaire.

4.5.1.2   Design, administration and analysis

The use of Fishman's "who speaks what to whom and when", along with "domains of language use" guided the construction of this questionnaire around language use patterns. I used themes-based survey to explore language choice as determined by different interlocutors and settings and provide an image about what domains are reserved for what language(s). Questions ranged between multiple choice, yes/no and open-ended questions to capture different aspects (see Appendix 3, for details). They were ordered thematically into:

1. Personal and demographic data,

2. Parents' linguistic background and the participant's language competence,

3. Language use in extended families and neighbourhood depending on the interlocutor,

4. Language preference and use according to settings,

5. Language attitudes and identity,

6. Tamazight in schools.

The questions aimed at answering "who speaks what language(s) with whom, where and why". Although the questionnaire was presented in SA (due to the public's limited use of the written form of Berber), any explanations were done in either AA or Chaouia, and respondents were given the choice to respond in any language they feel most comfortable with. The questionnaire was administered by the fieldworker herself, considering the low level of literacy among some elders and females in written languages, in which case consent was given verbally and I filled the questionnaire. This provided me with the opportunity to explain any ambiguities and discuss further ideas or comments that were also tape-recorded, when applicable. The questionnaire was administered at homes, clubs, schools, streets, shops and public spaces.

Because this questionnaire cannot provide sufficient interpretations for the expected contradictions regarding language practices, the use of interviews aims at exploring the inherent conflict and

difficulties faced alongside the profound changes in social structure and economic development. The analysis of data and discourses is, then, contextualised and situated within local meanings and broader macro regional or national ideologies.

After collecting my data, responses were coded into an Excel spreadsheet, and transformed to *IBM SPSS Statistics 25* for statistical analysis. The independent variables used in this study, as well as language choice/use, are categorical (either two or more factors). Therefore, tests of significance and correlation followed a non-parametric statistical procedure. The most used of these is the Pearson's Chi-Square test. It tests the relationship between the variables based on comparing the observed frequencies to the expected ones by chance in each category (Field, 2005: 682). It reflects whether there is a significant association between these variables or not; the significance threshold as used in this research is *p<.05*. In addition to that, Cramer's V is used to measure the strength of this association (i.e. effect size). The closer the Cramer's V is to 1, the higher is the association between the two variables.

Cross-tabulations and correlation are also reported, when relevant. Correlation is "a measure of the linear relationship between variables" (Field, 2005: 107). For example, in measuring the relationship between the use of Chaouia and the age of the informant, there are three ways in which they could be related: 1) they could be positively related, as in that the older the informant is, the more Chaouia they use; 2) they could be negatively related as in the older the informant is, the less Chaouia they use; 3) they could be not related at all, which means that the informant's use of Chaouia remains the same regardless of their age. This relation, in this study, is assessed through the non-parametric statistic Spearman's correlation coefficient (r). A perfect degree of correlation would be a value of ±1; as it goes closer to 0, the relationship becomes weaker.

4.5.2   Ego-centric social network survey

Although complete-network includes the ego network for each participant, it is limited in its ability to make inferences about the target population. Given the fact that my population is very large and because of the time constraints of the study, I opted for an ego-centric network. The networks were one-mode, exploring the first order contacts. Data were collected through informants' self-reports. They were asked to name ten friends or contacts they frequently talk to, besides their family members. They were asked 12 questions, filled by either the participant or the researcher (see Appendix 4 for details).

L. Milroy (1980) stresses the importance of selecting the most locally relevant indicators to measure SN strength in the community. Accordingly, I developed a social 'conservativeness' index to account for both attribute and relational metrics and their effect on language use. Conservativeness, as a measure of SN strength, refers to the percentage of contact with individuals who are considered 'conserving' Chaouia language and culture. These individuals are old, female, from Ouled Sellam, not educated, not married, not mobile, interact mostly with relatives, whom they meet and talk to very frequently, and are considered to be their intimate ties, who all know each other. Table 4.5.2 lists the indicators used and their respective initial coding in the 'conservativeness' index. The higher the score, the more conservative the individual is.

Metrics	4	3	2	1
Attribute metrics				
Age	Old	Mid-aged	Adult	Young
Gender	Female	Male	N/A[29]	N/A
Region	Ouled Sellam	Merouana	Batna	Outside
Education	Not educated	Mosque/Primary	Middle/ Secondary	University
Marriage	Single	Married from the community	Married from outside	N/A
Geographical mobility	Very low	Low	High	Very high

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[29] N/A indicates inapplicability in factor groups with less than four values.

Relational metrics				
Type of relation	Relative	Neighbour	Friend	Colleague
Frequency of meeting	Very high	High	Low	Very low
Frequency of calling	Very high	High	Low	Very low
Closeness	Intimate	Moderate	Close	N/A
Density	All know each other	Majority know each other	Few know each other	No one knows another

Table 4.5.2 The indicators of conservativeness in the network.

The primary objective of the survey was finding out whether members of the network themselves, through their attributes or demographic background, are exerting more general effect on Chaouia use, or whether it is the relations with ties that actually provide access to Chaouia as a primary linguistic and cultural resource (see Chapter 7) .

This language-network correlation is analysed through the Pearson Chi-Square, Cramer's V and Spearman Correlation Coefficient (r). The closer the correlation (r) is to 1, the closer the relationship between the developed conservativeness index and Chaouia use in Batna, and so "the more likely that the statistic is not a result of chance variation in the sample" (Milroy, 1980: 150).

Inferential analysis of statistical significance that tests the likelihood of relations between relational/attribute parameters and language choice is also reported. That was done by using Loglinear analysis (for two or more categorical variables), and Logistic regression (for both categorical and continuous variables). Logistic regression is a type of multiple regression that has an outcome variable that is categorical (in this case, the choice between AA and Chaouia), but predictor variables that are continuous or categorical (Field, 2005: 218). Additionally, in order to resolve the issue of potential intercorrelation between the independent variables in the regression model, a test for multicollinearity (collinearity diagnostics) was applied in advance to make sure the level of collinearity is low and poses little threat to the regression coefficient. SPSS returned the VIF (variance inflation factor) as smaller than 3.

4.5.3 Participant observation

The ethnographic approach is vital for studies of language use. It enables the researcher to observe and participate in the daily life activities of the targeted community, in order to get insightful information on language socialisation. This does not only help in understanding the characteristics of the community but also in interpreting and contextualising statistical findings. It, similarly, helps by complementing the interviews and minimising the effect of recording (Feagin, 2004). Jorgensen (1989:15) puts it: "the methodology of participant observation seeks to uncover, make accessible, and reveal the meanings (realities) people use to make sense out of their daily lives".

Nevertheless, it poses a number of problems in implementation. Ethnography demands careful planning, persistence, time and emotional involvement (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 71). It also poses a problem in comparing data across settings and replicating the study. Wei (1994:70) adds that having solid background knowledge about the participant's personal experience is challenging especially for outsiders. Thus, there is an extra demand from the fieldworker's part to take ultimate care in the kind of conversations to make and the way to deliver them, without violating the community's cultural and social norms. Put differently, the role of the researcher in the community and the way they are perceived have a potential effect on the types of data collected, which poses restrictions on reliability and comparability of ethnographic findings. Labov's (1968) study of language use among adolescents in Harlem and his understanding of the importance of ethnic identity in the community entailed collaborative work with other colleagues. Considering Labov and Cohen were white professional linguists, the place of Robins and Lewis as insiders in the African-American group was of great help to mediate access to the peer groups (Jets, Cobras, and Thunderbirds).

Being a member of the community, my contact with people was established early during my studies and visits. Yet, deciding to use home and school as the focal points for ethnographic

observations is, undoubtedly, a demanding task being governed by specific policies and requires careful choices. Jorgensen (1989:45) identifies two strategies for gaining access, overt and covert. The first refers to the explicit request of providing permission for observation. Although it does not violate the ethics of research consent, it does not always work because of the intimacy of some settings. The covert strategy, on the other hand, is ethically problematic because data are taken without informing the participants. It is also hard to manage interactions with and between people, in light of the research objectives, without interfering or revealing some information about the project. While a covert procedure is used to observe the general linguistic behaviour in public places such as markets, the present project opts for an overt method seeking permission from the targeted informants in each domain, whether authorities and headmasters in schools or parents in families. This was met with occasional reference to or use of my relations with well-respected members of each community.

To establish good relationships, I had to take different roles. First, I was volunteering in schools through working in the library as well as providing different courses to guide students in their school projects and general academic skills and wellbeing. Second, I was frequently visiting different local clubs and organisations to launch solidarity projects. Third, visits to families were not established directly, and I always had previous contacts with one of the family members. When entry is guaranteed for host families, on the other hand, a friendly relationship was maintained to secure long observations and follow-up interviews. During the stay, therefore, I attempted to actively engage in helping the family with their daily obligations, but I was hardly allowed to do so as it violates their hospitality. To ensure spontaneity in the family talk, as well, most speech events were recorded during meal times, and in family evenings, as well as in neighbourhood gatherings, when applicable, where both inter-generational and intra-generational exchanges take place. During the conversations, my role also covered providing brief answers to their questions about my project. Through these social roles, I aimed at acquainting myself with all generations

and recording their natural conversations regarding language use and transmission, as well as finding out more about their social networks' distribution and extending mine simultaneously.

Awareness about the restrictions of my gender role and age were carefully considered. Although generally the speech community appears to be male-dominated, the task of accessing families for a male researcher will be harder than for a female one. This smallest social unit does not allow access except to the most trusted because they have rarely, if ever, been participants in such sociological studies. A case in point is Guedjiba's (2012) sociolinguistic study of the Massif, where he was obliged to record the conversations without consent because of the continuous refusal he faced, along with the necessity to ask for the help of females to observe the language behaviour within the family domain. The families cannot allow a male outsider, excluding relatives and neighbours, to have access to their homes without the presence of another male in the family. Meanwhile, females are less threatening and more trusted and this offered me a privilege of easily accessing this domestic setting.

Being in my mid-twenties, on the other hand, gave me the opportunity to deal with both adolescents and elders to a good extent. Through my previous experience with children and adolescents in the neighbourhood, I have developed a good skill of gaining the trust and friendship of the young individuals without making them feel they are obliged to participate. Getting consent for elders, nevertheless, is usually bound by protocols of respect and politeness, and some control over the conversation (Schilling-Estes, 2013: 205; Smith, 2012: 137). Because of the generational gap, elders in the community constantly complain about the practices of the youth and their abandonment of the traditional social norms, and so attention to my speech and behaviour was taken to ensure their respect. Once accessed, this age group was an indispensable source of data regarding history, social change and language attitudes. With respect to the high rate of illiteracy among people over the age of 50, ethnographic observations provided an alternative into exploring life narratives and experiences of elders. As such, my gender, age and identity offered me

credibility with my participants who did not view me as a social threat, being neither judgemental of the adolescents' social preferences nor more knowledgeable than elders.

Observations at homes, schools and public spaces were systematically transformed into fieldnotes for each domain. Also, relevant life narratives, historical events and records, attitudes and recurring practices across the three regions were carefully considered and noted down.

4.5.4   Interview

Interviews allow for eliciting in-depth data about language ideologies, real language competence and reasons behind the situational shift of language in wider and private contexts to consolidate and explain the quantitative findings. Interviews in this study are semi-structured and flexible to accommodate the participant's background, age, and education. Topics discussed in the interview include: background information and home, neighbourhood and friends, marketplace, historical and socio-economic change in the region, traditions, marriage, and school. By all means, this was a mere guide to keep the conversation going on, for at least 50 minutes per individual. The data were collected within a period of five months, from August to November 2017, then a month in a summer visit in 2018 (see Appendices 5 and 6).

4.5.4.1   Language of the interview

Native-like competence certainly helps the fieldworker to uncover many linguistic details especially in non-standard varieties (Wei, 1994). Speaking the language involves a personal sense of identity and using that usually helps participants to feel at ease. Nonetheless, language choice for my interviews was determined by the interviewee. I usually introduce myself in Algerian Arabic, respecting its dominance in public domains and its use with 'strangers', but I confirm my willingness to use whatever language the participant wants to speak. While using Chaouia ensured my credibility and earned me trust among elders, the majority of young individuals preferred using

Algerian Arabic even when I responded in Chaouia. Similarly, as a member of the ethnolinguistic group it was natural for me to engage in practices of code-switching and mixing (mainly Berber-Arabic-French), but in certain cases, it was not welcomed by some participants who insisted on consistent use of either Berber or Arabic, with no mixing.

4.5.4.2   Informants and recording

The distribution of informants who were interviewed across region, gender and age groups is presented in Table 4.5.3.

Age/Gender	Ouled Sellam		Merouana		Batna (Keshida)		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Young (12-25)	3	2	4	1	3	2	15
Adult (26-48)	4	2	4	5	2	2	19
Middle-aged (49-64)	3	1	0	1	1	4	10
Old (≥65)	1	0	2	1	0	1	5
Total	16		18		15		49

Table 4.5.3 Number of participants in the interview.

Labov (1981) argues that group interviews represent best recording for vernacular speech as they minimise the effects of the observer's paradox. Milroy (1987: 25) adds that isolated informants tend to use the standard features, while the presence of their networks facilitates their use of habitual patterns. Thus, this study uses small peer group interviews (2 to 3 individuals), with an equal status, as well as a series of individual interviews, not to neglect representativeness in favour of good quality data. The fieldworker, therefore, recorded family members, students at school, friends in the neighbourhood, and colleagues at work. Parents and teachers, however, were interviewed individually, avoiding any pressure that they might exert on other members. Overall, I conducted six group interviews, of which three were composed of three informants each and

three other interviews composed of two informants each (mostly among young and adult age groups). The rest were individual interviews.

The setting of the interview, furthermore, is particularly important since it affects the specific code used. Home and school, for instance, pose some restrictions on its members in terms of respect, obedience and policies. Thus, the fieldworker used any opportunity to record the informants inside and outside their specific domains, especially the younger generation. Observations inside the domain help uncovering the linguistic practices, challenges and reactions to the settings' policies, while interviews outside reveal the individuals' preferences and attitudes responding more to their peers' pressure than to authorities.

In the pilot study, the fieldworker used *Zoom H5 Handy Recorder* along with the mobile phone. Yet, for the main fieldwork, *Marantz Professional PMD661MKIII*, with an external microphone, was used instead. Although the kind of data sought does not demand an acoustic analysis, I ensured that all recordings were of good quality to ease the transcription process later.

4.5.4.3   Coding and transcribing

All data were transferred to a personal laptop, anonymised and coded in Nvivo, software that allows organising, transcribing and analysing qualitative data. For the present study, only a translated version in English is presented because of time constraints. Content analysis is used. Themes, topics and frequent statements are organised into specific categories (nodes) related to family background, social change, gender, language use and attitudes in different domains. This makes it easy to present the distribution of patterns found, depending on how often they occur, with whom, where and why.

4.6   Ethical issues

I was provided a letter by my supervisor from the University of Essex, stating that I am a student at the university and should be supported for conducting this research in Batna. I used this reference to approach both the Academy of Education, schools and individuals in cases of doubt. I further requested another reference letter from the University of Batna in response to the persistent reluctance of some officials and administrators to allow my access to schools. Given that I provided all supporting documents for my status as an insider researcher, I was given access into the community. The use of mixed methods and various techniques to make conversations relaxed and friendly was put forward to reduce the observer's effect.

To the best of my efforts, research ethics were respected at all stages of this project. Consent forms were signed or reported verbally by all participants before any recording or survey took place. Consent from the young people under the age of 18 was offered by their parents or caregivers, and everyone was aware of the research objectives (see Appendices 1, and 2). Some teachers and headmasters did not provide a fuller sense of informed consent to their students; however, as the fieldwork proceeded and my relations with students developed positively through my volunteering activities, I informed them about the consent given on their behalf and shared some observations and comments with them. These conversations were followed by a large interest to know more about language policies, LM/LS and revitalisation. Moreover, the research followed anonymity procedures and private data recorded in interviews are not revealed in any way. All informants were assured of their anonymity and their institutions'. Upon request, results will be shared with the community members.

4.7   Conclusion

This chapter examined the methodological procedures used in the current study. It highlighted the way the researcher negotiated her insider-stranger identity in the community, as well as the choice

of the social factors aimed at explaining language use. The sampling considered four age groups, and gender across three regions. The study uses a mixed methods approach to reduce the observer's effect. It drew on data from 304 participants in the questionnaire, including 128 for social networks survey, along with 49 interviews with individuals and small groups of peers and ethnographic observations. This was followed by details on coding, analysis and ethical procedures. The rest of the chapters present data analysis and discussion.

Chapter 5 : Language Use at Home and Beyond

5.1   Introduction

It is commonly agreed that family is the "stronghold" for the maintenance of the mother tongue (Pauwels, 2016: 90). This is mainly because home is usually the domain where members are from the same ethnolinguistic background and their linguistic practices inside tend not to be governed by institutional policies. Home, in this regard, is the most intimate and private setting for informal daily life interactions that strengthen the collective commitment to making the mother tongue peculiarly resistant to outside competition from (an)other language(s). Therefore, exploring the family's policies and preferences has always been critical in studies of language intergenerational disruption. It reflects the extent to which the external factors whether economic, political or social are strong to exert enough pressure on parents to change the medium of their interaction and/or transmission. This pressure, similarly, explains the process of weakening the family as "an agency of language reproduction" (Williams and Morris, 2000: 39).

This chapter examines social changes and language choices in the home domain among Chaouias. It first provides a general picture about the families under investigation, and analyses the changing conditions and values of marriage as a symbolic market in Batna, introducing new challenges and opportunities for language maintenance. Then, it explores language proficiency and changing usages of Chaouia with different members of the family. The results are presented across different age groups, genders as well as regions and discussed accordingly. Third, it examines preferences of language transmission in the family. In the final section, I briefly touch upon some other domains around home such as neighbourhood, mosque, and countryside.

5.2   Access to families

As mentioned in Section 4.5.3, I had established contact with one of the members of the family early in the pilot study then extended it to the rest. Families invited me for lunch or dinner while everyone was present and we discussed issues of language, society, history and traditions for about two hours each time. Some members, although present, were not interested in taking part while others continued to discuss further questions outside the house or via social media.

The study looked at eleven families (ethnolinguistically homogeneous and heterogeneous) of either two or three generations. Table 5.2.1 provides details about their ethnolinguistic background, number of generations living together and the general status of Chaouia based on the researcher's observations. It is important to mention here that across these families, exogamy had occurred among the second generation (i.e., parents). This suggests that the pattern of intermarriage between Chaouias and Arabs is relatively new (i.e. two to three decades).

Region	Family id.	Groups	Generations	Chaouia status
Ouled Sellam	Muhamed	Chaoui-Kabyle	3	Shifting[30]
	Abra	Chaoui-Arab	3	Maintaining
	Yusuf	Chaoui-arabised[31]	3	Shifting
	Jasmin	Chaoui	3	Already shifted
	Amir	Chaoui	2	Maintaining
Merouana	Massi	Chaoui-Kabyle-Arab	3	Shifting
	Fahim	Chaoui-Arab	3	Already shifted
	Noura	Chaoui	2	Shifting
Keshida	Rabiaa	Chaoui	2	Maintaining
	Abida	Chaoui	3	Shifting
	Fatma	Chaoui-Arab	2	Already shifted

Table 5.2.1 General description of families under study.

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[30] In this family, shifting has occurred in the second generation, but Kabyle is passed into the third generation.
[31] I use 'Arabised' here to refer to individuals who identify themselves as Arabs but their parents are Chaouias.

Observations indicate an overall complex linguistic situation with Chaouia diminishing considerably even among homogeneous families. On the one hand, the existence of three generations (i.e. grandparents, parents, and young people) together does not seem to have a strong pressure on the maintenance of Chaouia. On the other, the ethnolinguistic composition of the families does not seem to produce a linear expected result in the language behaviour. Therefore, a closer look at marriage patterns and language preferences is provided below.

5.3   Marriage patterns and waves of change

Endogamy is, largely, the case in the Massif among mountainous Chaouias due to their isolation and strong social ties. Nevertheless, the regions under study are key links of contact in the plains. Until late 1990s, transportation between these localities has been largely difficult and dangerous (particularly because of the mountainous roads). This restricted contact with other ethnolinguistic groups and, similarly, visits from outsiders were rare. Thus, the communities were satisfied with marriage from the same region, as a matter of maintaining the social organisation but also because of lack of options. This situation has rapidly changed since 2000, especially among young people due to the large contact through educational settings and work places. Although parents and grandparents still encourage and value the traditional marriage within the same Chaouia group, they cannot stand against the choices of their children. Contact has brought about change in the customs of marriage too. Based on informants' narratives and accounts, I present a relative comparison between the 'traditional' marriage and the 'modern' one.

In the 'traditional' marriage, partners are from the same region and tribe. They do not choose each other; their parents do, usually through the mother. Second, marriage happens at an early age, 15-20, for males and females. Third, the extended family members live together in one large house and the new bride learns the traditions of the family and only moves out when she has children and space is no longer enough. Similarly, the wedding takes place in the house, with traditional

clothing, music, dance and food. Families of the partners remain in close contact and consolidate their social relations. In addition, females' role, with lack of education, is concentrated around housework, pottery, rug-making, agriculture and animal-breeding while males work away to sustain the financial support. Divorce, although rare, is not stigmatised and almost everyone marries again. Most importantly, Chaouia remains the exclusive language used.

In the 'modern' marriage, partners are often from different places/groups. They know and choose each other. With the expensive rate of the dowry, marriage is delayed until late 20s or early 30s to pursue education and financial stability, as well as establishing an independent house. The ceremony usually takes place in special halls with 'modern' outfits, and is restricted to close relatives and friends. With access to education, both partners work outside and contribute to the marital life with females still most responsible for socialising children. Marriage is important; divorce is socially stigmatised but rapidly increasing. In terms of language, Algerian Arabic is strongly present, in urban centres in particular.

Nowadays, exogamy among these Chaouias is approved. In fact, 70% of the respondents reported that they already have a case of cross-marriage in their extended family and 67% of young people said they themselves prefer a partner from another ethnolinguistic group. Table 5.3.2 identifies their preferences, in response to the question: *'If you are not married yet, do you prefer your partner to be: Chaoui, Kabyle, Arab or a foreigner?'*

	Arab	Chaoui	Kabyle	Foreigner
% of respondents (N=212)	35%	33%	16%	16%

Table 5.3.2 General preferences for future partners among the young generation.

The majority of participants prefer Arab and Chaouia partners, with the first option slightly favoured. Those who show a strong consideration of an Arab partner justify their preference by: first, they want their partners to be 'good' Muslims (reinforcing iconicity between Arabs and

Islam, see Section 6.4), and second, they dislike Chaouias and their culture. For a Chaouia partner, the major argument is around geographical closeness, similarity of life style and traditions as well as the language and its connection with the larger family. Kabyles and foreigners come in the third position but for different reasons. For a Kabyle partner, informants argue they are generally beautiful and conservative but also have the cheapest dowry, while for foreigners it is mostly for immigration purposes.

As it brings the language of the majority into the home, Pauwels (2016: 88) maintains that exogamy involving a partner from the majority ethnolinguistic group is a "clear-cut factor" in promoting LS. Findings across Touaregs in Ghat (Adam, 2017) and Bhadha speakers in Bunia (Gibson and Bagamba, 2016) and Afrikaans (De Klerk, 2001) show the same pattern in favour of the language of power. However, having seen the general pattern in Table 5.2.1, it seems that the link between exogamy and language use among these families is not direct and requires further analysis.

Surprisingly, differences among females and males are significant (X^2=16.987; p=.002, p<.05). Considering that males are generally more mobile, one expects them to have higher preferences for exogamy. However, while males showed a more conservative pattern and preferred Chaouia female partners, females reported a preference of Arab partners. The main reason reported was the social mobility and economic opportunities they get access to when married into the Arabic-speaking group. The results are shown in Table 5.3.3 (both % and N).

	Chaouia	Arab	Kabyle	Foreigner
Female	31% *38*	45% *55*	8% *10*	16% *19*
Male	36% *43*	24% *29*	23% *28*	17% *21*
Total	67%	69%	31%	33%

Table 5.3.3 Preferences of the future partner among young males and females.

Looking further into these marriage choices, I use some narratives from participants to explain the social transitions and attitudes of the relevant families towards: 1) Chaouia-Chaouia marriage, 2) Chaouia-Kabyle marriage, 3) Chaouia-Arab marriage.

Similar to Serreli (2016), reporting that Siwans wanted their daughters to marry from Siwa to be able to protect them, elder and mid-aged Chaouias showed the same attitude. One family in OS mentioned a case of a young girl in the neighbourhood who married an Arab from a northern city, despite her parents' reluctance. Interestingly, all members of the family (across three generations) agreed that they would not accept this in their house. For them, only a Chaouia man can protect and care for a Chaouia woman; an Arab man can easily let her down and they would not be able to help her out due to distance.

With these feelings of security with a Chaouia male, also comes recognition of the hardship and awareness of social criticism for 'rural' Chaouia women. An adult Chaouia woman from OS, attending a wedding ceremony in Merouana, commented on the way her Chaouia friends and herself were received in comparison to Arabic-speaking guests:

> "We were received as 'dogs'. They brought us only coffee because we are rural and we speak Chaouia. When the Arab women arrived, Nada [pseudonym] brought them coffee, tea, cake, and all sorts of sweets. These guests live in the city and they are well dressed; they are different from us. They are asked repeatedly about what kind of food they prefer and they are given so much when they leave […] They want our help and hard work, but we are not welcome." (Inas, F, 42, OS)

As far as the young generation is concerned, various attitudes were displayed, both positive and negative. Females were much worried about the harshness of Chaouia life style. Men, on the contrary, were mainly concerned about the high expenses of marriage among Chaouias.

Moreover, almost all discussions on marriage featured positive attitudes towards Kabyle partners in relation to the 'traditional' values of marriage that are quickly disappearing in the community, yet maintained among Kabyles. Zerfa (F, 50, OS) is asked why she accepted her son to marry a Kabyle girl, from another city that is almost seven hours away.

> *Zerfa*: "I am poor and these people are poor too. They do not ask for anything but happiness. No cars, no fancy celebrations or separate houses […] they served us healthy food like the old times, olive oil and honey." (F, 50, OS)

> *Misha* (neighbour 1): "these women are mountainous; they are used to taking care of animals and lands. They work hard and they do not speak Arabic so it is easier for you to communicate […] I like them and I wish my son marries one of those too." (F, 56, OS)

> *Kamillia* (neighbour 2): "this generation has no respect for our tradition. They marry through Facebook. They do not ask for our opinion, we just say yes for everything and on top of that, they marry Arab girls who do not know even how to prepare bread but ask to live separately. They simply take our men and leave." (F, 31, OS)

Considering the background of this family, living in a rural region and still maintaining Chaouia traditions, their preference of new family members from the same social class and cultural background could be justified. Interestingly, however, this family is shifting. The Chaouia grandparents use Chaouia with their older children and Algerian Arabic with the youngest ones (under 15 years old). Similarly, the 'new' Kabyle partner maintains the use of AA with her parents-in-law but uses Kabyle with her child. This is not surprising, as Kabyles remain one of the most conservative groups for endogamous marriages in Algeria. Ourahmoune and Ozcaglar-Toulouse report that Kabyle males forbid their sisters and daughters to marry Arab men (2012: 96). Kabyle-Arab marriage is very recent; up to 1988, 100% of marriages were intra-Kabyle (ibid: 85). Until 2010, only five cases of marriage with Arabs were reported, but in all of the cases, it

was Kabyle men marrying an outsider, not vice versa. Females, interestingly, preferred more traditional in-group choices of Kabyle men but refused Arabs (ibid: 85).

All the Kabyle informants showed a strong will and resistance to maintain Tamazight in general, despite the pressure they receive from the host families that claim they do not understand the Kabyle variety. Tamazight, regardless of which variety, is often the main medium used between the partners but shift to AA has become a necessity to communicate with others (in-laws and neighbours). Their children usually grow up bilingual, speaking a Tamazight variety and AA (acquired from the larger family). A Kabyle informant explains that:

> "Chaouias marry from Kabyles and Arabs. It is a factor contributing to the transmission of AA. That is why I was telling you that people here think of the Arab woman as cultured and educated, both herself and her language. But if you look at Kabyles, they do not marry from Arabs, 99% do not marry from Arabs and if they do, the wife has to speak Kabyle. They just marry from Chaouias and they prefer the mountainous ones." (Moudi, M, 28, M)

As far as Chaouia-Arab marriage is concerned, the general tendency of this exogamous marriage is to promote AA. This is expected, as previous researchers found the same results (e.g. Pauwels, 1985). In almost all cases, children learn the language of their mother, i.e. AA, and the father does not object as it is no longer perceived as a 'strange' act. Among all families, there was only one case (*Abra* family in Table 5.2.1) of an Arab partner who learnt Chaouia and passed it to her children, with the assistance of her husband's family. In my quest for the reason, the woman showed very positive attitudes towards Chaouia culture including freedom of travel, care and loyalty of partners, which according to her, were absent in her community. Her shift to Chaouia was surprising to her own family but was rewarding for her in the host community. Although it was an exceptional case, the Arab partner soon became in a position of status, power and admiration by everyone in her neighbourhood.

5.3.1 Discourses of responsibility and blame

With the considerable orientation towards exogamy in general, one should question the role of parents in maintaining the weight of Chaouia in the family. A two-way discourse of blame is constantly raised, when referring to language transmission. Females (mothers, in particular) claim Chaouia shift is the result of men's lack of responsibility; however, males (i.e., fathers) claim it is females' fault due to their lack of self-esteem. The following extracts illustrate their arguments.

> "My husband is a Chaouia speaker, but he never uses it with me because I am an Arab. Even the kids at home, all speak Arabic. And I noticed that all Arabic-speaking women here transmit their language to their kids. The kids follow the mother." (Sarah, F, 34, M)

> "I still think the responsibility falls on the woman. It is paradoxical here. We tend to say that our society is patriarchal, and the man speaks Chaouia outside but he fails to pass it to his kids. I think that they unfortunately follow this proverb 'the weak is fond of imitating the stronger'. Females think that Arabic is the model, the sign of development, civilisation and improvement. They took this idea from the media and TV series […] unfortunately, I guess that the man is following the same trend of women. The man tries to look good in front of his wife, cultured, and mindful and therefore he also feels ashamed to speak Chaouia in front of her, and so the woman is actually controlling indirectly. She is the reason that led the man to speak Arabic instead of Chaouia; to start feeling ashamed of it so that he does not look backward in front of her!" (Yuba, M, 28, M)

For *Sarah*, the man who cares about maintaining their language could use the language with his wife or children. If there is no will from the males' side, then the female is not expected to take the initiative. The majority of men spend most of their time away from children, and therefore have less influence on the process of language transmission. In most cases, the burden falls on women and their choice is not necessarily determined by the practices of the partner or the family-in-law.

For *Yuba*, on the other hand, the female takes responsibility over Chaouia shift. Along with their large tendency to prefer Arab partners, *Yuba* blames females for lack of self-esteem and pride in their culture but also the power to influence their partners to further shift. *Massi*, however, disagrees and adds blame to the male. He speaks about the idea of an 'outsider' woman being

more valued and respected than the insider (i.e. Chaouia woman). This turned out to be a frequent reason females refer to when talking about their motives to leave the community.

> "The woman does not just control her family but also the larger one. Here in Batna, people look up to foreign women from other regions; she can easily change the use of the language spoken. Some people would say it is for respect but why do Arabs who are in a dominantly Chaouia region never attempt at speaking Chaouia? Respect has a negative impact on us." (Massi, M, 32, B)

At the same time, the majority of respondents still believe that females are the ones to be blamed for identity loss and social change. The noticeable change of the role of women in the Chaouia society goes back to 2000, as most informants agree.[32] The majority of males refuse this social shift and argue it is the reason behind the changing values of social relations among Chaouias.

> "Since 1999 the role of the woman changed because of Bouteflika [ex-president]. They took over all our job chances. They invaded us in everything. They call it openness and freedom but they are just ruining the society and the woman herself. The authority gave her so many privileges at the expense of the man and she did not use them in the right way. They took our rights [...] women are dominating in everything [...] We cannot go on a strike because the woman is the one in charge and she never goes into strikes […] why do I look for a working woman? Simply because we, men, are not working." (Ibrahim, M, 30, M)

In brief, it seems that the Chaouia society agrees with the Kabyle one in terms of their belief that the Berber woman has to "interiorize their [female] role as the persons responsible for transmitting language and reproducing customs" (Ourahmoune and Ozcaglar-Toulouse, 2012: 95). Traditionally, endogamy among these people principally aimed at reinforcing kinship relations and providing economic security (Kimble, 2006: 112). In a sense, marriage was a market for exchanging services as well as individuals. Nevertheless, similar to what Bourdieu has noticed among the Béarnaise peasants in rural France, as females have more access to education and urban life style, they challenge the traditional social system and "marry up" the economic and social

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[32] In addition to the informant's reasons, the choice of 2000 as a hallmark for this change was justified by other factors like the end of the civil war, paving roads, compulsory education, women's rights movement etc.

class, thus ignoring male peasants (Reed-Danahay, 2004: 99; Gal, 1979). Although this might not come easy, Chaouia females are more aware of the limitations of 'rurality' and 'peasantry' and, hence, they perceive marriage as symbolic capital for upward mobility (see Section 3.2.3.2). Although some of those rural women, mostly above 50s, still pride themselves with proverbs like "a Chaouia woman is a woman inside and a man outside", "a Chaouia has a body of a woman and a mind of a man", the majority of young females refuse these labels as they potentially represent them as 'backward' and 'tough'. Exogamy is yet but one medium through which they seek better socioeconomic opportunities. However, a follow-up research is needed to further examine these females' linguistic choices and attitudes in their new 'Arab' host families.

Williams observes that the language of partners is still a critical factor in acquiring competence in Welsh (2000a: 225). The high use of Welsh was noticed more when the partner had a high Welsh-language competence (Williams and Morris, 2000: 81). Hence, marriage patterns as well as other socialisation norms may influence language proficiency, use and transmission. The following section explores the general language proficiency of the participants.

5.4   Language proficiency

Linguistic competence is directly related to language maintenance as it explains to what extent lack of proficiency can restrict language usage and choices. Chaouia has a long oral tradition. Therefore, questions were limited to speaking and comprehension skills. Informants were given a choice of three levels of competence in Chaouia and AA. They were asked to rate their proficiency from advanced to average to not at all. Table 5.4.4 represents the percentages and raw numbers of responses in each level.

	Speaking			Comprehension		
	Excellent	Little	Not at all	Excellent	Little	Not at all
Chaouia	60 %	27%	13%	67 %	25%	8%
	182	*84*	*38*	*202*	*77*	*25*
AA	91 %	8%	1%	92%	7%	1%
	275	*25*	*4*	*279*	*20*	*5*

Table 5.4.4 Respondents' proficiency in speaking and comprehension.

Overall, the majority reported good skills in Chaouia and AA, with comprehension slightly better than speaking. However, participants felt more confident about their ability to speak and understand AA than Chaouia. Only 1% reported not being able to comprehend or use AA (I assume the real figure is higher) compared to 13% who do not use Chaouia at all. This means that the status of Chaouia in the community is considerably less than that of AA. Nevertheless, proficiency in AA and Chaouia is still very high compared to foreign languages. The majority, depending on age groups and educational background, reported a good command of either French, or English or both (being mandatory at schools).

Having a closer look at differences in speaking Chaouia across age groups, gender and regions provides a better idea about changes in the status of Chaouia[33]. In the following, I discuss each variable separately. The results can be cautiously generalised to comprehension, with slightly higher percentages.

5.4.1 Age

In light of the apparent time hypothesis, I assume that differences in language competence and use among the different generations can be a sign of Chaouia shift. Whether Chaouia competence and use patterns remained stable over the decades or steadily declined is most likely a product of

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[33] The results presented are only for speaking. This is because it is often agreed to be more relevant to language use and maintenance and because the differences between production and comprehension are not significant.

social and political changes in the country. The statistical analysis shows that age is rendered significant in the process of losing Chaouia competence (X^2=56.123; p<.0001; Cramer's V=.34; r=.42, significant at 0.01 level). Table 5.4.5 displays the percentages of Chaouia competence in speaking across the four age groups.

Age groups	Fluent	Little	Not at all
>65 (Old)	100% *15*	-	-
49-64 (Mid-aged)	92% *22*	8% *2*	-
26-48 (Adult)	82% *61*	12% *9*	6% *4*
12-25 (Young)	44% *84*	38% *73*	18% *34*

Table 5.4.5 Chaouia speaking competence across age groups.

Data show that all elders above the age of 65 have excellent speaking abilities, i.e., no shift has happened at the level of the grandparents' generation. A few among the third group (26-48 years old) declared they are completely unable to speak any Chaouia. At this point, it seems that the sudden decline in proficiency among younger people is not due to elder or parental generation not having adequate knowledge in Chaouia to transmit it; rather, due to different social changes that have affected the way language is negotiated and managed at home.
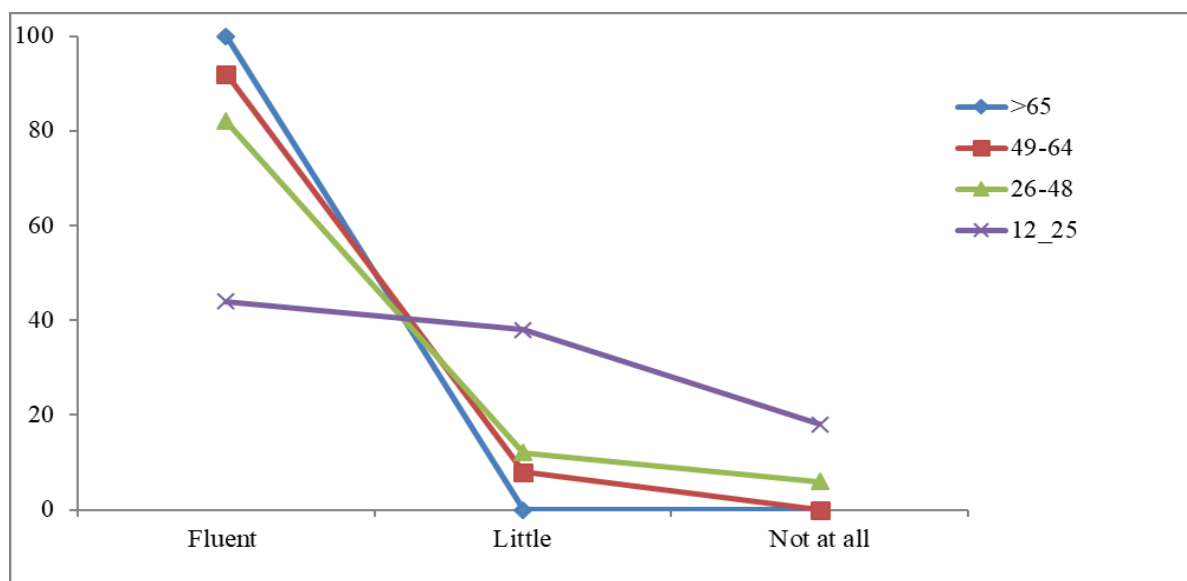
Figure 5.4.1 Percentage of Chaouia speaking competence across age groups.

Figure 5.4.1 shows an interesting pattern. The three first age groups pattern similarly with regards to their speaking competence in Chaouia; however, the pattern quite significantly changes with the last age group (12-25) which scored the lowest in regards to this factor with a gap of 38% between them. Another important point to mention here is that there is a relatively small gap (10%) between the two groups in the middle (26-48, 49-64), overall scoring quite close to each other.

There are a number of possibilities for this decreasing pattern of Chaouia competence and, hence, decline in the use across generations. The oldest generation had lived in close networks with Berbers and thus many of the domains of language use were preserved for the mother tongue as the main medium of interaction. Also, the majority of them did not have a formal education, limiting their exposure to Arabic. The ones who moved to France for work during/after WWII learned French but never used it as a direct medium with their families back home. The second group (49-64) initiated contact with Arabs, but was not as largely influenced as the third generation (26-48), which was directly subjected to Arabisation, through state-controlled education. This group was the most affected by nationalist ideologies (political, religious, and linguistic). While the difference in the degree of competence within the age groups in the middle is small, the rapid increase among the young suggests their crucial role in leading this linguistic shift to AA.

Although the previous results show a clear situation of bilingualism in Chaouia and Algerian Arabic, there is no evidence that it is stable in the community. Rather, competence in Arabic is better than Chaouia. In this regard, I agree with Edwards' (1985:71) argument that "bilingualism is only a temporary phenomenon, to be replaced with dominant-language monolingualism" (see Section 5.5.1).

5.4.2   Gender

Results of Chaouia speaking competence among males and females are presented in   Table 5.4.6. SPSS returns it as statistically significant (X^2=31.474; p<.0001; Cramer's V=.32; r=-.31, significant at 0.01 level).

	Fluent	Little	Not at all
Female	44%	37%	19%
	68	*56*	*29*
Male	75%	19%	6%
	114	*28*	*9*

Table 5.4.6 Chaouia speaking competence among males and females.

Females were expected to be more conservative, based on the literature, but they exhibited less confidence about their competence in Chaouia than males. More males than females reported excellent command of Chaouia with 75% for males, compared to 44% for females. The percentage of females who reported no competence at all were three times more than that of males.

These results fit with the generally observed tendency of females preferring prestigious languages in the sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Gal, 1978; Canagarajah, 2008). However, they contradict results from previous research on Tamazight that links its maintenance to females (e.g. Becker, 2006; Hoffman, 2008; Sadiqi, 2014) and some non-local case studies of LM/LS, such as Winter and Pauwels (2005) (see Section 4.4.2).

Furthermore, these gender-based differences reveal and reinforce some common social practices in the community. Using Chaouia among men is a way of preserving their privacy, intimacy and establishing shared experiences. Chaouia is also a medium of performing and feeling pride in their masculinity. This resonates with authenticity and cultural traditions that associate Chaouia men and women with 'harshness', 'stubbornness', and 'pride'. Many Chaouia men see prestige and

power in these acts and continue to defend their use. Meanwhile, the young females perceive them as 'non-feminine' characteristics that present them as 'masculine' in front of their Arab peers. Peer pressure creates insecurity among them. Hence, Chaouia women speak of seeking opportunities to show their linguistic competence in Arabic and their religious identity.

In one of my group interviews, two friends (Samer and Rama, aged 14 and 13 years old respectively) exhibited different attitudes towards showing competence in Chaouia with their peers at school. While Samer, a boy, perceived it as a good skill to connect him with 'stronger' males for support and marking in-group identity, Rama, the young girl, reported she was always a subject of irony among her 'Arab' friends until she stopped using it and competed with them in mastering Arabic and identifying with the majority language speakers (see sections 5.5.2, and 7.4.3).

In a group interview, one of the male informants argued that:

> "The reason Chaouia is not spoken is the woman. She feels ashamed to speak it outside. Look at my sister –Celine. She does not speak it. She hangs out only with Arabised girls. When they go in public, they fear being identified as Chaouias. They never use it." (Idir, M, 42, M)

The sister herself adds:

> "Yes true. When men meet outside they speak Chaouia between each other very normally but women whenever they meet or they go to buy something, the seller would ask in Chaouia but they would reply in Arabic." (Celine, F, 23, M)

This is a pattern that I observed in my meetings with females where the majority would address me in Chaouia only if we were alone, but immediately shift to AA once in public. Another noticeable practice among females, to be investigated further, is the use of a gendered form of 'How are you?' in Algerian Arabic. Usually, elder and mid-aged Berbers in the region do not distinguish between females and males when asking for their news. However, this seems to have

become a marker for whether the speaker is good at Arabic (and so is an Arab) or not. Despite the fact that it is still maintained by most young males, females consciously shift to the Arabic forms, inflecting them for gender of addressee (i.e., *wašrāki* for females and *wašrāk* for males). Rarely, if ever, do they use the traditional form – again, *wašrāk*, without differentiating gender of the addressee – in their networks. It seems that this form of greeting carry a symbolic function, especially in the first meeting between/with people that are not easily distinguishable as Berber speakers or Arabic speakers because it indexes some of the speakers' preferences and/or affiliations. Some people use it (whether consciously or unconsciously) to signal their affiliation with a Chaouia identity. Some others seem to use it because of their insufficient acquisition of AA forms. It is noteworthy that, the use of this form, however, is in decline among the young generation, a pattern which is very likely part of an ongoing change. If compared to Hachimi's (2005, 2007) study, the relationship between prestige forms and perceived masculinity is quite the opposite here. For Chaouia women, to become Batni (from Batna city) and feel a sense of belonging to the majority, many young females shift from the traditional traits of toughness, masculinity and aggressiveness to become 'feminine' and 'civilised'. The exception to this is some Chaouia women in rural regions for whom 'masculine' speech is a strategy for surviving the toughness of the environment (see Barontini and Ziamari, 2009). Being 'ḥərʃa' (tough) in Hachimi's words, 'feḥla' (smart that you can depend on her), or qāfza (quick) are similarly traits practised by some young Chaouia females, particularly in the university accommodation, as strategies to assert their place and ensure respect and survival in an ethnically diverse milieu (see section 4.4.2, and section 5.5.2).

5.4.3 Region

Region is statistically significant (X^2=33.372; p<.0001), but SPSS returns a weak correlation between this variable and Chaouia competence (Cramer's V=.23; r=.29, significant at 0.01 level). Table 5.4.**7** displays the differences in self-reported Chaouia speaking competence across the three

regions under study (see Section 4.4.3). Overall, individuals from Ouled Sellam were more likely to exhibit good speaking skills in Chaouia (82%) because of its large rural nature. In addition, the *urban* inhabitants in Keshida, showed relatively considerable linguistic competence (48%) due to their connections with the new immigrants of rural background. On the other hand, 22% of Keshida informants reported no command of Chaouia at all, compared to 12% for Merouana and only 4% for OS. It is important to mention at this point that the relatively small region-based differences between Merouana and Keshida (3%) does not imply that they should not be treated separately in future analyses, as social relations with increasing urbanisation and ethnic contact might trigger a change in patterns.

Region	Fluent	Little	Not at all
Ouled Sellam	82% *78*	14% *13*	4% *4*
Merouana	51% *59*	37% *43*	12% *14*
Keshida	48% *45*	30% *28*	22% *20*

Table 5.4.7 Chaouia speaking competence across regions.

In addition to the above main variables for the study, there are two other factors that are crucial in restricting the offsprings' proficiency in Chaouia: the mother's and father's mother tongues. Both elements show strong correlation (p<.0001; r=.49; r=.46 respectively) (see Appendix 7a: 1-3 for results). The language used by parents for interaction at home, furthermore, is the most indicative of how competent the younger generation is because it mediates their future linguistic choices (p<.0001; r=.5) (see Section 5.6).

## 5.5	Language at home: who uses what with whom and why?

Zooming into the linguistic performance of the participants in comparison to their self-reported linguistic competence, the respondents were requested to report on their actual language usage at home. The overall use of languages at home is demonstrated in Table 5.5.8. Chaouia seems to be largely used at home (46%), with competition from AA (32%). French came last with 6%. Spearman correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the previous variables and the general language use at home; the analysis of the 304 participants indicated positive, yet not strong links. Age, gender and region were statistically significant (p=.001, p=.016, p=.04 respectively; p< .05) but barely explanatory (r =.03, r =.12, r =.11 respectively).

	Chaouia	AA	Both	French
Use	46%	32%	16%	6%
	141	*98*	*48*	*17*

Table 5.5.8 General language use at home.

However, an in-depth analysis of the language used with each member of the family shows a different picture that is worth reporting here.

	Chaouia	AA
Mother's parents	67%	19%
	205	*58*
Father's parents	68%	18%
	206	*55*
Mother	56%	26%
	170	*79*
Father	58%	23%
	177	*70*
Elder Siblings	44%	39%
	133	*117*
Younger Siblings	31%	48%
	93	*147*
Spouse	12%	9%
	36	*27*
Children	7%	11%
	20	*34*
Grandchildren	3%	5%
	8	*14*

Table 5.5.9 Frequency of using Chaouia and AA with family members.
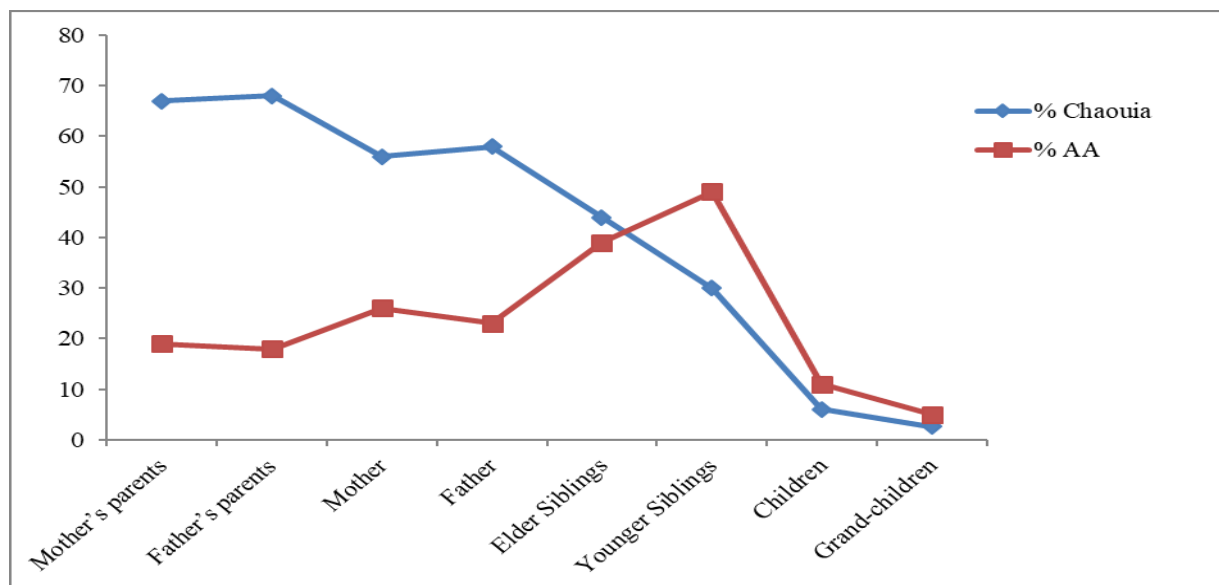
Figure 5.5.2 Percentage of using Chaouia/AA with family members.

The line graph above shows a consistent decrease of Chaouia use across the four generations (grandparents, parents, adult siblings and children). At the same time, the use of AA increases steadily. The slight fluctuation in language use with the mother (compared to the father) is explained in the gender section (see Section 5.5.2). Importantly, the critical change occurred at the level of elder siblings (mostly adults of 26-48 year-old) where the use of Chaouia started to dip in favour of AA, then declined remarkably within the younger groups.

Meanwhile, there are important points to clarify before further analysis. First, the results shown here only focus on Chaouia and AA because the linguistic repertoire reported was diverse (Chaouia, AA, mixed code of both, Kabyle, SA, French and English) and limiting it to two codes can provide the reader with a better understatding of the situation. And as the family remains a strong network for Chaouias, people tend to use their intimate languages to communicate and even if they master another language, this latter is usually used in very specific contexts. Reference to interesting patterns and cases will be elaborated on in the relevant sections. Second, the division of grandparents according to the mother's and father's links is justified by the fact that there were a few unexpected cases of Chaouia-Kabyle marriages among this generation and

that influenced their linguistic choices and usage. Third, the percentage (and counts accordingly) of spouses, children and grandchildren is very small because the majority of the respondents are young (i.e. there are many missing responses for these questions). Consequently, from now on, they are not presented in the graphs. Fourth, the unequal distribution of the informants across age groups is due to the deliberate focus placed on the younger speakers. This reflects the youthful nature of the Algerian society where more than 70% are under the age of 30 (Entelis, 2011: 662). Nevertheless, the findings show fairly consistent results at older age levels, despite small numbers, and equally show that the shift is moving fastest among the young people. Having made this clear, I turn now into a thorough examination of language use across age, gender and region.

5.5.1 Age

The following Table 5.5.10 presents the percentages, as well as the frequency, of Chaouia and AA use with different family members across age groups.

	>65 (N=15)		49-64 (N=24)		26-48 (N=71)		12-25 (N=153)	
	Ch	AA	Ch	AA	Ch	AA	Ch	AA
Mother's parents	100% *15*	0	100 % *24*	0	88% *65*	8% *6*	53% *101*	27% *52*
Father's parents	100% *15*	0	100% *24*	0	85% *63*	11% *8*	54% *104*	26% *47*
Mother	100% *15*	0	96% *23*	4% *1*	72% *53*	12% *9*	41% *79*	36% *69*
Father	100% *15*	0	96% *23*	4% *1*	77% *57*	12% *9*	43% *82*	31% *60*
Elder siblings	100% *15*	0	75% *18*	4% *1*	62% *46*	19% *14*	28% *54*	53% *102*
Younger siblings	100% *15*	0	58% *14*	8% *2*	42% *31*	32% *24*	17% *33*	63% *121*
Spouse	93% *14*	0	42% *10*	17% *4*	16% *12*	27% *20*	0	2% *3*
Children	73% *11*	7% *1*	25% *6*	46% *11*	4% *3*	27% *20*	0	1% *2*
Grand-Children	47% *7*	13% *2*	4% *1*	50% *12*	0	0	0	0

Table 5.5.10 The use of Chaouia/AA with family members across age groups.

Looking closely at language use across generations, it is noticeable that elders above the age of 65 have never opted for AA, until very recently with their grandchildren and great-grandchildren who might be monolingual in AA and stimulated the use of Arabic (Chaouia: 47%, N=7 vs. AA: 13%, N=2). This pattern is not exceptional, as I came across many cases of these elders, particularly monolingual females, who were not able to communicate with their (great-) grandchildren. When they attempt the use of random Arabic expressions, elders were subject to ridicule by the young members for their continuous mistakes and Berber accent. While some of the young people, who were raised in close contact with their grandparents, were able to pick up some Chaouia and try to use it when needed, others commented that it is not their responsibility to maintain the inter-generational connection. This justifies the considerable use of AA with the mother's parents and father's parents by adults and young individuals (up to 27%), which adds pressure on the grandparents to learn AA as well instead. Furthermore, the process of shift seems to speed up with the siblings among the fourth group (12-25) which reported 63% usage of AA with the younger siblings compared to 53% with the older ones.

Table 5.5.10 is visually represented in the the following Figures 5.5.3 and 5.5.4 in order to discern specific patterns along with the general picture of linguistic choices across the different age groups. Starting from the parent generation, a parallel pattern emerges across the middle-aged, adult and young age groups who show a relatively gradual decline in the use of Chaouia, in comparison to the elderly age group which is generally consistent in terms of its Chaouia use across generations.
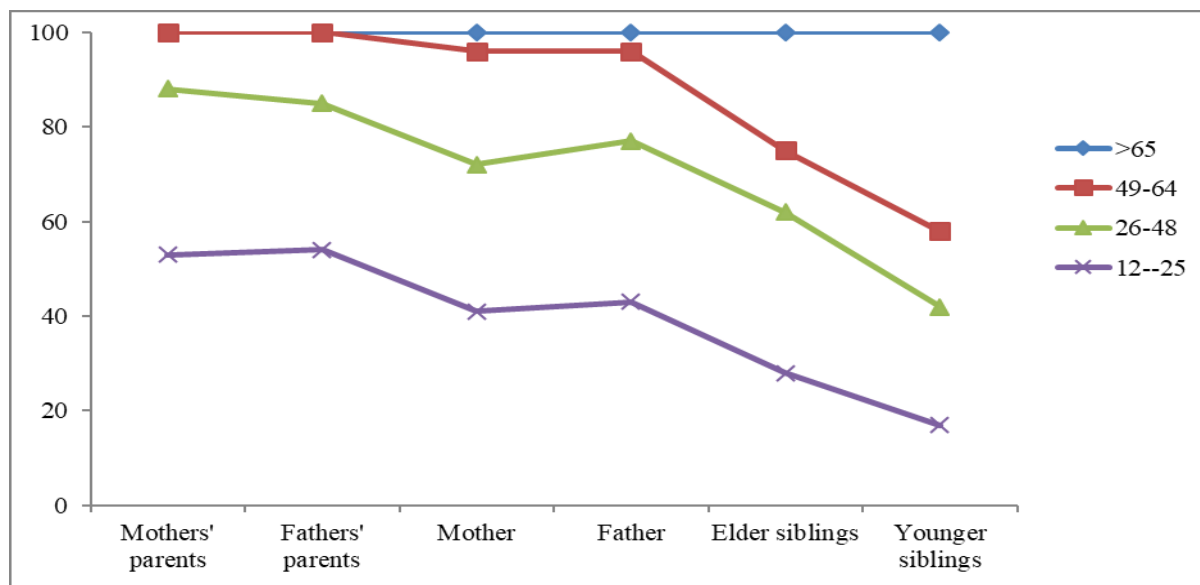
Figure 5.5.3 Chaouia use with family members across age groups.

The behaviour of the middle-aged group (49-64) changes when it comes to the use of AA, as shown in Figure 5.5.4 below. Although, there is a remarkable decline in their use of Chaouia with the youngest generations (siblings level), their use of AA with the same groups is only c. 10%. The fact that the linguistic choices for the middle-aged group are not mirror images of each other implies a more complex multilingual context amongst this age-setting (sibling level), where middle-aged speakers show flexibility in negotiating their language options.
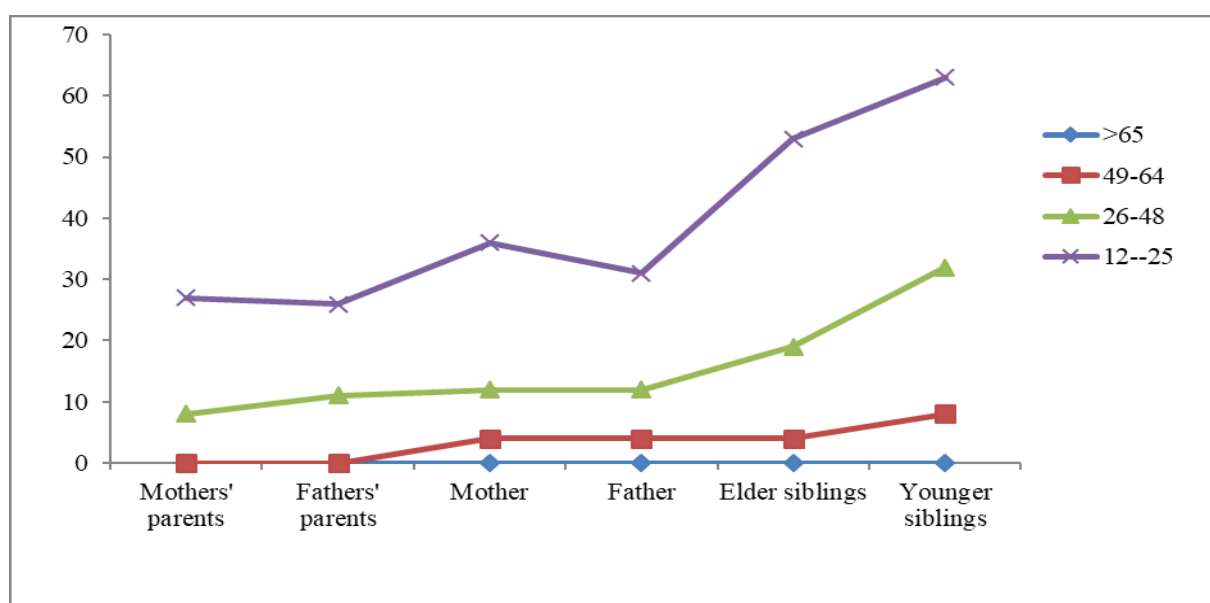
Figure 5.5.4 AA use with family members across age groups.

The results generally present a slow shift in progress across the first two generations (i.e. 65+ and 49-64) and a fast one across the later generations (i.e. the 26-48 and 12-25 groups), but particularly within the same group of young people at an intra-generational level (i.e. siblings). The young generation, in this regard, functions as agents of language shift. Hence, the presence of grandparents, even with minimal skills in the majority language, is not necessarily a clear-cut factor in LM (Pauwels, 2016: 104).

5.5.2 Gender

The results of language use across genders are displayed in Table 5.5.11. It is important to mention that it is the *addressees* who are the main focus here, but it is the gender of the *speaker* that makes the contrast when using any language.

Addressee	Male (N=151)	Female (N=153)
Mother's parents	75% *113*	60% *92*
Father's parents	75% *114*	60% *92*
Mother	69% *104*	43% *66*
Father	70% *106*	46% *71*
Elder siblings	58% *88*	29% *45*
Younger siblings	43% *65*	18% *28*
Spouse	15% *22*	9% *14*
Children	8% *12*	1% *2*
Grandchildren	3% *4*	3% *4*

Table 5.5.11 Chaouia use with family members among males and females.

Males' usage of Chaouia with grandparents' and parents' generations is very high (above 70%) compared to a strikingly low usage with the younger generations (less than 10%). The highest usage of Chaouia reported by females is 60% with the grandparents' generation, in comparison to the rest of the groups where they score less than 50%. The lowest usage across both genders is with children and grandchildren (8% and 1%; 3% and 3%, for males and females respectively). In addition, the overall results for gender (Figure 5.5.5) indicate a large tendency of diminishing use of Chaouia among both sexes with all family members, but with females leading the shift particularly with parents and siblings. This difference in decline, nevertheless, is more noticeable with the mother, compared to the father as addressees.
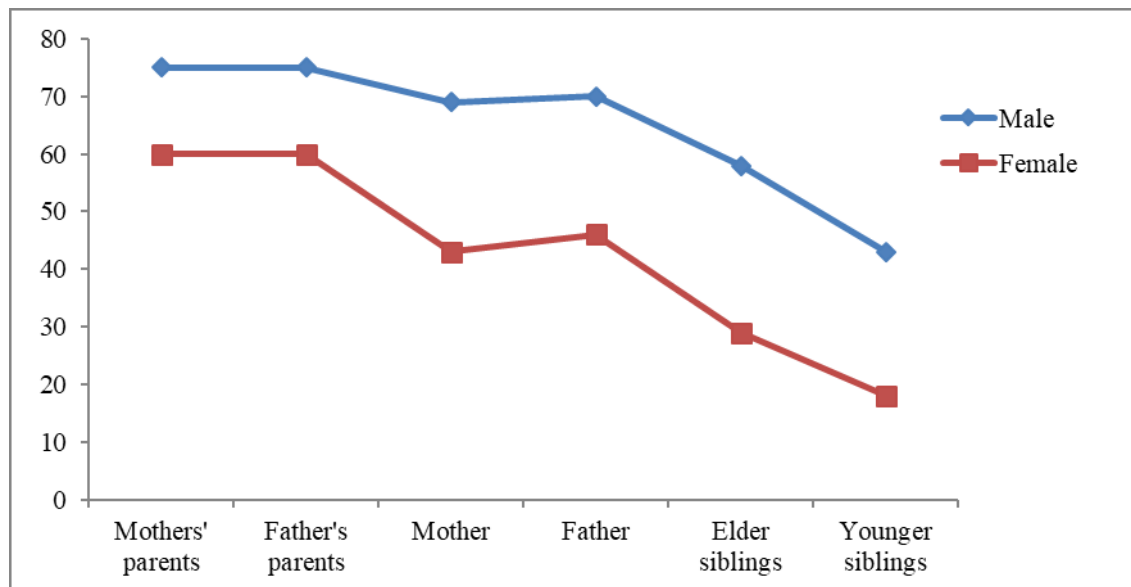
Figure 5.5.5 Percentage of Chaouia use among males and females.

To further illustrate the last point, I present a detailed description of the informants' reports on their language practices with the mother and father for comparison. While the *addressee* is held constant, it could be clearly seen that it is the gender of the *speaker* that accounts for the difference. Figure 5.5.6 show that there is hardly any difference by addressee. Both genders seem to be slightly more conservative with their fathers than mothers. However, males' use of Chaouia with

their mothers (as well as fathers) is largely higher than that of females' (i.e. around 70% with both).
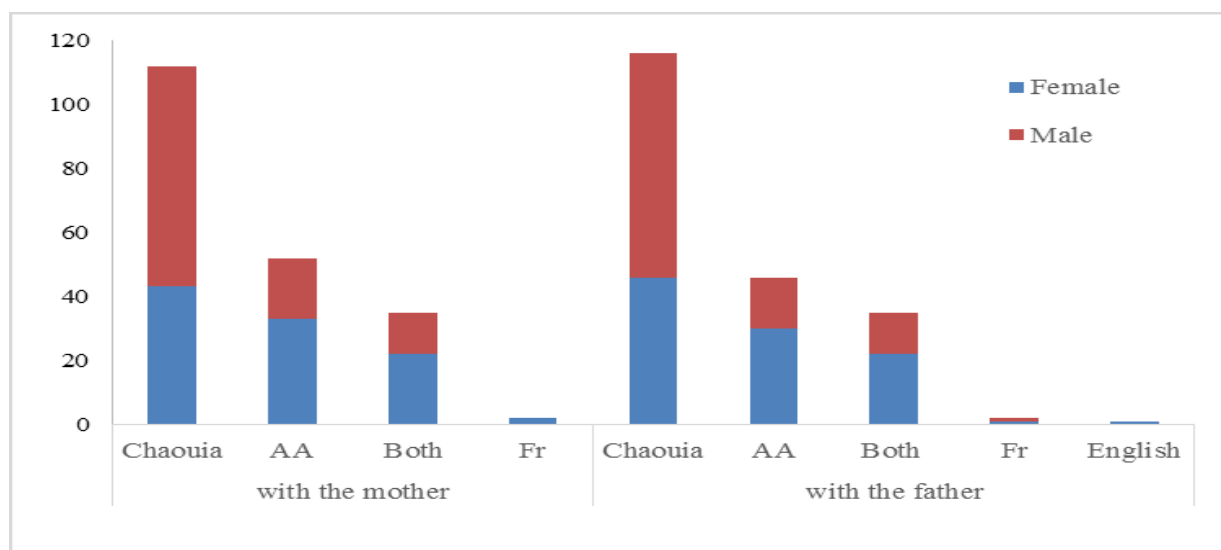
Figure 5.5.6 Language use with the mother and father across gender.

In the same line of thought, during my fieldwork, I observed that siblings use different languages to interact with their parents, in which case boys generally favour Chaouia while girls opt for AA. Whether the direction of language use is initiated by the parents themselves or the children is hard to establish, but it was noticed in both. The same tendency was noticed at school where the majority of teachers reported boys were more likely than girls to use Chaouia in the classroom. This issue was raised in a classroom of Tamazight where the teacher reported he continuously faces challenges of using Tamazight exclusively, as the majority of girls have not acquired it at home and require a corresponding explanation of the course in Arabic. The teacher links this back to marriage patterns and comments:

> "Parents feel insecure; they pass Chaouia to the boys and AA to the girls because they want to secure the future of their daughters. They want them to marry and from their own experience they know Chaouia women are laughed at, but for the boys they know they can always find a partner as they move." (Takfarines, M, 29, OS)

Assuming that parents are the ones who initiate the direction of language use, this gendered pattern to child addressees is important to understand. It seems unlikely that this is an old pattern, as if it

had continued for few decades, it would have resulted in rapid Chaouia shift. Hence, it is probably a relatively recent socialisation pattern. Boys regularly have more contact with extended (Chaouia-speaking) family members than girls, so even if the parents use AA to both at home, boys will still have better chances to acquire active competence in Chaouia. Important to note is also the anecdotal pattern of (working) parents sending boys to grandparents and neighbours – who use more Chaouia – but keeping the girls with them or even sending them to relatives in the city – who use more AA.

This language practice, specifically, is more common in Merouana and Keshida than OS. In one of the families interviewed, composed of three young females and three married males, their mother (69 years old) argued that she was convinced by school to pass Arabic to her children. While maintaining the tendency of using Chaouia with her husband and all her sons, she preferred Arabic with her daughters. The three males showed excellent skills in both, along with French and three other Berber varieties, yet they themselves also maintained the use of AA with their sisters who have a passive competence of Chaouia. When I asked one of the girls (Celine, F, 23, M) about this difference in the linguistic practices, she placed the blame on her mother who never used Chaouia with her, but also previously on her peers in the network (see the quote in Section 5.4.2). Clearly here, the break in the use of Chaouia is occurring horizontally and vertically, initiated by the mother but reinforced by the same generation of young speakers (siblings and network members). This goes in line with the previous observation of using Arabic slightly higher with mothers than fathers. Thus, the mother's language choice seems to be the most influential on the linguistic patterns of their children (see Section 5.4.2).

Another interesting point to make here is the use of foreign languages at home. In the few cases reported, females tended to be the ones opting for them. The shift to AA, therefore, seems to be not sufficient for consolidating their lead and so further strengthened by French and English.

Undoubtedly, parents encourage learning/practising foreign languages, and in most cases, they praised their daughters for being active learners and more successful and competitive at school than their sons (who even if they master the language would not use it at home). In one family gathering, one female member was using English with me in the presence of her brother and he started laughing and commented that she always does that to 'show off' and that he does not believe it is appropriate for a family domain. Similarly, in another family, two young sisters were using French and receiving constant help with it from their parents, who reported this does not happen with their sons (who stereotypically are thought to be less interested in education and languages in general).

Despite the fewer data on the use of foreign languages at home, Figure 5.5.7 displays the emerging linguistic changes among the young generation with their elder/younger siblings. Focusing on foreign languages use per gender, females reported using both English and French with elder siblings and only French with younger ones. Whereas, males did not report any foreign language use with elder siblings, and even though they reported French with younger ones, the proportion reported is less than half that of females.
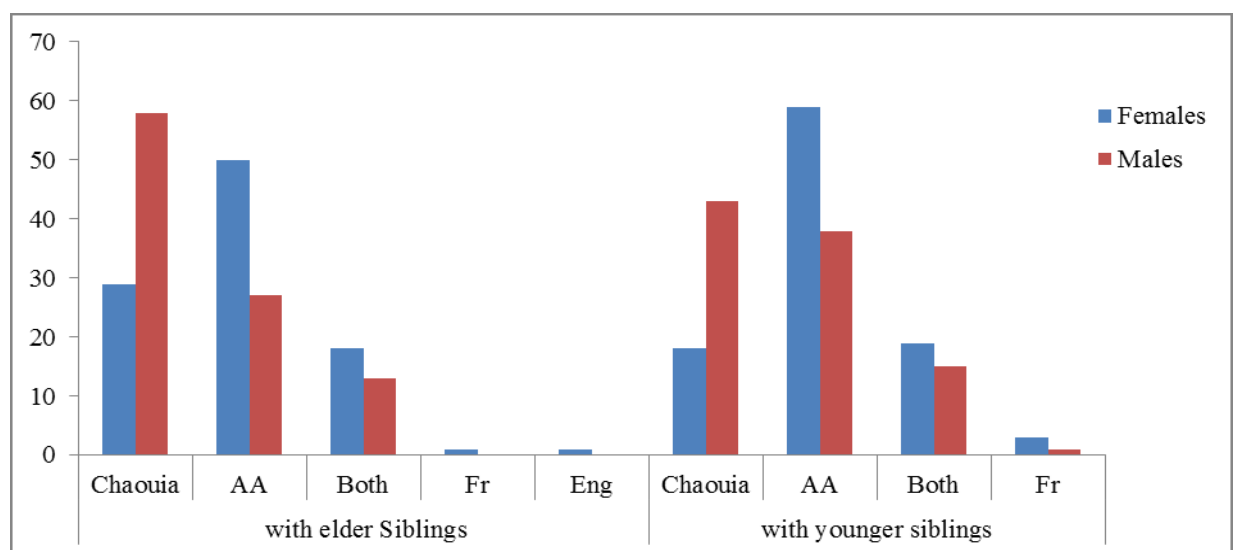
Figure 5.5.7 Percentage of language use with older/younger siblings.

These rapid changes in language behaviour among the young people are strongly related to networks and peer pressure. With connotations of roughness and harshness attached to Chaouia, young Chaouia females seek ways to extend their traditional network types by preferring the company of non-Chaouias in Batna. These can be co-workers, flatmates or colleagues at university that can symbolise sophistication and openness, similar to Metsovitan Vlach women (Koufogiorgou, 2003: 285). Of particular relevance, here, is the university campus in Batna, one of the largest and ethnolinguistically most diverse in Algeria. The norm is that around 15 students share a flat. Usually, all new comers either register with their close friends or request not to live with Chaouia females (stereotypically known for problem-making in the accommodation). Not surprisingly, even Chaouia females from Batna do not prefer to live with Chaouias from other cities. Daily stories of fights and threats are reported by residents in Batna city. Such events worry parents about the company of their daughters and so the majority of young girls from OS and Merouana remain close to their relatives or accompany Arabs to distance themselves from the 'toughness' and 'masculine acts' of other Chaouia girls. On the other hand, males rarely report conflicts with individuals from the same ethnic group and rather reinforce their ties with other Chaouias against possible threats from Arab groups (e.g. from Barika suburb in Batna). The composition of females and males' networks is further explored in chapter 7, sections 7.4.1.1 and 7.4.3.

5.5.3 Region

The results of language use at home across the three regions are presented in Table 5.5.12.

	OS (N=95)		Merouana (N=116)		Keshida (N=93)	
	Chaouia	AA	Chaouia	AA	Chaouia	AA
Mother's parents	84% *80*	11% *10*	67% *78*	21% *24*	51% *47*	26% *24*
Father's parents	86% *82*	5% *5*	66% *76*	21% *24*	52% *48*	28% *26*
Mother	76% *72*	20% *19*	50% *58*	24% *28*	43% *40*	34% *32*
Father	82% *78*	13% *12*	50% *58*	26% *30*	44% *41*	30% *28*
Elder siblings	78% *74*	18% *17*	31% *36*	46% *53*	25% *23*	51% *47*
Younger siblings	47% *45*	28% *27*	25% *29*	57% *66*	20% *19*	58% *54*
Spouse	19% *18*	4% *4*	9% *10*	10% *12*	9% *8*	12% *11*
Children	9% *9*	9% *9*	3% *4*	15% *17*	8% *7*	9% *8*
Grandchildren	3% *3*	7% *7*	1% *1*	4% *5*	4% *4*	2% *2*

Table 5.5.12 Language use with family members across regions.

At the level of grandparents' generation, the scores for the father's parents for OS and Keshida are higher than those for the mother's parents (86% and 52% respectively); interestingly both groups in Merouana scored more or less the same for Chaouia (66% and 67%). In terms of the usage of AA, the grandparents in OS scored the least (5% and 11% for the father's parents and the mother's parents respectively) across the three regions for the 65+ group, whereas, expectedly, Keshida scored the highest (28% and 26%). In addition, the siblings groups generally scored higher than the parents' and grandparent's generations, with highest score for Keshida (58% for the younger siblings). The lowest score within siblings group is with elder siblings in OS (18%), remarkably lower than the mother's score for this region.

The visual representation of the above table in Figures 5.5.8 and 5.5.9 below uncovers a clear decline of Chaouia use, except in Keshida where there is an unexpected spike among both older

and younger siblings for the use of Chaouia, but also high for the use of AA. Both languages, therefore, are widely used in Keshida. Surprisingly, the use of both Chaouia and AA with the mother is higher than the father, which might suggest that most of them are bilingual. Merouana in contrast shows a regular slow decline of Chaouia and rapid increase of AA. Ouled Sellam, on the other hand, shows most use of Chaouia, but in a regular decline, sharpest at the level of siblings, with strong difference in the use of AA with/between mother's and father's side. Ouled Sellam is, thus, the least advanced but may be the fastest-shifting. Explanations for the unexpected variations in Keshida and OS are not obvious but they clearly reflect a dynamic and transitional state towards urbanisation and intensive ethnic contact.
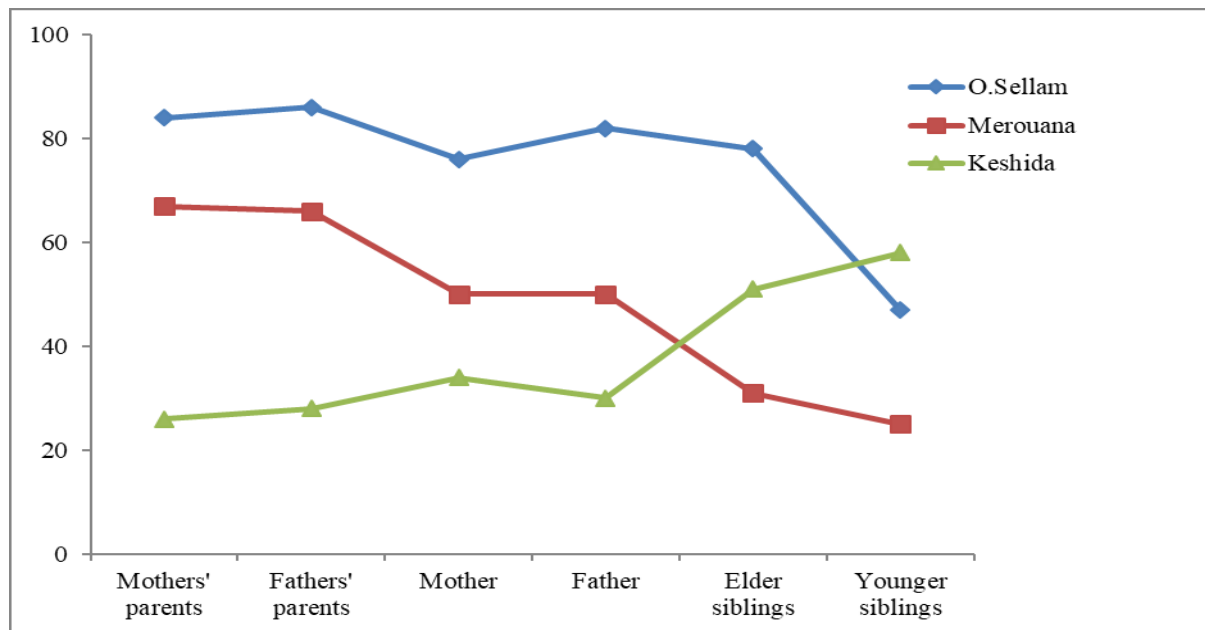
Figure 5.5.8 The use of Chaouia with different family members across regions.
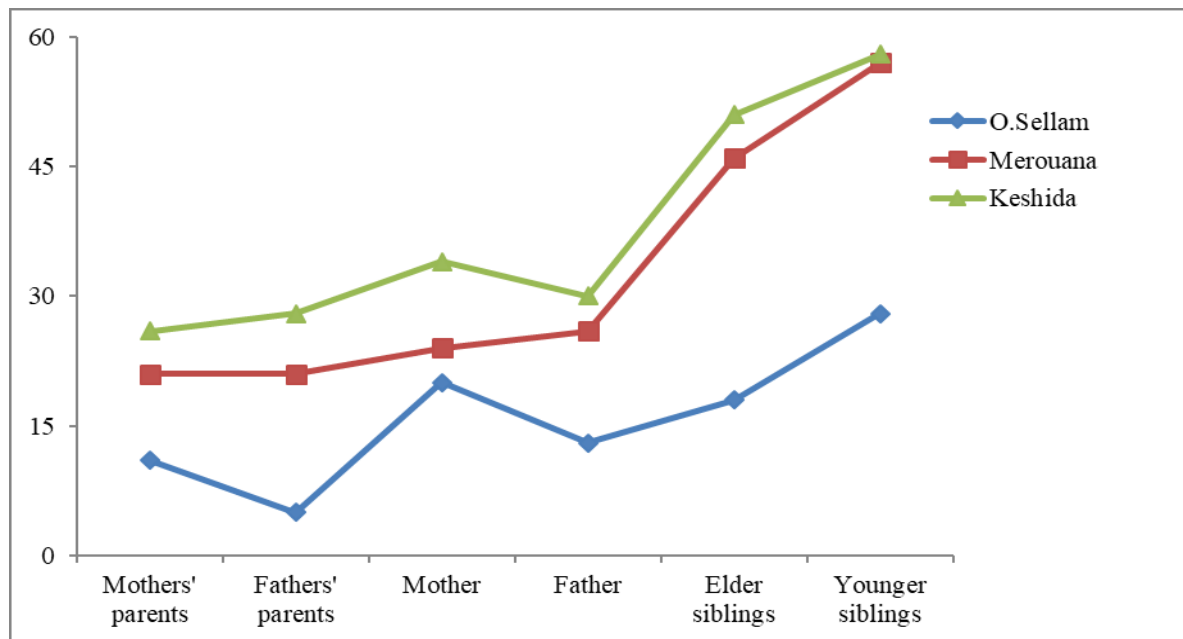
Figure 5.5.9 The use of AA with different family members across regions.

The three localities are in continuous contact and conflict; they stand in "a relationship of power and value difficult to establish beforehand, but nevertheless real and in need of inquiry" (Blommaert et al., 2005: 203). Identifying oneself with one of these regions yields many social prejudices. Financial status, education, access to amenities, types of professions and labels such as *djbaili* (mountainous) vs. *wlīd l-blād* (urbanite, literally the son of the city) are all common criteria used daily to distinguish between these regions. The social meanings attached to their inhabitants can yield meaningful distinctions between what is considered a prestigious language or a language of periphery in each place, across generations.

Attitudes towards OS are very negative either by outsiders or by its own inhabitants. The majority of informants reported they wish they move to another region, not only because of lack of services but because of the negative image of the place. Expressions like '*OS is not a valid place for life*', '*OS is a zoo*', '*OS is for backward people*' were very frequent. Moreover, OS was part of Merouana until 1984 where it was administratively attached to *Ras El Aioun* (another far and less developed Chaouia town). Meanwhile, there is a proposal in action (2018-2019) to make it part

of a new city *'Alma*, currently the largest town in Setif. These administrative transitions might seem unimportant but largely affect social mobility and language contact. Being closer to Setif, largely Arabophone, by all means requires people from OS to shift to AA exclusively when interacting there (see Section 2.8.3). However, one of the main reasons behind the maintenance of Chaouia in this region is that 80% of its inhabitants live in the countryside. Its geographical landscape is largely agricultural accounting for 66%, of which 54% is used, with 33% forests (2012 census).[34] The nature of the place had driven people to maintain their life mode over decades but changes in marriage patterns, social mobility and economic needs can introduce fast transitions in the community.

Important to mention, however, is the positive attitudes towards Chaouia among some rural females in OS, even if rare and declining. Although the majority can speak AA from their constant exposure to TV, as they claim, they still consider Chaouia as their own identity and origin. They feel sorry for those relative women in the extended family who pretend to be 'Arabs' as soon as they settle in the city. For them, Chaouia represents hard work, isolation, pottery, absence of facilities but also power, pride and independence. *Tinhinen*, for instance, discusses the idea of associating Chaouia with illiteracy and challenges the society's ideology of 'all are illiterate but some (Chaouias) are more illiterate than others (Arabs)':

> "I do not understand these Chaouia women who think that other illiterate women who speak Arabic [but have never been to school] are better off than us. They give them so much power that the Arab women in the neighbourhood laugh at them and actually believe they are so much better. I will always speak Chaouia; I actually speak it with them intentionally so they know that it is the same as Arabic. I speak Arabic but I will not use it with them. I am Chaouia first; we are women of pottery, animals, harvest and rugs but I am proud of it. I work to live, and I do not depend on men to survive." (Tinhinen, F, 31, OS)

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[34] The data were provided by the commune centre of OS (bureau d'études et de réalisations en urbanisme de Batna, plan 2016).

Ouled Sellam (wikipedia)

As far as Merouana is concerned, the majority of the participants hold positive attitudes towards their town, its development and history. First, there is a significant increase in its social services, art production, youth programmes, foreign language use and Berber cultural groups and activities. The locals feel pride in celebrating their nationally famous martyrs, artists, singers, activists and authors both inside and outside Algeria (e.g. Markunda, Amar N'gadi, Ziza Massika, Ali N'Meur, etc.). Second, despite the internal conflicts between rurals and urbanites, people in Merouana still present a good picture of a homogeneous community with a strong social network. Although they dominate the health and education sectors in OS, the job opportunities in Merouana are almost exclusively reserved for its inhabitants. Third, from *Lamasba*, to *Corneille* to *Merouana*, the town had been the major urban centre in the whole plain, with an ancient history and a strategic location for settlements and economic exchanges (Shaw, 1982). These factors seem to contribute to the small differences of language use with Keshida (see sections 2.8.3 and 7.4.1.3).

In addition, the agricultural revolution and re-distribution of lands in the 1970s directly influenced contact between OS and Merouana. Elder locals report that president Boumediene located/displaced a large Arab tribe 'Houara' between *Aiṯ Sellam* and *Aiṯ Fatma* (the original inhabitants of OS and Merouana respectively – cousins by ancestry). Houara settled in the plains

of Belezma and started investing in the land and expanding quickly in the direction of Merouana, diminishing the previous contact between OS and Merouana. Thus, the interposition of an Arabic-speaking community between OS and Merouana weakened the earlier direct contact between the two, which may have worked to maintain Chaouia.

Merouana 1960s (wikipedia)   Merouana 2016 (Benzaid collection)

On the other hand, Keshida has a bad reputation in Batna city. For all my trips to and from the region, I used private taxis to commute and have conversations with the drivers. These were either local inhabitants of the place or Batnis from other districts. All of them, however, shared one idea about it: '*life ends there; it is the worst place in Batna*'. Everyone reported socio-economic problems such as lack of security, weak infrastructure, lack of transportation and paved roads, illegal and unorganised buildings, drugs, crime, and domestic violence. A reference to its indifference from Z'mala was repeatedly made.[35] Most settlers are merchants, masons or salesmen; the percent of working women is still low (see Section 2.8.1).

This situation can be understood using historical lenses. A local administrator (M, 58, B) reported that it was previously an agricultural area with only 20-40 families before independence; it was

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[35] Z'mala was the first district to be recognised in Batna; an ideal place for marginalised people, drug dealers, and sex workers. For decades, it was perceived as too dangerous, discouraging the accessibility of strangers (Naceur, 2013).

separated from the rest of Batna with three valleys. In the 1970s, the industrial sector began to extend quickly at the expense of the agricultural land and many factories were established (e.g. milk, leather, construction, etc.). Job opportunities attracted many migrants and by 1990, the population boomed as a result of rural exodus. Nowadays, Keshida is an industrial – residential area that is linked to the rest of Batna city. Its nature of being a point of contact between old and new rural arrivals makes it '*a countryside in the city*', a perception that was shared between its settlers and the other Batnis. Needless to mention, these changes did not only affect the social structure of the community but also its linguistic landscape. New migrants, usually from a Chaouia rural background, mixed with the previous settlers to shape the new practices. This might explain the unexpected use of both AA and Chaouia at sibling level. Encountering new Chaouia-speaking migrants, the young people seem to be re-negotiating their identities and shaping a new language behaviour.

Nevertheless, urbanisation facilitates the orientation of individuals towards the 'usefulness' of Arabic (and French) in juxtaposition to Chaouia. With more services accessible in urban centres than the countryside, the city has become a space of competition and a symbol of abandoning the traditional 'backward' life. Despite the negative stereotypes attached to Keshida, the majority of people from OS and Merouana still consider it a better destination for their children's future due to its closeness to industrial centres and social services in Batna.

Keshida (from public facebook groups)

5.6   Language transmission preferences

Fishman (1991) suggests that language maintenance starts with the parents' choice of what language is to be used with children as L1. Asking parents and new partners about their marriage history and language preferences for their children was a frequent question that initiated long discussions about language, identity and traditions from names to cuisine to dress and music to future aspirations. Their attitudes and choices reflected a hierarchical system of languages that they believe are pragmatically the best options for their children. In this section, I examine some reports on language transmission and preferences in the community to provide insights into attitudes of parents towards abandoning or reinforcing their mother tongue.

Not surprisingly, many parents preferred the transmission of AA first. Their general arguments were around the fear of an imperfect acquisition of Arabic and the subsequent failure at school, and the social transitions that require foreign languages. Reference to Chaouia as the 'language of elders' and 'language of rurals' is clear, and hence its immediate link with lack of economic and cultural capital.

> "Let's be honest, who is using Chaouia now? No one, except few old people in mountains. Every parent wants the best for their children. Chaouia is dead; of course, I will go for Arabic and French. The world has changed and so are the needs of our children. They can still learn it later on at school from their friends though." (Ahmed, M, 46, B)

Similarly, one young respondent *Thilelli* reported she was able to 'speak' Chaouia later at school, when exposed to Chaouia speakers, without the need to acquire it from home. Despite the fact that this argument was frequently made, only a few of these young people (mainly males) were able to actively generate a conversation in Chaouia.

> "My mother uses Chaouia with her sisters, only Chaouia. But, she taught us Arabic. My nephews use Arabic and can understand a bit of Chaouia, some words. Here, the more you grow up, the better you know Chaouia so Chaouia is not learnt from the early years of childhood, but it is learnt later. For instance, I used to speak Arabic until I went to school and then whenever I go out with friends in the street, they start using Chaouia and I pick up words." (Thilelli, F, 18, M)

In one family of three generations, the grandchild (6 years old) was using a mixed code of Chaouia and Algerian Arabic with his mother (who only uses AA), only Chaouia with his paternal grandmother and uncles/aunts, and mostly AA with his three year old brother. In my request for an explanation of the pattern, it was clear that the influence of the extended family members and their conflicting interests over language choice is very strong in this case. In my conversation with the mother, she claimed:

> "Chaouia is the language of a countryside and I hate when his grandmother and uncles use it with him. He is my son and I want him to speak Arabic; every parent should have the main say when it comes to their children." (Lilia, F, 31, B)

His multilingual uncle responded: "*Hām* lives with us and he should speak what we speak", and his grandmother added:

> "His parents use Arabic with him and we use Chaouia and I want my daughter to use English with him too so he speaks everything. The second son is different. He does not spend so much time with us. He only speaks Arabic."

Considering the family is multilingual, their choice of using Chaouia was a conscious attempt to maintain their identity and the intergenerational transmission. In another family, *Simona*, also, shared her family story of deciding to shift to AA for their last sibling (Hamid, M, 9, OS), despite the resistance of the father to use Chaouia. She reports:

"When he was born everyone agreed to use AA with him. He was raised speaking it but now he can understand Chaouia too because my father uses Chaouia with him. He works in the capital so he comes only monthly. We tell him not to use Chaouia with *Hamid* but he does." (Simona, F, 19, OS)

For his mother, however,

"This helped him to achieve better results at school and made him more intelligent than his siblings […] Chaouia is type of 'talk' but only for us, no other region uses it and so we need to change to Arabic to communicate and understand each other." (Nowa, F, 48, OS)

These different attitudes towards different languages serve as a reference for shaping children's linguistic environment and future prospects. LS, respectively, becomes either a choice or a necessity. Many parents, and siblings too, find it unimportant to pass on Chaouia despite opportunities of bilingual upringing. The major reasons reported can be sorted into economic capital and negative social perceptions of Chaouia as a language of the countryside and a hindrance to upward mobility and success at school. On the other hand, the few cases of strong positive attitudes indicate awareness of shared norms, maintenance of tradition and historical identity. Chaouia, for this small group, is a symbol of pride that "strengthens family cohesion" (Schwartz, 2010: 175).

Considering the young generation, potential mothers had diverse opinions on the issue despite the fact that the majority stressed the importance of foreign languages, particularly English. In practice, these plans rarely take place and most of the partners, today, pass either AA or Chaouia or Both, with little exposure to French.

Nour: "I would like to pass the language of my husband whatever it is, but I have to focus on English so they become better than me."

SR: Oh! Do you think English as a first language is practical in Algeria?

Nour: "Yes, yes! It has been so long they are talking about it as the future language that will dominate everything in Algeria, work, trade and education. I want them to be ready." (F, 23, M)

Another newly married female disagrees on the immediate transmission of a foreign language but believes she can pass all the available languages:

> "I believe that passing Chaouia is a must; French is not subject to any doubts or comments as long as we are in Algeria, but for those who want to go ahead in life, English is the only key because the moment you leave the Algerian airport, no one will speak to you neither in Arabic nor in French." (Thaziri, F, 30, M)

On the other hand, potential fathers were indecisive about which language they would transmit first. While almost everyone commented '*I will pass my language*', the general feeling was that it is the responsibility of the mother to take that decision and provide best education for the children. Accordingly, women, as direct nurturers of their children look after the 'best' they can provide to their children whether opting for Arabic or foreign languages. Since Chaouia is presented as a language of confinement and backwardness in their collective conscience, it is reasonable for parents to distance their children from that. McDonald (1989), similarly, discusses how Brittany peasant women aspired to French as the language of "femininity", "urbanity" and "cultivation" and so hesitated to pass Breton to their children. One father (M, 50, B), passing AA and French to his children, summarised it:

> "Parents here decide not to speak Chaouia to their children so that they save them from the difficulties that they themselves had faced with Arabic, the language of social advancement for now."

These choices, in working class communities, directly affect language use. These adjustments of language behaviour, to Hassan (2009: 121), are a natural reaction to larger social conditions such as ethnic discrimination, mobility or gender role changes. Parents (actual or potential) show diverse attitudes towards languages used and transmitted at home. Although their decisions sometimes seem ambitious, they remain subject to pragmatic calculations and social pressures. Their emphasis on Arabic and English and refusal of French and Tamazight overall, however,

seem to limit their traditional repertoires and widen the gap between the young and the old generation.

5.7   Language use beyond the family

Crossing the family borders, I further look at language choices with neighbours, friends and colleagues as regular and immediate points of contact and socialisation to shed light on any influence they exert in mediating LM/LS. Table 5.7.13 summarises the results.

	Neighbours	Friends	Colleagues at work
AA	47%	59%	65%
	144	*179*	*197*
Ch	28%	12%	9%
	84	*38*	*27*
Both	24%	28%	20%
	72	*84*	*60*
Fr	1%	1%	3%
	3	*2*	*7*
Eng	0.3%	0.3%	-
	1	*1*	

Table 5.7.13 Language use with neighbours, friends and work colleagues.

In general, the use of Chaouia decreases from the proximal networks in the neighbourhood to friends to distant fellow workers, whereas the use of AA increases. While English is very rarely used, French is still present, particularly at work. SPSS returns age as the only significant factor to account for these differences (p=.0001), with a very weak correlation across the three domains.

In addition to the school domain (discussed in chapter 6) and friendship (discussed in chapter 7), language use in the 'countryside' and 'mosque' domains are of particular importance to report here.[36] First, the countryside has always been associated with Chaouia use and the following results in Table 5.7.14 support this argument. With the absolute majority reporting that Chaouia

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[36] For descriptive results on all domains investigated, check Appendix 7a: 8-16.

is the appropriate language to be used in rural areas and farms, one can argue that its links to rurality, backwardness and the agricultural life style as opposed to the sophistication of the urbanite are not surprising.

	Chaouia	AA	Both
Percentage	68 %	14 %	18 %
Frequency (N=304)	*206*	*41*	*57*

Table 5.7.14 Language use in the countryside.

Second, for the mosque domain, Table 5.7.15 reveals an interesting pattern of language use. Traditionally, SA is placed at the top of the hierarchy for religious teachings. However, prayer leaders (sing. *imām*) and attendees seem to favour AA nowadays. Some respondents even reported that the Friday sermon (*xuṭba*) is mostly delivered in AA and except the prayer itself, AA prevails (42% compared to 35% for SA). This invasion of one of the most conservative spaces for SA calls upon a re-consideration of the power status of the low variety and the expansion of its functionality.

	AA	SA	Both	Chaouia
Percentage	42%	35%	16%	7%
Frequency (N=200)	*84*	*70*	*32*	*14*

Table 5.7.15 Language use in the mosque.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a macro view of language use at the family level in Batna. Results indicated that Chaouia still features in the interactions of all age groups of both genders, across the three regions. Nevertheless, the analysis of language comprehension and production in Chaouia and AA showed a critical pattern of unstable bilingualism where the first continues to decline while AA rises to become the natural language choice, especially when different complex family roles (grandparent-father-mother-sibling-child) are displayed. By examining the inter/intra-

generational transmission of the language, it was clear that although Chaouia is dominant among the elder generation, its use is progressively diminishing, particularly at the intra-generational level of young people. An account of gender differences, further, demonstrated the young females' lead in the shift. As far as regionality was concerned, Ouled Sellam displayed the most conservative language behaviour because of its large rural nature, but also showed the most variation in language use with parents and the fastest pattern of shift among the young generation for different geographical and socio-economic reasons.

Following Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992) argument for "[t]hink practically and look locally", two main factors influencing Chaouia maintenance were highlighted: exogamy and language management at home. The growing appeal of exogamy in the community is triggering and triggered by rapid urbanisation and ethnic contact. Hence, the way parents negotiate language choice at home becomes diverse. Mothers (or females in general) are keen for their children to learn AA. Mothers seem to be the mediators of shift through a gendered socialisation pattern that encourages the use of AA among girls and accepts the use of Chaouia among boys. However, this language management at home does not always tend to be free because of the (older) siblings' effect, the presence of grandparents and extended family members, and the heterogeneity of the family. These factors seem to have a covert effect on the choice of language of interaction and transmission in the family, but also the flow of their attitudes.

Beyond the family domain, changes in language use are consistent with changes in social circumstances. The functional significance of Chaouia in an agricultural life mode decreases with the shift from farming to urbanisation and civil services where its symbolic capital has nothing to offer compared to other languages (Bourdieu, 1991). Also, the transition away from traditional

celebrations that aimed principally at strengthening the group ties and social capital limits the spaces for Chaouia practices even among its speakers.

In the light of the previous results, it can be concluded that the status of Chaouia is critical in its most intimate place for transmission; it is shifting slowly but steadily. The general tendency is young speakers, females and urbanites are more likely to promote the shift towards AA. The early-acquired habitus from the family socialisation is transported to school, where it is either reinforced or challenged. Having Tamazight in some schools gives the parents the chance to reinforce their linguistic repertoire and facilitate group identity awareness. Hence, the next chapter, devoted to language use at school, is an attempt to analyse the role of education in Chaouia maintenance/shift.

Chapter 6: Language Use at School

"The French colonisation spread its policy through the school. The medium was either French or Arabic and after independence, Algeria adopted the policy of Arabisation. Therefore, it is the school that controls everything. Decades passed and the government achieved its goals. They wanted to spread Arabic and they did that through education." (Massi, M, 32, B)

6.1   Introduction

Language policy (LP) deals with the resources allocated to each language and how they are implemented to introduce changes in the community (Fishman, 2006: 311). In the same line of thought, educational language policies (ELP), as a subset, attempt at regulating those resources and relations in classrooms to minimise the conflict between the actors of different backgrounds and histories. In Algeria, since 1962, the regime has used language as "a proxy for conflict" (Benrabah, 2013: 167); the school has become a "fertile ground for linguistic wars" (ibid: 54). A top-down approach of Arabisation was implemented with complete disregard of methodology and background. Consequently, the different languages were placed in a hierarchy to represent different capital and ideologies. Tamazight was a threat to national unity; Algerian Arabic was "a despicable pidgin made of a simplified mix of French and Arabic words" (Labidi, 2010, cited in Benrabah, 2013: 164). French continued to represent the colonial power and SA a symbol of unity and nationalism. However, after a long struggle and pressure from Imazighen, their language was recognised and introduced in some schools. Officialising it in 2016 was a clear illustration of how speech communities can affect language policy. Reactions to this bottom-up move, however, were unexpected and diverse. Accordingly, I shed light on whether introducing Tamazight into schools has served as a unifying strategy to the dispersed Berber communities across Algeria or a new 'dividing' policy through exploring the role of teaching Tamazight, previously restricted to rural

people, in rebuilding the symbolic value of the mother tongue as part of the North African identity (Hoffman, 2008).

This chapter presents some of the challenges for the current language-in-education policy in Algeria at the macro- and micro-levels through a discussion of language practices within the school community. It is composed of four main sections. First, it sheds light on the importance of studying the school domain in language shift and its critical place in Algeria after officialising Tamazight. Second, it addresses the general linguistic practices at school and focuses on the status of SA and Algerian Arabic (AA) in the classroom and their diverse perception in relation to purity, religion and usefulness. The third section explores the situation of Tamazight teaching and attitudes towards its status at school, script management and challenges of implementation at different levels; I finish the section with a brief overview of the community's local response and their views on how to preserve the language. Finally, I discuss the place of multilingualism and briefly tackle the attitudes towards French and English in the milieu. In doing so, reference to historical, political and socio-economic facts is established, when necessary, because of their large impact on the site of this study.

6.2   The school community

The sites of the present study are three public middle schools located in the periphery of the three regions (i.e., Ouled Sellam, Merouana, & Keshida). They have recently implemented the programme of teaching Tamazight; the majority of students attending them are from a rural background. This programme is not bilingual education; Tamazight is simply an optional subject. The sites were not easily accessible; thus, they were formally approached (see sections 4.2 and 4.6). When permission was granted, I was able to enter the institutions as a researcher with equal access to most facilities and interact with several staff members within the boundaries of the school's regulations. My fieldwork included observations in classrooms (about 20 hours) as well

as teachers' meetings and parents' reception events, questionnaires and interviews with students, teachers, directors as well as the head of the programme of teaching Tamazight in the province.

Reasons behind my interest in the school domain are many. First, there are few studies, if any, of Tamazight language use in classrooms in Algeria. This research hopes to contribute to this literature and to the ways in which language policy is performed in classrooms. Second, the high contact has brought about a unique mixture of ethnolinguistic groups in this one domain. The school in these regions is a composite community of Chaouia, Kabyle, Arabophone and Francophone teachers. Put differently, the school community is very diverse and multilingual. Arabophones, Francophones and different Imazighen work together in one setting to teach both Arabs and Berbers (Chaouias). Nevertheless, each of them comes with certain linguistic preferences and ideologies and students become 'vulnerable' individuals in this clash. The situation generated new polarised debates between supporting Tamazight and finalising the Arabisation of all domains. Third, headmasters and teachers -as policy actors- are central in reproducing inequalities and ideologies of exclusion and subordination through the implementation of policy, challenging or transforming the official discourse (Valdiviezo, 2009: 61). While the government introduces these policies, the teachers guide and control its use in the classroom. Their views and practices are important in shaping the local understanding of social structures and contesting the traditional linguistic hierarchy. Fishman (2006: 320) argues that education, as a long obligatory process focused on young people, is both an "agency" and a "highly irreversible language-shift mechanism" for literacy in a certain language (usually formal and written). Therefore, Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) rightly identify classrooms, in multilingual settings, as significant sites for the production and reproduction of cultural identity and social inequality (see Section 3.2.3.2). A failure in accepting this diversity would have dramatic effects on the community, including language shift, hence, the necessity for understanding the complexities of implementation at a local level using a socio-political lens.

Fishman explicitly warns against concentrating too much on educational institutions, noting that "schools are normally programmed and not inter-generational, and mother-tongues are inter-generational and not programmed […] they have almost completely opposite constellations of forces" (1996:192). However, schools are crucial as a locus for ideological clarifications and a good place to create prestige for the language and self-esteem among the speakers, both Imazighen and Arabs, to complement the home initiatives. Although home is vital in maintaining their language, participants claim that state compulsory education through Arabic has largely influenced their linguistic repertoires.

> "When I entered the first year at school, I was the only person with my friend who did not know Arabic. I knew only Chaouia, but now I have lost Chaouia because I was obliged to use Arabic all the time at school. I was afraid of my teacher. They used to hit us, you know!" (Ibrahim, M, 30, M)

An elderly informant, speaking of her experience in a Quranic school after independence, reported soldiers had regular visits to the place to force them to adopt Arabic. One important medium was 'cutting' their long hair, the symbol of the beauty of Berber women. To her understanding, that was an act of liberation and end of colonialism. Nevertheless, this decolonising movement seems to reproduce a renewed colonialism represented in assimilation, humiliation as well as punishment, similar to many colonial techniques used before with indigenous people (Hamidi & Kanapé-Fontaine, 2018; Monchalin, 2016; Samson and Gigoux, 2017). Although this might have not been a common practice, it remains important to question some of the historical practices against Berber women.

> "You cannot say No to them. All they kept saying is 'speak Arabic, speak Arabic!', and so we continued with Arabic. When I grew up and married at 16 and had my elder son, they told me I have to teach him Arabic so he can find schooling easier later on, and so I did!" (Bedja, F, 69, M)

6.3   Language use and preferences at school

The questionnaire reveals that the most widely self-reported language used at school is SA, followed by AA with a difference of 5% (see Table 6.3.1). This reflects the dominance of SA in classrooms as the predetermined target for Arabisation, yet it also demonstrates the strong competition from AA. This latter is invading the domain and challenging the linguistic hierarchy which has always marginalised local varieties. The line between the usage of AA and SA at school is never clear-cut.

Language	SA	AA	Ch	Both (AA/Ch)	Fr	Eng
Use	40%	35%	6%	9%	8%	2%

Table 6.3.1 General use of languages at school.

Although, theoretically, diglossia favours SA in this setting and teachers frequently refer to Islam to consolidate the ideological link of SA with religion, it is rather the dialect that dominates their students' interactions and responses. AA is widely used as a medium of explanation for other subjects, even in classes of Arabic itself. Throughout my observations, teachers of Arabic insist on explaining in SA but shift to AA when they reproach their pupils or when they require attention. Students, with more than seven years of exposure to SA by this time, still constantly apply AA rules and lexicon into their use of SA. As can be noticed in Table 6.3.1, the use of Chaouia, French and English is very limited; they account for less than 10% of the general usage. The use of both codes, i.e. AA and Chaouia, is also inconsiderable (9%).

Differences of use across age groups and genders are, however, insignificant (p>.05). Descriptive data, though, show a small difference in terms of the preference of Chaouia among males and Arabic among females. Males feel less threatened to use Chaouia at school (see Appendix 7b: 1-2). Interestingly, the correlation between region and language use turns out to be statistically significant (X^2=48.829, p=.0001; Cramer's V=.29; r=.15). While SA is the language favoured in

Merouana, Chaouia is still mainly present in Ouled Sellam in the school domain. AA, on the other hand, is largely used across the three schools but particularly in Keshida (see Appendix 7b: 3).

When asked '*which language would you prefer to be used as a medium of instruction in your local school?*' the following responses in Table 6.3.2 were provided. SA and AA are the most favoured languages. English, most importantly, scores higher than French and standard Tamazight (here MZG) for reasons to be discussed in Section 6.12.

Language	SA	AA	MZG	Ch	Fr	Eng
Preference	30.3%	28.3%	9.2%	7.2%	10.2%	14.8%

Table 6.3.2 Preferences for the medium of education.

As far as gender is concerned, it is statistically significant (X^2=30.041, p=.0001) but weakly correlates with linguistic preferences for the medium of education (Cramer's V=.31; r= -.09). Figure 6.3.1 demonstrates that while males seem to favour the use of Tamazight and Chaouia, along with both foreign languages after Arabic, females primarily prefer SA and AA but show little interest in Tamazight and Chaouia.
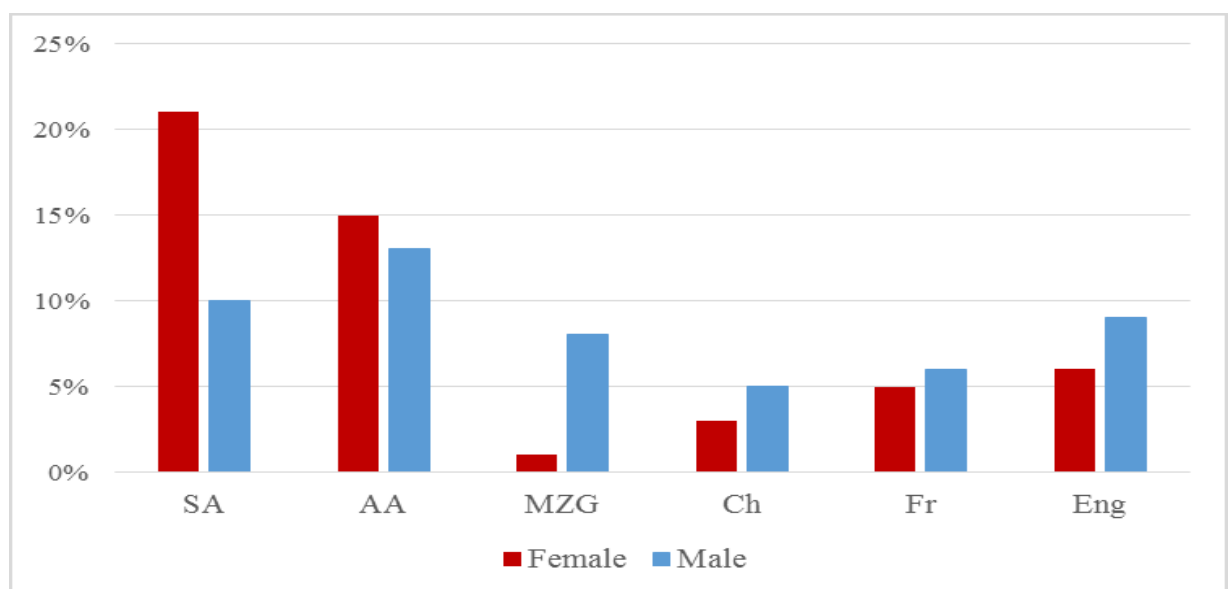
Figure 6.3.1 Preferences of the medium of education across males and females.

This is the result of a number of factors. First, females are more likely to be subject to ridicule when using Chaouia in public, most of the times, by female peers themselves. Compared to males, females strongly feel pride in consolidating their competence in Arabic. Second, the majority of teachers agree on the fact that it is rare to hear girls using Chaouia whether inside or outside the classroom, while it is not surprising to receive answers in Chaouia from boys. Doubtless, this has generated many accounts of males mocking their female colleagues for 'showing off' with Arabic. This, nevertheless, did not affect their practices, especially since they are constantly praised by their teachers for following the rules and being 'respectful'. These practices, thus, reinforce and feed back the already-established gendered socialisation patterns at home.

> *Mas*: "Here everything changed. Women are Chaouias but they speak Arabic and they teach it to their daughters. They see it as a source of shame. The girls in my class understand what I say in Chaouia, but reply in Arabic. Their parents use Arabic with them, but they can still understand because their brothers speak Chaouia. They speak Arabic, but of course they capture some Chaouia from the environment even if they cannot speak it."
> *SR*: But why would boys speak Chaouia and girls use Arabic?
> *Mas*: "It's because boys spend most of their time outside. They mix a lot with those who speak Chaouia or Arabic or Kabyle. It is not like the girls. They stay a lot at home with their mothers and if their mothers prefer Arabic then they just learn that." (Mas, M, 28, OS)

Based on teachers' views, for a pupil to address their teacher with Chaouia at school is to show disrespect. For any teacher, except Tamazight teachers, to use Chaouia with their students is to show unprofessionalism and sometimes 'intimacy' that should not be promoted in this setting. Many students were discouraged when using it in my presence; others were penalised. Language, therefore, is used to perform authority and exhibit respect depending on the roles. Students, accordingly, internalise these values associated with each language within the school system but sometimes carry them outside too. Surely, not all students were passive in receiving this discourse; I witnessed many boys, in particular, challenging it in different ways. However, teachers' support for females' performance and praise for their 'good attitude and respect', while at the same time shaming boys when using their mother tongue is in itself a positioning of attitude. Teachers are

indirectly reproducing the perception of Arabic as the language of power and control in the classroom environment and reinforcing the low status of local languages. From Bourdieu's perspective, these power dynamics and relations at school only mirror the state's already-established policies and relations of domination that were internalised by the larger society and transformed to the school environment (Adjoe, 2007: 164) (see Section 6.8).

As a researcher in the setting, my language practices were similarly monitored by these power dynamics at different levels with regards to my role and my interlocutors. In one school, before I attended the first class of Tamazight, the headmaster decided to accompany me to set a scene of 'respect'. He introduced me to the class using Arabic, but also told students that I speak Tamazight. In that situation I had to decide about the language to use; I was not sure whether the headmaster is a speaker of Tamazight. Nevertheless, I used Chaouia because the class was for Tamazight and the teacher has never used Arabic with me. When I was introduced to the teachers, who are almost all Chaouias, in their common room, however, I opted for Arabic. Surprisingly though, when the same students whom I addressed in Chaouia used it with me in another class of Arabic while I was standing with their teacher, I remained silent for awhile then responded in Algerian Arabic when the teacher reminded them to be 'respectful'. In fact, I realised I was not able to escape the socialisation norms of the setting and had to explain my positions whenever I violated them.

6.4 Attitudes towards SA vs. AA

The conflict between SA and AA goes back to the late 1960s. With the deep deficiency of Algerians in SA, the regime hired a large number of Arabic tutors from the Middle East to 'correct' the Arabic of Algerians. AA was strictly monitored in schools to allow space for SA. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Education banned its use in teaching in 2010 (Benrabah, 2013: 165), AA continues to spread (see Section 2.5.2).

Informants show diverse attitudes towards AA. Although everyone values its uniqueness, the majority agree it is harsh and loud, hybrid and incomplete, and therefore difficult to learn compared to other Arabic dialects, for many reasons. Opinions range between impurity, also reported previously by Benrabah (2007), unity, flexibility, and creativity. *Leen* and *Sami* reflect common narratives among the young people. Although friends, they have very different opinions regarding what AA represents for them.

> "It is the Colloquial Arabic, the language of the whole population, a language that has been asked by the minister of education to be taught in our schools; it is the special language here in Algeria that we all understand and use despite its many varieties." (Leen, F, 23, M)

> "There is no such thing as Algerian Arabic. There is an academic, but socially dead Arabic that the system uses in courts and mosques but no actual Arabic outside the system's institutions. What you are talking about is just a mixture of languages that we label 'dārja'." (Sami, M, 25, B)

Lynda summarises the conflicting attitudes towards AA as a unique but strange code for her. This is an example of hegemonic thinking that reflects double consciousness; participants seem to accept the common myths and criticisms of AA but still use them to create a positive attitude towards its use. Many of the interviewees report that it is a very important part of the Algerian identity and still admit their lack of proficiency in SA and its impracticality in daily life.

> "Dārja (AA), for me, is Arabic and French. It is both languages in one. It is an alien dialect. I do not know if I consider it a language in the first place. It has no history, but it is uniting us. I like it though, as it is simpler than the standard. We have an issue with using SA '*un complexe*', half of the population have an issue with using French, and not everyone can speak English. I don't know how we created it but it's our own language." (Lynda, F, 25, B)

> "AA is the most important in Algeria. SA, no! It is very rare to hear someone using it. Only those who specialised in Arabic can speak it. I cannot speak it and I can still do anything I want; it is not a necessity here." (Lamin, M, 21, M)

As far as the classroom context is concerned, a puristic attitude still prevails. SA is often favoured and students report being obliged to stick to its use and being constantly reminded of the inferior position of AA.

> "AA is what we use outside. We cannot use it inside the classroom. If the teacher hears it,

or Chaouia, she dismisses us. Even with the person who speaks AA, you have to reply in SA. One day I forgot and I used AA, and the teacher penalised me." (Rama, F, 13, OS)

For teachers, particularly of Arabic, SA represents beauty and prestige. In an interview with a Chaouia teacher of Arabic, I intentionally raised the issue of language as part of identity, having noticed the informant never used Chaouia with me. Her main argument centres on education but also the challenge that AA is imposing its way into classrooms which has become an issue of concern to most teachers.

> *Mira*: "I like Arabic. I am not talking about eliminating my identity, but the necessity obliges me. Look at French and English for example; we are in a Chaouia society, but when two people are speaking, they sometimes switch to French or English. Why? It is part of the culture. It is part of the culture and may be even for prestige to show that we know some French, we know how to speak English and many people do it for this reason. But for me, when I speak Arabic, I speak it because it is the language of schooling. And when I, as a teacher, go to my classroom I prefer all my students to use SA, not AA."
> *SR*: Why?
> *Mira*: "Why? How come a lecturer with their status and with students at a university level use AA? We must not teach with AA; we must use SA. You know that the more the teacher uses AA, the more we jeopardise SA, and this is one of the reasons even Classical Arabic disappeared, because people do not use it daily." (Mira, F, 34, B)

SA and religion

In addition to the old dominant belief that AA is 'not pure', some informants, further, support their claims for SA with religion (see sections 6.5; 6.7; 6.8). Identifying SA as the language of the Quran (Classical Arabic), participants argue that it should be given more prestige than any other language. This discourse could be analysed as a case of Gal and Irvine's notion of fractal recursivity (see Section 3.2.3.4). Having used Arabic and Islam as resisting forces against colonialism, the symbolic value of the language was strengthened after independence through placing religion at the top of the pyramid of Algerian national identity.

Nevertheless, some participants articulate their stance on this religious political ideology arguing that it is utilised to 'silence' Berbers, and consequently their culture (including language). A

respondent, *Ali,* recognises the value of multilingualism in the religious discourse and blames the Arab nationalism for working against the recognition of Berber, a similar argument to what El-Aissati (2005: 65) reports.

> "[The issue of language] is not related to religion. I studied Islam and its interpretations. It has nothing to do with Quran. Allah says I created you diverse in ethnicity and languages. Indonesia is the largest Muslim country and they are not Arabs. There is no verse in Quran to say you should speak Arabic. It does not exist. Arabs want to put religion in the conflict to claim Arabic is better. But No! They cannot deceive me […] Religions are for all people […] Arabs want to link the Arab identity with religion to strengthen their ideology." (Ali, M, 50, M)

Having the link between Arabic and Islam repeatedly established in my participants' discourse, it is worth highlighting the role of schools in channelling this argument/ideology (see Section 4.4.5). Assid (2000: 77) sheds light on the critical place of schools, alongside media, as domains that allow a quick transfer of the official political religious discourse. Ennaji (2005: 217), further, stresses that "schools, as agents of the State, have dedicated their efforts to assimilating the Berber population through the promotion of Islam and the policy of Arabisation".

While Arabic appears to be portrayed as 'sacred' to increase its symbolic value through Islam, Tamazight is viewed as a "threat", "competitor" for Arabic and a "colonial project" that aims at keeping the Muslims separated (Almasude, 2014: 137; Assid, 2000: 17, El-Aissati, 2005: 66). This long utilisation of religion in the political discourse stimulated different responses in Algeria and has driven some Berbers towards secularism (Belmihoub, 2012: 5).

> "The source of the conflict here, even in our schools, is not linguistic but religious. These activists are against Islam, and so are against Algeria as a unified country. Teachers of Tamazight are influenced by this ideology too." (Krimo, M, 55, B)

On one hand, the central belief is that speaking Arabic 'the language of Quran' is necessary for a 'proper' Islamic practice and a code for nationalism. Identity, in this regard, is manifested through

linguistic and religious symbolism (see Section 5.3 on reasons for marriage preferences). This tendency was frequent in some discourses of my participants, particularly females and some middle-aged males.

> "Islam is above all. Islam is above Tamazight. What is the benefit of this language compared to Arabic? We do not want to be separated by these ideas of language and identity. They don't matter anyway!" (Rachid, M, 56, B)

> "It does not matter if I am Amazigh. I am Muslim and it is Arabic that unifies us." (Thaziri, F, 30, M)

> "I am an Arab anyway. We are all Amazigh arabised by Islam, and so I do prefer to be an Arab like the Prophet." (Malak, F, 14, OS)

On the other hand, Amazigh activists generally tend to use the culture framework to support their secular claims and in order to gain local support. Thus, "culture remains a safe space of convergence between the devout and the agnostic, between Berber speakers of all ideological slants" (Silverstein, 2012: 349). In an informal conversation with me, one of the former Berber activists argued that their secular stance is political.

> "You cannot separate the issue of Tamazight from politics and religion. Most of my friends now believe that there is no God […]. In their families, they never raise the issue. Ethics are more important than religion. The Berber movement misled some a lot, and taught us a lot too […] It is hard to control feelings, and how Arabs perceive us." (Idir, M, 42, M)

The main reason behind this secularist ideology of some Berber activists is the politicisation of the language-religion issue and the unclear cut between them in schools. In this setting, most teachers of Arabic also teach 'religious education'. Benrabah (2004b:63) observes that if religion per se is not to blame, its manipulation in education can lead to the emergence of divergent ideologies. States have always been misusing important domains to direct collective identity and religious nationalism in accordance with their interests (e.g. Conway, 2003; Lowry, fc.).

My daily observations and dialogues in the field support Benrabah's (2013) claim that young people are more religious than elders. In fact, the young generation serves as a current reference

for their parents and grandparents in issues related to Islamic practice. In most families, elders report that their exposure to 'true' Islam was through their children's education, hence, associating schools with trust and the end of ignorance in the community. The school, therefore, has become not only a medium to 'correct' the linguistic practices at home, but also the religious ones.

> "I no longer know what is true and wrong. We have our own traditions and your generation has its own. Everyday, my grandchildren point out I am doing things in the wrong way. Everything has become forbidden. It is not my fault; this is how we have been raised. You know they say that my tattoos are a sin and I gave all my jewellery to charity seeking forgiveness. Everything changed with this generation […] but they are educated; they say they have learnt this at school." (Baya, F, 80, OS)

> "We live with the little that we know. We did not learn. We did not know religion. We are cursed anyway, but we lived in peace." (Said, M, 76, M)

> "You see my grandmother! She prays in Chaouia; she lies and she swears. She is just mixing up everything […] I keep telling her about all these useless practices, but she does not listen. She says it is our tradition, but she does not know it is forbidden." (Lunja, F, 19, B)

Moreover, differences of perception across females and males are apparent across age groups. While elder women seem to enjoy a secular heritage, the young ones are projecting a religious character. Sadiqi (2016: 50) argues "women give faith meanings that make them comfortable". For some young Chaouia women, the veil for example is a way "to demonstrate that they possess religious knowledge and morality, which guarantee for them the respect that their unemployed brothers cannot have" (Oussedik, 1999: 193). This pressure to accommodate to the larger society might be the result of the prestige associated with Arabic. Hockett (1958: 404) provides three types of the process: people "emulate those whom they admire", or wish to be "identified with" a group of people, or seek "conformity with the majority". The second two reasons are more likely to justify the choices of some young Chaouia females being in an Arabic-speaking majority that enjoys larger social privileges. On the other hand, elder males had some access to religious teaching as an oral tradition, but still do not seem to succeed in transferring that to their partners and families. It is not uncommon to notice some young adults criticising the religious discourse

and prioritising their cultural background. What is noticeable, though, is the large social transition and the divergent practices of males and females, elders and young people in the Chaouia society.

To sum up with religion as a potential explanatory variable for Chaouia maintenance or shift, there are two main points to stress. First, while the majority of Berbers accept that Islam as a religion is not to be blamed, they take an opposing view against the use of religious discourse in politics in the country. It could be inferred from the data that the participant's call for a secular state is driven by a will to end the ideological conflict initiated by Arabisation. Put differently, they, as Berbers, are not against Islam per se, but against Arabic being iconic to religion and hence imposed as sacred. Second, these attitudes towards religion are hard to test, and making judgements about Berbers' beliefs is not an objective here. Equally important, the difference in the perception of Islam across ethnicities is not clear and requires a further investigation that is beyond the scope of the current study. Above all, it should be emphasised that religion remains not the only explanation for Berbers' movement for linguistic rights. It is unclear whether some Berbers, particularly activists, maintain their language just because they do not like to associate with Arabs and Islam, or whether the opposition they show is the outcome of their more secularly-oriented ideologies. This line of argumentation should be approached cautiously when a generalisation on the Berber community and religion as an influencing factor on LM/LS is made, since not all Berbers who maintain their language take the same stance. Quandt (1998: 106) rightly argues that if we have to use Islam to explain such positions, then we must analyse more politics than religion. What is clear, though, is that religious languages can be exploited to serve nonreligious discourses (Darquennes and Vandenbussche, 2011: 7). We will see this dynamic play out in schools again in the sections to follow.

6.5 Tamazight as an official language

Responses to the officialising Tamazight among Chaouias are diverse. While many welcomed the idea after a long struggle, others showed hostile attitudes towards a decision that, for them, did not consider a national consensus. For the second group, Tamazight is still a rival to Arabic and Islam. This is because of its misuse in the political discourse and lack of appropriate language planning.

> "It is a mere symbol. Tamazight is a mere symbol. It means nothing to me. I started to hear about it only recently with politics." (Mira, F, 34, B)

> "Making it an official language is good so no one will forget it. Our grandparents say that it will die with time, as we are not using it nowadays. In the old days it was widely used. But now, it will die. So it is a good step, but not at the expense of Arabic, not at the expense of Islamic teachings, No!" (Celine, F, 23, M)

> *Thaziri*: "They should not have made it an official language. We are in an Islamic country, Arabic should be the only official language. Yes, I am obliged to learn other languages, but they should not put any other language next to our mother tongue. Arabic should be the only language."
> *SR*: But you are Amazigh.
> *Thaziri*: "Even though. Islam is above that." (Thaziri, F, 30, M)

Some other informants were worried about the unplanned speed of the process and the lack of awareness about Tamazight language and culture that would further hinder its development. This group, although confident the top-down approach previously succeeded in arabising many Berbers, do not think that in the case of Tamazight it can reverse the shift. Their argument is that, except for its elevation to an official status, little has been noticed for its use and integration in public domains. To many of them, this step is a mere 'political' move to silence the Berbers' uprisings and ensure their participation in national elections.

> "The problem with the policy is that they were in a rush to put it as an official language without having any background or readiness to apply that. I am Chaoui; this friend of mine is Chaoui but we do not know how to write our names in Tamazight, this is the least I can talk about. They officialised it just to silence us but they took no step to develop it." (Ibrahim, M, 30, M)

"Tamazight is an official language, then what? A language without a dictionary, without media, nothing! Did they develop anything new to improve it? Did they re-name their children and regions with Amazigh names? Nothing at all. It is an official language in the constitution and that is the end of the story." (Dihya, F, 30, M)

Interestingly, when participants were asked about '*the current official languages in Algeria*', few people considered Tamazight as 'official' (10%), an equal score to French. The lack of institutional support for Tamazight and its low presence in media proves its continuous marginalisation, whether as a national or official language. The increasing usage of AA among politicians to compensate their low competence in SA also proves sufficient for the participants to select AA as an official language with 24% responses second after SA, with 55% (see Appendix 7b: 4).

Despite being statistically insignificant (p>.05), the descriptive data show a slightly better awareness of the current official languages among males than females. Age, on the other hand, turns out to be significant with a very weak correlation (X^2 =21.540; p=.04; Cramer's V=.15; r= -.023). The younger generation ranked AA and French higher than Tamazight . Although region is returned as insignificant (p>.05), Merouana demonstrates high awareness of Tamazight as an official language, potentially because of the noticeable presence of Berber activists in this region (see Appendix 7b: 5-7).

6.6 Tamazight: obligatory or optional?

With Tamazight as an official language, the learning/teaching of the language is expected to be obligatory all over the Algerian territory. However, Tamazight is usually anchored on the periphery of the school day, after all the mandatory classes. This end-of-the-day position of the class is problematic, as several teachers explained, because the pupils who might attend class are already 'very tired' or 'overburdened'. The majority still have a long walk home, and endure the commuting problem between schools and rural areas, where most students learning the language

actually come from, especially in winter conditions.

Furthermore, the response of the sample is not in favour of the programme. Answers to the question '*Do you want Tamazight to be obligatory or optional?*' show that the majority of respondents (69%) want the language to remain an optional subject. While age and region are insignificant (p=.34 and p=.11 respectively), gender is a major explanatory factor. As expected, females were the majority against placing Tamazight as an obligatory subject (X^2=27.973, p=.0001; Cramer's V=.3; r= -.3). The difference in opinions across gender is clear; females are not in favour of Tamazight spread; Figure 6.6.2 and the quotes to follow demonstrate that.
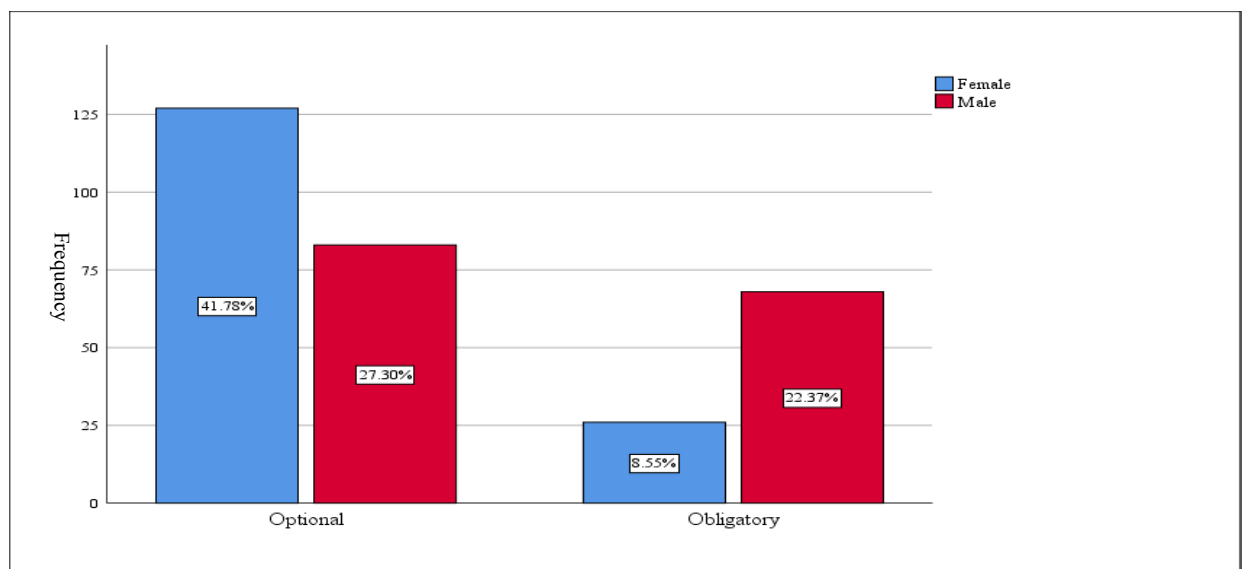
Figure 6.6.2 Responses to teaching Tamazight across gender.

"It should be optional. Everyone has an opinion; we cannot impose it on those who do not like it. When we leave it optional, people might want to learn it." (Celine, F, 23, M)

"I want it to be obligatory because everyone will learn it and every teacher will feel comfortable. Now as it is optional, pupils do not want to study it." (Musa, M, 52, B)

Lara: "No, I will not learn it. I do not like it. I do not like Chaouia and I hate the way it sounds. I just do not like it and I have no intention to learn it. My parents told me if it was implemented at school I can learn it, but I said No! I can learn any language but not this."
SR: What if it was compulsory at schools?
Lara: "If it was obligatory I will learn it; if not, I will never." (Lara, F, 14, M)

Considering this strong resistance, particularly among the young generation, some informants

question if the school should give the choice of taking Tamazight classes to students, who know very little about their identity and whose parents are away from the educational discourse.

> "If you look at the human nature, we are lazy. We prefer to be idle and if they say for example you can choose whether to learn French or not, the students would say: 'No, we will not'. If all modules were optional, none will opt for anything. But for me now that it has been officialised, they should not keep Tamazight optional. When it comes to an official language, there is no choice." (Moudi, M, 28, M)

> "When we suggest this subject for students they say: Tamazight is optional and there is no obligation for us to study it." (Krimo, M, 55, B)

6.7   Tamazight script and (re)activating the conflict

The choice of the alphabet "on the surface may seem just an esoteric choice for language specialists to make, but in fact is highly political" (Paulston and Heidemann, 2006: 300). Whose voice counts in the choice of the script is a vital point for language planning at school. The conflict between programme administrators, school directors, teachers, parents and students' interests continues to re-activate and feed the conflict between Arabs and Imazighen. Teachers, who are the direct link in making room for language maintenance, identify themselves as powerless in the face of school headmasters, and students' reluctance to join Tamazight classes poses many pedagogical frustrations. The 'choice model' followed by the government falls short in responding to these conflicting needs. In fact, the majority of language teachers and school directors I interviewed perceived the other key actors in the curriculum - the parents - as not involved in or as informed about school life as the policy makers assume.

Script	Arabic	Latin	Tifinagh
Preference	50%	22%	28%

Table 6.7.3 Preferences for the script of Tamazight in school.

Table 6.7.3 demonstrates the reported preferences of which script should be used for writing Tamazight in the school. The Arabic script scores 50%, rendering it the most favoured in the

milieu. Gender is returned as the only statistically significant variable in the choice of script (X^2= 22.17; p=.0001; Cramer's V=.27; r= -.27). The majority of females were in favour of the Arabic script (32%); 10% of them opted for Latin and 9% for Tifinagh. On the other hand, 19% of males favour Tifinagh to maintain the originality of the language, then Arabic (18%) to have an easy access, and finally Latin (13%) (see Appendix 7b: 8).

In a discussion with some former activists, they argued that Tifinagh is as important to Tamazight as Tamazight language is important to the Berber identity and they should not be separated. Culture, language and script, for them, are complementary components for the complete revitalisation of the language. However, Berber activists across Algerian communities do not speak with the same voice and demands.

In fact, the debate around orthographic written representation of Berber is mainly ideological (Benrabah, 2013: 165). The ministry of education seemingly provides manuals in the three scripts for five Tamazight varieties: Kabyle, Chaouia, Mzab, Chenua, and Tamasheq; no materials are provided for the other half-dozen varieties of Tamazight spoken in Algeria. However, the state favours the Arabic script for maintaining Arabo-Islamic values; the majority of Tamazight teachers favour Latin for 'modernity' and most Touaregs remain faithful to Tifinagh for its 'authenticity' despite the fact that Adam (2017: 304) found that its usage is very limited among Libyan Touaregs.

> "Instructions of the Ministry state that Tamazight is optional. If pupils want it with Arabic, use that; if they want it with Latin use that! There is no agreement. The decision should be top-down, to impose which script to use. Now in BEM [GCSE], the exam is provided in the three scripts and students chose; the same for the Baccalaureate exam." (Nouri, M, 50, B)

In 2008, when Tamazight was introduced in Batna, teachers were obliged to use the Arabic script while their colleagues in Kabylia were using the Latin orthography; this echoes the strategies explained in the Chaouia Myth framework (see Section 2.7.3).

SR: Is it a problem at all that Berber groups in Algeria are using different scripts?

Ali: "It really hinders the development of Tamazight. It is a great problem. It is the weakest point that Arabs use to refuse officialising Tamazight. The solution is that before they decide about whether to teach it in Arabic, Latin or Tifinagh, it should be obligatory in all schools. It is a must. When it spreads, we can decide about what is best for them. It should not be viewed as doing a favour when they opt for Tamazight, they should consider it as mathematics; it is their language." (Ali, M, 50, M)

In the next section, I present the reasons behind the preference of each script from different perspectives: the programme's administrator, teachers, parents and students in the speech community under investigation.

6.7.1   Arabic

I came across one class only, in the three regions, which was using the Arabic script in the pilot study (April 2017) but it shifted to the Latin one when I went back for the fieldwork (September 2017). Nevertheless, along with many students who found the Arabic script easier than the other options, the programme's administrator also argued in favour of the Arabic orthography.

Yasser: "the most suitable script for writing Tamazight, from a pragmatic, spiritual and phonological perspective is the Arabic. The Arabic script is the best choice."
SR: What do you mean by spiritual?
Yasser: "spiritual means its appropriateness with the Algerian culture. We are, as Algerians, closer to the Arabic culture than to the western secular culture. Spiritually, culturally, and traditionally we are closer to easterners. We have the problem of the same future *maṣīr muštarak*. We have the same religion." (Yasser, M, 48, B)

6.7.2   Latin

All teachers across the three schools supported the use of Latin script as the official orthography for Tamazight for many reasons. Although some of them were ideological, they seem to agree on the practicality of the Latin script, being the medium of their professional training and the code for some previous research on the language. Worth mentioning here is that the only teacher who was

using the Arabic script (in the pilot) also favoured the Latin one, and sent his child to the classroom where the Latin script is used instead of the Arabic one.

> "For me, I prefer the Latin script. Why? Because it opens space for internationality; it is better than the Arabic script. The Arabic one is hated because of its speakers, this is the truth! […] But the Latin script provides a chance for Tamazight's spread." (Ali, M, 50, M)

> "In 2014, they sent us an instruction to use the Arabic script. We were about 80 teachers. We were trained with the Latin script and we cannot teach with the Arabic one. All researches about Tamazight, since 1800, are written in Latin script. Why did we opt for Latin orthography? Being Francophones or Anglophones, everyone can understand the Latin script. There are only 5 or 6 new letters to learn. So this is easier, but when it comes to Arabic, we need to throw out all those researches and start from the beginning." (Moudi, M, 28, M)

On the other hand, the head of the programme showed many worries regarding cultural change and secularism due to adopting the Latin script. This seems to feed into the general discourse portraying Tamazight as a pathway to secularism and westernisation. The script, in this regard, is recursively linked to French language and culture and so another policy of 'colonisation'.

> *Yasser*: "The justifications they gave for the use of Latin are that we face a problem in learning foreign languages and the Latin script will help learners to like them. This is the first excuse […] when we use Latin it secures that the language gets a better future. This is for the group's benefits. This is the second excuse that is pragmatic as Latin script is widespread in Europe and so it is better than the Arabic script. Now, we say 'the language is the box of culture' so when we speak a language we will become like those people over time, whether in our behaviour, belief or traditions. This is a necessity, whether we wanted or not; everything changes with time."
> *SR*: But Tamazight is a spoken language and the script is just a medium.
> *Yasser*: "Look at the northern part of Algeria, their traditions are so western. They eat individually, not with each other; their styles of clothing are like westerners. Their haircuts too. The language, through time, really affects the behaviour. It is a long-term process, but it has a deep influence, it does not appear in two or ten years" (Yasser, M, 48, B)

Noticeble here is that despite the fact that the programme is theoretically based on students' choice, teachers are eventually the ones who shape the local acquisition planning. Regardless of the pressure they receive from the official bodies and school directors, Latin orthography is the

predominant one. Interestingly enough, the preference of Latin script is not uncommon among Algerians even when writing in AA. In an investigation of the language of text messaging in Algeria, Benrabah (2013: 83) finds that young Algerians have a clear preference of Latinised representations even of Arabic. The main reasons behind that are the dominance of Latin script in media, mobile and laptop operators. Also, the increasing use of graffiti played a major role in publicising for that, especially after the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa.

6.7.3   Tifinagh

The choice of Tifinagh by some participants, especially parents, is motivated by preserving the originality of the language and its resilience to have survived over centuries. However, these individuals feel that without strong support from the government, its implementation will remain merely a hope, and the ideological conflict will continue to grow in favour of two scripts that are 'strange' to the Algerian landscape. The following extracts demonstrate how some participants link the script to its language.

> "It has a script and it should be taught with Tifinagh, its original script. This is it! But the young people do not want Tifinagh. There is no solution. As long as it is an official language, they should decide about which script to be used [...] but it should be Tifinagh; it has to be taught with its script." (Musa, M, 52, B)

> "I prefer Tifinagh. What is the point of learning my language with another language's script? It is as if I am learning that language instead. I prefer Tifinagh because it is the original script of it." (Ibrahim, M, 30, M)

The above opposing views and puristic attitudes, however, may hinder the success of the efforts to promote Tamazight in classrooms (Dorian, 1994: 479). Although the first results of national exams in Tamazight showed a high potential and the three schools scored no less than 80% success, the programme still faces many challenges due to the lack of resources and support network. In the following section, I touch on three aspects of this educational reform, which represent major

pedagogical shortcomings and challenges to Tamazight at school, namely, identity awareness, teachers and directors' attitudes, and medium of instruction.

6.8   Tamazight *di lakul*: outstanding challenges

Identity awareness and educators' attidudes:

The initial problem all teachers of Tamazight face is identity awareness among their students. The young generation perceives itself as Arab. The following quotes not only identify the crucial role of schools in creating a 'false' identity in the community but also highlight the strong link between Arabisation and Islamisation. Religion has constantly been used to index an 'Arab' identity (see Section 6.4).

> "The majority perceive themselves as Arabs or at least convince themselves so. They followed 'religion' for so long and that is the result [...] Religion is becoming their identity. There are few who know they are Imazighen!" (Moudi, M, 28, M)

> "Before joining Tamazight classes, students did not know anything about their history. They are not aware. They believe they are Arabs and that is the problem. I ask them and they say 'I am an Arab' […] this is what they learn at the Algerian school. I am trying to explain to you. We have been taught that we are Arabs, true ones, and we have no language and no religion but one." (Ali, M, 50, M)

In addition, the attitudes of the school community towards teaching Tamazight is essential in the success or failure of the policy. It is no surprise that classroom practitioners are positioned "at the heart of language policy" (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 417), upon which multicultural education can succeed (Nhlekisana, 2009: 99). Their attitudes and decisions about their classrooms directly contribute towards the implementation of a certain policy or another and the reinforcement of ideological tension/clarification.   Surrounded by arabised Chaouias using AA all the time, Tamazight teachers find themselves in a position of either shifting to communicate, or remaining in isolation. Nevertheless, if the teachers themselves hesitate to use Chaouia, then pupils are not

to be blamed for not extending its use to the school domain, amidst the complexity of roles in this process of revitalisation, along with the lack of resources and commitment. To normalise the use of Chaouia, teachers feel pressure to challenge the complex identity of the school on a daily basis.

Brown rightly argues that teachers "simultaneously reproduce and challenge existing language ideologies in the school environment" (2010: 298). During the fieldwork, teachers of Tamazight claimed that teachers of other subjects warn their students that Tamazight is detrimental to their career future. In one case, for instance, one class reported to me that their teacher of Arabic was telling them that Tamazight has no future and that they should better focus on Arabic and mathematics to succeed. In an attempt to scare them off, she showed them Tifinagh orthography, arguing that Tamazight is hard for them. In another case, another teacher of Arabic tried to convince his pupils that Tamazight is causing religious separation and that Arabic and Islam are the only components of their identity that links them to the 'Arab world'. As a response, one pupil said that he thought Tamazight is their heritage, and the teacher replied that this ideology is for non-patriotic Algerians and in a land of revolution, they should always be cautious about these ideas. These accounts are not exclusive to this community as Khelkhal and Touati (2018), also, reported that, except for teachers of Tamazight, all other teachers did not hesitate to express their clear rejection of teaching Tamazight. Some other students claimed that even headmasters warned them against the language.

> "Pupils want to learn it, they ask for it. The headmaster controls it […] When my students registered to learn it, the headmaster, who is Chaoui, said that students who study Tamazight will stay until 6 pm. Pupils then changed their minds. He told them those who do not study Tamazight will finish at 4 pm but you will finish at 6 pm. Most of them live far, so they did not want to stay." (Ali, M, 50, M)

Placing the language at a peripheral position is, for all teachers of Tamazight interviewed, an indirect strategy to hinder the teaching of Tamazight. On their behalf, the head of the programme argues it was the last subject to be added to the national curriculum and hence placed at the end of

the school day to cater for its optional status. Similarly, the school directors agree on this point and believe it is the main motive behind the refusal of Tamazight in the community.

> "First, the pupil considers themself Chaoui so they do not need to study it. This is the way they think. Second, our experience with the parents informs that parents realise that their children have three extra hours to spend in school than their friends. The programme is already overwhelming, as you can see, 36 hours per week. Students usually get bored around the sixth hour in the day; they are still adolescents […] I find that placing the Tamazight class at the end of the day is the main reason parents do not register their children in Tamazight classes in primary schools. It has been a while now I do not receive any pupils for Tamazight in this school. We might stop teaching Tamazight. There are no students!" (Krimo, M, 55, B)

Medium(s) of instruction:

The third challenge for this educational reform is the medium of instruction. Hornberger and King argue that the unification and acceptance of one standard variety to be used for "inter-regional and inter-group communication is favourable for language maintenance as well as reversing language shift" (1996: 438). The plan in the community was to begin with the use of Chaouia as the medium of instruction in the early grades, with a gradual transition to standard Tamazight to follow. However, the situation in these classrooms is highly complex. Teachers of Tamazight use different mediums depending on the profile of their classrooms. Some of them use Arabic, others use Chaouia or Kabyle, and some others use standard Tamazight. Compromise is a necessity, but the result of implementing a specific medium of instruction over another is inevitably steering further regional variation and differences.

Tamazight is introduced in Year Four in elementary education after the students are already introduced to SA and French (Chelli, 2011: 16). This creates the problem of using Arabic, the 'rival' language, as a medium to teach Tamazight for those students, mostly females, to whom Chaouia was no longer being inter-generationally transmitted via the family, and for whom AA is the first language. Some teachers, despite being reluctant to use Arabic in their classroom, felt they

were often obliged to translate the course into Arabic. Teachers' reluctance, though, is justified. All of them agree that using Arabic in their classrooms may impede the learning process of Tamazight. Unlike Kabylia, Batna was an experimental field where Tamazight was taught by non-Tamazight teachers. When the programme was introduced, few Chaouias had any teaching qualification in the language. The authorities proposed transforming some teachers from the other fields to teach the subject, considering they are 'native' speakers of the language. Accordingly, many instructors, usually former Chaouia teachers of SA, were employed to teach Tamazight. These teachers were instructed to use the Arabic script and facilitate creating 'new speakers' of the language through the medium of Chaouia or Arabic. However, in 2012, a new head of the programme brought about a significant number of Kabyle teachers of Tamazight to extend the project.[37]

Teachers of Tamazight, with the lack of opportunities in their region, seek employment in any Berber region despite the long distance. Their training covers all Berber varieties; however, they are expected to use the local variety to teach Tamazight in Batna. Nevertheless, Kabyle teachers, in some cases, do not use Chaouia as a medium and that creates frustration among students. The use of the standard (or the Kabyle variety) is, to many Chaouias, an alienating process. The head of the programme considers this a serious challenge for promoting Tamazight in Batna.

> "Locally here, we sent instructions to schools that the variety and the script should be taught according to the choice of students. But now, we opened lots of job vacancies and many Kabyles came along to teach our children. They got positions and did not follow the instructions; they are using Latin orthography while some students want the Arabic one. They are using the Kabyle variety and students want Chaouia, and the result was that many students abandoned the subject." (Yasser, M, 48, B)

The diversity of the linguistic background of teachers of Tamazight is important. It would either initiate a reconciliation with identity and multilingualism or strengthen the divisive strategies to

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[37] Among the six teachers I have in my study, two were Kabyles.

weaken social ties between Chaouias and Kabyles and, hence, hinder Tamazight revitalisation. This latter discourse is apparent in the argument of the head of the programme. To him, this policy not only favours the Kabyle variety and voice over other Berber varieties, but also aims at disempowering Chaouias.

> "When we talk about the Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité, it is controlled by Kabyles. There is no role for Chaouias. Have you seen any TV channels in Chaouia? We do not have any production in Batna. The Kabylian radio covers all the national territory; you can listen to them anywhere in Algeria. Ours is not covered even in the countryside [...] They control media, they control production; they speeded up this process of producing books and researches in Latin script and they spread it; they have also been learning Tamazight for a couple of years and they have graduates. In Batna, it is the first time. They speeded up everything. Why? Kabyles want to make their variety national so they can all work; they have trained teachers and researchers. […] whoever imposes their language imposes their authority." (Yasser, M, 48, B)

Not surprisingly, in response to the attack on Kabyle teachers, Chaouia teachers of Tamazight reported they support the former, and sacrificing the variety in favour of the standard is better than sacrificing the whole programme.

> "If we did not have Kabyles, we would have ended up with no classes. I like them. They work hard but they [administrators] keep creating hassle for them; it is not the ordinary Chaouias who are making a fuss about this matter, but the educational system itself. They want to separate us." (Ali, M, 50, M)

In summary, the current situation of Tamazight *di lakul* in Batna does not seem to reflect a genuine will from the governmental and educational bodies to reverse the shift, clarify the ideological misunderstandings, and deepen the knowledge of young learners about their history and language to continue to expand outside this setting. At the same time, it is fair to comment that the existence of such classes is an evidence of progress that should be supported by the community itself, if it is willing to preserve its identity. Transferring the mother tongue from its traditional domain, i.e. home, to a formal setting, i.e. school, entails community supporting initiatives and strong engagement of speakers of the language (Hornberger and King, 1996). In its early revitalisation

years, the provision of Welsh-medium and bilingual education, for instance, was almost entirely the result of the strong collective demand of parents and the pressure they exerted on local authorities (Williams, 2014).

6.9 Community attitude and response

Parents in Batna are not active participants in the schooling process; there are few parents' meetings at school to inform them about new policies. During interviews and casual conversations with community members, many parents openly expressed their worries about the value of Tamazight in their children's schooling. Despite their comfort with the fact that Tamazight might help their children with national exams, the majority frequently recalled that it is an obstacle for their progress and competition in the job market. Some elderly speakers, particularly, expressed feelings of pride but at the same time they felt alienated since they were not able to fully understand the 'pure' standardised variety. Nevertheless, the failure of welcoming Tamazight in the community is not primarily because of parents' worries but rather the pedagogical and ideological constraints of schools that have forced the parents to make decisions which would probably result in the rapid and complete Arabisation of their children.

> "Tamazight is a source of shame here, and people do not think it is appropriate for schools." (Mas, M, 28, OS)

> "My daughter is not for experiments. If they really want to spread it, why don't they teach it all over Algeria? I do not accept one school to teach and another not […] I can't send her to study a dead language while her friends are learning French and English." (Ahmed, M, 46, B)

When asked whether they would support opening more classes for Tamazight in the community both for children and adults, the informants' response was clearly against the project. 70% completely rejected the idea; the 30%, which welcomed the project, did not show any interest in joining it themselves or taking an active role in supporting it. Having experienced the socio-

economic disadvantages of using their language, these parents consciously choose not to educate their children in Tamazight. Such attitudes are not uncommon among minorities and indigenous communities (De Klerk, 2002).

In a further enquiry about whether they would send their children to learn Tamazight, 60% replied 'No' whereas 40% did not object but shared their concerns about the script, timing of the Tamazight class and how studying the language would not influence their children's academic attainment in other 'more important' subjects. Differences across gender are significant (p = .001), more females than males objected to the idea of their children learning Tamazight (see Table 6.9.4).

	Females	Males
No	69% *106*	50% *76*
Yes	31% *47*	50% *75*

Table 6.9.4 Would you send your children to attend Tamazight classes? (gender).

In terms of age, except for the elder generation who showed a positive reaction to the project, the three other groups largely responded negatively, especially the middle-aged group with 75% expressing their rejection to the idea, surprisingly:

	12-25	26-48	49-64	>65
No	60% *115*	60% *18*	75% *44*	33% *5*
Yes	40% *76*	40% *6*	25% *30*	67% *10*

Table 6.9.5 Would you send your children to attend Tamazight classes? (age group).

As far as region is concerned, while the three communities are generally against teaching Tamazight to their children, participants in both Merouana and Batna quite expectedly responded negatively (over 60%) most probably due to their urban nature. Ouled Sellam seems to uphold quite an uncertain position about the programme (Table 6.9.**6**).

	Batna	Merouana	Ouled Sellam
No	63% *59*	62% *72*	54% *51*
Yes	37% *34*	38% *44*	46% *44*

Table 6.9.6 Would you send your children to attend Tamazight classes? (region).

The following extract clearly supports the association of Chaouia, and Tamazight in general, with rural life and lack of opportunities. Meanwhile, Arabic is linked to literacy, education and knowledge of the world. Although Chaouia females ensured the transmission of Chaouia across generations, the new lifestyle and the marginalisation they face in urban settings is enough of a pragmatic motive for them to shift, if they ever had the chance.

> *Misha*: "Chaouia is bad. Arabic is nice. If you are <u>not educated,</u> you can <u>never know Arabic</u>."
>
> *SR*: Why is Chaouia bad?
>
> *Misha*: "It is bad. If you always speak only Chaouia, you will never advance in your life. Arabic makes you more <u>intelligent</u> and <u>education too</u>. Now for me, I can't move about by my own. Wherever I go, I keep silent because I am <u>ignorant</u>, I do not understand. People laugh at me!"
>
> *SR*: And how does Arabic make you understand?
>
> *Misha*: "It does. When you are <u>educated</u>, you can <u>understand anything</u>, at least road signs and doctors' boards, everything! The one who is not educated is dead […] I was born to take care of cows and sheep; we didn't even have a mosque. I wish I could go to study. Now, <u>it is too late</u>. <u>Now, I am Chaouia</u>, it is too late. I cannot learn Arabic." (Misha, F, 56, OS)

Important to notice here is that Arabic is not only used to index education and intelligence, but also the obvious assumption that schooling entails a shift to an 'Arab' identity and a detachment from the bad connotations of Chaouia. Even among the younger generation that has a better chance for bilingualism, these negative attitudes continue to persist particularly among females. Similarly, Lowry (fc.) reports a chronotope of "ignorance" to "educated" among the young generation of Harub females when referring to the coming of literacy and education to the area, as part of the project of Saudi state-building.

To help changing the negative attitude the community exhibits towards its tradition and culture, teachers suggest more incorporation of the traditional Amazigh culture and history in textbooks to strengthen their awareness about Berber lifestyle and maintain their traditional social organisation.

> "Students feel happy when they discover they had such a good history they never knew about […] the child still has his mother or grandmother who might still portray the Berber woman working in fields. Nowadays, there is no connection between the generations, to be honest […] Why did people use to live in one large home all together previously? Because at that time, everyone was into agriculture, and farming is collaborative and requires many people. When a person feels tired, another from the family will take over while that person rests […] so I guess this is actually something that can bring back the old socialisation norms and social relations." (Moudi, M, 28, M)

6.10   How to preserve Tamazight? a local perspective

In response to the parents' reluctance to send their children to Tamazight classes, teachers of Tamazight argue that a top-down intervention is the only way to support the continuity of the programme. To that end, they suggest: 1) changing Tamazight to an obligatory subject; 2) changing the 'choice model' to unify the language-in-education planning; 3) increasing its coefficient to be, at least, equal to that of French and English.

> "Preserving this language comes from school. When it is official and obligatory, everyone will know it whether Amazigh or Arab; this is how it can be maintained. If it remained optional, it will die. The pupil asks: 'what is the value of this language?' 'Why would I spend three extra hours at school to learn it?' Its coefficient at school should be increased; currently it is only 2 but they can increase it further. It is lesser than French which is 3 […] Tamazight's trouble is the government not the family." (Nouri, M, 50, B)

The above argument gives rise to the question of the value of language in shaping identity. Opinions are diverse; identity is perceived as either permanent, ethnically and linguistically, or dynamic and fluid. The dominant view, which all teachers seem to support, is an essentialist perspective of language as the most important aspect of identity (the first and the second extracts below). Others, however, argue that the Amazigh identity can be preserved without reference to

the language (the third extract).

> "The identity [i.e. Tamazight] should not be optional! Have you ever been given the choice to choose your parents? It is the same as language. I am not an Arab […] Teaching Tamazight should be obligatory." (Ali, M, 50, M)

> "My parents are Chaouias and that is why I am Chaouia, when I marry, my husband and I would speak Chaouia and so our children will learn it. This is how it can last. But if I do not speak Chaouia with my husband, our children will be Arabs." (Celine, F, 23, M)

> "Even if the language dies, you can still say that Batna is Chaouia. Now, the coming generation will not be speaking any Chaouia, but you cannot say they are not Chaouias as long as their parents are." (Lamin, M, 21, M)

What is clear from the previous discussion is that the diversity of atittudes and policy implementation/resistance both at an individual and group level makes it hard to predict the future of Tamazight in Batna. Williams justly concludes that "institutional power and human agency intertwine in complex idiosyncratic ways and are thus a powerful framework for the interpretation of behaviours and outcomes" (2019: 603).

With the constant decline of the use of Chaouia at home and with the current challenges to the revitalisation of Tamazight at schools, AA continues to compete with SA across different domains while French is striving to maintain its capital in the face of English.

6.11   Bi-/multi-lingualism and foreign languages

The majority of participants were supportive of bilingualism as an empowering way to understand each other and enrich the Algerian identity. When asked if they favour having one language that unifies all of them, interviewees favoured diversity and argued that every language has its own domain of significance and value:

> "Speaking only AA would be boring. I like different varieties. It is better to learn Chaouia and Kabyle and learn how they think. We can learn from each other. Our diversity is power." (Nour, F, 23, M)

"Chaouia has its place and Arabic has its place. It is good to know both […] this generation should learn more and more languages." (Baya, F, 80, OS)

"When it comes to languages, there is nothing bad or good. Learn as many as you can, you never know when you will need them, I believe. But there are priorities. The policies play a role and we learn depending on the demands of our societies." (Ham, M, 35, M)

While the school setting clearly provides limited access to these languages, i.e. Chaouia and AA, compared to SA, it seemingly advocates for multilingualism and the use of foreign languages. In effect, local policies in education shape the perception of every language taught and their usefulness in the future. Considering the future, job markets, prestige and technology, my participants report diverse perspectives on language markets.

For the language of the future (Table 6.11.**7**), informants demonstrate a large awareness regarding the international weight of English and their readiness to embrace it. This can be linked to its nature as a "de-ethnicised" language (Belmihoub, 2012: 21). It is considered a 'neutral' language without a 'painful' historical background in Algeria and its use is welcomed by proponents of SA, in opposition to French.

	Eng	SA	Fr	AA	Tamazight
Percentage	48%	20%	17%	10%	4%

Table 6.11.7 Respondents' prediction of the language of the future in Algeria.

On the other hand, the association of AA with the current job market in Algeria (43%) demonstrates its power in the workplace as a flexible mediator between both Arabophones and Francophones. It is followed by an equal choice of French and SA (Table 6.11.**8**). English, surprisingly, is restricted to a small rate (7%). Although they stated it would be the language of the future, the majority recognise its current limitations in the economic sector.

	AA	SA	Fr	Eng	Tamazight
Percentage	43%	24%	23%	7%	2%

Table 6.11.8 The language of the job market in Algeria.

While SA scored the highest as the language of prestige (34%) most likely due to its associations with religion, French scores the highest as the language of technology in Algeria being already associated with science and technological devices (42%), with a slight challenge from SA and English (Table 6.11.**9** and Table 6.11.10). Although it is still the dominant language for scientific studies, students repeatedly report their lack of access to resources in French as compared to English nowadays.

	SA	Fr	Eng	AA	Tamazight
Percentage	34%	25%	16%	15%	9%

Table 6.11.9 The language of prestige.

	Fr	SA	Eng	AA	Tamazight
Percentage	42%	29%	18%	8%	3%

Table 6.11.10 The language of technology.

Across all these choices, Tamazight is regarded as the least functional code for upward mobility and future aspirations. Its long traditional oral form, absence from media and public space challenge its symbolic value and economic capital.

6.12   French vs. English

The status of foreign languages in Algeria is as conflicting as the national ones. Benrabah summarises that:

> "The more Algeria became arabized with Arabic displacing French as a medium of instruction, the more demands for English increased. The more the status of French changed into a mere subject, the more it faced competition from English as the first mandatory foreign language." (2013: 90)

In 1993, the ministry of education made it available for parents to choose between French and English for their children entering the fourth grade. However, this top-down educational

intervention failed the same year. The ministry of education surveyed parents and teachers on language preferences; results favoured the maintenance of French (Benrabah 2013: 93). More than 73% of parents and 52% of teachers preferred French as the first foreign language. Benrabah reported that between 1993-97, the total number of pupils who chose English was insignificant (0.33-1.28%). By the end of the 1990s, Algeria became the second largest Francophone country after France itself (Asselah-Rahal et al., 2007). Despite this success, the relation of French vis-a-vis English in Algeria remains "rivalry" (Zaboot, 2007: 161).

When my informants were asked which language they would prefer to be removed from the educational system, French topped the list with 37%, followed by Tamazight (15%) while SA and English received only 3%. The majority, however, responded that they would like to maintain all current languages (40%).

Gender differences were significant only for SA and Tamazight (see Figure 6.12.1). Again, males more than females seem to favour removing SA from schools (5% vs. 1%), and more females than males reported they want to remove Tamazight (16% vs. 9%).
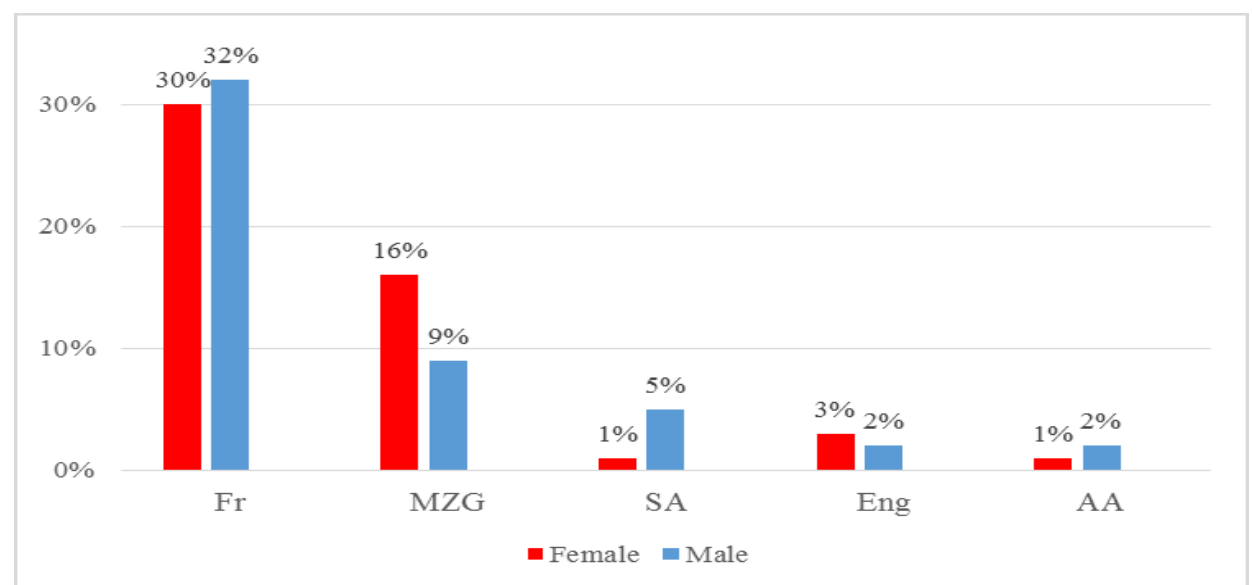
Figure 6.12.1 Preferences for language removal from schools across gender.

French is in sharp decline and its future is not completely secure in Algeria (Benrabah, 2013:112). To validate this claim, I report on my observations during the fieldwork, although further quantitative and qualitative evidence is needed. There is a large agreement in Batna that exam results of students in French, across schools, are very low. Their participation in the classroom is also insignificant, compared to other subjects. The majority of the participants agree that French is beautiful, but they also link it with bitter memories. The frequent sentence reported was 'I might use French but I love English instead'. This reflects the social meaning attached to both codes. In an Algerian context, French is practical, powerful, and represents the elite but also holds a strong colonial memory, particularly in rural areas. English, on the other hand, is given a merit and high value in the international linguistic market. Doubtless, as soon as the younger generation masters English, a shift away from French is expected, as English would compensate its use in prestigious domains.

The results of the current research demonstrate a significant refusal of French in schools. This contradicts Benrabah's findings which demonstrated that the majority of school children refused replacing French by English (49.6 %, compared to 31.9% for replacing French with English) and 62.3% refused English as a medium of instruction for scientific subjects. This is driven by many historical and social reasons. First, Batna has not been a good home for French during colonisation. It was the most affected region by the French army, and so its memory of struggle is still strong. Being largely mountainous, these extended families affected by war, tend to associate French with "a painful past" and easily transmit that across generations (Benrabah, 2013). Furthermore, the state's neglect of Batna's heritage and cultural landscapes made it a less attractive destination for tourists nowadays, thus there is less demand for French in the area. A few extracts from participants' responses, when asked about what French represents for them, are enough to portray the large negative attitudes they hold against the language as compared to English.

"I do not like French; I do not want it, and I hate it. This is part of our culture as Algerians.

> The French attempted so many times at eradicating our identity including Arabic and religion. I still feel French is a reminder of colonisation." (Tinhinen, F, 31, OS)

> "English for me is the language of liberation. I grew up with both Arabic and French then developed this complex, like most Algerians, because of this conflict between those who say why do you use French, the language of 'infidels', and Arabophones who claim Arabic is 'religion' and 'identity' and everything. English was 'my escape'." (Hichem, M, 25, B)

> "When I use French, students say 'France is out; we have got our independence'! They like English but they hate French. They say France is not in Algeria." (Hana, F, 34, M)

In my enquiry about the reasons behind the unpopularity of French in the middle school, another instructor summarised that in terms of geographical and linguistic factors.

> "There are many considerations here. First, we are in an interior region. We do not have touristic attractions so we do not have visitors. Therefore, we do not consider it important to use it outside school. Chaouia and Arabic are sufficient. The region is isolated. Also, French, if compared to English as a language, is more difficult. Personally, I think this has a role to lead to bad results among students; it is harder than English. It is a bit sophisticated, why? Because even its history is older. It was used among an aristocratic social class and their style of speech should be more complicated. […] then they started to write more in literature than science and the literary works are quite more complicated; it has an artistic style. English is quite new, but it spread with technology. So, it is more oriented towards scientific fields. Thus, English is more scientific than French. And we have been taught that English is a clear easy language that everyone can understand it." (Takfarines, M, 29, OS)

Notable here is that one of the challenges for the development of Tamazight is its continuous link with French. Teaching the language overwhelmingly through French as a medium at the university level is a source of frustration for the young generation that does not welcome French. Zeggagh (2017), similarly, reports that students of Tamazight at the university hold positive attitudes towards Tamazight but negative ones towards the use of French as a medium.

One of the main reasons behind the preference of English is the wide social functions and domains that English seems to cover. Contradictory to French, English is widely used, alongside SA, for songs, celebrations, and ceremonial speeches at Algerian schools. Moreover, English has no colonial history in North Africa, and so is perceived as a neutral code (Benrabah, 2013). As far as

the classroom is concerned, teachers also report enthusiasm and active participation among their students in English classes. Nevertheless, this decreases as they move further into high school where science, mathematics and Arabic come to power. Yet, considering the participants' linguistic preferences, English has a privileged position, across gender, region and age (with a higher percentage among the young ones). The question, then, becomes: would English overtake French?

> "I believe English is the most important language nowadays. 98% of research on internet is written in English and whoever does not know English, cannot understand anything. And also it is the easiest language to be acquired, if compared to other languages. I think it will be soon dominant in Algeria." (Yuba, M, 28, M)

> "I do not like French, but English is easy. It helps me a lot in my studies. I get excellent marks because it is easy, not like French." (Rama, F, 13, OS)

Yet, the possibilities of English overcoming French in the linguistic hierarchy largely depend on future social reforms and economic changes that might further influence the educational policies. To start with, these negative attitudes among young people and adults are not shared among middle-aged and elder people who believe that French is a good addition to Algeria, and it should be maintained.

> "I will be honest with you, the French coloniser was the worst, but I admire the French language. It is the language of Molière, the language of science, music, art, painting, fashion, culture, and liberation. You cannot even compare it to English. Knowledge and freedom started in France. It is true that English is an international language by excellence, thanks to trade, but French for me has an incomparable beauty and richness." (Ithri, M, 49, OS)

> "This is what we gained from decades of colonialism, the language! And it is good to be honest. I do not know Arabic and it is only French that saves me when I deal with institutions like post office and hospital. Algerians say Arabic is our language but in reality, they respect French more. Arabic is just like Chaouia." (Massouda, F, 78, M)

Second, the 'liberating' opportunities French (and to a lesser extent AA) offer to the young generation stand as an obstacle in eliminating the use of French and its critical importance in

society. In an interesting study, Benrabah (2013: 77-79) surveyed 1,051 students in West Algeria, in 2004, filling a closed attitude questionnaire about AA, SA, French and Berber regarding identity, religious values and modernity. While SA was favoured for sacredness and religion, French was linked with openness to the world and scientific development. When asked which language you would use to say "I love you to your lover", 58.6% preferred French followed by 24.5% for AA. The preference of them to transgress social taboos in French and AA is justified by their "liberating" nature and the difficulty of expressing them in SA. It is worth comparing this with another study in Kabylia, where 83% of the youth showed a preference of French as the language of future opportunity, while associating SA with a "dictatorial regime" and "oppression and injustice" (Zaboot, 2007: 158-160). The reason behind these differences is the historical injustice against Berbers and their lack of trust in the language policies.

Futhermore, the elite of the country, as well as Kabyles, the largest Berberophone group, are in favour of French. Any change in the linguistic landscape might threaten their interests and privileges. Benrabah (2013: 98-100) demonstrates that 75.8% of respondents responded with "disagree" or "strongly disagree" for a statement for the possibilty of French disappearing in Algeria in the future. The high prestige given to French challenges the place of English. However, multilingualism is still favoured with 58.6% for "Arabic, English and French" as the best language(s) to prosper in Algeria and beyond, according to the same author.

Locally, Algeria's hydrocarbons and energy industry creates the most demand for English education in the country as the backbones of the Algerian economy. Meanwhile, media and information and communication technologies, as well as public educational institutions, still provide a limited exposure to English and French that remain dominant only in the private education sector, with less access for the majority of people. A high demand for opening the economy to the international world market might be the only way for English to gain a stronger

ground in Algeria. On the possibility of replacing French with English in Algeria, another informant adds:

> "It is hard. I believe all languages are good. We cannot talk about this without taking the past and present into consideration. For me, it is unlikely that a shift to English would happen in Algeria. This is because historically, we were invaded by the French. And even before, it was Romans and Latin. It is hard to change history and change the future of nations. People have relations with France too. Also, in the Mediterranean area, all countries are interested in French and maybe Spanish because they are geographically close, but shifting to English is challenging. It also has to do with politics; if they want to change the policies, they can at least keep Algeria multilingual with both English and French." (Takfarinas, M, 29, OS)

Nevertheless, as SA fails to represent the young people's aspirations for science and technology, industrialisation and urbanisation, higher education and immigration (Benrabah, 2007), French continues to preserve its high status and economic capital backed up by the elite closure and lack of foreign economic investments.

6.13   Conclusion

Following the point of Paulston and Heidmann (2006: 305) that language policy is never only a matter of language, this chapter discussed the complex and challenging role of schools and highlighted the problematic position of teachers, parents and students as a result of the open choices of language instruction and the ideological tension. AA invades schools; English is gaining ground over French; Tamazight is still the least favoured language. It is clear, though, that school is an important socialising domain that sustains its support for SA in the face of all emerging challenges. Accordingly, I attempted to demonstrate how these educational policies lead to (un)planned shift through a new policy of alienating young Chaouias through schools and distancing them from other Berber groups: diversity of acquisition planning, inconsistency of medium of instruction, and underqualification of Tamazight teachers, etc.

The objective was not to argue against the significance of the school in LM but merely to question its independent contributions in its support for literacy in Tamazight. Tamazight varieties are

constantly viewed negatively for their oral form, and so its maintenance is increasingly depending on literacy. Schools and educators do not decide about language independently, but they are crucial in advocating for multilingualism and diversity in this most important and visible domain. They create a safe space to avoid alienation, but at the same time cannot independently save a language that the community no longer sees as useful. Equally important, however, is that the school in Batna is a place for double marginalisation and erasure, firstly because Chaouia speaking students are being largely outnumbered by the 'Arabised' ones, and secondly because most of the former's educators and parents are not well supportive to their mother tongue. This stems from the fact that the school itself is "the product of a system which, at best, appears neutral towards the fortunes of the language and, at worst, downright hostile" (Williams, 2013b: 117). There is indeed evidence of ongoing major challenges for Tamazight use in the education system at status, corpus and acquisition planning levels. In response to socio-economic changes, the young generation is in need of a language-in-education policy that caters for literacy and communication in Tamazight, but also ensures equal access to other languages, i.e. SA, French and English, to secure success socially, economically and educationally.

Having discussed language hierarchies and social exclusion in school, it is important to note that one of the main reasons behind lack of political and historical awareness among these Chaouias is the lack of close-knit relations at school. This setting represents a diffuse community, with diffused social organisation and attitudes, which places young people in a 'vulnerable' position in the face of language and ethnic contact. As the place where most social networks develop and extend, schools are critical in channelling language attitudes and linguistic preferences. The next chapter, therefore, explores the influence of these SNs on language behaviour.

Chapter 7: Language and Social Networking

"[Language choice] all begins at home, gets shaped at school and fluctuates in between."
(Sofia, F, 23, B)

7.1   Introduction

The language used in public, among friends, provides a concrete image of the power of codes, their association with particular practices and the attitude of speakers towards what is socially 'prestigious' and what is 'inappropriate'. It is an open space for establishing flexible regular contacts and informal interactions, away from the pressure of home and school regulations. Through these interactions, Chaouias, Arabs and Kabyles (to a lesser extent) come together with different attitudes towards each group and its variety. This serves as a channel for the transmission of language ideologies. Nurtured at home, reinforced at school and transported through close networks, language preferences are explored across generations in Batna to inform the mechanisms of language shift and networking.

Social networks are a powerful tool in "linguistic and cultural socialization" (Stoessel, 2002: 96). Similarly, linguistic choices signal a certain level of loyalty to a group membership or a distance from its identifiable regulations. While the focus of analysis, in chapters 5 and 6, was on speakers themselves, this chapter extends it to the identity of those whom they often interact with, as Gal stresses that "speakers' linguistic behaviors are constrained and shaped by the sorts of social contacts they maintain" (1979:131-132).

This chapter is composed of three main sections. The first introduces a few concepts from social network theory. The second section discusses the approach to SN analysis for the community under investigation. This is followed by an analysis of SN metrics in details: first, each metric separately, then organised in two groups which are designed to ease our understanding of the relationship

between language use and networks. Accordingly, *attribute* and *relational* metrics are examined, contrasted, and explained in light of general results. The last section provides a brief discussion of which network features exert more local pressure on language choice and use in the community and why that is the case, based on the socio-economic context. It also explores some implications for this model in the community to promote language maintenance.

7.2   Social networks and language use

A social network, depending on its size and quality, provides its members with collective capital. This can be group solidarity, power and prestige or simply belongingness. Its value can be attractive for some individuals to join, but discouraging for others because of the obligations which sustain that exchange of services. Currently, however, this capital of a group-product is continuously challenged by individual needs and social mobility. People ceaselessly come in contact with individuals outside their traditional networks and establish relationships to further secure their daily demands. The SN theory explores how these networks are modelled, how they can be measured and what their implications for social change are.

In its simplest form, SN is a set of nodes connected by links. The node/ego might be an individual, group or organisation; while the link can be a friendship relation, shared work, exchange of service, etc. Robins (2015: 18) stresses that "a social network comprises (at least) a set of *social actors* and a relationship among them in the form of dyadic *relational ties*" (italics in original). Although it presents both attributes and relationships, SN analysis normally emphasises the patterns of relations instead (Holmes and Wilson, 2017). These latter can incorporate either positive or negative qualities that affect the final outcome of the network structure.

Furthermore, a personal network can be dense and/or multiplex. It is considered dense (as opposed to sparse) if the persons linked to the ego also interact with each other (Milroy, 1987: 50; Holmes and Wilson, 2017: 204). Dense networks, accordingly, are believed to support the local vernacular

norms in the face of pressure from the standard (Milroy, 1987: 50). Multiplexity (as opposed to uniplexity), on the other hand, refers to the wide range of different social relations that the ego can have with the other egos (Robins, 2015: 36). These social relations might include, for instance, friendship, neighbourhood and shared work or family and business, in which case the ego exchanges more than emotional and social support but also financial wellbeing. Together, Milroy (1987: 52) argues that density and multiplexity "increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism" and they establish a resisting unit to external pressure (Wei and Milroy, 2003: 131). It is worth mentioning here that the current study does not measure multiplexity, since the focus is on ego-based networks.

7.3 Approach to SN in Batna

Across many studies of SN and language/dialect maintenance both among the indigenous groups (Gal, 1979; Milroy and Milroy, 1978; Panyaatisin, 2018; Sallabank, 2010) and among diaspora communities (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Sharma, 2017; Wei, 1994), it is noticeable that each study has used a distinctive way in collecting data, defining the metrics of measurement and analysing SN data. This is mainly because of the distinctive nature of the communities, where SN is only a medium to reflect the dynamic, fluid human relations (Sallabank, 2010: 189). The choice of metrics in this study stems from the sociolinguistic literature and knowledge of the present speech community. Milroy (1987: 216) observes that "the indicators which may be said to reflect the underlying structure of personal relationships will vary in accordance with the investigator's perception of the most relevant and easily measurable cultural categories".

The study examines an ego-centred network, where data are obtained only around one individual ego and the attributes they provide for their relations. This type of network is common in sociolinguistics. This is because it is easier to address alongside other social factors for statistical analysis (Sharma, 2017: 397). Whole networks, on the other hand, extend the level of information

obtained to cover second-order ego ties (Robins, 2015: 52). This allows for a more complex examination of centrality, multiplexity and betweenness. Nonetheless, its implications are limited in sociolinguistics. In addition to its limitations in visual representation and inferences about the target population (Robins, 2015: 396), Sharma (2017: 397) adds the following: 1) time constraints and feasibility of data collection, 2) difficulties with sampling, 3) problems in allowing for an ethnographic explanation of SN dynamics, and 4) difficulty of replicating the measures for large-scale analysis.

In addition, Sharma (2017: 396) distinguishes between structural and content (or quality) levels of SN. Structural components, also known as *relational data*, reflect the "linkages that run between agents" (Scott, 2013: 3) like the type of relation. Content components, often referred to as *attribute data*, represent "properties, qualities or characteristics that belong to them [agents] as individuals or groups" (Scott, 2013: 3) such as ethnicity or education. These attributes approximate the social explanatory factors commonly used in variationist sociolinguistics; they have been proved to "predict the degree of normative pressure *potentially* exerted on the individual" (Lippi-Green, 1989: 218).

Moreover, this study uses a survey to collect ego-centric network data (see Appendix 4). The aim is to explore the effect of both factor groups (i.e. attributes and relational metrics) on language use, but also their interpretations and limitations. The first covers gender, age, region, education, marriage pattern, and geographical mobility; the second includes type of relation, frequency of meeting and calling, closeness, and density.

7.3.1 The conservativeness index

These attributes and relational metrics are potential representative indicators used to define a 'conservativeness' index for the network (see Section 4.5.2). Based on the literature, these indicators are hypothesised to imply the traditional social norms, and reflect the level of integration

in the local community, and so Chaouia use. Based on gender, age, region, education, marriage status, geographical mobility, relationship type, frequency of contact, closeness and density, a score is given in the conservativeness index and so the higher the score is, the higher the expectation of using Chaouia is. Put differently, speakers with predominantly 'conservative' attributes and strong relational ties are more likely to conform to the linguistic norms, and so maintain the use of Chaouia. Thus, the objective is to establish the association between:

1- Relevant attribute and relational predictors

2- SN strength (embedded in the conservativeness index)

3- The target linguistic behaviour (using AA or Chaouia)

The assumption here is that differences in the network scores of the speakers correlate with their linguistic choices (Milroy, 1987; Salami, 1991). To that end, each speaker is assigned a conservativeness index score, the sum of scores from each of the relevant criteria. The degree of conservativeness, defined in terms of social characteristics expected to preserve Chaouia language and culture, is hypothesised to inform SN strength. An example of how I initially estimated conservativeness is reproduced here:

> The highest score of conservativeness is given to a participant whose tie (contact) is *old*, is a *female*, is from *Ouled Sellam*, has *never been to school*, is *not married*, is *less likely to be geographically mobile*, and *interacts mostly with intimate relatives*, both in *face-to-face interaction* and through *calling*; *all* the ties of the participant *know each other*. In such a case, the score is expected to positively correlate with the self-reported higher use of Chaouia.

Although I aimed at an objective measurement, I do not claim the complete absence of subjective judgements I made at different levels of (re-)coding the metrics (see Section 4.5.2). To reach the final model for SN strength, I disregarded the insignificant factors at a later stage of analysis. Some variables were divided into more categories; some were conflated, and others were recoded to redefine social 'conservativeness' in the community (see Section 7.4.3).

7.3.2   Participants

Due to time constraints, only 128 participants, who already took part in the questionnaire or interview, responded to the social network survey. Egos were asked to name *ten* closest ties they frequently interact with and provide some information about each, as well as describe the type of relations and their strength and density. This gives a total of 1280 networks.

The choice of ten ties per participant is reasonable and feasible. The number is neither too small to exclude important ties, nor so large as to include infrequent or temporary ones (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007; Wei, 1994). My interviews revealed their active contacts are quite restricted to relatives and friends, usually from school/university or work. This was supported by some ethnographic observations, when possible, particularly among members of families and schools I did my fieldwork around.

The language used for eliciting the social network information was AA, since the results from the pilot study that was presented in SA indicated confusion and misunderstandings. The majority of participants, despite the presence of the researcher to clarify ambiguities in their preferred languages, favoured and approved the use of AA variety as the language of the survey. This variety, thus, is better suited to the interactive nature of this elicitation.

7.4   Attribute and relational metrics

This section is structured in such a way that all *attribute* metrics are presented first then *relational* metrics afterwards. This helps in contrasting and examining the role of two aspects of SN and language use: 1) the index of the attributes of egos' ties, 2) the index of the relational scale of egos to their ties.

Before I turn to examine each variable in further detail, it is worth mentioning that ethnic identity is excluded here, despite its usefulness in directing language practices in previous studies of SN

(e.g. Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Sharma, 2017; Wei, 1994). The main reason behind that is its complex nature, particularly among multilingual participants. As we have seen in the previous chapters, ethnic identification is hard to determine. While young people are most likely to identify as Arabs, elders might name everyone in their network as Berber. Identity demands an in-depth qualitative analysis (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007; Sallabank, 2010; Stoessel, 2002). Lanza and Svendsen (2007: 278) comment:

> "by omitting the qualitative aspects of social relations, SNA might indicate a view of identity as static, quantitative, and essentialist, equating language and a specific identity of a collective and assuming that there is a "natural" or iconic link between language and ethnic identity".

7.4.1 Attribute metrics

7.4.1.1 Gender

The assumption here is that females are associated with Berber maintenance and conservativeness (Becker, 2014; Bouhania, 2014; Hoffman, 2008; Sadiqi, 2014; Thiriez, 1986). The results for the egos' networks are presented in Table 7.4.1.

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Male	45.6% *356*	54.4% *425*	*781*
Female	65.3% *326*	34.7% *173*	*499*
Total (N)	*682*	*598*	*1280*
$X^2(1)$=47.701; P <.001; Cramer's V= .2; r = -.2			

Table 7.4.1 Language use among male and female members of the network.

The value of the chi-square is significant (p<.001), indicating that gender has a significant effect on whether the speaker and their networks use Chaouia or AA (both males and females). The Cramer's V statistic (.2) represents a considerable association between gender and language use.

However, it was males who reported higher use of Chaouia (54%), as their dominant and preferred code with the network ties they named. On the other hand, female egos reported a higher choice of AA (65%). The correlation seems weak (r=-.2) probably because of the dominance of males in the network (N=781) in both females' and males' networks – a case not widely reported in the literature.

Considering the negative value of the Spearman Coefficient (r), it seems that males in the network are more likely to use Chaouia than females. This contradicts our initial assumption that Chaouia females are more conservative than males. Although the traditional social organisation of gender roles represents females' networks as more family-based, these data demonstrate an emerging pattern of social change and language shift – particularly among adult and young females, as we will see. With the change of the economic situation, it turns out that young adult females study, work and marry across communities extending their social ties and opportunities and, therefore, challenging the conservativeness of elder Chaouia speakers. Similar results were reported by Gal (1979), Milroy (1987), Sharma (2017), and Koufogiorgou (2003). Refusing local norms, these females seek to distance themselves from the connotations of Chaouia life style by using AA (see sections 5.4.2 and 5.5.2).

7.4.1.2   Age

Given social and political transitions, age has proven important in mediating the strength or looseness of social networks across generations (Lippi-Green, 1989; Salami, 1991; Wei, 1994). Young people, who enjoy more mobility and intense contact with other ethnolinguistic groups, are more likely to accommodate to the larger Arabic-speaking society. Elders, on the other hand, have little choice about their place of residence, work and marriage pattern and, hence, they are expected to maintain their language for in-group relations but also influence their descendants' choices.

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Old (>65)	8.6% 3	91.4% 32	35
Mid-aged (49-64)	23.3% 20	76.7% 66	86
Adult (26-48)	43.4% 170	56.6% 222	392
Young (12-25)	63.8% 489	36.2% 278	767
Total (N)	682	598	1280
X^2 (3)= 108.532; p<.001; Cramer's V= .43; r = .3			

Table 7.4.2 Language use across age groups in the network.

As expected, age shows a good size effect (V=*.43*) and a medium positive correlation with Chaouia maintenance (r=.3). The variance between elders and mid-aged speakers is insignificant (*p>.05*). Chaouia remains regularly used between old and mid-aged members of the network (91.4% and 76.7% respectively). In Table 7.4.2, the dominant age group in the network is the young generation (N=767), which is least likely to have direct daily contact with Chaouia-dominant speakers. The oldest, linguistically conservative groups are generally not reported as important ties for daily interaction. This helps explain the weakened effect of the latter groups' linguistic choices nowadays. Although AA is used almost equally alongside Chaouia among adults, the difference widens among young speakers (AA=64% vs. Ch=36% for the latter). We can conclude that these two groups are the ones leading the shift towards AA (*p<.002, Cramer's V=.2, r=.2,* for both).
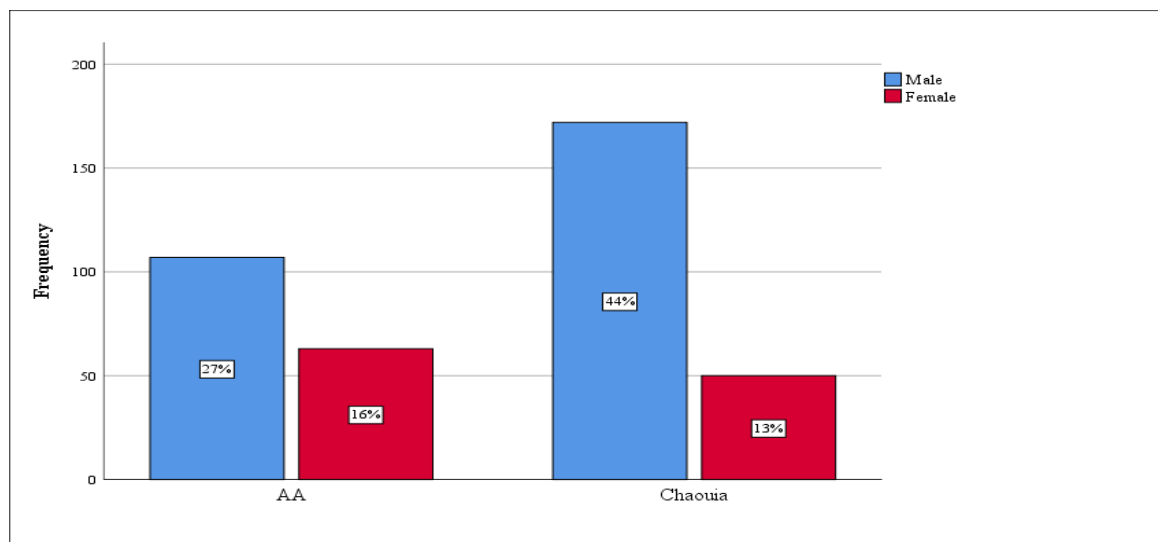
Figure 7.4.1 Language use among adults in the network.

Zooming further into the adult age group, gender seems to be important. Figure 7.4.1 shows that more adult males actually use Chaouia, but they are also more dominant (N= 280 vs. N=112 for females) in the network than female members (see Section 7.4.1.1). This mixed-gender composition of the network might be one reason behind the considerable use of Chaouia even among young females (see sections 5.4.1 and 5.5.1).

7.4.1.3   Region

Region is a direct indicator of whether the person is rural or urban.[38] Milroy (1980: 175) suggests that close ties with the local community supported the maintenance of vernacular Belfast features. However, the rural-urban continuum here serves the hypothesis that rural areas are more homogeneous and, therefore, are expected to be linguistically more conservative. Stoessel (2002: 95) maintains that living with the same ethnic community provides a good environment for the maintenance of the first language in daily interactions. Examining the regional background of the network's members allows for the possibility of exploring the level of diffusion in terms of trans-

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[38] An index of rural-urban orientation was developed based on the region of members of the network to confirm this assumption. The results fit into the general picture that urban orientation facilitates shift to AA (see Appendix 7c:1).

regional contacts, their level of prominence and potential effects on language use. In other words, there is a need to look at the extent to which individuals, in the three different communities, rely on local connections of similar ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, which I assume would preserve the traditional norms. They may also form closer ties with new individuals in the city to secure better socio-economic opportunities, where collective pressure calls for conformity, in this case linguistic, and therefore, promotes shift from Chaouia to AA.

It is important to state that in this case, this rural-urban division is not clear cut. There are exceptions on both sides of the dichotomy (i.e. urban non-shifters and rural shifters). Some examples of these were presented in Section 5.5.3. While activists in urban towns would maintain Chaouia, for instance, some rural speakers might shift because of their marriage patterns. Nevertheless, the rate of diffusion remains higher in urban centres where more people are increasingly moving further from their families.

Therefore, I hypothesise that the more contact an individual establishes with urban dwellers, the more likely it is that the use of Algerian Arabic will increase across the different domains. The structure of social networks is economically-driven, and more ties in rural communities are weakening in favour of industrialisation, especially among the young generation. Urban dwellers whose success increasingly depends on their urban ties, and less on day-to-day cooperation with village neighbours and relatives in remote areas, devote more time to strengthening their networks with new neighbours in the city from other ethnolinguistic groups. The results displayed in Table 7.4.3 confirm the initial assumption.

Contacts outside the three communities tend to largely favour the use of AA (90%). Keshida, as an urban space favours AA (67%), while Merouana and Ouled Sellam, to lesser extents, still maintain the use of Chaouia (55% and 67% respectively). Merouana, having both rural and urban sides, functions as a transitional milieu in the continuum. Having strong rural ties, but also actively

taking part in an increasingly complex urban landscape, speakers are placed in a vital position, pulled and driven in opposing directions (Jabeur, 1987). Region is an important factor in Chaouia shift (r=.4). Similar results were found in Salami's (1991) study, in which case it was the most significant factor in an index of sex, age, education and region of origin and residence.

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
OS	32.9% *130*	67.1% *265*	*395*
Merouana	44.6% *139*	55.4% *173*	*312*
Keshida	67% *298*	33% *147*	*445*
Other (outside Batna)	89.8% *115*	10.2% *13*	*128*
Total (N)	*682*	*598*	*1280*
X^2 (3)= 177.616; p<.001; Cramer's V= .4; r = .4			

Table 7.4.3 Language use among members of the network across regions.

In terms of dominance in the network, participants have more local networks from the three regions under study as opposed to outside contacts. Interestingly, ties with members from urban Keshida and rural OS are the highest (N=445 and N=395 respectively), whereas Merouana rural-urban community scores relatively less (N=312). One possible explanation for the pattern can be the economically-driven orientation of networks, where more people from OS maintain contact in Batna for jobs and education opportunities.

7.4.1.4   Education

Al-Wer observes that, in Arabic speaking societies, the level of education is "an indicator of the nature and extent of the speaker's social contacts" (2000: 2). In this regard, education functions as a medium to extending social networks rather than a cause of change itself. These ties, nevertheless, result in pressure from peers and colleagues towards certain linguistic norms (Eckert, 1988). That being said, education in this community deeply influences the language behaviour of

the majority of speakers in that schools present the first actual exposure to Arabic outside home. Despite the fact that different age cohorts have been exposed to different educational policies, education has led to a widespread hostile attitude towards Tamazight varieties. Moreover, until 2000, many students in Ouled Sellam and Merouana had to commute to neighbouring regions to access secondary schooling, and to Batna city to access higher education, where interaction with other learners demanded the use of AA on a daily basis. On that ground, the hypothesis here is that the less educated a speaker is, the more likely Chaouia is used. A similar assumption was adopted by Salami (1991) and Lippi-Green (1989) in their studies.

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Uneducated	12.3% 28	87.7% 200	228
Mosque/Primary	51.9% 14	48.1% 13	27
Middle/Secondary	68.3% 259	31.7% 120	379
University	59% 381	41% 265	646
Total (N)	682	598	1280
$X^2(3)= 196.936$; p<.001; Cramer's V= .4; r = .23			

Table 7.4.4 Language use among members of the network across the educational level.

Education reveals a strong size effect among the participants' ties (*V= .4*). The absolute majority of those who have never been to an educational institution use Chaouia (88%). The pattern with primary and mosque educational group is interesting due to the apparent competition between the two varieties, although no valid claims can be made due to the low number of this category in the network (N=27). Quite expectedly, middle and secondary schools constrain the usage of Chaouia since they introduce bigger peer pressure and language-in-education policies; the use of AA is more than double that of Chaouia (68% vs. 32%). At this stage, most networks also explicitly open up for AA-speaking ties due to geographical mobility and ethnic contact.

The results of the university level are particularly interesting. This category represents the largest number of members in the network (N=646). Although the usage of AA can be described as relatively high in this group (59%), the use of Chaouia is catching up with 41%. The fact that the use of AA at this level is lower than in the secondary school category and the increase of Chaouia requires further elaboration since it is not in line with the hypothesis that the higher the educational level is, the more contact, and thus the more AA and the less Chaouia. This could be explained in regard to the recent development resulting in the university providing more opportunities for bilingualism. The positive change in policies such as introducing Tamazight in schools and Batna University over the last few years make higher education a more accepting environment. This also might be the result of the growing awareness of other ethnolinguistic groups and the relevance of their respective languages at the milieu. Considering that the university is an important domain where attitudes are (re-)shaped, a further division in age was made. Speakers who are 20 years old or less (with secondary-only education) demonstrated that 77% use AA exclusively vs. only 45% among those pursuing their university education (above 20 years old).

Overall, education as an achievement measure in present Batna can serve both Chaouia maintenance and shift to AA. One can argue that greater education has a dual effect on better understanding Imazighen's history and reviving Chaouia values. It would be interesting for further studies, accordingly, to investigate the 'type of education' rather than 'level of education' to assess the influence of learning Tamazight in schools on linguistic choices (see Horesh, 2014 on language of schooling).

7.4.1.5   Geographical mobility

Low mobility among ties means movement only within Batna for work or education for instance, while high mobility indicates crossing the city borders and moving between cities. The assumption is that lack of geographical mobility within the borders of the province would restrict the level of

exposure to the dominant language (Alshawi, 2020). This is not entirely true for this case since although the geographical mobility variable is returned as significant (p<.01), it shows a very weak correlation (r=.07) in the expected direction, such that the more mobile a speaker is, the more shifting is expected. Table 7.4.5 shows that the majority of the ties in the network share low geographical mobility (N=824); however, the use of both AA and Chaouia is fairly equal, whereas the use of AA in the high mobile category is only slightly higher than that of Chaouia. These results suggest that geographical mobility is not a primary factor and that the situation with AA in the study area is a case of a 'locally transmitted' variety rather than an 'imported one'.

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Low	50.8% *419*	49.2% *405*	*824*
High	57.7% *263*	42.3% *193*	*456*
Total (N)	*682*	*598*	*1280*
X^2 (2) = 5.497; p<.01; Cramer's V= .07; r = .07			

Table 7.4.5 Language use across high/low geographically mobile members of the network.

7.4.1.6 Marriage pattern

Marriage from another community has been found to be a facilitating factor for language shift (e.g. Adamou, 2012). When a partner with a different first language enters the core family network, the structure of the network and its language of interaction are likely to change (ibid: 21). Accordingly, the initial assumption is that marriage from outside the community mediates shift, while being single would eliminate the pressure of another party, and so facilitate the use of Chaouia. Results show that marriage patterns are statistically significant (p<.001) but they show negative correlation (r=-.2), see Table 7.4.6. Overall, marriage from outside the community is not common in the network (N=90) and generally favours AA (74%). On the other hand, internal marriages in the community still support the use of Chaouia (81%).

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Single	60.3% *566*	39.7% *373*	*939*
Same community (Tamazight-speaking)	19.5% *49*	80.5% *202*	*251*
Different community	74.4% *67*	25.6% *23*	*90*
Total (N)	*682*	*598*	*1280*
X^2 (2)= 149.575; p<.001; Cramer's V= .34; r = -.2			

Table 7.4.6 Language use across networks with different marriage patterns.

Results for the single group who represents the largest category (N=939) show more preference towards AA (60%) than Chaouia (40%) among the members of the network. This result is not in line with the initial assumption that single speakers would maintain their language; on the contrary, single status seems to facilitate language shift. This is probably because the young speakers are the most mobile and tend to have more extended networks with Arabic-speaking communities.

7.4.2   Relational metrics

7.4.2.1   Type of relation

Relatives were hypothesised to be the contacts most likely to exert the largest pressure on the ego's maintenance of Chaouia; Table 7.4.7 demonstrates that this is, to some extent, true (p<.001; r=.13).

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Relative	39.6% *76*	60.4% *116*	*192*
Friend[39]	54.5% *535*	45.5% *447*	*982*
Colleague[40]	67% *71*	33% *35*	*106*
Total (N)	*682*	*598*	*1280*
X^2(2)= 23.032; p<.001; Cramer's V= .13; r =.13			

Table 7.4.7 Language use across different relations.

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[39] Friends include a few neighbours who were reported as both good friends and neighbours.
[40] This covers colleagues at work, school or university.

However, because friends are, by far, the largest category in the network (N=982) it is hard to establish valid claims. The traditional family-bound ties represent a small category in the network (N=192). Although Chaouia is still maintained with relatives (60%), its use is limited with friends and colleagues (46% and 33% respectively). The nature of interaction with these three categories can explain the different levels of 'temporary' or 'persisting' linguistic pressure. Friends and colleagues are more likely to meet in public or formal spaces rather than intimate places and the social insecurity (through their use of Chaouia) possibly motivates their language behaviour in favour of AA.

The egos' preference of network members allows for personal choice as well as group decisions for language use (Wei, 1994). While it remains important in shaping linguistic repertoires, it does not necessarily restrict personal preferences, as we have noticed many cases of different language usage even among members of the same family (see sections 5.3 and 5.6).

7.4.2.2   Frequency of meeting and frequency of calling

The results refute the assumption that the frequency of direct face-to-face contact between the ego and their ties might explain language choice. This variable was returned as insignificant, possibly because face-to-face contact is already high with all ties reported, and both languages are evenly used. High frequency of calling (mostly via mobile phones), on the other hand, is significant ($p=.01$) but correlates very weakly and negatively with Chaouia maintenance ($r= -.05$) (Appendix 7c: 2-3).

7.4.2.3   Closeness

The *ten* ties reported by each ego were divided into three categories depending on how close they were to the ego (intimate, close, casual relation).[41] The hypothesis was the closer the tie, the more

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[41] In response to the question about *who the ego is closest to*: Intimate ties are the first three individuals (1-3) named; close ones are numbers (4-7), and casual ones are the ones ranked (8-10).

Chaouia is used. The results are significant (*p=.015*), with a very weak correlation with Chaouia use (*r=.08*). The use of AA does not seem to be against the norms even with intimate friends; it is used by 59%, 53% and 48% with casual, close and intimate ties (see Appendix 7c: 4).

7.4.2.4   Density

Following the argument of Milroy (1987: 52) that density facilitates the maintenance of the local norms, particularly among working-class communities, I assumed that it would facilitate the maintenance of Chaouia, while sparse networks mediate the use of AA. Density, as a measure for the egos, produces the expected effect. In other words, the more people know each other in the network, the more likely Chaouia is used.[42]

	AA	Ch	Total (N)
Loose	68% 28	32% 13	*41*
Dense	45% 39	55% 48	*87*
Total (N)	*67*	*61*	*128*
X² (1)= 6.151; p=.01; Cramer's V=.22; r = .22			

Table 7.4.8 Language use across loose and dense networks.

It is clear that loose networks support more AA (68%) than Chaouia (32%), yet dense networks support the use of both languages, making it difficult to determine the role of density here. One possible explanation for the weak correlation between dense networks and Chaouia maintenance (r=.2) is that the network in general is already relatively dense (N=87 vs. N=41 for loose ones). However, a separate cross-tab between density and gender showed that more females than males actually have loose networks in the community (63% vs. 37%).

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[42] The original variable had four categories: no one knows another, only few know each other, the majority know each other, all know each other. The results were not significant (p >.05). Hence, the two weaker and two stronger measures were conflated.

Adamou found that language shift can easily take place even among dense networks if "some highly connected individuals make the decision to shift to another language. Such a choice rapidly affects the entire community and may lead to a complete shift within two generations" (2012: 10). These individuals usually have a stronger capital than the other members of the network, hence, their power to affect language use.

7.4.3 Summary of results

For reporting the general results of the SN for *attribute* and *relational* metrics, I reconsidered some of the criteria for the conservativeness index in relation to gender, marriage and frequency of calling since they rendered negative correlation values (e.g. the r=-.2 for gender). This means that the highest score is given to the participant's tie, who is a male, is from Ouled Sellam, has never been to school, is old, is married from the same community (i.e. the partner is Berber), is less likely to be geographically mobile, and interacts mostly with relatives, as intimate relations who all know each other. In such a case, conservativeness is expected to positively correlate with the higher use of Chaouia.

1. SN strength for the attributes of the network

Logistic regression shows that the model is significant (p<.001) with Cramer's V=.5 and a variance (R^2) of 35% in language use, with Chaouia favoured when the attributes of the network's members are conservative (i.e., being a male, old speaker, from OS, less educated, not geographically mobile and married from the same community) (see Appendix 7c: 6).

The general tendency supports my hypothesis: the more conservative the attributes, the stronger is the SN and therefore the more use of Chaouia. Among these conservative attributes, the most interesting pattern appears across age and gender; there is very little known about the effect of

friendship structure on males' and females' social practice and language choice in bilingual societies (Woolard, 1997: 535).
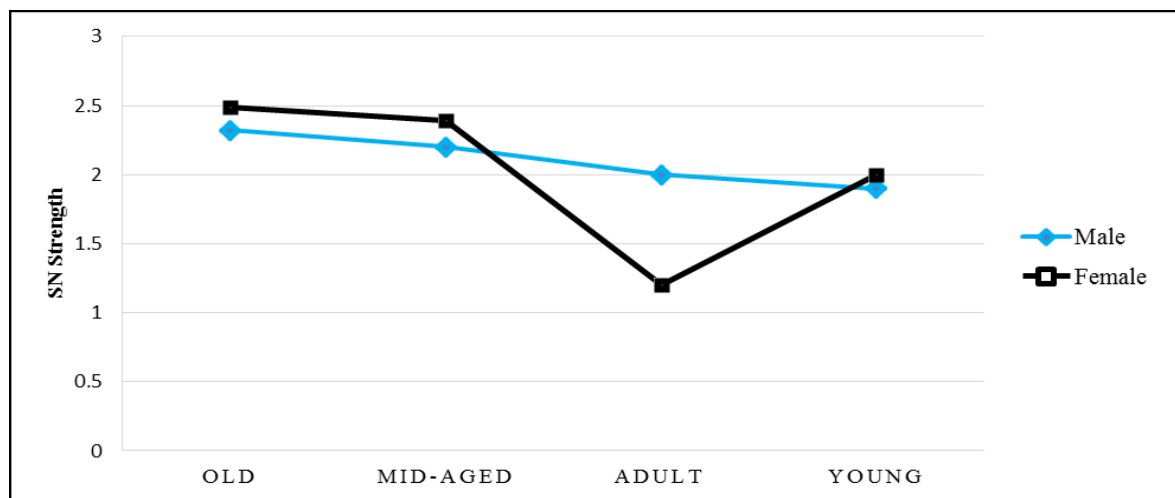
Figure 7.4.2 SN strength across age groups and gender.

What we notice in Figure 7.4.2 is that females overall have stronger, more cohesive networks than males, except for the third generation (i.e. adult age group, 26-48), where they demonstrate a large transition in network structure. As they open their network to other ethnolinguistic groups and males, females establish a preference of diversity over homogeneity and solidarity. In so doing, these results agree with Eckert's (1989a) observation that females, more than males, sense the threat of being associated with the wrong group and so attempt at asserting various identities. The looseness of their networks is a reflection of their greater need for social acknowledgement and challenge to the traditional boundaries of family-based networks. These females are largely mobile for different reasons: education, work, or marriage (Coates, 2016; Gal, 1979; Milroy, 1987; Sharma, 2017).

Differences in the structure of females' and males' networks, in turn, were associated with differences in language choices (Woolard, 1997). While solidarity is crucial for both, only 13% of adult females reported the use of Chaouia with their ties, as opposed to 44% of adult males using it (p<.001, r=.3, see Figure 7.4.1). Along with the newly-established gendered socialisation

patterns at home and school, peer pressure among the adult age group affects the choice and use of the bilingual repertoire. The friendship circle of this group tends to be ethnolinguistically diverse and challenging to the maintenance of Chaouia as the language of habitual use; females' friendship seems to set higher pressure on linguistic divergence to AA.

The different levels of shift among females and males contribute to constructing new gendered identities of masculinity and femininity (Coates, 2016). Eckert (2000) and Bourdieu (1991) link this to the idea that women seek symbolic capital through language use because of the limitations imposed on their social status. Similarly, the symbolic capital offered by the use of AA not only enhances females' educational and economic possibilities but broadens their imagined field of possible marital partners (see Section 5.3). Thus, the traditional link of Berber maintenance to femininity and females is being challenged and re-constructed, along with discourses of gender inequality, socio-economic change and identity loss (see Section 5.3.1).

Moreover, differences in language choice among the adult age group extend to the discourse of the young generation and shape the way they negotiate their identity in their respective networks. The following extract between two friends illustrates it. For the girl *Rama*, linguistic mismatch with peers creates insecurity and pressure; solidarity demands linguistic accommodation. For the boy *Samer*, the use of Chaouia is a marker of in-group identity and solidarity (see Section 5.5.2).

> *SR*: What do you think about Chaouia?
>
> *Rama*: I like it only a bit. My friends do not like it. They always say 'do not speak Chaouia, we do not like it! We don't understand it!'
>
> *SR*: What is their reaction when you speak it?
>
> *Rama*: My friends laugh a lot.
>
> *Samer*: For me, No! They never do. All of us speak it. The girls are showing off. Why would you allow them to laugh at you? (M, 14, OS)
>
> *Rama*: You are a boy anyway! […] I can speak Arabic better than them. (F, 13, OS)

2. **SN strength for the relations of the network**

The model is significant at (p<.001) with a small size effect (Cramer's V=.15) and weak variance (R^2= 2.6%) (see Appendix 7c: 7). Relational metrics explain less than 3% of the variance occurring in language use. This somewhat surprising result might be because all ties are already strong, and AA and Chaouia are regarded as equally important (see Section 7.4.2.4 above). Discussions are presented in the section below.

7.5 Discussion and implications

This discussion is centred around three main questions:

1. *Which is more explanatory in this community: attribute or relational metrics of networks?*

The above analysis reflects the importance of attributes in language choice in the regions studied. In other words, when speaking to someone, the *attributes* of the addressees/interlocutors in the network are more important in determining which language to use than the *relational* characteristics of the speaker. However, the linguistic patterns in this community are best explained not by individual variables separately, but by the interactive nature of social factors and the dynamics of networking. Most elder and mid-aged speakers, despite their gender and region, interact with each other regularly using Chaouia. These groups have much denser networks than the younger males and females, whose ties are more dispersed.

On the other hand, the lack of statistically significant differences in relational metrics might be linked to the socio-economic structure of the Chaouia society. While speakers of Chaouia need to expand their linguistic repertoires to respond to the increasingly Arabic-speaking ties and accommodate to a range of social domains where more opportunities are offered, the speakers of Arabic (even monolingual) might need much less to meet the needs of different contexts. The

limited capital added by network members, in this dominant working-class speech community, seems to be insufficient to exert a stronger weight on Chaouia maintenance.

Overall, there are at least three possible overlapping explanations for language behaviour here: social and linguistic feelings of inferiority at a group level (Fishman, 1991: 340; Gal, 1989: 354); language choice by interlocutor (Gal, 1979; Hornberger, 1988), and individual choices and changes (Lippi-Green, 1989). For this latter, speakers within the same group (age, gender, region, etc.) show internal variation in terms of language use. This could be motivated by speakers' attitudes towards their ethnic identity, group solidarity and willingness/resistance to accommodate to particular addressees. The ideological background of the network members, in particular, has a significant effect on language shift or maintenance (Adamou, 2012: 7), but it is inclined to change in response to the changes in individual's experiences (Stoessel, 2002: 95). Recall the quote from Tinhinen (F, 31, OS) in Section 5.5.3, for example.

Finally, the influence of these complex networks of informal personal ties on speech patterns remains very moderate. What is noticeable is that Chaouia remains widely spoken despite social changes. At the same time, their "high degree of integration does not automatically ensure conservation" (Lippi-Green, 1989: 231). Particularly since the end of the civil war in 2001, social ties of Chaouias across rural and urban spaces have been weakening in favour of migration, and further change might be on the horizon. But at present, the use of Chaouia does not seem to be strongly linked with the maintenance of community-based ties.

Therefore, it is important to consider the value of the language shifted to, i.e. AA, in evaluating the effect of social networks (see Table 7.5.9). Even if Batna is a Chaouia-majority community, the language of socialisation and wider communication is no longer restricted to Chaouia. The majority are comfortable with AA and do not perceive it as a threat to their ethnic identity. This could be due to the long exposure to AA through education, contact and media or perhaps due to

the rather 'neutral' status of AA in the amalgam of linguistic varieties available. Consequently, AA is widely used for interaction both within and outside the social network. A similar pattern was reported among Malayalees shifting from Malayalam to English (Govindasamy and Nambiar, 2003) and speakers of Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu shifting to English in South Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2003) because of the economic demands which are a stronger enforcement agent than networks' density and strength.

	Algerian Arabic	Chaouia	Total (N)
Egos	52.3% 67	47.7% 61	128
Egos' SNs	53.3% 682	46.7% 598	1280

Table 7.5.9 The use of AA and Chaouia across egos and their social networks.

Table 7.5.9 shows that SNs as an external variable influence the linguistic choices and preferences of the egos, and the egos themselves reflect the general behaviour of their SNs. The results show that the use of AA and Chaouia, across egos and their networks, is constant. Both are largely used, but AA is slightly favoured. Nonetheless, these are self-reports which risk over- and/or under-estimating language use, and so the index is best considered as relative, rather than an absolute measure of the usage of these languages.

2. *What generalisations or conclusions can be made, if any?*

The results of this study provide interim conclusions that can be taken into further studies because generalisation is not straightforward here. First, the participants for this study are not randomly selected, and the networks' members are not all Imazighen. Second, social networks are a social system with its complexities and dynamic changes. Thus, the analysis is based on correlation that "cannot be assumed to imply causation, particularly in the case of network effects" (Sharma, 2017: 412). One should also point at the inherent weakness of network scoring to create a

conservativeness index; quantification constrains explanations. In addition, multilingual individuals "present a more complex picture of the situation and may thus offer a challenge to SNA" (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007: 276).

Put differently, exact predictors for language choice cannot be tangibly defined; these variables only imply possible explanations. In such cases, for instance, all conservative features might be present with the interlocutor, but they still unexpectedly shift to the use of AA to express sarcasm or serve a secretive purpose in language communication. Accordingly, internal changes or innovations in either language or SN might be driven by some other factors such as attitudes or social inequality or political stance, in which case network indexes become "proxies for less directly observed forces" (Sharma, 2017: 412).

3. What implications may SN have on this community?

The rapid social changes introduced in the network structure across gender and age groups might have a long-term effect on language use and transmission in the future. Adamou argues that:

> "highly connected individuals may influence the network as a whole because of their centrality in the network (they have many ties to members of a network that also have many ties) and propagate language shift through some sort of "contagion". In this language shift, individuals who are peripheral in the network are the least likely to shift: such may be older female speakers, individuals located in the periphery of the village, individuals with small families and few friends, etc." (Adamou, 2012: 20).

In such a case, the centrality of partners, and particularly females, from an Arabic-speaking group in the community can shape the family's language practices. If two or three network members from the same family have a non-Berber-speaking spouse, a whole intimate network may eventually be restructured. If Chaouia is to be maintained for the long run, then it is crucial for the community to be aware of its daily social choices. (see Appendix 7c: 5 for details on the interaction between gender and marriage patterns in the network).

Similarly, how newcomers (whether in family, work or school) affect and are affected by the local Chaouia networks does not depend only on their language competence, but the social value of their language and the access it provides to more domains. Being able to sustain the symbolic capital of Chaouia and compete for cultural, economic and social capital with Arabic, French, or English requires linking to other Chaouia speakers who already possess that and can support Chaouia's diffusion. Having males as dominant members in the network suggests that their role to initiate that change in their friendship circles is critical.

Having said that, it is important to find out how to strengthen group ties for maintenance efforts, through locating the focal relations as well as the brokers to re-activate the social capital and encourage the use of Chaouia. Whole-network studies could give an insight into that. Sallabank (2010) suggests the use of media and group recordings for documentation to raise exposure to language and strengthen social ties. In this way, linguistic research might actually promote maintenance and social network strength.

7.6   Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter explored the applicability of a SN model for the Chaouia community in Batna. It presented an overview of the analysis and role of SN in language choice for Chaouias. Social attributes such as the age, gender, education and region of the network's members were found to be more important in explaining language choice than relational metrics such as the type of relation, level of closeness, and frequency of face-to-face meeting. The chapter drew attention to the emergence of new social patterns in the society through challenging the collective group norms and prioritising individual choices. This has, consequently, led to shifting our assumptions of what constitutes a 'conservative' index in the community. The analysis revealed the limits of explanations provided by the social network framework. Language shift is in progress for other indirect reasons, and personal networks do not offer much explanatory force. For this community,

the reasons are mainly language attitudes, political activism or awareness, and experience of contact.

Nevertheless, this chapter further strengthens the previous results in chapters five and six, particularly supporting that differences in language choice and use are tied to the emerging differences in the structure of females' and males' social networks. The friendship pattern of the adult age group shows that the linguistic choices and social practices are different across gender and would potentially have a greater effect on families and schools. Females in this group have the loosest, least solidary and most heterogeneous friendship circles, indexing wider networks and larger needs for social mobility and conformity in the use of AA. Males' circles, on the other hand, were more cohesive, bounded and Chaouia-oriented.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1   Objectives and conceptual framework

This study has looked at the change in language practices of the Chaouia speech community. It explored the usage of language(s) in different domains (or *fields*) like home, school and friendship network, along with some other contexts. It examined some main factors triggering language shift in Batna at a local level, based on the premise that language is a powerful and meaningful tool that reflects and influences group organisation (directly or indirectly).

The main objectives explored in this study were (see Section 1.3):

1. The role of various historical, socio-economic, and political factors in changing the role of Chaouia as a mother tongue among the Chaouias of the plains in Batna;
2. The change in language practices of the speech community at home. This includes an examination of language competence, linguistic usages at the inter- and intra-generational levels, and transmission preferences;
3. The nature and the extent of the impact of schooling on Chaouia maintenance/shift through an exploration of power relations, religious discourse and self-asserted identities, language attitudes and ideologies in the educational sphere;
4. The role of peer pressure and social networks in language use and convergence or divergence from the majority Arabic-speaking group.

In examining the patterns of language behaviour across these three main domains, I also pointed at an attitude shift and a re-construction of Berber identity and awareness. Gender, age, region, education and religion were particularly highlighted to further explain some of the complexities of the sociolinguistic profile of the community.

These objectives were explored via a multidisciplinary account that maintains the multi-dimensionality of LS studies. Thus, I drew on various relevant, but holistic, theoretical approaches from different fields. This mainly included the sociology of language, social psychology, political economy and variationist sociolinguistics. Accordingly, the main theoretical frameworks used were: 1) Fishman's model for LS, 2) language attitudes and ideologies, 3) Bourdieu's theory of capital, and 4) SN.

It remains to say that my analysis was community-centred, and only drew on the most relevant forces in the region. The focus was on establishing a sociological picture of language behaviour from the perspective of the community itself, and to a lesser extent the majority group. The emerging generalisations, nevertheless, feed back into the field and allow comparison and further elaboration of the already-established concepts. The following Figure 8.1.1 summarises the social dynamics that affect language use in Batna, operating at the micro- as well as macro-level of analysis.
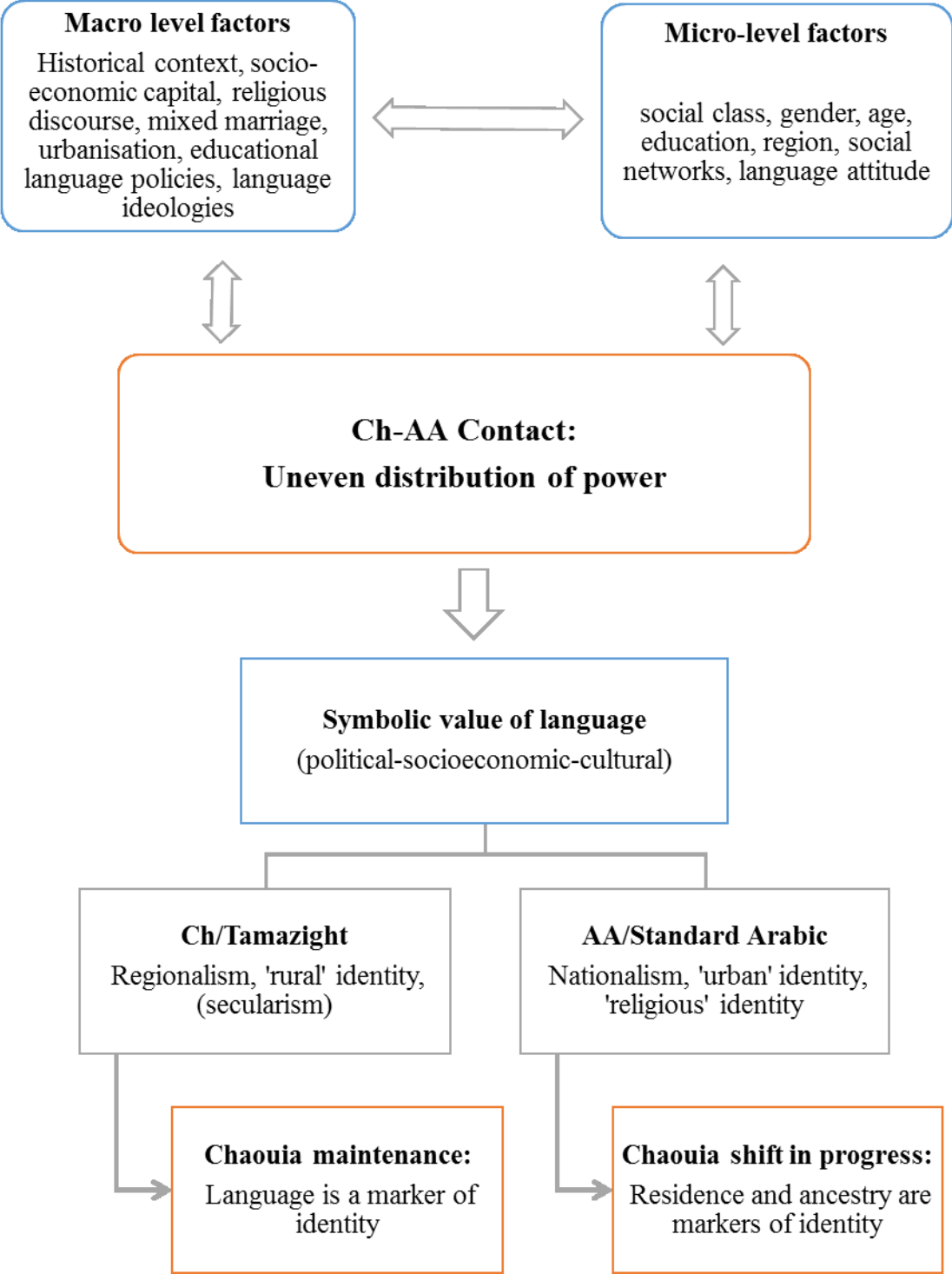
Figure 8.1.1 The conceptual framework of the current study.

Given the interplay between these approaches, and their respective methodologies, all models support the idea that linguistic issues are reflective of the socio-political factors. In Batna, the main reasons behind this shift in progress are socio-political and economic in nature. Edwards maintains that "[t]he essence of group identity is individual identity and the essence of individual identity, ultimately, is survival, personal security and well-being" (1985: 98). In this respect, language becomes a negotiable commodity (Rubdy and Tan, 2008), as much as it is a symbol of struggle and power (Bourdieu, 1991; Williams, 2000b). The historical pressures and political context create an uneven distribution of languages' domination and value. Therefore, how and why language comes to be practiced in different ways depends on the social field, ideologies attached and power relations. As this symbolism changes from one field to another, certain identities are silenced while other layers are manifested.

Home, school and friendship are powerful fields but are not immune against external powers, exclusion and stigmatisation, policies and economic deprivation. As they respond to these dynamics, the symbolic values attached to different languages used also change. Often, these languages are perceived as oppositional. Linguistic identity, correspondently, changes (Edwards, 1985: 97), despite its great importance for minorities' self-identification. Through a combined experience of school, the army, migration and social contact, Chaouias learnt that social advancement and power are linked to the mastery of AA and so continue to shift.

Chaouias in the three regions under study substantiate Bourdieu's theory that linguistic practice as a form of symbolic capital is linked to economic, cultural and social capital. Its value in the linguistic market depends on its capacity to provide access to the labour market, legitimised by the state's institutions (Gal, 1989: 353). By consenting to this legitimacy imposed by those in power, Chaouias accept "symbolic domination" (Bourdieu, 1977). Their acceptance of the legitimacy of Arabic is an assertion of their acceptance of the power of its speakers. In addition, their lack of

resistance is linked to aspiring for the power of their Chaouia counterparts who abandoned their language to join the authority and serve it with an 'accredited' prestige (as many army officers) (see Section 2.7.3). As a working-class community, symbolic domination justifies their linguistic insecurity (Gal, 1989: 354). Although social networks, through the in-group pressure of solidarity, have been found to support the maintenance of linguistic practices elsewhere, despite symbolic domination (Gal, 1979, 1989; Woolard, 1989), this has not been sufficiently supported in this study. Chaouia and Algerian Arabic are both widely used in the network, without, presently, threatening local solidarity, despite the fact that AA is predominantly favoured across domains. In what follows, I summarise and discuss the political-economic and symbolic terrain of language choice in the community.

8.2   General results and discussion

The relationship between social groups and language operates at different levels in language contact situations. Although Algerian Arabic and Chaouia have been in contact for long in the plains of Aurès, little attention has been given to the dynamics and influence of this contact on contemporary Batna. The present study attempted to fill this gap by exploring some aspects of the social meanings attached to Chaouia, its status, and the reasons behind its decline of usage.

8.2.1   Historical and political factors

Regarding the first objective, I reported on the specificities of the historical-political context where both languages are situated in Chapter Two. The discussion highlighted the main reasons behind the sharp decrease of the number of Berbers from more than 50% in 1830 (Benrabah, 2013: 24) to 18.6% in 1966 (Chaker, 1998: 13). It also pointed at the effect of openness to market, social mobility and urbanisation on weakening Berber social ties, generating a 'Chaouia Myth' and changing language use. It set the ground for the importance of studying the northern part of Aurès with three communities: Keshida, Merouana, and Ouled Sellam. Along with a sketch of the

previous studies on Berber in NA (see Section 3.3), we saw a complex constellation of forces acting as precursors of shift. With transitions in social, economic, and political backgrounds, a change in language use has been introduced at different levels. The analysis looked at language use in an intimate setting (home), then a formal one (school), then a liaising one (friendship).

8.2.2 Home domain

As far as the second objective is concerned, results were reported in Chapter Five. At home, where acquisition determines the future of the language, it was found that there is a continuous decline across generations in using Chaouia and a significant correlation with the background characteristics of respondents, mainly age, gender, region and the (ethno-)linguistic background of parents. Overall, younger, urban, female respondents are leading the shift towards AA to replace Chaouia in all domains.

In terms of language proficiency, the majority reported good command in Chaouia and AA, but more use of the second. This usage increases from proximal networks in the neighbourhood to friends to distant work fellows. Mothers were found to be the main mediators of shift. Chaouia transmission is either accompanied with AA or delayed until this latter is mastered. The recurrent argument behind that is similar to what El Kirat reported in Morocco where parents simply wanted to "spare them [their children] all the psychological pressures they went through themselves" (2007: 711).

The variationist framework shows that language choice and use are not random and are subject to the constraints of language(s) competence and meta-linguistic predictors. At a micro-level, age has significant effects on Chaouia graded continuum of proficiency and use across generations. Despite the fact that elders reported full linguistic skills, a large scale of shift is seen among the last two generations with a steady increase of AA use. However, it is important to state that shift is largely happening at an intra-generational level between elder and younger siblings at home

(across two age groups; adults (26-48) and young individuals (12-25)). Interestingly, though, there is a tendency that as speakers get older, the usage of Chaouia gradually increases again among some speakers. This was mainly attributed to the influence of the extended family or exposure to other ethnolinguistic groups at the university level.

The role of gender is crucial, although not strongly statistically supported. First, females are less confident about their linguistic competence in Chaouia, and more reluctant to use it. Contrary to the previous literature that reports the association of Tamazight with femininity (Becker, 2006; Hoffman, 2008; Sadiqi, 2014b), Chaouia is regarded as masculine, and so are its speakers. The shift, however, is progressing rapidly because males are seemingly also following the lead of females, and are increasingly internalising their "inferior" status (Gal, 1979). Second, there is an emerging gender-based pattern of socialisation and language use by parents to child addressees where girls are addressed in Algerian Arabic, while boys are addressed in Chaouia and they use it to respond as well. Boys have more regular contact with their extended family members (Chaouia-speaking) than girls, and so have better chances to develop active competence in Chaouia. With more access to schools nowadays, women, particularly, use education as a proxy for contact, mobility and better social status in their families and the society at large (Al-Wer, 2000; Oussedik, 1999).

Marriage, in this respect, is important. For long, it served more as a group affair for establishing alliances among Chaouias and Kabyles than a personal choice (Bourdieu, 1958). This practice has been steadily challenged because of the change of roles of individuals and distance created between generations and members of the same family. Previously, exogamy was fundamentally political and masculine (Bourdieu, 1977); nowadays, women are more concerned with the economic capital of marriage. A wave of change in marriage traditions and values made it a valuable market for Chaouia females. The majority of informants (70%) report a case of cross-

marriage in their family and have a preference of marrying outside the group themselves. Yet, more females than males report a preference of Arab partners for their assumed 'religiosity', social status, and as a reaction to Chaouia men valuing outsider women. Marriage, for young Chaouia women, is a symbolic market to move up through the social hierarchy and get access to more capital. Consequently, women are held responsible for LS, either through their preferences/acceptance of exogamy, lack of pride in their Chaouia identity or influence on Chaouia transmission. This change in gender roles serves a challenge of power in the economic and symbolic capital. For females, the symbolic capital of Chaouia is not enough to compete with the functionality of other languages in the market (Bourdieu, 1991; Hoffman, 2006; Hoffman, 2008). The exceptions to that are few Chaouia rural women who, despite being subject to discrimination and *ḥogra* (social injustice) outside their intimate neighbourhood, still proudly preserve Chaouia.

In terms of region, the economic disadvantages have long driven many Chaouias to migrate to large cities, particularly after the black decade. The rural-urban dichotomy reinforced ideologies of power and backwardness. Results showed that the majority of speakers associate Chaouia with rurality and countryside lifestyle. By the same token, Ouled Sellam, largely rural, shows the most use of Chaouia with a sharp decline at sibling level and strong difference between mothers' and fathers' use of AA. Thus, even though it is the least advanced region, it may be the fastest shifting, if the same pattern continues. Merouana shows a regular decrease of Chaouia and increase of AA, whereas Keshida shows a mixed use of both to siblings' level, unexpectedly. Keshida, originally expected to lead change, reveals a different pattern with younger individuals being slightly more conservative than the ones in Merouana. Merouana, in this regard, demonstrates a critical mediation between both regions. Its inhabitants show very positive attitudes towards its history, location and development. Keshida, on the other hand, has a bad reputation of lack of security, weak infrastructure and high rates of unemployment. It is a point of contact between old and rural

migrants. Its connection with rurals serves to re-create the communal organisation, under spatial segregation, where the "shantytown becomes a replica of the village" in the city (Volpi, 2003: 97).

Thus, family is not autonomous in its decisions about language maintenance. We have to acknowledge the challenges confronting it, whether internal inequalities in terms of gender and class roles, for instance, or external ones like policies and economics. Chaouia is undergoing a fast shift in progress; AA is constantly invading more domains, securing new functions and more capital. This takes place at the level of the younger generation (and within the same generation) because, in light of Bourdieu's theory, they are less experienced social agents who do not possess strong capital to resist the dominating structures. This lack of experience or limited habitus comes primarily from school. School

> "embitters those who have received education and aggravates the situation of the others, unbalancing the family milieu, with women most commonly remaining illiterate, which leads to generational conflicts and the collapse of the traditional teachings that underlie the old psychological and social structures." (Bourdieu, 2013: 41)

This leads to discussing the third objective. The school, as a field of cultural production, is the most apparent space of clashes between the dominant and dominated classes (Bourdieu, 1980: 285).

8.2.3   School domain

At schools, where positive steps have been taken to promote Tamazight as an official language, little positivity has been reported because of ideological conflicts, standardisation and the question of the script. The school, especially, was an important institution in terms of the formation of a negative Berber identity. Tamazight was presented as a tool of division and secularism, while Standard Arabic was attached to religiosity and patriotism. Serelli (2016) rightly identifies the school as the main institution in producing social change among Siwi Berbers. Education, among Chaouias, is a facilitator for upward mobility, Islamisation, and appropriating language along with

behaviour. Put differently, the school has become a legitimising institution for language, religion and behaviour.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus allows us to analyse the conditions of these historically constituted dispositions through an examination of the invisible politics behind implementation, script and identity to offer a better understanding of power relations embedded in language attitudes and ideologies. Chaouia linguistic capital is symbolically embodied in solidarity and group cohesiveness, which are constantly diminishing, but AA functions as a symbol of religious, nationalist and, increasingly, ethnic identity despite few forms of resistance. People tend to perform these identities in different ways; markers of each identity are contextual and are resorted to only when needed.

One of the major factors in the spread of AA in Batna is the political religious discourse. Islam is used as a powerful political tool. Islam and Arabic are portrayed as inseparable and equally sacred. Thus, "the language used in religious texts/scriptures becomes a symbol/part of religious identity" (Bhat, 2017: 186). Hence, projecting a religious character over ethnolinguistic identity provides better capital for Chaouias, adult and young females in particular. That being said, the role of religion is controversial. On the one hand, it seems to promote positive attitudes towards Arabic and justifies its preference. On the other hand, it generates opposition which calls for a 'secular state' that puts an end to the 'sacred role' of language in the debate. Adam (2017) and Gabsi (2011) found that religious identity is prioritised over the ethnic one among Berbers in Libya and Tunisia respectively. Almasude (2014) and Davies and Bentahila (1989) similarly found that religious identity in Morocco is being diffused to ethnic identity and Berbers identify themselves as Arabs. Nevertheless, this conclusion is yet open to question in Algeria, particularly when considering age and gender. It is important, however, to note that this debate is more prominent among politically-active individuals who are engaged with daily discourses of state-building and social policies.

It is evident, too, that literacy practices and orthography are playing a crucial role. Its manipulation by authorities could lead to a transition of linguistic identities in Batna, as well as create division among Berbers. Its uncertainty has larger implications on teaching Tamazight in other regions and among Arabs too (to whom Tifinagh might be a challenging option). Presently, there are three scripts for Tamazight (and so Chaouia), with diverse perceptions that are mainly political and ideological.

The major section includes Kabyles to whom Latin script for Tamazight is simple, good, most accommodative, and scientific. Despite being the one used in classrooms, Latin script is the least favoured among Chaouias. This script is used recursively as a link to French and colonialism, and so associated with secularism and westernisation. It remains, however, the preferred orthography among teachers of Tamazight in Batna.

The second group consists of mostly Touaregs who maintained Tifinagh over centuries, and advocate for it despite its decreasing usage. Many activists and parents in Batna, particularly males, fall into this category too and argue for preserving the authenticity of the language and a 'full' revival of its distinctiveness.

The third group, significant and powerful, mostly comprises the young generation (i.e., students in governmental schools in general but a majority of females in public too), and politicians who advocate Arabic script for Tamazight, which they consider the only solution to sustain unity. Arabic script, for them, indexes the language, and by extension, Muslim identity (see sections 6.4 and 6.7).

In addition, attitudes towards SA, AA, Tamazight, French and English are crucial in evaluating the success or failure of the recent language policy reforms and its promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity. A long history of discrimination towards Berber and Algerian Arabic in the school domain shaped different ideologies about language limits until recently. These language

attitudes have practical implications as to whether the language will be transmitted or not. For instance, while positive attitudes contributed to the maintenance of Siwi (Serelli, 2016) and Kabyle (Ait Habbouche, 2013; Bektache, 2009) and Chaouia in the Massif (Guedjiba, 2012), negative perceptions facilitated shift among Berbers in Tunisia (Gabsi, 2011) and Touaregs in Lybia (Adam, 2017).

SA is iconically perceived as the symbol of nation, unity, urbanity and education. To speak Arabic, for Chaouias, is to advance socially, economically and religiously. These values have been promoted by the state through media and school but transported to home too. The underlying prestige associated with SA holds true for AA (particularly after the black decade) and evokes positive attitudes towards it. Chaouias did not only report positive attitudes towards Arabic but also perceive Arabic as significantly superior to Chaouia, and Berber in general, in almost all domains. The analysis of self-reported language(s) proficiency provides evidence that Chaouia is losing ground in symbolic as well as communicative aspects. However, while Arabic might be "glorified as an object, it is not always valued as a tool" (Davies and Bentahila, 2013: 89) because many elders lack proficiency in SA and elites send their children to French-oriented schools. Berber, on the other hand, indexes division, mountains, secularism and a threat to nationalism. These attitudinal perceptions of Chaouia are reported among both its speakers and Arabic speakers in Batna. It is associated with rurality, illiteracy, masculinity as well as lack of opportunities.

Accepting and celebrating diversity since 2000 introduced an attitude shift towards French and English. In the linguistic market, French remains the medium to upward mobility but is strongly associated with colonialism for young Chaouias. English, however, is largely accepted and embraced as a language of liberation and advancement. Many individuals even reported their ambitious will to pass it as a first language to their children. What is apparent in the community,

though, is that people can hold contradicting attitudes and practices. This suggests that more changes seem to be on the way.

In terms of ideologies, I can pinpoint the three ones that emerged in the analysis chapters: standardisation, nationalism, and nativeness. First, standard language ideology is described as a form of erasure in its attempt to make some people invisible (Gal and Irvine, 1995: 974). It strengthens and imposes the idea that there is one "best" or "legitimate" form of a language to be used (Dragojevic, Giles, and Watson, 2013: 8; Milroy, 2001: 547). It, accordingly, alienates many Berbers, especially old speakers and rural women, as they use their regional varieties. On the front line, this policy attempts at improving the status of Tamazight at school but at the same time renders its varieties insufficient and inadequate. This would have a potential implication in the case of creating new speakers who are unable to communicate with Berbers who have not been exposed to Tamazight at school. Unsurprisingly, Hoffman (2008) found that Moroccan Arabs regarded Amazigh varieties as useless for the country as a whole and an impediment to national unity; similarly, Benrabah's (2007) Algerian Arab informants showed negative attitudes towards Tamazight and refuse its status as a legitimate language (Sayahi 2014: 19).

Second, the idea of 'one nation, one language' has been challenged a lot by Berbers and although Tamazight is officialised, there is still huge social contempt against the decision as well as its applications. Edwards (2009: 163) observes that nationalism is often understood as an "extension to ethnicity", reinforcing the belief of the absence of differences and internal diversity. It is not surprising, then, to link the national identity of the state with linguistic unity and legitimise that through historical narratives (Gal, 1989: 355). Arabic, for the same reason, is presented as a symbol of unity and de-colonisation in the process of state-building. Along with the media and the army, educational reforms serve as a strong strategy, used by the state, to socialise the different communities into a homogeneous citizenry (Williams, 1991: 55).

Third, the ideology of nativeness and purism remains a source of frustration for many Berbers themselves in defining their identity. Berber speakers tend to judge each other depending on accent and group-identification, where they come from, and how much they code-switch. The inhabitants of the Massif, for instance, consider themselves, and are considered as speakers of the purest Chaouia and the best reference for other Chaouia speaking communities in Aurès. Moreover, nativeness is used as a criterion in recruiting teachers of Tamazight, reinforcing essentialism and excluding speakers of Arabic as a first language. These are, also, the same ideologies engraved in the collective memory of Algerians, perceiving Algerian Arabic as a "hybrid" dialect compared to *Mashreqi* varieties (Hachimi, 2013), and at the same time as their 'unique' language. In this regard, AA is increasingly challenging the status of SA in schools. In classrooms, in particular, it is AA that dominates. Its functionality is competing with SA even in political speech, media and mosques.

Therefore, schools should be mediums for "ideological clarifications" (Fishman, 1991). Failure in accepting and embracing linguistic diversity at schools becomes central in reproducing inequalities. Many Chaouia speakers, despite the daily arguments about using Tamazight in the classroom, are still unconscious of their Amazigh identity. Contrary to Guedjiba's (2012) results regarding the maintenance of Chaouia and its consciousness in the Massif, my observations revealed a large absence of awareness among young people and an increasing gap between the generations due to the 'alienating' role of the educational system. The gender pattern was apparent in schools. Males, more than females, use Tamazight and Chaouia. The majority, mainly females, prefer Tamazight to remain optional in schools. There is a strong resistance among the young speakers not to study the language, and it is critical to consider whether providing the choice option for students, who are not well-informed about their identity and history and keep their parents away from the school discourse, is helpful for the future of the language. I summarise the main problems facing Tamazight teaching in Batna, in the following points:

1. The uncertainty over choice of the script and its use for ideological ends,

2. Lack of identity awareness,

3. Teachers' underqualification in the field, timing of the class, exams status,

4. Ideological conflict with Arabic-speaking teachers and headmasters; isolation and insecurity of teachers of Tamazight,

5. The use of Tamazight or Kabyle variety as an immediate medium of instruction,

6. Absence of parents' engagement and the community's reluctance regarding the programme: only 30% welcomed the idea of opening classes of Tamazight for adults in the community.

The seemingly supportive language policies are ineffective when not considered alongside economic and social policies. Fishman pointed long ago to the limitations of schooling where transmission and language continuity are concerned (1991: 368-373) and the need for intimate, small-scale network processes "too gratifying and rewarding to surrender" if a small language is to be maintained and transmitted (Fishman, 1988: 12).

8.2.4 Social networks domain

Moving on to the fourth objective, Chaouia speakers, within the limits of the present study, give more value to the social characteristics of their network members than the relationship itself when thinking about language choice. With more interaction and contact with Arabic-speakers, the social organisation has changed and the economic capital has increased. Although solidarity is still maintained, to a certain extent, self-interest is prioritised, using the economy principles to pursue their welfare (e.g. choice of members in the network, marriage, education, etc.). The current study has examined both attributes (i.e. gender, age, region, education, marriage, geographical mobility) and relational metrics (i.e. type of relations, frequency of meeting, frequency of calling, closeness

and density). Overall, attributes of the network explain 35% of variance in language choice; relational metrics account for less than 3% of variance.

Attributes revealed more explanations for language behaviour. First, Chaouia males are linguistically more conservative than females. This is not just because the latter are deliberately aiming for AA, but also due to "the less tight-knit networks to which women belong" (Coates, 2016: 81) that are less efficient at supporting Chaouia. Networks, of both sexes, are numerically dominated by males. Thus, females might indirectly influence males' linguistic behaviour if the current gendered patterns are pursued.

Second, age has a strong effect on the maintenance of Chaouia. Young adults, and females in particular, are the ones leading the shift (see Section 7.4.3). Females, across this generation, have weaker networks than males because of their high mobility in order to seek opportunities outside the group. This happens through education, marriage or work and is an important pattern of social transition in the community.

Third, region has served as a representation for urbanisation and economic advancements. The structure of social ties with/in rural communities is weakening in favour of modernisation especially among the adult age group. Contacts outside the group tend to immediately favour the use of AA. Merouana, nevertheless, remains in a transitional position for its spatial link between rurals and urbanites, and Chaouia speakers and Arabic speakers.

Fourth, the level of education is significant, with more Chaouia among non-educated and AA dominant among middle-/secondary-educated individuals. The university, though, seems to provide space for both languages and so it continues to shape the future of Chaouia. Young speakers demonstrate an attitude shift and report positive perception of Tamazight in higher education institutions. This is possibly the result of intense contact with Arabic speakers and raising of ethnic as well as linguistic identity awareness. Hence, as an achievement measure,

education serves both languages. Fifth, higher geographical mobility disfavours the use of Chaouia and facilitates shift towards AA. In addition, cross marriage favours the use of AA while marriage from the same community still supports the maintenance of Chaouia.

In terms of relational metrics, traditional family bound ties are weakening in favour of friends (77% of networks total), and the use of Chaouia decreases respectively. Moreover, closeness shows a very weak correlation with Chaouia use, as the use of AA among intimate ties is no longer against the norms. AA and Chaouia are regarded as almost equally important in the community. Similarly, while loose networks (more prominent among adult females) support AA more, dense ones support both languages. At a group level, these Chaouias have lost their strong traditional social ties, in favour of individual gains and symbolic capital. Salami, in this respect, comments that "it is the lack of the spirit or sense of belonging, sense of oneness, or solidarity on the part of the language users that results in diffuse or relatively unfocused linguistic norms" (1991: 219). Chaouias' solidarity and resistance to "social feelings of inferiority" vary (Fishman, 1991: 340). For that reason, Martin-Jones (1989) warns that by treating social network as a closed system, analysis may fail to take into account the political and economic levels, as well as the ideological orientations.

Social networks, as social capital, are "never completely independent" of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). For the sustainability of exchanges and group solidarity, there is a need for profits accumulation from this membership (*ibid*). Once the economic services accruing from a certain group affiliation are not enough, individuals re-construct their networks for better investments in order to secure their material and symbolic needs. However, this is not something new among Chaouias. Tillion (1938) early observed the loss of tribal connections among Chaouias in north Aurès, which were the basis for social and economic capital. This continues to grow, individually or collectively, with large and sparse networks that "are directly usable in the short or

long term" (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). As discussed previously, Chaouias have continuously crossed the limits of their ethnolinguistic group for trade, work, education or marriage, all of which have become legitimate investments and place Chaouia identity at stake. These exchanges, however, seem to provide them with some signs of 'recognition' from the majority. Therefore, language choice and use in this case is not arbitrary; it is a legitimation strategy of power (*ibid*).

8.3   Concluding remarks

In a nutshell, this study contributes to the existing sociolinguistic research and brings new perspectives to the debate over language behaviour, policies, and social response in the contemporary Chaouia community in the plains. There is a cluster of factors of sociological, historical, political and social psychological nature that interact together to facilitate shift towards Algerian Arabic. However, predictions about the future of Chaouia are not useful here. Considering the recent political, attitudinal and social changes, Berber identity awareness among the young generation might take an unforeseeable direction (e.g. increase of symbolic resistance). Above all, the goal is not to announce the endangerment of Chaouia but to critically reflect upon the previous social judgements and linguistic generalisations about Aurès.

The use of Chaouia in the speech community has been changing in favour of AA, and consequently, the identity associated with it. In Batna, AA has attained more space as the medium of interaction not only in formal settings, but also private and even rural contexts. This is both a contributing cause and a consequence of the higher dynamics of power and status associated with Arabic. The contexts for using AA are expanding and providing broader space and conditions for transmission and acquisition, while the contexts for acquiring Chaouia are being confined, despite the fact that multilingualism is praised and valued in the community. Although history shows that Chaouia has always been maintained despite its contact with many languages, the situation is unstable today and shift is rapid for many reasons stated throughout this study. Its survival,

nowadays, is tied up with the increase in positive symbolism and functionality, as well as a critical reading of history and politics.

Based on that, Ethnologue's classification of Chaouia as "vigorous" remains specific to the Massif and is highly questionable in the plains. Following the EGIDS measurements, the conditions of Chaouia sustainability are lacking, and not all parents are transmitting the language to their children. The youngest generation of proficient speakers is parents and some children; therefore, the status of Chaouia in the plains is between levels 6b and 7 (i.e. threatened and shifting respectively).

8.4   Limitations of the study

Language shift can be tackled from multiple dimensions. One can study the causes of shift, directions of change, nature of shift in various domains, or the linguistic consequences of shift such as obsolescence. In the present research, only some aspects were highlighted. These limitations, due to various constraints of time and logistics, can set future possibilities for research. I summarise them in the following:

a. The linguistic aspect of analysis is not discussed, including cases of code-switching, semantic shift, lexical erosion and phonological variation;

b. On a methodological level, the distribution of age in sampling is uneven, and self-reported data on language competence and use, attitudes and information about social ties are relative and open to question;

c. For SN, the sample size is not large enough to allow the use of advanced statistical techniques. The nature of data collected did not permit exploring the network structure in-depth. Accordingly, a more rigorous scale of SN, with more relational data, is needed. This would allow measuring the effect of multiplexity on enforcing language behaviour. Also, considering the social capital is declining among Chaouias, whole networks analysis might

provide interesting data on how small communities of practice are formed around ethnic identity and social class.

8.5   Future directions and recommendations

The present study raised pertinent questions which might be of interest to linguists and sociologists to explore in some further detail. Some of these include:

a. There is a need to explore Chaouia obsolescence especially in the fauna and flora domains, but also examining language mixing and documenting Chaouia folklore;

b. Education, as a sociolinguistic variable in the community, is best analysed considering the type of school (i.e. whether they provide Tamazight classes or not) rather than an achievement measure. Being exposed to Tamazight at school or university seems to have a positive influence on the formation of Berber consciousness and so the maintenance of its varieties. My observations showed that attitudes to Chaouia are less favourable in schools that are dominantly Arabic-speaking and do not provide access to Tamazight;

c. Similarly, region (or even tribal affiliations) can be substituted by a clear rural-urban continuum instead. In doing so, examining the most rural and most urban communities can provide an in depth understanding of the role of space in language shift;

d. The role of gender socialisation at home and school in the formation of language behaviour and gendered practices;

e. The impact of religion on language choice, and comparing that with other Berber communities like Mzabs, Kabyles and Touaregs;

f. Any potential effect of social class on language use and network structure, but also its measurement scale and the re-production of linguistic hierarchy;

g. Attitudes towards standardization and the script of Tamazight among other Berbers. The choice of Arabic or Latin scripts seems to be an inherent bias that continues to disfavour

Tifinagh, but it remains essential for policy makers to consider the will of all Berber communities, as well as Arabic-speaking ones if they are to learn it in public schools;

h. While administrative and pedagogical obstacles continue to hinder the full implementation of Tamazight, exploring the perceptions and changing attitudes among the Arabic speaking community would inform our policies on social structure, diversity and multilingualism.

There are a number of suggestions for language planning in Algeria. First, there is a need to establish more connections with INALCO and other North African countries - where Tamazight is taught - to discuss options for writing, teaching and improving the status of Tamazight, considering a rational plan of moderation rather than radical shifts that alienate certain communities and favour others. Learning from the experience of Moroccans in teaching Tamazight might be of great importance to avoid another failure, especially that there are many similarities in the dialects but different priorities in teaching. Students, often, care about the subjects that are connected with state national exams and positioning Tamazight at the periphery as an optional language contributes to its erasure. Thus, languages should be considered for formal assessments at an equal level.

Second, the importance of using the mother tongue in early education is well-established among scholars to be of help in increasing the status of language speakers. This should be communicated to parents and educational officials as well as school managers. Children can be approached through AA and Tamazight varieties in their early stage at school to build upon their linguistic resources. Opening up spaces for dialogue at a primary level can facilitate establishing new arrangements about preferred future plans. This can be achieved by getting linguists involved in offering workshops to families and speaking to school principals and teachers about the importance of bilingual upbringing of children and clarifying the myths about language ideologies. Their suggestions for pragmatic planning regarding the inter-regional rivalries are also necessary.

As Tamazight spreads, researchers should discuss the divergence between its various regional varieties and make a plan towards how to manage an equal chance of participation among all minorities.

Third, creating new domains for language maintenance, such as its presence in higher education, is a potential way of creating more speakers and second language users. Stress should be placed on both its current speakers and potential new learners who can create a new environment for transmitting Berber at home, via school-based programmes of language maintenance. The importance of ideological clarification, at different levels and domains, is crucial to promote efforts of revitalisation and dialogue.

Furthermore, recognising the Algerian school as the place of historic language and identity loss should be used to reverse the process as a crucial site for adolescent identity formation and promoting language literacy and diversity. This, of course, should be reinforced with the efforts of the community and its awareness. Fishman and others rightly warn that schooling can be detrimental to language reversal initiatives if it is detached from the home and the community, as it might affect the intergenerational transmissibility (1991). Accordingly, there is a need for a strong local supportive network.

In conclusion, language shift is a product of uneven relations of power attached to languages. It reflects a pragmatic desire for social mobility, power and access (Edwards, 1985). However, as much as it is portrayed as a necessity for economic security, language shift is equally a choice to limit one's linguistic repertoire (Pauwels, 2016). Algerian Arabic in itself, even though practical, does not secure any better status (compared to French), and at the same time preserving Chaouia does not necessarily mean ignoring other languages. In fact, competence in Tamazight, Arabic, French and English is an advantage that should be normalised and promoted for better socio-economic development and multicultural dialogue. The educational system, similarly, should

provide a safe space for non-standard varieties and respect of diversity with all its forms (Edwards, 1985: 133). In Algeria, a social reform, historical reconciliation and ideological clarifications are all needed for better reflections upon current pedagogies and the advancement of education and human rights. Celebrating the Algerian linguistic pluralism to put an end to the identity question and the politicisation of language and essentialist views, generating oppositional identities and narratives, is a must. This can prevent Algerians from a further generational gap and ensure a 'democratic' transition that embraces multilingualism, particularly among the young people, to decolonise the mind of the colonised (Benrabah, 2013: 17).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

University of Essex

Department of Language and Linguistics

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Project: Language maintenance or shift: the case of Tacawit in Batna, Algeria.

Aim of Project: The objective of this study is to look at the linguistic practices of people in Batna, with specific interest in the use of Tacawit and Algerian Arabic. It attempts at correlating social characteristics like mobility, age and education with the language ideologies towards the linguistic repertoire available and its use in different domains.

The researcher promises that:

- Any personal data provided in this research will be confidential and will not be revealed to anyone.
- Pseudonyms will be used to refer to participants in the research.
- Participation is totally voluntary, and if you wish to withdraw from the study at any point, you can do so without providing any further clarifications.
- Recordings will be saved and used only for the purpose of research.

For further queries, you can contact:

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Signature: Signature:

Appendix 2: Consent Form

University of Essex

Department of Language and Linguistics

Participant's Consent (adults)

- I have read and understood the information given about the project.

- I agree to take part in this research.

- I understand that my participation is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for that.

- I understand that I have the right to ask questions about the project and my participation at any time.

- I agree to be audio-recorded.

- I agree that the researcher has explained to me the procedures of anonymity and confidentiality of the information I provide.

Participant's Full name: ………………………………….
Signature:…………………..   Date:

University of Essex

Department of Language and Linguistics

Participant's Consent (under-18s)

- I have read and understood the information given about the project.

- As an adult, I agree for the child in my care to take part in this research.

- I understand that participation is voluntary; the child in my care can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give any reasons for that.

- I understand that I have the right to ask questions about the project and the participation at any time.

- I agree for my child to be audio-recorded, if needed.

- I agree that the researcher has explained to me the procedures of anonymity and confidentiality of the information provided.

Participant's Full name (adult and child): ………………………………….
Signature:…………………….   Date:

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

My research is about linguistic practices in Batna in different situations with different people. It will take about 20 minutes to complete. Your participation is much appreciated.

Please **tick** (√) or **fill in**, as appropriate:

1. Full name: …………………………………………………

2. Sex: Female ☐   Male   ☐

  3. Age: ……………

4. What level of education you are pursuing (or have finished):

 None☐   Quranic school ☐   Primary ☐   Middle ☐   Secondary ☐   University☐

5. Occupation (if any/former one): …………………………………………………

6. Place of birth (please specify): …………………………………………………..

7. Place(s) of residence (please specify for how many years):
…………………………………………………………………………………………

8. What is the mother tongue of your mother?
  Algerian Arabic   ☐   Chaouia   ☐   Both   ☐
  Other (specify……………..)
9. What is the mother tongue of your father?
  Algerian Arabic   ☐   Chaouia   ☐   Both   ☐
  Other (specify ……………)
10. What language do your parents use with each other?
  Algerian Arabic   ☐   Chaouia   ☐   Both   ☐
  Other (specify……………)

11. What is the first language you have learnt at home?……………………………

	Well	Little	Not at all
Do you speak Chaouia?			
Do you understand Chaouia?			
Do you speak Algerian Arabic?			
Do you understand Algerian Arabic?			

12. What other language(s) do you **speak** well?
………………………………………………………………………..
13. What language(s) you **understand** well?
 …………………………………………………………………………

14. What is the language you most frequently use with your: (Tick only **ONE**)

	Chaouia	AA	Ch & AA	Mixed code with French	Mixed code with English
Mother's parents					
Father's parents					
Mother					
Father					
Elder siblings (if any)					
Younger siblings (if any)					
Neighbors					
Friends/peers					
Work colleagues (if any)					
Spouse (if any)					
Children (if any)					
Grandchildren (if any)					

15. If you are not married, what do you prefer your future partner to be:
Chaouia ☐   Arab ☐   other (specify)…………………………………….
Why, please? …………………………………...
16. Has anyone of your extended family/relatives married from non-Chaouias?
Yes ☐   No ☐
17. Which language is the most appropriate in the following places/ situations in your region? (Tick only **ONE)**

	Chaouia	AA	AA&Ch	SA	French	Other(s)
Home						
Street						
School						
Market						
Hospital						
Doctor clinic						
Restaurant/cafeteria						
Shops						
Taxi/bus						
Commune Centre						
Farm						
Wedding/feast						
Mosque						

18. According to you, which language represents the following:

Statements	SA	Tamazight	French	English	AA	Chaouia
The language of identity and heritage						
The language of technology						
The language of prestige						
The language of the job market						
The language of the future						
The official language of the state						

19. Do you consider Chaouia language an essential aspect of Batna identity?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why? ………………………………………………………………………...

18. How would you like to define yourself?

Chaouia ☐   Arab ☐   Algerian ☐   Amazigh ☐   other (specify………..)

19. Which language (s) do you prefer to be the medium of education in your local school? ………………………………………………………………..

Why? ………………………………………………………………………..

20. Which language do you wish to be removed from the educational system, if any?

………………………………………………………………………………

Why? ……………………………………………………………………….

21. Do/ did you take any classes in Tamazight?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Why? ………………………………………………………………………..

22. Do you think young children should learn to read and write in Tamazight?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………. ……….

23. Which script do you prefer for writing Tamazight:

Arabic ☐   Latin ☐   Tifinagh ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………

24. Do you want it to be: Optional ☐   Obligatory ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………

25. Any comments or ideas? …………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………..…………………

استبيان

البحث الحالي يهدف لدراسة تحول اللغة في ولاية باتنة بالنظر إلى الاستخدامات والمواقف اللغوية في مجالات مختلفة. الإجابات خاضعة للسرية التامة و مشاركتك قيمة جدا.

<u>ضع إشارة √ أو املأ حسب السؤال:</u>

1. الاسم الكامل: ....

2. الجنس: ذكر ☐   أنثى ☐

3. العمر:

4. مستواك التعليمي:

غير متعلم ☐   تعليم في المسجد ☐   ابتدائي ☐   متوسط ☐   ثانوي ☐   جامعي ☐

5. المهنة: ....

6. مكان الميلاد: ....

7. مكان الإقامة الحالي: ....

إذا أقمت في أماكن أخرى اذكرها مع مدة الإقامة: ....

8. ماهي لغة والدتك الأولى: اللهجة الجزائرية ☐   الشاوية ☐   معًا ☐   لغة أخرى (ماهي................)

9. ماهي لغة والدك الأولى: اللهجة الجزائرية ☐   الشاوية ☐   معًا ☐   لغة أخرى (ماهي................)

10. ماهي اللغة التي يتحدثون بها مع بعض ؟ اللهجة الجزائرية ☐   الشاوية ☐   معًا ☐   لغة أخرى ☐

11. ماهي اول لغة تعلمتها في البيت ....

ليس لدي أدنى معرفة	قليلا	بطلاقة	
			هل تتكلم الشاوية
			هل تفهم الشاوية
			هل تتكلم اللهجة الجزائرية
			هل تفهم اللهجة الجزائرية

12. ماهي اللغات الأخرى التي تجيد **كلامها؟** ....
13. ماهي اللغات الأخرى التي **تفهمها** جيدا؟ ....

14. ماهي اللغة التي تتداولها في معظم الأحيان مع: اختر واحدة فقط

أيّ لغة مع الانجليزية	أيّ لغة مع الفرنسية	معًا	الجزائرية	الشاوية	
					اجدادك من جهة امك
					اجدادك من جهة ابوك
					الأم
					الأب
					الإخوة الأكبر سنا (إذا موجود)
					الإخوة الأصغر سنا (إذا موجود)
					الجيران
					الأصدقاء
					زملاء العمل
					الزوج ة (إذا متزوج (ة))
					الأبناء (إذا موجود)
					الاحفاد (إذا موجود)

استبيان

15. اذا لم تتزوج بعد، هل تفضل شريك(ة) حياتك ان ت/يكون:

شاوي(ة) ☐   عربي(ة) ☐   آخر ☐ (حدد ....)

لماذا من فضلك ....

16. هل تزوج أيّ من اقاربك من شخص غير شاوي(ة)؟ نعم ☐   لا ☐

17. ماهي اللغة المناسبة في الاماكن التالية في منطقتك؟ اختر واحدة فقط

	الشاوية	اللهجة الجزائرية	الجزائرية +الشاوية	العربية الفصحى	الفرنسية	لغة أخرى
المنزل						
الشارع						
المدرسة						
السوق						
المستشفى						
عيادة الطبيب						
مقهى او مطعم						
الحانوت (محل)						
الحافلة او سيارة						
مركز البلدية						
الريف						
حفل زواج						
المسجد						

18. أيّ من هذه اللغات في الجزائر تعتبرها:

	العربية الفصحى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	اللهجة الجزائرية	الشاوية
لغة الهوية والتاريخ						
لغة العلوم والتكنولوجيا						
لغة الهيبة والمكانة						
لغة العمل في الجزائر						
لغة المستقبل						
اللغة الرسمية في الجزائر						

19. هل تعتبر الشاوية عنصر اساسي لهوية باتنة؟ نعم ☐   لا ☐

لماذا؟ ....

20. كيف تحب ان تصف نفسك؟ شاوي ☐   عربي ☐   جزائري ☐   امازيغي ☐   اخر ☐ (حدد ....)

لماذا؟ ....

21. أيّ لغة/لهجة تفضل أن تكون وسيلة التعليم في مدرستك المحلية؟ ....

لماذا؟ ....

22. ما هي اللغة التي ترغب في إزالتها من النظام التعليمي، إن وجدت؟ ....

لماذا؟ ....

23. هل درست (تدرس) الامازيغية؟ نعم ☐   لا ☐

لماذا؟ ....

24.هل تعتقد أن الأطفال الصغار يجب أن يتعلموا القراءة والكتابة بالأمازيغية؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

لماذا؟ ....

25. أيّ خط تفضل لكتابة اللغة الأمازيغية؟   العربي ☐   اللاتيني ☐   التيفيناغ ☐

لماذا؟ ....

26. هل تريد اللغة الأمازيغية أن تكون؟   اختيارية ☐   إجبارية ☐

لماذا؟ ....

27.هل لديك أيّ إضافات أو تعاليق؟

....
....
....
....
....
....

الباحثة مهتمة جدا بأيّ أفكار أو آراء تحب أن تشاركها. إذا كنت مهتم بلقاء أو نقاش اخر، اكتب اسمك و رقم الهاتف أو أي وسيلة للتواصل معك

....

شكرا جزيلا

Appendix 4: Social Network

What is your Ego-centric SN?

Can you name 10 friends to whom you talk most often besides your family?

Name Initials	Sex	Region of residence	Age	Level of education	Marital status	Relation with contact	Frequency of meeting	Frequency of Tel. calls or internet chats	Geo. mobility	Language used for interaction	Ranking of the relation

For each of your contacts, please, answer the following:

Q1: What is their gender?

Q2: Where do they live?

Q3: What is their approximate age?

Q4: What is their level of education?

Q5: What is their marital status?

   If married, is the partner from the same community (Berber) or outside?

Q6: What is your relation to them?

Q7: How frequently you meet each other?

Q8: How frequently you interact via phone calls or internet chats?

Q9: How mobile would you say they are?

Q10: What is the language you use for interaction with each other?

Q11: Can you rank all them depending on how close they are to you?

Q12: What would you say about all the friends you listed?

- All of them know each other

- Most of them know each other

- Few of them know each other

- None of them know each other

سمّيلي عشر عباد تحكي معاهم بزّاف بلا عايلتك (ماش شرط تمد اسمهم الحقيقي و عمّري هاد المعلومات على كلّ واحد فيهم) .

رتّبلي هاذ الناس على حساب شكون القريب بزّاف	واش من لغة تحكيوها مع بعض	يسافرشوي ولّا بزاف	شحال تحكيو فالتليفون	شحال تتلقاو بزّاف ولّا شوي	واش يكولك (علاقتك بيه)	مزوج ولّا لا (اذا مزوّج)من وين	واش من مستوى يقرا	شحال عمرو بالتقريب	وين يسكن	راجل ولّا مرا	الاسم

هاذو الناس: يعرفو بعضاهم كامل ☐ أغلبيّتهم يعرفو بعضاهم ☐ غير شوي لي يعرفو بعض ☐ واحد مايعرف خوه ☐

Appendix 5: Interview

Demographics and Home

What does your name mean? Do you have any other names?

Do you wish you have been given another name? What is it? What do you think of mine?

When were you born? Where?

Where do you live nowadays? How did you settle here?

What was the first place you lived in?

Where do your grandparents live? Who is still living there? Do you usually visit the place?

Where do most of your relatives live? How is the place there?

Do you usually travel outside the village? Where do you frequently go? For what reason?

Do you work? What kind of work?

Parents tend to love the first and last child more than others. What is your position in the hierarchy? How many you are in the family? What kind of studies or work they are doing?

Neighbourhood and Friends

How is your relation with neighbours? Are they from the extended family or foreigners? Were they born here or are immigrants?

When do you usually gather? When was the last time you shared advice and support with each other?

Who are your best friends? Where do they live? How did you meet them?

In time of need, who is the first person to support you and provide help? How did you know each other?

What do you do in your leisure time? With whom you spend it usually (close friends, neighbours, family or away)?

Marketplace

People say "it is only the market that gathers all elders here". Is that true?

When is the local market in this village? How come they choose this specific place and day?

Do you usually go there?

Do you remember the first time this market started? Or the first day you were there?

What kind of goods they bring?

Not all people coming there are from the same region. Are they? Where are the sellers from?

Do children and adolescents of both sexes also join? Why?

Has the market changed over the last decade? How?

What language do people usually use in this space to communicate with each other and with sellers?

Were women used to join the weekly markets of men before? Do you think they should have their own market as well?

Historical/socio-economic change

People say that the Algerians are fighters; they have been through hard times of war and the black decade.

Have you witnessed the war of independence? Tell me a bit about those days.

Have you heard any interesting stories from your parents or grandparents about that?

What language was dominant among the inhabitants of this village at the time?

At that time, if something in the family or neighbourhood went wrong, what happens and to whom you return to take advice? Mention an incident.

How was this town (village) in the 70s? 90s?

Did the name of the village change? Why? What does its current name mean?

Do you remember the black decade? Tell me about your experience or that of your parents?

Was it safe to go to mosques? Was it safe to walk alone in streets or travel at night?

Some Algerians think that Chaouias are the army force of the country. Is that true?

Do you have relatives in the army? How many? Why did they opt for it?

President Boumediene said that power should always go to Chaouias. Is that true?

People say Batna is the land of revolt. What do you think? What is the best part of Batna?

Merouana is a special town in Batna for its special history, what do you know about it? What are the good/bad things you have experienced there?

People across Batna think Ait Sellam are harsh people. Do you agree? Why?

Time runs so quickly and so are the decades. What are the differences between old times and new ones (old generation and the young ones)? What is your advice to the young people?

What is the best thing you like about living here among these people?

How did your village change in the last couple of years?

In old days everyone used to hunt, have a land, a small farm, and pets. Do you still have any? Why do you think it changed?

Nowadays, everyone wants to live in the city. What do you prefer? Why?

Do you encourage the agricultural project to encourage people to stay in rural areas? Why?

Do parents move for a better education for their kids or for work? How?

How are the languages used in rural areas different from the urban ones? Why?

Do know anyone who have changed their tradition and language when they moved to the city? What do you think about that?

Do people feel ashamed to say I am Chaouia here? Why? Is it because of their language or the stereotypes people have about them? How?

Traditions

People used to refer to elders for advice and help. Do you think it is still the case in your region? Do you refer to any? Who?

Elders say, "the blessing is in gathering and sharing". Is it still true? Is it maintained in your region? Do you think children are not taught the 'appropriate' social values?

Elder women used to be a reference for songs, folklore, medicine, and a model of fighting and hard work. What is your say? Tell me about your grandmother.

Are they so different from the new generation? How? How do you see our generation?

Women used to tattoo. Do they signify anything for you? Does your mother or grandmother have tattoos? How did it change?

Can you recognise someone if not from the region? How? What is special about people here? What was your favourite game in the past?

Are these games still played here? Are they an important aspect of Chaouia culture?

What is the best dish in the region? Who makes it? When was the last time you ate traditional food? Do you usually eat outside or at home with family?

What was the last occasion you have celebrated? What have you served in it?

What kind of music and songs you use in parties? Do you like the Chaouia ones? How important they are in Batna traditions?

Do you think the young generation will preserve all these social practices in the future?

Can Chaouias maintain all these traditions without speaking Chaouia?

Can you say that someone is Chaoui even if they did not speak Chaouia?

Do you consider yourself Chaouia? On what basis?

Do you use social media? Do you follow any Chaouia programs on TV or radio? Do you encourage its use?

Marriage

Arabs say 'if you are sad, remember your wedding day'! How was your wedding day? How much was the dowry? Where is your partner from? What language s/he speaks?

Tell me about marriage celebrations in this region. Is there any difference between old weddings and new ones? Tell me about your parents/grandparents wedding. Were they relatives or strangers? How old they were when married? Who paid the expenses? What kind of dresses they had? How many people were there? Do people help each other for weddings?

Do you prefer marriage from the relatives? Why? What preference do you have among Algerian ethnic groups? What kinds of problems rise in cases of large extended families living together?

Do you prefer a partner from rural or urban centres? Why?

When you marry (if you are married), do you prefer to stay with your in-laws/parents or live separately? Why?

Do you prefer a working wife or a housewife?

Do you prefer a man in the army/police (government work) or a casual one?

The rate of divorce in Batna increased largely in the last couple of years and young people refuse to get married. Why do you think that is the case?

When do you think intermarriage between Chaouias and Arabs and Kabyles started? Which sex is more oriented towards the other ethnic group? Do you have cases in your household?

Do you think when other Algerians use the term 'Chaouia', they use it pejoratively? How?

Do you think that Chaouias men are more religious than females? How do you see their practices? What about Touaregs? Kabyles? Mzabs? Arabs?

School

Have you got the chance to be at school or even at a Quranic school before?

What degree do you have?

Was the school near or far from your home? How do you go there?

Tell me about your primary school? Were the teachers from the community?

Who was your first teacher ever? Who was the hardest teacher?

Educators say there is no education in Algeria because students no longer respect their teachers and teachers no longer love their job, and that real education was before the 90s. Do you agree with that?

Who are/were your best friends at school (the studious or troublemakers)? What is your best memory with them?

Which field do you prefer: the scientific or literary? Why? Does it have anything to do with languages of instruction? Or future prospects?

What is your favourite language at school? Why?

Which language do you dislike? Why?

What does SA represent for you?

Are you with or against English replacing French in Algeria? Why?

Would you welcome the idea of using Algerian Arabic as a medium in our schools? Why?

What do you think of implementing Tamazight in the Algerian school? What does it represent to you?

Do you take any Tamazight classes? Why?

Do you think it should be generalised all over the country?

Do you think it is inappropriate to use the same language with instructors, headmaster, friends in class, and in the courtyard or outside?

Going to university is a completely new experience. What have you learnt from that?

How was your first day? How was the first lecture you have attended?

Have you been in the accommodation? Which one? and with whom you lived?

What was the dominant language spoken there?

What language do you use with your best friends?

What language (s) is used for instruction in your department? Which is your favourite and least favoured?

What language do you prefer for scientific and literary streams in the University?

After graduation, some of the friends get married, others get jobs, others travel, ettc. How was your experience and that of your best friends?

Tell me how did you get this job? Do you think females and males have equal chances in the job market here? How?

How was your first day at work? Are your workmates from the neighbourhood or foreigners?

Do you usually meet lots of foreigners at work (customers)?

What language(s) do you use with different colleagues, head manager and clients or students?

Are you a moody person? What do you do or say when you get angry? In which language?

How would you describe 2017? What are your future plans?

Thank you so much!

Appendix 6: Samples of interviews

Colour Code: Blue for Berber and Black for AA, SA and French.

M28M: speaking about the status of Tamazight at school.

Ḏā même la vision uttaḥlīš, ḏā même les directeurs traʿān ṯmazīɣt šğūl c'est une charge ḏi CEM, ḏi planning, ḏi kulši. Fil-ḥājṯayā ūtatwīraš ṯmazīɣt. Après ēllan yallan akinīn ṯmazīɣt ayā wāš ndīrū bīha. Même les parents w qlī nlasātḏa bġān atssaẖsrēn.

Here, even the attitude is not good. Here, even the directors perceive Tamazight as an extra charge in the school, in planning and in everything. For this reason, Tamazight did not improve. Also, there are those who say what shall we do with this Tamazight? Even parents and some teachers want to terminate its teaching.

Group interview (M30M -1-, F30M -2-, M36M -3-): asked about their opinion about Chaouia and Kabyle women while discussing the large differences in marriage customs.

SR: wāš rāykom f La femme Chaouia et la femme Kabyle?

All: (laughter)

1 (to 2): šēm di māḏi ẖīr?

2: netš tšayāẖ fīmanīnū kawnī mrā šawiyya awrāsīyya rānī hamdūllāh fi waǧẖāk mrā fi ḍahrak rāǧl.

1: biṣ-ṣaḥ qarāyša netš ẖīr n-teqbāylīṯ ḥatta nattaṯ hammīn ġattīni.

2: Anā šawiyyā w biʿtirāf l-qbāyil w bnī mzāb w jībhūm kāmel w netḥaddāk flafḥāla l-mra šawiyyā maʿrōfa fiṯ-ṯawrā ḥarrereṯ l-blād w ẖarǧat frānṣa w mā adrāk.

1: ḥatta hiyya šārket.

2: škūn ẖarraǧ frānṣa? mašī ešawiyyāt? (laughter) ḥki ʿla ummak, ʿla uẖtek, ʿla ẖāltak, ʿla nannāk. L-mra šawiyya wāš ẖadmat fli-ǧbāl wāš waklat l-mūjāhdīn rebbāt wlādhā w qarrat-hūm w dārtel-hum men mekānš.

3: ašem ṯenniṯīt sīmānm! ṯaddīni ṯẖārb w ṯagga, ṯaslīṯ? w ṯā nlūqa matta ṯiyya? ṯanimīrā ḏelʿaks.

2: naḥki ʿla nanna wana kīfha. fatlaẖ, ettazzīẖ, ettaggaẖ bōšallīqa, nzīdlek? hayya zīd wāš bġīt?

SR: What do you think about the Chaouia woman and the Kabyle one?

All: (laughter)

1 to 2: How are you better than Kabyle women?

2: I am talking about myself, as a Chaouia woman from Aurès, I am good all praise to God. When you are present, I am a woman; if you are absent, I am a man.

1: But do not tell me I am better than the Kabyle woman, she will say exactly the same.

2: I am Chaouia with acknowledgements from Kabyles, Mzabs and you can bring all of them and I challenge you in being good and active! The Chaouia woman is famous since the revolution; she brought independence and drove France out!

1: She [the Kabyle woman] has also participated.

2: Who drove France away? Weren't they Chaouia women? Talk about your mother, your sister, your aunt, your grandmother; the Chaouia woman worked so hard in the mountains, fed the guerrillas, and raised her children and educated them and paved a future for them, out of nothing.

3: You have said it by yourself; that old woman fought and had done so much, you listen? And the present young Chaouia female, what did she do? The present one is just the complete opposite.

2: I speak about my grandmother and I am like her. I make wheat, I milk cows, I make rugs, and shall I add more? What else do you want?

F31OS: asked about her opinion on the most responsible person about Chaouia loss.

Ṭameṭṭūṭ ntaṭ ayllān tmāli dima dīmā ġatsʿallam memmīs ṭaʿrābṭ. Pourquoi? ẖāṭš aryāz yḥaddam ūḏitġimīš ḏi haddārṭ bil-asas wṭameṭṭūṭ ṭōl nwās natāṭ ḏi garān n-memmīs. Ṭameṭṭūṭ dīma ġars lʿoqda dīma ġars ʿoqdat nuqṣ ayi. Dīmā sḥūssāy snqaṣ ḥtta ḏi lūġa sḥūssay snqaṣ ntš arāynū lāzm atʿalmen ṭaʿrābṭ ūtʿalmenš ṭšāwīṭ. […] iḏā ṣaluḥat al marʾa taṣluḥ al-luġa iḏa māṣalḥatš l-mra ma taṣluḥš. […] ṭammeṭṭūṭ nbakri ṭella ūttaggāḏš ṭella ḏūltmās nūryāz ša-ayellān ysawāṭ ūryāz tsāwāṭ ṭameṭṭūṭ ṭella ṭameṭṭūṭ ṭhaddam ḏigarān n-ūryāz normale. Ṭfallaḥ ḏi-garan-sen ṭġarres ḏi-garan-sen ṭmaǧǧar garansen tsāwa garansen ʿādi. Aṣlan l-ʿbāḏ nbekri ūḏallīnaš taqqaln ḏilẖalāṭ wakaʾanu qallansen lāzim atattaf ṭaddārt w-ẖlāṣ. Biṣ-ṣaḥ madām yatġayyar lwaqʿ ūḏfanttīḏ omur jdīda ʿla lwaqiʿbi ṭabīʿat l-ḥāl l-mafāhīm tatġayyar. Lukān anqārin jar ntmeṭṭūṭ nlūq t maṭṭūṭ nbakrī farq šāsiʿ ǧiddan. Ešši ayellān tmaskantīs lḥalāṭ lūq ġāyib.

It is the woman who tends to lean towards teaching Arabic to her child. Why? Because the man works and is not around at home; the woman is with her child all the day. The woman always has this complex; she has this complex of lacking something, she always feels she is lacking something even in terms of language. My children have to learn Arabic and not Chaouia. […]

when the woman is good, the language is good; if the woman is not, the language won't survive. […] the old woman never fears; she was the 'sister' of the man. Whatever the man does, she does too. The woman used to work with man, and it was normal. She plants, harvests with him, everything with him, normal. In fact, even the old people were not looking at women as less than them, to stay at home and that's it. But because things have changed, new things arrived in this society and our concepts have changed too. If we compare between the woman of 'now' and the the woman of 'old days', there is a very large difference. The things that those women used to hold on are absent now.

M32B: talking about the neighbourhood and lack of self-esteem among Chaouias.

Ḍi barra ṭameṭṭūṯ mumkin ūtassīnš ṯaʿrābṯ maši ūtassīnš tasnīt mais trozīt ʿlabāli esnnaḥ ḥālāt ḍi barra ūssīnentš ṯaʿrābṯ ʿādi w-llān yallēn deṣṣan fellāsn w-ytġāṭṭīhnt l-ḥāl. Netš tbanāyd ʿādi ṯīṯ tarūmīṯ hamma ūtassīnš attahḍar ṯaʿrābṯ trozīt est-ce-que afellās nadṣ? Makānš menhā biṣ-ṣaḥ nešni ḏayyi ġarneḫ l-ʿaks.

Outside, you might see women who do not know Arabic, they probably know it but they speak a broken form. I know of some cases here where women do not know Arabic and it is fine, but there are those individuals who laugh at them, and these women feel ashamed then. For me, it is all normal. If a foreigner for example does not know how to speak Arabic or speaks a broken form, will people laugh at her? Impossible! But for us, it is the opposite.

F80OS: speaking about social transitions and the breakdown of social relations after marriage.

Ša w-ḏi-qīm am-bakri, waġayaršlen ayebṭa! Wēg yūḏfen ayaqfel l-bāb-nes ūmayašta yusīd ġarṣ unijīw ḫāṭi ma-ṯaryaṭ ġlbarra aytwāzr ḍi barra ḥad uyttaḏef ġlḥd ġateʿāḏ ṯġāwsa aḏāḏfent zīs ġāḏ wālū ḥḍ uytrūzzi fḥad wāyd-yusīn ayrūḫ ġl-taddārṯ-nes.

Nothing is like the old days! Whoever gets married get their independent house. They go inside their house and lock the door, even if they have a guest. You can only see them when they are outside. No body goes to another. If there is something necessary, they visit; if not, no one sees or cares about another. Everyone stays in their houses.

M71B: discussing the reasons behind the lack of socio-economic development in Batna.

Bātna ka-madīna ma-yaḥkemš fīha eššawiyya. Eṯ-ṯawra el-ğazayriyya qḍāt ʿla en-nuḫba. Ennižām el-ğazāyri qḍa ʿla en-nuḫba et-taqlīdiyya swa fel-māl aw fel-ʿilm ġiyāb mašrōʿ mujtamaʿ, maʿandnāš un projet de société derna une guerre ḫarrajnā physiquement el-firansiyyīn w qʿadna waḥd bāġīhā islamiyya waḥd bāġīhā ʿilmaniyya waḥd bāġīhā wahhabiyya waḥd bāġīhā ištirakiyya

matfāhmūš w rāki tšūfi f les consequences liʾannu aġlabiyyat lī darū eṯ-ṯawra ǧaw men eṭ-ṭabaqāt ed-dunyawiyya. kān ʿāml baṣīṭ wella fellāḥ wella rāʿi w men lġūʿ w l-faqer haz l-fūši w ṭlaʿ l-jbel w mbaʿd fil-istiqlāl ṣabbaḥ gradée hād nawʿiyya mataqderš dīrlek mašrōʿ mujtamaʿ liʾannaha maqrāteš w haḏu ʿandhum haḏīk ennazʿa tāʿ āna jabtelkum li-stiqlāl wāḥd lā yat-ḥarrak ḥakmōna byad min ḥadīd eššawiyya ḥšawhālhum fel-band taʿ Novembre wennīf w wāʿrīn w kaḏa w ḥallawhum […].

Batna, as a city, is not controlled by Chaouias. The Algerian revolution has got rid of the elite. The Algerian system got rid of the traditional elite either in terms of economic status or education. We lack a project for a society, we had a war where we 'physically' drove away the French army then got separated. Some want Algeria as an Islamist state, some want it secular, some want it Wahabi, some want it socialist; they did not agree and you can see the consequences. This is because those who made the revolution were from the working class. They were simple workers, or farmers or shepherds. They suffered from hunger and poverty and so took weapons, joined mountains and after independence, they were placed in military ranks. This kind of people cannot establish a project for society because they are not educated, and they have that ideology of 'I brought you independence so I can control, no one can rebel'. They controlled us so fiercely and manipulated Chaouias with November's Declaration, power and harshness and so on.

M22OS: talking about the place of Algerian Arabic in the society

Dārja ṭġāt hnā f dzāyr wellāt ki šġul hiyya el-luġa erraṣmiyya, ḥakmu l-fuṣḥa modifāwha zādu ḥalṭo fīha šwi Français w ḥarǧūlna eddārja hāḏi (laughter) aġlab ešaʿb el-jazayrī zero fil-fuṣḥa soi eš-šaʿb wella iṭarāt sāmiyya fid-dawla, l-qrāya b-dārja kullaš b-dārja. Donc wallāt hiyya erraṣmiyya fil-hadra w l-fuṣḥa yaktbo bīha zaʿma.

Dārja [AA] is dominant here in Algeria. It has become more like the real official language. They took standard Arabic, change it and added some French to it and created this Dārja (laughter). The majority of the Algerians know nothing in Standard Arabic, whether we are speaking about the people or the politicians and the elite. Schooling is in Dārja, everything is in Dārja. So, it is more like an official language for speech, while the standard Arabic is supposedly for writing.

Appendix 7a: Data Analysis

1.   Crosstabulation: Speaking Competence in Chaouia * Mother's Mother Tongue

			Mother's mother tongue				Total
			Ch	AA	Both	Kab	
Speaking Chaouia	Fluent	N	153	5	23	1	182
		%	84.1%	2.7%	12.6%	0.5%	100%
	Little	N	28	19	36	1	84
		%	33.3%	22.6%	42.9%	1.2%	100%
	Not at all	N	8	21	8	1	38
		%	21.1%	55.3%	21.1%	2.6%	100%
Total		N	189	45	67	3	304
		%	62.2%	14.8%	22.0%	1.0%	100%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	124.228[a]	6	**.000**
Likelihood Ratio	117.419	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	50.257	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	304		

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Appr. T[b]	Appr.Signi-ficance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.639			.000
	Cramer's V	**.452**			.000
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	**.407**	.049	7.749	.000[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	**.493**	.050	9.856	.000[c]
N of Valid Cases		304			
a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.					
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.					
c. Based on normal approximation.					

2.   Crosstabulation: Speaking Competence in Chaouia * Father's Mother Tongue

			Father's Mother Tongue				Total
			Ch	AA	Both	Fr	
Speaking Chaouia	Fluent	N	153	3	26	0	182
		%	84.1%	1.6%	14.3%	0.0%	100%
	Little	N	30	10	43	1	84
		%	35.7%	11.9%	51.2%	1.2%	100%
	Not at all	N	12	16	7	3	38
		%	31.6%	42.1%	18.4%	7.9%	100%
Total		N	195	29	76	4	304
		%	64.1%	9.5%	25.0%	1.3%	100%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp.Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	129.714[a]	6	**.000**
Likelihood Ratio	110.834	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	47.808	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	304		

		Value	Asymp.Std. Error[a]	Approximate T[b]	Appr. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.653			.000
	Cramer's V	**.462**			.000
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	**.397**	.051	7.522	.000[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	**.459**	.051	8.984	.000[c]
N of Valid Cases		304			
a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.					
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.					
c. Based on normal approximation.					

3. Crosstabulation: competence in Chaouia Speaking * Parents' Language Use

			Parents's Language Use				Total
			Ch	AA	Both	Fr	
Speaking Chaouia	Fluent	N	148	2	31	1	182
		%	81.3%	1.1%	17.0%	0.5%	100%
	Little	N	13	34	37	0	84
		%	15.5%	40.5%	44.0%	0.0%	100%
	Not at all	N	1	22	14	1	38
		%	2.6%	57.9%	36.8%	2.6%	100%
Total		N	162	58	82	2	304
		%	53.3%	19.1%	27.0%	0.7%	100%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	168.628[a]	6	**.000**
Likelihood Ratio	194.437	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	73.757	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	304		

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Appr.Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.745			.000
	Cramer's V	**.527**			.000
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.493	.047	9.857	.000[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	**.576**	.047	12.252	.000[c]
N of Valid Cases		304			
a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.					
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.					
c. Based on normal approximation.					

4.   Language use with children across gender

	Chaouia	AA	Both	Fr	Not Applicable
Female	5% *8*	9% *14*	3 % *5*	1% *1*	82% *125*
Males	8% *12*	13% *20*	3% *5*	1% *2*	75% *112*

5.   Language use with grandchildren across gender

	Chaouia	AA	Both	Fr	Not Applicable
Female	3% *4*	5% *8*	2% *3*	1% *1*	90% *137*
Males	3% *4*	4% *6*	3% *4*	3% *4*	88% *133*

6.   Language use of the young generation with the elder siblings

	Chaouia	AA	Both	Fr	Eng	Not App.
Females	29% *45*	50% *76*	18% *27*	1% *2*	1% *1*	1% *2*
Males	58% *88*	27% *41*	13% *19*	*0*	*0*	2% *3*

7.   Language use of the younger generation with the younger siblings

	Chaouia	AA	Both	Fr	Not App.
Females	18% *28*	59% *90*	19% *29*	3% *5*	1% *1*
Males	43% *65*	38% *57*	15% *22*	1% *1*	4% *6*

8.   Language use at school

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr	Eng
Percent	6%	35%	10%	40%	8%	1%
Frequency	19	106	29	123	23	4

9.   Language use in the market

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	29%	32%	32%	3%	4%
Frequency	86	98	98	9	13

10.   Language use in the hospital

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	7%	57%	18%	10%	8%
Frequency	20	173	56	30	25

11.   Language use in private clinic

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	4%	57%	16%	10%	13%
Frequency	12	172	50	30	40

12.   Language use in restaurants and cafeterias

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	17%	49%	28%	4%	2%
Frequency	51	147	86	13	7

13.   Language use in shops

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	22%	44%	31%	2%	1%
Frequency	66	134	93	8	3

14.   Language use in taxis and buses

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	19%	50%	27%	3%	1%
Frequency	59	151	83	9	2

15.   Language use in the commune centre

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA	Fr
Percent	15%	51%	24%	9%	1%
Frequency	46	155	73	26	4

16.   Language use in weddings

	Chaouia	AA	Both	SA
Percent	32%	31%	34%	3%
Frequency	97	94	103	10

Appendix 7b: Data Analysis

1.   Self-reported general language use at school across age groups
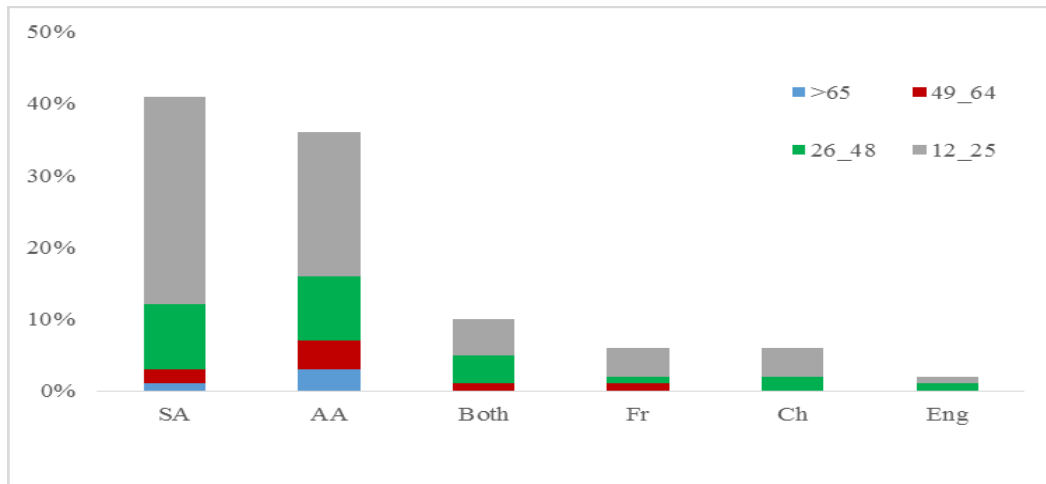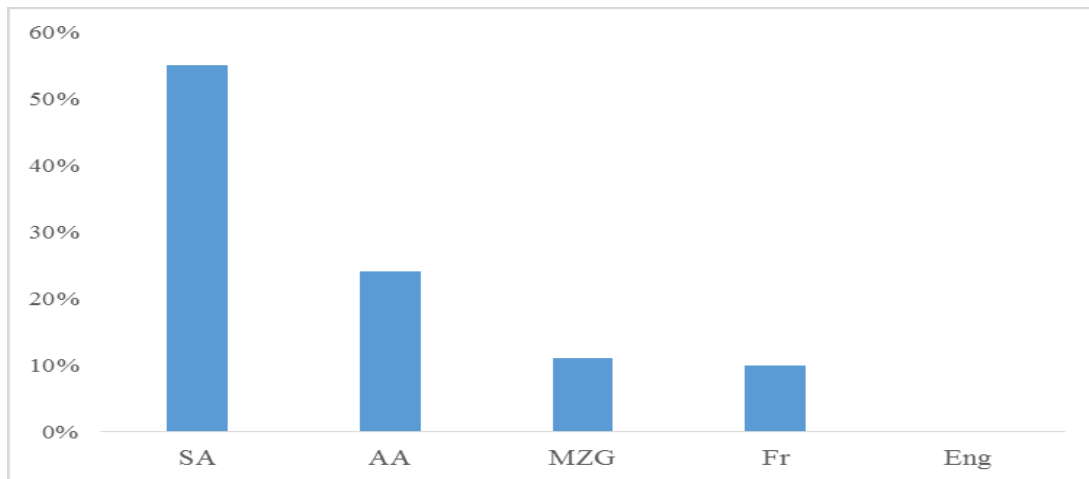

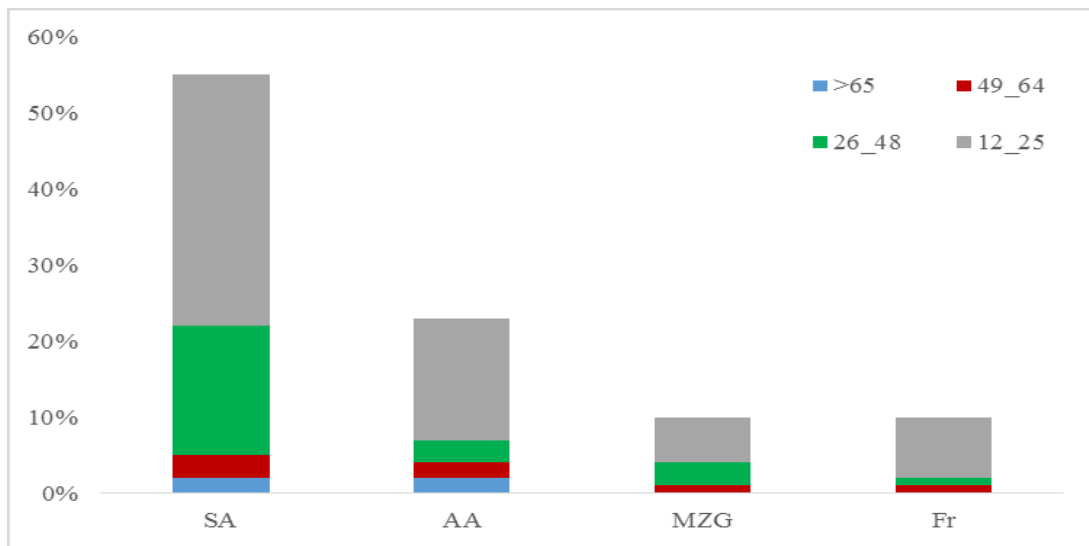**2.**   Self-reported general language use at school across gender
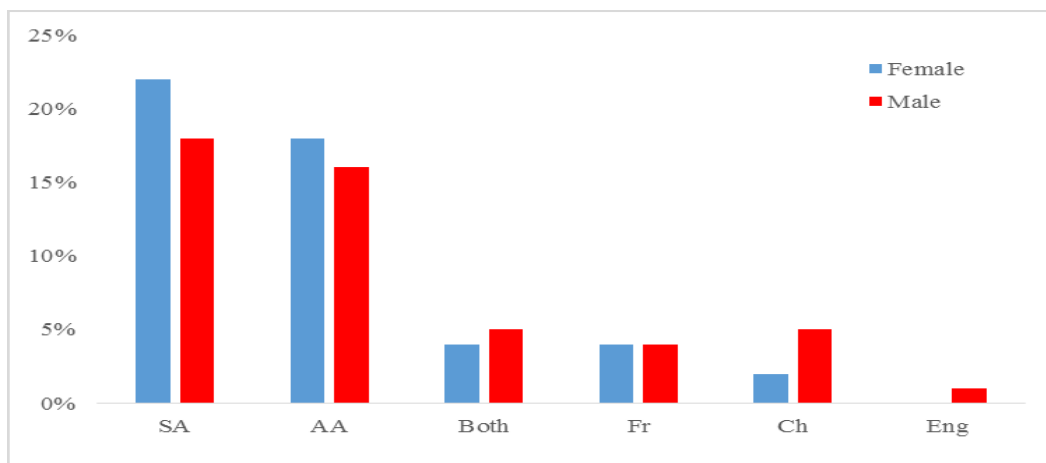
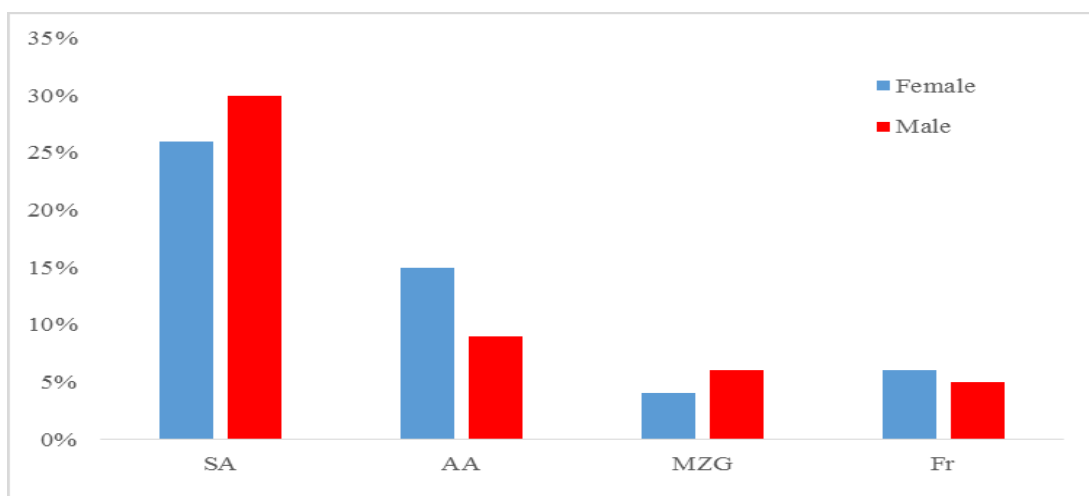**3.**   Self-reported general language use at school across region
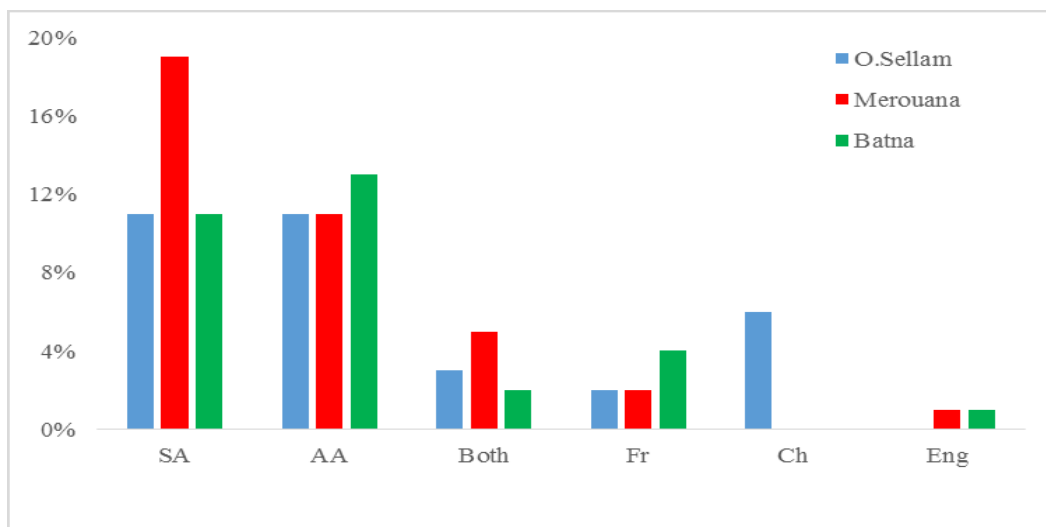
4.   What is (are) the official language(s) in Algeria?
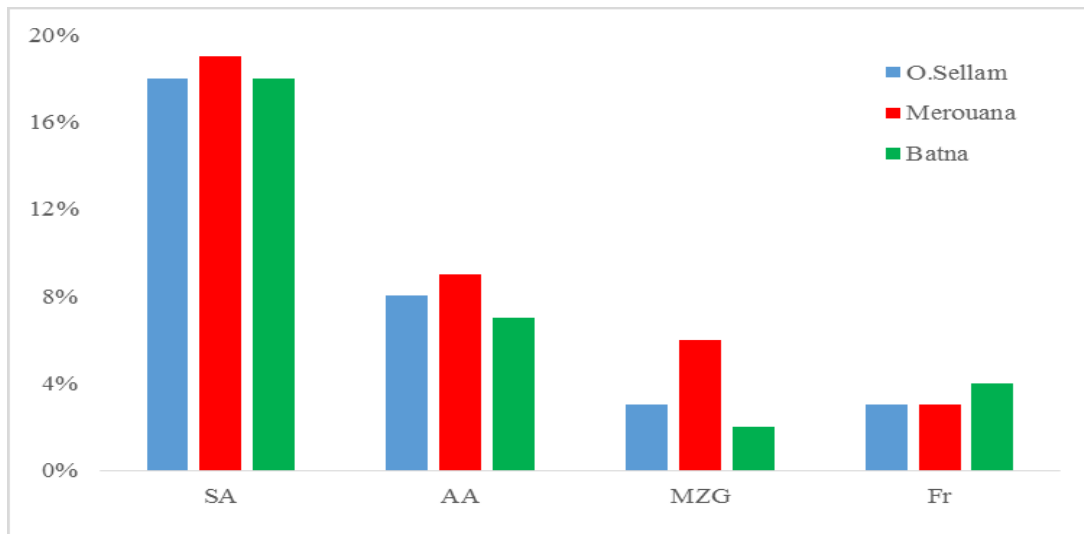

5.   Self-reported official language(s) of Algeria across age groups
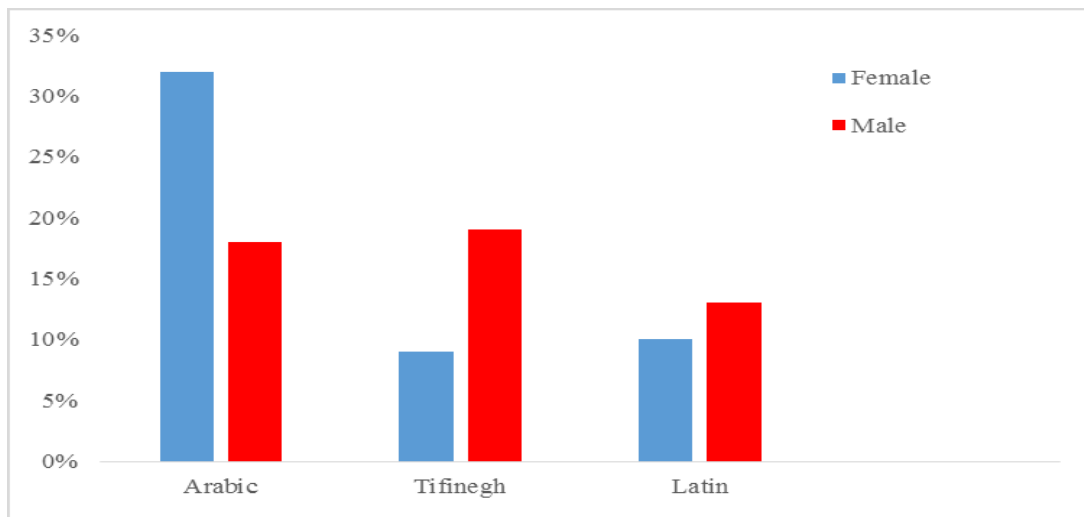

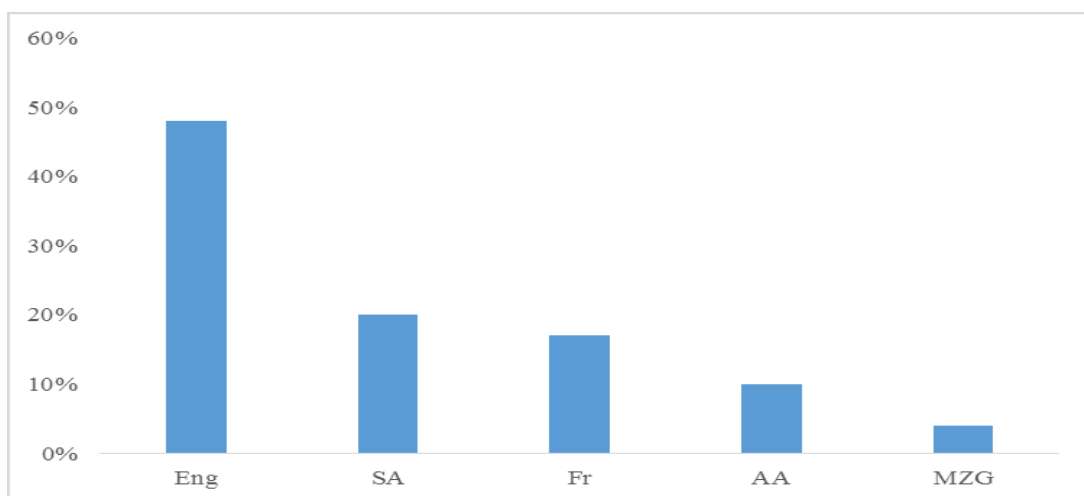**6.**   Self-reported official language(s) of Algeria across gender

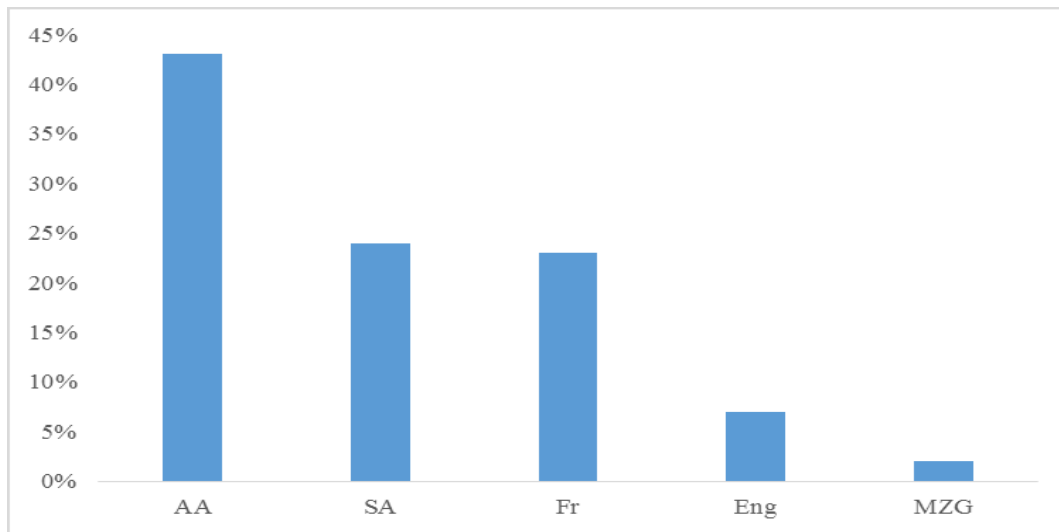**7.**   Self-reported official language(s) of Algeria across regions

8.   Preferences for the script of Tamazight across gender
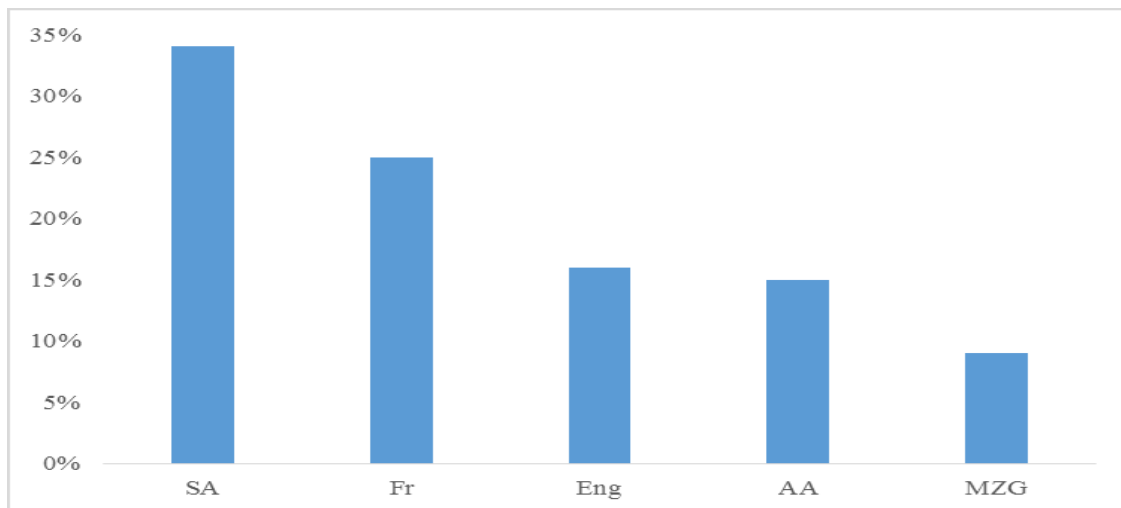

9.   Respondents' predictions of the language of the future in Algeria
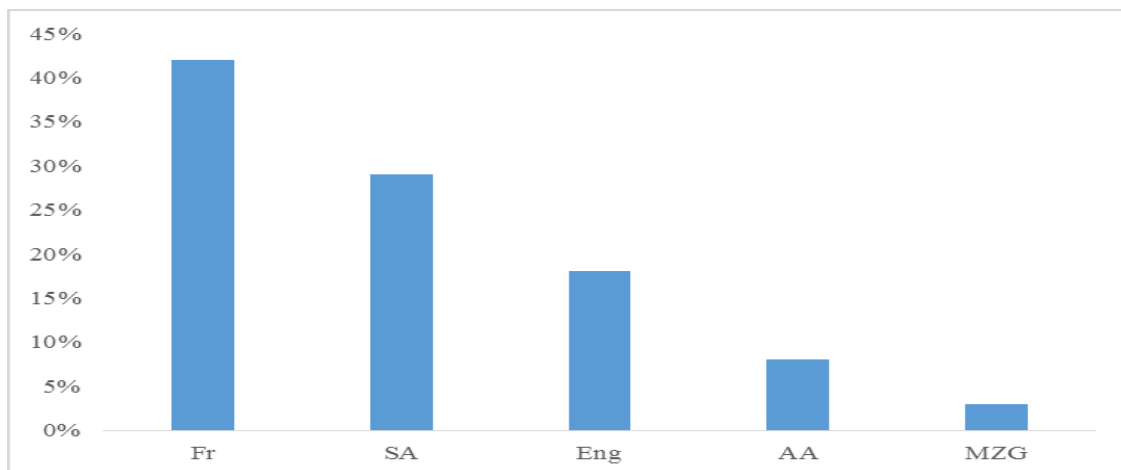
10.   Respondents' perceptions of the language of the job market in Algeria
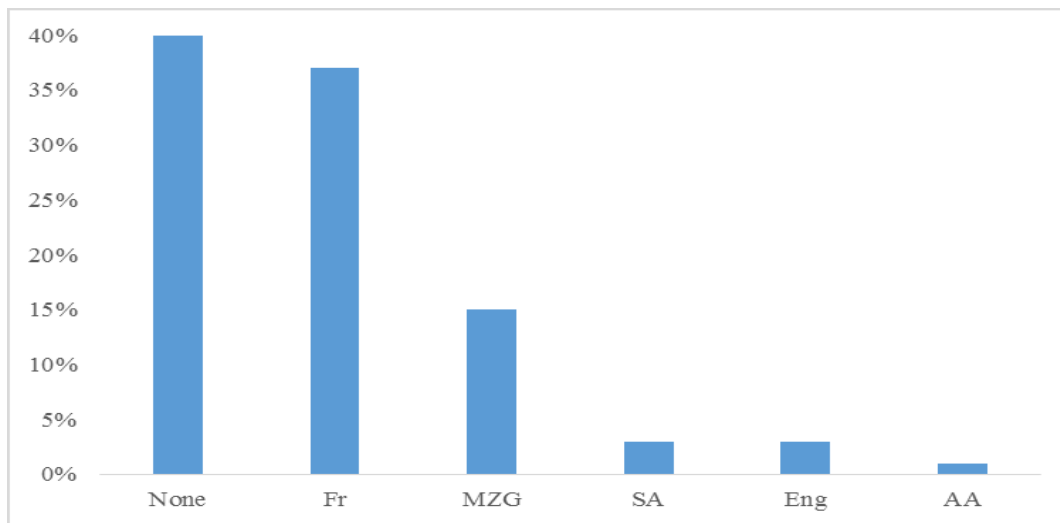

11.   Respondents' perceptions of the language of prestige

12.   Respondents' perceptions of the language of technology

13.   Which language do you prefer to be removed from Education?

Appendix 7c: Data Analysis

1.   Language choice depending on rural-urban orientations of the network

Rural-Urban Orientation	AA	Ch
Urban	72% *48*	39% *24*
Rural	28% *19*	61% *37*
Total (N)	67	61

X^2 (1) = 13.534 (p<.000) / Cramer's V=.33 / r= .33

2.   Crosstabulation: Language use * frequency of meeting with ties

Frequency of meeting * Language use with ties Crosstabulation					
			Lge use Ch-AA		Total
			AA	Ch	
Freq. of meeting	Low	N	2	0	2
		%	100 %	0%	100%
	Casual	N	187	169	356
		%	52.5%	47.5%	100%
	High	N	493	429	922
		%	53.5%	46.5%	100%
Total		N	682	598	1280
		%	53.3%	46.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.848[a]	2	**.397**
Likelihood Ratio	2.613	2	.271
Linear-by-Linear Association	.010	1	.920
N of Valid Cases	1280		

3.   Crosstabulation: Language use * frequency of calling with ties

Frequency of calling * Language use with ties Crosstabulation					
			Lge use Ch-AA		Total
			AA	Ch	
Freq. of calling	High	N	207	141	348
		%	59.5%	40.5%	100%

	Casual	N	376	374	750
		%	50.1%	49.9%	100%
	Low	N	99	83	182
		%	54.4%	45.6%	100%
Total		N	682	598	1280
		%	53.3%	46.7%	100%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.453[a]	2	**.015**
Likelihood Ratio	8.491	2	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.018	1	.082
N of Valid Cases	1280		
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5.			

		Value	Asymp.Std Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.081			.015
	Cramer's V	.081			.015
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.049	.028	1.739	.082[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.052	.028	1.878	.061[c]
N of Valid Cases		1280			

4. Corsstabulation: Relational score * Language Use with ties

			Lge use Ch-AA		Total
			AA	Ch	
Rel. Score	Casual	N	224	159	383
		%	58.5%	41.5%	100%
	Close	N	273	239	512
		%	53.3%	46.7%	100%
	Intimate	N	185	200	385
		%	48.1%	51.9%	100%
Total		N	682	598	1280
		%	53.3%	46.7%	100%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.397[a]	2	**.015**
Likelihood Ratio	8.412	2	.015
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.390	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	1280		
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5.			

		Value	Asymp. Std Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.081			.015
	Cramer's V	.081			.015
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.081	.028	2.905	.004[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.081	.028	2.905	.004[c]

5.   Crosstabulation between gender and marriage patterns in the network
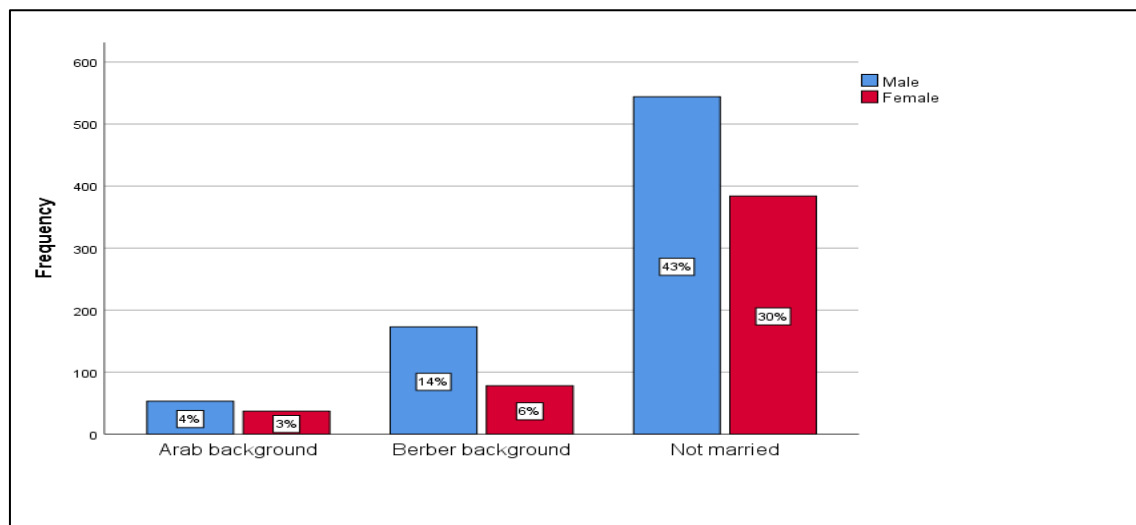
6.   SN model for the *attributes* of the network

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	389.307	1	.000
	Block	389.307	1	.000
	Model	389.307	1	**.000**

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1379.634[a]	.262	**.350**
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.			

Variables in the Equation								
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp (B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	SN	.599	.038	242.32	1	.000	**1.821**	1.688	1.963
	Constant	-6.99	.441	251.78	1	.000	.001		

7. SN model for the *relations* of the network

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	25.498	1	.000
	Block	25.498	1	.000
	Model	25.498	1	**.000**

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1743.442[a]	.020	**.026**

Variables in the Equation								
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	SN	.256	.051	24.790	1	.000	**1.292**	1.168	1.429
	Constant	-1.656	.312	28.216	1	.000	.191		

Distribution of modern Berber speakers. Adapted from M. Brett and E. Fentress (1997): 2.
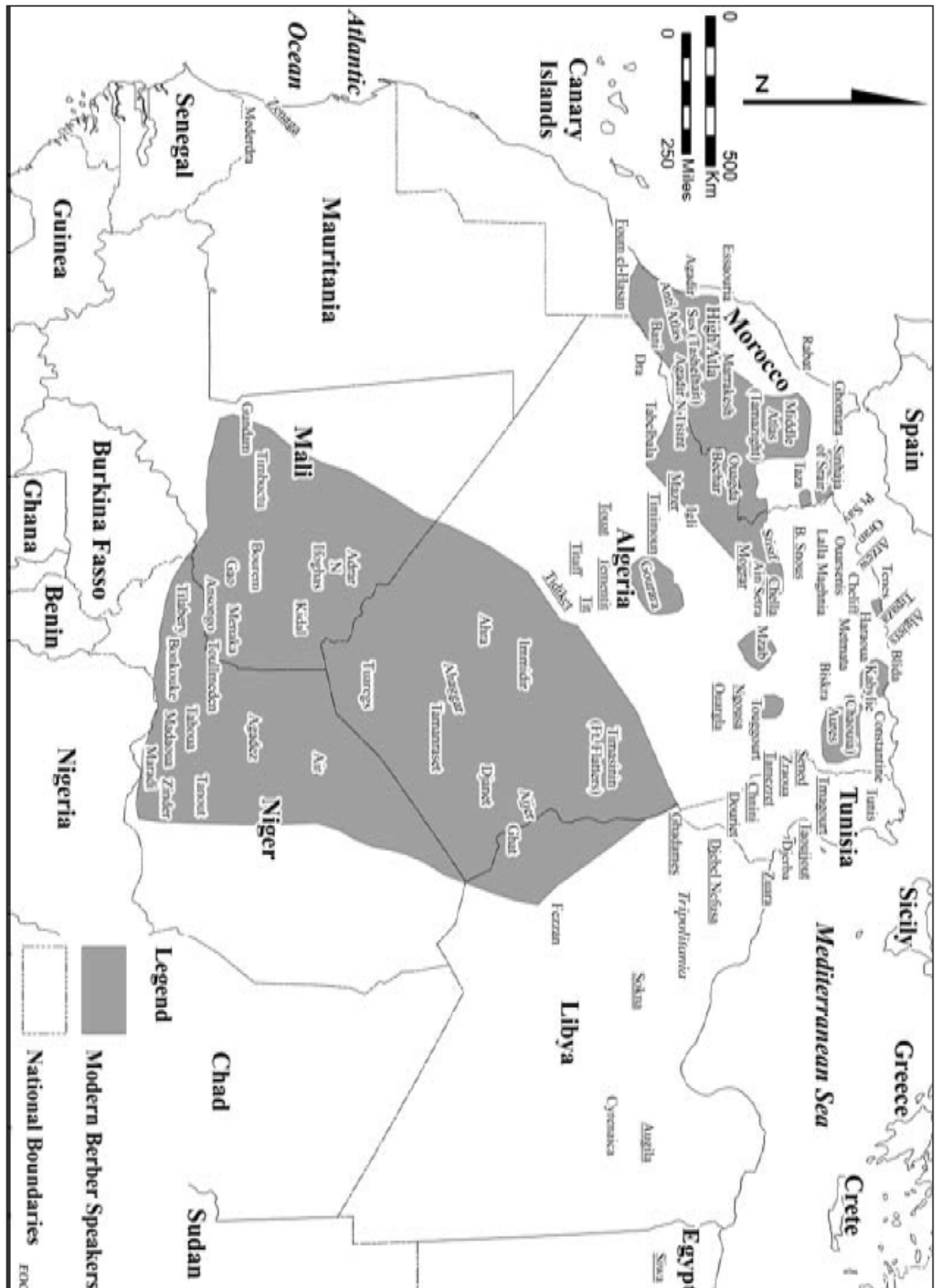
Map. The distribution of Berbers across NA.

Source: Ilahiane, H. (2006). *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)*.